Once Upon a Reform: Marketization of Higher Education and the Identity Transition of a Finnish University after the Reform

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

This study is a case study looking into the crucial transition period of a Finnish university during the Finnish higher education reform. After the new University Act 2009 carries out, the reform is remarkably transforming the Finnish higher education system and various changes are emerging. The research examines, from a special perspective, how a new identity of a Finnish university, the University of Eastern Finland (UEF) during the reform is being constructed and construed in its strategy policy documents.

The immediate objective is to make sense of the transition from the policies and analyze the identity changes, but most importantly is to better under the changes within a wider frame of Finland's social, political and economic transformation during this period, and finding the phenomenon's connection to the broader research agenda of marketization of higher education.

The research questions are:
1. How is the new UEF envisioned by its own new policies after the reform?
2. How is the identity transition justified?
3. Is there a connection between marketization of higher education and the transition of UEF?

The discourse will be analyzed adopting the method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to show how the identity is communicated in the text of the policies. Strategy policy documents in English of UEF during 2000-2015 are investigated as the data. The analysis presents how the identity transition is reflected in the policy discourse change after the reform, and how in term these policies are justifying the transition, and further assisting the fulfilment of the transition.

The results show substantial evidence of marketization of higher education discourse, which indicates the marketization process of the education system and its influence to the development of the Finnish universities after the reform. The identity transition reflected in the policy changes are largely steered by the economic rationales and neoliberal ideologies, which are justifying the transition. The policy changes are furthering the implementation of this transformation.

The study contributes to the wider empirical research on higher education marketization and its impact to social changes. And as a case study, it documents a detailed account of a university's recent development within the broader frame of the Europe under the transition.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Europe is the birthplace of universities (Haskins, 1898; Rüegg, 1992), yet recently European universities are accused for falling behind (European Commission, 2010). Over centuries of development as an institution of higher learning, there have been shifting narratives about the reason of being of the university, and different roles have been added to the original identity of the university by its society over the history (Kuhnen, 1978; Watson et al, 2011). More recently, European universities, like their other counterparts all over the world, have been going through transition over the past decades (Enders & De Boer, 2009; Huber, 2016).

Under such transition, European universities are experiencing an identity crisis through a status of confusion and institutional changes (Enders & De Boer, 2009). Besides this common European context, Finnish universities are also under a transition in its own special context, with immediate influence from the Finnish higher education reform.

Meanwhile, marketization of higher education has been increasingly regarded as a crucial factor associated with the recent changes in higher education (Ek et al, 2013). Thus with the novel phenomenon of Finnish higher education restructuring that is considered changing the whole picture of the entire Finnish higher education system (e.g. Aarrevaara et al, 2009; Cai & Kivistö, 2013), it is valuable to inspect whether this transition caused any influence to the identity of Finnish universities, and whether marketization of higher education has any connection to this impact in the Finnish context.

Peter Maassen (2009) questions the functionalism and environmental determinism that dominate some of the European higher education reforms and their challenge to the ideology and identity of high education institutes, and he expresses there is a need to look into the transformation of higher education and the policy changes within a broader context of shifting governance and public sector restructuring, especially within the society changes and political and economic transformation in Europe(Maassen, 2009; Enders, 2016). Walkenhorst (2007) calls for empirical evidence of marketization in the European context. Thus this study hopes to provide empirical evidence of whether the current European universities' reforms have a connection to the marketization of higher education, by investigating a Finnish university's development under the transition of reforms from a critical discourse analysis point of view of its policies.

Previous literature is mostly focused on the transition from the macro-level (Ek et al, 2013), thus, there is a need for this study to investigate transition from a micro-level, from the perspective of an institution's changes. This research cut into a small perspective to investigate one higher education institute's change with the comparison of its own past during the time scale of 2000-2015. In order to investigate the change, Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework is adopted to examine the policy discourse transition, in terms of how the social transition is reflected in the policy and how the policy will continue to facilitate the transformation in Finnish higher education.

The context- where are we going after the reform?

The immediate context of the transformation examined by this study is the Finnish higher education reform started by the new Universities Act (558/2009) in June 2009. The reform brings a massive and multiple-level transition to the Finnish higher educational, from restructuring of the whole system, the funding model, the strategy direction, and internationalization, etc. Public funding is radically reduced but unprecedented autonomy is granted to universities with endowing universities the identity change to independent legal personalities to collect external funding and generate revenue from commercial means (University Act, 2009). Due to the stress for resource to survive, a lot of universities have to change their strategies and prepare themselves to compete in the global market.

Under the reform, three groups of universities merged into three bigger universities during 2007-2010 (European Union, 2016). The University of Eastern Finland (UEF) is chosen as the case study because UEF went through both the merger and the overall reform, which is a representative case. The new branding renamed the merged two universities (the University of Joensuu and the University of Kuopio) as The University of Eastern Finland (UEF). But this study does not separate UEF from its past, but considered as the continuation of development with a joint effort of the two regional universities.

