Excluding Knowledge

Internationalization between usefulness and ethics

PhD Dissertation
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Department of Culture and Society

December 2023

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 "Internationalization and social practice in the field of higher education in Denmark"

As part of a larger project, the set task of the thesis is to explore recognition, acknowledgement and negotiation of knowledge in the international classroom. The project the thesis is part of, "Internationalization and social practice in the field of higher education in Denmark" aims to explore internationalization at Aarhus University as multifaceted and multilevel practices. The larger project draws upon data from five different international programs and combines survey data, observations, interviews and policy research. Besides my project, the larger project researches internationalization history and policy in Denmark, lecturers' perceptions of international students and pedagogy in the international classroom, and a prosopography of students attending international education in Aarhus. My thesis focuses particularly on three of the five international master programs. The programs have been selected to cover different disciplines and different approaches to internationalization. Data has been produced through non-participant observations of classroom interactions and semi-structured interviews with students from the three programs. In the analysis, results from other projects are also included to describe how knowledge-encounters unfold in the international classroom.

1.2 Battlefields

Bourdieu describes social space as a battlefield (e.g. Bourdieu, 1993, p. 72) and international higher education is no exception. The starting point for the thesis is international students' struggle for recognition and inclusion in the host environment.

Besides the personal struggles of international students, internationalization of higher education is also a political and economic battlefield. Altbach and de Wit (2015) outline how internationalization and academic exchange have long been political tools. They describe the Cold War as being a battlefield of international higher education which resulted in the dominance of Western models and scientific products. Similarly, research in internationalization has been

dominated by research focusing on not only Western host environments but almost exclusively on environments in English speaking countries whose experiences in many cases have been approached as delocalized and having universal relevance. However, internationalization operates under very different conditions in countries that are not the very first priorities of international students and in countries where English is not the first language (e.g. Tange, 2010), and therefore, the larger project that the thesis is part of explores internationalization with Aarhus University, Denmark as its case and another aim of the thesis is to provide an empirical contribution to the relatively limited body of literature about internationalization in Denmark.

The data was produced in another economic battlefield. In 2012, there was a strong strategic focus on internationalization as a tool to position Aarhus University internationally, but internationalization was also a tool in the national competition for students and economic resources (Wilken, 2016a). At the same time, there was an increasing academic resistance to this neoliberal approach to internationalization and university education as well as to its epistemology of usefulness where international education is an economic strategy not only for the institution, but also for the student. This battlefield became very visible at Aarhus University while I produced the data as illustrated in the photo on the cover of the thesis. The official banner from Aarhus University presents university education as access to the labor market. The smaller red cloth is the symbol of the international student movement *The Red Square* (Red Square Everywhere) which protests against the neoliberal influence upon the education system and works for liberated and free-thinking universities. I will return to this battlefield in an outline of the Danish and international context in Chapter 2.

The different positions of the battlefield were thus present in my everyday life at the university, and it should be stressed that the thesis is also written from within the battlefield of international higher education by a practitioner trained in the humanities and engaged in teaching international students, which has provided insights but also produced opinions and concerns.

The thesis is also shaped by what might be seen as an epistemological and methodological battle. Since the study is conducted as part of a larger project with Bourdieu's educational sociology as its common theoretical framework, the epistemological and methodological choices were – at least to some extent - not open. In my case, I did not immediately recognize this choice as being in correspondence with my "epistemological unconscious" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 47). My

"epistemological unconscious" was initially shaped in an environment where poststructuralism was dominant, and later by my employment at a business communication department, where constructivist epistemology dominates and adherence to the CCO principle is not only a matter of epistemology but serves to enforce the justification of the discipline. Bourdieu's approach thus at first had a somewhat old-fashioned air about it. Moreover, I found that Bourdieu's sociology narrowed my vision because it made it difficult to actually see encounters in education that are *not battles.* Therefore, I early on in the project decided to produce the data with the dual lens of symbolic power on the one hand and the Levinasian understanding of violence as the opposite of power on the other. This is a battle that, I believe, has produced steps towards a fruitful reflexivity. Bourdieu advocates a scientific reflexivity, which he distinguishes from the "narcissistic reflexivity of postmodern anthropology [and] the egological reflexivity of phenomenology" (Bourdieu, 2003, p. 281). Reflexivity, to Bourdieu, is not about "observing oneself observing, […] which lead, more often than not, to the rather disheartening conclusion that all is in the final analysis nothing but discourse, text, or, worse yet, pretext for text" (Bourdieu, 2003, p. 282). Instead, in Bourdieu's approach, reflexivity, and participant objectivation is oriented towards the academic unconscious, i.e., the academic doxa originating in educational experiences of particular educational systems and disciplines, i.e., the social conditions that produce the pre-constructions of social reality and as such it is collective rather than individualist. It is this doxa and its impact upon knowledge production that needs to be analyzed (e.g. Bourdieu, 2003, pp. 282-283), and he stresses that developing one's epistemology, it is necessary to accentuate other aspects than the dominant (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 47).

Bourdieu has shown that despite political projects of democratization and massification of education, students' success in the educational system is influenced by their position in social space because the educational system is based upon, recognizes and reproduces middle class culture. His educational sociology is developed in a French context before the present process of globalization and therefore it does not take internationalization of education into consideration. However, in his later work on knowledge internationalization, Bourdieu (1999a) also argues that knowledge does not necessarily travel freely across borders because it may not be recognized outside the field of its production. Inspired by this work, the initial assumption driving my project was that despite ideals of equality and inclusion, the exclusion of international students in international education may be

explained by similar processes. While social class may still be relevant, the knowledge brought into the classroom by international students may not be recognized because it has been formed and acquired in a different national and institutional context as Wilken (2007) suggests.

For such an analysis, Bourdieu's concepts are suitable to describe relations of power and reproduction (e.g. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). However, in Bourdieu's work (e.g. 1988a), change is a product of struggle. To produce theoretical reflexivity and be able to capture both instances of reproduction of the dominant culture and struggle, but also instances where the encounter with "other" knowledge – e.g. knowledge produced in unfamiliar contexts, from competing ideological positions or unfamiliar disciplines – has an impact as an outcome of acknowledgement or obligation towards the other, the data was produced with a double theoretical lens, where Bourdieu's concept *symbolic violence* (e.g. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992b) constituted one perspective and Levinas's (e.g. 1996) idea of *violence as the opposite of power* constituted the other. *Symbolic violence* is the power to constitute and impose a common set of norms within a specific field (e.g. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992c). To Levinas, violence means the reduction of the otherness of the Other to "the same". Performing this reduction is the opposite of power, because the moment it is performed, the other as Other is lost (e.g. Levinas, 1996). The ethical relationship to the other is a relationship that "distinguishes itself from knowledge" (Levinas, 1996, p. 7). The ethical encounter with the other is embodied in the experience of being unable to comprehend this otherness. Levinas is not talking about intercultural encounters as such but about fundamental relations between people. However, Levinas' philosophy emerges in the development of an intercultural philosophy (see Chapter 3) seeking to move beyond totalizing relationships and appeals to transcendental truth. Nor is he talking about exchange of knowledge or knowledge building; but the encounters in the international classroom are characterized by differences in perspectives as suggested by Wilken (2007), by interdisciplinarity, and, finally, by aims of learning to engage with intercultural others. They are therefore all defined by engagement with embodied difference and questions of the degree to which other perspectives can be appropriated.

Bourdieu's sociology and Levinas's ethics differ to the extent that they may seem incompatible in an analytical framework. Firstly, they differ because Bourdieu offers concepts to be used in analysis while Levinas's ethics has the ring of a normative approach to the Other. However, it also describes the ambiguity that characterizes the encounter with otherness. Levinas's

understanding of the ethical encounters involves a description of violence as the opposite of power, which offers a lens to capture open-ended approaches and instances of obligation to recognize the Other and other knowledges. It is included to approach the field with a lens where experience can enforce reflexivity. The introduction of Levinas into the theoretical framework thus challenges the rationalist aspect of Bourdieu's epistemological constructivism. Others have drawn upon Levinas' work to discuss aspects of Bourdieu's theorization. Evens (1999) argues that Bourdieu fails to see that "before it is a matter of power and production, human practice is a question of value *qua* value, which is to say a question of ethics" (p. 4), which is embedded in Levinas's understanding of the role of otherness in the definition of the self's end (p. 17). Myles (2004) discusses Bourdieu's adoption of Husserl, which, Myles argues, lacks complexity and has resulted in an overpolarization of doxa (e.g. Bourdieu, 2003) and reflexivity where reflexivity has become a scientific project where Bourdieu maintains "an absolute distinction between the knowledgeability of actors in the social world and that of the reflexive sociological researcher" (p. 104) as well as an ethnocentric opposition between writing/print and oral cultures. In his reading of Husserl towards a reflexive sociology that allows reflexivity to arise from everyday experience and links rationality and practice, Myles makes brief reference to Levinas. My aim with the double theoretical lens - and thus also my theoretical contribution to the overall project - starts from a concern like that of Evens as I wanted to produce the data with a framework that could capture the ethical as an aspect of practice. It manifests itself in the tension between symbolic violence as power and as loss of power. The relationship between modes of knowledge central to Myles– e.g. between the knowledge of the social world and the knowledge of the academy – appears at all levels of the project. It is a central methodological question in the interpretation of the experiences of the participants, but it is also a matter of recognizing potential sources of and conditions for reflexivity in the encounters among the participants.

For the greater part of the existing research (see Chapter 3), focus has been on linguistic and cultural differences as barriers to inclusion. This thesis shifts focus and a central goal is to explore exclusion and inclusion as processes of recognition, acknowledgement, and negotiation of knowledge in international programs. Chapter 3 will position the thesis in relation to existing research into intercultural communication theory and international education. However, having

outlined the aims of the thesis, sketched its context as well as central theoretical features, it is appropriate to introduce the problem statement of the thesis:

On the basis of an empirical investigation of three international programs at Aarhus University, the purpose of the thesis is to examine inclusion and exclusion in the neoliberal university as processes of recognition, acknowledgement and negotiation of knowledge between epistemologies of usefulness and ethics using a double theoretical lens based on Bourdieu's educational sociology and Levinas' moral philosophy. By combining Levinasian ethics and Bourdieu's educational sociology, the structural and epistemological conditions surrounding encounters in the international classroom in the neoliberal university can be explored to further the understanding of if, when and how inclusion as non-subsumptive encounters take place.

1.3 Expanding the framework

The process of analyzing the data emerged as a different kind of battlefield. As the project progressed, it increasingly became visible in the data that it is not only the socially constituted hierarchies of symbolic and economic value of knowledge, and congruence between the knowledge habitus of the students and the institution that structure recognition and inclusion in international education. Knowledge-internal structures also condition inclusion and exclusion, and it was therefore necessary to develop a conceptual language to refine the descriptions of knowledge habitus and knowledge-related aspects of the field that included these knowledge-internal structures. At first, I attempted descriptions that distinguished between open-ended and closed, market-driven epistemologies. However, it was insufficient for a description of the complexities of the knowledge-habitus and knowledge-building processes. Therefore, the knowledge internal structures are analyzed by extending Bourdieu's sociology with Maton's legitimation code theory (e.g. 2014) in the theoretical framework. Maton (2014) argues that while Bourdieu's sociology accounts for the relationship between knowledge and its subject or author as well as the relationship between the subject and the object of knowledge, it does not account for the epistemic relation, i.e,. the relation between knowledge and its object as an aspect of scientific or epistemic reflexivity. Drawing upon Bernstein's work, he develops a toolkit, Legitimation Code Theory (LCT),

that includes this relationship. In the analysis of encounters, I include the epistemic relationship to describe inclusion and exclusion as influenced also by the internal structures of knowledge.

Maton introduces *Knowledge and Knowers: Towards a realist sociology of education* (2014) with the claim that "[n]ever has knowledge been viewed as so crucial to the nature of society. Yet, *understanding knowledge* is not viewed as crucial to *understanding society*" (1); because while there is a focus upon the role of knowledge in social change in the knowledge-based society, there is also an absence of a theory of knowledge to the extent that he talks about a "knowledge blindness". He argues that the emphasis upon knowledge in the knowledge-based economy has resulted in an understanding of knowledge as interchangeable tokens or as something that flows like money, and the concern of research has been focused on knowledge flows. In consequence, educational research is dominated by a subjectivist doxa and constructivist relativism (3). The result is a reduction of knowledge to knowing, a reduction of its source to a sensory experience and the exclusion of objective knowledge "including intellectual problem-situations, theories, critical discussions and arguments" (4), which has reduced knowledge practices to "a logic of learning" (4). With reference to Bashkar 's (1993) critical realism, Maton describes the subjectivist doxa as a product of "the 'epistemic fallacy' of confusing epistemology with ontology" (Maton, 2014, p. 6) and an extension of social construction from knowledge to reality. He concludes that it "has implications far beyond epistemology. In research it focuses attention on processes of learning and on whose knowledge is being learned, but obscures what is being learned [the relations within knowledge] and how it shapes these processes and power relations" (7). In the thesis, Maton's conceptual framework serves the purpose of describing how the relations within knowledge also shape inclusion and exclusion in international education.

While Maton's framework is an extension of Bourdieu's work, the emphasis upon a realist ontology of knowledge may again seem incompatible with Levinasian phenomenology, which can be considered as part of the subjectivist doxa that Maton criticizes. Moreover, Maton stresses the importance of ontology while Levinas in an important essay on the central aspects of his ethics asks in the title "Is Ontology Fundamental?" (Levinas, 1996). The question relates to ontology as comprehension of the Other, because to Levinas, the relation to the Other, as opposed to other subject-object relations, affects us beyond comprehension. While the epistemic relation to the Other is reduction or violence, Levinas recognizes that this is also part of the relation expressed as

the Said, in his work. *The Said* is, in other words, a particular kind of epistemic relation and Maton's framework is used to describe its structures.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

In order to explore recognition, acknowledgement and negotiation of knowledge as unfolding at a particular place and point in time, Chapter 2 introduces the context. It outlines the local, national and international policies, strategies and ideologies of the university and knowledge that surround the encounters described in the thesis. Chapter 3 reviews research into intercultural communication and pedagogies of the international classroom to position the thesis in relation to existing literature and to identify gaps it seeks to address. In Chapter 4, the theoretical framework is introduced. Chapter 5 presents the methodology and the data. In Chapter 6, 7 and 8, encounters at the three programs are analyzed before the thesis is concluded in Chapter 9.

Chapter 2: The Neoliberal Context

2.1 Introduction

According to Altbach (2004), universities have always been global institutions. They have made use of a common language, sought to incorporate tensions between national and international trends, and when they have not, they have become irrelevant. When the internationalization process in the university sector is associated with radical changes in the ideas and knowledges of the university, the internal structures of the universities and the structures of the larger field, it is therefore more likely the result of the process and ideologies driving internationalization rather than internationalization as such, Altbach argues. This chapter therefore explores the ideologies and processes that have produced the internationalization of Danish higher education.

In Bourdieu's political writings, he defines the ideology of the period as neoliberalism. With its origin in the prestigious places of "supposedly neutral agencies" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001, p. 3), such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the European Commission, the OECD; conservative think-tanks and "schools of power" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001, p. 3) such as Science-Po, the London School of Economics and Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, Bourdieu argues that neoliberalism has achieved the means of making itself true by lending its symbolic capital to political programs thus realizing its theory and universalizing the singular historical experience of its production to the extent of calling it "the end of history" (Bourdieu, 1998b, p. 35). A similar identification is found in the literature about the internationalization of higher education.

The Danish internationalization processes has to a large extent been driven by the Bologna process (EHEA) and its implementation through a number of reforms of the Danish university that followed, with the university reform in 2003 (Uddannelses- og Forskningsministeriet, 2003) as the most significant. In Denmark, the signing of the Bologna Treaty (The European Higher Education Area, 1999) in 1999 and the university reform took place under a Social Democratic and a Liberal Government respectively. However, both governments were influenced by the economic ideas of neoliberalism (Larsen & Andersen, 2009; Qvortrup, 2002). Neoliberalism is significant for understanding why these reforms so dramatically changed not only the structures of the university but also introduced new ideas about the university and its epistemologies, changed the relationship between the state and the university, between lecturers and students, and resulted in a complex field where encounters in the classroom are both encounters between nationalities, institutional

frameworks, and disciplines, and also encounters shaped by ideologically grounded and structured knowledges, as well as and students with very different capitals and strategies.

The section introduces the context in which Aarhus University internationalized as a context shaped by neoliberalism. This is done by outlining the main ideas of neoliberalism and its epistemologies in some of its classical texts. The chapter then turns to supplementary background research with a thematic focus on the Danish university reforms leading up to our project and on the ideology debates in the international field of higher education. It demonstrates the neoliberal roots in educational policy from the EU and in the reforms of the Danish university, which have shaped the internationalization process as market expansion and an orientation towards labor market needs. The literature is selected with a thematic focus that revolves around Danish university reforms in the period leading up to the beginning of our project. Finally, the chapter sketches the contours of a global field structured by neoliberal policies and economic capital on one hand, and academic counter-ideologies of ethical globalization and cultural capital on the other.

2.2 Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is often understood as an economic doctrine originating in the theoretical work of Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman and the Chicago School and the New Public Management principles put into practice by the governments of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher and later on in the "third way" (Giddens, 1998) approaches of Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, Gerhard Schröder and the social democracies in Scandinavia (Harvey, 2005; Ward, 2012). But neoliberalism can also be understood as a moral and social philosophy which influences how individual agency, social relationships and the relationships between the individual and society is seen (Harvey, 2005). It has been argued that neoliberalism has become the dominant ideology in large parts of the world (e.g Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001; Duménil & Lévy, 2011; Harvey, 2005; Overbeek & Apeldoorn, 2012; Ward, 2012), to the extent that the operations of the market has become a "new ethics in itself, capable of acting as a guide to all human action, and substituting for previously held ethical beliefs" (Treanor). At the core of the ideology is a subjective theory of value where value is ascribed to a commodity by agents' subjective preferences rather than value as accumulation of labor. Moreover, it involves the belief that the processes of market exchange are the essence of human nature and serve as a technology to create and maintain social order (Harvey, 2005; Olssen & Peters, 2005;

Ward, 2012), and an understanding of the individual as a self-interested competitor and a rational consumer rather than a "socially connected citizen of a nation state or morally situated member of a culture" (Ward, 2012).

The neoliberal state combines elements of both the classic liberal state and socialism as it focuses on individualism and market freedom combined with a state control of social changes; but as opposed to the socialist state, it is not protection of the public domain and overcoming of social inequality that the state tries to control, rather it controls in the role of auditor and marketer towards the creation of a free market and towards expanding the market into new fields, e.g. education, social security and health care, and new geographical areas (Harvey, 2005; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Ward, 2012). It involves an epistemological shift which has expanded the area covered by economic reasoning: "the economy is no longer one social domain among others with its own intrinsic rationality, laws and instruments. Instead the area covered by the economy and the market embraces the entirety of human action to the extent that this is characterized by the allocation of scant resources for competing goals" (Lemke, 2001, p. 197). The individual thus became a self-interested competitor and rational consumer rather than "socially connected citizens of a nation state or morally situated members of a culture" (Ward, 2012). In this version, the psychology of competition and fundamental characteristics of the neoliberal version of the *Homo Economicus -* an economic-rational entrepreneur responding to market signals (Lemke, 2001; Marginson, 2006) – became the basic principles of government.

In Hayek's writing, liberty is to a large degree dependent upon negative freedom (Marginson, 2006; Wörsdörfer, 2013). The freedom of the agent "presupposes that the individual has some assured private sphere, that there is some set of circumstances in his environment with which others cannot interfere" (Hayek, 1960, p. 13 in Marginson 2006). Hayek calls this state "inner freedom", and together with "absence of coercion" it determines the extent to which a person can make use of opportunities (Hayek, 1960, p. 15 in Marginson 2006). This is a subject who is a maker of choices rather than a maker of history or self (Marginson, 2006). The agent thus lacks self-determination but is constructed as an empowered (free to choose from given options), responsible agent, who acts according to economic rationality. It is ultimately a construction which transfers responsibility for illness, unemployment, poverty etc. from society and onto the individual (Lemke, 2001).

Significantly, neoliberalism is characterized by a change in the conceptualization of knowledge. In one of neoliberalism's key texts, "The Use of Knowledge in Society" from 1945, Hayek's argument for a market economy is epistemological and focuses on particular, useful and practical knowledge. He describes knowledge as unorganized and to a large extent not scientific "in the sense of knowledge as of general rules: the knowledge of the particular circumstances of time and place" (p. 519). Instead, knowledge exists "as the dispersed bits of incomplete and frequently contradictory knowledge which all the separate individuals possess" (p. 519). It is an epistemology which, according to Hayek, contradicts the foundation of the planned economy where the logic is that all knowledge can be transmitted and incorporated into statistics and theory building by a central authority with all the decision competence.

To Hayek, the economic problem of society is how to utilize "knowledge not given to anyone in its totality" (p. 520). His claim is that a decentralized planning that draws upon the logics of competition and economization can utilize the specific, local and individual knowledge that is reduced in a generalized theorization. In a decentralized economy, the prize system sends the essential information about supply and demand. It thus becomes possible to utilize local knowledge and adapt to changes because it does not rely on the summarizing of knowledge into a general theory but can be applied on site. This, according to Hayek, is the solution to the problem of "how to extend the span of our utilization of resources beyond the span of the control of any one mind; and therefore, how to dispense with the need of conscious control and how to provide inducements which will make the individuals do the desirable things without anyone having to tell them what to do" (p. 527). However, it is also an argument which has consequences for the relationship between knowledge, agency and freedom. Whereas Humboldt's enlightenment understanding of knowledge, as discussed below, involves emancipation and agency freedom as the goal of the quest for universal knowledge, Hayek's epistemology reduces agency to a manipulable subject responding to the needs of the market.

The later "third way" approaches, which influenced not only the Danish social democracy (Dahl, 2014) but also Danish right-wing politics (Larsen & Andersen, 2009; Qvortrup, 2002), involved a redefinition of the relationship between the state and the market as it sought to find a way to combine the laissez-faire approaches practiced by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher and the government intervention strategies of Keynesianism and socialism (Harvey, 2005). It was an

approach that aimed at making the state an active player in the economic development, with the result that the control the state exercised was no longer about protecting the public domain but rather about expanding the market into new areas such as education, health care and social security (Harvey, 2005; Lemke, 2001; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Ward, 2012). Moreover, it also involved the advent of the role of the state as auditor, which meant that the role of the state now was to control that its institutions met economic goals (Ward, 2012).

The British sociologist and director of the LSE (1997-2003) Anthony Giddens played a significant role in the development of third way politics. In *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy* (1998), Giddens offers an analysis of the condition a new politics has to respond to and argues that it has to go beyond traditional left-right politics. Part of his argument rests on epistemological changes, and other parts are responses to the new role of knowledge in the emerging world order. For the present purpose the book is read as summarizing and exemplifying the ideology (although Giddens argues that third way politics is a pragmatic response rather than an ideology). The starting point is the belief that both socialism and neoliberalism as economic theories are inadequate. Socialism because it does not recognize the ability of capitalism to increase productivity or the importance of the market as informational device. Aggressive neoliberalism because the dynamics of world markets is a dynamics of expectation rather than of actual price changes. The world has developed in a direction which poses a number of dilemmas that a new politics also has to take into consideration: Globalization, both as economic globalization and as shifts in the relationship between local, national and global identities, has resulted in a blurring of boundaries and to some extent in a replacement of national government with governance by transnational agencies; cultural plurality and institutionalized individualism have brought about an individualism which challenges the state's ability to create social cohesion; and political agency has been transferred from the state to social movements on the one hand and the market on the other as a result of the neoliberal critique of government.

While Hayek's reasoning behind the market economy was a rationalization argument to utilize local and particular knowledge, Giddens considers the market economy a premise, and his epistemological argument is taken a step further. In his analysis, knowledge is potentially destabilizing, and experts cannot be expected to provide unambiguous truths. He addresses the epistemological changes by proposing democratization of decisions regarding science and

technology. Thistransfer of responsibility to the citizen involves a loss of autonomy for the academic community.

Giddens envisions the state as a social investment state. In such a welfare system, state investment in human capital and entrepreneurial initiatives to generate competition is essential. The investment in education includes supporting harmonization of educational practices and standards internationally to the benefit of a cosmopolitan labor force.

Giddens' response is both a rational structural flexibility to accommodate the market and a rationalization in moral terms towards equality, inclusion and consensus as protection against outside forces as response rather than as a sense of moral obligation to the other. As such, it also represents an expansion of the economic and instrumental relation to cover all aspects of social life.

2.3 The Bologna process and reform of the Danish university

The internationalization process initiated with the signing of the Bologna treaty can be seen as part of a European integration project (Wilken, 2007), but it was also presented as a necessary response to globalization (Nielsen & Sarauw, 2012), and in accordance with the market expansion goal of neoliberalism and the increased focus on education policies, one of the goals of the Bologna process was to create a "European Higher Education Area" where the national education systems should become more transparent in order to encourage student mobility. The most important measures towards that goal have been the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS), modular programs, comparable degree structures (bachelor, master, ph.d.), and a common accreditation system (Kristensen, 2007b). Moreover, as part of the European Union's macroeconomic strategy and the vision of a Europe of Knowledge formulated in the Lisbon process (European Parliament, 2000), which had as its goal that the EU should become the world's most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based society (Fejes, 2008), the Bologna process also performed a significant role in creating a European education market oriented both towards European students and towards students outside Europe (Holborow, 2013; Wilken, 2007; Wright, 2008), thus involving marketization and commodification of university knowledge. Through the association with the Lisbon process, a higher degree of vocationalization, and, in consequence, labor market orientation of higher education was introduced because higher education became included in the work programme, which primarily focused on vocational education (Wright, 2008).

Furthermore, with the process and its association with the European Commission, universities, in spite of the declaration of autonomy from the state (European University Association 2003 in Wright & Ørberg, 2008), moved away from the idea of the independent university towards acceptance of being accountable towards governments, taxpayers and other external stakeholders.

In a legal sense, it was voluntary for the member states to join the process, but in reality, it was difficult for a country not to join, because it would leave them entirely outside the game. In the case of the Bologna process, it would, e.g., mean that it would be difficult for students from countries outside the process to study in other countries or get their degrees recognized in the labor market (Wright, 2008).

These ideas are implemented in reforms of the Danish universities with a reform in 2003 (Uddannelses- og Forskningsministeriet, 2003) as the most significant. As such, the reform is not directed towards internationalization of the university, but its measures support the development of a European higher education area, and like the overall Bologna Process, the reform should be seen in the light of the importance assigned to the universities in the knowledge economy, which orients the universities towards a global market and job market relevance. The reform has been much debated, and a central discussion is whether or not it is a break with the Humboldtian tradition and the extent to which it changed the idea of the university.

Since the nineteenth century, the Humboldtian ideal – and especially the ideas about unity between research and teaching and the autonomy of the university - has been dominant in the Danish understanding of the university (Kristensen, 2007a, 2007b). With the Humboldtian university, the idea of the university, which originally was a product of the European Catholic Church, became embedded in the context of the nation state. The first university based on Humboldt's thought, the Friedrich-Wilhelm University in Berlin, opened in 1810 after Prussia had lost territory to France. The new university was to contribute to the rebuilding of the nation, and Humboldt's reforms were based on the idea of educating enlightened citizens (Kjærgaard & Kristensen, 2003; Kristensen, 2007a). From Kant's *The Conflict of the Faculties,* Humboldt got a central argument for the university's autonomy as a research- and teaching institution but at the same time also the argument for the university as an institution of the state. Kant saw enlightenment as man's exit from self-imposed immaturity in the sense of inability to use reason without guidance, and he therefore argued that the university should become authoritative and the

employees should exercise scholarly reason without influence from the church or state and without any religious or utilitarian considerations (Kristensen, 2007a). However, Kant acknowledged that the state had a certain power over the university, because it was the state's duty to support the university and control its exams. Therefore, the state was an authority, but it was an authority without insight, and it needed the critique that the university, as an autonomous unity with its roots in philosophical reason, could offer (Kristensen, 2007a). In accordance with Kant's ideas, Humboldt's reformation of the university was based on the idea of *Bildung*, i.e. a life-long process of spiritual and cultural self-formation through scholarship, which he believed would give the individual the opportunity to become autonomous. Just like Humboldt saw the *Bildung*-process as a life-long process, the discovery of new knowledge was considered an infinite process of progression (Kristensen, 2007a). Moreover, Humboldt's pedagogy was a reaction against the increasing professional specialization in the profession schools, which he believed sacrificed the human being for the useful citizen by teaching the students mere skills (Kristensen, 2007a). Therefore, the state should protect the autonomy of the university from particular, economic or utilitarian interests, and thus it was a university *of* the state in the sense that the state protected it, but it was not an institution *for* the state in the sense of serving a utilitarian purpose (Biesta, 2011; Zgaga, 2009).

Although changing epistemological foci had altered the Humboldtian university to the extent that it may be argued that it had dismantled its principles even before the reform, the claim that its idea is still rooted in these principles has been strong. Even after the 2003 reform, Fink (2003) claims that the university is still rooted in the Humboldtian principles. However, it is a debated claim. After the revolt against "the rule of the professors" in 1968, Danish universities had been state institutions with democratic governance since 1970 (Wright & Boden, 2011). One of the government's arguments for the 2003 reform was that it would set the universities free from the state because the Danish universities became "self-owning institutions" (Wright & Ørberg, 2008), which meant that they were no longer part of the state-hierarchy but instead became engaged in contractual relationship with the state (Wright & Ørberg, 2008). However, the reform has been criticized, because the result was that while the universities in one sense became independent from the state because the state is only concerned that the universities deliver according to the contract, at the same time, the state obtained new accountability tools for steering and controlling the universities such as performance- and output-based payment (Hansen et al., 2012; Wright & Ørberg, 2008); and

with the reform, the state actually got more political and economic control over both research and teaching (Kristensen, 2007b). Moreover, leadership and management structures changed significantly. The elected senate was replaced by governing boards with a chairman and the majority of the members from outside the university, and elected leaders (rector, dean and department leaders) were replaced by appointed leaders (Wright & Ørberg, 2008).

At the same time, new measures for quality of education were introduced which involved description of specific competences that the students are expected to acquire (Nielsen & Sarauw, 2012). These measures changed the emphasis from critical and independent reflection and disciplinary knowledge to quantitative measures of performance in relation to specific targets believed to match specific functions in the labor market (Nielsen & Sarauw, 2012).

Rather than the unity of Kant and Humboldt's university, the university therefore becomes an economic entity with negative agency freedom. According to Kristensen, the reform involves a reformulation of the principle of autonomy in relation to university governance, which from meaning institutional autonomy involving the freedom to decide what to teach and research comes to mean "operative autonomy", i.e. freedom to prioritize and make strategic choices in a time of increased competition for funding and "customers" (Kristensen, 2007b). The reform thus on the one hand involves a high degree of responsibilization, flexibility and insecurity as the relationship to the state becomes contractual rather than the state as guardian of institutional autonomy. Moreover, with the modulization of degree programs and the change towards emphasis upon competences, it not only reconceptualizes knowledge as measurable and complete entities, but also changes focus from research and development of new knowledge to knowledge transfer (Andersen & Jacobsen, 2012), which also entails a reconceptualization of the student into a consumer and receiver of predefined entities of knowledge. These consumer-students are free to choose from a number of modules and in that way shape their own education, but it is not a system or an evaluation procedure which encourages independent and critical knowledge growth, Wright (2012) argues. Nielsen and Sarauw's (2012) research confirms this mentality among students who have become performance-oriented in their approach to their studies, and they argue that compared to the emphasis in the general Bologna process, the Danish reforms have an even stronger emphasis on job market relevance (Nielsen & Sarauw, 2012).

2.4 Aarhus University

The structural and ideological reforms of the Danish university are reflected in Aarhus University's internationalization strategy. Aarhus University was established in 1928 and with 37.624 students in 2012, it is Denmark's second largest university, located in Denmark's second largest city. In 2005, a new rector, Lauritz B. Holm-Nielsen, was hired with the expectation that he would develop the internationalization of the university significantly. Holm-Nielsen came from a position as lead higher education specialist at The World Bank (Aarhus University), and in 2009, the university launched an ambitious internationalization strategy (Aarhus University, 2009). In line with the market- and competition rhetoric of neoliberal ideology, the strategy aimed to develop Aarhus university into a key player in the international market of education, and to equip students for the competition in the global labor market. The strategy paper describes "international exposure" as an important factor to ensure "relevance, topical interest and quality [and to develop students] intercultural and linguistic qualifications".

As a result, Aarhus University became the Danish university with the highest number of international students. From 2007 to 2010, the number of incoming freemovers increased from 1254 to 2274. Moreover, Aarhus University receives approximately 1000 exchange students every year. Of 117 master programs offered in 2012, 62 were offered entirely in English and 1019 courses were available in English [1].

2.5 A polarized debate

Although dominant in the policies and practices of the international field, neoliberal ideology is not uncontested. It is challenged by various actors and in particular by academic voices and student movements with the common trait of opposing neoliberalism in education. While it is agreed that the strategic, market driven process of internationalization dominates the field (Khoo, 2011; Marginson, 2008; Paraskeva, 2010; Taylor, 2010), the impact and potential of alternative ethical approaches is debated, and it is both argued that the university is one of the last places where the unchecked forces of global capitalism may be challenged (Rhoads & Szelenyi, 2011) and that the ethical ideals have lost to the neoliberal principles of present day university management (Khoo,

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[1] The paragraph is based upon Wilken's research presented in Wilken, L. (2016b). *Navigating global space and ending up in Denmark* Research Symposium, Rold, Denmark.

2011). The following sections sketches these debates regarding the idea or ontology of the university and its knowledge before the final section discusses the hierarchical structure of the field to sketch the contours of the complex field the students navigate in and introduce the multifaceted palette of ideas about knowledge and education in a globalized world they may encounter when they seek international education.

2.5.1 Ontologies of the university

The idea of the university has changed throughout history (see e.g. Zgaga, 2009), but the neoliberal university may be perceived as a radical change, because while previous ideas were all grounded in an orientation towards the public good, it has been argued that the neoliberal university to a larger extent is oriented towards private interests (Biesta, 2011). It is argued that the neoliberal university is preoccupied with the economic and technical development of society through co-operation with the government, corporations and industry, and it focuses on matching the needs of the labor market (e.g. Arambewela, 2010; Rhoads & Szelenyi, 2011). As opposed to the Humboldtian university, the neoliberal university has become fully integrated in the service economy (Barnett, 2012), and thus the capitalist production logics, and it is engaged in the marketization and commodification of knowledge and higher education (e.g. Oplatka & Hemsley-Brown, 2010; Ward, 2012). It is, however, a contradictory position, because it is both embedded in the competitive environment of the market and put under the rigorous control of the state and external audit (Ward, 2012). Even though neoliberalism, as in the case of the Danish university reform, sets the university free from the state hierarchy, the university thus becomes a university *for* the state or *for* economic interests in the new ontologies because it must live up to its contractual obligations to the state and cater for the needs of its other external stakeholders such as its student-customers and funding partners. The goal of the neoliberal university is thus to be "useful", but "usefulness" is defined by the criteria of private interests rather than the common good or by its ability to emancipate and transform the individual to participate in critical examination of society (Biesta, 2011).

Along with the democratization of knowledge, the rise of new knowledge authorities, and the integration of the university into the service economy, the disintegration of the transcendental purpose of the university is criticized for creating an "anti-reflexive, 'matter of fact' pragmatism throughout the university" (Readings, 1996, pp. 166-168 in Ward 2012, 123) which challenges not

only the position of the university as sole legislator of knowledge but also its authority. Barnett (2012) argues that today the university no longer determines contemporary knowledge policies for itself. Barnett's claim exposes the neoliberal university as an organization without any real agency, or, as Biesta argues, an organization without principles and values (Biesta, 2011). As its strategy has become an organizational response to national and international competition, it is accused of leading to an "economy of the same" (Ward, 2012, p. 111).

The common denominator in the critiques seems to originate not so much in the fact that the university is no longer defined by a transcendental goal, but as an organization legitimated in economic growth. As it has become like a business, it has also become "obliged to cede the right to set the norms, and perhaps most seminally the ethical norms, to its newly embraced prototype and spiritual inspiration" (Bauman, 1997). The critiques are therefore not merely a defense of the Enlightenment university and its grand narratives. Instead, the critique to a large extent is a call for a new ethical role of the university in a globalized world and a strengthening of autonomy through a plurality of legitimation strategies.

Calhoun (McQuarrie, 2006) suggests that it is unlikely that the justification of the university can be transcendental, and, he adds, it may not even be desirable. The university is called upon to play a number of different and sometimes contradictory roles and it does not at any point in time embody a perfect form. However, the university's contribution to a critical public sphere is a central function, and it should be judged upon its ability to perform that function, and therefore: "[i]f universities are only organized so that they produce technical knowledge for experts, that is a failing" (McQuarrie, 2006, p. 107).

Marginson (2007b) argues that various actors within the university practice a vast and continually changing range of values and ethical regimes which are sometimes contradictory and not necessarily in congruence with the values of the institution in its capacity as institution, which, according to Marginson, suggests that the only agreement needed between the universities' different actors is those values and ethical regimes that sustain higher education institutions as self-reproducing and knowledge forming, and on the contrary, a transcendental claim would inhibit knowledge production:

> If HEIs [higher education institutions] sought to be "communities of the good" in which all
> staff and students were committed to a universal set of values spanning the full range of

human activities, they would be inhibited in the pursuit of edgy, critical, innovative thought, and internal discussion and debate would be constrained, so that they would be unable to fully function as knowledge-forming organisations; or alternately, amid the tensions engendered by different and competing claims about what constitutes the "good" they would fracture and fly apart, so that they would no longer be self-reproducing (Marginson, 2007b, p. 2).

Therefore, the meta-institutional values and ethical regimes, constituting the "Idea of a University" must support a plurality of values and ethical regimes, according to Marginson.

Biesta's alternative rests on the critique of the global or useful university as r*esponse* and *position*, i.e., as defined by external needs and relative position without an essence, an idea of identity of its own: "If the university just aims at being useful for and adaptive to its publics, it has, in a sense, nothing to offer and nothing to say" (Biesta, 2011, pp. 43-44). His alternative, however, is formulated as resistance against not just the external adversary but also against the adversary within seen in language, "common" sense etc. where the logic of neoliberalism also shapes the university from within.

Outside academic journals, the opposition to the neoliberal university is also found in student movements organized at universities and in internet groups, e.g., The Red Square Everywhere movement (Red Square Everywhere), which started as a protest for free education in Quebec but grew into a loosely structured movement working for a university that is free not just in terms of tuition but liberated and open to free thinking, and academic collectives such as The Edu-Factory Collective, which started as a mailing list growing out of resistance to the conditions for precarious workers in the university with more than 500 activists, both students and researchers, taking part (see The Edu-Factory Collective, 2009). In their anthology, a number of contributions present versions of the Global Autonomous University, e.g. Vidya Ashram, which was set up at Sarath with the goal of forming an academy that seeks to "reconfigure relations between different kinds of knowledge in society and between knowledge and society" (Vidya Ashram, 2009, p. 170). Their contribution responds to the parallel process of democratization and industrialization of knowledge production inscribed in capitalism that has replaced the monopoly over knowledge production the modern university exercised. In their version, the global Autonomous University draws upon *lokvidya*, knowledge traditions outside the university which, however, may have become recognized in the knowledge economy, but only for economic exploitation. The

Autonomous Global University is resistance in the sense that it is free from political interference, economic pressures and military requirements, which, in contrast, requires that it has political and ideological significance of its own. Similarly, "[i]t is a site of cooperation among knowledge producers and a site of non-cooperation with the global regime of knowledge" (p. 167) and not a bastion of production, but "an organ of dialogue, solidarity and organization" (p. 168). Its goal is "to create idioms of global emancipatory transformations" (p. 168).

2.5.2 Epistemology

As discussed above, neoliberalism involves the critique of modernity's epistemology for its generalizing theorization, and in consequence, it promotes a turn towards local, particular knowledge, an evaluation based on "usefulness", and a field where researchers, experts and academics no longer are considered authorities on unambiguous truths. Instead, new authorities of knowledge are introduced as the academic knowledge is "faced with the competing voices of consultants, journalists, so called freelance 'experts' in society, professionals (who by definition know what is 'best') and those who advance their own views via the internet, the mass media and the creative arts" Barnett (2012, p. 217) argues. With reference to Bauman's concept "liquid modernity", Barnett introduces the concept "liquid knowledge" characterizing the present state of knowledge. Moreover, the development is accompanied by an exteriorization and commodification of knowledge (Lyotard, 1984) culminating in the goals of the knowledge economy, where knowledge is a private commodity which can be bought, sold and transmitted as information and through its embodiment as human capital: "At the heart of the neoliberal way of thinking, at least in what we might call its ideal, typical or pure theoretical form, nothing, not even the enlightenment's once sacred and public thing called knowledge, has value until it enters the marketplace", Ward (2012, p. 103) claims

Parallel to the alternative ideas of the university, alternative epistemologies are proposed from a number of different positions. Like neoliberal epistemology, epistemologies from these positions are critical towards generalizing, universalist knowledge, but rather than the neoliberal epistemologies of diversity, they promote epistemologies of difference (see Eriksen, 2006 for an elaboration of the distinction between the concepts).

They involve a rejection of the idea of knowledge production as disinterested (e.g. Rhoads & Szelenyi, 2011), and in particular of the universalizing discourse of the neoliberal mode of knowledge production (Ong, 2009). Moreover, it is argued that "the call to develop 'common grounds' or 'common values' [is] stifling, [and] almost as oppressive as the purported universalism of a neoliberal mode of knowledge production and management" (Ong, 2009, p. 39). As alternatives, critics of the neo-liberal university argue that the university as knowledge producer should engage in a more ethical knowledge production. They call for an academic knowledge production that recognizes the challenges of globalization and of the interconnectedness of our lives (Rhoads & Szelenyi, 2011); that recognizes the world's epistemological diversity (Santos et al., 2007); that challenges Eurocentric paradigms (Paraskeva, 2010) and makes ethical choices "in the shape of academic inquiry" (Barnett, 2012, p. 224).

According to Basole, challenging Eurocentric paradigms involves more than "provincializing Europe", (Basole, 2009, p. 36), in the sense of assigning it a role as a local site of knowledge production. Such a project is an impossibility within the university because it is not just about the loss of local wisdoms in the past, but also about the colonization of thought by Eurocentric categories, the elitisms of the theoretical categorization in academia and the hierarchization of knowledge and non-knowledge in the university (Basole, 2009, p. 37). Emancipation thus involves recognition and inclusion of knowledge produced elsewhere, not just in geographical terms, but outside the institution of the university in everyday life (e.g. Purwar & Sharma, 2009; Sahasrabudhey, 2009). Exclusion should therefore be understood not only as exclusion of content, but as processes of knowledge production. In the words of Purwar and Sharma (2009):

> Countering exclusion and eurocentrism often produces an anxiety framed by content rather than grappling with the modalities of knowledge production [...] This kind of accretive multicultural model naively pluralizes knowledge and fails to take on what pedagogy is - a contested process of knowledge production. What gets labeled as multicultural knowledge has to be refigured in relation to the emergence of a particular cultural formation – how an identity or knowledge of 'otherness' is constituted to encounter and produce 'non-Eurocentric' knowledge means at least questioning how systems of colonial governance and knowledge have jostled to maintain a Manichean divide between the same-other, west-rest while desiring/disavowing the multicultural (p. 46)

Inclusion of local, specific knowledge is thus not sufficient or appropriate to counter Eurocentrism or universalism. The proposals are about the role of the relational in the production of knowledge – not just in terms of geographical origin of knowledges but also sociocultural relations, spheres of life and status of disciplines and modes of knowledge production.

2.5.3 Structures and hierarchies

While neoliberal theory proclaims economic growth, democratization, and the free flow of commodities – and thus of commodified knowledge and education – as a result of the economic rationality of the expanding market and global competition, Bourdieu argues that the rationality argument overlooks the structures and dispositions that shape the actions of individuals:

> This tutelary theory is a pure mathematical fiction. From the start it has been founded on a formidable abstraction. For, in the name of a narrow and strict conception of rationality as individual rationality, it brackets the economic and social conditions of rational orientations and the economic and social structures that are the conditions of their application (Bourdieu, 1998c, p. 1).

The relevance of this critique of an understanding of rationality as an individual rationality is evident in the structures of the global field of higher education where economic conditions and a logic of competition rather than individual rationality seem key drivers. This section turns to literature on the global field of higher education to briefly discuss how the ideology is challenged in relation to the ability of the market to ensure rational selection and to ensure a just and global growth and actual democratization, and to outline a strong North-South power structure within the field visible in capital flows, flows of people, and a geographical division in production and consumption of knowledge, which results in a flow of knowledge from the North to the South.

The global ranking lists, of which the first were prepared in 2003 and 2004 (from Shanghai Jiao Tong University and Times Higher Education Supplement) (Marginson, 2007a), visualize these hierarchies of the global market place for knowledge and education through the neoliberal ideal of competition. However, the ranking lists are not merely representations of hierarchies but producers that standardize universities according to the norms of their measures. According to Marginson, "[r]anking exposes universities in every nation to structured global competition that operates on terms that favor some universities and countries and disadvantage others" (Marginson, 2007a, p.

132). The Shanghai list is based on research performance and as a consequence favors universities in English speaking countries because research in English is more published and cited (Marginson, 2007a). The Times HE list includes a reputational survey and internationalization indicators: proportion of international students and proportion of international staff (Marginson, 2007a), which also favors English speaking countries.

It is argued that the result is that a number of wealthy universities located in the global North, mainly in the US, control the academic agenda (Altbach, 2004; Calhoun, 2006) and that it has produced an academic model which now to a large extent serves as an example of ideal practice (Calhoun, 2006; Marginson, 2008), with the result that universities are becoming more and more similar. With internationalization as parameter in the rankings, mobility has become an "influential driver of university policy" (Kenway & Fahey, 2008, p. 162), and universities promote and support mobility for staff and students because of its importance in global positioning and economic productivity (Kenway & Fahey, 2008). However, many universities outside the North are solely teaching universities that rely on the North for production of new knowledge, and therefore academic talent moves towards the centers in the North while knowledge produced in the North flows to the South (Altbach, 2004; Kenway & Fahey, 2008; Marginson, 2008). Critics of the neoliberal impact on the idea and structure of the university therefore argue that the field of higher education reproduces the logics of colonialism because the flow of academic talent and economically privileged students is controlled by the North and not only symbolically supports the power position of the universities in the North, but also becomes part of the system's financial support (Arambewela, 2010; Zemach-Bersin, 2012; Zgaga, 2009), while the flow of knowledge to the South exports Northern epistemologies. The flows of students towards universities in the English-speaking world clearly illustrate the hierarchy. In 2011, approximately 3,15 million students studied abroad. With more than 650.000 international students, the USA was the most frequent destination followed by the UK, Australia, France, Germany and Japan (Barnett et al., 2016).

2.5 Conclusion

At the time when we produced our data, Aarhus University had oriented itself towards a global market of higher education to attract international students and provide the Danish students with international experiences to prepare them for a global labor market. It is a strategy and rhetoric in

line with neoliberal ideology and the university orients itself towards the global hierarchy, but at the same time critical voices challenge the neoliberal idea of the university and of knowledge. The structural and ideological reforms surrounding the Danish university in the period prior to the beginning of our project thus involve changes that may be reflected in the classroom. These are potential changes in the composition of the student cohort, changes in the ideas and purposes of the university and of education, and changes in the knowledge-building process.

In consequence, the programs, the encounters, and the students we will meet in the data are positioned in a hierarchized field and they are potentially shaped by many different, and potentially conflicting, knowledges, goals and ideas about education, which may influence how encounters unfold and how knowledge is recognized, acknowledged and negotiated.

Chapter 3 explores how research in the field of intercultural communication in general and intercultural and international education more specifically has approached inclusion in the classroom and to what extent field relations and changing understandings of knowledge has been taken into consideration.

Chapter 3: Literature review: Intercultural communication and research in encounters in the international classroom

3.1 Introduction

With the given task of using a Bourdieusian theoretical framework to explore how knowledge is recognized, acknowledged and negotiated in the international classroom which I combine with a Levinasian lens to capture encounters that are not symbolic violence, as well as the competing conceptualizations of knowledge present in the neoliberal university in mind, the present chapter explores the positions and findings in the broader discipline of intercultural communication and in research that specifically explores the international classroom and its knowledge.

In his extensive writing about education policy, Rizvi (e.g. Rizvi, 2014; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Rizvi & Walsh, 1998), presents a critique of the universalizing neoliberal discourse that dominates the field of global higher education and results in an instrumental approach to diversity in the university's production of labor market skills. Rizvi stresses that it is not merely a process that unfolds outside the university in the state/market-university relation. It is also a process and an ideology that the university sustains through its curriculum design, which reproduces existing power structures and affects participation:

> [f]avoured ways of representing, speaking and acting, as well as favoured conceptions of knowledge and skills, are the cultural capital of such educational discourse structures which govern and control student engagement with the curriculum. Indeed, the success of students often depends on the extent to which they can orient themselves to the dominant group's educational discourse. Those who either do not understand or resist the dominant discourse become the failures of a system unsympathetic to difference. Some become excluded entirely (Rizvi & Walsh, 1998, pp. 9-10).

While globalization, according to Rizvi, has produced an excluding educational discourse, he also sees it as producing a potential for a global interconnectivity. He therefore proposes a version of cosmopolitanism based on

> "not a universal moral principle, nor a prescription recommending a form of political configuration, but as a mode of learning about and ethically engaging with, new cultural formations [because] if global interconnectivity is now a pervasive socio-cultural condition then teaching about cultural and intercultural relations should no longer be aligned to the requirements of national prejudices, but has to become cosmopolitan with a focus on attempt

to develop in students a set of epistemic virtues with which to understand the dynamics of global transformations" (Rizvi, 2008, p. 21)

Rizvi thus recognizes the tension between the exclusion produced by the dominant discourse of globalization and the including epistemic *potential* for ethical engagement that encounters (in theory) produce.

In an empirical study, Wilken (2007) also focuses on the role of knowledge. While not concerned with the impact of neoliberalism, she explores how knowledge encounters in the classroom in the internationalized university are structured by the students' recognition and misrecognition of each other's knowledge. She draws upon a Bourdieusian framework to discuss encounters in international education as encounters between people not only with different amounts and compositions of capital but also capital accumulated in different, but in theory equal, contexts. According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), the education system reproduces society's structures because the cultural capital communicated and acknowledged by the system is the capital of the dominant classes, and students from these classes therefore have an advantage because their habitus is congruent with the capital of the system. However, Wilken argues that in an international context, the recognition and acknowledgement of knowledge may not just be tied to social class but also to its acquisition and embedding in local contexts which are not recognized outside their original context, and that negotiation of knowledge in the international classroom is embedded in a hierarchy of nationalities which influences what is acknowledged as knowledge.

Together, the studies point to important aspects that need to be incorporated in an investigation of encounters in the classroom: the relevance of a sociology of knowledge to understand how the encounters in the international classroom, and a theoretical lens which can capture both exclusion and reproduction as well as ethical engagement. However, sociology has to a large extent been overlooked in intercultural communication and -education because the field has been dominated by research in psychology (Marginson & Sawir, 2011), but competing paradigms in the field are shifting the focus from the psychology of the individual to a critical focus the relational and to sociocultural relations of power. The project's theoretical framework positions the thesis in this later paradigm.

The review traces this development in both the IC literature and the literature that more specifically discusses encounters in the international classroom and the curriculum of international

education to explore how encounters in the classroom have been researched and addressed in the literature. The first part of the review outlines tendencies associated with the paradigms and the second part explores how encounters in the international classroom and the role of knowledge in the international education have been researched. This is done not only to give an overview of the literature and to position the thesis in the critical paradigm, but also to be able to identify the approaches - their understanding of knowledge and of the other - in the data and to show their implications for inclusion and exclusion in the analysis of encounters.

The selection of literature is based on a combination of strategies. A version of pearl growing (e.g. Papaioannou et al., 2009; Schlosser et al., 2006) which involves starting from a relevant and authoritative source to identify other relevant sources through keywords, citations and references. The starting point was recognized anthologies and studies provided by senior researchers in the group which produced key words for new searches. Moreover, the new literature was checked for relevant references and citations and new keywords were identified in an iterative process. For the first part of the review about the traditions in intercultural communication, the focus is primarily upon anthologies and the main traditions in the field, because this part serves to position the thesis in relation to the main traditions and as foundation for the discussion of the research that more specifically engages with international education. Otherwise, texts were selected for inclusion in the review based on their abstracts, and both empirical and theoretical work was included if it addressed encounters and knowledge in the international classroom and added new perspectives to the traditions and approaches identified.

For the outline of the three main traditions in intercultural communication theory: the functionalist, the interpretive and the critical, I to a large extent draw upon the work of established scholars such as Martin et al. (2014), Halualani and Nakayama (2013), Leeds-Hurwitz (2014), Leeds-Hurwitz (2013) and Dahl (2006) as well as Chen and Lawless (2019) and Tomaselli (2020). After the discussion of the classic approaches, the section also discusses work that call for an intercultural ethics that is open-ended and rests on immanent rather than transcendental grounds. It involves a turn towards Levinasian ethics, and it resonates a call for universities that work towards ethical globalization in response to the dominance of the neoliberal university.

The second section, which reviews the literature about the pedagogy of the international classroom, adopts Margin and Sawir's (2011) division of the work into approaches that refuse the

other and approaches that engage with the other. To illustrate work that engages with the other, I first turn to examples of later intercultural competence models. This is a body of work which distances itself from the essentialist paradigm. However, its critics argue that these models nevertheless rest on some of the basic assumptions of the paradigm and, more importantly, their instrumental purposes as they, in many cases, have been designed to develop students' intercultural competences as required by the labor market. They have been included in the review because of their strong presence in the literature and because they represent the university's incorporation of goals defined outside the university in its curriculum. The review also expands on the "Engaging the Other"-tradition with other relational approaches e.g. pedagogies of discomfort and critical intercultural communication pedagogy.

The third section extends the discussion into curriculum research that identifies approaches to curriculum design in the interntional university. The section follows the structure from the previous sections   moving from instrumental purposes of knowledge to critical-relational understandings.

3.2 Intercultural communication theory

IC as a research field has its origin in North American foreign policy and trade after WW2 when the US government established the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) and hired anthropologists and linguists to train businessmen and government officials taking part in overseas rebuilding efforts (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2013, 2014; Martin et al., 2014). The work at the FSI was interdisciplinary. Anthropologists researched the government, kinship and religious practices of single cultural groups whereas linguists focused on micro-elements of language (Martin et al., 2014). The work developed in an intellectual environment influenced by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis – i.e. "the notion that differences in the way *languages* encode cultural and cognitive categories significantly affect the way people perceive the world" (Martin et al., 2014, p. 18) – and by the work of the anthropologists Mead, Benedict, Bateson and Kluckhohn in the 1930s and 1940s, which led to "a view of peoples within national boundaries as essentially homogenous" (Martin et al., 2014, p. 18).

According to Moon (2013), these core assumptions became highly influential for the development of IC as discipline and its methods (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2013) of comparative approaches

to studies of national culture and its preference for microanalysis at the expense of awareness of structural influences and macro processes.

3.2.1 The functionalist paradigm

According to Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh, IC as field was aparadigmatic in its early years. However, by the mid 1980s the functionalist paradigm had been established as the dominant paradigm within the discipline as IC became increasingly influenced by social psychology (Martin et al., 2014; Moon, 2013). Although its dominant position has been challenged, the paradigm, sometimes also labeled essentialist, neo-essentialist, cultural differentialism, solid approach etc. (e.g.Dervin, 2010, 2011, 2014; Holliday, 2011; Holliday, 2014) is still viable (see 3.2.4).

The paradigm draws upon the work of social theorists such as Comte and Durkheim (Holliday, 2011, 2014; Martin et al., 2014), and it is a basic assumption of the approach that the world consists of empirical facts, which also involves a belief in scientific neutrality, and therefore researchers draw upon models and methods from natural science (Dervin, 2011; Holliday, 2014; Martin et al., 2014).

In this approach, culture is tied to place or language and membership of a culture is exclusive (Holliday, 2014). Culture is seen as a stable variable, and the relationship between culture and communication is considered causal, and it builds on a transmission model of communication. The goal is to build cultural knowledge about the other and become able to predict how culture influences the transmission of messages from sender to receiver in order to overcome the communication barrier that is constituted by culture.

In consequence, the paradigm is characterized by a strong divide between self and other, where the self is understood as autonomous and self-sufficient (Ferri, 2016), and by an epistemological and rational – or even instrumental - approach to the intercultural Other, which also entails an asymmetry in the power relation between self and other, because it involves an overcoming of the other's cultural otherness to be able make an effective transmission of the message.

Representatives of the approach include the "classics" Hall, Oberg, Hofstede, Gudykunst and Kim. Hall and Hall (1990) provide a classic illustration of the paradigm's fundamental assumption of culture as causal and the intercultural encounter as epistemological and rational:

Culture can be likened to a giant extraordinarily complex, subtle computer. Its programs guide the actions and responses of human beings in every walk of life. […] Furthermore, cultural programs will not work if crucial steps are omitted, which happens when people unconsciously apply their own rules to another system (p. 1).

A similar understanding of culture characterizes the influential culture shock model developed by Oberg (1960), where the encounter with a foreign culture after a honeymoon stage and a phase of anxiety and anger can result in adaptation to the foreign culture. Like the work of Hall and Hall, Oberg's model grew out of the encounters between Western middle-class expatriates and a foreign culture, and in spite of a recognition of differences stemming from social class, ethnicity etc., the basic unit of analysis is a national culture produced by the official language, institutions and customs.

Hofstede's (1980) work based on research among IBM employees in forty different countries, although criticized extensively, has been influential or even paradigmatic in the field to the extent that other approaches define themselves in relation to Hofstede and to the extent that Holliday (2011) argues that there is an unrecognized *Hofstedian legacy* in the recent intercultural communication theory that he therefore labels neo-essentialist. Hofstede assumes a universality of cultural value-dimensions and hence comparability across culture. His work rests on the assumption that culture is a stable variable and that research can provide the epistemological certainty about the other necessary to predict behavior.

In Gudykunst and Kim's (1992) *Communication with strangers: An approach to intercultural communication,* the transmission model of communication is revised, and communication is seen as a dialogical process where messages and feedback are sent and received through psycho-cultural, socio-cultural and cultural filters which we have to understand in order to be able to predict the behavior of the Other, and it thus moves beyond the large-scale culture of nationality and recognizes the influences of sociological and psychological factors while continuing to see culture as stable and causal filters of which we can acquire knowledge to help us understand and predict the communicative outcome. While Gudykunst and Kim thus respond to significant aspects of the critique of the functionalist approach, their model relies on an understanding of culture as causal, the intercultural relationship as epistemological addition, a positivist ontology, and the goal of their

model is still the effective transmission of messages across cultural barriers. They therefore remain within the functionalist paradigm.

3.2.2 The interpretive paradigm

IC theory has followed a different path in Europe and especially in Scandinavia, where the interpretive paradigm has been predominant. (Martin et al., 2014). The study of IC in Europe was initially motivated by the social and political challenges caused by immigration, and it focused on the role of language for mutual understanding. Furthermore, IC scholars in Europe also emphasized issues such as attitudes towards cultural others, bicultural identities, cultural variations in communication styles and culture learning (Martin et al., 2014), and, as opposed to the US, where the discipline developed as a communication sub-discipline, IC scholars in Europe primarily came from disciplines such as applied linguistics, linguistics and language education, which to a large extent has resulted in a dominant interpretive paradigm (Martin et al., 2014).

The interpretive paradigm has its roots in phenomenology and, according to Dahl (2006), the phenomenological approach paved the way for other approaches including semiotics, constructivist and social constructivist approaches, poststructuralist approaches, practice theory and the hermeneutic approach. As opposed to the functionalist paradigm, the basic ontological assumptions is that culture and meaning are socially constructed in a reciprocal relationship between culture and communication (Dahl, 2006). Hence communication is no longer seen as a means for transmitting messages from sender to receiver. Instead, communication becomes a social process in which meaning and culture are created and transformed. Inspired by Gadamer's concept of horizon of understanding as "the range of vision that includes everything that can be seen from a particular vantage point" (Gadamer 2000 in Dahl, 2006, p. 17), communication in intercultural encounters is understood as exchanges between people with individual horizons of understanding that constantly change and expand as result of the encounters.

Whereas the functionalist paradigm rests on a logic of effectiveness, the driving force behind the interpretive paradigm can be said to be "understanding" or movement towards consensus. IC *understanding* is seen as a fusion of horizons of understanding through negotiation of frames of reference (Dahl, 2006; Martin et al., 2014), and it is thus to a larger extent an experiential

relationship between self and other rather than an epistemological overcoming of cultural barriers to ensure communicative success.

The goal of research within this paradigm is thus to describe lived experience and the construction of meaning and social reality from the point of view of those involved instead of prediction of a culture-bound behavior to ensure efficient intercultural communication. Examples of the approach include Svane's "The Intersection between Culture, Social Structures, and the Individual-in-Interaction" and Nynäs' "Interpretative Models of Estrangement and Identification" both published in Dahl, Jensen and Nynäs's *Bridges of Understanding: Perspectives on Intercultural Communication* (2006). Another example is Jensen's (2003) "The practice of intercultural communication – reflections for professionals in intercultural meetings". They draw upon Gadamer's idea of the horizon of understanding, and according to Nynäs, the hermeneutic approach moves beyond the functionalist understanding of intercultural communication as linguistic and cultural translation across schematic differences to an emphasis upon mutual understanding as "a decisive base of intercultural communication" (Nynäs, 2006, p. 23).

Nynäs argues that the problem to be understood in intercultural communication practice and research "is not about sending, receiving, and de-coding messages in different cultural settings, but about the fact that these particular processes of understanding are dependent on attitudes and relations embodied in interpretative processes" (Nynäs, 2006, p. 27). While cultural differences are relevant, it is the creation and transformation of stereotypes and how they are made use of that is most significant in the process (Nynäs, 2006, p. 27), and it is necessary, according to Nynäs, to look beyond the linear understanding of communication as transmission of messages and translation of messages across cultures, to move beyond the understanding of language as representation to an understanding of language as action and to focus on the encounter itself (Nynäs, 2006, p. 27). According to Nynäs, *fusion of horizons* means an extension or opening of our horizon to encompass the new, encountered horizon, which can result in common ideas, values and opinions or common meanings and common frames of reference (Nynäs, 2006, pp. 31-32).

Jensen (2003) also draws upon the concept *horizon of understanding* to develop a dynamic model of intercultural communication. However, Jensen also takes the actors' experience of social status in a globalized world into account. In the model, the actor's cultural self-perception and cultural presuppositions about the other are products of the actor's particular position of

experience and they influence the intercultural encounter but also change and expand because of it. With the focus on the impact of social position in a globalized world, Jensen's model could also have been included in the critical paradigm, and, as the next section shows, the two paradigms have significant overlaps.

3.2.3 The critical paradigm

According to Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh (2014), the 1990s involved a convergence of perspectives as IC in the US began to involve interpretive and critical perspectives. Both perspectives share the ontological assumption that reality is socially constructed, but the critical perspective sees culture as a site of struggle both between different ideologies and global and local power relations which shape and limit human agency (Chen & Lawless, 2019; Martin et al., 2014). Communication is neither seen as neutral transmission of messages across cultural boundaries as in the functionalist paradigm or as a movement towards understanding as in the interpretive paradigm, nor in Halualani and Nakayama's (2013) words as "some equalizing, neutral channel of expression" (7). Rather, it is seen as articulation, or coming into being, of meanings, practices, structures etc. from particular locations, vested with different degrees of power that are not necessarily constituted by solid identities but by relative positions (Halualani & Nakayama, 2013, p. 7).

The critical paradigm has an emancipatory purpose, and it is both concerned with the injustices produced by global power structures and their impact upon intercultural encounters, but also to a large extent with the injustices produced by unrecognized ideological biases in theorization. Therefore, the critical paradigm also involves a critique of significant aspects of the functionalist paradigm. From the critical perspective, it is argued that the functionalist approaches assist in the maintenance of stereotypes through its focus on the nation as basic unit of analysis (Martin & Nakayama, 2013; Martin et al., 2014). Culture understood as nation is, in the critical paradigm, considered an ideologically driven theoretical construct that has its roots in nineteenth century nationalism, and as an approach that does not recognize the complexity of culture or the constant negotiations of borders, identities and meanings (Martin & Nakayama, 2013; Ono, 1998, 2013).

The critical paradigm can be divided into two main approaches: critical humanism and critical structuralism (Holliday, 2011; Martin & Nakayama, 2013). The critical humanist approach shares the understanding of human agency as essentially free with the interpretive paradigm, but it is to some

extent limited by dominant discourses and material conditions. Research focus within the paradigm is upon "the possibility of changing uneven, differential ways of constructing and understanding other cultures" (Martin & Nakayama, 2013, p. 61). Critical structuralism, on the other hand, places greater emphasis upon objective structural relationships, and in this approach, emancipation starts in a critique of dominant structures (Holliday, 2011; Martin & Nakayama, 2013). With the given task of drawing upon Bourdieu's sociology which recognizes the structuring influences of the larger field upon practices, the thesis is positioned in this approach. However, Bourdieu's work is less suitable when it comes to capturing encounters that are not defined by struggle or *symbolic violence*. A strand in intercultural communication theory, Levinasian intercultural ethics has potential to complement the work of Bourdieu to form a theoretical framework which can capture both practices of symbolic violence as well as practices of open-ended conceptual schemes and engagement. It is formulated both against the essentialist identity construct of the functionalist paradigm and the movement towards consensus found in the interpretive paradigm. As an ethics, it formulates an "ought" regarding intercultural encounters and as such, it does not formulate a methodology, but a position on how to engage with the other in intercultural encounters, which I adopt. I turn to this strand in the following section.