Under this transition, UEF published a series of strategy policies about how to take the university to a new era of development, trying to make UEF stronger and more competitive. These policy documents are used as the data to inspect the transition.

The following chapter will introduce the main concept and theories that pave the ground for this study. Chapter 3 discusses about the research purpose and the research questions. Chapter 4 clarifies the methodological approach to explore the research questions. Chapter 5 reports the analysis and exemplifies the findings, and the validity of the study. Chapter 6 concludes the research and discusses the social implication of the research findings.

Chapter 2 Theoretical background

This section will introduce the key concepts and theories of relevance to this study. By briefing these core conceptual foundations upon which this research is built, it is hoped that a clear understanding of the background of this study is achieved.

This section covers mainly 2 parts:

- marketization of higher education
- Discourse and institutional identity

2.1 Marketization of Higher education

By nature, the studies of higher education marketization are complex interdisciplinary studies. The marketization of higher education is as much a socioeconomical process, as an educational and political process. It's very important to understand the salient financial context as well as the historical background to comprehend the concept of marketization of higher education. Higher education enrollment worldwide experienced an immense growth from the end of last century to the beginning of 21st century, many nations went through a "massification", and as a result the state budget for tertiary education accordingly faced huge expansion (Freeman, 2010; Trow, 2001). Thus the increasing public budget pressure led governments to seek alternatives for contain the cost.

Hence comes along the aid of marketization. The core of the marketization theory is that there is a "market" and the "market" plays a crucial role and can do a better job in efficiently arranging resources.

In order to cope with the public funding cut, universities worldwide search for alternative support and resources. More energy has to go to applying for funding, competing for national research grants, connecting with business for potential external support including donation and sponsorship, developing corporate funded research programmes and recruiting self-financed students, etc. With the external pressure and the new practices, universities find themselves rethink their identities and missions as higher education institutes (Askehave, 2007; Kwong, 2000; Donoghue, 2004).

Unprecedented pressure comes to higher education institutes that, for thriving if not just surviving, they have to comply with the rules of market and compete with each other. Increasingly acquiring the features of corporations, universities adopt a corporate approach to operating and managing; and to better compete in the market they have to flag themselves as prestigious to attract more resources, which then forces them to practice strategies that used to be more associated with business sector such as branding and marketing. Consequently this steered the transformation of universities towards commercial activities (Naidoo & Jamieson, 2005; Naidoo, 2003; Furedi, 2010).

They are forced to be in line with market mechanism. Such phenomenon that public sector has to comply with the market is not new (e.g. Klein, 1999), but the "market" is different from the conventional concept in economics. The "educational quasi-market" can be understood as the provision arrangement from a combined force of state financing and market mechanisms (Vandenberghe, 1999, p.273).

Albeit the welfare state crisis has shaken the sustaining mechanism of higher education that largely depending on state funding, the historical roots of the ideology that market can play a role in higher education's survival actually can be traced back to earlier times. This concept that market force can better education sector is not new. The renowned "founding father of modern economics" Adam Smith (1723–1790) is on the side of market's possible contribution to the society. In Adam Smith's The Wealth of Nations (1776) he suggests the incentive of market force may improve efficiency in higher education.

In a broader sense to understand the marketization in the educational sector, Marginson (1999) summarizes:

> (Marketization) is apparent in the growing role of private costs, in the increasing
> inequalities between the resources and status of education in different institutions, and in
> the varying experiences of 'consumption' within common systems. It can be recognised
> also in the growing role of competition between institutions, and in the plethora of
> corporate activity, such as marketing, business plans . . . (p. 230)

To understand marketization in general, it is the social process marked by "the expansion of market coordination into non-market coordinated social domains as well as its intensification in already market-dominated settings" (Ebner, 2015, p.369).

The higher education marketization is only a part of the worldwide phenomenon of public sector transformation. At the heart of the transformation, is the ideology of neoliberalism. Concisely,

neoliberalism is a new form of liberalism that advocate free-market capitalism, which encompasses extensive liberalization policies that emphasize the power of open market, the power transfer of economic control from the public sector to the private sector with the reduction of government expenditure, privatization, deregulation, tax regulation reforms (Thorsen, 2010).

A fundamental link that neoliberalism underpins marketization of higher education is that neoliberalism considers knowledge as a "commodity" that can be produced and of great value to national economy, and thus higher education is critical to the state economy as its important role in knowledge production(Burton-Jones,1999; Fasenfest, 2010; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

Higher education reforms driven by marketization take place worldwide. Brown (2011) points out most of the Continental European countries are introducing some elements of marketization into their higher education systems.

A prominent example in Europe comes from Britain. Britain went through a process of marketization of higher education starting from early 1980s. For example, in the UK at the starting point in 1980s following the Education Act 1962 the tuition for fulltime student was free of charge, but in 2012 the tuition fee reached to 9,000 pounds (Brown, 2015; Brown & Carasso, 2013).