3.2.3.1 Towards an immanent intercultural ethics

Both the interpretive and the critical paradigm have addressed the problems associated with the focus on large-scale culture, such as nationality, religion or ethnicity, as basic units of analysis characteristic of the functionalist approaches, but the idea of communicative convergence underpinning "understanding" in the interpretive approach remains largely unchallenged, although Holliday's (2011) warning against the tendency to universalize the ideal of understanding can be extended to this approach as well. These issues are addressed in discussions that propose an immanent intercultural ethics based on the philosophy of Emmanuel Levinas. Levinas understands the relationship to the other as a relationship that comes before the instrumental relationship and is affective and creative. Like the interpretive approach, Levinas's work has roots in the phenomenological tradition. I discuss two publications that draw upon Levinas's ethical philosophy to develop an intercultural ethics: MacDonald and O'Regan's "The Ethics of Intercultural

Communication" from 2012 and Ferri's "Ethical Communication and Intercultural Responsibility: a Philosophical Perspective" from 2014.

MacDonald and O'Regan argue that IC discourse constitutes a "totality" or "metaphysics of presence" that contradicts its purpose of recognition of difference. They propose a critical-transformational ethics based on immanent rather than transcendental grounds. They show that the ethical imperative that is (implicitly) present in IC theories contradicts the goal of recognition of the other because it is combined with an ideal of transformation of the consciousness of the intercultural speaker towards hybridity and harmonious co-existence, which ultimately implies a Hegelian movement towards wholeness and erasure of difference in a universal consciousness. Moreover, MacDonald and O'Regan argue that in their critique of e.g. "neo-conservatives, nationalist political parties and fundamentalist groups of any religious persuasion" (p. 5), interculturalists frequently appeal to apparently transcendental truths. This raises the question: "To what extent can a critical transformational discourse refuse to engage in a transformational dialogue with these others; and closely related to this, on what ethical grounds might it assert preference for its claims over the claims of these others?" (p. 5). The result, according to MacDonald and O'Regan is a moral contradiction similar to the one found in Kantian thinking where the moral ground is a transcendental signified, i.e. it cannot be experienced. However, without immanent grounding, truth claims are reduced to opinions, which renders responses to the acts of the other ethically inconsistent.

To address these problems in IC discourse, MacDonald and O'Regan turn to Levinas, who sees such totalizing grounding as the root of violence and terror. To Levinas, the relation with the other is the source of the self, and MacDonald and O'Regan draw upon this understanding to explore the possibility of a non-totalizing relationship with the other. Here, maintenance of distance is, as opposed to the Hegelian movement towards a universal consciousness, fundamental. As described by many interculturalists, it is a relationship accomplished through language. However, whereas the approach found in IC discourse, where culture is a "contextualization of *a priori* linguistic systems" , to Levinas, language arises from the immanent relation to the other and realizes this relation as speech.

To address the other problem, the implicit appeal to transcendental truths, MacDonald and O'Regan draw upon Levinas's understanding of ethics as preceding ontology as first philosophy,

which stands in opposition to the IC concern with knowledge and functionality. Here, ethics disrupts ontological knowledge about the other because in the relation, the other cannot be reduced to a concept or a theme which thus grounds the ethical in the immanent relationship.

In conclusion, MacDonald and O'Regan argue that a discourse ethics, based on the theories of Derrida and Levinas, provides the grounds for refusing engagement with the other "when that other presents itself as received and final" (MacDonald & O'Regan, 2012).

Ferri (2014) critiques IC theory in general and IC competence theory in particular for being grounded in the idea of an autonomous rational moral agent found in Kantian ethical thinking and proposes a Levinasian distinction between *the saying* and *the said* to develop a new IC ethical framework. When the moral agent is rational and autonomous and can be held responsible for his moral actions in essentialist discourse, it is because it builds on the idea that the identification and categorization of the Other lead to transparent communication and thus ignores the processual, negotiated and situated character of communication.

Instead, Ferri turns to postmodern ethics, involving a reversal of the autonomy of the moral subject and a recognition of the obligation towards the other found in Levinasian thinking. In particular, she draws upon Levinas's distinction between *the said* and *the saying.*

According to Ferri, Levinas describes experience as unfolding in the diachronic and the synchronic temporalities. In the synchronic, *the said,* consciousness organizes experiences into past, present and future and categorizes and identifies experience through language. To acknowledge and identify a being is to pronounce it and to organize it into the historical and cultural horizon in which the self is situated. *The saying*, on the other hand, operates beyond categorization. It interrupts synchronicity through the encounter with the other. The saying is thus a temporality that allows a phenomenon to appear to consciousness before it is absorbed by the said:

> "*the saying* needs *a said* in order to be processed by consciousness, but it dwells in *the said* as an irreducible remainder of difference between the content expressed in *the said* and what escapes categorization. […]. The presence of *the saying* underlying *the said* challenges the idea of the transparency of language. […]. When the other is encountered in this modality, *the saying* is expressed in the form of the uncertainty of open-ended dialogue" (2014).

According to Ferri, IC essentialist discourse can be conceptualized as *the said*, understood as tolerance of the other, which ultimately involves totalization of meaning "where the intention of the speaking subject is […]exhausted in the speech act", whereas a Levinasian approach brings about *the saying* through open-ended dialogue that "defers the process of consensus and closure of meaning into the totality of being" (Ferri, 2014, p. 10). Ferri concludes that in IC, *the said* thus involves that beings remain in their own cultural horizon, whereas the saying shows the interdependency of the self and the other as partners in dialogue.

3.2.4 The thesis and the discipline of intercultural communication

With the given task of using a Bourdieusian theoretical framework, the thesis contributes to the critical paradigm. As Marginson and Sawir (2011) point out, sociology was for a long time absent from intercultural communication studies and Bourdieu's structuralist-constructivist perspective (e.g. Bourdieu, 1989, p. 14) offers an approach that through its theorization of the relationship between structure, habitus and practice can encompass the relationship between the ideology that dominates the field of power and the knowledge forms promoted and produced in the university, as well as account for the unfolding of encounters in the international classroom.In research into the international classroom, it means that his concepts are suitable in an analysis of *symbolic violence* and experiences of exclusion and struggle. It is, however, less suitable to capture realization of the ethical potential identified by Rizvi or of the recognition of other knowledges. The thesis therefore also draws upon a Levinasian ethics that challenges identification and closed conceptual schemes from a critical-transformational position.

A central task of the thesis is to develop an approach that contains the two perspectives theoretically and methodologically and a central contribution of the thesis to intercultural communication theory lies in this work. By combining Bourdieu and Levinas, the hope is to achieve an approach that can explore the interplay between structuring conditions and the immanent ethical aspects of the encounter with the other, as well as a language to describe the structures of the *Said*. It involves reflection on how to translate ethical ideas into empirical research methods and to move Bourdieu's ideas developed in a national context into an international domain to analyze encounters "beyond" or "more than" encounters between large scale culture representatives. This entails that the intercultural and diversity is reconceptualized from encounters between national or

cultural representatives to relationally and contextually constituted identities by drawing upon the survey carried out by Wilken which also identifies social class, international profile, educational strategies, and mobility strategies among the students participating in international programs at Aarhus University. Encounters - and recognition, acknowledgement, and negotiation of knowledge - are thus understood as unfolding in a complex social space where experiences, expectations, and social hierarchies are considered as structuring aspects as well as the encounter with otherness.

3.3 International Education

From the position outlined above, the chapter now turns to international education as a subfield of intercultural communication. The following sections discuss research in intercultural pedagogy and curriculum internationalization to explore how inclusion and exclusion in the international classroom has been researched in the central literature.

3.3.1 Encountering the Other in the International Classroom

In an extensive review of the literature on intercultural aspects of international education, Marginson and Sawir (2011) identify two main approaches. They define the approaches by the type of relation to the other they describe and produce. They call them "Refusing the Other" and "Engaging with the Other" where constructivist ontologies and critical-relational analysis is found in the last approach. This division is in line with how the present research is positioned and it is therefore adopted here.

"Refusing the Other" is research and practice mainly based on cross-cultural psychology. It is an approach that rests upon the essentialist ontology of the functionalist paradigm and imply a developmental trajectory as acquisition of skills rather than a relational understanding of identity. According to Marginson and Sawir, studies within the approach tend to rely on surveys, they overlook specific experiences, and they draw upon concepts from the host culture. Moreover, the literature treats the host culture as stable while the sojourners apply adaptation strategies. Marginson and Sawir argue that it is a conceptualization of learning as a process of incremental progression, but they point out that the literature has not delivered a single study that could confirm the hypothesis. According to Marginson and Sawir, the result is that adjustment and integration

become ethnocentric notions in public policy as they are defined solely from the perspective and interests of the host culture. The consequence is a reproduction of "the culturally essentialist (if not racist) logic that locks into the stereotyping and segregation of sojourner populations" (2011, p. 34). Even though they identify a strand of cross-cultural research that is more promising and point to the presence of plural identities in students and to student sojourners' potential for active agency in the adaptation process (e.g. Hullett & Witte, 2001; Leong & Ward, 2000), they conclude that cross-cultural psychology is producing "static and normalizing concepts" which are used to analyze dynamic processes of cultural formation and interpersonal relations. They criticize it for furthering cultural essentialism and ethnocentrism, which results in barriers between internationals and locals and prevents practice from developing into more productive approaches. According to Marginson and Sawir, the problem is therefore political as well as methodological, because it uses static categories and prioritizes cultural uniformity over cultural diversity. Essentially, the literature in this approach is embedded in a chauvinism that views Western education as superior, and it therefore tends to assume that only the international students gain from international education.

"Engaging the Other" is research that conceptualizes the intercultural relationship beyond principles of adjustment and instead sees it as a product of the convergence and integration following from globalization (Marginson & Sawir, 2011, p. 53). They locate this tradition in disciplines outside psychology. It involves cosmopolitan cultural analysis where the focus is "not simply on individual persons but on the larger relational space in which individual personality and behavior [...] are played out" (Marginson & Sawir, 2011, p. 54).

They identify two strands of cosmopolitan thought, namely globalism and relational cosmopolitanism. Both strands are formulated as answers to the problem of Kantian liberal universalism: that it is "grounded in a particular worldview [but] presupposes that all cultural groups share similar moral outlooks" (Marginson & Sawir, 2011, p. 50). Marginson and Sawir largely discard globalism on the grounds of its utopian claiming of independence from "*all* particular national and cultural traditions" (Marginson & Sawir, 2011, p. 54), which translates into an ability to communicate effectively with people from all cultures without privileging any specific cultures. In the approach, they identify an idea of progression towards higher and higher enlightenment, i.e. a movement towards closure, as discussed by MacDonald and O'Regan (2012).

The intercultural competence models which have been highly visible in the intercultural communication literature are examples of this strand of cosmopolitan thought where the aim is to develop skills to communicate effectively with people from all cultures. Intercultural communication competence is not a new concept (see e.g. Deardorff, 2006 for further references). However, for the present purpose, I am concerned with a particular construction of intercultural competence, which has gained much attention. It is models of intercultural competence produced under the second wave of neoliberalism that distance themselves from the essentialist paradigm. Holliday (2011, 2014) and Moon (2008) argue that under the first wave of neoliberalism, the functionalist approaches served the period's need for accountability. The models can be seen as serving a similar purpose as "competence" in the period's education policy is a response to labor market needs as Nielsen and Sarauw (2012) point out.

The instrumental orientation of the frameworks is visible both in the motivation behind the research and in their focus on measurability. The ICOPROMO project (Intercultural Competence for Professional Mobility) (Glaser et al., 2007) has as its goal is to educate "undergraduate and graduate students […] who are preparing for their professional careers [and] managers and employees […] who are preparing to work in different cultural surroundings or who need to develop language and cultural awareness to cope with the intercultural workplace" (Glaser et al., 2007, pp. 11-12). Similarly, Deardorff' (2006) presents research conducted to address the lack of definition of IC competence in higher education and to take "the first crucial step towards measurement" (p. 242) which points to the instrumental orientation of the frameworks.

Critics of the models argue that they, despite their claim of the opposite, remain in an essentialist ontology. Holliday (2011) characterizes the models as neo-essentialist because they assume previous socialization to be mono-cultural (e.g. Glaser et al., 2007, p. 16) and Ferri (2016) argues that their notion of mono-culturality is rooted in the Kantian ideal of autonomy. She shows that the competence models are grounded in autonomy because the competent intercultural speaker can predict and control the outcome of an intercultural encounter by using the acquired skills. Moreover, she argues that competence training is designed to fit the needs of the subject receiving training, and as result, the Other is not involved in defining the process. The essentialist ontology is also visible in their desired outcome which is described as transformative, cf. the ICOPROMO model (Glaser et al., 2007). However, it differs from the mode discussed above in the

interpretive approach, where transformation and understanding refer to the negotiation of meaning and cultural identity. Instead, transformation in the competence models, as Ferri (2016) points out, refers to the changed awareness of cultural difference the subject undergoes through the acquisition of communicative skills.

The theories thus remain essentialist, and the relationship between the subject and the other an epistemological overcoming. This is also evident in the movement towards a "third space" or cultural "hybrid", which in the ICOPROMO project is described in terms such as "shared understanding" (Glaser et al., 2007, p. 32), perspective-taking, which "presupposes the capacity to see things from somebody else's position" (Glaser et al., 2007, p. 35), and empathy understood as "getting inside another person's skin, thinking as the other person thinks and feeling what the other person feels" (Byram, 1989, p. 89 35 in; Glaser et al., 2007). The result in the ICOPROMO model is to move towards an "interculture" (Glaser et al., 2007, p. 37) understood as the "optimal distance" (Glaser et al., 2007, p. 37) between native culture and target culture.

While their identity construct remains essentialist, knowledge has undergone an ontological and epistemological change in the competence theories. The premise behind the competence models is that cultural knowledge is local and tacit, and it is recognized that such knowledge cannot be communicated explicitly: "Current models of communication acknowledge that it is not feasible for all information associated with a message to be encoded in language; a large amount has to be inferred by drawing on background knowledge" (Spencer-Oatey & Stadler, 2009, p. 24). Hence, competence is the ability to decode and employ such knowledge. In consequence, the process of acquisition of knowledge becomes experiential rather than rational. However, despite the surface likeness to the hermeneutic approaches, it is a process of acquisition and compromise rather than co-construction, as it is also implied in the discussion of "third space" above.

The inclusion of the intercultural relation in an instrumental epistemology hence rests upon an essentialism which excludes the Other on two parameters: as contributor in knowledge construction and through the rejection of relational identity, despite an emphasis upon experiential knowledge and the movement towards "hybridity". The competence models thus share the asymmetric emphasis upon the subject with the traditional functionalist models while at the same time using the overcoming of the cultural barrier to establish understanding. Hence, understanding in the competence models is not achieved as a merger of communicative positions as it was the case

in the interpretive approach, but as an epistemological relation while dependency upon tacit knowledge gives the theories a surface likeness to the hermeneutic approaches. This is e.g. seen in the description of ethical decision making processes:

> Therefore, in such situations, intercultural competencies are challenged up to the point that a balance between the respect for one's dispositions, beliefs, principles, values and moral standards and one's attitudinal and behavior change is reached and is equally acceptable for all participants (Glaser et al., 2007, p. 29).

The ability to communicate effectively with all cultures without privileging any specific cultures, which according to Marginson and Sawir (2011) defines Globalism, is thus tied to the ability to engage in compromise in this version. The compromise, in other words, substitutes Kantian universalism.

Instead, Marginson and Sawir (2011) argue for relational cosmopolitanism. It describes a space in which "locality, nationality, changing cultural identity, and global systems and imaginings are all at play" (p. 54). Following Rizvi, Marginson and Sawir argue that in education, it translates into not "a universal moral principle, nor a prescription recommending a form of political configuration, but […] a mode of learning about, and ethically engaging with, new cultural formations." (Marginson & Sawir, 2011, p. 55). A cosmopolitan approach to international education is both empirical and normative in the sense that it both involves empirical understandings of the consequences brought on by global transformations and discusses how we should approach these transformations.

Cosmopolitan education, according to Marginson and Sawir, thus has as its goal to foster the human capacity to engage with, understand and manage a diversity of cultural positions and perhaps to change. They see the strengths of this approach as, first, that it involves "standpoint epistemology" (Marginson & Sawir, 2011, p. 60), meaning that it recognizes that from each standpoint, the world is seen differently and that knowledge based on one standpoint is incomplete; second, that it involves a sociology, which they see as offering a rich environment for personal development. Their key argument is that the relational aspects of intercultural education, which have been downplayed by the focus on psychology, calls for more attention.

Similar ideas have entered the field from many different positions. Spiro (2014) proposes that instead of approaches that either aim at integration, which may erase cultural distinctiveness, or de facto result in exclusion of the international students, communities of practice characterized by reciprocity between members, exchange of information and ideas and shared goals may provide a pedagogic approach that results in inclusion of the international student. Levinasian ethics has also entered the literature about the international classroom. Coate (2009) argues for a Levinasian approach to inclusion as a response to an intercultural pedagogy that is based on the assumption that we have knowledge about the learning style of the international student because we have knowledge about their cultural background. Coate sees the deficit model of international students and the idea that their otherness is epistemologically available as an ethically dubious discourse that also has the consequence of preventing the university from benefitting from the presence of international students, except in economic terms. Instead, she proposes an approach resting on the Levinasian *hesitation before the other*, which means to postpone interpretation based on one's own perspective.

From a parallel field, "pedagogies of discomfort" (e.g. Boler, 2004; Zaliwska & Boler, 2018; Zembylas, 2015), which "aim to disrupt emotional habits and equilibrium in searching of reevaluating attachments to rigid notions of self and the world" Boler (2004), develops an approach which shares a number of understandings with the intercultural ethics of MacDonald and O'Regan (2012) and Ferri (2014). They share a relational understanding of the subject, argue for a disavowal of mastery and coherence (Zembylas, 2015) and they problematize affective education and conceptualizations of hope that serve to protect against what they see as neoliberalism's dehumanizing effect (Zaliwska & Boler, 2018) which may suggest a position in line with the critique of the totalizing tendencies of essentialist and neo-essentialist approaches above, and the fictions of wholeness in intercultural communication discourse. Critical intercultural communication pedagogy emphasizes the importance of understanding that intercultural encounters unfold in historical, political and economic contexts and structures that need to be analyzed and understood (Chen & Lawless, 2019). According to Sobre (2017), the classroom should function as consciousness-raising to transform such structures

With the double theoretical lens developed in the project, it is the aim to build on these critiques that are primarily theoretical and explore empirically under which structural conditions an ethical engagement can unfold.

3.3.2 Knowledge in the International Classroom

With the given task of researching how knowledge is recognized, acknowledged, and negotiated in the international classroom as well as the recognition of the changing and competing knowledges present in the neoliberal university, the following section turns to literature that focuses on knowledge in the international classroom. The theoretical framework developed in the thesis as well as the call for approaches that can produce ethical encounters in the classroom (implicitly) rest on a recognition of the positioned nature of knowledge and the role of the relational in recognizing and negotiating knowledge in the classroom and the literature is reviewed from this position. Literature with a knowledge-focus is primarily curriculum literature that researches what is taught in international education. The purpose of the section is twofold: Besides identifying gaps in existing research, the section also outlines the approaches to curriculum internationalization identified in existing research to be able to identify them in the data.

The knowledge-focused literature identifies patterns similar to the patterns identified in the sections above with purposes divided between instrumental and critical approaches on the one hand, and ontologies divided between essentialist and constructivist understandings on the other. Edwards et al. (2003) read internationalization of higher education as a response to globalization and its threat to national economic, social and political harmony (p. 185). They identify two sources of motivation behind curriculum internationalization: a pragmatic motivation "providing a way of gaining or entrenching competitive advantage by offering a curriculum that is relevant to a larger number of students worldwide, or an ideological motivation, where it is perceived as important to give graduates lifelong learning skills for the largely unknown but increasingly inter-related world of the future" (p. 183). Both driving motivations behind curriculum internationalization are thus instrumental in their orientation, although the first originates in the competitive needs of universities and the other in a focus on the needs of the students in the global labor market. Identifying purposes, Aktas, Pitts, Richards and Silova (2017) divide curriculum internationalization into three main categories, which also includes a critical purpose. In their terminology, global

citizenship-education is either neoliberal and oriented towards labor market participation, radical and oriented towards analysis of the global structures that sustain global inequality, or critical and aiming at teaching interconnectivity, and problematizing existing power structures to let the students realize their own role in reproducing them.

As ways of overcoming the conflict between local and foreign actors in international education and achieve internationalization of the curriculum, proposed strategies from the knowledge-focused approaches move from implied conceptualizations of knowledge as transferable objects to knowledge as co-constructed in communicative mergers of position and to knowledge as what could be called critical-relational. In one end of the spectrum, research has identified examples of lecturers reluctant to further develop their courses because they regard their content as universal in nature (Crosling et al., 2008), an understanding of curriculum internationalization as standardization to offer the courses in several locations (Crosling et al., 2008), strategies aimed at bringing international students to the same level as the local students (Haigh, 2002), education about cultural pluralism through courses about other cultures (Haigh, 2002), courses that change focus from knowledge about local conditions to a focus on international relations (e.g. international business and politics) (Crosling et al., 2008). These are all approaches to curriculum internationalization that can be characterized as content oriented. Like the functionalist approach, they assume an object-like nature of the transmitted message and an additive understanding of knowledge building. However, while the functionalist theories in intercultural communication rest on an understanding of the intercultural relationship as essentialist and epistemological, these approaches focus on differences in knowledge base as the problem and hence on transmission and acquisition of knowledge as strategy in the internationalized curriculum. However, from a critical perspective, it is an approach which also potentially involves a rejection of the other's contribution because of the finite and universal character of knowledge and the asymmetric power relationship between sender and receiver, which places the international student in a deficit position as passive receiver of knowledge.

The universalizing tendency is critiqued from a number of positions in the research. However, many – especially earlier critiques – propose a curriculum based on epistemological relations. Critiquing the ideological and geopolitical bias of the content-oriented approaches, Haigh (2002) e.g. points out that there has been a tendency towards a white male dominance in curriculum

design, which has resulted in the association of the international student with underperformance. Haigh suggests either bicultural education, where students build competence in at least two traditions (p. 57), or multicultural education (p. 57) understood as sustained interaction with other cultural groups to move beyond the deficit view of the international student. He thus proposes a finite epistemology of overcoming the other's difference. Recognizing the dangers, he notes that when members of different cultural groups work together, "[p]articipants do no more than build a neutral working relationship that lies inoffensively between different not understood norms. The risk of trying to teach multicultural skills directly is that of stereotyping. It may be better to develop generic skills, designed to enable students to adapt to what ever social milieu they encounter" (p. 57). This is similar to the idea of "third space" or "globalism" as identified by Marginson and Sawir (2011) and thus exemplifies neo-essentialism and an instrumental epistemology both in its critique and recommendation of a focus on generic skills.

To meet the competition logics and the wish to develop students' labor market skills in a neoliberal economy, Edwards et al. (2003) propose an understanding of curriculum internationalization as a staged process, and they develop a typology consisting of three levels with the objective of assisting students' development of an intercultural and international literacy. As the students move through the stages of the process, their "perspectives need to change and to some extent, views that may be monocultural in nature require transformation as their international literacy develops" (p. 187). Their first level, international awareness, involves exposure to international examples and perspectives to increase the students' awareness of the diverse cultural origins of knowledge and its different application in different cultural settings" (p. 188). Level 2, international competence, involves cross-cultural interaction, where students are expected to take the perspective of other countries and develop solutions that are suitable in other cultural settings. Level 3, international expertise, aims to "consolidate the international literacy that has been developed through the previous two levels, [and to make the graduates] feel local everywhere while still being attached to their home culture" (p. 191). Like the neo-essentialist frameworks, the approach is premised on a neoliberal interpretation of globalization as potential threat that requires orientation towards a competitive international labor market. Moreover, while Edwards et al. identify a need to move beyond monocultural views, their approach remains grounded in essentialism, seeks to build ontological knowledge about the other and can ultimately be seen as a

rejection of difference: While the first level is similar to the content internationalization and understanding of communication as transmission of knowledge-objects, which ignores or rejects the other, the second and third levels are based on the idea of knowledge acquisition through communicative transactions. Although it shifts the asymmetric communicative relation towards the other, knowledge remains ontological knowledge about the other. Similarly, the transformation of the student is a transformation of awareness of cultural difference and development of finite skills rather than identity transformation or a relational construction of knowledge. In effect, the approach still promotes an instrumental relation to the other. Furthermore, the proposal remains underpinned by a metaphysics of presence and a movement towards consensus as discussed by MacDonald and O'Regan (2012). This is seen in the epistemological movement towards expertise anchored in ontological knowledge of cultural categories and the erasure of distance in the ideal of third space.

In contrast, Singh and Shrestha (2008) engage with difference by introducing the concept "double knowing" to develop an interpretive approach. By double-knowing, they mean the position of international students as partakers in "the intellectual life of at least two societies" (Singh & Shrestha, 2008, p. 66) from which "knowledge from different cultures is intertwined and understood through, and in relation to each other" (Singh & Shrestha, 2008, p. 68). This form of relational engagement with difference in the international curriculum opens for knowledge building without the movement towards a metaphysics of presence. Similar ideas also drive Rizvi's response to the dominance of neoliberal discourse in the university. In his version of cosmopolitanism, the role of education should be to "[enable] students to recognize that while particular forms of global interconnectivity already exist, they need to be critically elaborated in search of more humane, just and democratic alternatives" (p. 27). This is thus both an education oriented towards an empirical understanding of global interconnectivity and an ethical orientation to Rizvi (2009, p. 263), and he argues that learning about interconnectivity should become cosmopolitan in the sense of being relational and dynamic rather than a learning about "some generalised principles of cosmopolitanism, global citizenship, or indeed the skills required in the global economy" (Rizvi, 2008, p. 29). Situatedness and positionality of knowledge are key elements of cosmopolitan learning, but he is critical towards the experiential approach found in much curriculum internationalization as e.g. study abroad programs because he believes that such knowledge lacks

the "critical understanding of the new global configurations of economic and cultural exchange" (p. 31). Rizvi's proposal thus involves an epistemological change towards relational and dynamic learning.

The relational is also central to e.g. Kahn and Agnew (2017). Starting from an understanding of knowledge as a collectively produced, shared resource that flows through systems and networks and is evaluated for its performance potential rather than for what it is, they argue that a global approach to learning should emphasize the process of learning. It involves a deconstruction of viewpoints, learning to see from the other's position and a "relational thinking that forms student, topics, and classrooms into global nodes of interaction" (p. 58). While they include the role of the relational in learning, an ontology of knowledge is absent.

Madge, Raghuram and Noxolo (2013) point to the connection between the perception of knowledge and the perception of the international students' agency. They argue that it is possible to move beyond the deficit view of the international student by viewing the international student as part of an emerging global elite with significant "agency in transforming the institutions and environments in which they are placed" (Madge et al., 2014, p. 7). This agency depends upon a knowledge which, in turn, relies on mobility for its production:

> as a necessary part of intellectual production, then the mobile intellectual is not an outsider who contributes to pre-given knowledges which have territorial affiliations, rather mobile intellectuals are inherent to that knowledge production itself [and] it is not adequate for receiving institutions and their HE cultures to simply demand that international students conform to pre-existing structures, knowledge formations and curriculums, but their right to critique and alter the receiving institutions and their systems is also immanent. This is because 'contribution naively presupposes the merit of the order to which one is supposed to contribute something. It is precisely the merit of the order that is to be questioned' (Adorno, 2009, p. 161 in Madge et al., 2014, pp. 7-8).

They summarize the change as a turn from a focus on the "international student" to a focus on "international study", and it thus parallels Ferri's idea of a turn from *the said* to *the saying* in ethical intercultural encounters as it is a conceptualization of knowledge which, with its emphasis on mobility, not only includes the other in knowledge production but relies on the other.

The literature has thus identified a number of purposes behind and approaches to curriculum internationalization ranging from essentialist to constructivist approaches and from

instrumental to critical-relational purposes. While it has identified both a concern with knowledge-biases and intercultural learning and delivers a call for a critical consideration of the ideologies employed in curriculum design, a recognition of the university's role in reproducing dominant ideologies, and an emerging focus on the ontology of knowledge at play, the interplay between knowledges and student practices in the classroom in the neoliberal university is empirically unexplored.

3.3.3 The thesis and internationalization literature

In relation to the internationalization literature, the aim of the thesis is twofold. Firstly, the thesis empirically explores if the encounters of inclusion called for under the critical approaches take place and what structural conditions enable them. Secondly, it changes focus from language, culture, and identity to knowledge as vehicle in analyses of inclusion. As discussed above, knowledge is in focus in the curriculum literature. However, it's role in encounters in the classroom remains undertheorized and lacks empirical exploration.

3.4 Conclusion: Seeing encounters in a double perspective

Having outlined the traditional paradigms in intercultural communication theory, a call for a Levinasian intercultural ethics, and discussed research that more specifically addresses the international classroom, it is time to position the thesis in relation to the literature.

By combining Bourdieusian sociology and Levinasian ethics, the thesis is positioned within the critical paradigm and it reflects the call for a Levinasian intercultural ethics as it aims to contribute to intercultural communication theory with a critical-relational approach to encounters as unfolding between violence as power and violence as the opposite of power which thus means that it understands practices between structural conditions and encounters with otherness that potentially challenges the cultural arbitraries produced and reproduced by the structural conditions.

Within this framework, the empirical part of the thesis addresses a gap identified when reviewing the literature where inclusion is researched with a focus on identity and language and the role of knowledge within encounters to a large extent is absent, and neither fully conceptualized nor researched empirically.

With the double theoretical framework, the thesis proposes an investigation that recognizes that practices in the international classroom unfold in relation to a larger field structured around

competing ontologies and epistemologies of the university where inclusion and exclusion are researched as practices of recognizing, acknowledging and negotiating knowledge. The thesis therefore reconceptualizes diversity from a focus on culture, identity and language to a focus on the knowledge habitus of the participants. The following problem statement, which has already been introduced in Chapter 1, guides the thesis:

On the basis of an empirical investigation of three international programs at Aarhus University, the purpose of the thesis is to examine inclusion and exclusion in the neoliberal university as processes of recognition, acknowledgement and negotiation of knowledge between epistemologies of usefulness and ethics using a double theoretical lens based on Bourdieu's educational sociology and Levinas' moral philosophy. By combining Levinasian ethics and Bourdieu's educational sociology, the structural and epistemological conditions surrounding encounters in the international classroom in the neoliberal university can be explored to further the understanding of if, when and how inclusion as non-subsumptive encounters take place.

Chapter 4: Analytical framework

4.1 Introduction

The chapter introduces the analytical framework behind the production and analysis of data. One of the aims of this chapter is to discuss the ontological and epistemological challenges that results from combining Bourdieu, Levinas and Maton. However, the aim of the chapter is not to synthesize the positions, but with Bourdieu's structuralist-constructivist position as vehicle to discuss how they each represent different aspects of the encounter. In many ways, it can therefore be approached as an extension of Bourdieu's own position.

Bourdieu's sociology of knowledge is included here because it theorizes differences in the evaluation of knowledge across disciplines, the relationship between the field of power and the academic field as part of the field of power the changing autonomy of the academic field, and finally the international circulation of knowledge. While developed in a national context and describing the role of socialization into social classes for recognition of knowledge, Bourdieu's sociology of education essentially analyzes encounters between people socialized into different systems of thought, or *cultural arbitraries* in Bourdieu's own words. Its central relevance for the project is, besides the focus upon the role of socialization into social classes and national frameworks, the discussion of the links between autonomy and pedagogic authority and the links between pedagogic authority and the relationships between students.

The chapter starts with an account of the ontological and epistemological positions of the project. It then introduces relevant concepts from Bourdieu's work and discusses Bourdieu's sociologies of knowledge and education as well as the application of Bourdieu's approach in research in internationalization of higher education. Then relevant concepts from Maton's legitimation code theory are outlined, and application of Maton's work in internationalization research is discussed.

While the section on the project's philosophy of science addresses the implications of combining the perspectives in the project's starting point, this is not addressed in relation to Bourdieu and Maton's analytical frameworks. Instead, this will be addressed as part of the analysis of the data when the analysis points towards conceptual challenges and changes.

4.2. Philosophy of Science

The subsections outline Bourdieu's ontology and epistemology respectively and discuss the implications that the addition of the Levinasian perspective as well as Maton's legitimation code theory have for the philosophical position of the project.

4.2.1 Ontology

Bourdieu's theory of practice (e.g. Bourdieu, 1977) is a product of his double break with objectivism and subjectivism. The initial break involves a critique of the structuralist understanding of culture as structured structure and the functionalist understanding of culture as an ideological force that imposes social order. Bourdieu instead proposes a reconciliation into "the basic principle behind the efficacy of symbols, that is the structured structure which confers upon symbolic systems their structuring power" (Bourdieu 1971 in Grenfell & James, 1998, p. 11), in order to stress the constituting nature of observed structures.

The second break concerns the relationship between subjectivism and objectivism or between constructivism and structuralism. In Bourdieu's thinking, culture and material relations relationally constitute objective reality. Or, in other words, the real is *relational*, and it is thus not in the substance but in the objective relation between different social positions or types or amounts of capital that the real lies:

> Being established among social conditions and positions (e.g. those defining a class situation), objective relations have more reality than the subjects involved, than the direct or mediated relations actually taking place among the agents, than the representations the agents form of those relations. To ignore the objective relations leads to apprehending all the characteristics observable or even disclosed by experimentation as if they were substantial properties, attached by nature to individuals or classes of individuals (Bourdieu, 1968, p. 691).

But objective structures are only realized in individuals' practices and lived experience, i.e., structures are also experienced, and hence, the second break with objectivism involves an

> inquiry into the conditions of possibility, and thereby, into the limits of the objective and objectifying standpoint which grasps practices from outside, as a *fait accompli*, instead of

constructing their generative principle by situating itself within the very movement of their accomplishment, has no other aim than to make possible a science of the *dialectical* relations between the objective structures to which the objectivist mode of knowledge gives access and the structured dispositions within which those structures are actualized and which tend to reproduce them (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 3).

The dialectical relationship between the objective and the subjective, or structured structures and structuring structures, is elaborated upon in "On Symbolic Power" (Bourdieu, 1991). The idea of structuring structures has its roots in the neo-Kantian tradition and recognizes "the 'active aspect' of cognition" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 164). Bourdieu outlines the development of the idea up until, and positions himself with, Durkheim, for whom the forms of classification (including knowledge) cease to be universal forms and instead become social forms, "that is, forms that are arbitrary (relative to a particular group) and socially determined" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 164). The idea of structured structures is related to the emphasis upon the forms of knowledge themselves, "the structure immanent in each symbolic production" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 164).

Drawing upon Marx, Bourdieu establishes the dialectical relationship between structured structures and structuring structures by arguing that structures can perform a structuring power because they are structured and therefore produce agreement between symbolic systems. I.e., the dominant culture sustains the dominant class through its legitimation of the established order:

> The dominant culture produces this ideological effect by concealing the function of division beneath the function of communication: the culture which unifies (the medium of communication) is also the culture which separates (the instrument of distinction) and which legitimates distinctions by forcing all other cultures (designated as subcultures) to define themselves by their distance from the dominant culture (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 167).

Foundational to Bourdieu's approach is thus the belief that there is a homology between cognitive and social structures because the social and material structures of a society are embodied in the cognitive structures, but at the same time cognitive structures also assist the reproduction – and potentially the challenge and change - of social structures.

Bourdieu describes his position as structuralist constructivism or constructivist structuralism (e.g. Bourdieu, 1989, p. 14). He defines the two perspectives of his approach as follows:

By structuralism or structuralist, I mean that there exist, within the social world itself and not only within symbolic systems (language, myths, etc.), objective structures independent of the consciousness and will of agents, which are capable of guiding and constraining their practices or their representations. By constructivism, I mean that there is a twofold social genesis, on the one hand of the schemes of perception, thought and action which are constitutive of what I call habitus, and on the other hand of social structures, and particularly of what I call fields and of groups, notably those we ordinarily call social classes (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 14).

An application of Bourdieu's ontology to a study of knowledge encounters in international higher education has several advantages. First, his understanding of forms of classification as social forms makes it possible to escape the deficit view of the international student and see the international students as socialized into a different symbolic system. The intercultural encounter can thus be defined as heterological structures of the habitus and the cultural arbitrary. Second, the emphasis upon both objective structures, i.e., relations between social positions which may be related to social class, national or cultural background, academic disciplines etc., as well as subjective experiences offers a framework to understand why certain types of knowledge or certain institutions have more influence than others. Third, the dialectical relationship between structuring structures and structured structures is central because it allows an analysis of the role of knowledge-internal structures in structuring encounters between people socialized into different knowledge systems to supplement the role of knowledge-external ascription of status.

However, the project's aim of researching the transformative potential of encounters with students from other knowledge backgrounds requires a complementation of the framework to be able to capture the experiential power of these encounters as ethically challenging and epistemologically subverting the dominant, arbitrary social forms, and hence also of the influence of symbolic power. While the framework can capture instances where the student with less symbolic resources accepts socialization in the dominant framework, the framework is less suitable for understanding encounters as potentially involving other aspects of human relations than struggles for power over symbolic resources. The aim has been to develop a theoretical lens that could capture both struggles over resources and encounters where other knowledge systems are valued. The addition of a Levinasian perspective allows such an opening, but it also challenges the structuralist aspect of Bourdieu's ontological stance. Yet the first analysis of data also pointed towards precisely the importance of both knowledge external and knowledge-internal structures in

the encounters, and in order to operationalize the analysis of knowledge internal structures, I also draw upon Maton's legitimation code theory, in short LCT (e.g. Maton, 2014), which proposes a realist sociology of knowledge and education that has its starting point in both Bourdieu and Bernstein's work as well as in Bhaskar's (e.g. 1993). In the following sections, the ontological stances of Levinas and Maton are outlined, and their implications for the ontological foundation of the project are discussed.

Levinas' philosophy is rooted in the phenomenology of Husserl and Heidegger (Peperzak, 1993, pp. 8-12). Understanding traditional ontology as an intellectualist project starting from "knowledge of being in general [by a] reason freed from temporal contingencies" (Levinas, 1996, p. 2), Levinas starts from Heidegger's critique of intellectualism, and an ontology which "presupposes the *factual situation* of the mind that knows [and] is not accomplished in the triumph of human beings over their condition but in the very tension where this condition is assumed" (Levinas, 1996, pp. 2-3). Or, in other words, an ontology in which the comprehension of being is grounded in existential engagement and involves both emotional, practical and theoretical life (Critchley, 1996, p. 1). Bourdieu was also influenced by Heidegger in his analysis of the phenomenological experience as a product of the social (Robbins, 2002), and the phenomenological position is thus not alien to the subjectivist aspect of Bourdieu's theorization.

However, the significant contribution of Levinas' philosophy is his account of the relationship to the Other, which subverts ontology. Heidegger, according to Levinas, also approaches the relationship to the Other as comprehension which Levinas sees as violence or a reduction of the otherness of the Other to the Same, because "to comprehend the particular being is already to place oneself beyond the particular. To comprehend is to be related to the particular that only exists through knowledge, which is always knowledge of the universal" (Levinas, 1996, p. 5). Levinas thus questions traditional ontology through the analysis of the relationship to the other and asks "Is Ontology Fundamental?" (Levinas, 1996). While Levinas's question concerns ontology, the notion of epistemological reduction of the Other to the Same points to the role of the cultural arbitrary and the habitus in the intercultural encounter.

Levinas's answer is a description of the relationship to the Other as a fundamental relation that comes before comprehension of the other as a concept, before ontology:

Our relation with the other (*autrui*) certainly consists in wanting to comprehend him, but this relation overflows comprehension. Not only because knowledge of the other (*autrui*) requires, outside of all curiosity, also sympathy or love, ways of being distinct from impassible contemplation, but because in our relation with the other (*autrui*), he does not affect us in terms of a concept. He is a being (*étant*) and counts as such (Levinas, 1996, p. 6)

Comprehension of an object is associated with overcoming, possession and consumption of the object. Comprehension is about power. The relation to the other is different, according to Levinas. It is not a subject-object relationship, but an immediate engagement which does not start from the static reduction based upon objective categories:

The person with whom I am in relation I call *being*, but in so calling him, I call to him. I do not only think that he is, I speak to him. He is my *partner* in the heart of a relation which ought only have made him present to me. I have spoken to him, that is to say, I have neglected the universal being that he incarnates in order to remain with the particular being he is. Here the formula "before being in relation with a being, I must first have comprehended it as being" loses its strict application, for in comprehending being I simultaneously tell this comprehension to this being (Levinas, 1996, p. 7)

Levinas concludes that the relationship to the other is not ontology because it cannot be reduced to knowledge or representation of the other. Instead, Levinas presents a philosophy where subjectivity is constituted in the ethical relationship *before* comprehension, which ultimately is the opposite of power because comprehension is the moment where the otherness of the other is lost. He summarizes the relationship as follows:

The encounter with the other (*autrui*) consists in the fact that despite the extent of my domination and his slavery, I do not possess him. He does not enter entirely into the opening of being where I already stand, as in the field of my freedom. It is not starting from being in general that he comes to meet me. Everything which comes to me from the other (*autrui*) starting from being in general certainly offers itself to my comprehension and possession. I understand him in the framework of his history, his surroundings and habits. That which escapes comprehension in the other (*autrui*) is him, a being. I cannot negate him partially, in violence, in grasping him within the horizon of being in general and possessing him. The Other (*Autrui*) is the sole being whose negation can only announce itself as total: as *murder*. The Other (*Autrui*) is the sole being I can wish to kill.

     I can wish. And yet this power is quite the contrary of power. The triumph of this power is its defeat as power. At the very moment when my power to kill realizes itself, the

other (*autrui*) has escaped me. I can, for sure, in killing *attain* a goal; I can kill as I hunt or slaughter animals, or as I fell trees. But when I have grasped the other (*autrui*) in the opening of being in general, as an element of the world where I stand, where I have seen him *on the horizon*, I have not looked at him in the face, I have not encountered his face. The temptation of total negation, measuring the infinity of this attempt and its impossibility – this is the presence of the face. To be in relation with the other (*autrui*) face to face is to be unable to kill. It is also the situation of discourse (Levinas, 1996, p. 9).

Levinasian ontology serves as a potential addition to Bourdieu's ontology in the description of the intercultural encounter. While Bourdieu and Levinas share the roots in phenomenology as well as the non-essentialist perspective, Levinasian ontology rests upon the ethical encounter with the other as a concrete experience which forces the subject to realize the arbitrariness of his or her interpretive symbolic framework because of the structural heterology of habitus and cultural arbitraries that defines the intercultural encounter. Moreover, it suspends symbolic power, i.e. the power to impose a common set of coercive norms (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992b, p. 112) because its realization would be a reduction of otherness or the intercultural. The encounter with the other is thus not only at the border between ontology and ethics but also at the border between ontology and epistemology. Regarding knowledge, the perspective involves ambiguity in the tension between the universal or the cultural arbitrary of the subject and the particular other.

Maton's legitimation code theory is drawn upon to describe the knowledge-internal structures which the initial analysis of the data showed played a role in relation to exclusion and inclusion of the international students. The theory is rooted in the work of Bourdieu and Bernstein as well as in Bhaskar's (e.g. 1993) critical realism. Maton describes it as a response to the "knowledge blindness" that he identifies as a characteristic of the knowledge-based society. It is a realist sociology founded on an ontological realism and a stronger theory of knowledge as something real,

> in the sense of possessing properties, powers and tendencies that have effects [and research that] explores the organizing principles of (or relations within) different forms of knowledge, their modes of change, and their implications for such issues as social inclusion, student achievement, and knowledge building […] Social realism "views intellectual and educational fields as comprising *both* relational structures of knowledge practices *and* actors situated within specific social and historical contexts. In so doing, it shows that knowledge practices are *both* emergent from *and*

irreducible to their contexts of production – the forms taken by knowledge practice in turn shape those contexts (Maton, 2014, pp. 9-11)

Maton's concepts are applied in the analysis to describe knowledge-internal structures precisely as something that has structuring effects upon encounters in the classroom. However, they are seen as having structured and structuring properties, as Bourdieu describes, for forms of classification and drawing upon Bourdieu's ontology, they are thus seen as contingent and hence potentially transient.

Maton's view of the social world is similar to Bourdieu's organization of the social world into more or less autonomous fields with distinctive forms of capital where actors strive to accumulate legitimate capital and struggle to define which forms are legitimate. However, Maton (2014) calls the competing claims to legitimacy expressed in the organizing principles of different practices "*languages of legitimation*" (p. 17); the organizing principles behind dispositions, practices and fields "*legitimation codes*" (p. 18), i.e., different forms of capital; and the "*legitimation device*" (p. 18) parallels the symbolic power or doxa in Bourdieu's terminology.

4.2.2 Epistemology

Traditionally, structuralism and constructivism represent two opposing ways of producing scientific knowledge. Objectivist and structuralist approaches are concerned with the break with pre-notions or ideologies to reveal the objective structures that structure representations, while subjective or phenomenological approaches are concerned with primary perceptions and in a sense common sense knowledge (e.g. Bourdieu, 1973; Bourdieu, 1989). Like his ontology, Bourdieu's epistemological project starts from the critique of "the rock-bottom antinomy upon which all the divisions of the social scientific field are ultimately founded, namely, the *opposition between objectivism and subjectivism*" (Bourdieu, 1988b, p. 780), which he associates with a series of oppositions that structure not only social science but also our perception of the social and political world. On the one hand, Bourdieu is critical of objectivism's tendency to ignore the experiences of social agents and their interpretations of objective structures, but on the other hand, subjective approaches tend to reduce the social world to the understanding social agents have of it while, on the positive side, "the subjectivistically-inclined sociologist [is] less prone to indulge in those all-

encompassing and arrogant visions of social life that place the scientist in a position of divine mind" (Bourdieu, 1988b, p. 782).

While Bourdieu strives to integrate the analysis of the experience of social agents and the analysis of objective structures into a single model, his approach should not be understood as a synthesis of the two approaches. As in the production of objective structures, the relationship between the subjective and the objective is *relational* rather than synthetic. It means that knowledge is produced by relating the knowledge about objective (and relational) structures to agents' perceptions, as the objective structures place structural constraint upon the agents and produce the position in the structure which shape agents' point of view while they struggle to reproduce or transform those structures (Bourdieu, 1989), or in Bourdieu's own words: "the agent's point of view that science, in its subjectivist moment, must take up, describe and analyze can be defined as a view taken from a point; but to understand fully what it means to be located at this point and to see what can be seen from it, one must first construct the space of the mutually exclusive points, or positions, within which the point under consideration is situated" (Bourdieu, 1988b, p. 782). The object of knowledge, in Bourdieu's approach, is therefore not practices as structurally determined roles in an idealist sense. Rather, "objects of knowledge are constructed, not passively recorded" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 52), in the sense that the observed practices are "the site of the dialectic of the *opus operatum* and the *modus operandi*; of the objectified products and the incorporated products of historical practice; of structures and *habitus*" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 52), i.e., the observed practices are products of both the rules guiding the situation (or the *field*) and of the logics of the agents involved. While his ontology is structuralist constructivist, his epistemology is thus more constructivist.

Furthermore, his approach to scientific knowledge is rooted in rationalism as opposed to the positivism he rejects. His epistemology draws upon Bachelard's "applied rationalism" (Bourdieu et al., 1991, pp. 57-68), which is the idea that science advances through a dialectic between reason and observation by constructing and verifying hypotheses. From Bachelard, he borrows the phrase that, "the social fact is won, constructed and confirmed" (Bourdieu et al., 1991, p. 57), to describe the hierarchy of epistemological acts as a process of breaking with preunderstandings of the social phenomenon, construction of a theoretical model and testing against facts. Methodologically, the constructivist epistemology calls for what Bourdieu calls a "reflexive sociology" (Bourdieu &

Wacquant, 1992b), which involves a broader sociology of the field of scientific knowledge production and participant objectivation. I will return to these in the section about sociology of knowledge below.

Maton's research rests on a compatible epistemology. While his ontology is realist, he adheres to epistemological relativism, which means that knowledge is perceived as socially constructed and influenced by social, historical and cultural contexts (Maton, 2014, p. 10). Maton stresses that epistemological relativism does not lead to judgmental relativism but involves judgmental rationality and hence a belief in the possibility of judging between knowledge claims.

As pointed out above, the ethical encounter with the other is potentially a realization of the epistemological violence involved in the production of knowledge about the other and a deconstruction of the position one's knowledge is produced from. However, with the addition of Levinas follows a focus on the role of the experiential as catalyst for knowledge production as well as breaks with preunderstandings through a dialectic between experience and reason – not as deliberate process but as something the encounter requires.

4.2.3 The project's philosophy of science and its position in IC theory

Compared to the traditional approaches in intercultural communication theory, Bourdieu's ontology is a foundation with which we can understand the intercultural encounters as encounters between heterological structures of the habitus and the dominant cultural arbitrary. When forms of classification are seen as structured and structuring social forms, we can move beyond the deficit view of the international student and analyze the role of knowledge structures in structuring encounters. By recognizing this as an ontological aspect of knowledge, differences in the encounters across disciplines and ideological visions of knowledge can be explored in the intersection between knowledge-internal structures and external structures of legitimation in the field of education and the market.

Because Levinasian ethics starts in an understanding of the role of comprehension, the addition of this perspective allows an exploration of if or when encounters produce recognition of the arbitrary nature of cultural arbitraries and the structuring capacity of forms of classification and in consequence of the violence and reduction embedded in it to suspend symbolic power and allow a non-subsumptive relation to unfold.

4.3 Bourdieu's concepts

4.3.1 Introduction

The dialectic between subjectivity and objectivity and the relational approach are incorporated into Bourdieu's conceptual framework. Bourdieu continued to develop the concepts throughout his writings, and they are developed and defined in relation to each other, which makes it difficult to single the concepts out for individual discussion.

4.3.2 Field, symbolic power and symbolic violence

Bourdieu conceptualizes social space as a space made up of a number of relatively autonomous fields, "that are the site of a logic and necessity that are *specific and irreducible* to those that regulate other fields" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992c, p. 97). The internal logic of a field is relational and it is structured around a system of positions that have hierarchically and qualitatively different values that become meaningful and are defined through their relations to each other (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992c, pp. 96-97). Moreover, the field is constituted by its *doxa*, which is what the agents in the field agree upon and take for granted. There is no a priori definition of the field because its agents continuously struggle to define its limits. The boundaries of the field are where the field ceases to have an effect (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992c, p. 100). An analysis of the field therefore has to be both synchronic and diachronic. The agents in the field are those "who are socially constituted as active and acting in the field under consideration by the fact that they possess the necessary properties to be effective, to produce effects, in this field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992c, p. 107) and to construct the field it is therefore necessary to identify what constitutes legitimate capital within it.

While fields are *relatively* autonomous, Bourdieu describes fields along a continuum between autonomy and heteronomy understood as the extent to which it can "generate its own problems rather than receiving them in a ready-made fashion from outside " (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 112). The state functions as a meta-field, or a field of power, which has "the *monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence, i.e.,* the power to constitute and to impose as *universal* and *universally applicable* within a given 'nation,' that is, within the boundaries of a given territory, a common set of coercive norms" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992c, p. 112). Symbolic violence is performed through teaching

and pedagogic action – i.e. all instances where knowledge about society and its values are transmitted (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 5). According to Bourdieu, the state can exert symbolic violence because its objects are already products of the norms and structures imposed. Or, in other words, because:

> it incarnates itself simultaneously in objectivity, in the form of specific organizational structures and mechanisms, and in subjectivity in the form of mental structures and categories of perception and thought. By realizing itself in social structures and in the mental structures adapted to them, the instituted institution makes us forget that it issues out of a long series of acts of *institution* (in the active sense) and hence has all the appearance of the *natural* (Bourdieu, 1994, pp. 3-4).

Within the field of power, "the holders of capital (of different species) struggle in particular for power over the state, i.e., over the statist capital granting power over the different species of capital and over their reproduction (particularly through the school system)" (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 5). Bourdieu (1996a) describes the development of fields over time in his analysis of the genesis and structure of the literary field. He describes three phases the development of the field goes through. In the first phase, the field's autonomy from other fields is established. In the second phase, a dualist structure homologous to the structure of the field of power emerges. And finally, in the third phase, it develops into a market logic.

4.3.3 Habitus

To account for the relationship between structures and practices, Bourdieu uses the concept *habitus*. The concept is a break with the theory of homo economicus, i.e. the human being as strictly rational agent, and instead he sees the logic of practice as a practical sense of the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1988b; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992a, pp. 120-122). Practical sense is a product of an "ontological correspondence" between field and habitus:

> On one side, it is a relation of *conditioning:* the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the embodiment of the immanent necessity of a field (or of a set of intersecting fields, the extent of their intersection or discrepancy being at the root of a divided or even torn habitus). On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or *cognitive construction*. Habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with a

sense and value, in which it is worth investing one's energy (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992a, p. 127).

While the habitus is thus conditioned by the structures of the environment that has produced it, it adjusts "to the demands inscribed as objective potentialities in the situation, as defined by the cognitive and motivating structures making up the habitus" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78), and practices are therefore, while they may seem structured by a future-oriented strategy, a product of previous socialization.

4.3.4 Capital

Finally, *capital* is central to Bourdieu's educational sociology. It refers to the resources and sources of influence that agents fight to possess and control, and its value is tied to the field in which it is brought into play. Agents can use their capital to achieve power and influence in specific fields. In Bourdieu's theorization, capital exists in the three primary forms economic, cultural and social capital. Cultural capital is found as objectified cultural capital, which is cultural objects such as instruments; institutionalized, such as degrees from prestigious educational institutions; and embodied cultural capital, such as language, knowledge or artistic skills, which is part of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1986). Finally, Bourdieu also talks about symbolic capital, which can be understood as other capital forms seen as honor, moral, or prestige. Cultural capital is particularly important in regard to research into education. Bourdieu used the concept to explain why children from certain social groups do better in the educational system than others. The more of the dominant cultural capital a child gets through its primary socialization in the family, the easier it is to accumulate capital in the educational system because the child already has a disposition for cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

4.4 Applications of Bourdieu's theory

4.4.1 Introduction

The following section outlines Bourdieu's main contributions relevant for internationalization research. Moreover, it is discussed how Bourdieu's work has been applied in recent work on internationalization.

4.4.2 Sociology of knowledge

In a number of his texts, Bourdieu is engaged in analyses of knowledge production and of the academic field. I draw upon Bourdieu's analyses of the academic field as inspiration for the construction of relations of autonomy within the field of power, an internal structure of difference in approaches to internationalization, and measures of evaluation of knowledge in the analysis of knowledge encounters.

Bourdieu sees science as occupying a dual position in an external relation with society on the one hand and an internal relation in the scientific field on the other:

> Science must be examined in its two-fold relation, on the one hand to the social cosmos in which it is embedded – the external reading – and on the other to the social microcosm constituted by the scientific universe, a relatively autonomous world endowed with its own rules of functioning which must be described and analyzed in themselves – the internal reading (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 298 in Camic 2011, 277).

Bourdieu describes the relation between science and external society as relatively weak because science functions as an autonomous field. Autonomy is a product of the development of disciplines according to an internal logic (e.g. Bourdieu, 2004b, p. 47) and of external recognition as "it has an academically and socially recognized name (…) such as sociology as opposed to 'mediology,' for example); it is inscribed in institutions, laboratories, university departments, journals, national and international fora (conferences), procedures for the certification of competencies" (Bourdieu, 2004b, p. 35). However, he argues that the scientific field is becoming increasingly heteronomous (e.g. Bourdieu, 2004a) and increasingly dominated by commercial interests, the constraints of the economy and of politics. As a consequence, fields of cultural production are erasing field internal differences: "One of the paradoxes is that competition, which is always said to be the precondition of freedom, has the effect, in fields of cultural production under commercial control, of producing uniformity, censorship and even conservatism" (Bourdieu, 2004a, p. 44).

Bourdieu distinguishes between discipline-internal relations and relations between disciplines or faculties. The struggle described under Bourdieu's general description of fields also characterizes the scientific field, where the dominant strives to maintain status quo and the dominated challenge the established hierarchy:

> Those who … more or less completely monopolize the specific capital … are inclined to conservation strategies – those which, in the field of production of cultural goods, tend to defend *orthodoxy* – whereas those least endowed with capital (who are often also the newcomers, and therefore generally the youngest) are inclined towards subversion strategies, the strategies of *heresy*. Heresy, heterodoxy … is what brings the dominant agents out of their silence and focus them to produce the defensive discourse of orthodoxy (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 73).

It is the opposition between orthodoxy and heterodoxy that drives changes within autonomous fields (e.g. Bourdieu, 1988b, pp. 773-774).

In the analysis of the French academic world in the late 1960s presented in *Homo Academicus* (1988a), Bourdieu draws upon Kant's distinction between two categories of faculties and describes "the conflict of the faculties" as a conflict structured along fractions similar to the oppositions between the fractions of the dominant class, i.e., between economic power and cultural prestige, or between an emphasis upon economic capital on the one hand and cultural capital on the other resulting in a heteronomous pole oriented towards society and an autonomous pole oriented towards a scientific logic:

> indeed, we see an increase in the frequency of the most characteristic properties of the dominant fractions of the dominant class as we move from the science faculties to the arts faculties, and from these to the faculties of law and medicine […] In fact, everything seems to indicate that dependency on the field of political or economic power varies in the same direction, whereas norms specific to the intellectual field – which, […] require independence from the temporal powers, and the adoption of political positions of a totally new kind, that is to say at once external and critical – is incumbent above all on the professors of the arts faculties and social science faculties, but in a very unequal way according to their position in this space (Bourdieu, 1988a, p. 38)

Furthermore, the difference between the fractions is associated with a difference between a taste for order, of status quo, and a right wing politics associated with the dominant fraction, which at the time of Bourdieu's research were the faculties of medicine and law, and a rejection of the established order in the other fraction (Bourdieu, 1988a, p. 51). Hence also a difference which characterizes approaches to science and knowledge: "between the clinical practitioners and the mathematicians, or even between the jurists and the sociologists, lies all the distance that separates two different modes of production and reproduction of knowledge and, more generally, two

systems of values and two lifestyles or, in other words, between two ways of envisioning the successful man" (Bourdieu, 1988a, p. 58). Between the fractions is a differentiation of modes of knowledge between knowledge "objectified in instruments, methods and techniques – instead of existing only in a personally internalized state" (Bourdieu, 1988a, p. 59). I.e., a difference in emphasis between the scientific and the social aspects of recognition of knowledge. It is from these differences in internal criteria of legitimation that Maton elaborates on Bourdieu's work.

Besides the socialization into different modes of knowledge, the struggle itself impacts knowledge production because scientific choices become tools for positioning oneself within the field: "'objective relations between positions … are the true principle of the position takings of different producers' – […] 'with respect to content and form' and, therefore, with respect to 'every scientific choice', including the scientist's choice of 'area of research, the methods used' etc" (Bourdieu, 1996a, pp. 88, 204; 2004, 59 in Camic 2011, 279).

It is thus both the field's external relations, i.e., the degree of autonomy, the socialization into specific theories and methods, the struggles within the academic field and within disciplines, i.e., the positioning and the stakes at play at a particular point in time, that shape knowledge production and the academic doxa.

Finally, as Bourdieu associates the academic unconscious with socialization into national systems of thought, knowledge flows across borders are both structured by potential misrecognition as well as competition within and across national fields. Texts "circulate without their contexts" (Bourdieu, 1999a, p. 221), which mean they are received and re-interpreted according to differently structured fields than the field that has produced them, and the authority of the writer may not be recognized in the field of reception which may cause misunderstandings or misrecognition.

Bourdieu argues for the necessity of a reflexive sociology to develop a scientific internationalism or an intellectual universalism. To overcome the national categories of thought, they need to be made explicit through a social history of intellectual fields of production and a reflexive sociology to reveal the national unconscious. Such knowledge of intellectual fields should be part of the studies of foreign languages, civilisations, and philosophies (Bourdieu, 1999a).

4.4.3 Bourdieu's Sociology of Education

To describe the mechanisms behind the reproduction of society's structures, Bourdieu's sociology of education uses the concepts pedagogic action (PA) and pedagogic authority (PAu), which are similar to symbolic violence and symbolic power. In its broadest sense, pedagogic action refers to all actions that impose a culture both in the formal education in schools and in informal education such as within the family or groups (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 5). Pedagogic action is characterized by a "twofold arbitrariness [because it is] the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 5). Culture is arbitrary "insofar as the structure and functions of that culture cannot be deduced from any universal principle, whether physical, biological or spiritual, not being linked by any sort of internal relation to 'the nature of things' or any 'human nature'" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 8). In the analysis of encounters in the classroom, I draw upon the concepts to discuss the links between autonomy, authority and inclusion.

The reproduction of the dominant culture also involves the reproduction of its epistemologies. As the dominant class monopolizes the means of production of knowledge and education, it also produces recognition of its own knowledge at the expense of the knowledge of the dominated classes such as "customary law, home medicine, craft techniques, folk art and language" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 42). Bourdieu associates the academic unconscious, i.e., the paradigms taken for granted, with national educational systems to the extent that he associates the idea of national character with socialization into educational systems:

> I think that we are all provincials, enclosed in particular intellectual traditions, and that we are all threatened by a form of intellectual ethnocentrism. Perhaps it is because the systems of concepts and rankings through which we organize reality are in part the product of scholastic traditions. If one wanted to advance a modern version of the theory of national character – which has gone completely out of fashion, although we encounter national differences in everyday life without knowing how to specify or analyse them – it would begin, for me, with a theory of the educational systems in as much as they are formative of the structures of understanding, and constructive of our taxonomies (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 39).

The consequence is that the socialization into arbitrary schemes of thought also produces the misrecognition of the limitations of the system and the inability to see the value of other ways of thinking:

Therefore, we are constantly threatened by this intellectual ethnocentrism which consists in allowing categories of historically constituted thought, which are often related to the education we have received, to think in our place. The educational system is a great producer of taxonomies. This is why I like to say, to irritate my colleagues, that the worst obstacle to the development of scientific thought is the teaching of professors, who, when they should be teaching things openly, in a supple, elastic and multiple way, spend their time making dichotomies and classifications. There we have one of the antinomies of thought: if we are not educated we risk being dominated by ready-made thoughts. The professor is simultaneously someone very dangerous and indispensable, someone we cannot do without, and someone of whom we must be extremely distrustful. This is my message to the young. I say it laughingly, but I think it is very serious (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 40)

Pedagogic action and reproduction of culture depend upon a relatively autonomous pedagogic authority to manifest the misrecognition of the incongruence between objective truth and the agents' practice (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, pp. 11-12). Because pedagogic action presupposes pedagogic authority, it is not a "simple relation of communication" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 19). Without recognition of the legitimacy of the transmitter, the communication of information is not accomplished as a transformative action. Bourdieu argues that "[t]he idea of a PA exercised without PAu is a logical contradiction and a sociological impossibility. Moreover, a PA which aimed to unveil , in its very exercise, its objective reality of violence and thereby to destroy the basis of the agent's PAu, would be self-destructive" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 12). As he continues, Bourdieu implicitly points to one of the challenges of international education: How can inclusion understood as recognition and equal status of other realities and knowledges avoid ending in a relativism undermining all claims to truth and authority?

To draw out all the implications of this paradox we only have to think of the vicious circles awaiting anyone who might seek to base his pedagogic practice on the theoretical truth of all pedagogic practice: it is one thing to teach 'cultural relativism', that is, the arbitrary character of all culture, to individuals who have already been educated according to the principles of the cultural arbitrary of a group or class; it would be quite another to claim to be giving a relativistic education, i.e. actually to produce a cultivated man who was the native of all cultures. The problems posed by situations of early bilingualism or biculturalism give only a faint idea of the insurmountable contradictions faced by a PA claiming to take as its practical didactic principle the theoretical affirmation of the arbitrariness of linguistic or cultural codes. This is a proof *per absurdum* that every PA requires as the condition of its exercise the social misrecognition of the objective truth of PA (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 12).

According to Bourdieu, such a loss of PAu through non-violent pedagogics results in take-over from other ideological positions:

> the most radical challenges to a pedagogic power are always inspired by the self-destructive Utopia of a pedagogic without arbitrariness or by the spontaneist Utopia which accords the individual the power to find within himself the principle of his own 'fulfilment'. All these Utopias constitute an instrument of ideological struggle for groups who seek through denunciation of a pedagogic legitimacy, to secure for themselves the monopoly of the legitimate mode of imposition (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, pp. 16-17).

As seen in the review of the literature about international education and curriculum internationalization, a relativistic education or a pedagogy without arbitrariness is in some of the approaches considered the aim or ideal, but in Bourdieu's work, it is shown to be an impossible ideal because it results in a loss of authority, which leads to struggle.

Moreover, Bourdieu's class-based analysis points to another challenge which may find a parallel in international education. He argues that when there is a difference between the cultural arbitrary of the group subject to pedagogic action and the cultural arbitrary the pedagogic action seeks to inculcate, there is a greater risk of exposing the cultural arbitrary as arbitrary (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 15).