For Finland, as one of the Nordic countries, the market mechanism had a constrained power over the higher education development due to the long tradition of Nordics' welfare state system. Higher education was seen as a component of state-led social policies and largely built on state funding. The marketization features in many ways contradict the perceived "Nordic model of higher education". Börjesson (2014, p.11) summarizes the characteristics:

> *largely publicly-owned systems, which are relatively closely regulated by the state, include high levels of public funding and no or low student fees, with strong influences from egalitarian traditions. In such a model, higher education has also been seen as an important pillar in the welfare system, not only through the emphasis on broad and equal access, but also by educating the professionals needed for the development of the welfare state (Välimaa 2005; Vabø and Aamodt 2008; Gornitzka and Maassen 2012).*

Yet the recent reforms in Nordic higher education sector have taken the Nordic model to new directions with "obvious and increased emphasis on internationalization, market orientation, competition and efficiency" (Börjesson, 2014, p.11).

For the transformation of Finnish higher education under the University Act 2009, as Hoffman et al (2011) point out, the framework is a "market-driven model" and the reforms and internationalization are "increasingly framed in terms of global markets, competitiveness and increasing Finland's international attractiveness –as a place to work and as a place to live" (p.273).

Different marketization strategies are getting implemented after the reform. As of 2015, the Parliament of Finland passed the decision to charge tuition fee for non-European Union (EU)/ European Economic Area (EEA) students (The Parliament of Finland, 2015), effective in 2017, the approximate tuition fee par year is between 4000-20000 euros (Finnish National Agency for Education, 2017). According to the Finnish National Agency for Education (2015), the Finnish universities' collaboration with business and industries is getting strengthened to commercialize innovations; the profiling of higher education institutes and the commercialization of higher education will be enhanced, to create strong competencies and increase the level of research.

There are already changes evident in the Finnish higher education system after a series of restructuring. For example, "clearly labor market-driven" emphasis for the current employability of graduates (Puhakka et al, 2010), integrating the assessment of graduates' employment into Finnish universities' quality assurance programmes and combining the employment and quality control schemes into the recent reforms are all evidently reshaping the Finnish tertiary education system (ibid). By improving the employability and quality assurance systems, universities strive to upgrade their attractiveness to stakeholders that they are capable of "transferring knowledge" to contribute to the labor market (Puhakka, 2012, p.358). The implementation of the reform is integrated into the various conducts that transforming the Finnish higher education gradually.

However, with the contradicting logic of market force versus the long tradition of welfare state, the marketization situation is more complicated in Finland. Hoffman et al (2011) draw an analogue for the existing ideologies in Finland as "the car dealer vs. the church" (p.273): the marketization's profit-based logic conflicts with the welfare tradition's public interest based logic. But outside the contradictory philosophies, the Finnish public still regard the universities as cultural institutions (Välimaa, 2001), which can also be an obstacle for marketization's development in Finnish higher education area.

Whether we like it or not, the signs of marketization of higher education are increasingly evident. Askehave (2007) points out the role of marketization of higher education as a strategic tool

increasingly manifesting at different levels of university's practices. The term *educational entrepreneurship* emerged as a result of the trend of more institutes adopting economic ideas and their orientation towards private sector, and the increasing emphasis on commercial practices and innovations (Mautner, 2005). Universities' operation is getting closer to that of business, and they are repositioning and redefining themselves through corporate identity programmes to develop competitive edges for competitors (Melewar & Akel, 2005).

Furedi (2010) suggests the distinctive reoccurring themes of higher education marketization lay among the "various rituals of commodification", e.g. "quality control, auditing and ranking performance, quantifying the experience of students and constructing league tables" (p.2).

According to Fairclough (1993), the marketization of higher education discourse is part of the marketization of higher education. The discursive practices associated with higher education marketization are various, and many types of higher education such as webpages, brochures, flyers, posters, and postcards, etc. have become promotional texts (Askehave, 2007). This study concentrates on one type of discourse – policy document, to reveal the aforementioned various commodification rituals.

2.2 Discourse and institutional identity

The theoretical ground of this study's research on the identity of a university through discourse lies in the postmodernism view of institutional identity as a discursive construct, and identity as the totality of the narratives of who they think they are (e.g. Brown & Humphreys 2006; Coupland & Brown 2004).

Identity, as Brown (2001) argues, has come to the center of the stage in terms of understanding human relations and organization in modern society (p.133). Identity is a complex concept, especially in this study's European transition context, an institution's identity is far beyond the scale of a master thesis project. Thus due to the text limit and the research scale of a master's thesis, this study will not go to detailed exploration of all the components that consisting of the collective identity, but investigate identity as a whole. Identity in this study is defined in its broadest sense in terms of "how we display who we are" (Benwell & Strokoe, 2006). For educational institutions, "identity has become an

umbrella term for practically anything that one wants to say about the nature, character, and value-system of a school or a group of associated schools" (Bakker, 2004, p.11).

Identity of a university, as a collective identity, is multi-vocal from multiple voices inside the organization (Boje, 2001; Mayr, 2015). Thus, to maintain the clarity of the study, this paper only investigates one important aspect that is constituting the collective identity-- in its own policy discourse how the university portrays itself.

"Institution" and "organization" are terms that interchangeably referred in sociology and other fields to express the same concept, but "institution" is more associated with public and societal groups (Mayr, 2015; Linde, 2001), so this study prefers to use "institution identity" to address the topic.

The collective identity of an organization or institution as a concept has been extensively discussed in different disciplines, especially in the organizational studies. The concept, as agreed by the scholars of this filed (e.g. Brown, 2006; Hatch & Schultz, 2004; Wrench et al, 2015), is first defined by the research of Stuart Albert and David Whetten (1985). Albert and Whetten's (1985) definition of an organization's identity can be understood as the totality of three key aspects of an organization: essence, differentiation, and temporal continuum. Essence as the central characteristics of the organization (e.g. its structure, values, practices etc.); differentiation as the distinctive features that set it apart from others; temporal continuum as the enduring quality of the organization that carries on over time (Albert & Whetten, 1985, p.292). This definition has provided great value for social scientists' theorizing and empirical research over past three decades.

 Gioia (1998) summaries that there have been different approaches towards the research of organizational identity, and different conceptualization come from the various approaches at different stages. Thus, to maintain the consistency and clarity in the ontological and epistemological ground, this research takes the perspective from the more recent stage –the postmodernism perspective. (For example, in the earlier stage functionalist theorizing organization identity as attributes and organization as Substance and objective, which is conflicted to this study's postmodernism view. Those perspectives are not adopted in this research.)

The postmodern theoretical ground of studying institution's identity from its discourse, is how the connection of discourse and intuitions is conceptualized – the "linguistic turn" with the emphasis of the role of language use in social constitution, essentially views discourse as "constitutive of institutions" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Mumby & Mease, 2011; Mayr, 2015). Mumby and Clair (1997) explain this point as:

> Organizations exist only in so far as their members create them through discourse. This is not to claim that organizations are "nothing but" discourse, but rather that discourse is the principle means by which organization members create a coherent social reality that frames their sense of who they are. (1997, p. 181)

That is to say, discourse plays a constituting role in shaping the institution's identity.

As institutional identity is a socially constructed meaning by its own institutional members who share the idea of what it is, and it is not fixed but rather a dynamic construction (van der Walt, 2007, p.183), certain parts of an institution's identity are possible to be replaced. Thus theorists of critical studies regard institutions as "sites of struggle where different groups compete to shape the social reality in ways that serve their own interests" (Mumby & Clair, 1997, p.182). However, it's not easy to change institutions with long established beliefs and spiritual legacies (e.g. prestigious institutes like Oxford University and Cambridge University), which leaves very limited room for certain stakeholders to craft some changes to the institutions' identity (Wæraas & Solbakk, 2009). In a deeper sense, in this study, it is exactly the investigation of the particular crafted changes that have been imposed to the university that exposes the deeper meaning of the direction the policies. And it reals where the policymakers are leading the university to, and what kind of social reality they are trying to construct.

Another important aspect of institutional identity is that it is dynamic and evolving over time. Identity is a product of history. For example, imagine that if Cambridge University were not established in the 12th Century, but it were established last year. Then our sense of its identity would be totally different. Values and beliefs are carried on and refined, and meanings set down over time. Identities gets institutionalized during the development of institutions and organizations (Wæraas & Solbakk, 2009). Which is why this study chose to investigate the institutional change over the period of 2000 to 2015. Instead of only investigate one latest policy, this study provides a more holistic view of the transformation of the institutional identity.

To study institutions through discourse, Linde (2001) summarizes two basic research approaches: one, how everyday work is carried out by the language use in institutions; the other, what the language use is doing in institutions to construct and reproduce the institutions (p.518). The second approach is the one that this study adopted to investigate the university.

Brand, as an important aspect of organization's identity is discussed later in chapter 5 (Section5.1.4). Branding is referred by McDonald (2017) as "strategic discourse" that intents to produce value for the organization (p.133).The brand of an institution is different than the brand concept in the business and marketing sense. Although branding has long been explored in marketing research, it has only recently come into the organizational scholarship (McDonald, 2017; Rennstam, 2013).Branding a university requires "defining the essence of what a university is, what it stands for, and what it is going to be known for" (Wæraas & Solbakk, 2009, p.449). In this study, brand is an important part of the institutional identity that emphasizing how the organization understands itself from the outside through the external stakeholders (Kornberger, 2010). The significance of a brand is that it takes time to develop, as same as a reputation, and over time it becomes a valuable asset of the organization (Abratt & Kleyn, 2012). The brand aspect of identity is associated with the corporate practice of the university in constructing a competitive and attractive representation in the global market which will be discussed later.