Pedagogic action invested with pedagogic authority produces "recognition of the cultural arbitrary it inculcates as legitimate culture" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 22) and it distinguishes what it transmits as legitimate and worthy of transmission and thus establishes a hierarchy between what is transmitted and what is not. The dominant culture continues to be reproduced and be dominant because it is misrecognized as a cultural arbitrary and legitimated in the educational system as a natural given. Through reproduction of the dominant cultural arbitrary, the educational system also reproduces society's power structures:

> In any given social formation, the PW [pedagogic work] through which the dominant PA is carried on always has the function of keeping order, i.e. of reproducing the structure of the power relations between the groups or classes, inasmuch as, by inculcation or exclusion, it tends to impose recognition of the legitimacy of the dominant culture on the members of the dominant groups or classes, and to make them internalize, to a variable extent, disciplines and censorships which best serve the material and symbolic interests of the dominant groups or classes when they take the form of self-discipline and self-censorship (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, pp. 40-41).

Simultaneously, as recognition of the legitimacy of the dominant culture upon the dominated groups is imposed, recognition of the illegitimacy of their own culture is also imposed as they are either excluded from membership of the dominant culture or included through inculcation of the dominant cultural arbitrary (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 41). Again, this parallels discussions in research into interaction in the international classroom based on the deficit view of the international student, who can only gain recognition and inclusion through rejection of previous learning and socialization into the host culture.

While pedagogic agency performs within a given social formation (school, family etc.), its effect is strengthened when it is externally validated by the market: "The recognition a group or class objectively accords a pedagogic agency is always (whatever the psychological or ideological variations of the corresponding experience) a function of the degree to which the market value and symbolic value of its members depend on their transformation and consecration by that agency's PA" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, pp. 27-28). Moreover, when the market which evaluates the PA is unified, which according to Bourdieu became the case in bourgeois society, groups inculcated with a dominated cultural arbitrary are more likely to experience sanctions both by the labor market and the cultural market, which again serves to enforce the dominance of the dominant culture.

4.4.4 Application in international HE research

Since the empirical research behind Bourdieu's educational sociology and sociology of knowledge was produced in a French context before the present day internationalization and at a time when the relationship between higher education, society and the nation-state was relatively stable (Marginson, 2008; Naidoo, 2004), the question arises to what extent his theorization can be applied to the globalized context of the present day.

As pointed out above in the discussion of Bourdieu's work, internationalization potentially challenges the pedagogic authority of the teacher, either when a large number of students have been socialized into other cultural arbitraries and therefore reveal the culture transmitted by the teacher as arbitrary, or when their knowledge is tied to other contexts which prevents them from recognizing the knowledge from the teacher or other students, or when inclusive pedagogic approaches reveal the arbitrariness and undermines pedagogic authority. Moreover, the hierarchies

of knowledge established between what is transmitted and what is not may also alter the premises of recognition and thus inclusion from social class to national or regional contexts. Yet social class and "class-habitus" may still be relevant, although these may be concealed by other more immediately visible cultural differences.

The present-day internationalization of higher education is also inscribed in forces of globalization, neoliberalism and the turn towards the knowledge-based economy. As discussed, it involves that the national field is increasingly influenced by inter-governmental institutions and organizations, and that the role of the state has changed towards being of service to the market. This has in turn changed the relationship between the state and the university and weakened the autonomy of the university as its role has also become to service the state and the market (Harvey, 2005; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Ward, 2012). This development towards heteronomy is strengthened by the emergence of new epistemologies. Firstly, by the epistemological foundation of neoliberalism which turn towards local, specific knowledge as Hayek (1945) argued, and secondly, the knowledge-based economy's evaluation of knowledge based upon its usefulness to the market (Barnett, 2012; Biesta, 2011; Gibbons et al., 1994; Peters & Olssen, 2005). It both challenges the academic autonomy, as it is defined by Bourdieu, based upon discipline-internal criteria, and academic standards. Moreover, as it thus involves a subjective rather than an objective understanding of value, it, at least theoretically, changes the relationship between symbolic and accumulated/ inherited cultural capital. Aspects that all have implications for the application of Bourdieu's theory.

Bourdieu's political writings (1998a) critiquing neoliberalism , as well as aspects of his sociology of knowledge discussed above, have implications which render his concepts and theorization applicable to education in an international context, as he points to the rise of neoliberalism as global doxa to the extent that it is restructuring the world in its image, and applicable to challenges regarding recognition of knowledge across borders. This section reviews the application of Bourdieu's concepts in research into the internationalization of higher education and the inscription of higher education into the knowledge-based economy.

The challenge globalization poses to the understanding of education as inscribed in a national field of power is addressed by Lingard et al. (2005). They point out that the field-concept is still applicable because field is a social rather than spatial construction, and therefore it can be

expanded analytically from the state to a global field to analyze the impact of globalization upon education policy. They argue that the emergent global policy space has posed fundamental challenges to the structure, scope and function of education policy, which is now not just national in character. Moreover, they argue that the national field of education policy has become more heteronomous. However, it does not mean that the nation state has become insignificant, but rather that its role has changed and power is shared between national, regional and international levels. Particularly, as a consequence of a global economic field shaped by a neoliberal agenda, the orientation towards the role of education to economic growth and the influence of international agencies such as World Bank, OECD and UNESCO, the education policy field has become inscribed in a global network (Lingard et al., 2005, pp. 760-762). In line with Bourdieu's political writings (e.g. Bourdieu, 1998a) it is argued that neoliberal politics have challenged the autonomy of many social fields, and crossfield effects of neoliberal economics upon research agendas have reconstituted higher education policy away from science-driven agendas and common good concerns towards economic agendas and profit concerns (Lingard et al., 2005, p. 762).

Recalling Bourdieu's argument in *The Political Field, the Social Science Field and the Journalistic Field* (2004a) and *Science of Science and Reflexivity* (2004b), both Enders et al. (2013), Lingard et al. (2005) and Maton (2005) point out that the turn towards the knowledge-based economy has challenged the autonomy of higher education. Enders et al. (2013) show that it involves a change from institutional trust and professional autonomy towards organizational autonomy and, similarly, Maton (2005) argues that marketization and managerialism in higher education has increased the pressure on university autonomy in terms of its principles of evaluation.

Marginson (2008) also draws upon Bourdieu's field-concept. His main insight in relation to internationalization and Bourdieu's theorization is the contrast between the embedding of the university field in national contexts and the internationalization ideal of flows of people and ideas across national boundaries which potentially challenges the structured notion of field and agency. But on the other hand, he also points to the structuring of the international field of higher education around autonomy >< heteronomy (elite teaching and knowledge production >< mass production), or, in other words, a cultural vs. an economic pole on one axis, and the degree of global engagement on the second axis. While Marginson recognizes an American or Anglo-American dominance visible in the hierarchical structures of the field, he also turns to Appadurai's (1996) envisioning of "the

global as a zone of new imagining and the construction and self-construction of identity" (p. 312) where "human agents generate global cultural flows, and flows generate and transform agents"(p. 312) as a contrast to Bourdieu's bounded notions of field and agency in order to explain what he sees as a greater ontological openness in the global setting. This is a theoretical opening which has similarities with the Levinasian perspective as a potential challenge to the structurings of the field.

Bourdieu-inspired research has also shown that participation in international education has become a new cultural capital and is sought as part of a career strategy (e.g. Blackmore et al., 2017; Börjesson & Broady, 2006; Kim, 2011; Munk, 2009) – even to the extent that it can be seen as a new strategy of reproduction among the cultural elite or a strategy of social mobility (Munk et al., 2011). Moreover, the structuring of the field between a cultural and an economic pole is confirmed in the differences in mobility strategies (Munk et al., 2011).

Research has shown that the disposition towards international education is socially stratified and associated with an internationally oriented habitus. Carlson's (2013) research among German degree students argues that student mobility is the result of an acquired mobility capital embodied in the habitus rather than as a result of a single event or rational choice, and Börjesson and Broady's (2006) research among Swedish law students shows that the students seeking education abroad are most often from a privileged background and already in possession of mobility capital from their upbringing. Similarly, Munk et al. (2011) confirm the significance of "cosmopolitan capital" for seeking international education in their research mapping differences in the educational mobility strategies of Danish families. Furthermore, Börjesson and Broady (2006) identify a difference in strategies between the culture/economy opposition, as students from the cultural elite more often participate in prestigious exchange programs via Swedish universities, while students from the economic elite seek alternative strategies as freemovers. Munk et al. (2011) also point out that a degree from an elite university is more likely among Danish migrants from families with a high amount of educational capital. It suggests that class-based differences in strategies may be influential in an international environment and that encounters in the international classroom cannot merely be analyzed as encounters between students socialized into different national cultures.

According to Blackmore et al. (2017), international education is a cultural capital that can be oriented both towards a career in an international company or towards a local labor market where

a degree or courses from a renowned (Western) university is assumed to increase the likelihood of employment in labor markets where massification of higher education has made a university degree from a local university increasingly common. Furthermore, Munk (2009) shows that mobility strategies differ depending on social class and country of origin. His comparison of France and Scandinavia reveals that in France, where national institutions rank high and are associated with prestige, mobility is not a strategy of the upper classes, while this is the case in Scandinavia. This type of research into mobility patterns also reveals a geographical hierarchy which is likely to be reflected in epistemological hierarchies in the classroom, where students travel to "zones of prestige" (Munk, 2009) constituted by the US and UK and to some extent also Germany and France.

Finally, as discussed in the introduction to Chapter 2, Wilken's (2007) research applies a Bourdieusian framework to negotiation of knowledge among students and lecturers in the international classroom, and in accordance with Bourdieu's discussion in "The Social Conditions of the International Circulation of Ideas" (Bourdieu, 1999a), Wilken shows that in an international education context, knowledge is not automatically recognized outside the context that has produced it.

The application of Bourdieu's concepts in existing research indicates that some modification is necessary to capture the impact of globalization, neoliberalism and the knowledge-based economy upon international higher education and the knowledge-encounters in the classroom. The analytical expansion of the field of power from national to global fields and the discussion of autonomy allows an analysis of encounters in higher education that does not only focus upon socialization into national frameworks and colonial power relations as structuring recognition of knowledge. At the same time, it allows these aspects to remain part of the analysis.

The question of class is thus still relevant as it is related to differences in the strategies driving student mobility. For the students, internationalization may in many cases be part of a social mobility strategy oriented towards local and national markets. However, globally oriented elite strategies as well as the influence of intergovernmental or global policies suggest a global field of power which influences both policy makers, knowledge recognition and student strategies.

4.4.5 Application in the project

Bourdieu's work suggests that internationalization involves several factors that potentially challenge pedagogic authority: e.g., the number of students socialized into other cultural arbitraries may reveal the arbitrary nature of the framework transmitted, and inclusive pedagogic ideals challenge their own foundation. These factors must be taken into consideration in the analysis of encounters. However, Bourdieu's understanding of the relationship between pedagogic authority and autonomy and the necessity of pedagogic authority for performing pedagogic action also suggest that as research has shown that neoliberalism and the knowledge-based economy pose challenges to university autonomy, these ideological changes also may have an impact upon negotiation and legitimation of knowledge in the classroom and upon interpersonal relations.

At the same time, as Marginson's (2008) work suggests that an opening of the structures of reproduction may be the result of global flows in the field, the importance of the Levinasian perspective upon encounters is strengthened.

Finally, capital- and strategy-research (Blackmore et al., 2017; Börjesson & Broady, 2006; Carlson, 2013; Kim, 2011; Munk, 2009; Munk et al., 2011) show that the form of participation in international higher education is associated with social class, and Wilken (2007) shows that knowledge tied to national education systems may not be recognized outside the context of acquisition. When looking at the students, it may therefore be important to consider both national background as well as social class.

4.5 Maton's concepts and their application

4.5.1 Introduction

The following sections outline concepts from Maton's framework. These will be applied in the analysis to describe knowledge-internal structures.

4.5.2 Positional autonomy and relational autonomy

Maton (2005) argues that Bourdieu's theorization is too externalist, which renders it more suitable for analysis of the structuring of the field (relational positions) than it is for analyzing the structuring of the symbolic system (relational position takings). According to Maton, the consequence is a tendency "to conflate issues of institutional distanciation with questions of the principles underlying

practices" (2005, p. 696). To overcome this conflation, Maton establishes a distinction between two aspects of autonomy: *positional autonomy* (PA) and *relational autonomy* (RA), describing the "the relations between the positions of actors in higher education and industry and relations between the ways of working in higher education and those found in the field of economic production" (697). In more detail

1. Positional autonomy refers to the nature of relations between specific positions in the social dimension of a context or field and positions in other contexts. In terms of higher education, if agents occupying positions within the field (such as monitoring bodies or university governance) originate from or are primarily located in other fields (such as industry or politics), the field exhibits relatively weaker positional autonomy. In contrast, where these positions are occupied by agents located solely within higher education, the field exhibits stronger positional autonomy. […]
2. Relational autonomy refers to relations between the principles of relation (or ways of working, practices, aims, measures of achievement, etc.) within a context or field and those emanating from other contexts. In the case of higher education, if the ways of working or markers of achievement within higher education are drawn from other fields (such as economic gain), this indicates weaker relational autonomy. Where the field's principles of hierarchization look inwards to its specific activities (such as academic excellence), it exhibits stronger relational autonomy (Maton, 2005, p. 697).

In more recent publications, the dimension of autonomy has been further developed, and a set of autonomy-codes has been defined and applied to curriculum- and teaching research to analyze integration of different forms of knowledge. Now, the dimension is defined in more generic terms as

- *positional autonomy* (PA) between constituents positioned within a context or category and those positioned in other contexts and categories; and
- *relational autonomy* (RA) between relations among constituents of a context or category and relations among constituents of other contexts or categories (Maton & Howard, 2018, p. 6)

It generates four autonomy-codes:

- For *sovereign codes* (PA+, RA+) status is accorded to strongly insulated positions and autonomous principles. What is valued emanates from within the context or category and acts according to its specific ways of working: internal constituents for internal purposes […]

- For *exotic codes* (PA-, RA-) legitimacy accrues to weakly insulated positions and heteronomous principles. What is valued are constituents associated with other contexts or categories: external constituents for external purposes […]
- For *introjected codes* (PA-, RA+) legitimacy resides with weakly insulated positions and autonomous principles. What is valued are constituents associated with other contexts or categories but oriented towards ways of working emanating from within: external constituents turned to internal purposes […]
- For *projected codes* (PA+, RA-) status resides with strongly insulated positions and heteronomous principles. What is valued are constituents from within that are oriented towards ways of working from elsewhere: internal constituents turned towards external purposes […] (Maton & Howard, 2018, p. 7).

In a study of how vocational educators experience marketization reforms, Locke and Maton (2019) research positional autonomy as the degree to which "actors are viewed as from inside education or associated with other fields such as business" (p. 7) and relational autonomy as the degree to which "their ways of working are viewed as based on specifically educational principles or principles from elsewhere, especially the economic field" (Locke & Maton, 2019). A similar translation of the dimension of autonomy applies in the context of this thesis, where autonomy relates to the relationship between the university and its disciplines and the field of power.

4.5.3 Specialization: Epistemic relations and social relations. Knowledge structures and knower structures

The dimension of specialization distinguishes between social relations and epistemic relations (Maton, 2014). Social relations (SR), i.e., the relation to subjects or knowers, concerns who is considered a legitimate knower. Epistemic relations (ER) is the relation to the objects of knowledge practices, and it concerns what is recognized as knowledge. Epistemic relations describes aspects such as disciplinarity or interdisciplinarity, degree of definition of object of study, methodologies and epistemological hierarchies.

Moreover, Maton draws upon Bernstein's concepts "classification" and "framing" to further describe the relations. "Classification" refers to "the relative strength of boundaries *between* contexts or categories" (29), while "framing" "refers to the locus of control *within* contexts or categories" (29). The notions +/- are used to indicate stronger or weaker relations.

Visualized as a plane with social relations on one axis and epistemic relations on the other, each quadrant represents a modality defined as follows:

- *knowledge codes* (ER+, SR-), where possession of specialized knowledge of specific objects of study is emphasized as the basis of achievement, and the attributes of actors is downplayed;
- *knower codes* (ER-, SR+), where specialized knowledge and objects are less significant and instead the attributes of actors are emphasized as measures of achievement, whether these are viewed as born (e.g. 'natural talent'), cultivated (e.g. artistic gaze or 'taste') or socially based (e.g. the notion of gendered gaze in feminist standpoint theory);
- *élite codes* (ER+, SR+), where legitimacy is based on both possessing specialist knowledge and being the right kind of knower (here, 'élite' refers not to social exclusivity but rather to possessing *both* legitimate knowledge *and* legitimate dispositions); and
- *relativist codes* (ER-, SR-), where legitimacy is determined by neither specialist knowledge nor knower attributes – a kind of 'anything goes'(30-1).

Specialization also includes descriptions of knowledge structures, and again, Maton inherits Bernstein's approach. Maton distinguishes between *horizontal discourse*, which is everyday, common knowledge, and *vertical discourse*, which is scholarly knowledge. Within vertical discourse, he distinguishes between *hierarchical knowledge structures* and *horizontal knowledge structures*. A hierarchical knowledge structure is characterized by its ability to integrate new knowledge and empirical phenomena under its axioms (69) while a horizontal knowledge structure is characterized by its lack of a unifying force and series of specialized languages (68). Moreover, Bernstein describes horizontal structures in terms of their grammar, where a strong grammar means a discourse "whose languages have an explicit conceptual syntax capable of *relatively* precise empirical descriptions and/or of generating formal modeling of empirical relations" (Bernstein, 2000, p. 163 in Maton 2014, 68-9; original emphasis).

However, while Bernstein's focus is only upon knowledge structures, Maton argues that to describe an educational field, it is also necessary to analyze its knower structures. According to Maton, traditional humanist culture has a hierarchical knower structure where the ideal knower is defined by certain dispositions rather than possession of specific knowledge, whereas science generally has a horizontal knower structure where the social characteristics of the knower are of less importance (69-70).

Maton also further analyzes clashes and shifts within fields dominated by *epistemic relations.* He develops the two modalities *ontic relations* (OR) and *discursive relations* (DR). *Ontic*

relations (OR) are the relations between practices and objects of knowledge and describe how strongly knowledge practices control legitimate objects of study. *Discursive relations* (DR) are the relation between knowledge and other knowledges. They describe the degree of control over procedures for constructing knowledge (Maton, 2014, pp. 174-176). It results in four *insights* which Maton (2014) distinguishes in the following way:

- Practices characterized by *situational insight* relatively strongly bound and control their legitimate objects of study but relatively weakly bound and control legitimate approaches for constructing those problem situations (OR+,DR-). Simply put, *what* one is studying matters but not *how*. Knowledge practices are thus specialized by their problem situations, which may be addressed through a range of approaches: procedural pluralism or, at its weakest possible strength of DR, procedural relativism.
- Where practices emphasize *doctrinal insight*, legitimate problem-situations are not restrictively defined but relations between the legitimate approach and other possible approaches are relatively strongly bounded and controlled (OR-, DR+). Legitimacy flows from using the specializing approach: *what* is studied is less significant, *how* it is studied matters. This combines theoretical or methodological dogmatism with ontic promiscuity or, at least at its weakest strength of OR, ontic relativism.
- Practices based on *purist insight* relatively strongly bound and control both legitimate objects of study and legitimate approaches (OR+, DR+). Legitimacy is thus conferred by *both* 'what' and 'how' – one must use a specific approach to study a specific phenomenon. Using the legitimate approach to analyse other phenomena or using other approaches to study the legitimate phenomenon are both devalorized.
- Practices with *knower* or *no insight* relatively weakly bound and control both legitimate objects of study and legitimate approaches (OR-, DR-). With different strengths of social relations, these weaker epistemic relations may form part of either a knower code (ER-, SR+), where legitimacy flows from attributes of the subject, or a relativist code (ER-, SR-), where 'anything goes', depending on the strength of social relations. It could thus be described as *k(no)wer insight*

Similarly, within *social relations* it is possible to make a further distinction into different gazes based on the difference between *subjective relations* and *interactional relations.* Martin (2016) defines these as follows: "Subjective relations identify how strongly practices bound and control relations to legitimate actors as *kinds of knowers*. They concern knowers from the perspective of who they are. Interactional relations identify how strongly practices bound and control ways of *knowing*, or how knowers come to or are recognized as legitimate" (p. 198). Maton develops a description of four *gazes* to refine the description of social relations (SR) from the weaker grammars

defining the *trained gaze* and the relatively stronger grammars of the *cultivated gaze*, the *social gaze* and the *born gaze* (95):

- Where legitimacy is based on knowers possessing a *social gaze*, practices relatively strongly bound and control the kinds of knowers who can claim legitimacy but relatively weakly limit their ways of knowing (SubR+,IR-). For example, standpoint theories base legitimacy on membership of a specific social category (social class, gender, ethnicity, etc.), regardless of knowers' past or present interactions.
- Practices that base legitimacy on the possession of a *cultivated gaze* weakly bound and control legitimate categories of knower but strongly bound and control legitimate interactions with significant others (SubR-, IR+). These often involve acquiring a 'feel' for practices through, for example: extended participation in 'communities of practice' (Lave & Wenger, 1991); sustained exposure to exemplary models, such as great works of art; and prolonged apprenticeship under an acknowledged master.
- Practices that define legitimacy in terms of possessing a *born gaze* relatively strongly bound and control *both* legitimate kinds of knowers and legitimate ways of knowing (SubR+, IR+), such as religious beliefs of an act of God towards a chosen person or people, and claims to legitimacy based on both membership of a social category and experiences with significant others (e.g. standpoint theory that additionally requires mentoring by already-liberated knowers in consciousness-raising groups).
- Practices that relatively weakly bound and control both legitimate kinds of knowers and legitimate ways of knowing (SubR-, IR-) are characterized by weaker social relations that, alongside different strengths of epistemic relations, may form part of either a knowledge code (ER+, SR-) underpinned by a *trained gaze* that emphasizes the possession of a specialist knowledge and skills, or a relativist code (ER-, SR-) that offers a *blank gaze* (Maton, 2014, pp. 185-186).

4.5.4 Semantic gravity and semantic density

Moving to the dimension of semantics, the focus of semantic gravity is the extent to which knowledge is context specific. According to Maton, it is problematic when knowledge is heavily dependent on its context, because it does not integrate existing knowledge, and hence, it results in segmentalism instead of cumulative learning in education. In curricula, segmentalism is found in a focus on discrete ideas and skills rather than a focus on building on previous knowledge (Maton, 2014, p. 106).

Semantic gravity (SG) can be described along a continuum where a strong semantic gravity means that "meaning is more closely related to its social and symbolic context of acquisition or use"

(Maton, 2014, p. 110), whereas weak semantic gravity means that it is less dependent on its context and oriented "towards generalizations and abstractions" (Maton, 2014, p. 110).

Semantic density (SD), the other axis of the semantic plane, "refers to the degree of condensation of meaning within socio-cultural practices (symbols, terms, concepts, phrases, expressions, gestures, actions, clothing, etc.)" (Maton, 2014, p. 129). Strong semantic density means that meaning is highly condensed within socio-cultural practices, and the strength of semantic density depends upon the semantic structure in which the practice is embedded. It results in four principal modalities, which Maton defines as follows:

- *rhizomatic codes* (SG-, SD+) where the basis of achievement comprises relatively context-independent and complex stances;
- *prosaic codes* (SG+, SD-) where legitimacy is based on relatively context-dependent and simpler stances;
- *rarefied codes* (SG-, SD-) where legitimacy is based on relatively context-independent stances that condense fewer meanings; and
- *worldly codes* (SG+, SD+) where legitimacy is accorded to relatively context-dependent stances that are complex (Maton, 2020).

Moreover, LCT distinguishes between internal and external semantic relations of knowledge practices, where internal relations describe relationships within theoretical development and between concepts, and external relations describes the relationship between theory and the empirical world. External relations are described with specialization codes.

To exemplify the dimension, Maton uses its codes to describe the development of some of Bernstein's and Bourdieu's theories and concepts and the development of LCT itself. Describing internal relations, Maton discusses how Bernstein's theorization develops over time from preliminary typologies such as knowledge structures into principles that describe the generation of the typologies. This development exemplifies a weakening of semantic gravity and a strengthening of semantic density (Maton, 2014, p. 133). The relationship between Bourdieu's concepts *field*, *habitus* and *practice* is also an example of internal semantic relations. However, Maton argues that they are in a horizontal relationship to each other, i.e. they depend upon each other for their definition, as opposed to the vertical relationship between typologies and principles in the development of Bernstein's theorization. In terms of external semantic relations, legitimation code theory is a product of dialogue between data and theory and is thus characterized by a knowledge

code (ER+, SR-). In contrast, Maton argues that Bourdieu's theoretical framework is characterized by a lack of external language because it does not present explicit principles of translation between theory and data and because the external epistemic relation to data is weaker than it is in Bernstein's work. The external relation in Bourdieu's work is instead characterized by a knower code (ER-, SR+) seen in the double epistemological break discussed above, which argues the necessity of both a break from the viewpoint of the participants and a break from the idea of the detached observer (Maton, 2014, p. 140).

According to Maton, the potential for cumulative knowledge building is realized in what he refers to as the *cumulative modality* (Maton, 2014, p. 142). The cumulative modality is defined by an internal semantic code of low semantic gravity and high semantic density, an external semantic code of high semantic gravity and low semantic density and an underlying knowledge code. It has a cumulative potential because in its internal relation, it is context-independent, condensed and extends from lower-order to higher-order concepts; its external relation allows a dialogic relationship between theory and data, and the knowledge code allows it to extend and develop its meanings across contexts (Maton, 2014, p. 142). In contrast, he sees Bourdieu's field theory, in spite of its achievements, as an example of a *segmental modality* (Maton, 2014, p. 144), which does not have the same potential for knowledge building because it does not have the same vertical extension internally between higher- and lower-order concepts and knower code defining its external relation, which, according to Maton, results in indirect means for data to inform theory because they pass through actors' habitus.

4.6 LCT and internationalization of higher education

4.6.1 Introduction

The bibliography section at the LCT website (LCT Centre) reveals that LCT only has been applied to studies of internationalization of higher education in a handful of cases.

This section discusses the application of LCT in research into the impact of internationalization and globalization upon education relevant for the analysis of the relationships between ideologies, sociological- and epistemological structures, and inclusion in the data.

4.6.2 Applications

Provided that the dimensions apply across domains, legitimation code theory is immediately applicable as an analytical tool to e.g., comparison of teaching traditions and knowledges in the international classroom and to analysis of how differences in codes may result in barriers to recognition and acknowledgement of knowledge. Along this line, Chen et al. (2011) draw upon LCT to analyze how Chinese students respond to the constructivist pedagogy they encounter in online learning at an Australian university. They argue that international education should be seen as meetings between the dispositions acquired in the learners' previous education and the teaching practices of the course and they conclude that the knower code that dominates constructivist approaches may result in a relativist code and a feeling of being in a knowledge vacuum when its learners are not pre-equipped to understand it. Such comparisons can be a fruitful approach to begin to understand differences and difficulties in the international classroom as not merely cultural differences and to explain the foundations of evaluation of knowledge in a particular course to accommodate learners socialized into other traditions. Compared to the rejection resulting from the essentialist approaches discussed in Chapter 2, it opens the possibility of inclusion through socialization by describing the basis of evaluation.

Doherty (2008) uses Bernstein's and Maton's frameworks to analyze how cultural knowledge is legitimated, and how culture is produced in an online international management course based on a constructivist approach where cultural difference is seen as a curricular asset. She concludes that strong classification produces exclusive categories and conceals cultural interdependencies which does not support the intentions of the pedagogic design. Doherty's findings thus confirm the theoretical discussion of neo-essentialist approaches in Chapter 2.

Doherty (2010) explores the role of vertical and horizontal knowledge structures and knowledge- and knower codes for participation of international students that speak English as an additional language. She shows that it requires careful consideration of students' linguistic skills and the linguistic signposting in the lecture to incorporate knower mode knowledge into the vertical discourse of the curriculum.

While not relating directly to interactions in the internationalized classroom, studies that have drawn upon LCT to discuss knowledge in a globalized world are included here, because they

point directly to the application of LCT in analysis of practices in the analysis of the data from the three programs.

Luckett (2010) draws upon legitimation code theory to discuss curriculum recontextualization in South African higher education. She starts from a critique of postcolonial and exclusive Afro-centric approaches. Often associated with concerns about social inequality, they are founded on the assumption that all knowledge is inseparable from the interests of its knowers. They rely on radical constructivist voice epistemologies which, according to Luckett (2010), "erroneously assume that because all people are equal (in terms of moral worth), the epistemological status of their ideas and beliefs should also be regarded as equal" (p. 11). However, these approaches can only deconstruct the dominant approaches, and because they draw upon social gazes they become exclusive and render cumulative knowledge building difficult. Instead, Luckett proposes a curriculum recontextualization that recognizes the importance of the social conditions required to produce powerful knowledge and that does not let immediate demands of social relevance undermine the conditions and institutions that produce knowledge that can be applied beyond its immediate context. Luckett argues that if

> a knowledge form with a 'horizontal knowledge structure' and a 'weak grammar' based on a 'knower code' gets recontextualized into curriculum knowledge, it will accord greater space to the interests, dispositions and social position of the knower, than a knowledge form based on a 'knowledge code' - thus allowing more discursive space for the cultural arbitrary and ideology to play (Luckett, 2010, p. 18).

Clegg (2016) discusses effects of neoliberalism and globalization upon education and knowledge production. She argues that neoliberalism along with the massification, and especially the vocationalization of higher education, may have resulted in social access to education, but not in increased epistemic access to "powerful knowledge". Powerful knowledge, she explains, "is more than just the knowledge of the powerful […]. Powerful knowledge is knowledge which gives access to better and more reliable explanations of the world and abstract ways of thinking" (Clegg, 2016, p. 3). Powerful knowledge is associated with traditional disciplinary knowledge. It is context-independent, i.e., it has low semantic gravity, and it is strongly classified and framed. However, she points out, recent developments in human capital theory have changed emphasis towards trainability and a performance mode "devoid of knowledge content" (Clegg, 2016, p. 5) and of

powerful knowledge. The development is, according to Clegg, particularly characteristic of the institutions attended by the least privileged students. At the same time though, Clegg also stresses that powerful knowledge can be found in contexts of application, e.g., in medicine and engineering and she also argues for the necessity of contextualizing education and indeed the value of knowledge produced outside the academy and outside the global North – particularly in social movements. While voice epistemologies are in danger of essentializing identity, knowledge produced outside the academy can under certain conditions and from certain social positions reveal the doxa which masks exploitation and misrecognize sources of power (Clegg, 2016, p. 9). Clegg thus points to what is perhaps the greatest danger when using LCT: one may misrecognize the value of regional knowledge because it does not fit into the recipe for cumulative knowledge building.

4.6.3 Application in the project

LCT can provide an elaboration of the understanding of international higher education as meetings between students socialized into different knowledge systems because it can be used to provide detailed and complex descriptions of differences and similarities. Dimensions from LCT are therefore drawn upon in the project to describe the programs and the criteria the students use to evaluate them.

Although they are not researching internationalization, Luckett (2010) and Clegg (2016) bring forward three central themes of internationalization: the accommodation of regional knowledge in the academy, the role of ideology in structuring knowledge and its implications for inclusion through epistemic access; and the space opened for unchallenged ideology - or the cultural arbitrary - in horizontal knowledge structures. These are central themes in the analysis of encounters in the project.

4.7 Conclusion

The chapter has outlined and discussed the theory and empirical research applied in the project.

The starting point in Bourdieu's work was chosen because the exclusion of international students or the deficit view reported in research on internationalization can be explored as a failure to recognize knowledge produced under other cultural arbitraries (nationality, culture, social class, discipline etc.), i.e., a starting point in Bourdieu's concepts symbolic power and symbolic violence.

However, the call from interculturalists for inclusive approaches in the classroom inspired a theoretical framework which can capture truly inclusive education and therefore data was produced with a double theoretical lens to open Bourdieu's idea of reproduction of the dominant cultural arbitrary through symbolic power and symbolic violence with the Levinasian notion of violence as the opposite of power because it reduces the otherness of the other to the same. Moreover, it emphasizes the role of concrete experience of otherness rather than culturally structured mental categories. While Bourdieu's concepts can describe how encounters are externally structured by the disciplinary field and the institutional approach to internationalization and by the field of power, knowledge internal structures are better described through Maton's legitimation code theory.

The application of Bourdieu's sociology of education and of the academic field as well as Maton's Legitimation Code Theory in research into internationalization and globalization has been discussed to argue that 1) while Bourdieu's theory was developed before the present day globalization and reflects a different relationship between state, university and knowledge than we see today, his theorization is still relevant and can contribute to a valuable analysis that takes relationships in international higher education beyond encounters between nationalities or cultures to complex encounters structured by a global field and its ideologies as well as by socialization into national, regional, disciplinary etc. fields, where authority and legitimacy of knowledge is reproduced and challenged; and 2) that knowledge-internal structures have to be included in the analysis because they are ideologically structured and structure encounters and knowledge-building. While I thus maintain Bourdieu's structuralist constructivist stance, I also agree with Maton when he argues that knowledge cannot be reduced to knowing or knowers.

Compared to traditional approaches to intercultural communication and research into encounters between students in the international classroom, this opens up the epistemological reduction of otherness to the same and constructs it as a product of knowledge internal structures and the subjective viewpoint. It allows researching inclusion in higher education in the tension between the ethical and interpersonal experience on the one hand, and the socially and epistemically structured on the other.   In the analysis of data produced at the three programs, Bourdieu's sociology of education and the academic field and its application in international fields serve as a starting point. However, it is supplemented with the perspectives from Levinas and Maton discussed above because Bourdieu's educational sociology renders successful internationalization

as other than socialization into a dominant framework difficult because he theorizes that for a pedagogic action to be successful, it must rest on a pedagogic authority whose authority is granted through its institutional position and congruence between the transmitted cultural arbitrary and that of the students. The Levinasian perspective is, in other words, applied to look for practices where authority is maintained but the transmitted cultural arbitrary challenged.

Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The chapter starts with a section that provides reflections upon the choice of data types, what kind of knowledge they each give access to, and some reflections upon the implications for the data production of combining the Bourdieusian and Levinasian lenses. The next section introduces the three programs in the study, presents the data-production process in more detail, and finally discusses the process of coding and analyzing the data. The data comprises 98 hours of observation of teaching situations of which 12 were carried out by a colleague (see overview below), 19 semi-structured interviews with students, conducted together with Lisanne Wilken, with each lasting between one hour and one and a half hour, and the presentation of the programs in the marketing material from Aarhus University (Aarhus University, 2011). The interview data from Program 1 is supplemented with quotes from the survey conducted by Lisanne Wilken (see Appendix 1). In the analysis of the data, I also draw upon results from Wilken's (nd-a) survey and an interview study conducted by Hanne Tange (2016).

5.2 Introductory methodological reflections

The section introduces general methodological reflections that had implications for both the process of producing data and for the construction of an analytical framework.

With knowledge-encounters, i.e., recognition, acknowledgement, and negotiation of knowledge, as the central object of the study, I chose practices studied through non-participant observations as the main type of data in the study because it gives access to observe practices in the arena of their genesis (Larsen, 2009, p. 37), i.e., the structures of the field, here understood as the legitimation structures of the individual program, its pedagogy and the knowledge habitus of the participating agents. It also means, in other words, that the three programs are treated analytically as three different sub-fields.

However, to more fully describe the structures of the fields and the habitus of the participants, the observations are supplemented with semi-structured interviews, marketing material from the university, and results from other sub-projects in the larger project as described below.

To further describe the local fields, i.e., the programs, I draw upon the programs' presentations in the university's marketing material. I also draw upon results from a study presented in Tange (2016). Through a thematic analysis of 19 interviews with lecturers from the three programs in my study, Tange's study asks to what extent default centers of normalcy are implied at the programs. It focuses on the lecturers' reflections on concrete classroom practices such as construction of international curricula, interdisciplinarity and the program's disciplinary relationships, and evaluation practices. The study is used to supplement the description of the epistemologies and pedagogies of the programs identified in the observation data. On a few occasions I also draw upon unpublished transcripts from these interviews. This is clearly indicated in the analysis.

Moreover, I draw upon a survey carried out by Wilken (nd-a) to describe the composition of the student cohort at each of the programs as part of the program's structure as well as to get insights into the background of the individual students. While nationality is commonly applied in studies of internationalization, we understand the international classroom as more complex than as simply producing encounters between different nationalities or cultures. Citizenship may influence who has free access to the programs as Danes and EU-citizens can study in Denmark for free and the symbolic capital of the student's knowledge may be influenced by national or regional belonging, but as Bourdieu (1999a) argued, knowledge circulates without its context and is not necessarily recognized outside the context that has produced it. It suggests that a focus on the disciplinary background and international experience of the participating students is more relevant than nationality because it provides insights into the contexts that have shaped their habitus, and thus the knowledge they may in turn recognize. Moreover, as Bourdieu's work demonstrated that the degree of heterogeneity as well as autonomy (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) influence relations in the classroom, and the position in social space influence how the individual navigates in "spaces of possibles" (Lamaison & Bourdieu, 1986) and thus informs choice of education and potentially also what is recognized as relevant knowledge, the analysis draws upon a more detailed mapping of the participating students. Wilken's (nd-a)study uses the survey to describe each program's composition regarding the students' national/ regional backgrounds, educational backgrounds, social class, international profiles, mobility strategies and educational strategies [2]. Secondly, I have

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[2] See Appendix 1 for further description of Wilken's study

used the semi-structured interviews with students from the programs to get further insights into students' knowledge habitus. These insights are obtained through the students' descriptions of their previous education and their evaluations of knowledge practices expressed in the interviews. Finally, the programs' marketing materials are also used to describe the structures of the programs. They provide insights into how the program is presented and thus also to some extent into what the students might expect.

Moreover, as interviews, in line with a Bourdieusian philosophy of science (e.g. Bourdieu, 1968, 1977, 1988b; Bourdieu, 1996b), give access to positioned evaluations of the knowledge presented by the program and by the other students, they can serve as a supplement to the observations of practices. Here, the results from the survey are used to further describe the individual student's point of view and the profiles and strategies are taken into consideration as potentially significant for recognition, acknowledgement, and negotiation of knowledge.

The overall framework and data relations outlined above are inspired by Bourdieu and relate encounters or practices to structured and structuring structures. However, the Levinasian perspective is included to be able to see beyond and explore if the encounter with the Other can challenge the structuring influences.

The choice of combining non-participant observations with semi-structured interviews, which originates in Bourdieu's methodological reflections (Bourdieu, 1996b, 2003; Larsen, 2009), also reflects the concern for how to engage with the perspective of the Other. The observations were carried out as non-participant observations (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) with a focus on practice rather than on experience - neither mine nor the participants' - which is a methodological choice grounded in the belief that it is not possible to achieve an experience similar to that of the participants. It is in other words a recognition that it would involve a reduction of the experience of the *Other* to that of the researcher, and instead, distance is a guiding principle of the observations. In contrast, the interviews serve the purpose of including the perspectives of the participants. In a Bourdieusian sense, they provide insights into positioned experiences and cognitive structures. For that reason, they were conducted as semi-structured interviews with time and space to pursue issues raised by the interviewees. In Bourdieu's understanding, knowledge produced in the interviews is structured by the interviewees' experience of their position in social space (Bourdieu,

1996b). The Levinasian perspective (Levinas, 1996, 1998) is applied as a hesitation to perform the comprehension in analysis and representation.

The inclusion of Levinas' ethics in the project's framework also entails a reflection upon the relationship between researcher, theory and the researched in the process of production, analysis and representation of knowledge about interpersonal knowledge relationships. Bourdieu's reflexive sociology (e.g. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992b) as well as e. g. his reflection upon the interview process as discussed below has a lot to offer in a discussion of the researcher's structured and structuring perspective as well as of the engagement with *the Other's* perspective, but the inclusion of Levinas in the project's epistemology calls for further elaboration of these relationships.

The tension between *the said* and *the saying* (Levinas, 1998) serves as a metaphor for the process. *The Said* – understood as theorization and representation in the research product - involves a totalization of meaning and a potential reduction as the research site and *the Other i*s approached from the researcher's horizon constituted by experiences and categories of understanding. *The saying*, on the other hand, operates beyond categorization and involves the open-ended dialogue and the interdependency of the self and the other, but paradoxically, it needs *the said* to be expressed. How then can *the saying* be present in the research process? The theoretical reflexivity produced by the double theoretical lens is part of the attempt to open a theoretical dialogue in the process of data production and to create a space for data that points beyond Bourdieu's concepts. However, while I have applied contrasting theoretical lenses, the production of data is necessarily also limited by the lenses.

The interdependency between the self and *the Other*, which defines *the saying*, is embedded in the relationship between the researcher and the empirical material, which informs and challenges the researcher's theorization, but like pronunciation of *the Othe*r is both recognition and reduction, research, which essentially is comprehension, is also potentially violence in the Levinasian sense.

While the double theoretical lens produced a relatively broad vision and had the potential to identify many types of encounters, it is also a lens where inclusion has a constructivist and knower-oriented bias. While the addition of Maton's framework in the analysis-process was driven by the need for a language to describe knowledge-internal structures, it can also address this bias.

5.3 Producing data

5.3.1. Selecting the programs, negotiating access, and finding participants

The larger project group negotiated access to five international master programs. The programs were chosen to represent a broad spectrum of disciplines as well as interdisciplinary programs. Moreover, among the programs are both relatively new as well as older programs. The three programs in my study differ significantly in terms of disciplines, internationalization history, and pedagogic approach.

Wilken's survey covers all the programs, but for the production of qualitative data, the programs were divided between the group-members. At one of the programs (Program 1), I shared access to observe classes and other course-related activities with another PhD-student. However, her project was not completed. Hanne Tange and Peter Kastberg have conducted interviews with the lecturers at the three programs that are part of my analysis.

Program 1 is a program in Business Studies with courses in economics and organization. All permanent members of staff are from the same department, but a number of the courses and lectures are taught by external lecturers who are brought in because of their practical business experience. The courses are primarily taught as lectures, but they also rely on study cafés taught by student instructors. It is one of the oldest international programs at Aarhus University and it was designed to attract international students. Originally, the program was based at Aarhus School of Business, which merged with Aarhus University in 2011. In 2012, 103 students were accepted. 83 of them were Danish. Moreover, among the international students, many took their BA at Aarhus University.

Program 2 and Program 3 are newer programs and they each respond to political and strategic priorities in the field of education and as such they represent approaches to internationalization that were prominent at the time.

Program 2 is a program in Development Studies. It combines courses from Natural Science and the Humanities, and the permanent members of staff are therefore from two different faculties. However, a large proportion of the classes are co-taught between academics and external consultants who work in development programs. All courses are taught as seminars introduced by a short lecture. The program ran for the first time in 2011 and it was considered a flagship for Aarhus University's new internationalization strategy. It stresses interdisciplinarity and the program recruits

some of its students through "Building Stronger Universities" which aims to strengthen education in developing countries and offers funding for selected students from partner universities (Universities Denmark, 2011). 21 students were accepted in 2012. Four of them were Danish.

Finally, Program 3 is an Erasmus Mundus program in journalism and media studies. It is a collaboration between Aarhus University and a university college. From the university, it offers courses in media studies and political science and it is thus a collaboration between two faculties. Furthermore, it is a collaboration with several partner universities and the students therefore spend either one or two semesters in Aarhus before they move to other universities for the rest of the program. The teaching is a combination of lectures, seminars, workshops, and instructor classes. The course was founded in 2008 and its status as Erasmus Mundus program is used to attract students. The most talented students are offered stipends and it is highly competitive. In 2012 the student intake was 68 and three of the students were Danish.

The programs - and especially the composition of the student cohort - are described in more detail in the analysis.

As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) point out, negotiating access is a continuing process, and I negotiated terms of access with individual lecturers and students throughout the process. However, introductory meetings were also held with all three programs. At Program 1, the course convenor offered a meeting in which we were given information about the history of the program, its structure and its student organizations. Subsequently, it was up to me to contact relevant lecturers and negotiate terms of access, but it was also suggested that I observed the program's study cafés, which were offered to give the international students a chance to catch up with the Danish students. At Program 2 and 3, the course convenors organized meetings with participation of all the lecturers. At the meetings, our project was introduced, and terms of access were negotiated directly and immediately with the lecturers, and we were given information about the history of the programs as well as insight into their approaches to internationalization. We experienced that it was more difficult to establish contact to relevant lecturers at Program 1 and negotiate access than it was at the other two programs, which may be explained by the differences in the introductory meetings, but perhaps also in the programs' differences in the approaches to internationalization. I will return to these differences in the analytical chapters.

At program 1, I had access to study cafés in an economics course and two lectures in organization and internationalization. The lectures in the course were given by several different lecturers, but only one lecturer responded to my request to observe the lectures. My colleague had access to the study cafés and lectures in economics. The study cafés were intended to be based on group work and they were led by student instructors. The lectures with the lecturer who agreed to participate combined short lectures with group work and role play. Both courses ran during the first semester. The lectures attended by my colleague were traditional lectures. At program 2, I had full access to two courses. One first-semester course combining natural science and project-management and a second semester course in scientific methods. Here, the sessions combined short lectures, class discussions and group work. At the third program, I had access to lectures and seminars in the first course that ran in the program. However, the lecturer was worried that observation of study groups and tutorials run by student instructors would be too intrusive during the first course. It was a course about reporting in the global field. I also had access to the seminars in the course that ran as the second course in the first semester. It was a political science course, and the class was divided into two groups. The seminars were a combination of lectures, class discussions and group work.

Participants for the interviews were found partly by myself as I talked to the students during breaks while I was observing the classes and partly by a research assistant who used contact information gathered in Wilken's survey. The aim was to have all profiles and strategies represented in the interviews. However, since the international master students are only in Denmark for a relatively short period of time (up to four semesters for the students at Program 1, two or three semesters for the students at Program 2, and one or two semesters for the students at Program 3), the final analysis of the survey- and interview-data to develop the profiles and strategies took place after my observations and interviews. Therefore, the process of selecting interviewees and focusing the observations was guided by preliminary analyses of the survey data, which resulted in a degree of uncertainty regarding the full representation of profiles and strategies. More importantly, the selection of interviewees was limited by who agreed to participate. At Program 1 and, to some extent, at Program 2, we encountered difficulties when recruiting participants. At Program 1, only 8 out of 103 students answered that they were willing to participate in an interview. However, two of them did not provide contact information and out of the six we invited, only three responded.

From Program 2, 18 students included in my study participated in the survey. 10 of these wrote that they would agree to participate in an interview. Some of the domestic students declined with the explanation that they were not relevant for our project because they did not participate in international education. E.g. as one student from Program 2 writes on the survey: "No. I do not think that I am a member of your primary target group". In the end, four students were interviewed. At Program 3, 48 out of 66 participants initially agreed to participate. We interviewed 12.

At Program 2 and Program 3, the observations generally cover all the major profiles and strategies identified by Wilken.[3] The interviews also represent almost all profiles and strategies at Program 3, but at Program 2, one of the profiles found at the program and one of the strategies, which are both relatively large, are not represented in the interviews. While the data thus provide insight into how encounters unfold in the classroom, the additional insights into how encounters are perceived from these particular positions are missing in the data.

As the data-overview below shows, there is less data from Program 1. I have, however, still chosen to include the program. As it is the case in the analysis of Program 2 and Program 3, observation-data provides insights into how encounters unfold as well as into the knowledge structures and pedagogies of the program, and the knowledge habitus of the participating students. While there are fewer hours of observation, the insights they provide into the knowledge structures and pedagogies of the program are supported by Tange and Kastberg's interviews with the lecturers from the program, the insights into the habitus of the students are supported by Wilken's survey including qualitative comments, and, finally, my own observations are supported by the observations carried out by my colleague. My own observations are thus supported and confirmed through method- and investigator triangulation (e.g. Flick, 2009, p. 444). Moreover, the unfolding of the encounters is highly consistent across the observations at the program and the interview impressions are confirmed in the qualitative data from Wilken's survey.[4] In regard to representation of the different profiles and strategies, Program 1 is far more homogeneous that Program 2 and Program 3 and, in consequence, the three interviews in fact represents most of the profiles and strategies found at the program.

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[3] See Appendix 1for a full account of the representation of the profiles and strategies in my data
[4] While there is less observation- and interview data from Program 1 than the other two programs, Wilken's survey has far more participants from Program 1 than from Program 2 and Program 3.

Program 1

Observations		Interviews
Course 1		3 Supplemented with quotes from Wilken's survey
Lectures	3x2 hours[5]	
Study cafe	2x3 hours 2x3 hours	
Course 2		
Lectures including group work	2x2 hours	

Program 2

Observations		Interviews
Introductory days	6 hours	4
Course 1		
Seminars with short lectures, class-discussions and group work	8 visits, 12 hours in total	
Course 2		
Seminars with short lectures, class-discussions and group work	7 visits, 19 hours in total	

Program 3

Observations		Interviews
Welcome reception	2 hours	12
Course 1	5 visits, 22 hours in total	

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[5] Observations marked with red were carried out by a colleague whose detailed notes I had access to.

Each session comprises lecture, group work and class discussions		
<u>Course 2</u> Each session comprises lecture, group work and class discussions	5 visits, 15 hours in total	

A comprehensive data-overview which includes the representation of profiles and strategies at each program can be found in Appendix 1.

5.3.2 Informed consent

The participating lecturers were informed of the project at the introductory meetings or, in the case of the lecturers at Program 1, via e-mails. They knew that the larger project researched internationalization at Aarhus University and that my project was about knowledge. The lecturers at the programs had agreed to participate before we met, but especially for the younger and less experienced lecturers in non-tenured positions with more at stake, observations of their classes may have been experienced as a pressure. One of the younger lecturers only gave access to observe classes in the second semester.

At Program 1, the students were informed through their lecturers. At Programs 2 and 3, the students were informed about our presence during the programs' introductory days. I explained that my research was about knowledge in international education, and I stressed that while I was interested in knowledge, I was not assessing their knowledge or their academic skills. I also stressed that they could withdraw from the project at any time.

When I observed lectures and class discussions after the introductory days, I did not ask the students for permission to observe them again. However, when I observed smaller groups, I asked for permission each time.

All interviewees consented to have the interviews recorded.

5.3.3 Anonymity and privacy

Participants were promised anonymity to the extent that it is possible. It means that I have provided as little personal information about them as possible for the analytical points to come across. An

important aim of the thesis is to provide alternatives to the traditional focus in the literature where international students are seen as representatives of national or regional cultures. Wilken's survey provides this information and the information is part of both observation notes and interview transcripts and the question of whether it is significant has also been present in the process of analysis, but the aim has been to look for alternatives. For that reason this information is supplemented with information about disciplinary background, social class, international profile, and mobility- and educational strategies drawn from Wilken's (nd-a) work in the analysis. This information provides insight into their knowledge habitus, their international experience, and how they perceive their possibilities in education and in a globalized labor market, which may influence encounters. However, in the analysis, nationality or regional origin is only in focus when it emerges from the analysis as significant. This is when national or regional origin, e.g. as a s*ocial* or a *born gaze*, becomes a legitimation criterion in a discussion, or when regional hierarchies seem to emerge in group formations. The interview participants are identified with a number code which refers to a table which provides information about region, discipline, social class, international profile, and mobility- and educational strategies. A full table with information about all the interview participants can be found in Appendix 2. The observation participants are represented with a code that only gives information about the students' discipline and region and the lecturers title and discipline. Information about region is not provided for the lecturers because they are all Danish except one. In that case, the title as visiting researcher reveals that he is not local. An overview of the codes used can also be found in Appendix 2. In almost all cases, the full profiles of the individual students are known to us and used in the analysis, but it is not provided in the text for several reasons. Firstly, it is not provided because I wish to prevent identification of individual participants across interviews and observations. This is, however, not possible to prevent in all cases. Secondly, it is not provided about the individual student because in the observations, general constellations in group formations and interactions are often more relevant for the analysis than information about individual students' profiles and strategies.

As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p. 267) emphasize, the distinction between the public and the private is rarely clear-cut. The negotiation of this distinction has also been present in the production and analysis of the data for this project. While the participants were informed of the research, and my eager note-taking made the observations overt, I also moved from the public space

of the lecture theatre over the more private space of group work to whispered comments during breaks and group work which contained important information about authority and inclusion. Especially the last kind of data was problematic, because while it was produced by the participants only for a few other of their fellow students, it provided essential information about their recognition and evaluation of presented knowledge in several cases. In these cases, I have included it in the analysis and the documentation.

Over time, problematic situations began to occur, especially at one of the programs, and the reporting of these situations may put participants in a negative light. I am very grateful that the participants allowed me to observe the classes even on occasions that they knew beforehand would involve conflict. These situations turned out to provide key data for understanding the role of legitimation structures for authority and inclusion. They show how the tension arises from the complexity of the structures involved and the ideologies that structure the knowledge at play in the field, which also removes it from being questions of individual prejudice or ignorance.

5.3.4 Observations

Observations are the primary source of data in the study. In line with Bourdieu's concept of reflexivity (e.g. Bourdieu, 2003, see discussion in Chapter 1), the literature on observation stresses that our past influences and the theoretical framework one enters the field with play a role for what is observed (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2010; Wolcott, 1994). Therefore, it is an important part of the methodology that my observations of knowledge encounters were carried out with the double theoretical lens of the contrasting understandings of power found in Bourdieu and Levinas.

Wolcott (1994) lists four strategies the observer can apply to select and structure what is observed in the particular events. One of the strategies is "Looking for Paradoxes" (p. 162). To some extent, the strategy I developed has similarities to looking for paradoxes at the sites. However, these paradoxes were defined by the tension between the previous empirical research, which has demonstrated the exclusion of the international student, and the normative calls for inclusion in the internationalization literature and intercultural ethics, i.e. the tension within intercultural communication research between "what is" and "what ought to be".

In lectures, seminars and groupwork, I have observed how encounters between students, between students and teaching assistants, and between students and lecturers unfold with a focus

on what/ whose knowledge is recognized and acknowledged, how it is legitimated and how knowledge is negotiated. The double theoretical lens opened a relatively broad spectrum of encounters with rejection of "other" knowledge where knowledge was legitimated with reference to the dominant framework and the other's socialization into the dominant framework in one end, and instances of recognition of "other" knowledge and negotiation or realization of the arbitrariness of the dominant framework's claim to objectivity and its insufficiency in representing the experiences of the *Other*.

Observations were relational in the sense that while I focused on the students, I was interested in their relations with other agents and particularly their knowledge-relations, i.e., how they position themselves in relation toknowledge presented by other agents or positions. More specifically, I observed how they related verbally and non-verbally to knowledge presented in the readings, the lectures and in discussions with other students, but also how they included or excluded knowledge from their previous education and experience.

The observations were carried out as non-participant observations or observer as participant (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). This approach was chosen for several reasons. With a Bordieusian approach, I am interested in the relational and not in the subjective experience of a participant, and it would not be possible to achieve an experience similar to the participants, because what is at stake for me as researcher is not similar to what is at stake for the agents in the field. Moreover, I am studying a field that I am already familiar with – to a varying degree in the three subfields that the programs constitute. As a former student and now employee, Aarhus University has been part of my daily life for many years and I am familiar with the student role at Aarhus University. At Program 1, I have taught courses in the BA program that many of the students have followed. Program 2 is taught in rooms and buildings where I teach myself and I occasionally meet students and staff from the program in the corridors and in the cafeteria. Program 3 is physically further away from my daily life, but like at the other two programs, some of its courses has content that I am familiar with. I have, in other words, knowledge about the field beyond what is immediately observable. As Larsen (2009) points out, when studying a field one is already familiar with, the non-participant strategy is advisable. The approach allows one to establish distance to the observed. Finally, while the Levinasian perspective does not come with a methodology or a method for

producing empirical data, the non-participant approach is a way to remain aware of the process of interpretation of the data and the violence and power it entails.

In line with Hammersley and Atkinson's (1995) advice on impression management, I introduced myself as PhD-*student* (and not PhD-candidate or PhD-scholar) to both lecturers and students. I chose this version of the title deliberately because both lecturers and students might worry that my research involved an assessment of their performance, and I therefore wanted to stress my student-role. Furthermore, I also explained that I was interested in how knowledge was negotiated among participants in international education and stressed that while I was interested in knowledge, I was not evaluating them or their knowledge. At Program 2, I physically sat in a middle position between the lecturers and the students on the first day of the program. As Program 2 had a relatively small student intake, the introductory day shared many characteristics with a seminar, and the lay-out of the room was like a seminar with the tables in a horseshoe-formation, and the students were asked to do groupwork. While I introduced myself and my project, I was also introduced by the lecturers in a way that might have associated me with the lecturer group. At the significantly larger programs 1 and 3, the introductory days took place in an auditorium where I sat among the students and introduced myself and my project to the students towards the end of the first session.

In line with Dewalt and Dewalt's (2010) advise on a representative selection of events to observe, I attempted to attend several courses at each program and visit each course several times to see how acknowledgement and negotiation of knowledge developed over time. The time aspect is important – and proved important in my data – because events naturally develop over time. They are part of cycles, in this case semesters and academic years, and peoples' relationships develop, and the participants become accustomed to the presence of the researcher (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2010; O'Reilly, 2012). The selected events are not immediately comparable across the programs due to differences in the structures of the programs and big differences in the number of students accepted to the programs. However, in the selection of events, I have taken care to compensate as much as possible and for instance include observations of events with both larger groups and smaller groups at each program.

In lectures with many participants as well as in seminars, I usually sat in the back of the auditorium to be able to see the students' screens and interactions among the students. Moreover,

it made my presence in the auditorium less visible and intrusive. However, it also meant that it was more difficult to see e.g., facial expressions. When I observed groupwork, I asked the group for permission to observe them before the work started. Except on one occasion, when a group needed to resolve a personal conflict before their academic work could begin, I always got permission, and on a number of occasions, groups approached me and said that I was welcome to observe them. When observing group work, I would usually sit next to their table or slightly behind their table in order not to signal participation in the group.

In each session, I observed two to three groups. When I decided which groups to observe, I took the composition of the group into consideration and, moreover, attempted to pursue two strategies to avoid observation bias, i.e. the likelihood of observing unusual events more closely than ordinary events (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2010). On the one hand, I observed groups where there was visible disagreement, discussion and sometimes even conflict among the students or between the group and the knowledge the lecturers represented; but on the other hand, I also made sure to observe groups where there, at least at the surface level, was more coherence and agreement. When observing lectures and seminars, I took care to focus both on the lecturers' discussion with the active students and to shift focus to students who participated less actively in the class discussions.

Naturally, the presence of an observer may influence the way people interact, but it is my impression that the students quickly grew accustomed to my presence, which also shows in the discussions I witnessed, and on a couple of occasions in conflicts among the students as well as among students and lecturers.

The observations were written down in notebooks as a running record (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2010) and in a note style *resembling* realism (Van Maanen, 1988) . While the focus was determined by the theoretical perspectives, I aimed at detailed descriptions of the events and verbal exchanges kept apart from interpretations and analysis. A running record was chosen because it would be difficult to retain the academic content of lectures and exchanges without writing the notes down immediately. Moreover, especially in discussions, verbatim conversation is an important source of information about negotiation of knowledge, and listening to lectures, it was difficult to predict what the students would respond to or discuss afterwards. While intense note-taking may be a source of disturbance in many observation settings, note-taking is a normal activity in the class-

room, and because of the value of this type of notes, I decided that it outweighed potential disadvantages. Moreover, since I am not an expert in all the fields covered in the courses I observed, relying on memory seemed a dangerous strategy where important information could get lost or it would be difficult to double-check the notes for potential misunderstandings. In a few cases, I have consulted people trained in the disciplines to make sure I had understood the academic content correctly. The material in the field notes thus consists of verbal exchanges, text from the blackboard and power points; and notes regarding body-language, movements in the room and, e.g., who the students chose to sit next to. Observations were written on the left page of the notebook, and initial analyses on the right side. Furthermore, as part of the observation-process, I also collected documents such as course outlines and notes handed out to the students and accessed through the programs' learning platforms.

My own observations are supported by eight hours of observations conducted by a colleague. She handed over her observation notes when she decided not to finish her project.

5.3.5 Interviews

All the interviews were semi-structured, individual interviews structured by a number of themes and associated questions (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008). The themes concerned the educational background of the students, their motivation for participating in international education, and their assessment of the knowledge provided by the program and the contributions of the other students, as well as their own role in the classroom (see Appendix 2). The interviews were conducted together with Lisanne Wilken. We decided to do the interviews together, because while we were interested in different aspects of the students' experience, we would in many cases need to interview the same students, and we wanted to avoid competing over participants or asking the students to set aside time for two interviews. As Monforte and Úbeda-Colomer (2021) argue, this approach is unconventional, but fruitful. In our experience, it was also a very fruitful approach. However, its effects needs to be addressed in more detail.

Bourdieu poetically describes the interview-situation as a situation that requires "*intellectual love*" (Bourdieu, 1996b, p. 24) or as "*a spiritual exercise*, aiming to obtain, *through forgetfulness of self*, a true *transformation of the view* we take of others in the ordinary circumstances of life"

(Bourdieu, 1996b, p. 24).[6] What Bourdieu here calls for is an active discarding of the power the researcher has to impose his or her perspective upon the researched and an attempt to understand the other's perspective. The idea of intellectual love or forgetfulness of self has an almost Levinasian undertone. However, its presence in a methodological discussion points to problem of the epistemological or even instrumental nature of the relationship between researcher and researched, which becomes very present in the interview situation. The question is whether such a change of perspective and forgetfulness of self is possible. In Bourdieu's methodology, the best solution lies in reflexivity and objectivation. Bourdieu advocates that in contrast to the unstructured and the structured interview, the semi-structured interview allows active and methodological listening (Bourdieu, 1996b). But it also requires craftmanship and "reflexive reflexivity" (Bourdieu, 1996b, p. 18), which he explains as the ability to monitor the interview situation and respond appropriately. He elaborates:

> It combines the display of total attention to the person questioned, submission to the singularity of her own life history – which may lead, by a kind of more or less controlled imitation, to adopting her language and espousing her views, feelings and thoughts – with methodological construction, founded on the knowledge of objective conditions common to an entire social category (Bourdieu, 1996b, p. 19).

Bourdieu's approach to interviewing as an act of methodological listening points to the importance of experience instead of following a rigid method. Being an inexperienced interviewer myself, doing the interviews together with an experienced interviewer meant that there was more time for active listening, language adaptation and formulation of relevant questions. Monforte and Úbeda-Colomer (2021) experiences are similar and while they were also relatively inexperienced, it is an approach which can assist also the experienced interviewer interviewers in creating space for active listening.

The knowledge required to understand the interviewee's position can be obtained either through a whole life of research or through previous interviews with the same interviewees (Bourdieu, 1996b). In the interviews, we drew upon knowledge obtained through the survey

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[6] The article was originally a chapter in "The Weight of the World: social suffering in contemporary society" Bourdieu, P. (1999b). *The Weight of the World*. Polity Press. . It discusses the interviewer-interviewee relation and is therefore referenced here separately.

(Wilken, nd-b), from the initial observations as well as extensive literature reviews on the subject of international students to establish an understanding of the objective conditions. Moreover, the interviews began with questions that in detail explored the interviewee's family- and educational background as well as his or her hopes and expectations. With this approach, we established both structural knowledge about their position in social space and room for more phenomenologically inspired elaboration of their personal experiences that often characterizes the semi-structured interview (Bourdieu, 1996b; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008). While Bourdieu's methodological account stresses knowledge about the objective conditions that has shaped the interviewee's habitus as prerequisite for understanding his or her experiences, it is also an approach which potentially involves reduction. This is discussed further in the section on analysis below.

The interview situation also involves an inherent danger of symbolic violence because the interviewer sets the rules for the interview, its interpretation and use. Initially, the idea was to open the interviews with an invitation to a narrative account of the interviewee's educational experiences to get passages with as little interviewer influence as possible. However, the approach did not produce very good results because the interviewees requested more specific questions. Instead, the first part of the interviews were used to get the interviewees to describe the knowledge-content and the pedagogic approaches they had experienced in their previous education to get insights into their knowledge habitus and educational strategies and get concrete experiences and practices to talk about in relation to their experiences in international education.

The asymmetric power relation can also produce resistance to the researcher's objectivation because the interviewee's image is at stake (Bourdieu, 1996b, p. 25). While it is likely that this process is present to some degree most of the time in an interview, it was visibly present in some of the interviews with Western European and American students who stressed how they had formed very diverse groups. This contrasted with the process observed in class and in contrast to the composition of the groups we analyzed. While there may be many reasons for the formation of relatively homogenous groups, the emphasis these interviewees placed upon diversity in the interviews suggests that they – perhaps subconsciously - wish to impose a tolerant, cosmopolitan image. However, these instances may also represent a tension between the structuring of the field and the interpersonal obligation to engage in ethical encounters.

The asymmetry between interviewer and interviewee may be further enforced if the interviewer has a higher social position than the interviewee, and in particular if the interviewer has more cultural and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1996b, pp. 18-19). In *The Weight of the World* (Bourdieu, 1999b), Bourdieu experimented with using interviewers without formal sociological training to defuse the situation and thus provide space for the individual point of view. However, a lot of these interviews were discarded and never became part of the final publication because of overidentification between interviewer and interviewee (Couldry, 2005). As PhD-student and associate professor respectively, we have higher positions within the university than the master students we interview. Both of us are also associated with Aarhus University, and as a result, the interview situation to some extent also reproduces the institutional relationships and practices we are researching. When some of the international students refer to Aarhus University as a better university than their home university, symbolic power may play a role both as a product of the interviewer-interviewee relationship and as a product of the institutional relationship the students are embedded in. In some of the interviews, it was also evident that we had more linguistic capital, in this case mainly in the form of proficiency in English, than the interviewee. However, since the students are used to using English as a lingua franca at the programs, it is also this function rather than a native speaker ideal that shapes the interviews. The presence of two interviewers could double the power-imbalance and thus make it difficult to create a space for the subjective point of view of the interviewee, but in our experience, it helped create an atmosphere of intimacy. It made informal small-talk easier and we could laugh together at e.g. our linguistic mistakes and when we accidently interrupted each other.

Being two interviewers also allowed us to discuss the interview process and our understanding of the interview with another researcher with substantial insight into the data, which lead to revisions of the interview guide and strengthened the process of understanding and structuring the data.

5.4 Coding and analysis

The large amount of data was structured through several rounds of coding. The process was primarily theory-driven (e.g. Braun & Clarke, 2006) as it was inspired by the two theoretical perspectives. The first round of coding identified all encounters in the observation data both

between lecturers and students and among students. They were labelled as either encounters defined by symbolic power and symbolic violence where the dominant cultural arbitrary was reproduced or encounters where symbolic violence is the opposite of power and the knowledge of the other is recognized and acknowledged. In the interviews, I identified passages where former and present lecturers as well as students were either recognized or rejected as authorities of knowledge. Finally, I identified passages where the interviewees reflect upon their own position in the classroom.

However, in the process, it became clear that there were two types of encounters where the other's knowledge was engaged with. One type where the participants seek agreement by negotiating a compromise or by identifying similarities in their knowledge-pools and experiences, and another type where the encounter with other knowledges produces reflexivity, but not necessarily agreement. While my focus is upon the engagement with knowledge, there are similarities between these types of knowledge encounters and tendencies described in the identity-focused intercultural communication literature. I labelled them "Rejecting *the Other*", "Becoming *the Same*", and "Remaining *Other*".

"Rejecting *the Other*" are encounters where knowledge is considered universal and the Other's knowledge if different is not recognized and it is therefore excluded. "Becoming *the Same*" are encounters where the participants seek agreement through compromise or through common ground in their experience or knowledge pool. It parallels the movement towards closure identified in the competence theories (e.g. Deardorff, 2006; Glaser et al., 2007) and the globalism strand of cosmopolitan thinking as identified by Marginson and Sawir (2011). "Remaining *Other*" are encounters where the participants recognize each other's positions and engage in discussion. Knowledge thus becomes positioned and open-ended.

From the first round of coding, it appeared that the three programs had three very different profiles. Encounters at Program 1 were "Rejecting *the Other*". In the beginning of the observations, encounters at Program 2 were "Becoming *the Same*", but after a short period of time, it changed and became dominated by "Rejecting *the Other*". Program 3 is dominated by "Remaining *Other*", but versions of the other types also occurred. Because the difference in the programs profiles was striking, I chose to analyze the data with a focus on the structural conditions of the individual

programs, i.e. each program is understood as a subfield. All exceptions within the programs are analyzed and discussed in the analytical chapters.

The next step was to describe the structural conditions of the encounters. As Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) point out, homogeneity within the group and congruence between cultural arbitraries are sources of symbolic power and of reproduction of the cultural arbitrary which, as well as autonomy, influence relations among students. Results from Wilken's survey were therefore used to describe varieties and degrees of diversity at each program. With inspiration from Bourdieu's recognition that the academic field is structured around the opposition between economic and cultural capital or between a heteronomous pole oriented towards society and an autonomous pole oriented towards a scientific logic (Bourdieu, 1988a), I searched for claims regarding the purpose of the program, of education and of knowledge in the program descriptions, in the introductory sessions, during lectures, and to some extent in Tange's interviews, as well as in the interviews with students. These claims were coded as either heteronomous when they were legitimated externally or as autonomous when they were legitimated internally in the discipline or its ideas about globalization. This was done to establish whether there was congruence between the lecturers' purposes and the students' and to explore the role of autonomy in interactions.

However, the initial description of the encounters imply that encounters are not only structured by these aspects alone. Ontologies of knowledge and the internal structuring of knowledge and knowledge-building seem to play a role as well. One aspect I was looking into was whether knowledge was treated as a finite entity or an open-ended structure, and I was also working on how to describe the difference between the two constructivist approaches found in "Becoming *the Same*" and "Remaining *Other*". During my process of searching or developing a language to describe this aspect, our group held a seminar with invited discussants where I presented my preliminary analysis and the problem I was facing with insufficient languages of description regarding the internal structuring of knowledge. Michael Grenfell, who was one of the discussants, suggested LCT as a potential framework and I started testing it on my data. LCT proved useful for my analysis. The difference between "Becoming *the Same*" and "Remaining *Other*" can e.g. partly be explained with a difference in gazes and the differences in knowledge-building processes they entail. Moreover, differences in knowledge codes ad a new dimension to the understanding of diversity at the programs. The LCT-dimensions "autonomy" as an extension of Bourdieu's distinction

between an autonomous and a heteronomous pole, "specialization", and "semantics" were therefore added to the coding of the structural conditions of the encounters.

In the analytical chapters, each program is described according to its structuring conditions and position in the field before the encounters are analyzed in relation to these. The analysis explores Bourdieu's insights regarding autonomy, homogeneity and congruence as conditions of authority and, in consequence, as structuring student encounters. However, besides the social aspects of recognition and acknowledgement, the analysis also explores the potential structuring influence knowledge internal structures have upon encounters in the international classroom.

5.5 Conclusion

The overarching methodology combines the initial process of data production, which was conceptually structured around two contrasting understandings of symbolic violence as part of a reflexive process, with the mainly theory-driven process of coding and analysis that explores the relationships between knowledge-internal and knowledge-external legitimation structures, autonomy, authority, and inclusion.

It is a methodology that researches beyond culture and language as primary explanations for exclusion of international students in the international classroom and looks towards socialization into different knowledge systems, the epistemological relationships in the field of power and knowledge-internal legitimation structures as well as the ethical obligations in the experiential encounter as alternative sources of explanation.

The very first approach was to look at recognition – i.e. whose and what kind of knowledge is recognized in the international classroom, i.e. what is knowledge capital – which involved that certain disciplines, institutions or geographic places of acquisition might carry more symbolic weight and that social class and educational habitus might be a misrecognized influence upon inclusion. However, it was discarded because it constructs knowledge as something that is possessed – i.e. an object, skill or disposition – which renders the successful encounter an economic exchange. While these economic exchanges are identified in the data and the perspective remains central, it inhibits the conceptualization of encounters as ethical encounters that reveal the arbitrariness of the cultural arbitrary in a constructive, non-violent and inclusive manner. The Levinasian perspective was therefore added very early in the process. At the same time, as the engagement with the data

pointed towards the role of both knowledge-external field-structures as well as knowledge-internal structures, the conceptual focus changed to knowledge practices as externally structured by the ideologies and epistemologies in the field of international higher education as well as by the habitus of the participating agents and internally structured by disciplinary paradigms and legitimation codes and structuring in terms of inclusion or exclusion of the other.

The result is a methodology that builds upon Bourdieu's structuralist-constructivist ontology and an epistemology that remains constructivist but explores how the knowledge-internal structures and their relation to their objects structure encounters.

Chapter 6: Rejecting *the Other*

6.1 Program 1: Introduction

In the first round of coding of the observations from Program 1, *Rejecting the Other* dominated. This is reminiscent of the main part of the literature on international education, which, as discussed in Chapter Three, reports that international students are socially excluded which may imply an essentialist identity construct and a deficit view of the international student as described by e.g. Marginson and Sawir (2011).

This chapter offers an alternative analysis. It maps the legitimation structures of the program to position it in the field, and it maps the student profiles and strategies to compare them to the structures of the program. These mappings form the basis of an analysis of knowledge encounters at the program – both between teachers and students and between students – to explore the relationships between knowledge legitimation structures, autonomy, authority and inclusion. While I myself have produced less data from Program 1 than from the other two programs, my own data is supplemented with observations produced by another member of the project group, quotes from Wilken's survey and Bernstein and Maton's generic descriptions of economics. An analysis of these relationships points towards an interplay between external and knowledge internal legitimation structures as a possible complementary explanation to the essentialist identity construct as reason for exclusion of international students, and it provides valuable insights in comparison with the data from the other programs.

The program is a program in Economics and Business Studies. It is one of the oldest international programs at Aarhus University. The program convenor talks[7] about the international aspect as an important part of the program's DNA. The staff used to have dinners together with the international students and get to know them, but over the years, the program has grown too big for this kind of social interaction. While it is designed to attract international students, 83 of the 103 students in the cohort we studied are Danish, and the majority, including many of the international students, are from the same BA program at Aarhus University[8]. It is taught by thirteen different

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[7] Information obtained at an informal meeting, August 2012.
[8] The program was originally taught at Aarhus School of Business. In 2011, ASB merged with the Faculty of Social Science.

lecturers of whom three are international and three are external lecturers/ consultants. Moreover, it offers study cafés run by student instructors.

The program's orientation is towards external legitimation in labor market skills, and diversity in the student cohort is imagined contributing to develop intercultural skills for a global labor market. This is initially seen in, e.g., the study guide presenting the Master courses offered in 2012 (Aarhus University, 2011), where the program is described as responding to a growing demand for managers with an international perspective, and it promises to provide the students with experience in working in an international context (Aarhus University, 2011). The program's legitimation is thus presented as a response to external needs, i.e., it displays *weak relational autonomy* (RA-), in Maton's (2014) terminology. Internationalization of the program becomes a means for developing skills for a global labor market, and the intercultural relationship is included in the instrumental approach. Moreover, the presentation of the program is in line with the marketization and competition strategy of university education (e.g. Edwards et al., 2003; Kristensen, 2007b) also identified in the university's strategy paper (Aarhus University, 2009) as it refers to its position on the Financial Times' ranking of Masters of Management .

The labor market orientation points towards a position at the economic pole and it thus has characteristics of both of the approaches identified by Edwards et al. (2003): the pragmatic approach to internationalization where internationalization is part of the university's competitive strategy and the ideological approach oriented towards preparing students for the future labor market. Moreover, it is thus a position in congruence with neoliberal ideology.

6.2 Knowledge and pedagogy

From the general description of the program, I turn to an analysis af the knowledge and pedagogy at play at the program and in its individual courses. The analysis primarily draws upon concepts from Maton's (e.g. 2014) legitimation code theory. The aim is to describe how knowledge is structured and legitimated at the program, to relate it to the literature about international education, and to discuss it in relation to Bourdieu's (e.g.Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992b) and Levinas' (1996) understandings of violence. This is done to be able to compare the students' knowledge *habitus* and expectations to the program's knowledge structures in the following section, and to draw upon this

relation in analyses of *pedagogic authority* and encounters between students in the subsequent sections.

All the courses taught at the program are from the same department. In this respect, the program differs from Program 2 and Program 3, which are collaborations between not just different departments, but between different faculties and in the case of Program 3, between different institutions. The program consists of two elements, finance and international business. As Tange (2016) points out, there is a structural equality between the two elements. They are represented by the same number of courses and ECTS in the curriculum. However, the program convenor explains, that the finance part comes out significantly stronger because it is taught by a stable core group of lecturers, while the other part is taught by doctoral students and external lecturers from the industry[9]. This suggests that the program in general is characterized by a combination of both weak and strong *positional autonomy* (PA-), (PA+) (Locke & Maton, 2019; Maton & Howard, 2018). It is, however, relevant to note that *positional autonomy* (PA) is also weakened by lecturers from within the institution. E.g. when one of the lecturers in international business emphasizes personal experiences from the industry to justify the relevance of methods presented in the lecture and when lectures in finance include invited professionals and thus emphasize the associations to people and organizations outside the university.

In Tange's interviews, the lecturers from the program show a tendency to acknowledge the USA as default core of knowledge production: "There is no doubt that the literature you have is very America -, you know comes from the US . ...Well, that is where the recognized material originates, right!" (Interview with lecturer. Quoted in Tange, 2016). This is to the extent that it assumes a position of universality when one lecturer argues that they should teach from "standardized" texts that are globally recognized and transparent to future employers – in contrast to Danish texts and cases which the lecturer sees as irrelevant for students competing in a global labor market (Tange, 2016). It is thus a competition logic that universalizes a local or ideological perspective in congruence with the development Bourdieu points out. Bourdieu argues that competition fostered by neoliberalism has the effect of producing uniformity, censorship and even conservatism in the field of cultural production (Bourdieu, 2004a, p. 44). As the lecturers motivation is to teach from globally recognized texts, the dominance of US knowledge at the program can thus be seen as universalism

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[9] Information obtained in an informal meeting with the program convenor, August 2012.

as uniformity resulting from competition rather than from an epistemological evaluation as it was also pointed out by Ward (2012) and Biesta (2011) in the critique of the ontology of the neoliberal university and in Barnett's (2012) critique of the neoliberal university's loss of agency in relation to knowledge policies. The interviews with the lecturers therefore support the analysis of the general orientation of the program as displaying weak *relational autonomy* (RA-) with epistemological choices that are also guided by the procedures expected to be recognized by the market.

Turning to the individual courses at the program, economics and international business differ in their legitimation structures. In *Knowledge and Knowers: towards a realist sociology of education* (2014), Maton draws upon Bernstein's work as well as LCT to discuss how the epistemic relations support the coherence of the discipline. He argues that according to Bernstein, economics is characterized by a *horizontal knowledge structure* with a *strong grammar* (Maton, 2014, p. 69), which means that is has "an explicit conceptual syntax capable of *relatively* precise empirical descriptions and/or of generating formal modelling of empirical relations" (Bernstein, 2000, p. 163 in Maton 2014 pp 68-9), but also by a number of parallel knowledges or schools. In spite of the parallel knowledges, the field of economics has traditionally been characterized by cohesion which it owes to its relatively strong *discursive relations* (DR+) (Maton, 2014) through mathematical modelling and its underpinning by a *knowledge code* and *training of the gaze*. However, in more recent discussions, it has been criticized for being disconnected from empirical reality:

> Indeed, mainstream economics has formed a powerful orthodoxy: generations of scholars have built a considerable and cumulative body of work that claims knowledge of ever-widening areas of social life. However, the resultant knowledge is now widely portrayed as disconnected from empirical reality. [...] As critics argue, neoclassical economics often obscures differences between the 'reality' constructed by models (with strictly defined limits and variables) and empirical reality, weakly specializing legitimate problem-situations for the application of its findings. Formal mathematical modelling is legitimated as valid for analysing all economic phenomena, and results of specific models are portrayed as generating knowledge of unrestricted application to the world, including problem situations with different conditions to those of the model (Maton, 2014, pp. 178-179).

As outlined by Maton (2014), the discipline has become defined by a *doctrinal insight* (OR-, DR+). It produces the possibility for misrecognition of arbitrariness of the dominant cultural arbitrary (choice of language in the horizontal knowledge structure). The universalizing tendency

arising from competition and the field dominance of knowledge produced in the US is therefore also likely to be supported by relations within the discipline.

In contrast to the general legitimation of the program, the classes in economics are characterized by a stronger *relational autonomy* (RA+) because its mathematical modelling rests on principles originating within the university. The *relational autonomy* (RA+) of the course stands out, compared to not only the general legitimation of the program but also in relation to what is observed in the other course as will be discussed below.

The knowledge at play in the economics course – mathematical models and training in doing calculations - rely on a *knowledge code* (ER+,SR-) which in Maton's definition means that "possession of specialized knowledge of specific objects of study is emphasized as the basis of achievement, and the attributes of actors are downplayed" (Maton, 2014, p. 30). In the observations, the *training of the gaze* is seen as the students work individually on calculations and consult their books or the instructors to check their results. If their result is wrong, they go through the steps of their calculations with the instructor to learn the correct procedure. A similar observation is made in the lecture notes produced by my colleague: The lectures in Course 1 are overviews of the chapters the students have read as preparation. This also points in the direction of a *training of the gaze* because it suggests that the legitimate knower is produced by repetition until the procedures are mastered. Moreover, the *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) and the *training of the gaze* is confirmed in the following quote from an interview with one of the students:

> sometimes if you read and you understand everything and if you go to the class it just feels like a waste of time. Sometimes I feel like you should either do one or the other. Of course, if you don't get it the first time, then you should go to the lecture. If you feel like you understand it, you really shouldn't go because … yeah, its an explanation of the chapter you have just read so you could use the time better. Not necessarily study but just doing whatever you like [12].

At the same time, it also underlines the pragmatic, economic approach to education. To the student, knowledge is predefined entities or procedures you either possess and master or not, and once you have it, further engagement is not necessary.

In comparison to the course in economics, the lectures in international business is characterized by what Maton(2014) defines as an *exotic code* (PA-, RA-) where the appreciated

actors are consultants and practitioners and their ways of working. This is seen when the lecturer [I-IB] introduces the lecture by stressing her professional background as a consultant and in the simulation exercise the students are asked to do as part of the lecture. This is an exercise she has developed in her work as a consultant, the lecturer explains to the students. The lecturer's identity as consultant and the value of knowledge and practices originating outside the university are also continuously emphasized in the interview with this lecturer, Tange (2023) confirms.

The lecture draws upon culture models from the functionalist tradition (See Chapter 3). While the models are developed in particular empirical contexts, their application is generalized. This is a process that, compared to the one in economics described by Maton (2014) as discussed above, displays a similar weak *ontic relation* (OR-) and a strong *discursive relation* (DR+) – a *doctrinal insight* - which potentially masks its universalizing tendency.

Moreover, when the course focuses on culture models and their application in international firms, it suggests a weak *epistemic relation* (ER-) compared to the classes in economics because the application to a larger extent rests upon the characteristics and experiences of the individual. However, these models can also be characterized as an attempt at translating characteristics of the *knower code* (ER-,SR+) into a *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) as they measure characteristics of national cultures to ascribe them numerical values to assist communicators in predicting behaviour. When the classes draw upon experiential teaching methods as they include simulations and case work, and knowledge is legitimated in practice and experience from the industry, the legitimate knower is the practitioner, which supports the *exotic code* (PA-, RA-). However, as opposed to the training in doing calculations, it is training which allows recognition of high *semantic gravity* (SG+).

When the lecturers in Tange's interviews describe their content as universal as discussed above, and the observations of the lectures show that they rest on a *doctrinal insight* (OR-,DR+), it suggests that the pedagogic approach to internationalization is through a focus on a standardized, presumed universal content (see Crosling et al., 2008). This approach parralels *the Said* in Levinas' (1998) work. In consequence, strategies such as including knowledge from multiple places and sources, drawing upon a relational approach as suggested by Rizvi (e.g. 2014) or a focus on the process of knowledge production (Purwar & Sharma, 2009), which resembles *the saying* (Levinas, 1998) seems to be ignored.

As seen in the marketing material, the program presents the international environment at the program as an opportunity to develop skills for a global labor market, which points towards an instrumental inclusion of the international students as well as a focus on diversity rather than difference (see Eriksen, 2006). As the discussions in Chapter 3 suggest, instrumental approaches to the international students tend to be associated with essentialist and neo-essentialist identity-constructions to promote acquisition of ontological knowledge about the other to be able to predict future behavior. However, development of the students' intercultural skills is not actively incorporated into the program which implies an understanding of these skills as an automatic outcome of exposure to diversity. Together with the lectures that introduce culture models, it supports the understanding of their approach as a diversity approach where diversity is strategically managed rather than critically approached as personal transformative awareness. In Levinasian terminology, it is a reduction of the otherness of the *Other* to the same (Levinas, 1996) as the *Other* is approached and comprehended through the categories of the self and in this case also the dominant *cultural arbitrary*.

To include international students, the program convenor explains that they have introduced the study cafés led by older students where the students can work on assignments and get help from the instructors. This has been done to help the international students get up to speed with the students who have taken their BA at the Business School at Aarhus University[10] although the program convenor stresses that Danish students also are welcome. In that respect, the international students are treated as being in a deficit position from which they have to be socialized into the host culture in line with *Rejecting the Other* as identified by Marginson and Sawir (2011) and the program's strategy is one of bringing the international students up to the same level as the local students, which Haigh (2002) identifies as strategy applied to include international students. This is supported by the lecturers' perception of certain learning activities such as group work and essay writing as easier for the Danish students to perform than it is for the international students, who the lecturers perceive as lacking structure and critical reflection as shown by Tange (2016).

For the international student with a different knowledge *habitus* than the local students, the relation to the knowledge presented at the program is one of *symbolic violence* (e.g. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992b) or reduction to the *Same* (Levinas, 1996). However, when knowledge is primarily

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[10] Information obtained in an informal meeting with the program convenor.

realized through a *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) and through the *trained gaze* (SubR-, IR-), it in theory allows relatively unhindered access to become legitimate knowers for foreign students. When inclusion does not happen and the international students are not recognized as legitimate knowers, the *ontic* (OR) and *discursive relations* (DR) identified at the program may be part of the explanation of exclusion, but when the knowledge at the program supports the symbolic and structural hierarchy of the field of international higher education outlined in Chapter 2, it may also be relevant to look to relations of autonomy and authority. Section 6.4 below will return to this question.

6.3 Students

When asked to participate in interviews, it was a common among the students from Program 1 that they declined the invitation with the explanation that they were not in the targetgroup for a study about international higher education. It suggests that for these students, choosing an international program is a strategic career choice motivated by the program's content rather than a question of identity or learning about other cultures which parallels the programs curriculum design discussed above. The presentation of the students below is structured around Wilken's (nd-a) categorization of the students according to regional belonging, educational background, social class, educational strategy, mobility strategy and international profile. The aim of the section is to describe the composition of the student cohort at the program as well as to explore the students' perception of the knowledge presented. While we only have three interviewees from the program, the program is very well represented in Wilken's survey where the students also had the opportunity to reflect upon the program in open-ended questions. In the representation of the students and their thoughts about education below, I therefore also rely on statements from the qualitative part of Wilken's survey. The overview below shows the interviewed students from Program 1 profiles and strategies.

Participant	Region	Educational background	Social class	International profile	Mobility strategy	Educational strategy
11	Nordic	Business administration	Middle class	International	Safe choice	Investing in Danish education
12	Nordic (Danish)	Business administration	Working class	No prior international experience	Investing in a better life	Investing in Danish education
13	Africa	Business administration	NA	International	Investing in a better life	Finding purpose

Compared to the other two program, the student body at Program 1 is less diverse in terms of nationality/regionality and educational background, and it differs significantly from the other programs in social class composition (see also Appendix 1). The majority of the students at the program – 82 % - are Danish and 88 % are from Nordic countries.

Program 1: Region

- Nordic 88%
- EU 8%
- Asia 2%
- Europe (non-EU/EEA) 1%
- Africa 1%
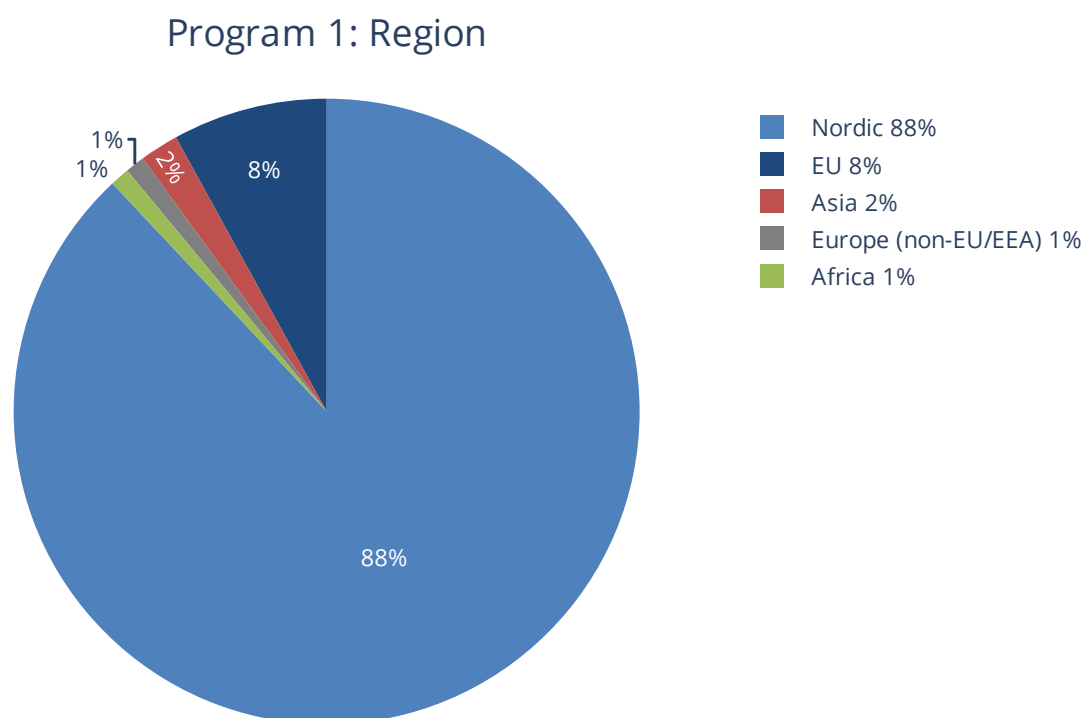
Among both the Danish students and the students who are not Danish citizens, many of them studied for their BA at Aarhus University. Approximately 2/3 of the students have a BA from the corresponding program at Aarhus University, Wilkens analysis shows. There are also students who have been long distance students at Aarhus University and have followed online lectures, which renders it likely that their knowledge habitus to a large extent corresponds to that of the students who have studied in Aarhus. Finally, there are students that have a Graduate Diploma in Business Administration from Aarhus University instead of a BA. As opposed to the BA, it is a part time program aimed at people already employed in the finance industry. While the two programs both give access to the master program, one of the interviewees believes that there is a difference in the skills of the students from the two programs. He describes it as a difference in theoretical and practical skills: "[in relation to theory], I think that my bachelor level is lacking [compared to] the people that come from a full-time bachelor study. But I think that we have a lot more of a practical approach to applying these theories and not just talking all theories … that is at least what I

Program 1: Educational background

2%

98%

■ Economics and business administration 98%
■ Other 2%
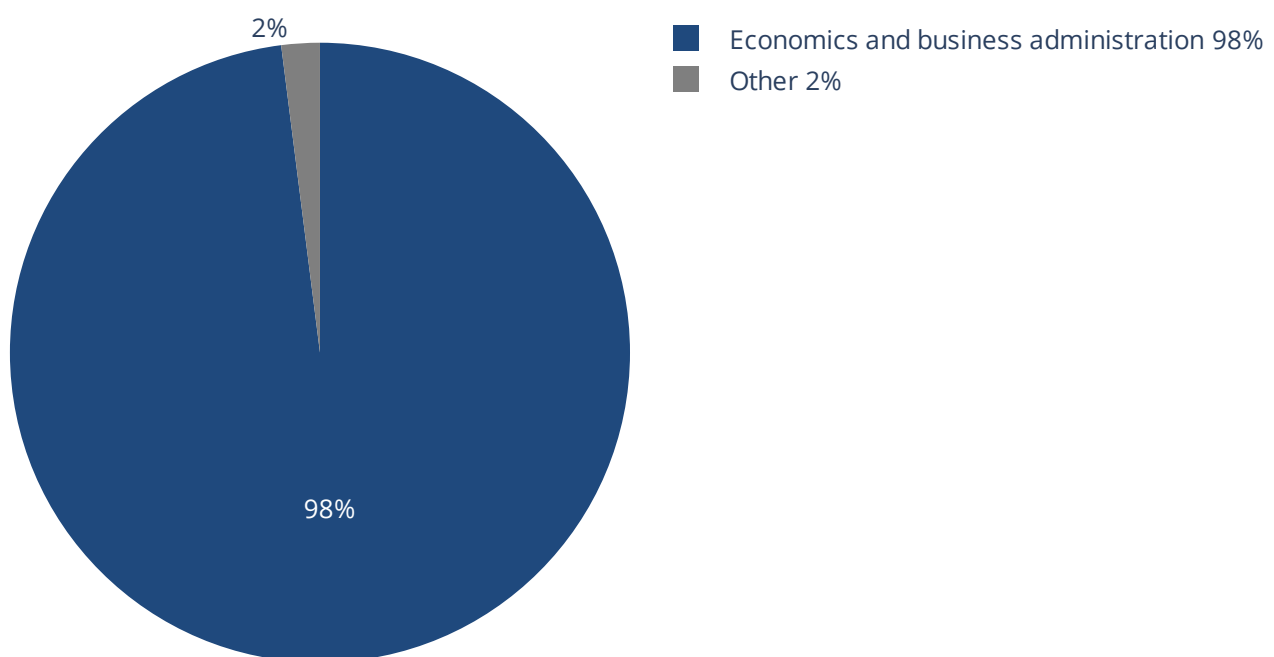
experienced" [11]. In general, the students have very similar educational backgrounds with only 2% having a background other than economics and business administration.

It is characteristic for the program that many of the students are first generation academics. It is reflected in the survey where parents' educational background is one of the parameters used to identify social class background. At Program 1, 73% of the students have either working class or middle-class background which indicates that their parents have either professional training, technical educations or no education beyond elementary school.

Program 1: Social class

Legend:
- Middle class 51%
- Working class 20%
- Upper middle class 15%
- NA 12%
- Outside labor market 2%
- Upper class 0%
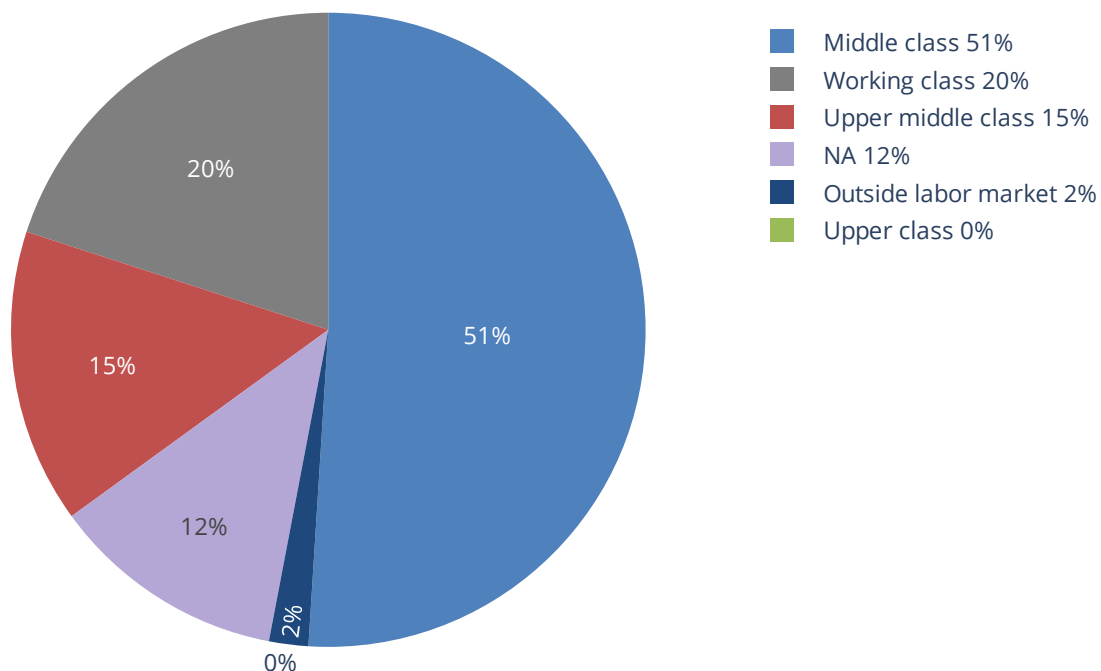
In the survey, 42% list that they have no prior international experience. These are students without any international experience, that we know of, whose parents have not moved, and who have not previously studied a discipline which introduces other cultures. Furthermore, they have few skills in foreign languages and primarily speak English besides their native language. The other large group is "internationals" which comprises 48% of the students. "Internationals" are students whose parents have not travelled, or they have only travelled very little judged from the information we have. The students themselves have travelled e.g. through exchange programs organized

through the university or they have worked abroad in seasonal jobs. In some cases, they have been enrolled in international branch campuses at home. It is thus characteristic for the program that the

Program 1: International profile

Legend:
- Internationals 48%
- No prior international expereince 42%
- Inheritors 5%
- First movers 3%
- Hybermobile 1%
- NA 1%
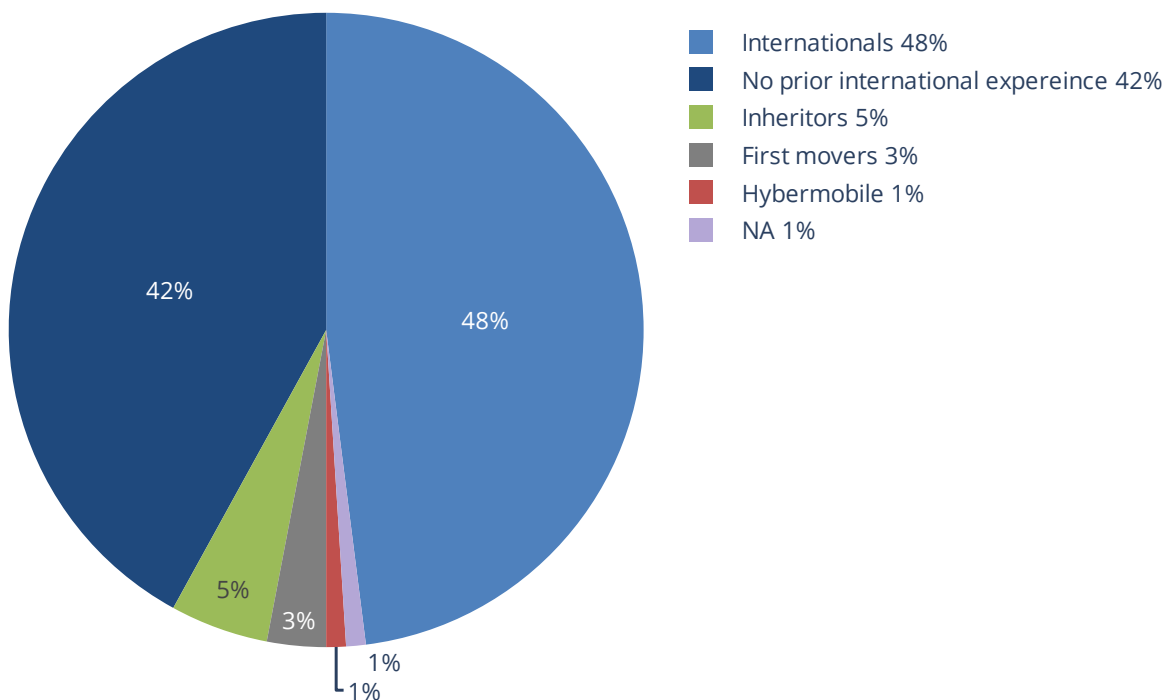
students have relatively little inherited mobility capital.

Wilken (nd-a) has constructed six different mobility strategies. Program 1 is dominated by the strategies "Safe choice" and "Investing in a better life" with 52% and 46% respectively.

Program 1: Mobility strategy

- Safe choice 54%
- Investing in a better life 38%
- Becoming or remaining international 5%
- Love 2%
- Graduating from Europe 1%
- Round about 0%
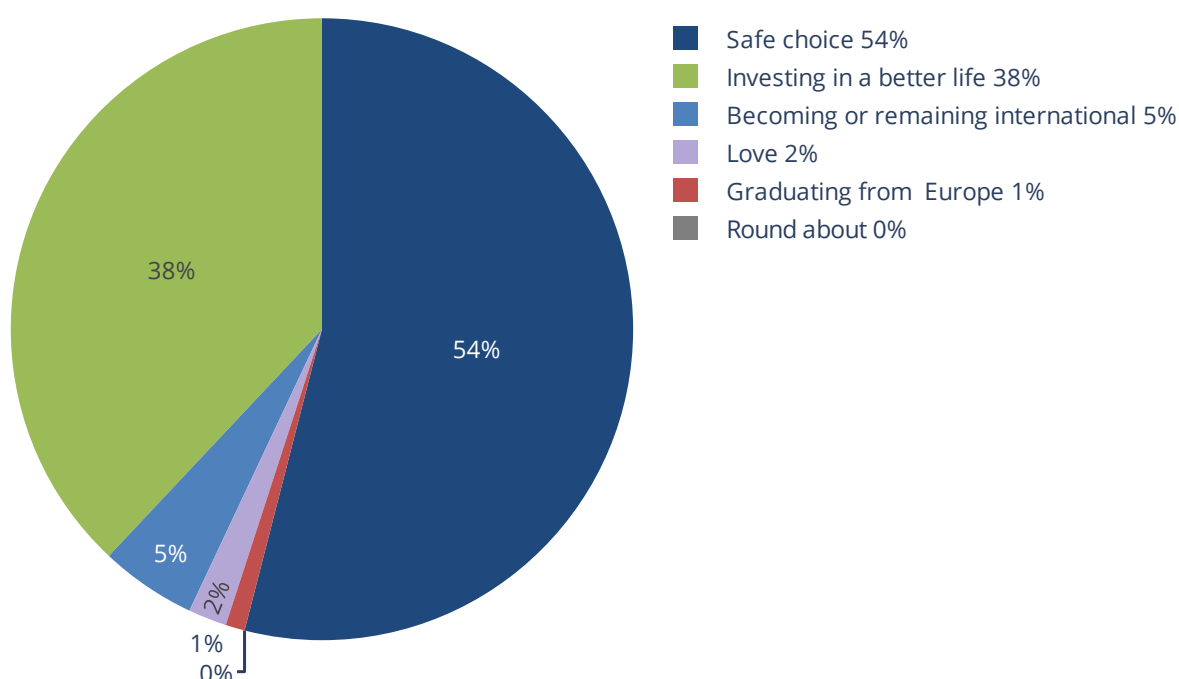
Students with the strategy "Safe choice" are students that seek international capital while at the same time minimizing the investment risk. I.e., they stay at home or go to a country very similar to their own. In practice, it is Nordic students that move within the Nordic region where education is free and university degrees are easily recognized across borders. They are economically relatively safe because they get support either from their own or from the Danish government (Wilken & Dahlberg, 2016).

One of the students who represents the strategy is a Nordic, former long-distance student who explains that he chose to study his MA in Aarhus because he had already been a student at Aarhus University and he therefore expected the move to be uncomplicated:

I looked at several educations also in Copenhagen and also in UK. But I don't think that the education in UK, in my perception at least, is not so high a standard as Denmark so pretty quickly I chose Denmark and it was actually easier to find, or it seemed easier to find a place to live in Aarhus and I had already studied in Aarhus [as a long distance student] so I felt it would be easier and more, how do you say, it is easier just to go to Aarhus and then I found

this education and felt that it was interesting compared to what I see myself doing in the future [11].

Students associated with the strategy "Investing in a better life" are students that see participation in international education as a way to secure their future or secure social mobility. In the survey, the strategy is brilliantly illustrated in the following statement: "An education is basically a driver's license for a/any job. A good education lets you drive a Bentley". Another student simply writes "I assume the education will give me a foundation for moving the ladders. I am prepared to start slow and move". In the interviews, the strategy is represented by a Danish student for whom education is more a matter of being able to continue to work in Denmark than it is about being international or getting an international career. To him, the future seems insecure, and education is not about his interests or landing a dream job, but about security:

> If everything is as it is right now, I'm gonna take any job I can get and then from there on I hope that I'll learn. Maybe I'll like the job. Then I'll stay. And if I don't I guess I'll try to find something else. […] There is a chance that the kind of jobs that we are educating for right now will be outsourced. And then maybe at the same time, maybe some of the jobs will come back because right now we are outsourcing to China or Asia or whatever and then they'll get more educated and then people won't outsource that much and then the jobs will come back. So I don't really know. But yeah ….[12]

Asked if he wants to work in another country, he answers

> It's a good question. It depends a lot upon how my situation is at that point. Right now, I do have a girlfriend. I have a dog as well. So it is hard to leave everything behind. So if I had to go to another country, she would have to go with. And the dog of course [12].

Coming from a more rural part of Denmark, moving to Aarhus had already been a big step, he explains. He had applied both in Copenhagen and Aarhus but hoped to get accepted in Aarhus because Copenhagen seemed too big, and most of his friends chose Aarhus.

Moreover, he believes that the quality of education is higher in Denmark than in most other countries – an argument he supports with reference to the exchange experiences of his friends who

went to San Francisco, where classes, they reported, were a lot easier than in Denmark. Furthermore, he has consulted lists of what companies look for when hiring graduates, and studies abroad did not seem very important.

With these reflections, he also represents the dominant educational strategy at the program "Investing in Danish education" which constitutes 46% of the students. These are students for whom it is important to graduate from a Danish university because they believe that the quality of education is high in Denmark. They are primarily Danish and Nordic students whose mobility strategy is "safe choice". They typically also stress that it is a recognized program/university which they expect will improve their career options. The international students with this strategy have chosen to study in Denmark because the transfer was easy and convenient and because a degree from a Danish university is recognized in their home country. They consider it a degree of a similar quality to what they get at home and at the same time, they gain international experience. The students also explain that they form networks with co-nationals in Denmark and these networks are likely to be beneficial to their career at home (Wilken & Dahlberg, 2016).

Program 1: Educational strategies

Legend:
- Investing in Danish education 43%
- Internationalization at home 31%
- Investing in quality education 20%
- Finding purpose 5%
- Investing in international capital 1%
- Career change 0%
- NA 0%
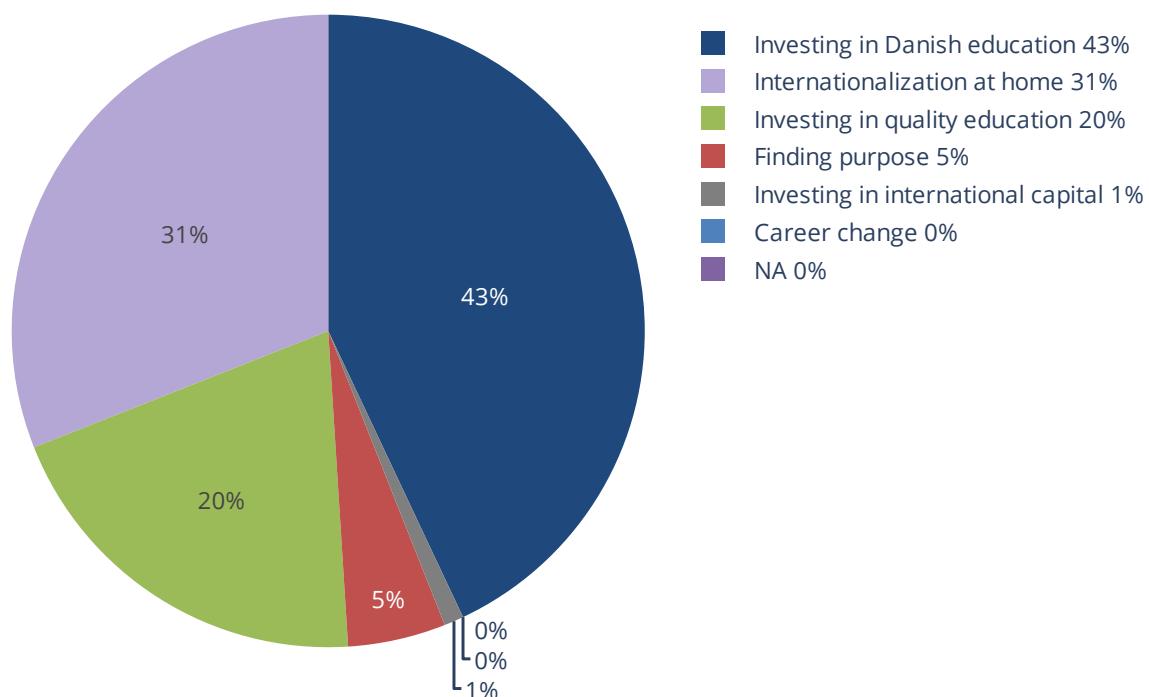
"Internationalization at home" is the other big strategy at the program. It constitutes 29% of the students. This strategy is not represented in the interviews from Program 1, but they are characterized as students that stress that they have chosen their program because it gives them an opportunity to study in an international environment while at the same time staying in Denmark. Many of them have participated in exchange programs and appreciate the experience, but they want to graduate from a Danish university, because they believe that generally the quality is higher in Denmark than it is at many foreign universities. For most of the students, it has thus been a strong motivation that the program is in Denmark.

"Finding purpose" does not have the same instrumental focus as the other strategies. In the interviews, it is represented by one student who explains that the choice to enroll in the program was an answer to a call from God [13]. In the survey, students with this strategy provide answers such as "Don't really know [what the dream job is]. I took this education because it has a reputation for being a "wide" education with a lot of opportunities in different industries. But I guess the financial industry would be my answer". It is, however, only 6% of the participants at the program who have this strategy.

While the strategies describe their motivation for travelling and seeking international education, the instrumental orientation they represent also extends to the evaluation of knowledge where the students are oriented towards external legitimation and labor market relevance. Based on the description of the students in Wilken's analysis, it seems that the students share the understanding of internationalization as instrumental content internationalization found in the orientation of the program and in the curriculum design:

> I feel that international is the way to go if you want to work in the future world because maybe you work in Denmark but you will have to have contact with a lot of other countries and firms and most of that will be in English and maybe it will be a good idea to have a broad view of how the world works and not just Denmark because we are very small compared to all the other countries [12].

The student is talking about international in the sense of knowledge about international business (see e.g.Crosling et al., 2008) rather than a relational approach (see e.g. Aktas et al., 2017; Kahn & Agnew, 2017; Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Rizvi, 2009; Singh & Shrestha, 2008; Zembylas, 2015). This is further supported by the same student's reflection upon engaging with international

students as he initially explains how he is not interested in forming new friendships at this stage of his life because he already has enough friends, but then later in the interview, he considers that it might be a good idea for Danish students to think about what they could gain from working with international students, thus stressing the instrumental approach to engagement with internationals. Moreover, it shows how their motivation for participating in international higher education is legitimated in the labor market relevance of the program, which also influences their assessment of the courses. E.g., one of the interviewed students says that a course like Philosophy of Science "is neither useful nor interesting" [12].

The students we interviewed also seem to share the program's understanding of international education as education that provides universal, globally recognized knowledge (see e.g.Crosling et al., 2008). Asked if the program is international in the sense of presenting the students with knowledge from many countries and positions or in the sense of building relational knowledge, one of the students answers:

> It is not in terms of where the texts come from. It's more like Harvard has done a lot of work. Many from Harvard have done a lot of work on exploring strategies and exploring how multinational enterprises have evolved. [I would expect an international program] more like to prepare me to work in a globalized world than use an international spectrum of authors [11].

The program is thus characterized by having students that on the one hand focus on the value and high quality of Danish education and one the other recognize the value of the international understood as universally recognized knowledge. Moreover, the program is characterized by a strong degree of congruence between the instrumental orientation of the program, its pedagogy and knowledge legitimation structures and the motivation and knowledge habitus of the students as well as homogeneity in the student cohort. Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) work demonstrate that autonomy, congruence and homogeneity influence *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and hence *pedagogic action* (PA) and again relations among students. The following section therefore identifies signs of *pedagogic action* (PA) and the opposite and discuss the structural conditions that support or undermine it.

6.4 Pedagogic authority

The strong dominance of Danish students at the program offers linguistic barriers as an obvious explanation of the exclusion observed at the program. However, since the program is conducted in English, it is not necessarily the Danish language itself that serves as barrier. Language barriers are mentioned by a Danish student who says about his English skills "I feel like I have quite a big vocabulary, but I sometimes have a hard time finding the words. It is easier when I'm writing" [12], but the Nordic student we interviewed rejects the idea that exclusion is based on language barriers: "it is not based on language because everyone likes to speak English" [11]. While differences in the students' English skills may cause problems, international experience is part of the motivation for many of the students, and these encounters are in theory an asset and a learning experience. With inspiration from Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), who pointed to pedagogic authority as central for the relations between students, the following sections therefore identify signs of pedagogic authority or lack thereof in observation- and interview data and explores the interplay between external and knowledge internal legitimation structures to discuss its conditions .

The interviewed students never question the curriculum which suggests successful *pedagogic action* (PA), here understood as a *training of the gaze* into an ideologically defined language in a *horizontal knowledge structure*. The content is generally accepted, and the academic level of the program is described as high by the students:

> The academic level is high. I feel that [course in international business] will get better. I think the academic level is very high. In [course in international business] there are very many articles and very many critics so if you learn it the right way, you get a very good understanding of how to operate in an international environment, but it kind of failed this year. And the financial part is very high also [11].

While one course is thus described as problematic, it is significant that the student does not relate it to the academic level or the content of the course in general, but to staffing problems in the present semester, as he explains later in the interview.

To many of the students, the legitimacy of the program rests upon its recognition in the market and its job-specific orientation. To one of the interviewed students, this seems to be more important than what he would like to do in the future:

> You know what kind of classes you want to do. But I don't know if I ever thought about what I wanted to do afterwards. I know what I can become. Maybe work in a bank. Become a finance manager somewhere. But I haven't given it that much thought, to be honest [12].

In the survey, comments such as "[the name of the program] is the education needed [to become CFO]", "because [the name of the program] is highly regarded in DK", and "It will give me the required knowledge and a strong network", as well as comments about the university's ranking, the reputation of the program and the fact that it is a MSc are representative of the students answers to how the education can help them in the future. These comments also suggest that the students see the program as a legitimate and recognized step towards their career goal and that they see the knowledge it teaches as a given. Considering the congruence between the students' knowledge *habitus* and the program's curriculum, which can be expected when the majority of the students have studied a corresponding BA at Aarhus University, this is not surprising as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) point to congruence as a source of *pedagogic authority* (PAu). It is, however, noteworthy that the students also measure the program against heteronomous criteria of legitimation and that the program's authority also seems closely linked to its recognition in the market as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) also argue. This relationship between market and program seems to confirm the movement towards uniformity which Bourdieu (2004a) identifies as outcome of neoliberalism's competition logics or what Ward (2012) identifies as an "economy of the same" (p. 111) and it is a relationship which potentially serves as grounds of exclusion.

Moreover, the interviews also further illustrate how *pedagogic authority* (PAu) works to reproduce the dominant *cultural arbitrary* through transformative *pedagogic action* (PA) or socialization of students whose knowledge *habitus* is not immediately in congruence with the dominant *arbitrary* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, pp. 11-12). Asked to reflect upon potential bias in the readings presented at the program, an international student responds:

> I don't know if you can find political motives in the readings from the States, from the US. I feel at least we have read lots of articles of Harvard Business School. I feel that that school is a very, not liberal, equality school, there is not, as the Chicago School of Economics [where you have] to have a small public sector and everything in society has to produce something. Profit. [...] but that is what I expect from a Danish society [11].

He is thus aware that the economic school the program adheres to does not represent an uncontested truth, but he accepts its legitimacy with a contextual reference to Danish society and the student accepts the framework which he describes as different from what he has been used to:

> I have been very politically active. And in my experience, higher educated people [get more] *social demokratisk* . And I don't and that is at least the opposite of what I expected. I expected that the more money you can possibly earn, the more liberal and independent you want to be. That is actually a very funny thing [...]. I don't see that in this program. It is more like other people that I network with. Mostly from [home] that have higher education [11].

It serves as an example of how the program's recognition in the market, the relative homogeneity in the student cohort, and congruence between the program's legitimation structures and the knowledge *habitus* of the majority of the students do not leave room for questioning of its *cultural arbitrary* even when the student is actually aware of its arbitrarity. As discussed in Chapter 4, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue that along with *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and recognition of the legitimacy of the dominant culture follows recognition of the illegitimacy of others – also among its members who are either excluded from membership of the dominant culture or included through inculcation of the dominant *cultural arbitrary*. In this case, the student seems to recognize that the teaching in the economics course is tied to an ideological framework which excludes his experiences and beliefs, but in spite of this apparent awareness of the mechanism that upholds its legitimacy , he does not question it and accepts its authority.

Regarding the authority of individual lecturers and courses, both rejection and acceptance occurred during the time I observed the program. This is also reflected in the interviews: "The finance part is what I expected but I think the other part is much worse than I thought" [11]. It is, however, noteworthy that the interviewed students talk very little about the lecturers and instructors and they have less strong opinions about them, never mention them by name or describe them as individuals which distinguishes it from the interviews with the students from the other two programs. That the lecturers are almost absent from the interviews also supports that the source of *pedagogic action* should be found elsewhere than in the individual lecturers' *autonomy* and *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and rather through an external legitimation and an extension of market legitimacy and authority as discussed above where the university becomes a steppingstone towards a career goal. In line with this reading, one of the students describes the university as a place that

gives you the basics and the theoretical knowledge before you can learn the real, practical things when you get out of university [12].

My colleague's observation notes confirm that the university is seen as a stepping stone. According to her notes, the lectures in economics reflect the distinction established in the interview and the university as a steppingstone where you acquire the knowledge required to move somewhere else. She describes the lecture room as almost full on her visits. However, she notes that about half of the students use Facebook, read news or chat online during the lecture. Very few of them take notes, they are very reluctant to answer the lecturer's questions and only half of the students respond with laughter after the lecturer hesitates and comments on a mistake he has made in one of the lectures. The divided attention from the students seems to suggest lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) which conflicts with what is conveyed in the interviews, but it may also be an effect of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) rooted primarily in market recognition as discussed above. However, the knowledge internal legitimation structures at play also offers further potential explanations besides the extension of authority from congruence with the external field. My colleague notes that the lecturer [I-F] has conveyed to her that the lecture is designed to be a repetition of the material the students have read as preparation, and in her notes she reflects on whether it might explain why the students do not take notes and generally are preoccupied with other tasks during the lecture. The *training of the gaze* (Maton, 2014) which the lecturer as well as the student thus agree takes place in this course means that the legitimate knower is defined by his or her mastering of specific techniques and procedures rather than the inculcated dispositions which characterizes *the cultivated gaze* (SubR-,IR+). It is, in other words, a *gaze* which places less importance on the characteristics of the individual and more on the skill and the procedure. In consequence, it may be an effect of the *gaze* rather than actual lack of recognition when the students use the lectures as a room where they can fill gaps in their knowledge and understanding rather than as an opportunity to engage with an autonomous knowledge authority. Moreover, the cohesion, which Maton (2014) describes as an outcome of the strong *discursive relation* (DR+) in economics, is also likely to be a source of the authority of the discipline identified in the interviews as well as the approach to learning that the students display, because it supports the understanding that learning is complete when the acknowledged procedures and theories have been acquired.

In the study café in the course in economics, the instructors, who are formally at the bottom of the teacher-hierarchy, seem to be accepted as academic authorities by the students. The students were eager to consult them for help and answers when necessary. Based on this observation, it can be assumed that the instructors have *pedagogic authority* (PAu) among the students present in the café. It is likely that their authority is supported by the strong *relational autonomy* (RA+), the clear *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) and the strong *grammar* in a *horizontal knowledge* structure that, according to Maton (2014), characterizes economics. It means, in other words, that there is a clear definition of what counts as knowledge, a belief in its objectivity and a hierarchy of knowers based on possession of methods and knowledge. Such a hierarchy will naturally position the instructors above the students and grant them authority.

The lecture in internationalization stands in contrast to the classes in economics. Only about a third of the students show up for the lecture and many of them leave again as the lecturer [l-IB1] starts to divide the students into groups:

> The lecture room is half empty as the lecture begins. Most of the students sit in pairs. The lecture is introduced with comments about consultancy work. The lecturer [l-IB] then introduces a group exercise – further instructions are provided in an uploaded handout, she says – and starts to divide the students into random groups by counting. As she starts counting, many students quickly get up and leave the lecture room. The remaining students look around the room. Uneasy. Searching. [l-IB1] pauses. Then she starts counting again to form new groups (field notes)

That the students leave suggests lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu). As pointed out by the course convenor, this part of the course is not as strong as the part in economics because it is taught by junior staff. While this in itself potentially could weaken *pedagogic authority* (PAu), the knowledge legitimation structures involved in the encounters between lecturer and students may also hold part of the explanation for the lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu). As described above, it is knowledge legitimated in practice where both agents, purpose and procedure originate outside the university, in other words what Maton and Howard (2018) define as an *exotic code* (PA-, RA-) as opposed to economics, where purpose and selection of procedure is externally legitimated, but the procedure itself is based on mathematics and thus internally legitimated with strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) which Maton and Howard (2018) label an *introjected code* (PA-, RA+). As discussed by Bourdieu and

Passeron (1990), *pedagogic authority* (PAu) also rests on the autonomy of the position. However, comparing the status of the course in international business with the course in economics suggests that it may be relevant to distinguish between *positional autonomy* (PA) and *relational autonomy* (RA) in an analysis of the relationship between autonomy and *pedagogic authority* (PAu) as the two courses only differ in regards to *relational autonomy* (RA) and only the *exotic code* (PA-, RA+) seem to challenge lecturer's legitimacy and potentially make it more difficult to establish *pedagogic authority* (PAu) despite the external relevance.

Moreover, in the interviews, the students' reflections also imply that *discursive relations* (DR) may be part of the equation and influence *pedagogic authority* (PAu). In the following quote, a student talks about developments in the course in international business in general as the topics and lecturers change during the semester:

> We don't have any textbook. We just read articles. And these articles criticize some theories. Normally. Yeah. It criticize some theories, but the theoretical background before is lacking and therefore we don't really understand … Yeah, we understand what the articles are about, but we don't know the theoretical framework, so we don't know if the criticism is right […] but towards the end or in the middle [of the semester] we got that teacher [l-IB2] that is not graduated yet and he did a good job. He actually tried to start from basics and build that theoretical model where we applied it on all the cases all the time [11].

In the student's description, the first parts of the curriculum seems to be structured to challenge an established paradigm or establish the theoretical diversity of the discipline. By presenting multible critiques, the curriculum weakens the *discursive relations* (DR) into what Maton defines as a *situational insight* (OR+, DR-) and *procedural pluralism* (Maton, 2014, p. 176). The problem that the student initially presents seems relatively simple: they lack insight into the dominant paradigm and therefore they cannot understand the critique. However, what is interesting is the solution that is applied when a new lecturer [l-IB2] takes over, and which the student describes as successful. By building a theoretical model that is applied on all cases all the time, the lecturer strengthens the *discursive relations* (DR) into one authoritative model. *Pedagogic authority* (PAu), in other words, also seems to be tied to what Maton defines as *theoretical dogmatism* (2014, p. 176) in this case and can be compared to a dominant *cultural arbitrary* in Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) language.

In contrast, the lecturer [l-IB1] from the vignette above also focuses on only one language and presents strong *discursive relations* (DR+) in the lecture, but the student's evaluation of her in

the interview is different than the positive evaluation of the other lecturer that establishes *theoretical dogmatism*:

> and then we got a new lecturer [l-IB1] on something that I felt was very unrelevant and yeah, it was nothing to do with [the] education. It was more indoctrination or making the students ambassadors for a subject. So that was not … I did not like that part [about intercultural management] [11].

When the student calls it out as an indoctrination, the criteria behind the rejection are not entirely clear from the interview. However, since he – as well as the other students present during the lectures – rewards *theoretical dogmatism* with recognition in other classes and courses, the rejection must rest on other criteria. As already discussed, it may be a matter of autonomy, but it may also relate to both the topic or ontic domain – as he talks about "subject" - and to the methods or discursive language. In both cases, it relates to Maton's (2014) dimension of *epistemics*, but it may also more generally be based on the weakening of the *epistemic relation* (ER) towards a *knower code* (ER-, SR+), which the class displays, compared to the classes in economics. This is a code he may not recognize from his previous education. In the terminology of Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), there seems to be a lack of congruence, and the code may also be less recognized in the market. As discussed above, [l-IB1] has established an *exotic code* (PA-,RA-) and thus draws upon principles originating outside the university. However, it also seems to be perceived as a trespassing of his disciplinary autonomy and in this case, the student labels what Maton (2014) calls a *doctrinal insight* (OR-, DR+) as *indoctrination* whether it relates to disciplinary boundaries within the university, or to boundaries between consultancy practices and research-based knowledge, which suggests that it is discourse – or *cultural arbitrary* - that the student considers arbitrary and without authority.

Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) finding that *pedagogic authority* (PAu) rests upon *homogeneity* among the student cohort, congruence between the students' *habitus* and the *cultural arbitrary* promoted by the program, recognition in the market, and the relative autonomy of the *pedagogic authority* (PAu) are thus also seen in the data from Program 1. In general, the program enjoys a *pedagogic authority* (PAu) among the students which seems to primarily originate in the program's recognition in the market as well as in congruence. The difference between the course that successfully performs *pedagogic action* (PA) and where the interviewee accepts its *cultural arbitrary*, even though he actually recognizes it as arbitrary, and the one where the students leave

class and the interviewee labels a part of the course *indoctrination* are in the *epistemic relation* and *relational autonomy* (RA). As discussed in the theory chapter, Luckett (2010) argues that a recontextualization into curriculum knowledge of "a knowledge form with a 'horizontal knowledge structure' and a 'weak grammar' based on a 'knower code'" (p. 18) allows greater space for the *cultural arbitrary* and ideology to play. In the comparison of the two courses from Program 1, it appears to be a complex combination of *relational autonomy* (RA), market recognition and congruence that supports *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and allows a *pedagogic action* (PA) that creates a discursive space that upholds the misrecognition of the arbitrariness of the dominant *cultural arbitrary*.

6.5 Encountering the Other

The observations from the program show an environment where it is difficult for the international students to become acknowledged and to get access. The vignette below from a study café in the course in economics is an exemplary illustration of encounters in the course:

Study café

The class is a study café run by two student instructors [i-F]. The instructors and all the students speak Danish.

The students sit together in groups of 3-5 people. One group consists of 5 men [BA-D] wearing almost identical clothes: Baseball-caps and Converse sneakers and they all have Mac computers. They sit next to each other in a row in the back of the room. The other groups also consist of either male or female students exclusively except for two students that sit together a bit away from the other groups. The students mainly work alone. They look in their own books and at their own computers, but once in a while they ask each other questions.

     In the groups I observe, the language - when they occationally interact - is Danish. A black student [BA-Af] enters the room. He is dressed in a different way than the other students. More formal. Black trousers and a blue shirt. He walks around from group to group, trying to get access. He asks one of the groups if he can join them. They say "Yes", but continue talking to each other in Danish, ignoring him. He gets up, looks around the room to find another group and walks over to a woman who is working alone. He sits down next to her. They say "hello" to each other. He puts on reading glasses and opens a very small computer. A couple of times he tries to talk to the woman. She answers him briefly and turns away. At one point she gets up and walks across the room to ask the instructors a question. A group of 5 women [BA-D] talk to each other while working. However, they are not working together as a group. 4 of them ask the fifth questions about the assignment. She answers

them and consults her book when she runs into problems herself. At one point she gets up to consult the instructors. She never asks the other students for help (field notes).

The episode looks almost like a condensation of the findings in intercultural pedagogy research, where exclusion is explained as a result of essentialist identity constructs (see Chapter 3), represented here by the contrast between the striking uniformity in appearance of the Danish groups of students and the international student who cannot get access to the groups. Language barriers might explain the exclusion in this encounter between Danish students and an international student who does not speak Danish. However, as the international student quoted before [11] explains in the interview, none of the students have limited skills in English to the extent that it prevents them from working together with international students. Moreover, he tells that even though he actually speaks Danish, he does not interact very much with the local students, which suggests that explaining exclusion with language barriers may not be sufficient. To move beyond traditional explanations where culture, identity and language are seen as key barriers to inclusion in order to research encounters from a non-essentialist, critical perspective, the following discusses the encounters between students in relation to the surrounding structural conditions outlined in the sections above and explores other reasons for exclusion and limited interaction.

First, examples of encounters identified in the observation data are provided before their structural conditions are discussed with reference to Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) idea that relations between students are influenced by *pedagogic authority* (PAu). As shown in the analysis above, it is constituted by both external and knowledge internal legitimation structures that establish degrees of homogeneity, congruence and autonomy. Moreover, encounters are discussed with reference to the internal legitimation structures' potential for engagement.

Observations similar to what is seen in the extract of the field notes above are made both by myself and my colleague in the four visits we make to the study cafés as well as in the lectures in economics my colleague visits. Upon her first visit to the study café, my colleague notes that she can only identify one international student and two Nordic students who have BA degrees from Aarhus University among the approximately 40 students present in the café. The rest are Danish. The two Nordic students sit together, and the international student sits alone. He talks briefly with an older student who sits alone at the table next to him and briefly with a student who also sits alone at the table on the other side of him. The other students sit together in groups of two to five

students. On the second visit, she notes that there are no international students present. Several students sit alone without interacting with other students. The lectures in economics are similarly characterized by very little interaction between the students that only interact with each other during the breaks, and it happens in small groups of two to three people.

In contrast to the classes in economics, the interaction among the students in the lecture in international business looks more like fragmentation than exclusion as the students leave the lecture hall when the lecturer introduces a simulation exercise and starts to divide the students into groups. While it does not look like conflict, it may still relate to the lecturer's lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) which Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) identify as source of struggle.

The tendency to exclusion and lack of engagement with the other observed in lectures and study cafés is confirmed in the interviews. An international student with a Nordic background explains

> I actually expected more foreign students in my class because it is international [name of the program]. But I actually imagined myself that the class was more integrated. I think we are around 150 students and therefore when you meet the first time, everyone clings to someone they know and if someone comes from different bachelor studies and cities it gets very grouped up right away and it is very difficult to break again because you have to form your own groups and you form groups with your friends. It is very difficult to motivate people to form groups for example with someone else […] It is not based on language because everyone likes to speak English. I think it is more based on comfort and don't having to engage in new relationships [11].