As the organizational identity is a discursive artefact, the constructing of meaning and shaping of the identity are actively controlled and manipulated by the top management, to adjust the organization to the external relations and align the organization with their own perceptions of how the organizational identity should be (Humphreys & Brown, 2002; Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991; Hardy et al, 2000). This paves the foundation of this study to investigate how the policy discourse is changed to sculpture the university identity and to manage meaning within the university.

Chapter 3 Research Aim and Research Questions

The research is centrally concerned with changes and transformation influenced by the Finnish higher education reform. The overall focus is to investigate the major changes in how a Finnish university presents itself as what they are in the policy discourse. Besides the investigation of identity changes, the background social implications are also explored through CDA.

This study chose UEF as a case study because UEF went through both the merger and the overall reform, which is a representative case. But the merger is not detailed in this study, as merger is only a part of the reform and the intention is to better understand the whole picture, the development of the Finnish higher education as a whole. And by taking a special angle from a university's identity transition to look into the higher education reform in Finland, as a case study, it hopes to bring more understanding of the overall transformation of the whole sector.

The immediate objective of the study is to make sense of the recent UEF transition from the policies and analyze the identity changes of a Finnish university over the period of 2000-2015. The transition can be seen from the comparison of the identity presented in the university policies before and after the reforms. The further objective of the study is to interpret the policy development direction implemented by the policy documents, and the ideologies behind. The foremost objective of the study is to better understand the identity changes and the policy changes within a wider framework of Finland's social, political and economic transformation during this period, and finding the phenomenon's connection to the broader research agenda of marketization of higher education.

The value of the study is to present the development and evolution of a Finnish higher education institute over the critical period of transition marked by the education reform, through the specific lens of the identity changes before and after the reform. The case study hopes to shed a light on better understanding of the bigger picture of the transformations occurring in the Finnish higher educational system and the Finnish society. And to encourage reflection for the changes of the mission of higher education institutes in the modern times, and open a dialogue about the sustainability and the future of the Finnish universities. As a case study, it also intends to provide a perspective of the big picture of the transition of a European university within the frame of the

broader political, social and economic transformations. So that a better understanding of the current European higher education restructuring can be also achieved.

The research questions are:

1. How is the new UEF envisioned by its own new policies after the reform?
2. How is the identity transition justified?
3. Is there a connection between marketization of higher education and the transition of UEF?

How to answer these questions and what kind of methodological approach is employed is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 4 Methodology and research design

This chapter briefs the research method that employed in the study- the central methodological approach of this study is Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework.

It's logical to point out what is discourse and what kind of discourse analysis is being carried out in this research firstly. Then, how this study is grounded in Fairclough's framework is explained. Afterwards what data is adopted and why the data analysis can achieve the research aim is introduced.

A closer look into literature shows that some studies confusingly use the term "discourse" and "narrative", some even interchangeably. They did not point out how exactly narrative is used in a discourse analysis. Due to different ways of conceptualization, there are debates about how to define discourse and narrative (Hyvärinen, 2013, pp.21-24). To avoid such confusion and maintain the clarity of the study, there is only one central methodological concept in this study: discourse. And narrative is situated as a subfield of discourse studies in this study's framework, as the official policy documents used as the data in this study is a part of organizational discourse (Prichard et al, 2004).

4.1 Discourse and the Discourse Analysis Framework in This Study

Discourse, as a complex concept has various overlapping definitions in different disciplines. This study takes Fairclough's account: discourse is not an isolated one-dimensional conceptualization. Instead, Fairclough (1992) shaped discourse into a three-dimensional prism: any instance of discourse is a discursive "event" which is synchronously a text, a "discursive practice" and "social practice" (1992, pp.3-4). If I may draw an analogue: "discourse" in Fairclough's conceptualization, is a "trinity" of text, discursive practice and social practice.

The very definition of discourse means Fairclough's account of discourse analysis is also three-dimensional, accordingly consisting of textual analysis, discursive analysis and social analysis. This

definition also sets the foundation of this study with the pivotal positioning of discourse analysis as multidimensional analysis connecting educational, political and social analysis. Fairclough's discourse analysis paradigm translates into visual representation would be the following Figure 1, which is also the essential framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA):
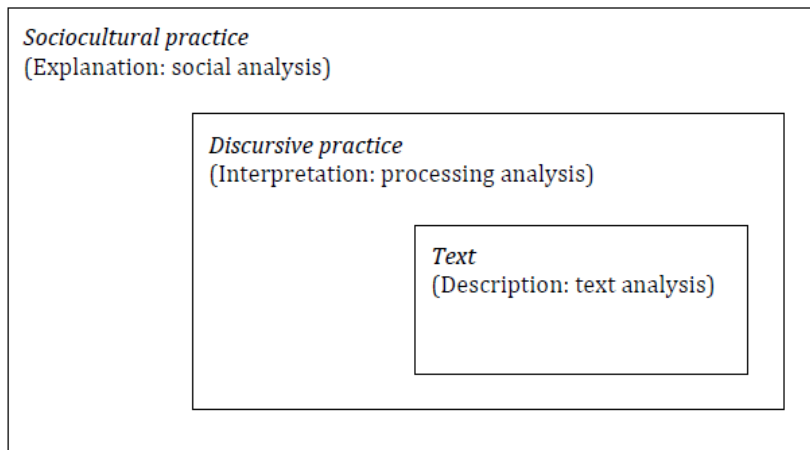