Instead of interacting with the local students, he has formed groups with other students from home and with international (EU and non-EU) students which confirms existing research that has shown that international students primarily interact with other international students and not students from the host culture (e.g. Marginson & Sawir, 2011, p. 34). Out of the approximately 35 hours a week he claims to spend studying, around 8-10 are with these other students where they work on tasks set by the teachers. Generally, he believes that the interaction with other students in class is limited to the extent that they cannot learn from each other: "It is very few advantages. At least for now. It might come later, but for now, we have no advantage of having other cultures in class" [11].

When this international student experiences that the students cling to people they already know when they form groups, it probably relates to the structural homogeneity in the student group

with the majority of students coming from the same BA at Aarhus University and having similar profiles and strategies, as identified in Wilken's (nd-a) analysis. Moreover, as discussed above, Wilken's work also shows that the students at Program 1 generally value Danish education and believe that the quality of education is high in Denmark which may have parallels to the chauvinism that Marginson and Sawir (2011) identify in research resting on cross-cultural psychology and essentialist ontology where Western education is seen as superior. From this perspective, it may be difficult for the students to see the value of the international students. But Wilken and Dahlberg's (2016) findings may also suggest that a degree of self-exclusion is at play as some of the international students explain how they form ties with co-nationals because they believe that the network will benefit them when they return home.

However, when it is difficult for newcomers to get access to established groups, it may also relate to other structural conditions at the program. The program's legitimation in market needs and the students' instrumental educational strategies are in congruence, and the students grant the program authority because they believe that it enjoys recognition in the market. Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) research suggests that under these conditions, the arbitrary is accepted as legitimate also by students with different compositions of *capitals*, resulting in *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and a low degree of ideological and epistemological struggle among the students. That students with a *habitus* that is not in congruence with the dominant *cultural arbitrary* accept it is seen in the interview with the Nordic student who accepts the ideological position in the course in economics with reference to Danish society even though he recognizes it as arbitrary. Inclusion, if it happens, happens because the international student accepts socialization into the dominant cultural arbitrary, according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), but the student's response in the interview when he reflects on the political differences between well educated people in Denmark and well-educated people at home suggests that while he recognizes the legitimacy of the arbitrary within the Danish context, he is not convinced of its universal legitimacy or its legitimacy in his local context, which leaves him as an outsider.

The *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) that dominates the program through the strong *pedagogic authority* (PAu) of the classes in economics involves the idea that the knower is recognized as legitimate knower once the discipline's methods and procedures have been acquired through a training of the gaze. However, as both the interviews and the observations show – e.g. when the

international student in the vignette from the study café cannot get access to the groups even though he seems to be willing to accept socialization as described by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) - the international students are not really included or recognized. This contradicts Maton's (2014) idea that the *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) and the training of the gaze should allow relatively easy recognition as legitimate knower. The data from Program 1 offers several explanations.

In the interviews, an international student implicitly points to one reason why the strategy of training the gaze may in stead hinder "knowledge interaction" among the students:

> It was actually just like a tutorial where you sat down and you did your thing and you asked for help if you needed it. And there was also groupings and it was the same groups. And it was no knowledge interaction between the groups [...] I did not get any help from the other groups and I did not help the other groups [...] it was me and the other [student from the same local area] and then we get help from these instructors.
> [...] I have assumed that there would be group interaction where we could share results and methods, but I don't know. You kind of have to adapt when you get into a new environment and then if no one does it then its just me that is not normal.
> [...] that's just what I assumed from a café because otherwise it could be called a tutorial and then we could just, the instructor could just as well solve the assignments on the blackboard and then so ... it was actually a tutorial for me. Actually, a tutorial where I would instruct myself [11].

The *trained gaze* (SubR-, IR-) of the *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) does not encourage engagement with others as a constructivist approach promoted e.g. by Aktas et al. (2017) would. It has a weak *interactional relation* (IR-) because the *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) is about acquiring the recognized knowledge and methods and not about co-construction of knowledge or learning from each other's perspectives. It is therefore not surprising that the students look towards textbooks or instructors for guidance and evaluation instead of towards other students.

Supported by the *epistemic relations* (ER), especially by the *doctrinal insight* (OR-, DR+), the *pedagogic authority* (PAu) that surrounds the knowledge presented in the classes in economics masks the ideological embedding or make the international students accept its status. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue that *pedagogic authority* (PAu) establishes a hierarchy between the legitimate knowledge it transmits and that which is not transmitted. In consequence, the orientation towards external legitimation imports the hierarchy of the field - as seen e.g. in the universality and status the lecturers ascribes to knowledge from the US as well as in the status the students' educational strategies ascribe to Danish education - and creates a space where the international

student has little knowledge capital if he or she does not represent the geographical centers of knowledge production or education. In other words, the legitimation structures may also undermine the symbolic value of his *capitals* as well as the status as legitimate knower, he would achieve through acquisition of the required methods.

In the course in international business, the lack of recognition and of inclusion has its origin in other conditions. While it is a course where it – in some of its aspects – rests on an experiential approach and actual interaction with the Other, the lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) identified in the analysis above, which according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) results in failure to produce *pedagogic action* (PA), produces fragmentation which means that the students cannot interact with each other.

Finally, when the market orientation of the program inscribes the interpersonal relation in an instrumental epistemology its consequence echoes the claim that the market has become "a new ethics in itself, capable of acting as a guide to all human action, and substituting for previously held ethical beliefs" (Treanor). It suggests that relations are managed and evaluated according to an economic assessment which renders engagement unnecessary. This reading is supported in the interview with the Danish student. While he initially states that meeting people from other continents is one of the advantages of international education, when asked if he interacts with the international students, he answers "Only if I'm forced into doing it. Not because I don't want to, but I feel like I don't need it" [12]. From the instrumental approach to education which characterizes the program and its students, inclusion, or interaction with the Other from the periphery, is thus assessed as an unnecessary investment. While the program promotes the international study environment, there is, in other words, nothing in the program's external or internal legitimation structures that actually requires or motivates interaction - or even legitimates the knowledge the international student may bring into the classroom from their education in other parts of the world.

In conclusion, it is both *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) that produce situations where interaction with the international student can be avoided and they therefore remain excluded. While the reasons for lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) in the course in international business may be complex, the orientation towards external legitimation in market needs, the congruence between the external market, which is perceived as favoring US knowledge, the orientation of the program and the students' previous socialization and strategies along with

the weak *ontic relation* (OR-) enforce the naturalness with which other perspectives are excluded at the program and the acceptance of this exclusion by the international students. The result is a hierarchy of knowers based not only on the amount of "universal" knowledge possessed, but potentially also where it has been acquired, which makes the contributions from knowers outside the hierarchy irrelevant. Combined with the *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-), which does not encourage collaboration, the structures make access for the international student difficult.

6.6 Conclusion

The chapter has explored the structural conditions behind the exclusion of international students that was identified in the observation data. In the literature, such exclusion has traditionally been treated as an effect of an essentialist identity construct or of language barriers.

As Program 1 primarily rests on a *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) seen in both the course in economics and – although in a weaker form – also in the course in international business, international students should have relatively easy access to become legitimate knowers through the training of the gaze, they can receive in the study cafés. An analysis of the interplay between external and knowledge internal legitimation structures has offered an alternative explanation to exclusion as product of essentialist identity constructs.

The data from Program 1 has confirmed Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) findings: homogeneity in the student cohort – here measured as educational background, regional and national background, social class, international experience and strategies towards mobility and education, congruence between the students' *habitus* and the *cultural arbitrary* promoted by the education – here understood as legitimation structures, the relative autonomy, and recognition in the market are factors that promote *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and therefore *pedagogic action* (PA).

Drawing upon legitimation code theory allows a further analysis of the *cultural arbitrary* and how it interacts with *pedagogic authority* (PAu). Comparing the course at Program 1 that enjoys *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and the one that does not, a number of differences stand out: while they both have relatively weak *positional autonomy* (PA-), *relational autonomy* (RA) is strong at the course that enjoys *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and weak at the program that does not; the two courses have similar *discursive* and *ontic* strengths, but there is stronger congruence between the knowledge *habitus* of the interviewed student and the knowledge code of the program that enjoys

pedagogic authority (PAu). In contrast, the introduction of an (discipline) external legitimation structure is perceived as transgression of autonomy and is labelled indoctrination. The relationship between these legitimation structures and *pedagogic authority* (PAu) could be further explored.

According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), pedagogic authority also sustains misrecognition of the dominant cultural arbitrary as arbitrary, which is thus also confirmed when comparing the data describing the course in economics and the data describing the course in international business. Luckett (2010) argues that *horizontal knowledge structures*, with weak *grammars* and *knower codes* (ER-, SR+) allow a greater discursive space for ideology and the *cultural arbitrary* to play. However, the data from Program 1 does not point towards *knowledge codes* (ER+, SR-) as protection against misrecognition of ideology or of the *cultural arbitrary* as arbitrary. Instead, it points towards more complex relations between knowledge external and knowledge internal legitimation structures. It is also in these relations we find the space for a competition logic that universalizes local and ideological perspectives.

Finally, the relationships between *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and relations between students that Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) described are also seen in the data from Program 1. As *pedagogic authority* (PAu) results in the misrecognition of the dominant *cultural arbitrary* as arbitrarty, students are excluded – and accept exclusion – based on the hierarchy it supports. In contrast, in the class where the lecturer lacks *pedagogic authority* (PAu), interactions are characterized by fragmentation. Moreover, with the orientation towards external legitimation, also follows the program's strategy of content internationalization (Crosling et al., 2008) focusing on knowledge considered universally recognized rather than relational approaches to knowledge construction (e.g. Aktas et al., 2017; Kahn & Agnew, 2017; Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Rizvi, 2009; Singh & Shrestha, 2008; Zembylas, 2015). The program's legitimation structures are thus excluding both through a hierarchy and a *cultural arbitrary* that do not recognize the legitimacy of other knowledges and a knowledge internal legitimation structure that does not support engagement – or, in Levinasian terminology, a relation to the *Other* that only operates through the *Said* (Levinas, 1998).

Chapter 7: Becoming the Same

7.1 Program 2: Introduction

The first round of coding (see Chapter 5) of the knowledge encounters at Program 2 identified them as primarily "becoming the same", which are encounters that in the beginning are characterized by attempts at finding common ground and reaching compromises. However, while the introductory sessions as well as the marketing material stress cultural and disciplinary diversity as assets, encounters resulted in reductions of difference and eventually in conflicts. The pedagogic approaches identified have similarities with globalism as described by Marginson and Sawir (2011), the instrumentalism and experiential epistemology of the neo-essentialist approaches as well as the convergence strategies of its third space ideals. However, the chapter turns to legitimation structures to explore these as alternative explanations and further analysis of the conflicts and lack of exchange.

The program is a program in development studies, and it is taught as an interdisciplinary program with natural science and anthropology. It is taught in collaboration between academics and external consultants from development agencies. It involves thirteen academic staff of which one is an international lecturer, one is external lecturer and two are external consultants.

It was founded in 2011, and in 2012, it had 21 students, four of which were Danish and otherwise students from Europe, Asia and Africa. The majority of the students have a degree in the humanities. Part of the course is offered as an elective for students at the biology department.

Like Giddens's (1998) third way politics, the program's foundation is the changes in politics after the end of the Cold War, which have altered the understanding of security from being about ideological conflicts and protection from other states towards being either about local relationships or global challenges like climate changes (field notes, lecture introducing the theoretical framework). As will be discussed below, it results in an epistemological ideal combining scientific knowledge with local, indigenous knowledge, and it thus extends the center-seeking strategies of the third way politics to its knowledge production.

The program is oriented towards work in aid programs, and both in the marketing material (Aarhus University, 2011) and in the lectures, it is emphasized that it combines academic knowledge with practical skills and "hands-on" experience. Moreover, it is emphasized that it is a cross-disciplinary approach originating in an emerging paradigm that distinguishes itself from traditional

mono-disciplinary approaches, which, it is argued, makes the students attractive in the labor market (Aarhus University, 2011). The students work together in interdisciplinary groups to prepare them for working life after university. Most of the exams are project-based "because projects allow you to go into detail and get an overview of the whole thing. A project has a clear goal. A time frame. A budget. You will work in projects later on [after university] so it is not just a skill you develop for this course, but a skill for life" [l-A1] (field notes, first lecture). Moreover, the program offers stipends to talented students from third world countries and from the beginning, diversity – both cultural and disciplinary – is stressed as an asset that can help the students develop skills for a global labor market. This suggests that the program is mainly oriented towards external legitimation from the world outside academia and the idea of "useful", problem-solving knowledge.

7.2 Knowledge and pedagogy

With its mix of biology and anthropology, which is combined in the individual courses, the program promotes interdisciplinarity. It legitimates interdisciplinarity through the complexity of problems encountered in the world and the necessity of a new paradigm to embrace this complexity (field notes), i.e. an externally defined instrumental criteria of legitimation which entails weak *relational autonomy* (RA-) (Locke & Maton, 2019; Maton & Howard, 2018) in the overall legitimation code of the program. The external legitimation is also emphasized as the program is partly taught by external consultants which also weakens the *positional autonomy* (PA). These ideals are visible from the beginning of the program in the lecturers' self-representation. In the introductory session, the external lecturer, who is a political scientist by training says: "I am practical rather than academic" (el-PS), and one of the lecturers, an anthropologist, says: "my work has been very interdisciplinary. It is very difficult to pinpoint my own discipline. I have a mixed background now" (l-A1). Regarding *relational autonomy* (RA), the program varies to a greater extent from course to course and in some cases from lecturer to lecturer. Tange's (2016) analysis of interviews with the lecturers reveals a difference between the anthropologists and the biologists in the structuring principles and evaluative criteria they apply. Whereas the anthropologists stress interdisciplinarity, which the observations show is externally legitimated, i.e. have weak *relational autonomy* (RA-), the biologists tend to draw upon their own discipline as point of reference, i.e. internal legitimation or strong *relational autonomy* (RA+). Moreover, the external consultants actually tend to legitimate their

knowledge with disciplinary criteria rather than in consultancy practice as seen in the following quote from the field notes:

[ec-B] presents a project he has worked on in Eastern Africa. In the area, biodiversity was changing. A student asks, "How important is it that biodiversity is changing?". The lecturer (ec-B) responds, "I'm a biologist, so I suggest indigenous species. But the locals suggested eucalyptus – they use a lot of water. We agreed on pine trees".

Similarly, the program teaches both disciplinary knowledge from anthropology and biology as well as skills in project management and consultancy practice.

Along the same lines, the program also strives to combine scientific and indigenous knowledge, which means bringing knowledge from another domain into the university as suggested e.g. by Basole (2009); Purwar and Sharma (2009) and Sahasrabudhey (2009) which also means a weakening of *relational autonomy* (RA). The epistemological ideal of combining scientific knowledge and indigenous knowledge is presented as a source of innovation, but in the course, it continuously becomes a source of disturbance which rarely integrates or leads to development of new knowledge. This is both indicated in the very first introduction the students get to the ideal, but it is also seen in the work at the program discussed in the analysis of encounters in the subsequent sections.

In the lecture introducing the idea, the lecturer, an anthropologist (l-A3) says:

"There is often conflict between [scientific knowledge and indigenous knowledge]. But often innovation comes from indigenous knowledge. But the UN declaration about protection of indigenous knowledge is also controversial because who is indigenous? Indigenous knowledge is part of the conservation discourse – but this may be based on a romantic view. In projects, the donors will no longer give money to projects that involve indigenous people, because it often leads to conflict and problems" (field notes).

This is thus an introduction which presents indigenous knowledge somewhat ambiguously. It is both innovative and old-fashioned romantic. Moreover, while it may have a value within ethical and human rights discourses, in terms of economy, indigenous knowledge is perceived as potentially destabilizing, and it opens up a power struggle over both definitions and resources. This conflict points towards a conflict between two aspects of the program's external legitimation as indigenous

knowledge is externally legitimated by the UN, but also externally delegitimated by donors. At the same time, it may be internally recognized by the discipline of anthropology. Moreover, the ideal may be challenged by differences in knowledge-internal legitimation codes. In Maton's (2014) terminology, indigenous knowledge is characterized by high *semantic gravity* (SG+) while scientific theory involves a *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) and *low semantic gravity* (SG-). But these knowledge forms can also be described by differences in the process of knowledge construction as either a process of engagement or of distancing, where indigenous knowledge involves processes of engagement and heteronomy (in the Levinasian sense), and scientific knowledge involves processes of distancing and autonomy, and the translation of indigenous knowledge into scientific knowledge becomes a reduction because it is a rejection of its fundamental legitimation criteria. These differences in legitimation criteria points towards the difficulties knowledge building based upon this ideal of epistemological integration faces.

The interdisciplinary approach promoted by the program has roots in the UN, and while the anthropologists according to Tange (2016) are aware that they have a tendency to draw upon a European/ Western point of reference and exclude traditions from the Global South, the interdisciplinary approach and its associated knowledge structures grounded in external legitimation are seen as a neutral, natural and necessary response to the development in international politics after the fall of the Soviet Union and the global spread of capitalism. It is interpreted as a situation where the threat to security no longer comes from other states and ideological conflicts but from local conflicts and environmental changes (notes from introductory lecture). In consequence, the discussion of the ideological embedding of the knowledge they have chosen to present in the program and of the work they train the students to do is almost absent from the discussion in class. This aspect of the program thus entails that the *epistemic relations* (ER) are characterized by strong *discursive relation* (DR+) and relatively weak *ontic relations* (OR-) as the base of problems sought to be addressed with the paradigm is relatively broad.

The complexity continues in the knowledge-internal structures that characterize combination of disciplines in the courses. According to Maton (2014), anthropology is characterized by a *knower code* (ER-, SR+), where the legitimate knower has acquired a *cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+) (cf. Maton's analyzis of Bourdieu's concepts discussed in Chapter 4) and it is therefore a rather long process of socialization to become a legitimate knower, which suggests exclusivity of the gaze

and a *hierarchical knower structure*. Biology, on the other hand, is characterized by a *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) and a flat knower hierarchy – i.e. the legitimate knower has acquired a *trained gaze* (SubR-, IR-), and in that sense, legitimacy is in theory achievable. These differences are particularly visible in the program's methodology course, where the biologists focus on statistical methods and give the students assignments to train how to do the calculations while the anthropologists to a larger extent discuss their methods and ask the students to reflect upon their application.

Having outlined the epistemological principles driving the program presentation and their theoretical implications, the interplay between external and internal legitimation, *knowledge*– (ER+, SR-) and *knower codes* (ER-, SR+), as well as *semantics* is discussed in relation to courses and observed activities in the following sections.

In the methodology course, the students are introduced to both methods from biology and methods from anthropology. In the biology part of the course, they start with introductions to different statistical methods and later the students are asked to do group presentations of published studies where they account for and discuss the methodology. Regarding the dimension of *specialization*, this part of the course thus primarily involves a *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-), but the presentations and discussions also draw on a *knower code* (ER-,SR+).

In the part of the course that presents methods from anthropology the reliance on a *knower code* (ER-, SR+) becomes much stronger. Here, participatory methods are introduced as a way of getting access to indigenous knowledge:

> [I-A1] introduces participatory research methods as "state of the art". "They are quick and easy or dirty, but still valid", he says. "They are good as a starting point when you don't know the field where you are going to study and afterwards you can continue with more time-consuming methods".
> He talks about projects that used a top-down approach with the result that the locals had to adjust to the project. "You have to listen to what people need. This is a way to engage with what people need to empower themselves," he says. He shows a slide with some hand-drawings on and says "Now you think 'Is this really something you can use?' This is the strength – everybody can use them. They can be adjusted. Age, gender etc. With this method, you can engage with the locals from the beginning" (field notes).

While the methods, characterized by a *knower code* (ER-, SR+) and strong *semantic gravity* (SG+) are legitimate in terms of the strictly internal, disciplinary legitimation and the emancipatory interest that also seems to drive the lecturer resting upon a strong *relational autonomy* (RA+), they

are not necessarily valid in the external legitimation, or the weak *positional* and *relational autonomy* (PA-, RA-) that underwrites the interdisciplinarity forming the program's raison d'être or in evaluations from other disciplines, both calling for "more time-consuming methods". This tension becomes clear as [l-A1] continues:

"You have to be a bit careful because people may think 'Is this really science?' People expect that science is statistics and formal interviews". […] "You may think that it is difficult for rural people to make accurate scientific maps, but I've been amazed how accurate they are and how much people know. Afterwards you can check with a GPS which may make it more convincing and scientific. The whole idea is to reverse the role between researcher and the researched. Instead of asking questions, you provide the tools. But the difficulty lies in interpreting the data. I mix participatory and quantitative data. You have to think a bit out of the box." […] "Visualizations give you data quickly. Mapping is a quick analysis of your data. You can use local materials. Pen, paper, stones, mud. These techniques cannot be used alone. Quantification of the results is dangerous. Should not be used as standard methodology. I'm sure some of you think this is ridiculous and stupid." […] "I hope that you will try out some of these things even though you may find them a bit stupid", he continues. But he also stresses that triangulation is important (field notes)

Here, the status difference between the two kinds of knowledge is clear. While the lecturer teaches methods to engage with indigenous knowledge, he also at the same time embeds them in a *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) valued by the external legitimation, and therefore, he simultaneously undermines the discipline-internal legitimation of the knowledge form. Moreover, the two types of knowledge are presented as incompatible, and it is not discussed how they can interact and feed into each other to build new knowledge.

The other course combines biology with project management. The combination of gaining scientific knowledge and developing consultancy skills is characterized by difference in terms of consultancy's legitimation in external criteria, i.e. weak *relational autonomy* (RA-), and science in discipline-internal criteria or strong *relational autonomy* (RA+). However, in terms of external field recognition, they, opposed to the scientific-indigenous dichotomy, enjoy equal status, and hence, they are not as such in conflict. Significantly, biology is taught by consultants who, as shown above, legitimate knowledge with reference to the discipline, while it is one of the academic members of staff who teaches project skills. The consultants embed the theoretical biology in cases, examples from their own consultancy practice and in work with the students' own project proposals. This part of the course tends to develop towards a *cumulative modality* where the internal relation is context-

independent and an external relation that is in a dialogic relationship between theory and data and extends across contexts. The example below is from a lecture and shows how a general concept is explained and connected to different contexts moving up the scale of semantic gravity:

> [ec-B] gives the first lecture. The students are quiet and take notes. [ec-B] asks if they know the meaning of the word "viviparous". [B-ME] immediately answers and the [ec-B] explains the linguistic roots of the word and then moves on in the lecture. However, after a couple of minutes [A-EU1] asks about the word again, "Is it a particular species or a characteristic of the plant?" [ec-B] answers "It is a characteristic of the plant. Human beings are viviparous as well." (field notes)

The epistemic ideal of combining scientific and indigenous knowledge is also repeated in the beginning of this course and the strategy seems to be to use the international students from third world countries as access to indigenous knowledge through similar *gravity waves* as the ones seen above. It is a strategy that seems to parallel Singh and Shresta's (2008) idea of the international student as partaker in "the intellectual life of at least two societies" (p. 66). An exchange between a student and an external consultant illustrates how encounters between scientific and local or indigenous knowledge may be played out:

> [ec-B] gives a presentation about watershed management. [SS-AF1] raises his hand and when it is his turn, he tells about his own experiences with what causes mudslides in his village and how the villagers act. [ec-B] hesitates and responds: "We'll return to that", but it is not taken up again by the lecturer (field notes).

In theory, the student is considered a resource at the program because he provides access to local, contextual knowledge with strong *semantic gravity* (SG+). However, the episode illustrates how this knowledge is not made use of in the encounter with the scientific *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) (biology) and instead becomes a disturbance and knowledge that is lost to the other students.

As opposed to the biology part, which includes theoretical concepts and empirical research, the knowledge in the seminars about project management displays strong *semantic gravity* (SG+) as it remains closely tied to context and does not display the same capacity for what Maton (2014) defines as a *cumulative modality*. These seminars, while they are taught by an academic lecturer (11), focus on consultancy practice. In terms of knowledge building, these seminars are centered on the students' experiences. The lecturer, e.g., uses clickers to find out how much experience the

students already have with group work, and they are asked to form new groups several times to get the experience of working with people from other disciplines and cultures. Moreover, the students are introduced to planning tools to identify the phases of a project and Belbin's team roles (Belbin, 2010). However, tools from management and psychology are not discussed as research, exposed to critical discussions or applied to the experiences of the students or the information gained from the clicker exercise, and in the groups, I observe, it is rarely applied to an analysis of the roles within the group or integrated into the planning of their work. There is thus no integration of the previous personal experience and theory. The result is that their previous experiences remain fragments of personal knowledge entirely dependent on its context of acquisition, which does not add to the development of work in the project groups or connect to the theory. It remains, in other words, an example of *segmentalism* (Maton, 2014).

In terms of knowledge legitimation structures, the program is thus characterized not only by great diversity of epistemologies regarding *specialization* and knowledge-building, but also by ambivalence caused by the unsettled relationships between the different criteria of legitimation in relation to: 1) interdisciplinarity which finds legitimation externally in the complexity of the world's problems, but without establishing internal criteria of legitimation and knowledge-building processes in response to the incongruity between the discipline-internal differences; 2) a similar incongruity in the scientific-indigenous dichotomy. Moreover, when the *epistemic relation* (ER) of the theoretical framework that is the foundation of the program approaches a *doctrinal insight* (OR-, DR+), it may suggest an unrealized ideological embedding.

The pedagogic approach as well the intercultural communication approaches introduced to the students seems to have a starting point in a belief in creative diversity rather than in troublesome difference (cf. Chapter 2's discussion of Eriksen, 2006; Rizvi & Walsh, 1998). It has parallels to the globalism approach described under Marginson and Sawir's (2011) "Engaging the Other"- tradition and to the neo-essentialist approaches as it starts from recognition of other epistemologies, student-centered teaching, and intercultural learning as an experientially driven, but essentially epistemological understanding of the other. I.e., a translation-process of distance and autonomy towards epistemological closure in a third space compromise grounded in rationalization. The approach at Program 2 thus differs significantly – at least in the starting point -

from the one found at Program 1, where internationalization is approached through a universalizing tendency and socialization into a dominant framework.

At the program, learning is said to start in the students' needs and experiences. The lecturers [I-B1] emphasize that their approach is student-centered, based on "just-in-time-teaching" (i.e. teaching continually adjusted to the progression of the students), immediate evaluation by using clickers, regular feed-back on short assignments and short lectures (no more than 15 min) followed by time to write down definitions from the lecture. It is only the second year they run the program, and based on the experiences from the first year, they have decided to include cases in the theory course instead of the hard-core theory they did the first year because a lot of the students found it too challenging[11]. The pedagogy is thus an engagement with the student, but it is essentially an instrumental, epistemological and distancing overcoming of the other to achieve a pre-defined outcome: the learning of the externally legitimated knowledge defined by the teacher rather than relational co-construction and it thus parallels the content-oriented approaches introduced in Chapter 3.

Intercultural teamwork is introduced to the students in a workshop lead by a pedagogic consultant [pc] as part of the introductory days. As the consultant explains, the workshop is designed to raise the students' awareness of the benefits and challenges of both cultural and disciplinary diversity in the group and give them tools to be efficient and inclusive. However, the following analysis of the workshop shows that like the neo-functionalist approach (e.g. Deardorff, 2006; Glaser et al., 2007), the workshop is characterized by a movement towards closure and unity, an experiential approach to learning and knowledge building that remains grounded in the economic, rational/ autonomous subject rather than in relational engagement.

In the introduction to the workshop, group work and group diversity is legitimated externally as a skill needed after university and as beneficial to the development of the students' exam projects. Hence, the intercultural encounter is also embedded in an instrumental orientation similar to the one introduced by Glaser et al. (2007) in the ICOPROMO project discussed in Chapter 3. Moreover, [pc] tells the parable about the blind men who feel different parts of an elephant and cannot agree on what an elephant is because the trunk feels like a snake, the tail like a rope, the ear like a fan etc. As in the parable, the moral is that there may be some truth in all perspectives and a

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[11] Information obtained from one of the lecturers during a break.

group needs its diverse perspectives to get the full picture. [pc] therefore stresses that it is important to make room for every group member to utilize the full potential of the group and that thinking in this way can help them avoid conflict. With this interpretation of the parable, knowledge is thus understood as non-conflictual pieces of a whole, and diversity in groups is constructed as a step towards fulfillment and closure – "the full picture", as she says resembling the Hegelian movement MacDonald and O'Regan (2012) identifies in IC theory or *the Said* in Levinas' philosophy which Ferri (2014) draws upon to illustrate the totalization of meaning in essentialist discourse. This is further emphasized as empty chairs are placed in the circle of students to represent the students who have not arrived yet due to visa problems[12] and the students present are asked to think about how to include them when they consolidate their groups.

Furthermore, the students are introduced to structured dialogue and appreciative inquiry to give all group members an equal amount of speaking time and have including tools to draw upon in the groups. Rooted in social constructionism, appreciative inquiry is a tool for facilitating change in groups or organizations based on group members' positive experiences (e.g. Grant & Humphries, 2006). While both tools emphasize inclusion of experiences of all group members, the focus upon positive experience lacks critical-relational exploration[13], and similar to the neo-functionalist approaches to intercultural communication, these tools are essentially essentialist and they thus risk ending in a reductive compromise. In the workshop, it plays out as follows:

> Each group is asked to choose a focus person, an interviewer and one or more observers depending on the number of people in the group and change roles after the first round so that all group members try all three roles. The focus person is asked to tell a story about a positive and successful experience with group work. The interviewer's job is to get the focus person to tell as many details as possible and ask questions to explore what made the group work successful while the observers note it down on a post-it. When all group members have told their story, the group is asked to identify common themes, write them as headlines on a sheet of flip-over paper and place the post-its under the relevant headline (field notes).

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[12] Students from Africa and Asia often encounter problems with visa etc. which causes them to be delayed and miss the first part of the semester.

[13] See Haar, D. v. d., & Hosking, D. M. (2004). Evaluating Appreciative Inquiry: a relational constructivist perspective. *Human Relations*, *57*(8), 1017-1036. for a discussion of the difference between constructionist perspectives that maintain the subject-object dichotomy and relational constructionist perspectives on AI.

A similar exercise is done in one of the first classes with one of the academic lecturers (I-B1). Here, the students are asked to write down individually three things that they find important when doing group work. Then, in groups, they are asked to prioritize the things they have written down. Both the exercises are including in the sense that they give all students a chance to think about their own experiences and have them heard by the other students. However, the reflections are produced as products of an autonomous subject and enter the future strategy as compromises or common ground of experiences rather than being relationally constructed as proposed in relational cosmopolitanism (Marginson & Sawir, 2011) or by e.g. Rizvi (2008) and Singh and Shrestha (2008). As such, they are excluding of both negative experiences and the relational in the group. From an LCT-perspective (Maton, 2014), as the exercises develop knowledge claims based on personal experience as common themes, it means that it does not move towards theorization, but remains context-dependent with strong *semantic gravity* (SG+) and only has a weak explanatory strength.

While Program 1 approaches internationalization as epistemological standardization, Program 2 shares the instrumental motivation and orientation towards external legitimation, but it starts from an understanding of epistemological diversity regarding a number of parameters: indigenous knowledge and scientific knowledge, *knowledge codes* (ER+, SR-) and *knower codes* (ER-, SR+), external and internal legitimation as well as disciplinary and cultural differences resulting in highly complex structures. However, diversity is approached through an ideal of epistemological integration through reductive translation practiced as mergers of positions which remain context-dependent with strong *semantic gravity* (SG+) and an essentially autonomous and rational overcoming of otherness.

7.3 Students

From the questionnaires we know that most of the students have chosen the program because of its focus upon practical skills rather than theory and because of its potential for networking during the obligatory internship. Initially, the students aim at a career in developmental work or international institutions, and there is thus congruence between the program's external legitimation and the majority of the students' motivation for participation as well as relative homogeneity within the student cohort in relation to motivation for participation. However, a more detailed analysis of the students' backgrounds reveals a far greater degree of heterogeneity. The

following is structured around Wilken's (nd-a) categorization of the students according to regional belonging, educational background, social class, educational strategy, mobility strategy and international profile. The aim is to describe the composition of the student cohort as well as to explore the students' perception of knowledge and education. Wilken's survey does not include the two students that follow one of the courses in the program as an elective. These students are biologists. One of them is an exchange student from the Middle East. The overview below shows the interviewed students profiles and strategies.

Participant	Region	Educational background	Social class	International profile	Mobility strategy	Educational strategy
Program 2						
21	EU	Political science	Working class	International	Investing in a better life	Finding purpose
22	Nordic	Political science	Middle class	Inheritor	Safe choice	Investing in Danish education
23	EU	Interdisciplinary (with anthropology)	Upper middle	Inheritor	Love	Investing in quality education
24	Africa	Social science	Outside labor market	First mover	Graduating from Europe	Investing in international capital

Program 2: Region
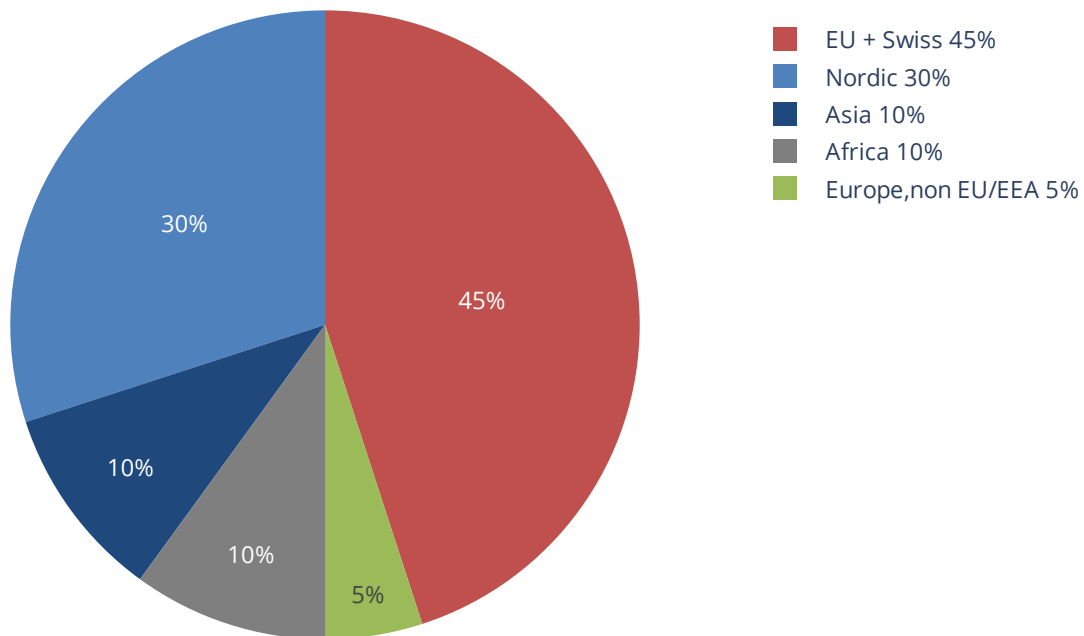
33% of the students are Nordic and among the Nordic students, four of them are Danish. However, the Danish or Nordic students do not appear as a coherent or dominant group in the classroom. 43% of the students are from the EU and this is thus the largest group. Together with a Danish student with BA degrees from other universities than Aarhus, this is also the most visible and dominant group in the classroom.

Program 2: Educational background
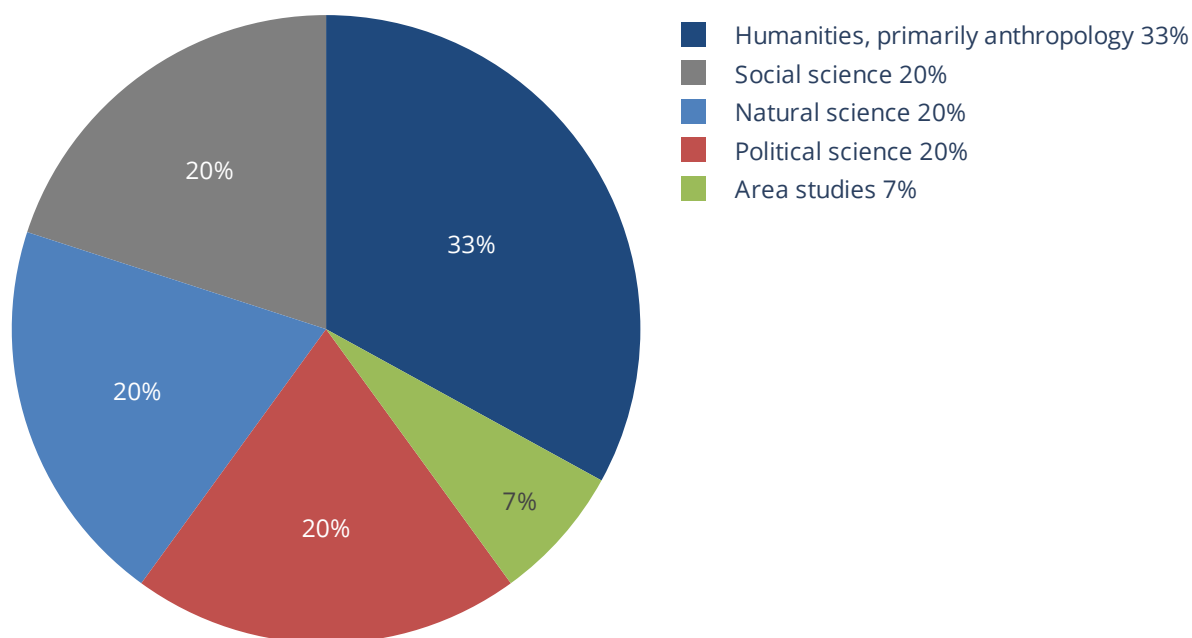
Compared to Program 1, Program 2 displays more diversity in the students' educational background. 33% of the students have a degree in the humanities and of these most of them are anthropologists. The rest is divided between 20 % that have a degree in political science, 20% in social science, 20% in natural science, and 7% in area studies. However, some of the students also have interdisciplinary degrees or backgrounds. As discussed above, the different disciplines have different *specialization codes* (Maton, 2014), and it is therefore also likely that there are differences in what the students recognize as legitimate knowledge and legitimate gazes. However, for some of the students, their educational background is chosen out of interest and curiosity, while for others it seems to be out of necessity. In the interview, a student with an interdisciplinary background describes it in the following words:

> I did my bachelor in political science and art history. […] Well, I was 16 when I finished high school and I didn't know what to do with my life and my first year I did a whole lot of random papers. Psychology, law and art history, politics uhm and then I decided that those were the two that I liked the most and so I just did both of them and they have nothing to do with

each other as such. […] so I have done environmental studies and uhm I did that law paper and I did peace and conflict [23].

A student with a degree in political science characterizes her background in this way:

It was very mixed. I had a lot of law studies. […]The first year was especially about [national] institutions. Like public law, private law and a lot of history. Uhm a lot, urh a bit of philosophy. Economics. Finance studies. And, and then some sociology as well [22].

These two are students that previously have chosen their degrees and courses out of interest. In comparison, another student explains that after graduating with a degree in psychology, he worked in marketing, but he realized that a BA was insufficient:

It was after working for one year, I thought I needed to add to my background and to my CV, because with the bachelor degree it is so competitive. They don't have jobs. Unemployment is high, so I needed to add. I chose conflict management because I saw that the situation in [the name of the home country]. The civil war. So I decided to do something in relation to conflict [24].

These differences in how they think about education are tied to their educational strategies, which will be discussed below, but they may also both be linked to the differences in social class which are prominent at Program 2. While the majority of the students have either upper middle class (43%) or middle class (19%) background, it is characteristic for the program that 14% of students have parents who are outside the labor market and only have very little education. The three quotes above also represent these three categories respectively and demonstrates differences in how they perceive their options regarding education and probably also real differences in the opportunities they have.

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Program 2: Social class

Legend:
- Upper middle 43%
- Middle 19%
- Outside labor market 14%
- NA 10%
- Working class 9%
- Upper 5%
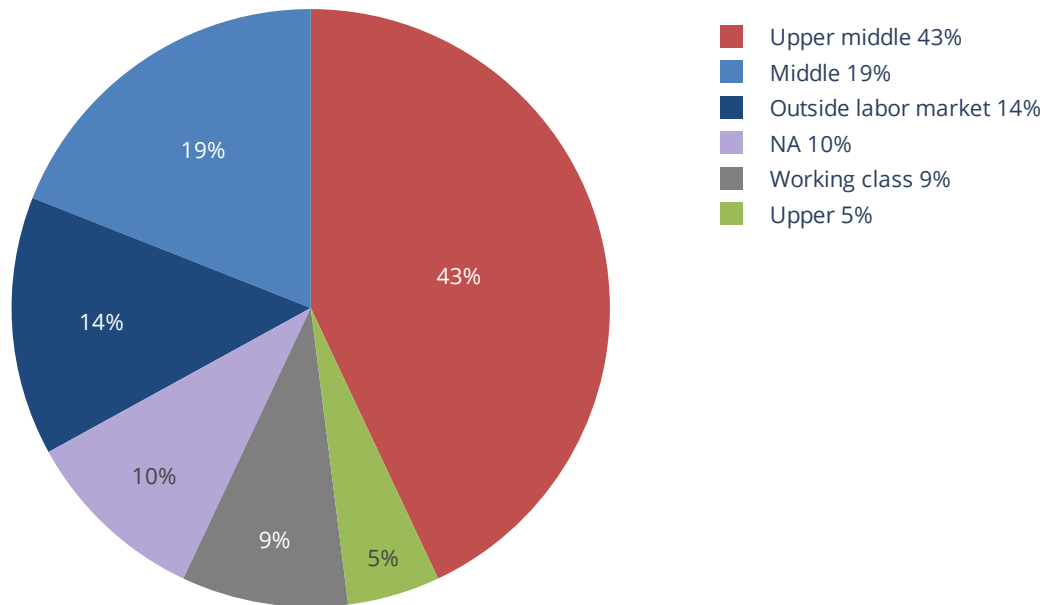
The heterogenous constitution of the cohort is further strengthened if we look at the students' international profiles. While 5% have no international experience and 14% are first movers with no international experience prior to attending the program, 33% are international inheritors which is a group of students who both have travelled a lot themselves and have parents that have also travelled extensively. In many cases these students have lived with their parents in several different countries. The remaining 43% are "internationals". These students have parents that have not been internationally mobile, but the students themselves have some international experience from studying abroad through exchange schemes or they have had seasonal jobs abroad.

Program 2: International profile

- Inheritors 40%
- Internationals 30%
- First movers 15%
- Hypermobile 10%
- NA 5%
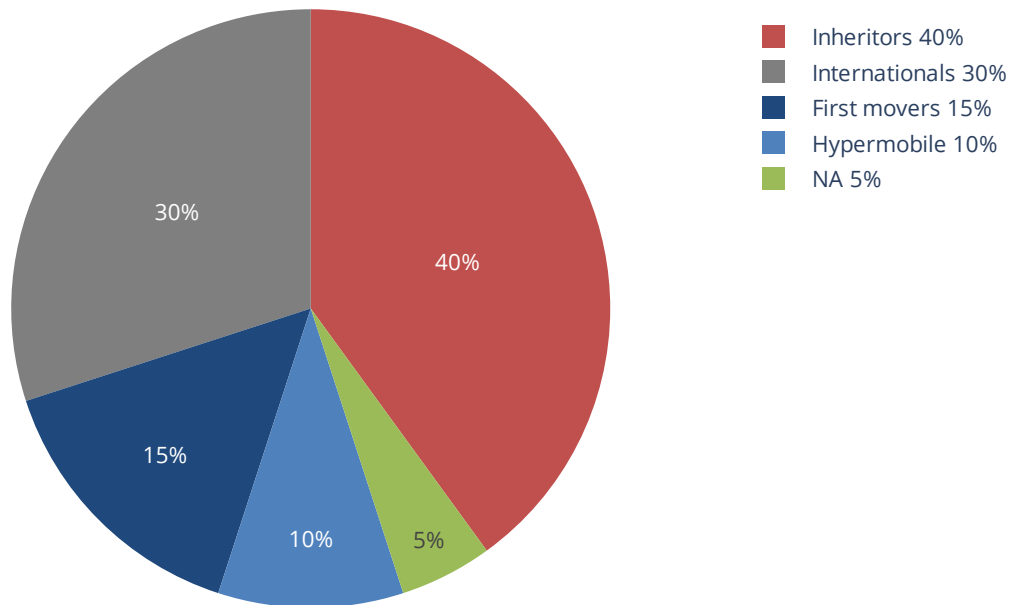
All six mobility strategies identified by Wilken (nd-a) in the data from AU by are found at the program.

Program 2: Mobility strategy

- Becoming or remaining international 24%
- Love 24%
- Graduating from (Western) Europe 14%
- Investing in a better life 14%
- NA 10%
- Safe choice 9%
- Round about 5%
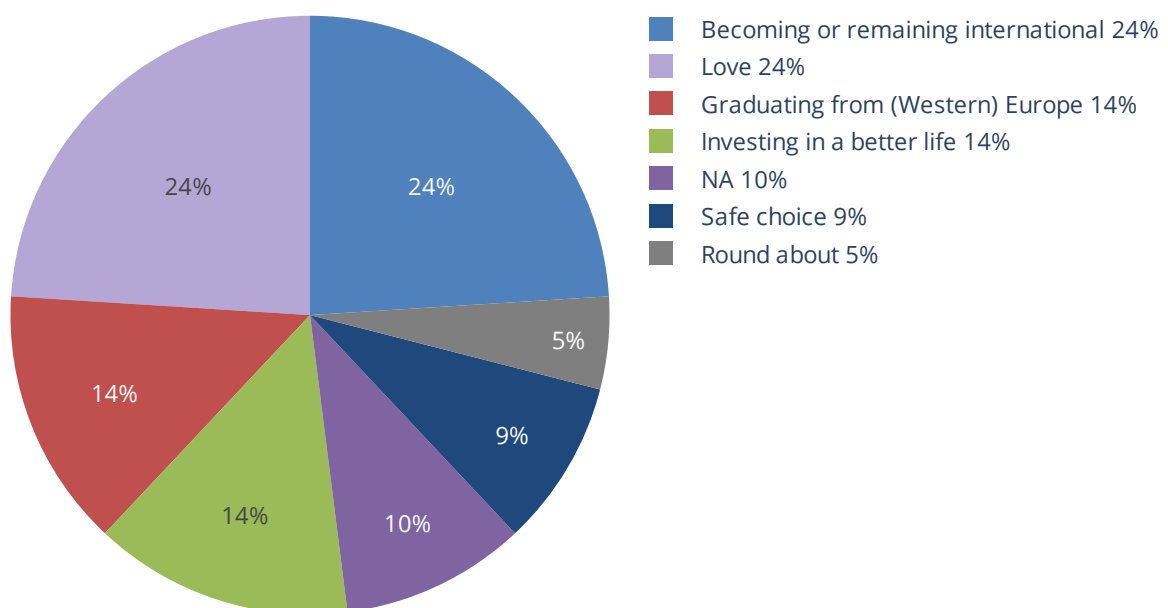
"Roundabouts" constitute 5% of the students. These are students that in many cases are supported economically by their parents and that travel because they believe it increases their career chances. 14 % have the strategy "graduating from Europe". In contrast to the roundabouts, they typically do not have a clear plan for how they are going to use their degree. Most of them belong to the lower social classes, they receive scholarships either from Danida, the EU or international NGOs. Some of them use part of their scholarship to support family at home, and they tend to become isolated from the social student activities because they cannot afford to participate. They have travelled very little before coming to Denmark and they have had to overcome problems with money transfers and visa applications to get to Denmark, and in a number of cases they arrive late, after the semester has started, resulting in a negative emphasis upon their position from the beginning. Their hope is that a degree from a European university will help them get a better job when they return home. 14% have the strategy "investing in a better life" which are students that typically do not intend to return home. These students Wilken and Dahlberg (2016) describe as students coming from less privileged backgrounds. They mainly come from EU-member states or from other parts of Europe than the immediate Danish neighbors. They do not have the same economic security as other international students often have. They are attracted to Denmark because of the free education, the quality of life and the ideal of equality. Their participation in international education is motivated by a chance to create a better life for themselves, and while they do talk about a desire to experience the world, it does not come from their upbringing but rather from friends, teachers and the media. A student representing this strategy explains the motivation for studying in Denmark as being about economic necessity rather than the learning potential in international education or dissatisfaction with the universities in the home country:

> Well, I chose it because … well the first reason was because of the fees. Eh, if you go to certain nations within the European Union, you get your fees paid, so that was the number one. And then secondly, ehm, I just looked up the top twenty universities or whatever it was, the top-100 [21].

"Becoming or remining international" constitutes 24%. These are students that are looking for international experience because they plan to work in international organizations in the future. For 9% of the students, studying in Denmark was a "safe choice". They seek international capital but

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also want to minimize the investment risk and these are therefore either Danish or Nordic students. In some cases, it is children of expatriates that return home to get free education. One of these students who has a BA degree from another European country explains that she was very satisfied with the academic standard at her previous university, but life as a student was hard because she had to pay tuition fee herself. This has influenced her decision to study in Denmark instead:

> I knew that I wanted to study in Denmark, basically because I wanted to try something else [...]. Also from a scholastic point of view. And, well of course it is easier to be a student in Denmark. That was a big incentive to me compared to working all the time [22].

Finally, 24% of the students list "significant other in Aarhus" as the reason for choosing Aarhus University. Wilken (nd-a) has called the strategy "Love".

Five out of Wilken's (nd-a) six educational strategies are represented at the program.

Program 2: Educational strategy

Legend:
- Investing in Danish education 30%
- Investing in international capital 25%
- Investing in quality education 15%
- Finding purpose 10%
- Internationalization at home 10%
- NA 10%
- Career change 0%
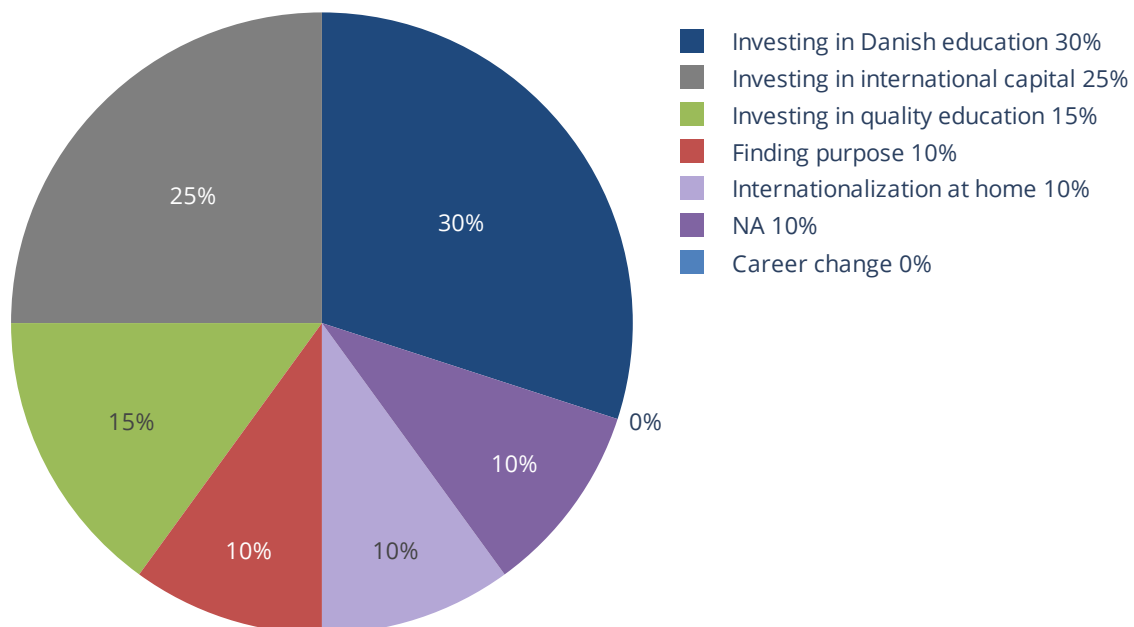
25% of the students participate in international education as an investment in international capital. These students wish to strengthen the education they have with international education. In an interview, one of these students sums it up in the following words:

where I come from I need to have paper to be seen. I need more books. More papers to have an impact back home. And with a masters and a PhD from Denmark, if I go back home, I will be another class [24].

However, as the interview continues, he also points to other reasons than his own social mobility involved in his choice. One of his dreams is to get a PhD in Denmark and go home and work in higher education, but he also sees education as a chance to improving living conditions for others in his home country. It is his aim

To get insight into […] humanitarian work and maybe things to do with conflict resolution and see what happens to people who come back after conflicts. To society. How they integrate into society. Is it easy for them to come back to live a normal life after being abducted. Like someone who has been away from normal life for 15-20 years. How can such people be integrated into society [24].

For 30%, participation is an investment in Danish education. According to Wilken's description of the strategy, they have chosen the program in order to graduate from a Danish university because they believe the quality of education is high in Denmark. A student representing the strategy explains her choice in the following words:

The course was what I started with. Not Aarhus. But, well, [the course] because I thought that it has an interesting approach to development. That was a little more down to earth because it had, well, different kinds of disciplines involved in it. Biology and … , I wanted to learn some skills not just theory. So that was what I was hoping to get out of it. […] Well, basically I was hoping to hmmm to be instructed in how to do development. Exact .. like how to write a project. How to cooperate with different areas of fields of interest in that project. Hmmm and I had a very good feeling that my course would help me find those ways. Like for example with internships and just contacts which I very much lacked in [country] because I was very alone and no structure that helped me with that. So that was what I was hoping for [22].

At Program 1, the students representing this strategy focus on the Program's recognition in the labor market. At Program 2, it seems to relate to a similar instrumental orientation, but the students talk more about learning practical skills and developing a network in the industry than about labor market recognition, which probably relates to the program being only a year old.

10% have the strategy "Internalization at home". These students value that they can study in an international environment at home.

The strategy "Investing in quality education" constitutes 15% of the students. This group have typically chosen the program because they expect the quality to be high and because Aarhus University is a recognized university. For the interviewed student representing the strategy, education seems to involve more than a strictly instrumental purpose

> it kinda makes you aware of your personal beliefs a wee bit better because obviously you come as a human being having your own personal views but university kinda helps you see it from a different scope. From a more analytical scope and I felt like by the end of it I came out with a personal opinion about what was most important to me. I guess you know that I study [the name of the program]so it's kinda obvious that I'm a wee bit liberal in my beliefs and want the world to be a better place but that's all just a wee bit too wishy washy if you just believe that so I guess university helps you come up with the arguments to actually bring that forward and be able to argue your opinion. Not just from an emotional point of view. I think that was important to me [23].

Finally, the last 10% are students that use international education as a means to "finding purpose". These are students that are not sure what career they want, but they hope it is a career that involves travelling and that it is fulfilling. For one of these students from Program 2, it means that the applicability of what he is learning is less important:

> I'm really enjoying the course, but the more I do the course, the more I think that I don't wanna do [name of the program] for my life […]. It is useful for reflecting on how we live, and it is more diverse what we are learning. […]. So maybe it will make me a better person [21].

Despite the great heterogeneity that characterizes the student cohort in relation to disciplinary background and variation in their knowledge-habitus, regional belonging, social class, international profile, and educational- and mobility strategies, most of the students share the

program's orientation towards building skills and knowledge-legitimation in external problems and instrumental purposes and they value that the program helps them build a network in the industry. However, as the quotes illustrate, there are also other understandings and purposes of knowledge and education present. For many of the students, the instrumental purpose is combined with a wish to use the degree to help through work in NGOs, and for some education is *Buildung* or helps them find purpose.

Drawing upon Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) work, it may be argued that the heterogeneity in the student cohort as well as the heterogenous knowledge legitimation patterns and the heteronomy in legitimation criteria produce a situation where *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and *pedagogic action* (PA) can be challenged. This topic is explored in the following section.

7.4 Pedagogic authority

"We are not experts in security and you have to make the links yourself (l-A3)" (field notes)

Those are the words of one of the academic lecturers and they conclude the introductory lecture about the program's theoretical foundation and interdisciplinarity. When Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) demonstrate that lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) can result in struggle among the students, questioning one's own expertise may seem risky and when the first round of coding of encounters at Program 2 (See Chapter 5) identified a movement from encounters characterized by mergers of positions to encounters characterized by conflict among both lecturers and students and in the student group, it seems to be confirmed. Drawing upon the analysis of knowledge and pedagogy above and the description of composition of the student cohort, the present section takes a closer look at the relationship between knowledge legitimation structures and *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and how it develops over time at the program. The analysis of the relationship between autonomy, *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and *pedagogic action* (PA) draws upon Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) work. The following identifies signs of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) as well as lack of it and relates it to the program's legitimation structures and the composition of the student cohort as discussed above.

In the observation data, the attitude from the students towards the lecturers is initially characterized by recognition and acknowledgement. In the introductory days, they follow the

instructions from the pedagogic consultant [pc] in the exercises designed to improve their skills in intercultural group work discussed above, and in the first real class after the introductory days, the students also show signs of acknowledging the *pedagogic authority* (PAu) of the lecturers and the knowledge they are presented with:

> The first lesson is only for the students at the interdisciplinary program. There are two lecturers [l-A3, l-B1] an external consultant [ec-B], and a PhD-student [B] present. [ec-B] gives a short lecture which introduces one of the cases from the course and some central concepts from biology. The students are asked to write down what they learn about the concepts during the lecture. After the lecture, the students present what they have written, the consultant [ec-B] modifies it and the students write down the agreed definitions. The concepts are discussed in relation to the ecological and cultural context presented.
> The academic lecturer [l-B1] then moves on to introduce the project approach taken in the course. More specifically, she introduces SWOT analysis as a tool to apply when developing a project description. Then she does a short SWOT analysis of Aarhus University together with the students, divide the students into groups and ask them to do a SWOT analysis of one of the stakeholder groups presented in the lecture by [ec-B]. The students work in five groups. […] The groups are then asked to present their analysis. All the groups make clear references to the lecture and to help they got from the lecturers. One group also draws upon and makes a clear reference to a critical comment from [ec-B] to one of the other groups (field notes).

The students thus seem to acknowledge the lecturer's authority as seen when they make references to the lecture and the comments. At this stage, the lecturers are likely to be granted *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and legitimacy through their position as lecturers in a recognized institution and because of the general congruence between the students' motivation for participating in the program and the program's raison d'être (cf. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

However, while the consultants maintain *pedagogic authority* (PAu), the first signs of the academic lecturers' losing authority among many of the students soon appear: There is a low turn-up for their classes, the biology students stop coming to class, no one volunteers to answers the lecturer's questions, and some of the students use ironic voices to talk about the assignments. The difference between the academic lecturers and the external consultants is also visible in the observation data as seen the situation below in the different responses the students have to a question posed by an academic lecturer [l-B1] in the first part of the class and the discussion with a consultant that follows:

Three questions on the slides:
- **Was it difficult to write the project context?**
- **Did you use the guidelines?**
- **Were the guidelines easy to follow?**

[I-B1] asks the students to discuss the questions in their groups. One of the students, [PS-EU1], repeats the questions in an ironic voice to the other members of his group: [PS-EU2], [PS-EU3], and [LS-AS]. They don't discuss the questions. After a couple of minutes, [I-B1] asks the groups for an answer. The majority of the groups say that they found it difficult to find the boundaries of their project, which was one of the tasks presented in the guidelines, but they found the guidelines sufficient and easy to follow.

The remainder of today's class is workshops with the consultants [ec-B, ec-VS]. The students work in the groups they have been divided into for their exam projects. The students are asked to write down problems relating to the case on post-it stickers. They discuss in the project groups. [PS-EU2] contributes a lot and her contributions are recognized by the consultant. [PS-EU1] says "planting eucalyptus" – which is a reference to the project [ec-B] had presented in the beginning of the course.

The groups are then asked to pick one person from the group who can help organize the post-its into a problem tree together with the rest. Together with the two consultants [ec-B, ec-VS], they create a problem tree that identifies the problems, their causes and effects. The idea is that it can be the foundation of the work in the project groups. The whole class discusses the tree together with the consultants for the rest of the class. [PS-EU2] continues to contribute a lot together with a [B-ME], and [PS-EU3] (field notes).

In the interviews, the students have very two different evaluations of the program in general which may be related to their educational background and their general position in social space. When asked about the relevance of the program, one student, who is positive towards the program and the lecturers says:

It's […] very diverse and at the same time we did learn about the criticism that people say that it's too broad which makes it difficult to apply. I think that's necessary because with certain things, you can't just make it simplistic. It's like a human trait to make everything simplistic but with some things just need to be complex when you approach them. Otherwise, you are gonna forget about other things. So that's one side. But on the other side, ehm, what I also really like is for example with that ecosystems paper, ehm the exam is about writing a project proposal in your group and I think that's really fantastic. That's something I kinda missed back home in how we did the degree. It was just very much university focused, very much theoretical and you don't really know what you are gonna end up with once you are done. You don't know how you are gonna go out into the world, the real world, and apply it as such. So I think it is great that we need to write a project proposal because that's a skill that you actually need to have [23].

It is an evaluation that echoes the program's external legitimation in "real" problems and skills for the labor market. In light of this, the student adopts the necessity-of-interdisciplinarity argument also brought forward by the lecturers where external criteria determines the working procedures within the university. It becomes grounded in a sort of unity of sciences of the social and the physical world, which establishes what Maton (2014) defines as an exotic code (PA-,RA-):

> this is like one system, and you should look at it from a holistic point of view and see that we are all working together rather than everyone is doing their portion […] its just really nice how [the program is] bringing both together. And it's just what I was talking about in the beginning [of the interview] because it's a shame that science and social science is working against each other [23].

When this student recognize the program's and its lecturers' *pedagogic authority* (PAu), it may, however, be related to congruence between the student's knowledge *habitus* and the *cultural arbitrary* represented by the program which Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) identify as source of *pedagogic authority* (PAu). The student already has a diverse knowledge background with training in multiple disciplines and a disposition towards interdisciplinarity from the BA program at the home university. Furthermore, the student has taken part of the BA at a Danish university and is therefore familiar with the Danish education system and plans to pursue a PhD stipend at the program. Her recognition of the relevance of the program's legitimation in "real" problems, it is probably grounded in academic goals rather than in a pursuit of a career outside the university. It is, however, also noteworthy that the student speaks from a relatively privileged position and that her argumentation is idealistic. In this respect, it differs, as I will return to below, from the arguments from the other students.

The other student who evaluates the program in positive terms speaks from a very different position. He also has experience with multiple disciplines, but his educational background is not as broad as the first student's. Moreover, as an African student, he does not have the same legal right to free participation in Danish higher education and support as the EU citizens but can participate because he has been granted a stipend. He is a "first mover" with the strategies "graduating from Europe" and "investing in international capital" and his thinking about mobility and education

relates participation to economic - and social mobility rather than to personal growth. From his position, the global epistemological hierarchy dominated by the global North is legitimate and he ties its legitimacy to university rankings and the value a degree has on the job market. Recognition by the market, according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), strengthens pedagogic authority and similarly the value he expects the degree to represent , seems to influence how he perceives the legitimacy of the knowledge the program presents him with. He reflects upon the difference between European and African knowledge in the following way:

> I have seen some instances of European students are studying more into African politics and Asia because there they have an advantage [...] I did European history that was in secondary but that is compulsory, but I can't professionalize in it because it is hard for me to come and apply it in Europe [24].

European knowledge thus has status of being universally recognized and universally applicable while, e.g., African or Asian knowledge is inferior. Moreover, the knowledge he learns at the program is perceived as being context-free, or in Maton's (2014) terminology as having low semantic gravity and a cumulative modality:

> I liked it because we had about organic farming and basically, we are farmers. Basically, it gives you some more knowledge. I can go and read more about ecology and try to apply some of the things to farming back home [24].

In consequence, this recognition of legitimacy entails, as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue, also the recognition of the illegitimacy of his *habitus* and he describes Europe as "developed" in contrast to his home country. For him, participation in international education is not as such about being recognized in the classroom, but about becoming another class which entails rejection of former learning:

> I see progress and I believe this exam I'm writing I work to get myself used to the system. Try to integrate yourself into the system not to look back at the old system you have been in [24].

International education and knowledge encounters are thus perceived as transformative events to the student, and the statement, "It has changed my thinking being here," [24] concludes the interview.

In this case, the lecturers and the knowledge they teach get their legitimacy and *pedagogic authority* (PAu) from the university's position in the global hierarchy and global as well as local markets and as part of the student's personal struggle to become another social class which only makes sense if the education is perceived as legitimate. In contrast to the student [23] discussed above, where legitimacy is tied to an epistemological ideal and transformation of the knowledge system, it is here founded on recognition and applicability.

However, both observation data as well as interviews show that while the external consultants maintain *pedagogic authority* (PAu), the academic lecturers' recognition among the majority of the students is soon challenged. There are several potential explanations for this difference. First, the external legitimation of the program establishes a hierarchy between consultants and academics, and since both *positional autonomy* and *relational autonomy* (Maton, 2014) are relatively weak, it may challenge the authority of the academic lecturers, according to Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) findings regarding autonomy and authority. As seen in the analysis of knowledge and pedagogy above, the academic lecturers reinforce this hierarchy and undermine their own position as academic authorities with their references to interdisciplinarity [l-A1] and their own practical orientation [el-PS] which are principles with weak *relational autonomy* (RA-) in relation to the university rather than emphasizing an identity as academics. In contrast, the consultant [ec-B] both draws upon his disciplinary identity to legitimate decisions he has made as practitioner and teaches the discipline-specific knowledge in the course - and thus in spite of the weak *positional autonomy* (PA-) establishes a strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) within the university. In contrast, when the academic lecturer [l-B1] teaches projects skills, it creates a situation where she neither establishes strong *relational autonomy* (RA+), because the principles taught are from another field, nor speaks from a position of strong *positional autonomy* (PA). With Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) findings in mind, this division of labor further challenges the pedagogic authority of the academic lecturer [l-B1].

However, other reasons may also be identified in the students' backgrounds. Among the students who are critical of the program – and in particular of the academic lecturers - the strong

discursive relation (DR+) constituted by the assumed neutrality of the *cultural arbitrary* embedded in the claimed practical necessity of the interdisciplinary approach is pointed out as a bias:

> so far on the course, a lot of what we've been looking at just immediately says foreign aid and development are good things. That seems to be a total given … like that's already on the table. And what I was studying before really went one level below and it would ask questions of … is taxation theft. Things like that. And I know that's not something that is big in Denmark … or even the UK, but it's huge in the United States. So that seems to be in conflict with what my previous understandings are, but at the same time I'm thinking why am I doing [this program] if I believe that and do I believe that and that might be where the conflict is coming from […] That is kinda hard to explain in as much as … Just as much as in within the political sciences spectrum this course is definitely rooted centre-left and the critical knowledge I come from before would look at everything and we covered all of that spectrum and ask different questions of it. So it just seems a bit strange to me that we have been funneled left immediately. Not that that's a bad thing. […] It's just if it's all about critical thought we haven't kinda dug deep enough in that in that region [21].

In comparison with his previous education in political science, which he presents as being more thorough because it explored multiple positions - i.e. it had a weaker *discursive relation* (DR-), he considers the program to be ideologically biased while the previous program is seen as neutral. As pointed out by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), incongruence and heterogeneity in the classroom increases the risk of the *cultural arbitrary* being exposed as arbitrary which, in consequence, is a challenge to *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and likely to explain why the recognition of the arbitrariness of the *cultural arbitrary* at Program 1 does not lead to a challenge of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) as it does at Program 2.

Paradoxically, while legitimated in external criteria, interdisciplinarity becomes a source of a potential lack of external recognition to the students and therefore also a threat to *pedagogic authority* (PAu). One of the students says:

> I imagine that if we were to be working on the ground somewhere. And it was about preserving some kind of natural habitat that they would have experts in those particular fields who had already been there. So I'm not sure my expertise would be useful. My knowledge you know. [21].

It is, in other words, discipline-internal criteria of evaluation or knowledge of strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) that the student expects will count towards recognition outside

university. Moreover, to the students, the more open-ended knowledge structures or, in Maton's (2014) terminology, the *knower code* (ER-, SR+) of the philosophical aspects of the course are central to the question of the program's relevance in the job market and hence, as externally legitimated, to *pedagogic authority* (PAu):

> It just seems that if we look at a topic like human rights […] there's a lot of questions that come out of it and we don't … I know that there are no answers but we never settle on an answer and then like I say, it's gone. So I'm not sure that when I go back to it when I'm in Mogadishu that I'll be able to apply it [21].

In other words, it seems that the student's expectation is that a *knowledge code* (ER+,SR-) is more recognized and applicable in the market than the *knower code* (ER-, SR+) and since, as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) show, authority is supported by recognition in the market, an interdisciplinarity that combines codes poses a challenge to *pedagogic authority* (PAu) at the program.

Moreover, the student's reflections suggest that a problem with the way interdisciplinarity is practiced at the program means that the experience reflects a form of *segmentalism* which Maton (2014) defines as "teaching and learning practices that comprise a series of discrete ideas or skills rather than cumulatively building on previously encountered knowledge" (p. 106):

> But it seems strange that sometimes we have a .. we'll have a lecture on human rights, for example, and it will be two hours or three hours and what ever it is and then it's kinda gone. That's it. You have made your notes and then we move on really rapidly and you kind of .. do I need to go back and look at this. Is this gonna be useful in the future? If it didn't inspire me and I don't actively wanna read about it, do I need to? […] It seems strange because the way the course was working … it seemed heavy, heavy biology. We would have like a week on wetlands and then I would do the readings and be completely lost. But now all of that seems to have disappeared and the project is much more political science based. So they have had both sides of that, I don't know if they have meshed them though. I don't know if that has worked. But, yeah, in as much that it's more than one discipline. I'd say there is, yeah, but I don't know if the two are linked [21].

In this case, *segmentalism* is connected to a (perceived) incompatibility between *knower codes* (ER-, SR+) and *knowledge codes* (ER+, SR-):

within a course it feels like it is either touching upon something I already knew about or exploring something that I'm really lost in. It's like this weird shift. Like the … In our course we have like a [the name of the course] which is like a natural science-based course and I'm awful at science. Did really badly at it in school and now I'm being haunted by it … it's .. it's … there is no critical thought there it's this is how a mangrove works. This is how an ecosystem works and then on the flipside of that we've got this [the name of the course about the program's theoretical foundation] which is all about thinking. That's it. There's no answers. It's just ehm human rights and then big question mark and then you can spend the rest of your life thinking about it [21].

Thus, the student does not perceive a connection between the instrumental knowledge, a *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-), presented in one course and the building of critical reflection, a *knower code* (ER-, SR+), in the other. In consequence, the student experiences that there is no progression - or knowledge building - between the courses. According to Maton (2014), "segmented learning can constrain students' capacities to extend and integrate their past experiences and apply their understandings to new contexts, such as later studies, everyday lives or future work" (p. 106) which describes the experience the student has. Another student confirms the experience:

I just came from a lesson now and I mean, we are presented with different themes all the time and I feel that there is nobody who is really connecting them and giving me that overview which I was hoping to get. But I think that that's kinda what I'm supposed to do. So that's interesting for me but … new, for sure [22].

The student contrasts the *segmentalism* experienced at the program with experiences in previous education:

I feel that the course is very … Well, I think just the education system is also very much like ok well we have these tools then you can use them. Its up to you to build up that uhm exact knowledge whereas I used to being just filled with information with somebody who knows about something and just trusting them. Not 100% but a lot, so, so that was a surprise [22].

Segmentalism also becomes associated with a *relativist code* (ER-,SR-) which, according to Maton (2014) is "where legitimacy is determined by neither specialist knowledge nor knower attributes – a kind of anything goes" (p. 31):

The academic level? Very low, but like, I don't know. I feel like everything is alright sometimes and everything is accepted, and I want some critique and some "No, what you

are saying is bullshit", I really miss that because I feel like I'm not stimulated in that sense. But then I have also thought about it a lot and maybe that's just not the way they learn over here. There are different ways of learning and, but that was my first impression. […] I think that's just the way Danish society is built. Everybody has the freedom to say what they want and that's much more important than what's right and what's wrong sometimes and I don't know, I think that's a good value but I also think that in an academic environment you also need to put some boundaries sometimes [22].

The interviews thus point to several reasons for the lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) of the academic lecturers: expected lack of market recognition and relevance because of the program's interdisciplinarity, autonomy relations, recognition of the arbitrary nature of the strong *discursive relation* (DR+), and *segmentalism*. While the interviewed students implicitly point to these reasons in the interview, it is noteworthy, that these differences relating to legitimation structures between the program and their previous education are perceived and articulated as a matter of national character.

In contrast, these students emphasize the value of the contacts, or the *social capital* (Bourdieu, 1986) the external consultants [ec-B, ec-VS] can bring them thus confirming the importance they assign to market relevance:

I think what you steadily learn is that it's who you know not necessarily what you know. So it's nice to build those rapports. But the lecturers on the course definitely help you with that. They are embedded in working with huge organizations. I mean, they have worked in huge organizations. They know people that can help you. The whole internship program is proof of that [21].

Or in the words of another student:

I definitely think that the contact part is great because of the fact that not all the teachers are academics. Most of them are also working in development and I think that that's great because we can't all be academics at the same time [22].

Examining the positions of the students that do not recognize the academic lecturers as *pedagogic authorities* (PAu), it is seen that they differ significantly from the positions of the students discussed above that acknowledge the lecturers' authority. Firstly, their disciplinary background is narrower resulting in a greater incongruence between their knowledge *habitus* and the knowledge

system presented at the program thus confirming the findings of Bourdieu and Passeron (1990). Moreover, these students are students who, despite their EU backgrounds, are in less secure positions than the other interviewed EU-student [23]. This is e.g. seen in their mobility strategies "safe choice" and "looking for a better life". It is likely that perceived market relevance and recognition is more important for them than it is for the other student [23]. Compared to the African student (24), whose strategy it is to graduate from Europe, they probably do not expect that a degree from a European university itself guarantees a job.

As the program progresses, the lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) of the academic lecturers increases and influences *pedagogic action* (PA) in the other course which introduces both methods from social science and natural science. The observations show that both the lecturers from anthropology and the lecturers from biology fail in establishing *pedagogic authority* (PAu) among the students. It is, however, likely to be for different reasons.

In the episode discussed above where the lecturer [l-A1] introduces participatory research methods, many students whisper and giggle and the lecturer cannot get them to participate in the class discussion:

> [l-A1] asks the students to do an exercise. They are told to form groups of 4-5 students and they have 30 minutes for the exercise. They have to choose three methods for answering questions about what types of trees villagers plant and how they are used and they have to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each method. Generally, the students form groups with students they have worked with in the other course.
> The two political scientists, [PS-EU1) and [PS-EU2], work together with three anthropologists, [A-EU2, A-EU3, A-EU4]. They quickly finish the exercise and [PS-EU1] says to one of the other groups "We have the answers now" in an ironic tone. They talk about other things for the rest of the time they have for group work.
> When time is up, the lecturer [l-A1] asks a group consisting of social scientists [SS-Af1, SS-Af2] and a student with a background in language studies [LS-As] to give an answer first. [PS-EU1] and [PS-EU2] in the other group are engaged in conversation with each other while this group give their answer. They have chosen mapping, transect walk and matrix scoring of trees. Then [A-EU1] presents for her group. They have chosen forest assessment, transect walk and household questionnaire. [l-A1] asks if they have talked about how to avoid bias and says that they can avoid it by doing a wealth ranking in the village. He likes that they have mixed quantitative natural science methods with qualitative methods. The group consisting of political scientists and anthropologists have chosen forest assessment. "But I think we misunderstood the forest assessment thing because we thought it was more of a walk to the forest", [PS-EU2] who presents says. They have also chosen resource maps "because maps are amazing", she explains. The other students in class laugh because [l-A1] has been quite enthusiastic about maps in his lecture. [PS-EU2] also says that they want to

talk to old people because they want to find out the age of the trees. She laughs and the rest of her group also laugh. She then adds that they don't think that old people want to participate. [I-A1] disagrees but [PS-EU2] concludes that maybe they can just cut down the trees and count the yearrings.

[…]

[I-A1] concludes the group work by saying "I know that this is an artificial situation for you and maybe it makes more sense when you are actually in the field. But what I also wanted you to see is that this creates a lot of discussion." (field notes)

As the episode unfolds, it thus becomes more and more visible that the majority of the students are not convinced of the value of these methods. However, the differences in the students' positions are also reflected in their reactions. The first group that presents, which consists of students representing the strategy "graduating from Europe", tries to give a serious answer to the questions. As discussed above, from this position, the global epistemological hierarchy is seen as legitimate, and their own social mobility is seen as depending upon their rejection of former education and socialization into the knowledge system represented by the program. Their approach to the questions stands in stark contrast to the last group consisting of political scientists and anthropologists from the EU who already have degrees from European universities, who in their answer shows that they find the methods silly and mocks the lecturer's enthusiasm.

The indigenous knowledge that participatory research methods seek to access is from the beginning caught in a conflict between external and internal legitimation or a clash between different *autonomy codes* as it is introduced by another lecturer as both a source of innovation but also as potentially destabilizing. The present lecturer [I-A1] also positions these methods between external and internal legitimation and has from the beginning of the program sought to establish an identity as an interdisciplinary researcher – i.e., he has stepped outside the safety of the internal, discipline-specific criteria of legitimation and oriented himself towards the externally legitimated consultancy practice and interdisciplinarity – or in Maton's (2014) terminology, weak *positional autonomy* (PA-) and weak *relational autonomy* (RA-). The students' response discussed above suggests that his authority is affected. Considering the position these methods have: legitimate in a discipline-internal evaluation within anthropology but embedded in a program where the main orientation of both the program and the students is towards an external legitimation which does not acknowledge them and where they are furthermore presented by a lecturer who, for similar

reasons, has not established himself as a legitimate *pedagogic authority* (PAu), it is perhaps not surprising.

The academic lecturers in natural science also face an authority crisis. Similar to the first encounter in the program, the first encounter between the lecturers in natural science methods and the students show signs of recognition. However, the first signs of the authority crisis that follow a few sessions later are already present:

> The first lecturer is a biologist [l-B2]. There are three more lecturers present. Two anthropologists [l-A1, l-A2] and another biologist [l-B3].
> As the lecture starts, 13 students are present. 5 more students arrive within the first 15 minutes.
> The lecturer [l-B2] talks about open and closed populations and mark and recapture techniques. A hand-out is passed around and the students are asked to do exercises with fruits instead of animals. Most of the students engage in the exercise but they have a lot of questions for the lecturer. They don't understand how to do the calculations and they don't know what for instance "standard deviation" means. About half of the students use the break to ask the lecturer questions about the exercises.
> After the break, the other biologist [l-B3] takes over. Her lecture is about vegetation patterns and about counting different species of plants. A lot of the students are not paying attention. Some are on Facebook and YouTube. One is looking at the weather forecast, and others are talking to each other.
> After class, [A-EU4], talks to the two anthropologist lecturers [l-A1,l-A2]. She talks about her upcoming internship - the two lecturers are her supervisors during her internship and for her thesis - and she says that the methods they have heard about are probably not methods she is going to use in her internship and she laughs. [l-A1] laughs as well and says that otherwise she can just e-mail her supervisors and they will answer straight away. He laughs again and he is clearly being ironic (field notes).

As the episode shows, many of the students are initially trying to grasp the methods introduced which suggests recognition of the legitimacy of the methods presented. Considering the general orientation of the students towards knowledge-legitimation in external problems and instrumental purposes and their expectation that a *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) has more value in the labor market, this is in line with Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) finding that recognition in the market is a source of *pedagogic authority* (PAu). When a lot of the students are not paying attention, it could be grounded in a similar strategy as seen at Program 1 where the students approach lectures dominated by a *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) with a strategy of using the class to fill potential gaps in

their knowledge. However, as a lot of the students struggle with the math and therefore ought to pay attention, it suggests that something else is at stake. In the exchange between [A-EU4] and the lecturers [l-A1, l-A2], it both seems that the anthropologists find the methods difficult, but also that the lecturers and the student may find the methods irrelevant for her internship.

While the difficulty of the methods may be what makes it desirable to reject them as irrelevant, it is made possible by the structures at play, and these are significantly different than it was the case for anthropology above. Biology, by these lecturers [l-B2, l-B3], is legitimated through a strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) as opposed to the general legitimation of the program and the students' orientation towards the labor market, which may cause a lack of a recognized legitimation structure for natural science methods. Moreover, the *trained gaze* (SubR-, IR-) which qualifies the legitimate knower in natural science may be unfamiliar and not be recognized as legitimate by the social science students, who are socialized in disciplines defined by *knower structures* and *cultivated gazes* (SubR-, IR+), and who constitute most of the students at the program. Finally, the unresolved strategy of interdisciplinarity may cause a tension between the disciplines as seen in the exchange between [A-EU4] and [l-A1] and [l-A2].

The following shows the increasing frustration among the students and the lack of understanding of the process of training of the gaze involved in learning the discipline:

[l-B3] introduces a number of definitions of diversity. Her presentation includes a logarithm for calculating the natural log of diversity. One of the students, [A-EU1], asks what she called it. A couple of minutes later the same student says that she doesn't understand what it is and that she is sure she is not the only one who doesn't understand it. The lecturer answers that they will do the math in the exercises. The student repeats that she doesn't understand anything and she asks "Do we need to know how to do it or is it enough that we know what it is about?" The lecturer hesitates and says that it is good to know and that they will understand more after the exercises. Another lecturer, [l-A1] who is also present, adds that once he worked with biologists and he needed to find out how this was done because if they could prove to the government that there was a lot of diversity, it was easier to sell the project to the government.
[l-B3] continues to talk about saturation curves and how to use them to estimate the total number of species. She then introduces the exercises and hands out small bags of beads in different colors. Each color represents a species in the exercises. The purpose is to sample an increasing number of individuals and draw a saturation curve. The other purpose is to calculate the Shannon diversity index H for two communities. The student from before, [A-EU1] says that she understands the idea of doing the calculation but she doesn't know how to do the math (field notes).

The resistance from [A-EU1] seems to be tied to the teaching methods where [I-B3] maintains that they will begin to understand the math when they work on the exercises. This is a strategy aimed at developing a *trained gaze* (SubR-, IR-) which according to Maton involves "training in specialized principles or procedures" (2014, p. 95). It contrasts the *cultivated gaze* (SubR-,IR+), "where legitimacy arises from dispositions of the knower that can be inculcated" (Maton, 2014, p. 95), that the anthropologists socialized into a *knower code* (ER-, SR+) are used to. Part of the legitimacy problem may therefore be related to a misunderstanding and a misrecognition of the codes involved in the encounter. This interpretation is also in line with the interviews where the students express that there is a lack of critical thinking in the program as discussed above. Within the students' usual framework, the training thus appears insufficient, and they can reject it. Moreover, when the anthropology lecturer [I-A1] adds that once, when he worked with biologists, he needed to find out how this was done to convince the government of the project's relevance, it can be seen as an attempt at establishing the external legitimation which underwrites the program's general legitimation structures as well as the students motivation for participation and that [I-B2] and [I-B3] are not establishing themselves when they legitimate their knowledge through a strong *relational autonomy* (RA+).

The rejection of the lecturers' *pedagogic authority* (PAu) takes new and more and more visible forms as the course continues. In the following example, it appears as a conflation of a teaching method they dislike and the lecturer's ethnicity:

> The group consisting of political scientists [PS-EU1, PS-EU2] and anthropologists [A-EU2, A-EU3, A-EU4] starts working on the statistics exercises, but they don't know how to do it and they start talking about other things. After 25 minutes, [I-B2] asks them if they have finished the first part of the exercise. They answer that they are still trying to do the T-test. The lecturer looks puzzled and moves on to another group. The group continues to talk about which bus to take to a party that night and when the lecturer comes back, they say that they have finished the exercise.
> [I-B2] gives the group a new exercise about invasive species. [PS-EU2] reads the exercise aloud to the group in a mocking voice. "Think of examples of invasive species". She answers the question herself: "The Chinese". The others in the group giggle but they also seem a bit embarrassed. In the lecture, Chinese tallow has been mentioned as example of an invasive species but [I-B2] is also Asian looking. The group obviously dislikes the subject she teaches and her teaching methods, but the comment seems to make the rest of the group uneasy. They continue with the other questions (field notes).

While the group is unable to do the first exercise, they find the second too easy. Both exercises are designed to develop the *trained gaze* (SubR-, IR-), but the group members have backgrounds in disciplines that to a larger extent rely on a *knower code* (Er-, SR+). The students seem to misunderstand the idea behind the exercise. When they read the repetition exercise in a mocking voice and make an association to the Chinese, it may be because they associate it with rote learning and a stereotype of Chinese teaching methods.

In the next situation, the tension and lack of pedagogic authority (PAu) is even more apparent:

> [l-B2] continues the lecture on overexploitation after a break. Most of the students are not paying attention. [l-B3] takes over and gives a lecture about measuring and analyzing multi-species communities. The students are still not paying attention. One student is reading a sci-fi novel. At 13:50 the students start to look for things in their bags and some of them get up. There is a lot of noise in the room. [l-B3] raises her voice and asks the students to do the next exercise. They have until 14:30 to complete it and they can have a break when they have done the exercise. At 14:30, they will meet to hear the presentations. Both of the lecturers leave the room.
> Two African social scientist, [SS-Af1, SS-Af2], work together. Two Eastern European social scientists, [SS-nonEU1, SS-non-EU2], work together. An anthropologist, (A-EU2), works alone. [PS-EU1] and [PS-EU1] sit together, but they talk about something else. At 14:07 [A-EU1] gets up and leaves the room and as she passes [PS-EU1] and [PS-EU1] she says, "I was just wondering if they were actually taking it seriously" (field notes).

In the last sessions of the course, the students present their project proposals for their fieldwork and master thesis. In the students' choice of methods, the differences in authority and the accompanying epistemological hierarchies are reflected. The students have mainly chosen methods such as observations and semi-structured interviews while natural science methods and participatory research methods are almost completely disregarded. [A-EU3] who plans to use interviews and participant observations, says: "I don't really know about methods, because the methods we have learned in this course don't really make sense here". The discussions in relation to the students' project proposals also show that the choice of method has the character of a struggle over disciplinary identity: [SS-EU1], explains that she plans to use secondary materials such as reports, and semi-structured interviews in her project and adds that soil samples might also be relevant, but they are too biological for her. "[l-B4] thinks I'm a soil expert, so he is sort of pushing me on this", she says. As the students choose more traditional research methods in their own

fieldwork, it suggests that the lecturers' teaching has failed as *pedagogic action* (PA), cf. Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990, p. 19) claim that a *pedagogic action* (PA) is not a simple relation of communication, but presupposes authority.

In the final evaluation of the methodology course, the struggle culminates in open conflict. The evaluation is done in the last part of a session, and the atmosphere is tense up to the evaluation. Only the anthropology lecturers, [l-A1, l-A2] are present in the session. As they introduce the evaluation, they say that they know from the electronic evaluation that the students are not happy about the natural science part of the course and ask the students to elaborate on it. However, the students' critique in the discussion that follows is not just oriented towards the biology part of the course. It concerns both the relevance of the natural science part, the interdisciplinarity of the program and the academic level of the anthropology part of the course, as well as the teaching methods and the exam form. Again, a closer look at the arguments shows that the conflict can be traced back to differences in legitimation principles and the overarching ideal of interdisciplinarity idealized as epistemological and disciplinary convergence and response to labor market needs. The critical voices belong to the students we have already seen reject the lecturers' *pedagogic authority* (PAu) - students from the EU with disciplinary backgrounds in anthropology, social – or political science. However, their social class and their educational- and mobility strategies may also offer insight into their critique. Their social class background varies from working class to upper middle class and they have the mobility strategies "becoming or remaining international" and "playing it safe" and the educational strategies "investing in international capital" and "investing in Danish education".

Regarding the natural science part of the course, the dissatisfaction is expressed as a matter of lack of relevance. [A-EU1] says: "You should think about whether it is actually relevant for us to learn about these methods" and another student, [SS-EU1], simply says, "We are not interested in the biological methods", disqualifying biology as irrelevant. Moreover, the students argue that the teaching methods in that part of the course did not work. This part of the course was inclusive in the sense that a legitimate knower needs a *trained gaze* (SubR-, IR-) which do not rely on properties of the individual. However, as the observations also showed, the students rejected it by refusing to participate in developing the gaze through the exercises. In the evaluation, the students demand an application-based approach. This is seen e.g. as one of the students says: "It was difficult to just read

about it. It should be practical instead, then [we] might understand it. The exercises with fruit and beads were silly. Go out in nature instead" (A-EU1). The student seems to request what Maton (2014) defines as a *cumulative modality*. The *cumulative modality* is defined by an internal *semantic code* of weak *semantic gravity* (SG-) and strong *semantic density* (SD+), an external semantic code of strong *semantic gravity* (SG+) and weak *semantic density* (SD+) and an underlying knowledge code (ER+, SR-) and they fail to see how the exercises with fruit and beads approaches the strong *semantic gravity* (SG+) they request and can train them in the methods. As discussed above, since the biology lecturers never establish a claim to external legitimacy, it is probably easier for the students, who all share a labor market focus, to reject them and the methods they use, when they, furthermore, are not in congruence with their disciplinary backgrounds.

Regarding the part of the course about anthropological methods, several of the students find that it was too easy and with not enough focus on statistics, analysis and programs such as Excel and SPSS. "Not everything can be descriptive anthropology", [SS-EU1] concludes. When it is rejected with reference to being too easy, it probably relates to the problems a heterogenous student cohort in terms of disciplinary background can cause when designing an international and interdisciplinary course, because, as Wilken and Tange (2014) point out, a level all the students can follow challenges expectations of progression from BA to MA level for others. Moreover, the rejection of the anthropological methods may also be related to the students' – as well as the program's - orientation towards the labor market and generally weak *autonomy codes* which have not established a legitimate position for the less traditional methods from anthropology. Ironically, [SS-EU1] actually requests the quantitative approach they have rejected in the biology classes.

Finally, the evaluation also brings up interdisciplinarity as problematic. [SS-EU1] says that it is too much to expect them to become both social scientists and natural scientists. [I-A2] answers: "We don't expect you to become both – that is not the idea behind the master program – but to get insights into different ways of working", it illustrates how interdisciplinarity is never established with a clear internal practice and legitimation language at the program. Its practice is therefore perceived by the students as a practice that parallels what Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) call a "relativistic education" which aims "actually to produce a cultivated man who [is] the native of all cultures" (p. 12). According to Bourdieu and Passeron, such an approach is a "self-destructive Utopia [which constitutes] an instrument of ideological struggle for groups who seek through denunciation of a

pedagogic legitimacy, to secure for themselves the monopoly of the legitimate mode of imposition" (pp. 16-17).

The students who in the interviews explained that they were happy about the program are quiet during the evaluation. In the discussion of the interviews, interdisciplinary background, an ambition to pursue a PhD at the program, and a social mobility strategy resting on a degree from a European university were offered as potential explanation when students recognized the lecturers as *pedagogic authorities* (PAu). In contrast, the critical students generally had monodisciplinary education, a labor market focus and recognized degrees. A similar division seems to be at play in the classroom, except that the voices of the students who are happy about the program are almost invisible in the classroom.

The data from Program 2 thus to a large extent confirms the findings from Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) regarding *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and *pedagogic action* (PA). Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue that *pedagogic authority* (PAu) rests upon a relatively autonomous position, recognition in the market, homogeneity in the student cohort and congruence between the students' *habitus* and the *cultural arbitrary* promoted. These can all be identified as challenges to *pedagogic authority* (PAu) at Program 2. However, like at Program 1, the analysis suggests that weak *positional autonomy* (PA-) is not necessarily a challenge. Moreover, the analysis also suggests that when fertilization between knowledge forms fails to materialize and results in a sense of lack of progression in knowledge-building, it contributes to the authority loss. Finally, the analysis shows differences depending on which profiles and strategies the students represent, with students in less privileged positions seeming to a higher degree to accept socialization into the framework presented by the institution.

According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) produces the foundation for struggle among the students. This is explored in the following section.

7.5 Encountering the Other

My experience from groupwork. Especially since talking to people from other groups is it's the same thing that happens in any organization. So we had to start up by writing a little constitution and it was almost like "Animal Farm" because this constitution is written and then immediately ignored and then very rapidly ehm you know dominant figures within the group. Naturally dominant leader types that then take over and then they command what is happening. Especially if they are very stressed about getting it done, 'cause you have a split

between the apathetic and then the over-enthusiastic. So they'll take control and then, then … I don't know, in my experience then people very quickly get excluded. Which is unfortunate. But some people want to be excluded. It seems that they don't really care about the project so not being contacted isn't a problem. Yet this makes it, group work, sound really bad [21].

Although it is a humorous exaggeration, the quote sums up the development observed at the program. Recalling the pedagogy of inclusion as merger of positions, here embodied in the "constitution" or group contract which makes the required socialization explicit, and Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) association between authority loss and ideological struggle, the analysis in the previous section renders struggle between the students very plausible. Initially, the students' work seems driven by an understanding of diversity as non-conflictual mergers of positions (cf. Eriksen, 2006) as promoted by the lecturer [l-B1] and pedagogic consultant [pc], but soon the observations show groupings and a re-establishing of hierarchies. However, as it was the case regarding the relationship to the lecturers, there are differences in the ways the students interact which may relate to their positions and the associated epistemologies. The previous section explored the relationship between legitimation structures, autonomy, *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and *pedagogic action* (PA) and theoretically opened the likelihood of struggle between the students as representatives of disciplines and positions in a global hierarchy as result of heteronomy and loss of *pedagogic authority* (PAu). This section analyses student-student encounters in the established knowledge structures and pedagogic relations and extends the discussion to cover student autonomy and student authority in relation to the positions of the students. The first part of the analysis explores the students' positionings in the interviews in relation to their strategies and their implicit epistemologies. The second part turns to the observations.

The interviews show significant differences in the way the students talk about intercultural - and interdisciplinary groupwork. The analysis relates the differences to the positions the students speak from. The students who are critical towards the program display an instrumental approach to the intercultural encounter. Group work is approached as being about acquiring information about the other:

The questions that different people from different countries have. Uhm, …, are very interesting to me because it shows the background they come from and what's important to them and what's not so that's teaching me a lot [22].

And about acquiring skills for overcoming the differences:

> We are very different people with VERY different backgrounds uhm and that is a challenge
> but like I think that for me the aim of the group work is to learn to work with those kind of
> challenges. That's what I'm aiming to get out of the group work. Not my grade. Cause I
> think that's where you learn most. That's life [22].

Or as expressed by another student whose comment is embedded in the labor market orientation the student shares with the program:

> you're gonna have to work in a group or organization where you are not necessarily all gonna
> agree with what other people are saying. What point to draw upon and that's the way life
> works and if you can't get over that then you need to quit because it isn't just you solving
> the world's problems and everybody marching behind you like you are Chairman Mao so in
> which case I think that the course has been very good for me to understand that, how the
> real world works uhm and then learning the skills to overcome those kinda things, you know
> [21].

Significantly, their understanding of encounters is also similar to the neofunctionalist approaches (e.g. Glaser et al., 2007; Guilherme et al., 2010) where the encounters are based on an essentialist epistemology and the relationship to the other is instrumental in developing skills. What these students also share – besides being critical towards the program and having an instrumental approach to intercultural education – seems to be an experience of economic strain. Part of their motivation for choosing a program in Denmark is financial. They have experienced student life as challenging in other countries and their strategies as identified by Wilken (nd-a) also reflect that they think of mobility and education as ways of improving or securing one's position. From this perspective, the instrumental labor market focus on skills may seem necessary.

These students tend to form groups with students with similar backgrounds. While initially maintaining that she has attempted to form a diverse group, a shift in focus from nationality to educational background reveals that she has formed a group consisting almost exclusively of political scientists despite interdisciplinarity being one of the lecturers' criteria:

> We come from different countries. Uhh. We have studied different things […] Uuhh well
> we have a student who has studied literature for example which I don't know how is

related to our studies and also has a bit of difficulties with English. Uhm and then and no, actually the other two in the […] group they are both from my same kind of study area so. But of course they are, they studied in a different way than I did. So [22].

Another student is more straightforward and puts the advantages of similarity more directly and says:

It's convenient that the groups that seem to be working best are groups that either through chance or some kind of sneakiness manage to be in groups with their friends [21].

It is accompanied by an assessment of the academic level of other students as low:

I don't wanna sound like an elitist, but I feel like I can sit down with the raw or the primary research or the primary material and draw from it something cohesive, something I can write about [but] not everyone is on the same page, so you must go through everything to make sure everyone is up to speed. […] We were talking about some paradigm or something that some philosopher or some scientist had thought of and we were given topics to put into this. Into this measure. And personally, I felt that the way they were measuring these different things was very simple. I thought it was very clear. […] And all we had to do was to categorize air, water, biodiversity. I thought the exercise was very simple, personally, and we were given way too much time to do this. Ehm, but everyone, well, not everyone in my group, sorry, but two other members of a group of four, to me were on the wrong page about it. They were really thinking about it in the wrong way but because we were a group, we had to reach a consensus and it just felt that we kinda went the wrong way with that and then our presentation faulted on that [P21].

The relatively monodisciplinary background of these students offers a first explanation for the tendency to seek students with a recognizable disciplinary background, or, in Maton's (2014) terms, similar *gazes*. However, it may also be related to the program's legitimation structures and the lack of recognition of the *pedagogic authority* (PAu) of the lecturers, which is particularly present among students in similar positions. When the lecturers fail to establish strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) and *pedagogic authority* (PAu) to define a practice and a legitimation code for the course's interdisciplinarity, the hierarchical evaluation which accompanies the division into monodisciplinary groups can be seen as a direct consequence of both the lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu), which Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) identify as a source of ideological struggle to identify the legitimate

mode, and of the labor market hierarchy the program as well as this group of students is oriented towards. Moreover, the position these students speak from - the somewhat less secure – is likely to make external recognition and grades that can lead to a good job more important. Combined with the *capital* they do have as a result of a degree from a European university and a relatively prestigious discipline, it invites them to continue to claim the legitimacy of their own discipline rather than engage in interdisciplinarity. Such a hierarchical evaluation and selection is implied in the quote above where a background in literature is characterized as irrelevant and in the constitution of the groups where a background in political science is valued. As already seen in the students' evaluation of the program in comparison with previous education, this is expressed more directly as possession of a general analytical skill acquired in previous studies which, in contrast, other students do not have.

In contrast, the instrumental aspect is absent in the reflections from the student representing a more privileged background as well as an interdisciplinary education:

> I think that its really fantastic to learn about different cultures so I really appreciate the moments where we sit together and share personal experiences about our life and particularly when I started to study with the [Asian] girl. Uhm because she asked me to explain a few things to her and so we started studying together and in the breaks we talk about how she thinks things are very different here and then I say "yeah, I can see how that is different because I think it is very different for me too and I'm even from a Western culture and then she tells me about herself and I think its just, yeah, its very enriching to just have these different cultural backgrounds [23].

This student also describes work in interdisciplinary project groups in positive terms:

> In the project that we need to write for the [course name], its quite great because then we divide the work between the people. If you are a specialist in biology so you take over the ecosystem description part whereas I'm gonna write about the economy and the administration because I did politics and so forth. Yeah, you can have that person explain it to you. […] I guess you can [feel that people in the project group have different backgrounds], because … in particular when we started to write the context, you can see how different people have a different approach or highlight different things. […] and so it's like really nice to have like a discussion afterwards or uhm when you edit it, saying don't you think we should go more in detail about this and sometimes we say this is absolute irrelevant and then we'll discuss it rather than … yeah, it's really nice [23].

In this description, interdisciplinarity is a way of remaining a specialist within a discipline while using the encounters to engage critically with different perspectives. The result is that they group overcomes the sense of *segmentalism* experienced by other students and thus develop an interdisciplinary practice which maintains a specialist identity within each discipline. As discussed above, the loss – or lack - of a specialist identity is by some of the students perceived as a challenge for their relevance in the labor market and is therefore a challenge to the program's *pedagogic authority* (PAu). The engagement with other perspectives that the student describes in the quote above can be seen as a heteronomous engagement in the Levinasian (e.g. 1996) sense as their knowledge production develops through critical engagement between disciplines that, however, remain separate. It can be seen as a formulation of the legitimation language the program seems to lack. The student's ability to formulate (and practice) it may be related to the interdisciplinary background, but it may also be associated with the autonomy of the student's position.

Finally, for the student speaking from the "graduating from Europe" position, the experience is again different. As the following quote shows, it is an experience of disciplinary knowledges that cannot integrate and of local knowledge interest that are not compatible with those from other positions:

> Sometimes it is difficult to draw upon others' knowledge even though we try. Most times I draw upon my background cause I can't actually know much about environmental studies […] we try to make it work and as long as it explains well, the other person tries to explain his point of view and I also try to explain my point of view. We try to integrate it. Though sometimes it is difficult. […] We are all different colleagues and different interests. Somebody took course from their interest and motivation. That's what they wanted to do. And it also depends on where the person studied from. Someone in Europe may be interested in studying something different from a person like me. From Africa. I'm interested in something different. But still it changes from the background of the person [24].

The strategy the student attempts has many similarities with the one the other student describes above, but their experience is very different. The two students are not working in the same group, and it is noteworthy that the experience of this student is that the attempt is unsuccessful and different knowledges in the group rest on different interests and cannot be integrated. Part of the explanation may be, like Wilken (2007) argues, that knowledge capital accumulated in other contexts is not recognized. However, taking the position of the student and

the student's other experiences and perceptions into account, it may also be understood as being tied to a position with less autonomy and authority. As he has described elsewhere in the interview, the student considers knowledge from his previous African education as having less value, whereas knowledge acquired in a European university is universally applicable, he has seen how local, African experiences are ignored by the lecturers, and he talks about not looking back at the old system. His position is thus one of dependency which could be described as one of weak *relational autonomy* (RA-) because he is not in a position to define practices. Despite his ambition to integrate and his interdisciplinary background, he remains on the margins.

In the observations, the initial movement towards consensus is visible in the workshop about intercultural groupwork with the pedagogic consultant [pc] discussed above. As part of the exercises introducing structured dialogue and appreciative inquiry, the students are asked to share stories about successful teamwork with their groups. In the groups I observe, they tell three very different stories, but they all emphasize similarities between their stories, and they use the same words to describe their experiences. The intercultural exchange they perform is thus a recognition of each other's experiences and as such, it may be seen as including. However, in its aims it also has parallels to what Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) define as relativistic education which seeks to recognize and include all perspectives and which they identify as a source of struggle among the students. Adding perspectives from Maton (2014) and MacDonald and O'Regan (2012) as well as insights from Rizvi (2008) may shed further light on why it eventually leads to a process of tension and fragmentation. When the construction of a neutral "third space" takes place by finding similarities in their experiences, it remains knowledge of a relatively strong *semantic gravity* (SG+) which, according to Maton (2014), is problematic both as a learning process and as knowledge-building because it has relatively weak explanatory power and does not allow theory to develop. From a different perspective, Rizvi (2008), as discussed in Chapter 3, is critical of the experiential approach found in much curriculum internationalization, because while situatedness and positionality are key elements, it lacks critical understanding. That the students are concerned with the lack of critical knowledge in parts of the course and that it for some of them is a challenge to their disciplinary identity is clear from the interviews. Adding the perspective of MacDonald and O'Regan (2012), it can also be argued that a process that only rests on a similarity of experiences forms a movement

towards closure that excludes particular aspects of experience as well as critical-relational exploration.

Similar situations where the students seek consensus were seen over the following weeks in the classes with [l-B1] who also give workshops about group work and ask the students to write group contracts. The pattern is also observed in relation to acknowledgement of knowledge in one of the first lectures:

> In the second part of the class, [ec-B] takes over and gives a lecture about ecosystems. It has the format of a traditional lecture (app 35 min) and it is followed by five minutes to make notes about the facts they have learned about the savannah and five minutes to discuss notes in groups. They seek consensus. Acknowledge each other - hmm, yeah, nodding – and agree upon answers they finally write down (field notes).

Together with the *knowledge code* (Er+, SR-), the format of the short recap-sessions used to formulate definitions has implications for the knowledge encounters that take place: the pooling of the knowledge the students remember from the lectures has some similarity to the idea behind the story about the blind men: a finite knowledge unity assembled through collaboration which, in theory, results in closure and equal possibilities to contribute. It is contribution through reproduction of the knowledge offered by the lecturer and the readings, and in that sense, it is inclusion through socialization as a training of the gaze (Maton, 2014) rather than inclusion through creative contribution.

However, group work soon causes tension among the students as seen in the situation below, where the students are specifically asked to form interdisciplinary groups for one of their exams where they are expected to write a project proposal:

> [A-EU1] takes leadership. She organizes the different themes they are considering and suggests that they talk about who would like to work on each theme. She makes a list of topics and asks if everybody feels that there is something on the list they would like to work with. They start to form the groups. [PC-EU1], is placed in a group with [LS-A], and [B-ME]. But then [PC-EU1] suddenly brings up a new topic and says that he will form a group on that topic together with [PS-EU2] and [PS-EU3]. The other students protest and say that it is not an interdisciplinary group since they are all political scientists. [PS-EU1] answers that one of the others [PS-EU2], who isn't present, had told him to make sure that the three of them work together on the project. It grows into an argument as the other students maintain that they must form interdisciplinary groups, but he insists and says "I cannot see that it should

be a problem. I just don't think it is relevant". [PS-EU3], who is present, remains quiet. [A-EU1] explains the themes of the groups and stresses that the groups are supposed to be interdisciplinary. The two political scientists, [PS-EU1, PS-EU3], talk together. The [A-EU1] asks them to explain what their theme is about "because you have pretty much formed a closed group and it should be open to everyone. In the end, [LS-A] is placed in the same group as the three political scientists (field notes).

As the woman with a background in language and the biologist[14] are the only students who are not European in this encounter, a traditional reading of the episode may see it as an exclusion based on cultural differences. However, it may also be tied to the status of knowledge from the global North (see discussion in Chapter 2), or be a struggle over the "monopoly of the legitimate mode of imposition" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 17) based on differences in disciplinary *gazes* as the lecturers have failed to establish the legitimacy of interdisciplinarity to the extent that [PS-EU1] can reject it as "irrelevant". His aim is clearly to form a group with the other political scientists and having the Asian woman with a background in language in the group is the prize they must pay. As a battle over the definition of the legitimate *gaze*, it may also be a question of protecting one's *capital* as seen among the political scientists in the interviews.

The positions and strategies of the students involved may also play a role in the outcome of the encounter. The woman with a background in language has upper-middle class background. As first-mover, she, however, has no mobility capital and with the strategies "round-about" and "investing in international capital", she is participating in international education from an economically relatively secure position with the aim of improving her position in her home country. For her, the degree is thus likely to have value in her national market because it provides her with international experience from a relatively high-ranking university. In contrast, the three political scientists already have mobility capital, and as the interviews with political scientists in similar positions showed, they may be more focused on securing particular disciplinary skills recognized by the international labor market. Moreover, they speak with a certain degree of authority which derives from their disciplinary identity and its compliance with external legitimation structures rather than from autonomy.

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[14] The student follows this one course as an elective as part of another program and is therefore not part of Wilken's survey.

[LS-A] remains excluded from the group's interactions. This is e.g. seen in one of the following sessions where [l-B1], who is not recognized as a *pedagogic authority* (PAu), asks them to identify their team roles using a Belbin test because [LS-A] is new to their group. [P-E1] declines with the explanation that they already know each other and thus confirms their power to define the legitimate mode of knowledge (cf. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) and exclude those with different backgrounds. The lecturer does not make further comments.

One of the other groups seems to get off to a better start. The group consists of a social scientist from the EU (SS-EU2), an anthropologist from the EU (A-EU2), and two social scientist from Africa (SS-A1, SSA2). There are no natural scientists in the group so they have not fulfilled the interdisciplinarity criteria either which required both social scientists and natural scientists in each group. In their first meeting, they use the teamwork tools provided by [l-B1] to formulate a group contract:

> [SS-EU2] writes down the things they agree upon on her computer. [SS-Af1] and [SS-Af2] say that they want cooperation. [SS-EU2] moves on to discuss the group's goal. [SS-Af1] wants to do something they can use in the future. Something they can refer to in their future work. [SS-EU2] sums up their discussion and rephrases their conclusion. They talk about how they can communicate in the group between classes, but it is not that easy. [SS-Af1] and [SS-Af2] don't have their own computers and they are not familiar with Facebook. [SS-EU2] offers to be the group's secretary. They can send things to her and she will write up the texts to one coherent text and upload it to AULA, but [SS-Af1] would like to see the texts before they are uploaded and they agree that [SS-EU2] sends it to [SS-Af1] for revision before it is uploaded. They discuss how they can edit each other's work. They want to be sure that they can still see what the original text was before it was revised and who revised it. One of their challenges is that they don't have access to the same computer programs and therefore they have to find a "low-tech" way to do it. They also discuss how to share things they find on the internet. Facebook is mentioned as an option but [SS-Af2] doesn't know how to use Facebook. [SS-EU2] and [A-EU2] promise to show him how to do it later in the afternoon.
>
> [SS-EU2] asks the others what they think it means to be on time. [SS-Af1] thinks it means +/- 5 minutes, but [A-EU2] says that she won't be able to make that. They agree on +/- 10 minutes, but [A-EU2] does not appear happy about it (field notes).

Their approach to the work in the group is thus generally goal oriented and oriented towards external legitimation as seen when [SS-Af1] stresses that it has to be something they can refer to in the future. They also agree that their aim is a 12 or a 10 (the two top grades in the Danish system). Writing their group contract, they draw upon the tools they got from the lecturer and the pedagogic consultant, and they thus construct a "third space" (see discussion in Chapter 3) to govern work in

the group. However, as the last part of the encounter shows, the compromise is not constructed without tension, and in the following meeting ten days later, the tension becomes visible almost from the beginning:

> [A-EU2] asks how they should organize the meeting. [SS-EU2] suggests that they use the "gamemaster-method" they were introduced to in the first workshop. [SS-Af1] is appointed gamemaster. They discuss how to write their references. [SS-EU2] has taken leadership of the discussion. Suddenly [A-EU2] says that she has to leave at 4.30. [SS-Af1] gets a bit annoyed. "That is very soon", he says. [SS-EU2] then suggests that she is today's gamemaster and she offers to write a summary of the things they discuss after [A-EU2] leaves.
>
> They have uploaded texts they have written to their Facebook-group. [A-EU2] has written a short piece. The others' pieces are too long. They discuss how to organize their project proposal for the exam project. [SS-EU2] has some suggestions and she looks at [A-EU2] as if looking for her approval. [SS-Af1] has some suggestion that he bases on project proposals he has read, but [SS-EU2] objects to the approach. It doesn't become quite clear why. [SS-EU2) writes and she says that she doesn't know how to make a reference to a text with more than one author. [SS-Af1] shows her how to do it. [SS-EU2] reads [A-EU2]'s text. She has some comments about spelling and grammar and she asks [SS-Af1] if it is correct. "I mean, it is your mother tongue. That's why I ask you.", she says. "Well, I did literature and languages for six years, so I do know it", he answers[15]. "It is probably a good idea that you proofread the proposal before we hand it in", [SS-EU2] concludes.
>
> [SS-Af1] has written an extra paragraph - more than he was assigned. [SS-EU2] seems a little annoyed, but they discuss how to include it in the proposal.
> [SS-Af2] is editing [A-EU2]'s text, but she says that maybe they should focus less on grammar and spelling when they are together and do it later on instead.
> The piece [SS-Af2] has written has information about Thailand. Their project is based in Vietnam and [A-EU2] suggests that they delete the part he has written about Thailand and find information about Vietnam instead. They decide to delete it. No comments from [SS-Af2].
> "Master, master! We only have half an hour left!" [A-EU2] says.
> They draw a lot upon the text they have gotten from [I-B4], who is their case consultant. [SS-EU2] asks [SS-Af2] to write a paragraph that sums up the major finding of the study he refers to. She sums up what they have agreed so far and again she asks [SS-Af2] to write a new paragraph. He doesn't look too happy about it but he doesn't say anything. At 4:15, [A-EU2] leaves. [SS-EU2] offers to print a copy of their text for all of them (field notes).

The encounter shows tensions both relating to their "third space" collaboration but also in relation to epistemic inclusion. While [SS-Af2]'s marginalization may be based upon the quality of his work,

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[15] English is not his mother tongue. But it has been the language of instruction for a large part of his eduction.

a hierarchy is established among the others with [A-EU2] as leader, [SS-EU2] as manager (although she calls herself secretary), and [SS-Af1] as non-academic language consultant. The hierarchy neither reflects a disciplinary divide, their contributions in class and in the group, or their ambitions. The writing they have done for this session is summaries of country data. It is based on a *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) which in theory should allow relatively unproblematic recognition as legitimate knower. However, while [SS-Af1] has made a thorough contribution, his academic abilities are not recognized, and his arguments about how to construct a proposal are ignored. The tension in the group may relate to the differences in interest between students from Europe and students from Africa as the interviewed student talks about. This can be interpreted as a struggle to define the legitimate mode (cf. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) paralleling the struggles regarding disciplinary specialization as result of the lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu). However, both African students have parents that are outside the labor market, they are first movers and participation in the program is a social mobility strategy of "investing in international capital" and "graduating from Europe" which place them in a position with less autonomy to define the legitimate mode. The tension may also be directly tied to the orientation towards external legitimation It suggests a hierarchy originating in the orientation towards external legitimation, or in Maton's (2014) terminology, the weak *positional autonomy* (PA-) and weak *relational autonomy* (RA-) based upon geography/ home institution as outlined in the discussion in Chapter 2. This is suggested when [SS-Af1] is allowed authority on the behavior of "locals" while his (correct) contributions regarding academic writing were ignored in the first meeting along with his other contributions to the presentation in spite of the fact that he has uploaded serious contributions to the Facebook page. It suggests that from his position in the hierarchy, he does not have authority on what the group considers universal knowledge.

The next time I join one of the classes at the program, the relationship between the students has changed, and it appears that there are divisions along both disciplinary and geographical lines or positions in the global hierarchy. In the group from the episodes above, tension appears to have grown into conflict:

> There seems to be a new pattern in the way the students sit in class. [SS-Af1], [SS-Af2] and [B-ME] sit together. Next to them a group of women. The other biologists sit together in the front row. [PS-EU1], [PS-EU2] and [PS-EU3] sit together. [A-EU1] sits in the middle of the room together with a guy I haven't seen before. They kiss and hold hands. [SS-EU2] and [A-

EU2] sit together with a third woman.

[I-B1] tells me that she is aware of some problems among the students in one of the case groups, but the students have asked her not to interfere.

[I-B1] begins the class with a short talk about group work. Why they work together in groups and why it is challenging. She says that towards the end of today's class, she will talk to each group about how they are doing.

The students find their groups. They work on a case presentation for next week. [PS-EU2] talks to [A-EU2] as if [A-EU2] is the leader of her group.

[A-EU2] and [SS-EU2] sit next to each other with a computer in front of them. [SS-Af1] is on the other side of the table and can't see the computer. [SS-Af2] has left the group. [I-B1] approaches the group and asks if they have problems. They don't have problems, they say. They communicate on FB, but it is sometimes difficult because [SS-Af1] doesn't always have access to the internet. [I-B1] leaves again. [SS-Af1] gets up and walks around the table. He sits at a table behind [SS-EU2] and [A-EU2] and tries to get a look at the screen. He leans over. They don't really pay attention to him and continue to talk to each other about the presentation. He makes a comment but it is ignored.

In the break, [SS-EU2] shows [SS-Af1] a schedule with their classes. She tells him to make sure to be there between the classes because they are going to do group work.

After the break, the girls discuss some comments about their work they got from [I-B4], their case consultant. After 20 minutes, [A-EU2] turns around and asks [SS-Af1] if he has a suggestion in relation to a problem about cooperation with the locals in the area. He gives a short answer. They don't signal acknowledgement of his contribution but his answer is added to the text (field notes).

The encounters among the students in class consolidate the hierarchy that was beginning to appear in the groups a couple of weeks before. [B-ME] seems to have teamed up with the African students rather than with the other biologists. Among the other students, the groupings initially appear characterized by gender or region, but they are also discipline-based with the biologists together and the three political scientists together. The group of women are Danish anthropologists, and [A-EU2] and [SS-EU2] and sit together with a social scientists. [A-EU1) is the only one whose alliance cannot be explained along these lines, and after the argument she had with [PS-EU1] the visibility of it is striking.

In the group observed above, the hierarchy has also consolidated. [SS-Af2] has left the group and [SS-Af1] is physically and in terms of knowledge inclusion on the margins of the group. While they say to [I-B1] that there are no problems in their group, their third space manifested in the group contract has dissolved, and [SS-Af1]In is singled out as the cause of the problem as a breach of the social aspects of the contract seems to be the central issue. Within the literature on international education as discussed in Chapter 3, an explanation originating in models of cultural difference is a

likely explanation for the conflict. But as discussed above, knowledge legitimation structures can offer an alternative analysis which ties the exclusion to a neoliberal evaluation by the labor market which favors a (neo-)essentialist rather than relational approach (e.g. Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Rizvi, 2014; Zaliwska & Boler, 2018; Zembylas, 2015) to knowledge and identity. In consequence, the students' interaction seems to rest on externa geographical and disciplinary hierarchies.

In the methodology course, exams are individual rather than group based as in the course discussed above. Instead, relations between students become visible through the groups they use for exercises and through students' presentations of articles where there are presenters and opponents. The groups they work in are self-chosen and follow patterns similar to what was identified towards the end of the first course. Opponent groups are assigned by the lecturers. The examples of presentations below show how the lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) in the methodology course also produce a lack of knowledge interaction among the students in activities designed to produce interdisciplinary exchange. While the first presentation I observe, which is in one of the first classes about natural science methods, does involve discussion and exchange both between the presenters and the opponents and between the presenters and the students in the audience, the presentations are increasingly characterized by exchange only with the lecturers and what appears to be a resistance to the knowledge presented in the articles and, finally, to an absolute minimum of exchange:

> The first presentation is by [SS-EU1] and [SS-EU2). The article is about the ecological footprint of China. They say that there is a lot of math in the article. They don't like the conclusion of the article: "And then they finish the article by saying 'there is not enough data here to make a conclusion. So this is inconclusive.' Thank you very much for making me read 15 pages of inconclusive data. Very scientific!" One of the opponents, [PS-EU4], has a question about how the authors calculated co2. [I-B3] says that he has raised a critical point. A student from the audience says that she thinks that it is a very complicated method to use for something that hasn't an impact. [SS-EU1] says that she agrees to some extent but she also explains why it is a good idea to use that method. The opponent says "When I saw the names of the authors and that the study was financed by the Chinese government … my world is a little bit prejudiced … but I think that maybe they have improved the data a little bit in China's favour." The students in the audience laugh. [SS-EU1] disagrees with him and [I-B2] supports her argument and says that the article was published in an international journal and it has been quality checked. [I-B3], however, says that it is true that they have to think about who has published it – if it is biased – even though it is from an international journal and has been quality checked (field notes).

A couple of weeks later in the session discussed above where [A-EU1] as already mentioned expressed wonder whether the lecturers are themselves taking the exercises seriously, the irritation with the lecturers that some of the students display has grown to interfere with the exchange between the students:

> [SS-Af1] and [?-Af]¹⁶ present an article about organic coffee farming. They talk about opposing views on pest control. [A-EU2] and [A-EU1] are the opponents, and [I-B3] asks them to take their seats. [A-EU2] and [A-EU1] ask what they are supposed to do. Are they going to ask questions or give a critique? [A-EU1] adds that they have prepared a critique. "We don't find the study scientific. There is no discussion of method", she continues. [?-Af] answers: "That is why we inferred that they had used observation". "Well, they didn't observe the ants", [A-EU1] says. "We have just prepared some comments on the paper. And nobody is listening anayway … so", she continues. [I-B3] asks [SS-Af1] and [?-Af] if they agree with the critique and they say "yes". [I-B3] says that she agrees that there is a huge problem with the method in this article and they have to be careful because this paper and its results have been used in other studies. [I-B2] adds that it is a different kind of paper, but not necessarily a bad one just because it presents an idea based on observation.
>
> The next group presents a study that has used fieldwork and guided interviews. The opponents, [SS-EU2] and [SS-EU1],say that they think that "the article was just sad". "First of all", [SS-EU1] says, "the categories they use are strange – for instance married vs. unmarried instead of age, and ethnicity instead of occupation". [I-B2] interferes and says that the married vs. unmarried status has to do with a change of duties. The students presenting the article say that they think it does raise some interesting questions, but [SS-EU1] continues to argue that maybe it started out alright, "but as soon as I got to the hypothesis, it became bad because it was self-evident, like the data and the results were self-evident". [I-B3] interferes and argues that "even though it seems that it is self-evident and common knowledge, it is quite normal to test common knowledge to get scientific data". "I agree", [SS-EU1] says, "but I don't think this paper does it sufficiently". "One problem", [I-B3] continues, "is that there are not enough women in the study. Maybe because they weren't allowed to participate in the interviews". "We don't know that because there is no such anthropological information in the paper", [SS-EU1] says.
>
> Two more groups present. There is a lot of noise from the other students in the room. Whispering. Sometimes it is difficult to hear what the presenters and the opponents are saying. [PS-EU1] and [PS-EU2] are the opponents for the last presentation. They giggle and use ironic voices as they ask questions to the group that has presented (field notes).

In the second encounter, the dissatisfaction with the lecturers turns into tension and disrespect among the students. While this part of the course is about methods from natural science and the legitimate gaze therefore ought to be clear, the lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu), as

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¹⁶ This student has arrived late in the first semester and is therefore not part of Wilken's survey.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue, results in a struggle over the definition of the legitimate mode. This is seen when [A-EU1] links her comment about not knowing what she is supposed to do to the irrelevance of doing it in the first place because the other students in class are not paying attention. I.e. she establishes a link between the lecturers' lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and the knowledge relationship between the students. The result is that [SS-Af1]'s and [?-Af]'s presentation, which actually answers the task they were given, drowns in the critique of the task. Similarly, [SS-EU1] and [SS-EU2]'s frustration means that there is no discussion with the presenting group, and when (PS-EU1] and [PS-EU2] use ironic voices to ask questions to the group that has presented, it becomes impossible to engage in a serious discussion of the article.

Despite pedagogic ideals of cultural and disciplinary inclusion, interaction among the students at Program 2 is characterized by rejection of "other" knowledge at the program. The analysis points to multiple sources of the conflict and rejection. Following Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), it has been discussed how a lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) results in conflict among the students. Moreover, it has been discussed how the external instrumental legitimation of diversity inscribes the relationship in an epistemology that reestablishes hierarchies rather than further inclusion. Finally, the analysis suggests that the autonomy of students' positions influences their authority to formulate modes of knowledge legitimation and become acknowledged and included.

7.6 Conclusion

The chapter has explored the structural conditions behind the relations between the students at Program 2 which started as collaboration and recognition of similarities and ended in fragmentation, conflict and exclusion.

The data from Program 2 to a large extent confirms the findings from Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) regarding market recognition, homogeneity, congruence and autonomy as factors influencing pedagogic authority and in effect relations among students. However, the exclusion that takes place, is a product of very different structural conditions than those identified at Program 1 and is primarily associated with lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu).

Program 2 has a heterogeneous student cohort and little congruence between the students' knowledge habitus and the knowledge system presented at the program which both, according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), are challenges to *pedagogic authority* (PAu) as seen when the

students cannot recognize unfamiliar gazes as legitimate and when the program's assumption of ideological neutrality or misrecognition of its arbitrariness realized in, in Maton's (2014) terminology, a *doctrinal insight* (OR-, DR+), is challenged by students socialized into other *arbitraries*.

Furthermore, as the program is interdisciplinary and draws upon both references to program-external and discipline- internal legitimation criteria there is a multiplicity of truth-claims, but it fails to formulate and practice knowledge building across them. The data suggests that the resulting *segmentalism* is a further challenge to *pedagogic authority* (PAu). The result is that the students experience what Maton (2014) defines as a *relativist code* (ER-,SR-) – "a kind of anything goes" (p. 31) where legitimacy is neither determined by specialist knowledge nor knower attributes . It parallels Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) claim of the impossibility of non-violent education as it seeks to include the diversity of epistemological positions and criteria of legitimation which opens up for a struggle over the definition of the legitimate mode.

However, an analysis of the program's autonomy dimension, which in this study primarily explores relations between the program and the political field and the labor market also offers interesting insights. The program's main orientation towards external legitimation in the procedures of the consultancy labor market and an interdisciplinarity aimed at addressing the complexity of the world's problems has resulted in a heteronomous relation. In contrast to Program 1, Program 2 has both weak *positional autonomy* (PA-) and weak *relational autonomy* (RA-), which challenges the authority of the academic lecturers and establishes a hierarchy between the academic lecturers and the external consultants with the consultants as experts or authorities. The analysis of the legitimation structures at Program 1 showed a program generally characterized by *pedagogic authority* (PAu) in spite of the orientation towards external legitimation, and when comparing it to Program 2, the difference in *relational autonomy* (RA) may be at least part of the explanation for the difference in *pedagogic authority* (PAu) at the two programs.

At Program 2, the outcome is a pedagogy that is reductive in its starting point as it only focuses on "positive experiences" and similarities, and an epistemological strategy that, while it aims to practice interdisciplinarity and to combine scientific and indigenous knowledge approaches, is unresolved. It is thus a pedagogic as well as an epistemological strategy without a legitimate internal formulation of a mode of engagement between disciplines and between "others" which

leaves it open to both internal struggle over definitions as well as definitions based on (perceived) expectations from the labor market. As a result, engagement becomes instrumental and focused on the individual's own experiences and needs, and students who are not in autonomous positions to formulate a legitimation mode become structurally determined. While the structural conditions behind the exclusion are very different from those identified at Program 1, they also produce encounters that only operate through *the Said* Levinas (1998).

Chapter 8: Remaining Other

8.1 Program 3: Introduction

In the first coding of the observation from Program 3, I described the encounters between the students as being characterized by a dynamic *Remaining Other*. The discussions were open-ended, critical and characterized by disagreement and destabilization, but at the same time, there was also a respectful attitude towards differences. Encounters with the experiences of the other had effects like *traces* or a destabilizing *saying* (Levinas, 1998). Following the same structure as in the analysis of the other two programs, the chapter maps the legitimation structures of the program, and it maps the students' strategies and compares it to the structures of the program. These mappings form the basis of analyses of knowledge encounters at the program and explore the potential connections between knowledge structures and constructive engagement at the program.

The program is interdisciplinary within media studies, political science, and journalism. It is an Erasmus Mundus Program and it is offered in collaboration between the Humanities Faculty, the Social Science Faculty and the School of Journalism. It was founded in 2005, and it is a collaboration between five European universities and three universities in the USA, South America and Australia. As an Erasmus Mundus program, it was made possible by the political aim to use internationalization of higher education to support the development of a European identity and to orient the programs towards not only a European market but also towards international markets. However, external legitimation is strikingly absent from the program, except in the marketing material, which says: "Global changes in technology, politics and society place the journalist's profession in a central position in efforts to understand and mediate the global age" (Aarhus University, 2011). Instead, the lecturers are oriented towards internal, discipline-specific criteria and stress that it is an academic program about journalism and not a program oriented towards practical journalistic skills.

8.2 Knowledge and pedagogy

Like Program 2, Program 3 is interdisciplinary. However, the approach to interdisciplinarity differs. Program 3 combines journalism, political science and media studies. But while the lecturers at program 2 make an effort to stress the importance of interdisciplinarity and aim to integrate the disciplines, interdisciplinarity is absent from the lecturers' discourse about knowledge at Program 3. In contrast, in the introductory lecture, one of the lecturers [I-J] talks about "the two legs" of the

program: journalism and political science which is illustrative of the way the disciplines are taught in separate courses rather than being integrated as in Program 2. Similar to what I showed for Program 1, the subject areas are structurally equal and represented in the curriculum with the same number of courses and credit points (Tange, 2016), but the fact that the lecturer does not mention media studies points forward to the differences in the status there seems to be between the disciplines and the *pedagogic authority* (PAu) the lecturers enjoy among the students. This is further discussed below.

In contrast to the other two programs, Program 3 is primarily internally legitimated. I have only come across one reference to external legitimation. It is found in the description of the program in the study guide which refers to fields of application – journalistic and academic contexts (Aarhus University, 2011) where only the journalistic context is an external field of application. Moreover, compared to the fields of application that supports the legitimation of knowledge at Program 1 and Program 2, these fields have critical and analytical aims rather than instrumental. Instead, internal criteria of legitimation are continuously emphasized by the lecturers. These criteria are present from the beginning as it is emphasized in the introductory lecture that the students are expected to develop their ability to engage critically with the knowledge presented by the lecturers:

Slide:
Knowledge
-production and not only reproduction of knowledge
-an ability to engage critically with and reflect upon the knowledge acquired during the course
- apply and contextualize. Move beyond
-an ability to formulate relevant questions (field notes)

Emphasis of this list is on criteria based upon a strong *relational autonomy* (RA+). Moreover, critical reflection is further elaborated by one of the lecturers [l-J] in the following words:

"We must address the way different theories address these issues. Otherwise, it is normative and purely subjective" (field notes).

The disciplinary identity and strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) thus rest upon relatively *weak discursive relations* (DR-). Moreover, describing what he is looking for in the exam, the lecturer [l-J]

also encourages the students to draw upon both previous educations and their experiential knowledge:

> "it is not about finding a right answer it is about thinking about it, engaging with it. I want independent assessment of the concept. […] Use your background from previous education and your national selves. I want analytical originality but also consistency. Engage with each other. Engage with your network" (field notes).

He thus encourages the students to bring in knowledge from other domains in the form of either personal experience "your national selves", which suggests *strong semantic gravity* (SG+) and *social gazes* (SubR+, IR-) - or theoretical knowledge from other educational domains which also weakens the *discursive relation* (DR). As opposed to the other two programs, it displays a dependency upon other fields to build new knowledge. Here, knowledge from other fields is not introduced as exemplification of the field's theory, but to examine its theory and push its boundaries. While the program displays strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) in defining its disciplinary identity, the dependency upon other fields both in terms of other *discourses* as well as contextually grounded knowledge and *social gazes* (SubR+, IR-) which defines the critical thinking that is encouraged produces a relation which could be described as horizontal heteronomy.

As the program is taught by staff from Aarhus University and the School of Journalism in collaboration with visiting researchers, it also displays strong *positional autonomy* (PA+) in relation to academia. The internal legitimation is also confirmed in Tange's (2016) interviews with the lecturers where the quotes she presents in the article show that the lecturers at Program 3 speak from well-defined disciplinary positions, e.g. when one of them says "It is a political science product" in the description of the content of one of the courses which is closer to the disciplinary identity displayed by the external consultants than to the interdisciplinary identity emphasized by the academic lecturers at Program 2.