Figure 1: Fairclough's Three-dimensional framework for analyzing discursive events (1995)

In this analytical framework, the "text" dimension refers to "the language analysis of texts" (Fairclough, 1992, p4). Text, in Fairclough's view is a product of symbolic forces, either verbal or non-verbal (1992, p3). That means discourse can be spoken and written, and visual images, or the combination of words and images. Text, in this study precisely policy text, is the center piece for discourse analysis. The starting point of this study's analysis is to examine the discourse that constructed the university identity in the policies.

According to Fairclough (2010), a text is part of an event in three ways, in acting, representing and identifying: texts are "part of a social action … (texts) simultaneously represent aspects of the world, and simultaneously identify social actors, contribute to the constitution of social and personal identity" (p75). In this view, the text analysis in this study does not only address the language/linguistic characteristics and configurations (Fairclough, 1992, p.73-74), but also looks into the social indication and representation.

The "discursive practice" dimension analysis identifies "the nature of the processes of text production and interpretation", e.g. "which types of discourse are drawn upon and how they are combined" (Fairclough, 1992, p.4). This level is already connected to social theories.

The third level in the framework, "sociocultural practice" analysis concerns issues "such as the institutional and organizational circumstances of the discursive event and how that shapes the nature of the discursive practice, and the constitutive/ constructive effects of discourse" (Fairclough, 1992, p.4).

In the later analysis, discursive practice analysis and social practice will be addressed in the data analysis, to investigate how the new identity is discursively constructed and realized at the social level.

4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in This Study

On the basis of the three-dimensional conception of discourse, and especially discourse's critical social properties, Fairclough developed an interdisciplinary approach -- Critical discourse analysis (CDA). Fairclough's CDA largely inherited Michel Foucault's Post-Structuralist view of the power of discourse in the process of social transformation, on top of a critical theory of language use. Fairclough (1992) sees discourse in CDA as a social practice, a mode of action (p.63), which means language use is socially constitutive and transformative. In CDA, discourse and social practice form a two-way dynamic interaction: the nature of social practice is shaping and shaped by the processes of text production and interpretation; on the other hand the production process shapes (and leaves "traces" in) the text and the interpretative process operates upon "cues" in the text (ibid., p.133). CDA explores the tension and dynamics between these two sides of language use, the socially shaped and the socially constitutive (Fairclough, 1993, p.136).

Language's functionality of constituting and reconstructing society is usually taken for granted because of its use in everyday life and its transparency. This is exactly where CDA's value comes in, to reveal what is normalized in our society, including the ones that normalized to implement certain social agendas. In the same sense, CDA is especially valuable for studying those discourses that are manipulated to fulfill certain political and economic purposes.

Using CDA to study higher education marketization: through the discursive social architecting of "there is a market" in higher education, the artificially constructed competition between educational institutions, and the rhetoric construction of efficiency, performance, measurability and accountability, etc., marketization fulfils its power in the higher education sector and its reforms. Higher education missions have been increasingly redesigned to fit competitive strategies, as part of economic agendas, and what propels the transformation in education sector is exactly the reconstructing of the idea of educational institutes as corporates and the embracing of market mechanisms (Marginson, 1999, p.233).

The relevant marketization discourse (including the policy discourse in this study) is a product or result of those social actions trying to transform the education system. If we think the policy text as a by-product, it is at least a by-product of the subconscious social actions that assisting the changes. And in term, those policy discourse are serving the social actions to further implement certain practices. Fairclough (2007) refers this as one type of Rose's (1999) "human technologies" (p.132) – those policies are artificially made by us, then they act upon us to make us behave in a certain way to achieve the results the policies intend to achieve. For example, if we create the policy of accountability in higher education and standardize the policy, afterwards we gain an increasing awareness of what we are responsible and start to watch our own behaviors, then the purpose of the policy is achieved.

CDA is employed in this study as the methodological framework not only because given the research objectives the approach is the best suitable, but more importantly because its amplitude as it consistently provides the theoretical, methodological, historical and political ground for this study. In that the theoretical ground as discourse constructs certain social actions. The methodological ground as texts act as evidence for investigating the connection of social structures, social relations and processes and their development (Fairclough, 1992). The historical ground is provide by historical property of CDA that every discourse is tied to its context, and it shows the footprint of the social development (Wodak, 2001). It provides the ground for analysis of the Finnish university's identity changes during the certain period in this study. The political ground is CDA's critical social science agenda to expose social inequality and power relations.