Regarding *specialization*, the disciplines involved in the program traditionally draw upon both *knowledge-* (ER+, SR-) and *knower codes* (ER-, SR+), according to Maton (2014). They tend to move between them and can operate with both flat and hierarchical *knower-* and *knowledge structures* (cf. Maton, 2014). Students and lecturers are thus more likely to acknowledge both types of specialization codes because both types have been part of their previous education and are thus part of their knowledge *habitus*. In the data from the program, I primarily identified *knower codes*

(ER-, SR+), but it may be argued that it also approaches *elite codes* (ER+, SR+) because it stresses knowledge content as well as knower dispositions and abilities to "formulate questions" and "move beyond" as seen in the quote above. However, while it is primarily a *knower code* (ER-, SR+), the *gaze* seems to differ depending on the course. The two courses I have observation data from discuss highly theoretical concepts such as "globalization" and "respatialization" which have vague empirical referents and rest on *weaker epistemic relations* (ER) and a *cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+). However, they also encourage students to draw upon their "national selves" which suggests recognition of experiences unique to particular identities and thus recognition of aspects of the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-). From the interviews, the course in media studies appears to draw upon concrete examples and the students' own experiences, which suggests a stronger emphasis upon *born* or *social gazes*, but observation was not carried out in the course, and therefore it cannot be confirmed.

Whereas the lecturers at Program 1 considered the knowledge they presented to be universal and the lecturers at Program 2 recognized epistemological diversity but approached it through reductive integration and an unaddressed ideological bias, Program 3 offers a third approach. Tange's (2016) interviews show that the lecturers from media studies share the anthropologists' awareness of potential exclusion of other positions. In contrast, the political scientists in the program primarily draw upon readings from the US because "'[we are] coming from a period, at least, which has been characterized by very clear American and Western leadership"' (Tange, 2016, p. 1104). However, as opposed to the knowledge geography employed at Program 1, which is motivated by academic hierarchies and a tendency towards universalism, unpublished parts of Tange's interviews with the political scientists show that at Program 3, this is motivated by the political world order the courses deal with and is intended to reflect the geopolitical hierarchy which is examined. However, it is also stressed from the beginning of the program that while the program researches globalization, the teaching is done from a liberal, European perspective, which thus gives theories and knowledge produced from this perspective a privileged position while also recognizing that the privilege is arbitrary. Here, the program differs significantly from the other two programs. Furthermore, it is also stressed that the students are free to challenge the liberal European perspective (field notes, introductory lecture), which also emphasizes the arbitrary character as well as the importance of other perspectives. It suggests that the lecturers are driven by purposes and

ideas similar to Rizvi's (e.g. 2008) about the situatedness and positionality of knowledge as a key element in cosmopolitan learning, or to the radical or the critical purposes identified in international education by Aktas et al. (2017) which are either oriented towards analysis of the global structures that sustain inequality or towards teaching interconnectivity to let the students realize their own role in reproducing existing power structures.

In the following, it is explored how these principles unfold in activities observed at the program. The first example demonstrates how ideas about positionality are introduced to the students. The example is from the first lecture at the program. It is a course taught by lecturers in journalism:

> "the world order depends upon where it is seen from", [I-J] says. "It is influenced by local and personal agendas". They have talked about how the world order is produced nationally and how it influences the global order, [I-J] continues. "Globalization is not Westernization, internationalization, homogenization, universalization or more of the same. It is the pull of the national vs cosmopolitanism – a civilizational community of fate. It is respatialization as the qualitative new aspect". "Does respatialization mean that everybody feels the same?" a student wants to know. "No, it means that people recognize it as important", [I-J] answers (field notes).

Like the workshop that introduced groupwork to the students at Program 2, this lesson recognizes the relevance of the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) as well as strong *semantic gravity* (SG+) when it stresses the foundation in positioned, contextual insights when [I-J] says "the world order depends upon where it is seen from". However, the focus on the tension between perspectives rather than homogenization suggests a different mode than the focus on similarities promoted in the workshop at Program 2. Instead, it seems to suggest an interconnectivity which is formed through relational exploration that parallels a Levinasian engagement (Levinas, 1996, p. 6).

However, while it emphasizes contextually grounded experience, the lecture itself is highly theoretical, i.e. it displays a weak *semantic gravity* (SG+) and as discussed above, the concepts "globalization", "cosmopolitanism", "respatialization" etc. are characteristic of the program's *knower code* (ER-, SR+). In contrast to the lecture's relatively weak *semantic gravity* (SG-), the assignment the students have been given as preparation for the class rests upon stronger *semantic gravity* (SG+) as the students are encouraged to draw upon their own perspectives. Moreover, the

introduction to the lecture includes several theoretical perspectives as seen from the preparation sheet handed out to the students by [l-J]:

Lesson 1: Introduction: The World Agenda
Preparation sheet:

What is the world agenda? Does one exist? Who are the relevant actors? What perspectives determine the way we define the agenda? What is global change?

Assignment: What does your world agenda look like?
For the class produce a list of the five major problems that you see from your personal perspective. Write them down with a short paragraph on each of them justifying why it is important. Turn it in on Aula before class.

Note that all material is available on Aula. You need to be registered at the platform. See the url in the course plan.

Deadline for five issues on one sheet of paper is the evening of September 6 at 23.00.

Preparation questions:
In Jeffery Sach's book, Commonwealth, he outlines what he sees as the major challenge to a more just world order. Identify these challenges.

Sørensen in his article, What kind of world order? The international system in the New Millenium, looks at world order from four different perspectives.

Focus your preparation on the perspective your group is assigned.

The supplementary literature gives a different perspective:

Anne-Marie Slaughter, A New World Order, Chapter 1 looks at world order from a network perspective. Networks among people and professionals are replacing national hierarchies.

Joseph Nye, *Understanding International Conflict.* Nye introduces war and conflict from a long term historical and liberal perspective. The text is a good help in reacquainting yourself with this type of perspective. It may also help you in understanding the world order perspective outlined by Sørensen (Hand-out to students).

Combined, readings, lecture and assignment thus form a *gravity wave* where students' experiences are included to raise their awareness of the positioned nature of theory and politics which demonstrates how the theory can be enacted, discussed and challenged from different

contexts and positions. It means that the lesson moves beyond the experiential approach found e.g. in the competence frameworks (e.g. Spencer-Oatey & Stadler, 2009) discussed in Chapter 3 and instead it is closer to Rizvi's (2008) ideas about cosmopolitan learning where the situatedness of knowledge is central while at the same time the necessity of combining it with a critical understanding is recognized. The critical understanding involves the recognition of situatedness and positionality, i.e. strong *semantic gravity* (SG+) and a *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-). However, it is also tied to the weakening of *discursive relations* (DR) practiced as the lesson draws upon several different theoretical perspectives.

Through the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) and the weak *discursive relation* (DR-)*,* the teaching also continuously questions the legitimacy of universal principles. This is seen, e.g., in the question posed by [l-PS1] as topic for a group- and class-discussion: "Are liberal values universal or are liberal values Western?" (field notes)*;* which the students are invited to address by drawing upon their different theoretical and experiential positions. Similarly, [l-J] explains how the world order is understood analytically through several dimensions and how it is continuously challenged from new positions and perspectives:

> "You cannot reduce the current world order to one thing. We look at four dimensions of the world order. Power. Power balancing security. Power is still there as an aspect of world order. But change is taking place. We have moved from the Cold War to what some call American hegemony – but there are also new and rising powers". (field notes)

Hence, while the dominance of the Western perspective is acknowledged, it is not presented as a universal truth, but as a position to be critically questioned and explored. It is thus in line with Bourdieu's idea of teaching the arbitrary character of culture as opposed to giving a truly relativistic education (cf. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 12). It is an epistemology which not only differs from the universalism of Program 1 but also from the scientific-indigenous or local/universal dichotomy sought to be overcome at Program 2, because it is not an attempt at convergence.

In contrast to Program 2, knowledge-building at Program 3 develops in a process of *horizontal heteronomy* as defined above. This is discussed in the examples below, where the exchanges between [l-J], [vr-J], who is North American, and the students show how it is not practiced through a rational addition, compromise and closure in unity as it was the case at Program 2, but through open-ended *gravity waves* and weakening of the *discursive relation* (DR) that develop

through definition, exemplification, questioning etc. In the example below, the lecturers argue for a particular theoretical position, or *discourse*, but they also stress the challenge from other theoretical positions, thereby weakening the *discursive relation* (DR), and they invite contextually grounded *social gazes* when they draw upon the personal experience of one of the students:

> [l-J] and [vr-J] sum up the main points from today's class. They repeat the definitions of fragility and add that there are other ways of defining it, but they have presented the one they work with in detail. They present a conclusion from a book they have written. "It is a controversial conclusion", they say, "because it says that fragility is about politics and not ethnicity. Other academics disagree. Our book ends up being rather skeptical in relation to intervention because it usually ends up being pretty bad, like you concluded in your groups. The successes were created in Costa Rica and Botswana because we stayed away. … Bosnia. Some would argue that it was a success. [name of student from Bosnia], what do you think?" She answers, "It wasn't. We think of ourselves as part of Serbia". "So in terms of nationhood, it wasn't a success", [l-J] continues. Another student interrupts, "But isn't peace in Serbia better than war? So wasn't it a success?" [l-J] answers, "We are talking about state fragility. We haven't created a nation with our intervention (field notes).

When the lecturers both weaken the *discursive relation* (DR) and strengthen the *semantic gravity* (SG) by inviting a contextually grounded *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) and a critical question from one of the other students, the critical enquiry from other positions both opens and deepens the definition of fragility.

Similarly, as the discussion continues, encounters between students and lecturers continue in a mode of weak *discursive relations* (DR-) as they explore and challenge axiological stances:

> […] If intervention is not a good idea, what can we do instead? What structural change could we make? Free trade?" [l-J] asks. A student [?-EU] answers: "I don't really see a prospect in free trade principles". [vr-J] intervenes and says, "Quinoa example. It was cheap for locals to buy. Then it became a success. Now it is expensive, and people eat pasta instead." "I question the paradigm the book is written from – economic interests. But what about if you look at it from a principle of morality?", [?-EU] continues. [PS-EU] adds, "If CSR works, we could talk about how companies could help, but if it is really a profit, it doesn't work". "But these things do work, to some extent", [l-J] says before the class ends (field notes).

Here, strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) is expressed through a weak *discursive relation* (DR-) which involves that knowledge is the critical exploration through engagement with other positions and *social gazes* (SubR+, IR-) – what I named horizontal heteronomy above. In consequence, the

encounter with *the Other* unfolds not as rejection or as inclusion through compromise, and reduction, but as destabilizing "traces" resembling the relationship between the *saying* and the *said* in Levinasian ethics (e.g. Levinas, 1998). The *said* is the fixation or categorization – in the teaching situation into theory or a *cultural arbitrary* – through language, and the *saying* is the interruption of categorization through the embodied presence of the other as a reminder and remainder of difference which open the conclusions or *the said*.

That the *knower code* (ER-, SR+) which, as indicated by the presence of knowledge originating in *social gazes* (SubR+, IR-), the weak *discursive relation* (DR-) and the use of concepts with vague empirical referents, dominates the program means that data has to pass through the knower's *habitus* to inform theory, according to Maton (2014). He argues that it also means that it is a *segmental modality*, which does not have the same potential for knowledge-building as the *cumulative mode* and cannot extend across contexts (Maton, 2014, pp. 142-144). *Segmentalization* and fragmentation is also the logics behind Luckett's (2010) claim that the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) is exclusive and allows more discursive space for the *cultural arbitrary* as discussed in Chapter 4. However, while the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) may be exclusive because it rests on strong *subjective relations* (SubR+) and therefore bound and control the kinds of knowers who can claim legitimacy, it can be argued that the heteronomous relation means that it is not excluding or causing a process of fragmentation, but a process that draws upon the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) to strengthen the *interactional relation* (IR) towards a cultivated gaze (SubR-, IR+) rather than towards a *born gaze* (SubR+, IR+) in a critical examination of the *cultural arbitrary* which depends upon the destabilizing presence of other positions and discourses. It is therefore including and suggests cosmopolitan learning in the sense proposed by both Marginson and Sawir (2011) and Rizvi (2008) because it is a knowledge production which involves both a recognition of standpoint epistemologies and a critical sociology.

While not creating a *cumulative modality* that allows knowledge to extend across contexts in Maton's definition, the *knower code* (ER-, SR+) at play here rests on a hierarchical *knower structure* that broadens the base of the hierarchy by integrating new knowers as in Maton's definition, but it is also a mode that through its heteronomous relations cultivates knowers to engage across contexts.

The pedagogy at Program 3 also differs significantly from the pedagogies of Program 1 and Program 2.

"I'm going to give you 110% of me and I don't want 80% of you. I want 100%. If you don't come to class for some reason, let me know and tell me why" [I-J] says (field notes).

The comment is made in the introduction to the first course of the program. It shows a difference in emphasis between Program 2 and Program 3. While the emphasis was upon students' needs at Program 2, it is upon what the lecturers expect from the students at Program 3. This entails, on the one hand, a strong socialization into institutional academic practices at Program 3, but on the other hand, there is also the dynamic engagement with other experiences in its knowledge content as discussed above.

Regarding socialization, the students are expected to adapt to the standards set by the lecturers for critical thinking and academic writing. The students get feed-back both from instructors and the lecturers, and extra writing seminars are provided for students struggling to live up to the criteria. The program's approach to the international student therefore shares some similarities with the deficit-model (as discussed e.g. by Coate, 2009; Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Tange & Jensen, 2012) practiced at Program 1. In that respect, Program 3 partly rejects the academic socialization the students have from their previous education as the practices regarding academic writing and argumentation are relatively strongly bounded and controlled in contrast to the inclusion of the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) and the presence of weak *discursive relations* (DR-) which entail less control. However, it is approached as training and cultivation of the gaze, and as such, in combination with a non-essentialist pedagogy and the horizontal heteronomy which defines the cultivation of the gaze, it offers admission to international students. The effect is therefore different from the effect at Program 1.

The non-essentialist pedagogy is visible in the relational approach to knowledge-building and cultivation of the gaze as discussed above, but it is also seen in several other aspects of the program. At Program 2, inclusion was attempted through tools meant to give speaking time to all group members and including all perspectives, which suggest an essentialist tendency to understand the students through static categories as cultural and national representatives (Marginson & Sawir, 2011) and an additive approach to diversity (Darics & Koller, 2018). At Program 3, such workshops

instructing the students in intercultural teamwork are deliberately not used because in the experience of the lecturers, it does not produce the desired results[17]. In contrast, while the administrators at the program have formed international study groups for the students, it is stressed that it is not about inclusion of as many perspectives as possible in one group or class but about becoming aware of the existence of different perspectives, as seen in the following episode:

> After class I talk to [l-PS1]. While we talk, [PS-LA] approaches us and says that he thinks it is a shame that they are not together the whole group in this course – "In order to get more perspectives". [l-PS1] answers that they don't see it as an aim of the course to be objective in the sense of having many nationalities – as many as possible – present in the classroom. Rather that they in the class discussions become aware of the existence of different perspectives (field notes).

This contrasts the essentialist and additive approach to diversity. Moreover, it is thus also a pedagogy that supports an understanding of knowledge as dynamic, because it is not driven by the idea that a totality or finite knowledge can be reached through the (theoretical) inclusion of all perspectives. In consequence, the incongruity between the neo-essentialist, rational subject and the experiential approach is substituted by a learning subject who is not self-sufficient, as it is the case in the functionalist approaches (Ferri, 2016), but learns through encounters shaped by relational experiences of the other and critical understanding, as proposed by Rizvi (2008), which together drives knowledge building forward in a critical exploration of global relationships, as seen in the analysis of knowledge structures above.

Comparing Program 3 to Program 2, it is prominent that there is less explicit focus on pedagogy at Program 3, which underlines at least two related differences between the programs: While the emphasis upon the positioned nature of knowledge at the program is underwritten by a *knower code*, the emphasis is not as such upon the knower but upon the relational production of knowledge between them, as opposed to the essentialist emphasis upon the differences between the knowers at Program 2. Moreover, Program 2 builds knowledge about the *Other* through a translation of *knower code* (ER-, SR+) into knowledge codes (ER+, SR-), while the knowledge building

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[17] Information conveyed in a meeting with the program's lecturers and administrators.

at Program 3 explores the relationship between the theory (the presented knowledge) and the perspectives of the knowers.

8.3 Students

The student intake is 68, of which three are Danish, and otherwise the students come from Europe, Asia, the Americas, Africa and the Middle East. Compared to Program 1 and Program 2, the regional origin of the students is less homogenous. As seen in the chart below, the largest group is students from the EU/EEA. This group constitutes 28 % of the students. The admission process is highly competitive and focuses on both academic qualifications with above average grades and practical experience. Some of the students have been granted stipends while others pay tuitions fees. The stipends are granted to the most qualified students. Students from EU countries only pay half the tuition price which may explain why this group is the largest. The overview below shows the interviewed students' profiles and strategies.

Participant	Region	Educational background	Social class	International profile	Mobility strategy	Educational strategy
31	EU	Political science	Upper middle	Hypermobile	Becoming or remaining international	Finding purpose
32	North America	Communication	Upper middle	Inheritor	Roundabout	Career change
33	EU	Anthropology	Upper class	Inheritor	Roundabout	Career change
34	North America	Journalism	Middle class	International	Becoming or remaining international	Investing in international capital
35	Nordic	Communication	Middle class	Hypermobile	Becoming or remaining international	Finding purpose
36	Africa	Communication	Upper middle	First mover	Becoming or remaining international	Career change
37	Asia	Technology	Middle class	First mover	Roundabout	Career change
38	Asia	Journalism	Middle class	International	Graduating from Europe	Investing in international capital

39	Asia	Humanities	NA	International	Roundabout	Investing in international capital
310	Latin America	Political science	Upper middle	Inheritor	Becoming or remaining international	Investing in international capital
311	Europe, non-EU	Journalism	Upper middle	International	Becoming or remaining international	Investing in international capital
312	Nordic	Journalism	Working class	International	Safe choice	Investing in Danish education

Program 3: Region

- EU/EEA 28%
- Asia 20%
- North America 15%
- Latin America 11%
- Nordic 9%
- Europe non EU/EEA 7%
- Africa 6%
- Middle East 4%
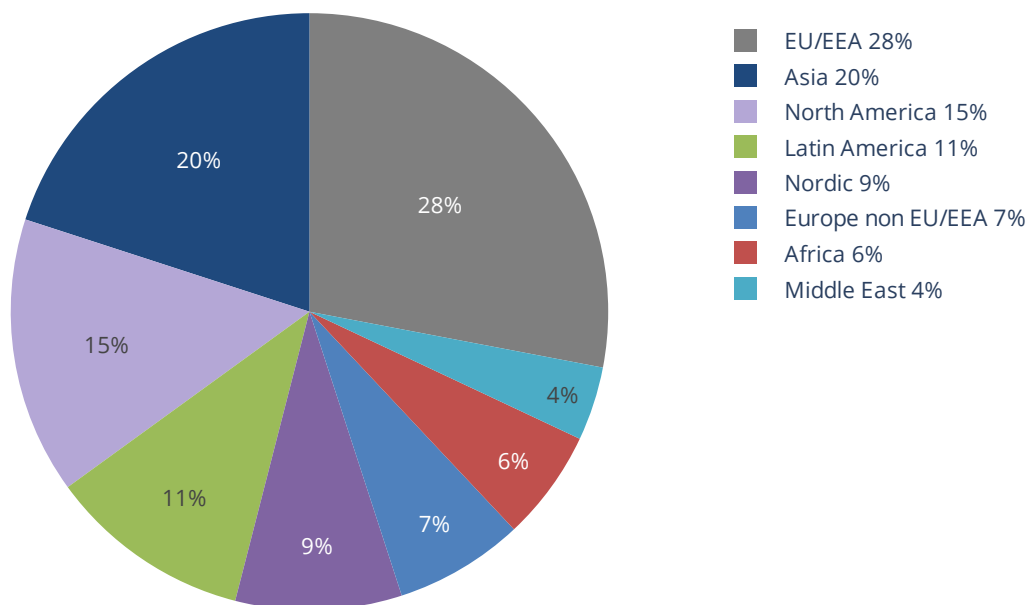
The students are required to have practical experience in journalism to be accepted and educational backgrounds in journalism and communication dominate with 37% of the students having a degree in journalism and 20% in communication. 11% have a degree in language, culture, or literature, 9% in anthropology, geography or history, and 19% in political science and economics. 2% have a background in technology. Since the majority of the students have a BA in either the humanities or social science, it is likely that there is congruence between the students' knowledge habitus and the knowledge structures found at the program.

Program 3: Educational background

Legend:
- Journalism 37%
- Communication 20%
- Political science and economics 19%
- Language, culture or literature 11%
- Anthropology, geography or history 9%
- Technology 2%
- Other 2%
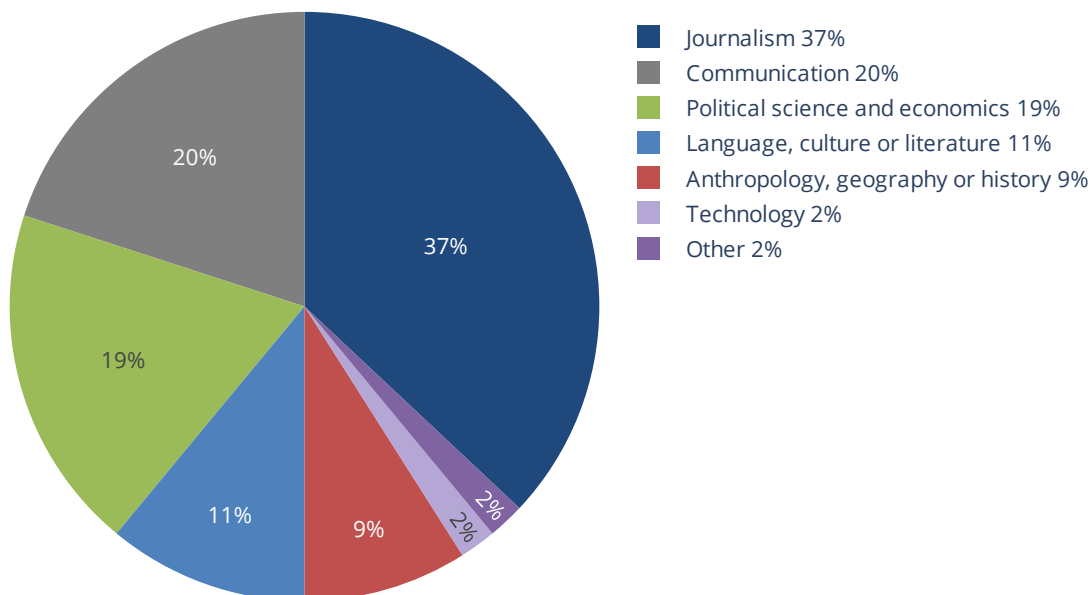
Regarding social class, the program is characterized by having a large majority of students with relatively privileged backgrounds. According to Wilken's (nd-a) analysis, 9% of the students belong to the upper class. These students have parents who are highly educated and have high ranking jobs such as president of an international organization or a large company. 48% have upper middle-class background with parents that are primarily highly educated and employed in jobs such as professors or associate professors, government officials or CEOs. 30 % have middle-class background with parents who are trained in professions such as teaching or nursing. Students with working-class background only constitute 2% of the students, and 2% of the students have parents

who are outside the labor market. However, despite coming from a privileged background, the move to Denmark is experienced as very expensive for some of the students. A student with an upper middle-class background explains that she had only worked for six months before she applied to the program in Denmark. She did not get a scholarship and therefore her family is "trying really hard to pay the tuition" [36].

Program 3: Social class

Legend:
- Upper middle 48%
- Middle 30%
- Upper 9%
- N/A 9%
- Outside labor market 2%
- Working class 2%
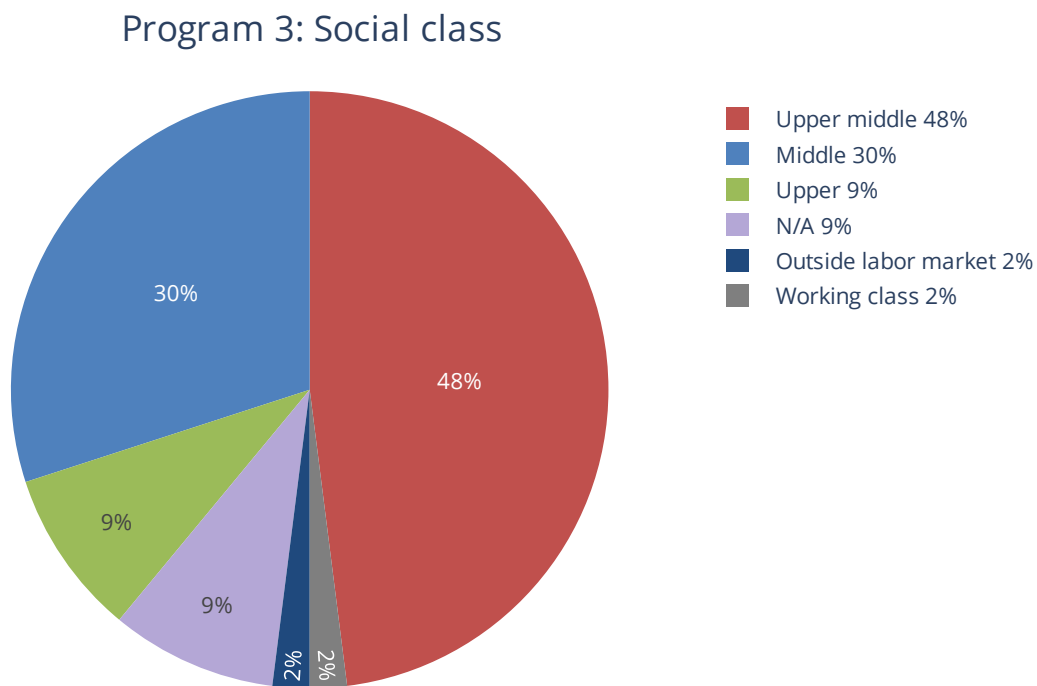
Regarding international profiles, Program 3 looks a lot like Program 2. 30% fall in the category "inheritors" who are students whose parents have travelled a lot and the students have travelled with their parents and have often gone to school in several different countries. 7% are "hypermobile" which means that they have worked or studied in 6-7 different countries themselves, but their parents have not travelled. They selected their current program because it gives them an opportunity to go abroad during their education. In the future, they want jobs where they can travel. There are 37% with the profile "international" at Program 3. Like the "hypermobile", they have travelled themselves, but not quite as much. They have taken part in established university

exchange schemes or they have worked abroad as ski instructors or fruit pickers. 17% are "first movers" who do not have international experience or inherited capital prior to their participation in the program. 9% of the students list that they have no international experience.

Program 3: International profile

Legend:
- Internationals 37%
- Inheritors 30%
- First movers 17%
- No prior international experience 9%
- Hypermobile 7%
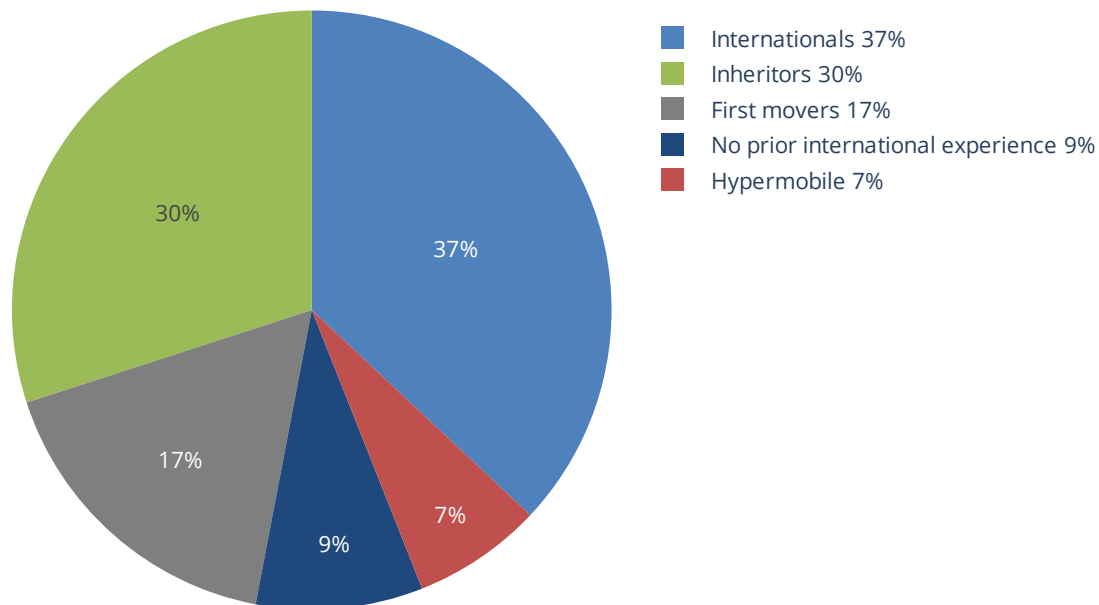
Program 3 is dominated by two mobility strategies. 41% have the profile "roundabout". According to (Wilken, nd-a) these are students that travel because they believe it increases their chances for a good job when they return home. Typically, they are from the upper middle class, and they are supported economically by their parents. Most of them are internationals or first movers. For one of the "roundabouts", [32], part of her motivation for applying to the program was to get into its exchange program with an American elite university. She is paying the full tuition fee in Aarhus and she did not get into the exchange program, which has made her think about quitting the program.

Also representing 41% is the strategy "becoming or remaining international". For these students, the aim is to acquire or sustain international experience because they want to work in international organizations. Both inheritors, internationals and first movers are found in this category. Compared to Program 1 where we primarily find the strategies "safe choice" and "looking

for a better life", which only constitute 5% and 4% respectively at Program 3, the mobility strategies at Program 3 probably reflect that more students have a relatively privileged background.

Program 3: Mobility strategy

Legend:
- Round about 41%
- Becoming or remaining international 41%
- Graduating from Europe 7%
- Safe choice 5%
- Investing in a better life 4%
- Love 2%
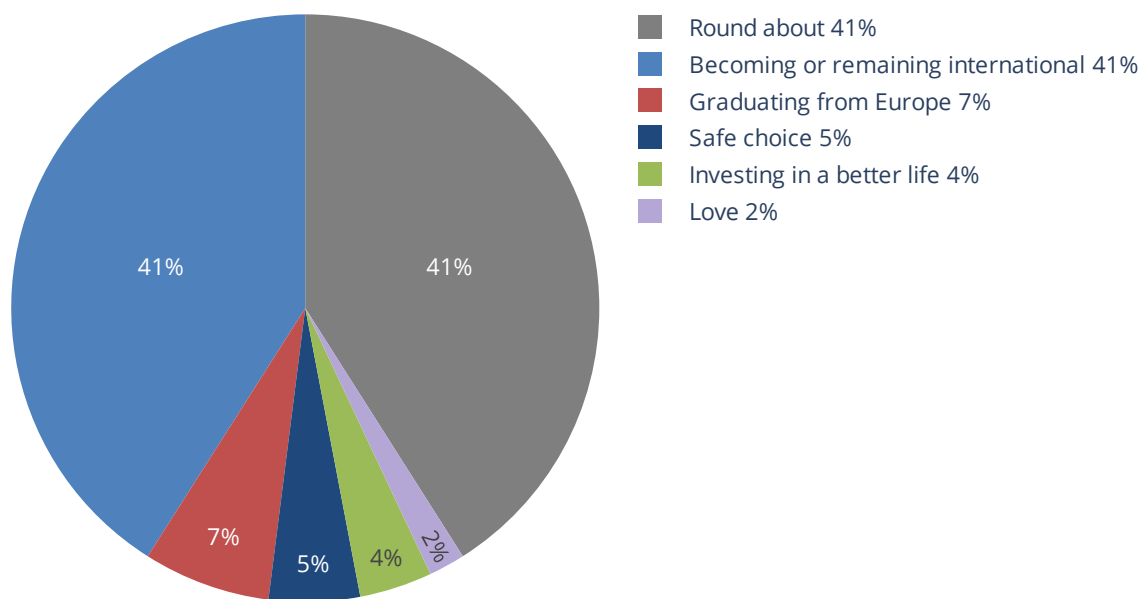
Regarding Educational strategies, Program 3 is again characterized by two large groups. 45 % of the students have the strategy "investing in international capital". These students wish to strengthen the education they already have with international education. It is a broad category that contains both "roundabouts", "graduating from Europe", and "becoming and remaining international" among the mobility strategies, and "first movers" and "internationals among the international profiles". Another 45 % have the strategy "career change". These are students that already have a master's degree or have a career based on their BA but want a different career than the one they can get with the education they have. They typically belong to the upper or upper middle class. They receive economic support from their parents, or they use their own savings. This strategy is not found at the other two programs.

Program 3: Educational strategy

Legend:
- Investing in international capital 45%
- Career change 44%
- Finding purpose 7%
- Investing in Danish education 4%
- Quality education 0%
- Internationalization at home 0%
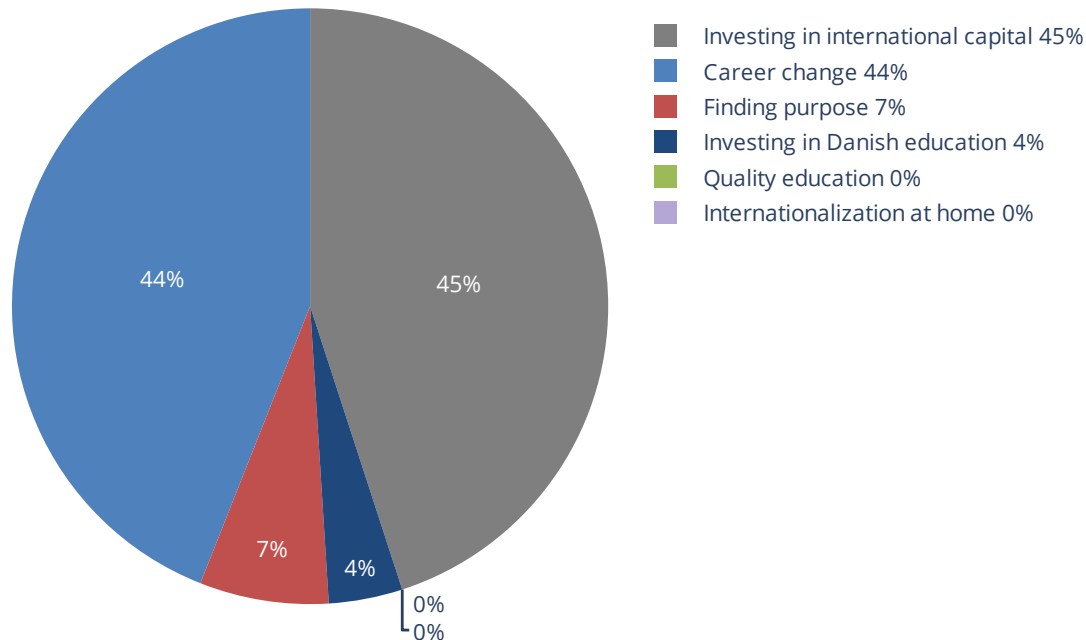
Compared to both Program 1 and Program 2, the students at Program 3 generally talk about education in less instrumental terms regardless of their strategy. Participation in international education is not talked about as a necessity to get a job, but as a coincidence, a chance to travel or as a way to get more perspectives on the world. Asked if he expected the program to be useful in his future career, a student whose educational strategy is "finding purpose" explains what he sees as the benefits of the program not in terms of a market-oriented career choice but in terms of developing his way of thinking towards a globalized ethics:

> Not useful in the very practical meaning. It is like the sheer fact that I'm learning this course will not get me a good job in journalism. But it is very useful in the way that we change the way we are thinking. What I mean is that it is gonna stick. Once we start thinking in these globalized concepts. Eh linking them with what we can do in journalism eh it is gonna stick. In five or ten years we are still gonna use those things we learned here because it is more than just practice. It is a way of approaching things. Ehm, so yeah. I think that purely factually it is not useful. It is not like it changes my CV dramatically in terms of skills I have acquired, but it does change the way of thinking and I think that's gonna … in some years it is gonna bring a lot of profit especially in the world that is becoming more and more globalized. Ehm

that the demand that gonna be there for the next years for people who don't really see the world in the old frames but try to go beyond them [31].

A student who is participating as part of a "career change"strategy says

[international education] can broaden and deepen my views of the world and my views and sensibility towards my life. What shall I do to live a happy life and how should [I] treat the world. How should I view the world? […] I think this is the main purpose […] Because if you study abroad you have a wider thinking and you don't just think about what affects you. You think about what affects everyone and how everyone does stuff in the cultures of every place. That's why I chose studying abroad [36].

Similarly, students who are "investing in international capital" talk about it as a chance to get an international perspective:

For me it was very interesting to get an international perspective and maybe try to study in like a Western type education situation and then also learn some new things about journalism and media studies and also we focus on international studies and political science and this is also very interesting for me because. You know, I have never done international studies or political science at home. […] I knew it would be relevant in terms of probably … like … I was raised in a different style … type of country. And also going to European Union was different […] and so I was very for like change in terms of mentality. How people think. […] But from the very beginning I was sold because the program is very interesting for me in terms of you know because now we are learning so many issues that are also important for us in a globalized world [311].

Or even as a way of getting out of both a disciplinary and cultural comfort zone:

I don't like politics. I kinda jumped to politics because, because I realized I hated it too much and choose not to, I just used to ignore it. And it felt wrong so I decided to study politics […] I found that because every time I write an essay, I always connect it to [South East Asian] issues. Like why do I keep coming back to writing what [South East Asians] know and I realized that I'm actually still in a [South East Asian] box and I need to get out from there [38].

An analysis focusing on regional belonging would present the program as significantly more heterogenous than the other two programs. Such an approach, however, overlooks the potential

homogeneity constituted by parameters such as social class, educational background, international experience, as well as mobility- and educational strategies in the international classroom. Moreover, Program 3, in contrast to the other two programs is characterized by internal legitimation and strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) resting on discipline internal criteria which, according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), together with the congruence between the program's *specialization codes*, the students' educational backgrounds as well as their ideas about education the likelihood of establishing *pedagogic authority* (PAu) is high.

8.4 Pedagogic authority

"I'm considered an expert on the UN, so when these debates arise in the press, I'm immediately contacted" [I-PS1] (field notes).

In contrast to Program 2, where the lecturers did not manage to establish a position for themselves as authorities, and Program 1, where *pedagogic authority* (PAu) was primarily grounded in external recognition in the labor market and congruence resulting from a majority of the students having a BA from Aarhus University, most of the lecturers at Program 3 are generally highly recognized and respected among the students and the relation seems to be grounded in academic rather than instrumental criteria. The quote above from a class discussion and the comment about expecting 100% from the students made by one of the lecturers in the introductory lecture suggest that this relationship is anticipated by the lecturers. Similar to what is seen at Program 1, the relationship between lecturers and students is stable over time. Discussion is seen as signs of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) because the lecturers encourage discussions, and it is an important aspect of how knowledge is constructed and legitimated at the program. Typical examples of exchanges from the observation data were discussed above. However, the following episode also illustrates the relationship as the students both draws upon knowledge presented by the lecturer and weakens the *discursive relation* (DR) and strengthens *semantic gravity* (SG+) to critically examine the position which suggests that they accept the cultivation of the *gaze* that the program encourages:

A group consisting of [PS-ME], [?-AS1], [?-AS2] and [LS-AS] and gives a presentation which 1) accounts for Fukuyama's position which [l-PS1] has supported in his lecture. They ask a couple of clarifying questions. 2) discusses its truth and relevance using empirical examples. Their main argument is that history has proven Fukuyama wrong. 3) Discusses Marxist perspectives. After the presentation, they discuss their examples and their critique with [l-PS1] and other students in the class. [l-PS1] acknowledges their point of view, but he also maintains that he generally agrees with Fukuyama. He adds that he met Fukuyama a couple of years ago and found him very pleasant to talk to. "But maybe the best arguments against Fukuyama will be empirical arguments. What if some kinds of capitalism don't work? What is they lead to ecological disaster? We saw that communism didn't work", he continues. [Jo-EU] says to [l-PS1] that she finds his dismissal of socialism and communism unsubstantiated. "That's a huge thing to just discard in one sentence. Socialism and communism didn't work". "It becomes like a religion. If you are for Fukuyama, you go that way to progress. If you go against him and you are a communist, you are stuck in the 80s" [PS-ME] says (field notes).

While reference to labor market recognition and instrumental value is absent, an external recognition and symbolic value in the cultural market, seen e.g. in the number of applicants, mentioning of former students in prominent positions and the international- as well as the media recognition that several of the program's lecturers enjoy, may also strengthen *pedagogic authority* (PAu) (c.f. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, pp. 27-28) at Program 3. Recognition in the academic market is mentioned as relevant in a couple of the interviews. One students e.g. describes one of the lecturers as "a wonderful professor and one I had heard of before coming here. Even read some of his texts [at the home university]" [310]. From the same interview it also appears that that the program enjoys authority because of its (perceived) position in the academic world as the student explains that he expects that only academically recognized universities are accepted in the Erasmus Mundus alliance. Other students talk about the competition to get into the program.

Regarding congruence as source of *pedagogic authority* (PAu), only one of the students in Program 3 has a degree from one of the institutions participating in the program and therefore *pedagogic authority* (PAu) cannot originate in a congruence based on progression built into the educations like it was the case at Program 1. When the program requires that the students have practical experience in journalism, it may be an attempt to ensure a common ground and congruence. However, neither from the interviews nor the observations it seems to be a significant source of congruence or common ground. Instead, what appears from the data to establish a strong ground for *pedagogic authority* (PAu) is congruence between a cosmopolitan identity or ideal among the students as well as a particular *gaze* and the internal legitimation and the knowledge-

internal structures presented at the program. The program's internal legitimation or strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) is in itself, according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), a source of *pedagogic authority* (PAu). However, the internal legitimation, and the almost total absence of instrumental criteria, also resonates with the students' reflections on the purposes of participating in international education. While they have strategies such as "career change" and "investing in international capital", which may have an instrumental ring, they talk about their motivation in a far more integrative terms than what was seen at the other two programs as seen in the discussion of the students' educational strategies above. They also seem to share a cosmopolitan ideal (e.g. Marginson & Sawir, 2011) regardless whether they are "inheritors" or students with relatively little mobility capital. This approach to education may relate to the relatively privileged background of the students at Program 3 which means that they may have the economic freedom to think in this way about education.

The congruence found between the students' thoughts about education and the program's general legitimation extends to a general congruence between the *specialization codes* identified at the two courses from the program I have data from, a *cultivated gaze* and a particular form of critical knowledge, and those recognized by the students. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) also argue that *pedagogic authority* (PAu) entails or presupposes misrecognition of the *cultural arbitrary* or the violence of *pedagogic action* (PA). While the recognition of knowledge as positioned and emphasis upon the program's culturally embedded position suggest awareness of the arbitrariness of social knowledge, the interviews suggest that the misrecognition may relate more generally to legitimation structures.

Congruence between *gazes* as a source of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) is particularly visible in the interviews with students that have a background in political science. It is expressed e.g. by a student who says that the classes in Denmark are similar to what he has been used to in his BA, which was what he was hoping for when he applied. As he continues, it also becomes clear that he accepts the kind of thinking promoted by the program. Talking about what he has learned from the program, he says:

> One of the changes is what I think about political events or international events. Eh, I don't, I no longer consider them from the point of view of the country that is involved in them or the countries that are involved in them. But I try to look at the global state [31].

In another interview, the *pedagogic authority* (PAu) that the program generally enjoys and how it is associated to legitimation structures and in particular to the *cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+) is visible in the student's [310] comparison of the program in general to the program's course in media studies. In contrast to Program 3 in general which he describes as "well-balanced" he perceives the course in media studies as biased and "more [about] social movements, so it is more to the left". The course draws upon *born* (SubR+, IR+) and *social gazes* (SubR+, IR-) and relatively strong *semantic gravity* (SG+) as legitimating criteria and his evaluation of the course is negative: "this class we are having now in [course in media studies] whatever, which, I must be honest, I did not learn that much new from", [310] says. However, he is positive towards a particular task in the course which encouraged the groups to discuss a text by drawing upon their own knowledge and experiences. This exercise thus follows legitimation criteria promoted by other lecturers at the program and produces the relationally constructed critical knowledge he recognizes from the other courses as well as from his background in political science.

Similarly, when students in a few cases are critical towards the program in general, it seems to relate to a conflict between the *cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+) and gazes with a stronger *subjective relation* (SubR) or the degree to which the *discursive relation* (DR) is weakened. It is summed up in one of the interviews in the following words:

> ahem … I think overall the teachers are good. I tend to look at things from like a more transnational feminist perspective. So I would, so first I analyze. So first I look at how many teachers do we have. We have maybe two or three in one [course]. Two in another. Two in the last one. And all of the teachers are male. Except for one. And all of them are white and so then … I would argue there should be a more diverse group in terms of like race and gender. That could be my American perspective. Ahm so and I think that because of the like general homogeneous nature of the people who are giving the lectures, then there is a lack of like a wider variety of discussion on different topics. Like for example one issue with ehm that other students have come up with is the fact that most of our reading are from ahm the global North, like the US and Europe and that we don't have that many readings from the third world or you know the global south [32].

While her critique is grounded in differences in *gazes*, which relates to differences in disciplinary and to some extent ideological aspects of knowledge, she talks about the difference as a matter of a national or cultural difference. When she calls it an "American perspective and later on in the interview says about her previous education: "There's professors who go to Harvard and the main top notch schools in the US as well as a couple of international professors", and that her high school was "right across the street from Stanford University", she legitimizes her position or her *gaze* by drawing upon an external international institutional hierarchy manifested in ranking lists (see e.g. Calhoun, 2006; Marginson, 2008).

Issued from a position of *pedagogic authority* (PAu), the call for "critical thinking" has the potential to become an act of *symbolic violence* (cf. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 19). However, in its nature – and in the accompanying encouragement to challenge the program's position – is a recognition of other positions which suggests that the *symbolic violence* practiced at the program is methodological or ontological as a matter of *gazes* rather than a matter of not recognizing other positions and other experiences. This interpretation is supported when the interviews point to another accompanying – and conditional - source of authority originating in the relation between lecturers and students. As discussed, a Levinasian intercultural ethics (e.g. Ferri, 2014) rests upon *heteronomy* and distance. Here, subjectivity is constituted in the ethical relationship and the analysis proposes an alternative source of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) in *horizontal heteronomy* and relational, non-subsumptive knowledge production which parallels a Levinasian intercultural ethics.

Students who are privileged in relation to the Western perspective the program represents express that *pedagogic authority* (PAu) is conditional. They are interesting because their reservation concerns the *horizontal heteronomy* discussed as source of knowledge building. In the following example, reservations are not related to differences in the academic culture, and neither does the student express reservations strictly relating to differences in *specialization* or *semantic codes*. Instead, the core of the reservation points to what may be described as a lack of relational knowledge building among some of the lecturers in a particular course and the international students, as seen in the following quote:

> The point is that we get quite … like a point of view that is very American in its way, it is very American or Western focus, but even more focused on America, the USA and I think here it would have been very nice to implement some other views. We have got such a broad array

of nationalities in our group and I think if you only focus on the Western perspective you really miss out so there it would have been a fantastic opportunity to engage with some different perspectives [33].

The course she is talking about is the same political science course that the American student talks about. But the focus of this student is upon the lack of interaction of different perspectives instead of equal representation. This relationship is also emphasized by a North American student. While she recognizes the high academic level among the lecturers and the Western bias in the readings, the potential for engagement with the different points of view among the students plays an important role in her evaluation of the lecturers:

> If the articles we are reading are lacking, we have almost 70 different experts from all different countries. So I think the program is set up to do that and maybe that is why some of the readings [have a Western bias] because maybe the students are a supplement to them and it is based on bringing your own experiences and applying it to the readings and to the academic environment that you are in [34].

A third student's comment illustrates how while the *relational autonomy* (RA) to define a position is part of the foundation of *pedagogic authority* (PAu), it also rests on weakening the *discursive relation* (DR) to include other perspectives and grant them status:

> I also think that a program should have an agenda. It should know what it is about and what it is teaching us. But I think that's more how the teachers or professors choose to present us with what whatever information they are gonna present us with and what … it is more about their own perception of things. It is not the program. I think it is the lecturers themselves. It is the way they … what kind of literature is mandatory and what is supplementary for instance. That in the supplementary they will give another view which should be mandatory to read, I think [35]

Turning to students who because of their geographical origin do not belong to what is considered the program's privileged perspective, they focus on the importance of a non-subsumptive epistemic relation. To these students, it is also a *pedagogic authority* (PAu) conditioned by the lecturers' epistemic engagement with the students which is made possible by the knowledge structures at play. This is seen in the distinction one of the students make between the universalizing

tendency she sees in theories produced in the Global North compared to the approach taken by the majority of the lecturers at the program:

> Readings tend to generalize everything. Like if talking about maybe terror or conflict most generalize for the whole world. But when you get something written from China or from Africa, they give their inner perspective and not what they see like outward. Do you understand? […] Like we don't seem to generalize this to be true for everyone. Like most European perspectives generalize what they assume to be true for everyone [36].

This is contrasted in her description of the approach taken by the lecturers at the program:

> They manage to include [the global] because they give us room. They always give us room to relate to our own experiences and where we are coming from and we are allowed to push them in our discussions and presentations. So in that way I think they manage to include globalization [36].

Again, there is a close link between the engagement with the students in a process that moves beyond universalizing tendencies - a process that the student equates with globalization - and the authority of lecturers. Similarly, another student says:

> They may have their own views about the world order but they are not trying to compel us or to convince us. And what they want us to do is to share our views and if you want to have a deep discussion with him or her, you can go to him to discuss or even to debate and they are very welcome about our discussion [37].

Interestingly, for the student, the outcome of the encounter with the program is transformative, but it is not the epistemic reduction or rejection seen at the other programs, but a positioned engagement:

> Before I came here, all the information I can get [about] China is from our local media because you know China has a very strict censorship. Especially on the internet. We cannot get access to the YouTube. We cannot get access to the Facebook and there are some other very famous foreign websites. […] Articles are censored by Chinese government. Yeah, so you can't criticize Chinese government so much […] and you cannot see so many negative incidents and so many negative comments about Chinese emergency or Chinese incidents or their relationship with other countries. Ahm, so at first I think China is very peaceful

country and it is true. China is very peaceful country. At least from that space. And I thought China is a victim. It is a victim of US and US often bully China. This is the common sense of Chinese people. But now I came here and I learned so much about world order and I know it is the competition between China and US. We cannot just say that US is bullying China. China is of course threatening US from different aspects. Especially the military and economy and US feel that their status is in danger with the rising of China. And yes, it is true. China is rising but I also get that China has so many disadvantages and so many obstacles so that China cannot be the counterpart of US. […] I am not very approving of Western democracy. […] We discuss a lot about the democracy. About Western democracy and the Asian autocracy [37].

When *pedagogic authority* (PAu) to these students is conditional, it thus becomes about the lecturers' ability to engage in transformative encounters with the students' perspectives. It points towards a *pedagogic authority* (PAu) constituted in *horizontal heteronomy*, i.e. a dependency upon the other in knowledge building rather than in autonomy alone as argued by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990). In this tension between autonomy and heteronomy is a relation similar to the relation described by MacDonald and O'Regan (2012) where co-existence is not about erasure of difference, and the ethical resides in resistance towards totalizing systems. *Pedagogic authority* (PAu), in other words, rests on a process of *cultivating the gaze* where legitimate understandings are the result of engagement with other discourses, a weak *discursive relation* (DR-), and other *social gazes* (SubR+, IR-).

However, a distinction between methodological or pedagogic aspects and epistemic aspects of the pedagogic relation also emerges in the data and shows a difference in the grounds of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) regarding these two aspects. In terms of methodologies, i.e., teaching/learning practices and academic writing, the non-Western students talk about their participation in the program as a socialization process into an education system where they move on from their previous education to adapt to a system they find better. They thus accept that the lecturers on these parameters draw upon a strategy similar to that identified by e.g. Haigh (2002) where non-Western students are brought up to what is perceived as a universal or international standard.

One of the students describes the difference in the following way:

it was academic enough because we did our own… like for the research method we did own research. Like what we do next semester in the mundus program. I ahm, we wrote academic papers but maybe on a scale of 1 to 10 I would say it is a seven because our exams were sit-in exams then you have questions, and you try to argue them out. A question 15 marks. A question 15 marks. No big essays like we do right now [36].

In contrast to what she learned at home, she considers the academic style she is learning in Aarhus to be an international or universal standard:

I tend to think, it is an international standard of writing. What I write here would also be read in [Africa] the same way it is read here, so it is the standard I was looking for [36].

Another student considers the Danish education system to be better than what she knows from home:

If I could, I would change the education system. […] I like the way Denmark does it […] so I want it to be like that in [Asia] and I want students to be more active. I also teach a bachelor in [Asia]. It is only about interpersonal relationships. It is about social life. I cannot even make the students talk. It is just about social life. You don't have to really think about it. You don't need to read or memorize book just to make conversation but still everytime I just brought a topic they just stood still and just don't say a word. I really don't know how to make them talk and I discuss with the other friends who are also lecturers and they say yeah, it is the same in my class, you get used to it [38].

The program is therefore successful in performing a *pedagogic action* (PA) or *symbolic violence* as it has "the power to constitute and to impose as *universal* and *universally applicable* within a given 'nation,' that is, within the boundaries of a given territory, a common set of coercive norms" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992c, p. 112). It seems to receive its legitimacy from its (perceived) congruence with an international academic field. It may have a likeness to the rejection of the other and hence resembles the criticized intercultural pedagogies discussed in Chapter 2. However, while it is a rejection of parts of the knowledge and skills the students have previously acquired, the program places emphasis upon *training* the students in academic writing and this process seems to be appreciated by these students:

> I think it is different from what we have learned [at home]. Because the way they ask us to write and use arguments is not really what we were taught at home. Like how to successfully do the academic paper and apply the different theories […] In one of my papers, the comment was that you use the authors and the literature but you should connect them to each other so you should really analyze and critique the papers and link them […] and that's probably what I missed back home when I did my studies. Here, I'm learning how to do it and given this feed-back and trying to learn[36].

Their acceptance of this aspect of the course stands in contrast to the emphasis placed on the lecturers' recognition of their experiences and positions. As seen in the quote above, this appreciation seems tied to the methodological *training* and *cultivation* of the gaze that they undergo. Both of these *gazes* can be acquired, and the students can become legitimate knowers, according to Maton (2014). These gazes are not products of particular social identities and, therefore, they are not, in theory exclusive. This is also recognized by one of the students in the interviews. While she talks about differences between the education system at home and in Denmark, she is also aware that it might not only be a cultural difference but also one of disciplinary differences – or different *gazes*:

> We have a direction and we would just have to follow the direction to do some simple programmings and try to make it work and that's it. And we don't have so much discussion as in Aarhus […] no we don't have that in [Asia]. Maybe it is because of the difference between art and engineering [37].

The student is thus aware of the difference in legitimation codes across disciplines (Maton, 2014). At the same time, she thus also recognizes that it is not a fixed cultural identity, as in essentialist thinking (e.g. Hofstede, 1980), that excludes her, but acquired ways of thinking.

In relation to *pedagogic authority* (PAu), *positional-* (PA+) *and relational autonomy* (RA+), the relative homogeneity in the student group in relation to educational background and the values they ascribe to international education creates different conditions than what was the case at Program 1 and 2, which in many ways leaves the lecturers in a better position where it might be easier to establish *pedagogic authority* (PAu). Moreover, the fixed standards of the methodologies applied at the program serve to prevent methodological relativism and hence structure the ideological struggles that may otherwise undermine all claims to truth and authority (cf. Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), as seen at Program 2. However, the data also points to *horizontal heteronomy*

in knowledge building and the pedagogic action (PA) of cultivating the *gaze* of the students as sources of *pedagogic authority* (PAu). This is in line with the Levinasian idea of the constitution of the subject in the ethical encounter (Levinas, 1996, p. 6. See also Chapter 2). This is also the case for the pedagogic action of cultivating the gaze of the students, because while it may have parallels to a relation where authority is a product of methodological violence, it serves to negotiate general theory and the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) and develop a non-essentialist identity construct. It is a relation existing in the tension between the *said* and the *saying* and becomes source of *pedagogic authority* (PAu). Again, this stands in contrast to Program 2, where inclusion and knowledge building relied on reduction and a neo-essentialist conceptualization of identity.

The internal legitimation in combination with the epistemic relational approach and methodological training suggest that it is not exclusive as it would have been in the essentialist approaches or in an external market legitimation. The next part of the analysis of Program 3 explores to what extent these conditions provide grounds for inclusion among the students in practice.

8.5 Encountering the Other

> Actually, I would say it is a very hard job to cooperate with foreign students. Like, because one of my groupmates is from UK and I think our thinking pattern is totally different and also you know English is her native language so I can hardly match her from every perspective so I will feel frustrated because she always talk a lot and actually she plays the central role in the group discussion. But I would say she is very good. She is knowledgeable and she has very good thinking so I would totally agree with her sometime. All the time actually. But I also think in such kind of group my role is too small. […] Actually it is she who dominates the whole presentation and I'm just like small potato [39].

At a first glance, the quote seems to contradict the impression of an experience of constructive, dynamic engagement and "remaining other". Instead, it confirms the experiences of many international students described extensively in the literature – e.g. in Marginson and Sawir's (2011) overview – but while the quote implies a geographically or linguistically organized hierarchy, a closer look at the observations and the interviews shows very different types of encounters among the students than what was the case at the other two programs.

Focusing on national or regional origins of the students, the program, as shown in Wilken's (Wilken, nd-a) work, is characterized by great diversity and with the findings from Bourdieu and

Passeron (1990) in mind, this focus might support a conflictual analysis as their work points to heterogeneity as a source of conflict. However, as (Wilken, nd-a) shows, the same degree of heterogeneity is not characteristic when other parameters are studied. Moreover, the analyses in the section above point to several sources of *pedagogic authority* (PAu), and in Bourdieu's French case (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), the establishment of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) prevented struggles between ideological positions because it establishes what counts as objective truth and produces inculcation or exclusion for those who are not already socialized into the dominant cultural arbitrary or epistemology. However, in my data *horizontal heteronomy* has also been established as an important source of *pedagogic authority* (PAu), which produces a space for alternative *cultural arbitraries* or discourses and *social gazes* (SubR+, IR-). The question of how these *arbitraries* or *gazes* interact in the presence of this kind of conditioned *pedagogic authority* (PAu) remains to be explored. As in the analysis of the other two programs, the present section discusses the encounters between the students as seen in the observed practices and as articulated in the interviews in relation to the structural conditions identified in the sections above.

The interviews with the students at Program 3 differ from the interviews at the other two programs first of all because they to a much larger extent express similar standpoints and experiences of recognition across the different groups and strategies identified by Wilken (nd-a). Asked to elaborate upon the difference in the thinking patterns she has observed, the student quoted above continues with a description which reveals that despite the dominance of the British student, the interviewed student evaluates their differences as qualitative and not hierarchical:

> I would say ahm she is in a very academic way. […] she concentrates a lot on the literature. The academic system or, I mean the theory. But I would, if its my, if I were in control then I would make the presentation in a very practical way. I would just analyze the newspieces but she will always stick to the theory so I think it is a very different way. She acts like very academic person but, I don't know […] in [South Asia] we never just stick to the theory and use the theory ahh. Like in my education I did learn theory but it is not that important, actually. We always analysis a piece of literature but the theory role is not that important. But I think maybe for her it is very important to grasp the theory at first and then analyze and use it for something else. I think maybe it's a different study habit [39].

The difference is in other words a difference regarding *semantics*, where her own approach displays strong *semantic gravity* (SG+) and the other student's approach weak *semantic gravity* (SG-).

Explaining these differences also becomes an insistence upon the relevance of her own knowledge base. As the student continues to describe the interactions in the group, the contours of a challenging yet productive relationship emerges:

> I learn a lot from the way she does the presentation. Yeah, I think it is a good way to learn from her […] I think our kind of presentation is good. I wouldn't say if you do this way it is not as good as that way. But I was happy to learn a new way to do a presentation. I think it was a good way to learn [39].

There is thus also an insistence upon "remaining other" which reveals an immense difference between the Asian student's experience and the one uttered by the African "graduating-from-Europe"-student at Program 2 who said "Try to integrate yourself into the system not to look at the old system you have been in". This experience or approach of "remaining other" is shared by the interviewed students at the program no matter what strategy they represent. Another student, e.g., says

> I do not try to convince people. We are just there to share our views and to … from this kind of discussion, we can have a more comprehensive or more subjective view of the world [37].

And an African student explains:

> Like I have a way, a broader thinking and an approach to issues than I would have done still working in [Africa]. Like the issues that I was writing about in [East Africa] here I can see them at a broader perspective and not just what 's happening to these people but how it affects everyone across the globe. […] I think first it is because the program is international then of the program. Because the program gets much from the diversity. Cause right now class is like 44 nationalities and I learn much more from them than from the program. It is put together what I learn from them. […] Like the way I see maybe the American election is not the same way someone from Ecuador would see it or someone from Thailand or China would see it. […] Like just recently we discussed about my country's election. Yeah, it should be like eh they learned a lot from that and not from what they just saw from the international news report so we learn a lot when we discuss [36].

The experience of these non-Western students in terms of knowledge and inclusion is very similar to the experiences of the Western students:

> Because journalism is done so differently and the political spectrum maybe in Canada left and right is different than the political spectrum of left and right in Eastern Europe and so, I think, and censorship in China is amazing to learn about and trying to do journalism in cultures where democracy isn't there and so. I think that's the most interesting part and I think that's gonna be the most relevant information I can take away from this program when I go to work [34].

For all the students, encountering the perspectives and experiences of other students is articulated in the interviews as the most important source of learning at the program. As learning experiences, it stands out that it has an impact because of the personal relation which renders it more than "learning about". This shared experience may be a product of the successful establishment of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and its foundation in internal legitimation and *horizontal heteronomy*, which results in knowledge-internal structures that create the potential for actual engagement because they are open-ended and rest on co-dependence.

At Program 2, there was a discrepancy between the discourses of inclusion among both lecturers and cosmopolitan students and the excluding practices found in the observations. This is not the case at Program 3, where the knowledge encounters I observed generally were dynamic exchanges where the knowledge of the other was acknowledged and included. In fact, there is only one episode from the observations which shows exclusion.

The episode is from one of the first seminars at the program. Under time pressure, the class is asked to write an article about the bombings in London in 2005. They have been introduced to framing – i.e. placing events within a field of meaning (e.g. Entman, 1993; Gamson & Modigliani, 1987) - and they have been asked to write in two different frames: Either "The Terrorist Threat" or "Maintenance of Public order and Public Security" (field notes). Half the students leave with one of the lecturers and the remaining students watch a video from NBC about the bombings, and an article is handed out. It is thus a product-oriented task, and while articles may be both critical and explorative, it orients the students towards market standards. In that sense, it also has similarities to the interactions observed at program 2. Moreover, it is not a task that invites *social gazes* (SubR+, IR-) and personal experiences, but rather journalistic skills. However, the students are also asked to

employ a critical perspective – *a cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+) - upon their practice because they are made conscious of framing. I observed two groups while they wrote. The interactions in the groups developed in very different ways:

> [LS-NA] sits in the middle and she has assumed leadership of the group. She both talks and writes very fast. She says to [SS-EU] that she is becoming too analytical in her approach. [LS-NA] structures the article and writes the paragraphs. [SS-EU] and [Jo-AS] google information and [LS-NA] rejects quite a lot of the alterations they suggest or says that they can discuss it later. They discuss the subtitle and [SS-EU] thinks that it should state some facts. "I was in financial reporting and in the articles it was very much about numbers", she says but her input is ignored.
>
> [Jo-AS] says "Are we going to talk about their average age?" and [LS-NA] answers "I just list their names and ages. We can talk about the average later". "Because I think it is a good point that they are quite young", [Jo-AS] says, but [LS-NA] concludes "We'll write about it later" (field notes).

When [LS-NA] is in charge of the group in spite of the fact that she is the one with the least journalistic experience, it seems to have the character of an encounter shaped by an external hierarchy dominated by the North American native English speaker which also reflects the institutional hierarchy identified e.g. by Marginson (2008, 2007). However, part of the explanation may also be found in the task itself. While the task requires journalistic skills, it also orients the students towards international, English-speaking media which gives the native speaker an advantage. But [LS-NA] also uses *semantic structures* as part of her management of their work. She is in control of framing the article while she assigns the others the relatively simple task of googling factual knowledge and examples. As the frame is the organizing idea, it is similar to the difference between providing the explanatory theory, i.e. powerful knowledge as Clegg (2016) calls it and knowledge of high *semantic gravity* (SG+). Through language and semantic structures, [SS-EU] and [Jo-AS] are thus subject to exclusion since they are assigned the least powerful task, they are not in control of whether the information they find is included in the article, and especially since their contribution is not used in the development of the frame. However, in comparison to the encounters at the other two programs where students were subjected to *symbolic violence* or exclusion, [SS-EU] and [Jo-AS] keep insisting upon the relevance of their contribution. This may have a likeness to the struggle that may arise in absence of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) (c.f. Bourdieu &

Passeron, 1990), but it also seems to contain a resistance to categorical reduction in a Levinasian (1996) sense.

The other group observed while they write the article have a much more including approach despite being given the same task. The group consists of [SS-EU], [Hi-EU], and [Li-EU].

> The groups is more quiet while they work. They take turns writing. Sometimes the computer is passed on to the one who comes up with an idea for something they can write. [SS-EU] suggests that they describe the chaos that followed the bombings but [Hi-EU] says "Maybe we should finish this paragraph with hard facts before we describe the chaos". They finish the paragraph and [Hi-EU] says "Now we can continue with the situation of chaos as you said". [Li-EU] writes the paragraphs. She mainly looks to [Hi-EU] for acceptance of what she writes. [SS-EU] has to go to the bathroom but before he leaves, [Li-EU] tells how she intends to structure the paragraph and asks if he is okay with that approach. She explains how she thinks that type of article is usually written and that is the way she is going to do it. [Hi-EU] asks "Can I write a bit? – I mean type, just type", and he takes over the computer and [Li-EU] dictates some sentences. [SS-EU] returns and says "I think we should move from a description to the frame, or the analysis". "Yeah, you are right", [Li-EU] says. […] [Hi-EU] looks at [SS-EU] and says "Now I think we should turn to the larger frame", and [SS-EU] suggests how they can open the paragraph. [Hi-EU] says "Do you think so?" and suggests a structure for the paragraph. They disagree and discuss it back and forth for a while before they come up with a new solution.
> Deadline is approaching and their article is a bit short. [SS-EU] has an idea that can make it longer. The others listen carefully while he describes his idea and they decide to use it. "Be careful that it doesn't become too scenic", [SS-EU] says while they write. "It doesn't really go in a news piece". [Hi-EU] thinks the scenic makes a good contrast and they agree to make some of it more scenic (field notes).

In this case, the group members appear to be more equal. Compared to the first group, there is the obvious difference that none of the group-members are native speakers, which may influence the group dynamics. [Li-EU] does look more to [Hi-EU] than [SS-EU] for approval while she writes, which may suggest greater respect for his educational background, but they are all contributing to the product and they do not seem to be influenced by external hierarchies.

They all contribute very literally because they take turns to write but more importantly, they negotiate the frame. While the product-oriented task means that their differences have to be resolved, they are resolved through negotiation among all the group members. Moreover, they keep the negotiation-process open for much longer, and they remember to return to the ideas of the other group members.

The next episode is from a group discussion following a lecture about the dimensions of the world order. The students are introduced to different theoretical approaches: English School Constructivism, Realism, and Liberalism in the first part of the class and in the second part, liberal internationalism version 1.0,2.0,3.0 is elaborated as well as liberalism of imposition and liberalism of restraint, with overviews of the positions written on the blackboard.

While [l-PS2] does exemplify the theoretical concepts with examples of institutions and political events and thus forms *gravity waves*, the lecture is to a large extent characterized by a relatively weak *semantic gravity* (SG-). Weak *semantic gravity* (SG-) – theorization and theoretical concepts - functions as a *Said,* a fixation or totalization of meaning in a particular discourse similar to Ferri's (2014) definition of essentialist intercultural discourse where "the intention of the speaking subject is exhausted in the speech act", but the assignment that the lecturer gives the students afterwards rests on the contributions of the students and produces a destabilizing *Saying* by deferring closure of meaning in the group discussions and in the following plenary discussion. A hand-out with question for group discussion is passed around. The students are asked to discuss questions such as

1. Consider "Liberal Internationalism 3.0" as described by John Ikenberry: Is there a (comfortable) room for the non-Western world in this model of world order including its rules and institutions?
2. How is the non-Western world – including BRICS and the Third World – affecting or shaping "Liberal Internationalism
3. Are there elements of "Liberal Internationalism 3.0" that might put the US under pressure? (field notes)

These questions invite a *cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+). However, in the discussions, the students also draw upon and recognize the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) as legitimate, as in the example below where the discussion is between [PS-LA] a Brazilian student, [Li-EU] and two students we do not have information about, and later between the group and the rest of the class:

[Li-EU] says that the Western world will have to keep the non-Western world happy. She wonders why Brazil is so invisible in the readings compared to India and China.

[PS-LA] argues that it is because Brazil has soft power. Brazil's power and inclusion in the BRICS is a matter of image, he believes. They don't have a big military and they don't have a strong economy. But they have a strong diplomacy and strong politicians and they may have a potential for a strong economy. The other members of the group listen and discuss his point of view and in the end, they agree that that Brazil's membership is about its potential.

[…]

The group I observed is the last to present their answer. Their main point is that there has to be an adaptation to make room for the BRICS. [I-PS2] agrees. "I think you are right, they will have to make room for the BRICS", he says.

"We were talking about Brazil and why it is included in the BRICS. It is difficult to find information about it. We concluded that Brazil's inclusion is really about its image and diplomacy in spite of its problems", [PS-LA] says. A student from one of the other groups says: "I see your point – you are from Brazil – I think we will have to focus on some of the internal problems in the BRICS countries", she says (field notes).

While it may be discussed whether the knowledge [PS-LA] presents is rooted in the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) or it is factual knowledge belonging to a *knowledge code* (Er+, SR-), it is recognized as legitimate knowledge by the other students because he is Brazilian – i.e., it is legitimated as a *knower code* (Er-, SR+) or a *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) in this context as the other student recognizes that he has a unique insight she does not have access to. His contribution is used to further develop the argument in a new direction both in the group and in the class discussion. Contrary to the arguments put forward by Doherty (2008) and Luckett (2010) discussed in Chapter 4 , this example indicates that the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) is not exclusive because it becomes a necessary part of the collective knowledge-building in class even though not all the students have access to the particular experiences and insights a the Brazilian student.

In other cases, engagement with the other is destabilizing when it shifts theoretical claims or personal assumptions, as in the next example. I observe a group consisting of [PS-ME], [?-AS1], [LS-AS], both from China, and [?-AS2] who is from Myanmar.

The question *Are liberal values universal or are liberal values Western?* is the central question of the class. […] The group discusses Fukuyama. They give each other time to make their points clear. One of the students struggles with the language, but the others are patient and give the student time to talk without interruptions. They seem to consider [PS-ME] the

group's expert on Fukuyama and the others look to him for approval when they make a point but they also sometimes questions what he says and disagree.

[?-AS1] likes Fukuyama's position but [?-AS2] argues against it. "So you are closer to a relativist position", [PS-ME] concludes. "I guess it is easy to be liberal within a small group", he continues jokingly. "I think he is trying to defend his own position. This is what he is hoping for", [LS-AS] says. [?-AS1] answers "I have this vision for China's future. That we can have basic human rights, but still Chinese values". "But still just one party?" [LS-AS] asks. "No, let people vote but have Chinese culture", [?-AS1] says. "But look at Burma", [LS-AS] continues, "the military is still very strong. [PS-ME] looks at [?-AS2] and says that Burma is a democracy. "No, we say that it is a democracy for the elites", she replies. "Okay, is that how you see it" [PS-ME] says (field notes).

As the group's Fukuyama expert, [PS-ME] comes to represent the liberal position that is privileged at the program. However, the *horizontal heteronomy* that permeates the program and is implicitly present in the question that the group is asked to discuss challenges the position. It exposes it as potential *cultural arbitrary* as the other students in the group draw upon *social gazes* (SubR+, IR-) and speak as individual "others". [PS-ME]'s voice, in other words, represents the *"Said"*, a moment's fixation or categorization into a theoretical framework, as he looks at the student from Myanmar as a representative of a democratic country with a history that confirms the theory. However, she rejects the categorization into his historical and cultural horizon as her presence and experience resists and opens as a *saying* on the verge of a new formulation into a *said*. Her experience does not become an exemplification of the theory but remains unique while challenging the theoretical framework. The encounter thus forms a *gravity wave* where experience, or the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-), informs the theory. Significantly, this causes destabilization but not fragmentation and struggle as it was the case at Program 2, where *gravity waves* typically involved a reduction.

This knowledge encounter has parallels to what Bourdieu and Passeron (1990 p. 12) call teaching cultural relativism as opposed to giving relativistic education. However, it influences interactions among the students also beyond what can be explained through *pedagogic authority* (PAu). Describing it through the ethical relation and knowledge structures, a relationship of heteronomy where the shifts in the knowledge structures form a non-reductive *gravity wave* where contextual knowledge destabilizes and opens up the theoretical theorization and categorization is revealed.

These dynamic and constructive "remaining other" encounters between the students have several potential sources. Firstly, the internal legitimation to a larger extent avoids the market-

driven evaluation which enforced geographically and institutionally defined hierarchies among the students at Program 1 and Program 2. Secondly, the internal legitimation creates the foundation for vertically autonomous knowledge structures and for the call for *horizontal heteronomy* in knowledge production, which together with non-essentialist and non-reductive exchange between theory and experience, or *social gazes* (SubR+, IR-), form the basis of epistemic inclusion. However, while the program's knowledge structures create space for inclusion, it may also be significant that the students at Program 3 are in relatively privileged positions which may entail that they experience less pressure to conform to knowledge legitimated in the market, which the data from the other programs suggests produces exclusion and sustains hierarchies.

8.6 Conclusion

The chapter has explored the structural conditions behind the relations between the students at Program 3 which are characterized by recognition and dynamic exchanges.

An analysis of the composition of the student cohort demonstrates that it is characterized by a high degree of homogeneity on most parameters except the nationality of the students as well as a relatively high degree of congruence between the students' knowledge *habitus* and the knowledge system presented at the program. Together with the program's strong *positional* – and *relational autonomy* (PA+, RA+) these are factors that, with Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) work in mind, support *pedagogic authority* (PAu) which again provides the grounds for less conflictual relations among the students because a strong *pedagogic authority* (PAu) defines what constitutes legitimate knowledge.

This is confirmed in the data from Program 3 which also suggests that in international education the issue of nationality or "culture" may conceal other structural similarities or differences that may structure interactions and influence them more than nationality or "culture". At Program 3, the difference that seems to matter is associated with differences in *gazes* as a few students emphasize the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) and the issue of equal representation associated with it as more legitimate than the *cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+) promoted by the program.

However, another source of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) is also identified in the data from Program 3 as it is conditioned by the students' experience of recognition. This experience is enabled by the *cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+) which dominates at the program and is formulated as a critical

practice where knowledge is legitimated through engagement with other discourses and experiences – a process which in this chapter has been called *horizontal heteronomy*. It is therefore a *pedagogic authority* (PAu) which on the one hand rests on the freedom to constitute provided by the programs autonomous position in relation to the market, and on the other hand on a heteronomous relation to the *Other* – a relation not unlike Levinas' understanding of the relation to the *Other* where the power to constitute and comprehend is the opposite of power (Levinas, 1996) and reveals the arbitrary nature of the dominant culture and their contribution becomes essential for the legitimacy of knowledge. As modality it differs from both Maton's (2014) *cumulative modality* as well as from his *segmental modality* as its potential is not in an extension from lower order to higher order concepts or through a cultivation of more and more knowers into a *dominant cultural arbitrary*, but in a critical-relational engagement where the *gaze* deepens but remains *Other*.

Importantly, the experience of being recognized is shared by the students across nationalities and it may therefore be argued that the program succeeds as international education. However, as the analysis of the composition of the student cohort has shown, the students at Program 3 share a relatively privileged background which may mean that they experience greater autonomy in their choice of education and in the kind of knowledge they pursue than the students found at the other two programs. As discussed, this autonomy is central in producing including knowledge relations and it is therefore also paradoxical that it seems to be exclusive regarding social class.

Chapter 9: Conclusions and new battlefields

9.1 Introduction

The thesis has shifted perspective from the traditional approaches to inclusion that focus on language and culture to focus on the role of knowledge in the international classroom. It therefore set out to *examine inclusion and exclusion in the neoliberal university as processes of recognition, acknowledgement and negotiation of knowledge between epistemologies of usefulness and ethics using a double theoretical lens based on Bourdieu's educational sociology and Levinas' moral philosophy on the basis of an empirical investigation of three international programs at Aarhus University. This was done to explore the structural and epistemological conditions surrounding encounters in the international classroom in the neoliberal university to further the understanding of if, when and how inclusion as non-subsumptive encounters take place.*

Data was therefore produced with a double theoretical lens, with Bourdieu's idea of symbolic violence and symbolic power on the one hand (e.g. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992b), and Levinas' understanding of violence as the opposite of power on the other (e.g. Levinas, 1996) where the ethical is understood as an open-ended, heteronomous relation. This was done to be able to capture both instances where interknowledge encounters are battles where the international student is either excluded or accepts a process of socialization, as well as encounters that involve recognition of the *Other's* knowledge, its otherness and interdependency in knowledge production.

The result is an approach which recognizes the exclusion identified in previous research into the field of international higher education (e.g. Marginson & Sawir, 2011) but along with the shift in focus examines encounters with a structuralist-constructivist ontology that sits in the tension between ontology and ethics – between the structures of social fields and the structures of knowledge itself as structuring forces and the destabilizing ethical potential of encounters with the *other*.

The analyses of the data from the three programs suggest that inclusion involves many other aspects than language and culture. International classrooms should also be read as locations where different epistemologies, capital compositions, or knowledge habitus, and strategies meet, and the epistemological structures are central in shaping encounters. As sources of structural homogeneity and congruence they influence *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and stability. Moreover, the analyses point to the epistemological aspect autonomy understood as *relational autonomy* (RA) and perhaps

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also the autonomy that follows from a privileged position as central for practices of recognition, acknowledgement and non-subsumptive inclusion. The non-subsumptive heteronomous inclusion that follows from the ideals of a Levinasian intercultural ethics, in other words, seems to depend upon *strong relational autonomy* (RA+) of the epistemological structures that surround the encounters, which is a relation under pressure in the neoliberal university where both knowledge and the interpersonal relation are evaluated through labor market value. The exclusion identified in the data may sometimes be simple cases of misrecognition. However, in most cases it appears to be linked to external processes of legitimation based on market value – i.e. *weak relational autonomy* (RA-) – where either particular types of knowers and knower or particular types of knowledge are less valued.

9.2 Methodological insights and gains

Combining Levinas' moral philosophy and Bourdieu's sociology entails that encounters are understood and researched in the dual and contrasting meaning of "relational": With Levinas, encounters are understood through the intersubjective experience of responsibility and the relational constitution of the subject. In contrast, from a Bourdieusian perspective, it involves objective relations established between social positions and conditions (e.g. Bourdieu, 1968, p. 691) rather than substantive properties of individuals and locations. It translates into a methodology which draws upon a survey-, interview-, and observation data to construct social positions and legitimation structures as well as the subjective experience of the encounters to examine encounters as complex, multilevel practices involving many different agents. With multiple data types and perspectives, it became possible to describe both the structural conditions as well as the experiences of the agents from different social positions and understand encounters or practices as shaped by both perspectives.

By drawing upon comprehensive data from the three individual programs, the thesis has provided substantial insights into the local conditions at these particular subfields in the neoliberal university. The comparison has also shown that internationalization is not just one "thing". Internationalization processes are structured by different aims, different epistemologies and different pedagogies, and international students may differ significantly not just regarding culture but also regarding capitals and strategies. Moreover, comparing the data from the three programs

has resulted in deeper insights into the interplay between the structural conditions and encounters, and it has shown how knowledge and the type of engagement differ across positions in social space.

However, drawing upon and relating data from three different programs, has also resulted in more general insights into the structures of a larger space. In Bourdieu's (1988a) analysis in *Homo Academicus,* he shows how the academic field is structured around relations between a heteronomous pole oriented towards society and economic power and an autonomous pole oriented towards scientific logic and cultural prestige. As the principles for evaluating knowledge change across the field from one pole to the other, the characteristics, lifestyles and values of the professors change according to the different fractions of the dominant class. Similarly, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) identify general principles for relationships between homogeneity, congruence, autonomy and pedagogic authority (PAu), and pedagogic action (PA). By relating data from three programs, more general principles between position – or *relational autonomy* (RA) -, composition of the student cohort, pedagogic authority, and inclusion and exclusion can be identified in the data from the three programs. The remaining two program in the larger project can be seen as positioned between Program 1 and Program 2 and between Program 2 and 3 respectively and we also see similar relationships between position, composition, legitimation and evaluation in the data from these programs, which further supports a reading of these relationships as being of a more general nature.

9.3 The thesis and intercultural communication theory

The thesis promotes an understanding of the intercultural as existing in the tension between (symbolic) power and ethics, between the structural and the experiential, and between external and internal structures of legitimation. While it is developed in an educational context, it also illustrates how practices can be analyzed as structured and structuring at these intersections in the broader field of intercultural communication.

With an analytical framework originating in the work of Bourdieu, Levinas and Maton, the thesis adopts Bourdieu's structuralist-constructivist ontology and elaborates on the critical paradigm's critique of the focus on substantial properties and strictly causal relationships found in the functionalist or essentialist paradigm. However, the thesis especially feed into discussions of the neo-essentialist competence approaches and Levinasian intercultural ethics. In Chapter 3, the

competence approaches were discussed from a theoretical perspective. Their ideas of hybridity and third space were criticized for starting in an instrumental relation to the *other*, the surface transformation they produce, and for neither grounding the subject in reason and autonomy nor in the relational. With the analysis of the data from the three programs, the thesis also offers an empirical contribution to the discussion. In the data from the programs, competence approaches are found together with conflictual relationships between the students and fragmentation. They are applied in response to instrumental needs in the labor market, i.e. they have weak *relational autonomy* (RA-) and they solely draw upon experiential, context-dependent knowledge (SG+) and produce a reductive third space. As identified by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) lack of autonomy is a challenge to *pedagogic authority* (PAu) resulting in struggle which also is the case here. Where the theoretical discussion pointed out that the approaches lack a constituting source for the subject as it is neither grounded in autonomy nor in the relational, the weak *relational autonomy* (RA-) and the lack of relational knowledge production as challenge to authority is an empirical parallel.

Levinasian intercultural ethics is understood as disruption of ontological knowledge about the Other and maintenance of distance where the Other is never reduced to a concept or a theme. In the data, these encounters unfold as open-ended knowledge-building similar to the tension between the diachronic and the synchronic temporalities as they are discussed by Ferri (2014). Here, authority is derived from strong relational autonomy (RA+), which may be defined as *the Said* in combination with horizontal heteronomy, which parallels *the Saying*. In the data, these encounters are accompanied by an experience of being recognized. The data thus confirms it as an approach that fosters inclusion. However, it is important to note that in the data, it is encounters that play out among students in relatively privileged positions. They therefore have less at stake when they make autonomous choices and the degree to which it can also be played out among people in less privileged positions is difficult to assess based on data.

9.4 The thesis and internationalization literature

In the data presented in the thesis, sustained rejection of the Other and other knowledge and conflict among the students occur when the program is oriented toward an external legitimation that emphasizes a neoliberal epistemology of usefulness, which privileges students associated with market value, and which inscribes the interpersonal in instrumental relationships that require

management through an essentialist ontology. As such, it confirms previous research that link essentialist ontologies with exclusion (e.g. Marginson & Sawir, 2011) or is critical of neoliberal epistemology (e.g. Rizvi, 2014; Ward, 2012).

Many scholars have argued for a curriculum internationalization that emphasizes the relational (e.g. Kahn & Agnew, 2017; Zaliwska & Boler, 2018; Zembylas, 2015), involves standpoint epistemology (e.g. Marginson & Sawir, 2011; Singh & Shrestha, 2008), and is critical of the geopolitical bias often found in the international classroom (e.g. Haigh, 2002). Both observations and interviews from Program 3 confirm such approaches as fostering inclusion. Moreover, the data from Program 3 - and especially the way critical knowledge is practiced - confirms ideas proposed by Madge et al. (2014) about the mobile intellectual as someone, who can question and challenge the receiving institution's knowledge production, rather than as someone who contributes to an existing knowledge system with local knowledge.

With the Levinasian perspective, the potential of "the global as a zone of new imaginings" (Appadurai, 1996 in Marginson 2008) is explored in the international classroom. However, in the data, autonomy is a necessary condition of zones of new imaginings, and it is almost exclusively an elite privilege relating to *cultural capital*.

The thesis thus offers an empirical contribution to these ideas and develops them to also focus on the knowledge-internal structures of legitimation. The identified structural conditions of inclusion are further elaborated in the following section.

9.5 Conditions of inclusion

The thesis offers an empirical contribution to the literature on internationalization of higher education by providing insight into the Danish context. It is a particular site defined by its history and contemporary market-oriented policies as well as by its position in the global hierarchy and the thesis offers insights into a destination which does not have English as its first language, and which is at a secondary position in the global hierarchy compared to the US, UK and Australian contexts which have been the sites of the main part of the internationalization literature. While this context of course is unique, the thesis offers an empirical exploration of the conditions of inclusion in the international classroom proposed by a Levinasian intercultural ethics which may be applicable in other contexts. The following sections formulate an overview of the structural conditions.

9.5.1 Exploring the grounds of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) in the international university

Pedagogic authority (PAu), as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) show, is a key factor for the relationship among students and the thesis has explored how structural conditions – including knowledge structures - can support or undermine authority. Describing the knowledge *habitus* as legitimation structures, the data from the project shows that congruence between the students' knowledge *habitus* and curricula knowledge, as well as homogeneity in the student group, support authority. This is very much the case at Program 1 where the majority of the students have a BA from Aarhus University that guarantees admission to Program 1. At Program 3, regional and institutional backgrounds cannot establish congruence and homogeneity. However, an analysis that includes social background and mobility- and educational strategies like Wilken's (nd-a) shows homogeneity is social background and suggests a congruence in ideological perspectives. Heterogeneity originating in socialization into a variety of disciplinary- and institutional practices as well as *gazes* challenges authority as seen in the data from Program 2. The project's data thus to a large extent confirms the relationships identified by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) on the parameters of congruence and homogeneity.

However, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) also identify autonomy as a source of *pedagogic authority* (PAu). While the analysis of the data from the project confirms that autonomy is a key factor in establishing *pedagogic authority* (PAu), it also offers some valuable new insights. Firstly, by drawing upon Legitimation Code Theory, it nuances the structures of autonomy as *positional autonomy* (PA) and *relational autonomy* (RA) and suggests that it is primarily strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) that serves as source of *pedagogic authority* (PAu). Secondly, it introduces *horizontal heteronomy* as an alternative source of authority.

The data from Program 1 shows that the externally legitimated and hence heteronomous program generally enjoy authority among its students. The congruence between the program's knowledge structures, those of the field of power and the knowledge *habitus* of the students as well as the homogeneity of the student group do support *pedagogic authority* (PAu), because they assist the upholding of the cultural arbitrary. However, the students' evaluation of the two courses we have data from differ significantly and a central difference is that the one that enjoys *pedagogic authority* (PAu) is characterized by legitimation in strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) at course level

whereas the other is not. While the course with weak *relational autonomy* (RA-) also suffers under incongruence arising from differences in *gazes*, it together with the data from Program 2 also points to the relevance of *relational autonomy* (RA) for establishing *pedagogic authority* (PAu). When Program 2, which is also externally legitimated, generally is characterized by lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu), the complexity of the composition of legitimation structures as well as the great diversity in the student group are potential explanations, which are also supported by Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) work . However, the lecturers that do enjoy authority are in positions of weak *positional autonomy* (PA-) and strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) in relation to the university. While their weak *positional autonomy* (PA-) might be a source of authority in an externally legitimated program, the academic lecturers, who are also recognized for their contacts and consultancy experiences, do not enjoy *pedagogic authority* (PAu). These academic lecturers teach consultancy skills rather than discipline-specific knowledge, i.e., classes with weak *relational autonomy* (RA-) whereas the external lectures legitimate the knowledge they teach through strong *relational autonomy* (RA+). The data from Program 1 and Program 2, in other words, displays patterns where authority can be present when the *relational autonomy* is weak (RA-) at the program level if it is strong (RA+) at course level.

Program 3 is, opposed to the other two programs, defined as internally legitimated, i.e., it has strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) at both program level and course level. The lecturers at the program probably enjoy the most authority among the lecturers across the data presented in the thesis, which is in line with the role of strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) in establishing *pedagogic authority* (PAu) identified at the other programs. However, the data from Program 3 also shows how *pedagogic authority* (PAu) is conditioned by what I have called *horizontal heteronomy*. I have called it *horizontal heteronomy* to stress that it is not heteronomy understood as dependency upon the field of power. *Horizontal heteronomy* is defined by situations where knowledge building depends upon critical-relational engagement with the *Other* and other discourses, i.e. a weak *discursive relation* (DR-). It is embedded it the program's definition of critical knowledge and can be understood as a particular version of the *cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+). As such, it is issued from the *pedagogic authority* (PAu). However, its formulation places it in the tension between power and the opposite and potentially undermines the foundation of its own authority. In Maton's terms, it involves a weakening of the positional autonomy (PA) because it engages with external constituents.

It potentially also weakens the relational autonomy (RA) as it may challenge established ways of thinking, and there is thus an acceptance of vulnerability and a recognition of the *Other* embedded in *horizontal heteronomy*. It means that *pedagogic authority* (PAu) is also relationally constituted because it rests on the engagement with the *Other* and with other fields.

9.5.2 Autonomy, *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and student relations

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) establish that *pedagogic authority* (PAu) - or lack of it - influences student relations. In cases where it is absent, they argue that it results in ideological struggles (pp. 16-17) which the data from Program 2 confirms. Comparing the data from the programs, however, suggests that the foundation of *pedagogic authority* (PAu), i.e. how congruence, homogeneity, autonomy relations, and horizontal heteronomy combine to form its constitution influence whether the international student's knowledge is recognized and acknowledged and he or she has the status of a legitimate knower.

Program 1 and Program 3 both have courses with strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) at course level, but only Program 3 has it at program level, and it stands out that they are characterized by very different kinds of interknowledge relationships. As shown in the analysis of the programs, the course at Program 1 which has strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) is characterized by relations where the *Other* on the one hand must accept socialization into the dominant *cultural arbitrary*, but on the other remains excluded as legitimate knower despite the *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) and *trained gaze* (SubR-, IR-). In contrast, the courses from Program 3 display strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) both at program and course level, rest on a *cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+) which requires critical-relational knowledge building and therefore engagement with other discourses, i.e., a weak *discursive relation* (DR-), and with the experiences of the *Other,* i.e., *gravity waves*. While the *gazes* have different *interactional relations* (IR) and therefore also entail different ways of engaging, it is the external legitimation, the weak *relational autonomy* (RA-) at program level that also orients the gaze towards an external hierarchy and reproduce its discourse and embeds the interpersonal relationship in market defined goals and evaluations, whereas the relational autonomy (RA+) at program level creates room for other discourses, a weak *discursive relation* (DR-), and horizontal heteronomy.

9.5.3 Inclusion, *insights* and *gazes*

Bourdieu and Passeron argue that a truly relativistic education, in the sense of producing a student who is a native of all cultures, is an impossibility and involves the exposure of the *symbolic violence* which is the foundation of *pedagogic authority* PAu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 12), which points to one of the challenges of international education. Understanding all cultures to the extent of being a "native" is also to be denied of the autonomy to define the principles that define a field – whether it is a "culture", a discipline, a program or a course

With relations of autonomy as structuring knowledge structures in mind, the present section seeks to conclude on the discussions in the previous chapters of the excluding and including potential of *insights* and *gazes*.

In Chapter 4, it was outlined how Luckett (2010) argues that the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) is exclusive and allows space for the *cultural arbitrary* and ideology to play. With the data from Program 1 in mind, it does not seem to be the case that a *knowledge code* (ER+, SR-) and a *trained gaze* (SubR-, IR-) alone can challenge ideology and create an including space, because here it is accompanied by a *doctrinal insight* (OR-, DR+) and an ideology which is supported by the external legitimation and remains unchallenged. It suggests that an insight with a weak *discursive relation* (DR-), i.e., either a *situational insight* (OR+, DR-) or a *k(no)wer insight* (OR-, DR-) may have a stronger potential for inclusion through recognition and acknowledgement. In the data, the *situational insight* (OR+, DR-) only appear without *relational autonomy* (RA+) at program level and alone without strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) it does not seem to be enough to create space for recognition. The k(no)wer insight (OR-, DR-) is, according to Maton (2014), either a *relativist code* (ER-, SR-) or a *knower code* (ER-, SR+). In the data, what is perceived as a *relativist code* (ER-, SR-) is associated with lack of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) in the interviews. While relativistic education naturally involves *heterogeneity*, and according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), involves the exposure of the *symbolic violence* that is the foundation of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and as such it leads to struggle rather than recognition. However, it also appears to be related to the lack of autonomy to constitute what counts as legitimate knowledge which must follow as a natural consequence when *everything* is legitimate. The *knower insight* (OR-, DR-) as *knower code* (ER-, SR+) is found both at Program 2 and Program 3. However, it is only at Program 3 that it is found together with recognition and inclusion. When it is not perceived to be a *relativist code* (ER-, SR-), it is rejected

as irrelevant in the market by the students at Program 2, even though many of them have a knowledge *habitus* in *congruence* with the *insight* or *code*. This is thus again tied to weak *relational autonomy* (RA-). When the *knowledge code* (ER-, SR+) found at Program 3 has a potential for recognition and inclusion, it seems to be tied not only to both the strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) that accompanies it and to the weak *discursive relation* (DR-) that defines it, but also to its *gaze*. It is defined as a *cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+) which differs from the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR-) and the *born gaze* (SubR+, IR+) in its weak *subjective relation* (SubR-), which it shares with the *trained gaze* (SubR-, IR-). It means that all knowers, in theory, can become cultivated into legitimate knowers, but its potential for inclusion rests on its dependency on gazes with strong subjective relations (SubR+) for its legitimacy as it develops through a non-subsumptive reflexive engagement with the Other. The *born gaze* (SubR+, IR+) and the *social gaze* (SubR+, IR+) are in essence excluding because they are restricted to particular social groups. However, the data from Program 2 and Program 3 illustrates that whether they result in fragmentation or critical-relational knowledge building is a matter of *relational autonomy* (RA).

The *cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+) requires more socialization than the *trained gaze* (SubR-, IR-). In that sense it can be seen as more excluding and Wilken's (nd-a) analysis which shows that the majority of the students from Program 3 have relatively privileged backgrounds compared to the students at the other programs supports an understanding of the *cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+) as a *gaze* associated with privilege. While I disagree with Luckett's (2010) stance that a knowledge code (ER+, SR-) protects against the free play of the *cultural arbitrary* or ideology, I agree when she stresses the importance of the social conditions required to produce powerful knowledge.

9.6 Policies and battlefields

The thesis set out to explore inclusion in the international classroom as practices recognizing, acknowledging, and negotiating knowledge. The data presented in the thesis point to *relational autonomy* (RA) as key to understanding how these practices unfold, and it confirms the relationships between autonomy, authority and interpersonal relationships identified by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990). Autonomy has long been a cornerstone in the debates surrounding Danish university policy and the thesis thus also contributes to debates more general than questions of internationalization.

However, from the data, it seems that it is a weakening of *relational autonomy* (RA-) that poses a threat to authority, while the weakening of *positional autonomy* (PA-), introduced either through external lecturers or students' examples does not have the same effect. Moreover, horizontal heteronomy which tests the arbitrary promoted through strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) leaves authority intact. It suggests that the distinction between positional- and relational autonomy is a valuable distinctions as supplement to existing ideas. These involve the distinctions between "institutional autonomy" and "operative autonomy" (Kristensen, 2007b) and the argument that the university should not rest on universal values across its levels and units (e.g. Marginson, 2007b). These relationships: authority and positional autonomy, and horizontal heteronomy and authority across the various levels, should therefore be further researched. They can potentially provide more knowledge about how the university can integrate *other* knowledges and engage with agents outside and across the university without risking authority loss and hence without risking fragmentation.

To return to questions regarding the internationalization of the university: to Bourdieu a modern theory of national character should start with a theory of the educational system because the educational system is formative of our structures of understanding (Bourdieu, 1992, pp. 39-40), and therefore, while the main arguments in debates against internationalization are economic and aims to counteract the flows produced by neoliberal reforms, a de-internationalization of the university is never merely an economic question. Following Bourdieu's argumentation, with *pedagogic authority* (PAu) understood as an uncontested *cultural arbitrary* follows the risk of intellectual ethnocentrism, which allows "categories of historically constituted thought […] to think in our place" (1992, p. 40). The data presented in the thesis suggests that it is necessary to encounter the *Other* under conditions of autonomy and engagement to produce reflexivity. A de-internationalized university means that we only have access to ontological knowledge about the *Other*. Although the argumentation is reversed, de-internationalization, like neoliberal education, thus also produces the conditions for fragmentation and competition through essentialization of gazes.

This brings us back to the importance of the *cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+). Maton argues that compared to the *born-* and *social gazes* (SubR+, IR+), (SubR+, IR-), it provides opportunities for cumulative knowledge-building, because its principal mode of progress is sociality. The cultivated

gaze is therefore also protection against both essentialism, subjectivist relativism and symbolic violence (Maton, 2014, pp. 104-105). Cultivation of the *gaze* through horizontal heteronomy is thus both a question of knowledge-building, a defense against fragmentation and an ethical question of recognition and dignity. However, the thesis shows that the cultivation of the *gaze* is a matter of both sociality (which requires exposure) and autonomy, which are both associated with privilege. A new question is then to what degree insistence upon strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) and horizontal heteronomy in a heteronomous university can produce room for recognition and inclusion.

English Summary

Excluding knowledge – Internationalization between usefulness and ethics

Research into the internationalization of higher education has shown that international students struggle to become recognized and included in the host environments (see e.g. Marginson & Sawir, 2011for an overview). With roots in intercultural communication theory, in the greater part of the research, focus has been on linguistic and cultural differences as barriers to inclusion. The thesis shifts focus and explores inclusion and exclusion as practices of recognition, acknowledgement, and negotiation of knowledge.

The thesis is part of a larger project, which explores internationalization with Aarhus University, Denmark, as case. The project has Bourdieu's educational sociology as its common theoretical framework. However, while Bourdieu's theory and concepts are recognized as suitable for analyzing power and reproduction, it is less suitable to capture instances of inclusion and recognition of the *Other*. The data was therefore produced with a double theoretical lens. Bourdieu's concepts *symbolic power* and *symbolic violence* i.e. the power to constitute and impose a common set of norms within a specific field (e.g. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) constituted one perspective. With inspiration from Levinasian intercultural ethics (Ferri, 2014; MacDonald & O'Regan, 2012), Levinas' idea of violence as the opposite power (Levinas, 1996) constituted the other. These two perspectives epitomize on the one hand what research into international higher education has shown to be problematic, and an ethical ideal of inclusion on the other.

The thesis focuses on three international master programs that were selected to represent three different approaches to internationalization. It draws upon observations of classroom practices in lectures, seminars, study cafés and group work to see how the students respond to and engage with different knowledge from both peers and lecturers, and semi-structured interviews with students about their educational background and their classroom experiences at Aarhus University. Moreover, I also draw upon data and analyses produced by other members of the project group to describe the structural conditions of the encounters. To describe the programs, their approach to internationalization and their knowledge, I include findings from interviews with lecturers at the programs conducted by Hanne Tange, and to describe the composition of the

student cohorts I draw upon a survey carried out by Lisanne Wilken. It describes the national, social, educational and mobility profiles of the students as well as their educational- and mobility strategies. In the analysis of one of the programs, I also draw upon observation notes from a former member of the project group as well as quotes from the qualitative part of Wilken's survey.

The first coding of observations and interview data identified three main types of encounters which are characteristic for a program each: 1) "Rejecting the Other" where the international student is expected to become socialized into the framework of the host institution yet remains excluded. 2) "Becoming the Same" where the aim of the encounters is consensus and wholeness through addition of perspectives and eventually compromise. However, they end in conflict. And 3) "Remaining Other" where the encounters evolve as interdependence in non-subsumptive engagement.

The final analysis of the encounters explores the structural conditions surrounding the encounters. According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), relations in the classroom depend upon *pedagogic authority* (PAu) which again depend upon the relative autonomy of the *pedagogic authority* (PAu), *homogeneity* among the students, as well as *congruence* between the *cultural arbitrary* promoted by the program and the knowledge *habitus* of the students. These relationships are explored in the analysis presented in the thesis. Maton's (e.g. 2014) Legitimation Code Theory is included in the analytical framework as an extension of Bourdieu's framework to be able to further describe knowledge-internal structures in the knowledge presented at the programs and in the students' knowledge *habitus* and discuss their structuring potential. Combining Bourdieu's educational sociology and Maton's Legitimation Code Theory, the analysis of the data therefore rests on an understanding of knowledge as both structured and structuring. Externally, it is structured by the hierarchies as well as the ideologies and ontologies of knowledge in the field of international higher education and internally by disciplinary paradigms and their objective structures. It is structuring as it structures engagement with the knowledge of the other and thus encounters between knowers.

At each program, the students' knowledge *habitus* as well as the programs and individual courses are described both as legitimation codes (Maton, 2014) and as heteronomous or autonomous strategies, and by using the profiles and strategies identified in Wilken's (nd) analysis, degrees of homogeneity and congruence are described. *Pedagogic authority* (PAu) is assessed in the

observation- and interview data and compared to the heteronomy-autonomy spectrum, the degree of homogeneity among the students and congruence between the knowledge-habitus of the students and the program. Finally, encounters are described, and autonomy, homogeneity and congruence are discussed as structuring factors along with knowledge-internal legitimation codes such as gazes, insights, semantics and modalities. The analysis reveals complex processes of recognition, acknowledgement and negotiation of knowledge at the intersection of knowledge-external and knowledge-internal structures.

The data from the three programs largely confirms the connections between *pedagogic authority* (PAu), *autonomy*, *homogeneity, congruence* and student relations as identified by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990). However, the thesis also contributes with new nuances and insights. The thesis points to the necessity of distinguishing between *positional autonomy* (PA) and *relational autonomy* (RA) when analyzing autonomy as source of *pedagogic authority* (PAu). In the data, only *relational autonomy* (RA) seems to influence *pedagogic authority* (PAu). *Insights* and in particular *discursive relations* (DR), which parallels the *cultural arbitrary*, also influence recognition and inclusion. In the data, strong *discursive relations* (DR+) when it appears together with *pedagogic authority* (PAu) produce exclusion of the *Other*. However, it is rejected as indoctrination, i.e. revealed as arbitrary, when it appears without *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and results in fragmentation. A weak *discursive relation* (DR-) combined with a weak *ontic relation* (OR-) which is the defining characteristic of the *knower insight*, has parallels to what Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) define as either a truly relativistic education or teaching that cultures are relative. While it has a stronger potential for recognition and inclusion, the difference between them and whether they succeed depends upon strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) as source of *pedagogic authority* (PAu) and how *gazes* are enacted.

By definition, the concept of *gaze* suggests that recognition and acknowledgement are discipline- and *habitus* specific. The *trained-* (SubR-, IR-) and the *cultivated gazes* (SubR-, IR+) are, in theory, including in the sense that they can be acquired. However, the analysis points to how the legitimacy of the *gaze* can be undermined or overruled by the economic and instrumental evaluation produced by a heteronomous relation to the external market. The thesis does not include data from a program defined by strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) and a *trained gaze* (SubR-, IR-).

Engagement with the *born* (SubR+, IR+) and the *social gazes* (SubR+, IR-), which have been characterized as exclusive in nature because of their strong subjective relations (SubR+), either result in a reduction of difference in the instrumental, end-determined relation. Or they become included in non-subsumptive *gravity waves* in critical-relational knowledge building. This is closely connected to the particular enactment of the *cultivated gaze* (SubR-, IR+) found at one of the programs. In its definition, the cultivated gaze rest on a weak *subjective relation* (SubR-), meaning that it can be acquired, in combination with a strong *interactional relation* (IR+) that requires sociality. Here sociality and hence *pedagogic authority* (PAu) is conditioned by what I have called *horizontal heteronomy* which involves a demand for recognition and epistemic inclusion from the students. Paradoxically, horizontal heteronomy, recognition and inclusion is also found to be closely tied to strong *relational autonomy* (RA+) for both program and students in the data.

Dansk Resumé

Ekskluderende viden/ At ekskludere viden – Internationalisering mellem nytteværdi og etik

Forskning i internationalisering af videregående uddannelser har vist, at internationale studerende kæmper for at blive anerkendt og inkluderet i værtsmiljøerne (se f.eks. Marginson & Sawir, 2011 for en oversigt). Med rødder i interkulturel kommunikationsteori har der i størstedelen af forskningen været fokus på sproglige og kulturelle forskelle som barrierer for inklusion. Afhandlingen flytter fokus og udforsker inklusion og eksklusion som praksisser for anerkendelse, anerkendelse og forhandling af viden.

Afhandlingen er en del af et større projekt, som udforsker internationalisering med Aarhus Universitet, Danmark, som case. Projektet har Bourdieus pædagogiske sociologi som sin fælles teoretiske ramme. Men mens Bourdieus teori og begreber er anerkendt som egnede til at analysere magt og reproduktion, er de mindre egnet til at fange tilfælde af inklusion og anerkendelse af den Anden. Dataene blev derfor produceret med en dobbelt teoretisk linse. Bourdieus begreber symbolsk magt og symbolsk vold, dvs. magten til at konstituere og påtvinge et fælles sæt af normer inden for et specifikt felt (f.eks. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) udgjorde ét perspektiv. Med udgangspunkt i Levinas-inspireret interkulturel etik (Ferri, 2014; MacDonald & O'Regan, 2012) udgjorde Levinas' idé om vold som det modsatte af magt (Levinas, 1996) den anden. Disse to perspektiver indbefatter på den ene side, hvad forskning i internationale videregående uddannelser har vist som problematisk, og et etisk inklusionsideal på den anden side.

Afhandlingen fokuserer på tre internationale kandidatuddannelser, der er udvalgt til at repræsentere tre forskellige tilgange til internationalisering. Afhandlingen trækker på observationer af klasseværelsespraksis i forelæsninger, holdundervisning, studiecaféer og gruppearbejde for at se, hvordan de studerende reagerer på og engagerer sig i forskellig viden fra både kammerater og undervisere, og semistrukturerede interviews med studerende om deres uddannelsesbaggrund og deres klasseværelseserfaringer ved Aarhus Universitet. Derudover trækker jeg også på data og analyser produceret af andre medlemmer af projektgruppen for at beskrive de strukturelle forhold ved møderne. For at beskrive uddannelserne, deres tilgang til internationalisering og deres viden inddrager jeg resultater fra interviews med undervisere på uddannelserne udført af Hanne Tange, og for at beskrive sammensætningen af studieårgangen trækker jeg på en undersøgelse foretaget

af Lisanne Wilken. Den beskriver de studerendes regionale-, sociale-, og uddannelsesmæssige og mobilitetsprofiler samt deres uddannelses- og mobilitetsstrategier. I analysen af et af programmerne trækker jeg også på observationsnotater fra et tidligere medlem af projektgruppen samt citater fra den kvalitative del af Wilkens undersøgelse.

Den første kodning af observationer og interviewdata identificerede tre hovedtyper af møder, som hver især er karakteristiske for et program: 1) "Afvisning af den Anden", hvor den internationale studerende forventes at blive socialiseret ind i værtsinstitutionens rammer, men alligevel forbliver ekskluderet. 2) "Blive ens", hvor målet for møderne er konsensus og helhed gennem kompromis. Disse møder fører dog over tid til konflikt. Og 3) "Forblive Anden", hvor møderne udvikler sig som gensidig afhængighed i ikke-reducerende engagement.

Den endelige analyse af møderne udforsker de strukturelle forhold omkring møderne. Ifølge Bourdieu og Passeron (1990) afhænger relationer i klasseværelset af pædagogisk autoritet (PAu), som igen afhænger af den pædagogiske autoritets (PAu) relative autonomi, homogenitet blandt de studerende samt kongruens mellem det videnssystem der præsenteres af uddannelsen og de studerendes videnshabitus. Disse sammenhænge udforskes i den analyse, der præsenteres i afhandlingen. Matons (f.eks. 2014) Legitimation Code Theory indgår i den analytiske ramme som en forlængelse af Bourdieus ramme for yderligere at kunne beskrive videns-interne strukturer og diskutere deres strukturerende potentiale. Ved at kombinere Bourdieus uddannelsessociologi og Matons Legitimation Code Theory hviler analysen af dataene derfor på en forståelse af viden som både struktureret og strukturerende. Eksternt er det struktureret af hierarkier samt vidensideologier og ontologier inden for international videregående uddannelse og internt af disciplinære paradigmer og deres objektive strukturer. Det er strukturerende, da det strukturerer engagement med den andens viden og dermed møder mellem studerende.

På hvert program beskrives de studerendes videnshabitus samt programmerne og de enkelte forløb både som legitimationskoder (Maton, 2014) og som heteronome eller autonome strategier, og ved at bruge de profiler og strategier, der er identificeret i Wilkens (nd) analyse er grader af homogenitet og kongruens er beskrevet. Pædagogisk autoritet (PAu) vurderes i observations- og interviewdata og sammenlignes med heteronomi-autonomispektret, graden af homogenitet blandt de studerende og kongruens mellem de studerendes videnshabitus og uddannelsen. Til sidst beskrives møder, og autonomi, homogenitet og kongruens diskuteres som

strukturerende faktorer sammen med videns-interne legitimeringskoder som gazes, insights, semantics og modalities. Analysen afslører komplekse processer for genkendelse, anerkendelse og forhandling af viden i skæringspunktet mellem videns-eksterne og videns-interne strukturer.

Dataene fra de tre programmer bekræfter i høj grad sammenhængen mellem pædagogisk autoritet (PAu), autonomi, homogenitet, kongruens og relationer som identificeret af Bourdieu og Passeron (1990). Afhandlingen bidrager dog også med nye nuancer og indsigter. Afhandlingen peger på nødvendigheden af at skelne mellem positional autonomy (PA) og relational autonomy (RA), når man analyserer autonomi som kilde til pædagogisk autoritet (PAu). I dataene synes kun relational autonomy (RA) at påvirke pædagogisk autoritet (PAu). Insights og i særdeleshed discursive relations (DR) påvirker også anerkendelse og inklusion. I dataene producerer stærke discursive relations (DR+), når de optræder sammen med pædagogisk autoritet (PAu), eksklusion af den Anden. Det afvises dog som indoktrinering, eller med andre ord afsløres som vilkårligt, når det optræder uden pædagogisk autoritet (PAu) og resulterer i fragmentering. En svag discursive relation (DR-) kombineret med en svag ontic relation (OR-), som er det definerende kendetegn for knower insights, har paralleller til, hvad Bourdieu og Passeron (1990) definerer som en relativistisk uddannelse. Selvom denne insight har et stærkere potentiale for anerkendelse og inklusion, afhænger forskellen mellem dem, og hvorvidt de lykkes, af stærk relational autonomy (RA+) som kilde til pædagogisk autoritet (PAu), og af hvordan gazes udfoldes.

Per definition peger begrebet gaze på, at genkendelse og anerkendelse er disciplin- og habitusspecifik. Trained- (SubR-, IR-) og cultivated gazes (SubR-, IR+) er i teorien inkluderende i den forstand, at de kan tilegnes. Analysen peger dog på, hvordan the gaze's legitimitet kan undermineres eller tilsidesættes af den økonomiske og instrumentelle evaluering frembragt af en heteronom relation til det eksterne marked. Afhandlingen omfatter ikke data fra et program defineret af stærk relational autonomy (RA+) og et trained gaze (SubR-, IR-).

Engagement med born - (SubR+, IR+) og social gazes (SubR+, IR-), som er blevet karakteriseret som ekskluderende af natur på grund af deres stærke subjective relations (SubR+), resulterer enten i en reduktion af forskellen i de instrumentelle forhold. Eller de bliver inkluderet i ikke-reducerende gravity waves i kritisk-relationel vidensopbygning. Dette er tæt forbundet med den særlige udformning af the cultivated gaze (SubR-, IR+), der findes på et af programmerne. The cultivated gaze hviler på en svag subjectiv relation (SubR-), hvilket betyder, at det kan erhverves, i kombination

med en stærk interactional relation (IR+), der kræver socialitet. Her er socialitet og dermed pædagogisk autoritet (PAu) betinget af det, jeg har kaldt horisontal heteronomi, som involverer et krav om anerkendelse og epistemisk inklusion fra de studerende. Paradoksalt nok er horisontal heteronomi, anerkendelse og inklusion også tæt knyttet til stærk relational autonomy (RA+) for både uddannelse og studerende i dataene.

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Appendix 1

Overview of representation of profiles and strategies based

My analysis draws upon a study by Wilken. For the present purpose, I draw upon Wilken's analysis presented in *Prosoposographical analysis of students attending international programs at Danish Universities* (nd).

The study combines a survey based on 324 students from 5 international master programs at Aarhus University, including the three programs in my study. The three programs in my study are represented in the survey with 166 participants from Program 1, 38 from Program 2 of which 18 are from the 2012 class 2, and 54 from Program 3. The survey data from Program 1 and Program 2 thus covers more students than the 2012 class, which is the focus of our study. However, at Program 1, teaching is in some cases conducted across classes and the questionnaires were distributed in one of these classes. All participants are therefore included in the descriptions of the program. At Program 2, questionnaires from students from other classes were included in the construction of profiles and strategies, but they are excluded in the description of the program. Wilken also did 76 semi-structured interviews, 18 of which were in collaboration with me.

The survey was inspired by Bourdieusian prosopography (eg. Bourdieu 1988) and consisted of 54 open and closed ended questions asking for information about age, gender, nationalities, life trajectories, mobility histories, international experiences, language skills, prior education, parents' education and jobs, siblings' education and jobs, geographical and social environment of upbringing, etc. as well as questions about relationship to Denmark, factors influencing choice of degree program, opinions about education, evaluation of learning, news consumption, leisure time activities, work, time spend on homework, continuity from prior education as well as questions regarding their hopes, dreams and aspirations for the future.

The data was analyzed to identify the similarities and differences characterizing the participating students and the composition of the student cohort of each of the programs. It draws upon Bourdieu's concept "strategy" to move beyond rational choice theories to understand the different routes that lead students to pursue international education in Aarhus. The result is a description of the international students at Aarhus University in general as well as the composition of the student cohort at each of the participating programs according to the students' age, social

class memberships, regional origin, disciplinary background, as well as an identification of their international profiles, mobility strategies, and education strategies.

In a draft from May 2022, Wilken defines the profiles and strategies as follows:

Social class:

Classification into social classes is challenging. Especially when working with a sample of internationally mixed students. The clasification is approximate. Despite collecting different types of data to indicate class, in the end the classification was based on data about parents' education and job. Classification follows a 5-scale class model, loosely described as follows:

- **Upper class:** parents are highly educated and have high ranking jobs, e.g. minister, president of an international organization or large company.
- **Upper middle class**: the parents are primarily highly educated, and they are employed in jobs such as professors or associate professors, government officials or CEOs.
- **Middle class:** the parents are trained in professions such as teaching or nursing.
- **Working class:** parents have completed elementary school and sometimes high school. They have technical educations such as blacksmiths and bakers.
- **Outside labor market**: the parents may not have completed elementary school and they may be illiterate. They are either excluded from the labor market or work as day laborers.

Region:

To secure students' anonymity we as far as possible refer to their regional rather than their national belonging. Except if the reference to nation is essential. Regarding the Americas we use a linguistic rather than a strictly geographical division distinquishing in Latin- and North America. In Europe we distinguish between EU/EEA and Europe non-EU/EEA. This is because of the special rights of these students. We refer to the Nordic countries as one region. This is again because of the political

cooperation between the Nordic countries also within the field of education and the intimate familiarity that people have in the region with each others' countries.

Nationality is one of the most common classifications in studies of internationalisation and international student mobility. Our main reason for not referring to nationality a the primary label of the students is to secure their anonymity. Given that we have studied very particular environments at a particular point in time giving the nationality of the students would make it very easy for people with some familiarity with the university to know who exactly we are talking about. But it should also be noted that even if we costumarily think that we get a specific kind of information when using national categories – aside from giving information about a political relationship, citizenship – nationality is a very unclear concept. In our data we have several students with dual nationalities, which is important in our study especially if the duality concerns nationalities within and outside the EU. I.e. an Australian student with an Irish mother has a right to Irish citizenship and upon getting it an EU-secured right to study for free in Denmark (but actually not in Ireland). Classifying this student as Australian leaves out very relevant information. We also have several students from mixed marriages and migration histories, or students with regional identities within nationstate framework. So we do not think that nationaliy is a particularly informative concept.

International profiles:

International students are often defined with reference to their most recent mobility experience: they crossed borders to enroll in their current education. However many – but far from all - students in our sample have different measures of acquired and inherited mobility experience.

International profiles are constructed from information from open- and closed-ended questions regarding the students' own and their parents/families' previous international experience, e.g. whether they or their parents have migrated, lived or worked abroad, whether they themselves have gained international experience while staying at home, e.g. engaged in international organisations, studied or worked in another language than their mother tongue etc.

The profiles are appriximate.

- **No prior international experience** (that we know of): students who do not list any international experience in the questionnaire, whose parents have not moved, and who have not previously studied a discipline which introduces other cultures or languages. They have few skills in foreign languages – primarily English. For all we know they may have different forms of international experience, but they have not conveyed them.

- **First movers**: The category is very similar to the one above with the exception that these students have moved to attend their current degree program – sometimes halfway across the world. Members of their family have also not moved except perhaps distant ones. The students have not studied anything related to foreign cultures and have few foreign language skills – mostly English besides a local vernacular.

- **The internationals:** These are students whose parents have not been internationally mobile, but who themselves have some experience in studying and/or working abroad. They have been exchange students often through Erasmus or through established university echange schemes. They have worked abroad as ski instructors or fruit pickers. Or they have been enrolled in international branch campusses at home. What defines them is a certain amount of international experience.

- **The hyper-mobile**: In our sample we have students whose parents have not been mobile but who themselves have moved a lot. They may have studied and worked abroad in 6-7 different countries. They selected their current programs because they give them an opportunity to go abroad during their education. And they want jobs where they can travel.

- **The international inheritors**: these students have themselves travelled a lot. What sets them apart from the international and the hyper mobile is that so have their parents. Many of them travelled with their parents when they were kids and have lived and gone to school in several different countries. While they are also mobile themselves, it is in a different way than the international and the hypermobile.

Mobility strategies:

Mobility strategies explore the students' reasons to go abroad. The strategies are constructed from information from closed ended questions concerning the student's educational choices, open ended questions regarding their hopes and expectations for the future, and students' reflections in interviews.

- **Safe choice:** these are students that seek international capital while at the same time minimizing the investment risk. I.e., they stay at home or go to a country very similar to their own. In practice, it is Nordic students that move within the Nordic region where education is free and university degrees are easily recognized across borders. It may also be children of expatriates that return home to get free education.

- **Roundabouts:** students that travel because they believe it increases their chances for a good job when they return home. Typically, they are from the upper middle class, and they are supported economically by their parents. Most of them are internationals or first movers.

- **Becoming or remaining international:** their aim is to acquire or sustain international experience because they want to work in international organizations. Both inheritors, internationals and first movers are found in this category.

- **Graduating from Europe**: these are students that seek education in Europe because they expect it will improve their career chances. They differ from the roundabouts because they typically do not have a clear plan for how they are going to use/can use the European capital they acquire. They are primarily from Africa and South Asia, and they typically belong to the lower social classes, receive scholarships and are first movers.

- **Investing in a better life:** this is in fact a social/spatial migration strategy rather than a mobility strategy. Typically, the international students do not plan to return home again. Many are from Eastern or Southern Europe, but there are also Danes and a few Africans and Americans in the category.

- **Love:** students that list a significant other in Aarhus as the primary reason for choosing Aarhus University.

Educational strategies:

Educational strategies are constructed from open ended questions regarding the students' aspirations for the future and the learning outcomes they find important, and closed ended questions regarding priorities in connection with educational choice, e.g. did they prioritise the international aspects of the programs, did they prioritise a program specifically in Denmark, did they prioritise the national and/or international recognition of the program etc.

- **Investing in Danish education:** these are students for whom it is important to graduate from a Danish university. They believe that the quality of education is high in Denmark. It is primarily Danish and Nordic students whose mobility strategy is "safe choice". They typically also stress that is a recognized program/university which they expect will improve their career options.

- **Investing in international capital:** this group of students wish to strengthen the education they already have with international education. It is a broad category that contains both roundabouts, graduating from Europe, and becoming and remaining international among the mobility strategies, and first movers and internationals among the international profiles.

- **Career change:** these are students that already have a master's degree or have a career based on their BA but want a different career than the one they can get with the education they have. They typically belong to the upper or upper middle class. They receive economic support from their parents, or they use their own savings.

- **Finding purpose:** these students have started (and perhaps finished) one or more educations within different disciplines. They are not entirely sure about what kind of career they want, but they hope it involves travelling and that it is fulfilling. This educational strategy is typically found among the hypermobile and the inheritors.

- **Investing in quality education:** These students are very similar to the students with the "investing in Danish education"-strategy. However, they do not list "Danish" as a criteria.

- **Internationalization at home:** these are students that stress that they have chosen their program because it gives them an opportunity to study in an international environment while at the same time staying in Denmark.

In the table below is an overview of the data used in the thesis and the representation of profiles and strategies in the observation- and interview data. Besides the data from Wilken (nd), data was produced by me and in a few cases a fellow PhD-student through observation at three international programs at AU. Data marked with red was produced by the other PhD-student.

Program 1

Observations			
	Course 1 Economics		
	Lectures	3x2 hours	
	Study cafe	2x3 hours 2x3 hours	
	Course 2 Organization and internationalization		
	Lectures including group work	2x2 hours*	
Interviews with students (supplemented with quotes from Wilken's survey)		3		
Representation in data	**Social class**	Percentage at program	Interviewed	Observed in analyzed exchanges
	Outside labor market	2%		?
	Working class	20%	1	x

	Middle class	51%	1	x
	Upper middle class	15%		?
	Upper class	0%		
	NA	12%	1	x
	Region			
	EU	8%		(x)
	Europe (non-EU/EEA)	1%		?
	Nordic	88%	2	x
	Asia	2%		?
	Africa	1%	1	x
	Educational background			
	Economics and business administration	98%	3	x
	Other	2%		
	International profile			
	No prior international expereince	42%	1	x
	First movers	3%		
	Internationals	48%	2	x
	Hybermobile	1%		?
	Inheritors	5%		?
	NA	1%		?

	Educational strategies			
	Investing in Danish education	43%	2	x
	Investing in international capital	1%		?
	Career change	0%		
	Finding purpose	5%	1	x
	Investing in quality education	20%		?
	Internationalization at home	31%		?
	NA	0%		
	Mobility strategy			
	Safe choice	54%	1	x
	Round about	0%		
	Becoming or remaining international	5%		?
	Graduating from Europe	1%		?
	Investing in a better life	38%	2	x
	Love	2%		?

* the majority of students leave after instructions

Program 2

Observations				
	<u>Introductory days</u>	6 hours		
	<u>Course 1</u> Biology and project management			
	Seminars with short lectures, class-discussions and group work	8 visits, 12 hours in total		
	<u>Course 2</u> Research methods			
	Seminars with short lectures, class-discussions and group work	7 visits, 19 hours in total		
Interviews with students			**4**	
Representation in data	<u>Social class</u>	Percentage at program	Interviewed	Observed in analyzed exchanges
	Outside labor market	14%	1	x
	Working class	9%	1	x
	Middle	19%	1	x
	Upper middle	43%	1	x
	Upper	5 %		x
	NA	10%		

	Region			
	Asia	10%		x
	Africa	10%	1	x
	Nordic	30%	1	x
	EU + Swiss	45%	2	x
	Europe,non EU/EEA	5%		x
	Educational background			
	Humanities, primarily anthropology	33%	1	x
	Social science	20%	1	x
	Natural science	20%	1	x
	Political science	20%	2	x
	Area studies	7%		
	International profile			
	First movers	15%	1	x
	Internationals	30%	1	x
	Hypermobile	10%		
	Inheritors	40%	2	x
	NA	5%		
	Educational strategy			
	Investing in Danish education	30%	1	x
	Investing in international capital	25%	1	x

	Career change	0%		
	Finding purpose	10%	1	x
	Investing in quality education	15%	1	
	Internationalization at home	10%		
	NA	10%		
	Mobility strategy			
	Safe choice	9%	1	x
	Round about	5%		
	Becoming or remaining international	24%		X
	Graduating from (Western) Europe	14%	1	x
	Investing in a better life	14%	1	x
	Love	24%	1	x
	NA	10%		

Program 3

Observations				
	<u>Welcome reception</u>	2 hours		
	<u>Course 1</u> Reporting in the global field. Each session comprises lecture, group work and class discussions	5 visits, 22 hours in total		
	<u>Course 2</u> Political science. Each session comprises lecture, group work and class discussions	5 visits, 15 hours in total		
Interviews with students		12		
Representation in data	<u>**Social class**</u>	Percentage at program	Interviewed	Observed in analyzed exchanges
	Outside labor market	2%		
	Working class	2%	1	(x)
	Middle	30%	3	x
	Upper middle	48%	6	x
	Upper	9%	1	x
	N/A	9 %	1	

	Region			
	Asia	20%	3	x
	EU/EEA	28%	2	x
	Europe non EU/EEA	7%	1	
	Africa	6%	1	
	Latin America	11%	1	x
	North America	15%	2	x
	Nordic	9%	2	
	Middle East	4%		x
	Educational background			
	Journalism	37%	4	x
	Communication	20%	3	
	Language, culture or literature	11%	1	x
	Anthropology, geography or history	9%	1	x
	Political science and economics	19%	2	x
	Technology	2%	1	
	International profile			
	No prior international experience	9%		x
	First movers	17%	2	
	Internationals	37%	4	x
	Hypermobile	7%	2	

	Inheritors	30%	4	x
	Educational strategy			
	Investing in Danish education	4%	1	
	Investing in international capital	45%	6	x
	Career change	44%	4	x
	Finding purpose	7%	1	x
	Quality education	0%		
	Internationalization at home	0%		
	Mobility strategy			
	Safe choice	5%	2	(x)
	Round about	41%	4	x
	Becoming or remaining international	41%	4	x
	Graduating from Europe	7%	2	
	Investing in a better life	4%		x
	Love	2		

Wilken, L. (nd). *Proposographical analysis of students attending international programs at Danish Universities*.

Appendix 2

Interviews

Participants

Participant	Region	Educational background	Social class	International profile	Mobility strategy	Educational strategy
Program 1						
11	Nordic	Business administration	Middle class	International	Safe choice	Investing in Danish education
12	Nordic	Business administration	Working class	No prior international experience	Investing in a better life	Investing in Danish education
13	Africa	Business administration	NA	International	Investing in a better life	Finding purpose
Program 2						
21	EU	Political science	Working class	International	Investing in a better life	Finding purpose
22	Nordic	Political science	Middle class	Inheritor	Safe choice	Investing in Danish education
23	EU	Interdisciplinary	Upper middle	Inheritor	Love	Investing in quality education
24	Africa	Social science	Outside labor market	First mover	Graduating from Europe	Investing in international capital
Program 3						
31	EU	Political science	Upper middle	Hypermobile	Becoming or remaining international	Finding purpose
32	North America	Communication	Upper middle	Inheritor	Roundabout	Career change
33	EU	Anthropology	Upper class	Inheritor	Roundabout	Career change
34	North America	Journalism	Middle class	International	Becoming or remaining international	Investing in international capital
35	Nordic	Communication	Middle class	Hypermobile	Becoming or remaining	Finding purpose

					internationa l	
36	Africa	Communication	Upper middle	First mover	Becoming or remaining internationa l	Career change
37	Asia	Engineering	Middle class	First mover	Roundabout	Career change
38	Asia	Journalism	Middle class	International	Graduating from Europe	Investing in internationa l capital
39	Asia	Humanities	NA	International	Roundabout	Investing in internationa l capital
310	Latin America	Political science	Upper middle	Inheritor	Becoming or remaining internationa l	Investing in internationa l capital
311	Europe, non-EU	Journalism	Upper middle	International	Becoming or remaining internationa l	Investing in internationa l capital
312	Nordic	Journalism	Working class	International	Safe choice	Investing in Danish education

.

Observations

Identification codes

Discipline:	
IB	International business
F	Finance
BA	Business administration
PS	Political science
LS	Language studies
SS	Social science
A	Anthropology
ID	Interdisciplinary
B	Biology
VS	Veterinary science
Jo	Journalism
Hi	History
Li	Literature
Region/Country:	
EU	European Union
nonEU	Europe exclusive of EU
AS	Asia
AF	Africa
ME	Middle East
D	Denmark
C	China
LA	Latin America
Title:	
i	instructor
l	lecturer
el	External lecturer
ec	External consultant
pc	Pedagogic consultant
vr	Visiting researcher

Appendix 3

Interview guide, version 2

Introduction
- Brief introduction to our project
- Anonymity, confidentiality and consent

Background information about the interviewee
- Where are you from?
- What is your educational background
- Where did you study?
- Do you have any work experience?

Previous education
1. What theories and methods did you learn during your previous education?
2. How would you evaluate it?
3. How would you describe the teachers?
4. How would you assess the academic level at your university?
5. What kind of skills do you think you have acquired?
6. How does what you learned at your BA fit into your current program?
7. Do you think the other students consider your educational background relevant?

Studies at Aarhus University
1. Why did you choose your current program?
2. What did you expect to learn when you applied?
3. What theories and methods are you learning from the teachers and the readings you are required to do?
4. How do you evaluate them? (useful, interesting, …)
5. How would you assess the academic level of the program?
6. We sometimes hear that students associate their program with a particular political conviction. Do you think that is the case at your program?
7. How do you see the academic level of the universities the other students come from?
8. How does the knowledge and experience the other students have fit into this program?
9. Are you part of a study group or project group? How was the group formed? Do you think the group works well?
10. To what extent can the other group members contribute when you work together?
11. Are there things such as computers, books, programs that are important to have? Who has them?
12. Are there contacts to people or organizations outside the university that you think are useful to have as part of your studies? Who has them?