A more in-depth analysis of the identity transformation is not about the identity per se, but the social implication and social changes beneath. Fairclough's CDA framework paves the foundation

of connecting investigating discourse to its context of social changes, which provides the ground for the link of the discourse changes to the social changes in Finnish society. As Fairclough (2001) points out, the "critical" aspect in CDA means a "commitment to progressive social change" (p.230).

4.3 Strategy document as a specific organizational discourse

To maintain this study's consistency and clarity, the research paradigm is rooted in Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis framework throughout the whole research. Within this broad framework, the examined discourse is a set of specific university strategy policy discourse, which belongs to the category of organizational discourse (Prichard et al, 2004).

For the specificity of the data as organizational discourse, one concept here need to be clarified. Narrative, here in the context of organizational discourse is different than the conventional concept of narrative in the literacy and linguistics theory. The traditional narrative theory consider narrative is coherent with beginning and ending, but in the organizational discourse, narrative is fragmented beyond the traditional way of coherent storytelling (Boje, 2008; Vaara et al, 2016).

Narrative/storytelling is considered as one important domain in organizational discourse studies (Grant et al, 2004). In this study, narrative is a concept under the central concept of discourse, as a subfield of organizational discourse studies (Prichard et al, 2004). Narrative is an important aspect to decipher the university identity change in this study, because narrative is used in purposeful storytelling in the organizational setting to give sense to change and to manage meaning (Gabriel, 2000; Boje, 2008; Sonenshein, 2010).

However, organizational discourses are not usually straightforward. In the organizational settings, narratives are often articulated only in fragments (Boje, 2011). In the same sense, identity narratives are also fragmented pieces in the university discourse. These fragmented narratives are given a specific category by Boje (2011) as "ante-narratives."

Ante-narrative, namely, "before narrative", is a concept defined by Boje (2001) to study those fragmented pieces of narrative in organizational context. Ante-narratives, simply put, are pieces of discourses before they become a complete story. Hence in this study, the narratives that are composing the identity, situated in an even more precise category, are actually ante-narratives.

Ante-narratives can be seen as powerful examples of meaning-making in progress (Wolgemuth, 2014). Looking into them provides a perspective for sense-making and sense-giving in fragmented organizational discourse, and the unfolding changes of the organization. Thus ante-narratives are crucial as to understand the transition of the university.

4.4 Policy documents as Data

Policy documents are primary source of data for higher education policy studies (Saarinen, 2008). In this study, policy documents are the data, in other words, the policy text is the data. Documents as data supports the research to evaluate the development of social and educational practices (Wetherell et al, 2001).

According to Saarinen (2008) more recent policy analyses in education start to appreciate the postmodernist view of policy discourse as "process" for its involvement in social actions and social process, instead of the old approach regarding policy merely a product of text. Such approach enables this study to exam these strategy policies as a transforming process, carrying the process of policy direction changes, identity changes and Finnish society changes through the period of 2000 to 2015 before and after the reforms.

This study chose strategy policy documents as data for three reasons.

For one, given the research objectives and the ultimate motivation of this study as to make sense of the implicit relations among policy changes, university identity transformation, Finnish social changes and the bigger picture, CDA framework provides the methodological tool, and these documents prove evidences of operationalization of various social practices, as in CDA social practices interact with discursive practices, and leaves traces at discursive practice.

Secondly, these strategy policy documents form a very important part of organizational discourse, as the official documents provide an important firsthand resource for organizational narratives (Vaara &Tienari, 2010). These official documents are crucial for understanding the transition of the Finnish universities during this crucial period. Through these official strategy documents which serve both as internal and external communication, the institute gives its self a narrative identity. i.e., these documents represent how the university sees itself through the narratives. The data reflects the developing process of the collective identity of the institute, which sheds light on a

Finnish university's evolution over the studied period of time, and connects the dots to the wider range of contexts where this organization discourse gain its sense and meaning.

Nothing says more than the institution's own official utterances, from the social constructionist's view. As earlier discussed by Mumby and Clair (1997): "organizations exist only in so far as their members create them through discourse" (p. 181).

The third reason, organizational identity are multi-vocal (Boje, 2001, 2008). Choosing the same kind of strategy documents that provide the same resource for the ante-narratives that are constructing identity. That means the same type of data will provide a constant aspect of identity storytelling from the perspective of UEF's own strategy.

A dive into literature can see that most published CDA articles relied one or two texts as the data resource. Many use just a single text for analysis, because the size of sample does not necessarily have to be big for discourse analysis and the focus is the language use (Woolgar, 1980; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). This study chose to examine multiple texts for the purpose of the historical comparison, besides the intension of more reliable results from more samples.

Within the CDA framework, a set of specific university strategy policy documents during 2000-2015 are the data for this study.

The documents (I put them into coded name as the year they are published):

policy document	code name by their publish year
To a new millenium: the strategy of the University of Joensuu for the years 2000-2006	Document 2000
Strategy for Internationalisation of the University of Joensuu for the Years 2007-2015	Document 2007
A university of the future -Strategy of the University of Eastern Finland (2010)	Document 2010
Internationalisation Policy of the University of Eastern Finland 2012–2015	Document 2012
Interdisciplinary solutions - Strategy of the University of Eastern Finland for 2015–2020	Document 2014a
auxiliary document Implementation Programme for the Strategy for 2015-2020	Document 2014b

The new policies after reform (Document 2010, 2012, 2014a and 2014b) are the primary data that present the new strategic priorities of UEF, which also provide the resource for the fragmented narratives of UEF's identity. And the transition is seen by the comparison to the old policies (Document 2000 and 2007).

I treat the new policies as a whole for the evidence after the reform. Whereas the old policies as a whole provide the resources before the reform. In the meantime, I treat the four new policies' discourse as a dynamic process as their functionality as strategic policies represents a continuum of the policy direction: their timescale, 2010, 2012-2015, 2015-2020, are connected. Every strategy policy is drafted for a period of time.

The study only chose English documents as the data – The discourse in English is a medium that reflects how the university constructs its identity in a global scale. The English documents are the ones that the university provides publicly to all global audience. They are announced and published on the university website and accessible to anyone in any part of the world. This also maintain the transparency of the data. Another reason of choosing only English documents is to make sure the consistency and fairness, that only the same kind of data is compared.

The comparison over different time scale resembles a longitudinal study, as the research design involves repeated observations of the same variables (in this case, e.g. UEF's strategic priorities) over long periods of time (Shadish et al, 2002).

The research approach in this study fundamentally avoids two basic mistakes when policy analysis using policy documents as data, as Saarinen (2008) summarizes: one, epistemologically regarding documents as "given" Substance but not Subject; the other, merely taking documents as "rhetoric", separating document from real life policy actions. Such mistakes are avoided in this study because the CDA epistemological and ontological views do not consider discourse (in this case, policy discourse) as Substance or Object. Besides, the ante-narrative theory does not consider the policy text as an "existing story" but "before the story". Policy discourse here are considered as constituent to constructing the unfolding story. The second mistake is avoided because CDA essentially takes discourse dualistically that language is a vehicle to carry the policy but the same time also constructing the reality that the policy is trying to shape. As Saarinen (2008) quotes Ball, policy text are not merely rhetoric; "they are policy, or at the very least, policies are textual interventions into practice" (Ball, 1993, p.12).

As for the relevance and reliability of the documents. Two criteria make the choice of these documents suitable for analysis. First, they contain data for discourse analysis because these policies are "naturally occurring" texts (Phillips & Hardy, 2002), such materials can stand for examples of language in use. The second criterion concerns the reliability of text as evidence. The authenticity of these strategy documents are unquestionable as they are published on the university's official website, transparent and accessible to the world, thus using these documents as data for social research avoid the problems of whether the data can be used or not and data's functionality (Prior, 2003, p.14).

The procedures of implementing the analysis are as following:

1. The initial stage: re-examine the research questions, determine the objectives of the research
2. Collecting data pertaining to the research topic, in this regard, the relevant policy documents of University of Eastern Finland.
3. finalize data collection, determine the documents
4. code the data, then examine and compare data
5. analyzing and interpreting data

To analyze the policy discourse, there are three central analytical categories in this study. They are text, ante-narrative, and recontextualization: text as the discursive features of the policy text, corresponding to the text dimension of the analysis framework; ante-narrative and recontextualization as how the text is organized and utilized, corresponding to the discursive dimension of the analysis framework. The social dimension analysis will be integrated into the other two dimensions' analysis throughout the whole process. The results are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 5 Findings

The following chapter presents and discusses the results of the discourse analysis followed the research approach described in the previous chapter.

This section analyzes and answers the research questions. The analysis distills the distinctive discursive practices that help to shape the new reality, which provides the ground for the identity construction. This chapter is arranged into 3 parts surrounding answering research question 2, but the results of research questions 1 and 3 are included at the same time.

 The 3 parts explaining how the identity construction is justified and fulfilled by:

1. Justified by different layers of recontextualization
2. legitimized by dominant ante-narratives and presuppositions
3. intermediated by discursive practice normalization

I call these three types of justification as "legitimization tools" as they are employed to legitimize and fulfill the constructed transformation in these new policies. Namely I call them: ante-narrative tool, recontextualization tool, and discursive tool.

The analysis of the ante-narrative tool explains what major policy storytelling is adopted in the new documents to justify the reality these policies are constructing. The analysis of the recontextualization tool clarifies how the changes are happening in the new policies by presenting where the new elements come from and the ideology behind them. The analysis of the discursive tool demonstrates how the policy text is assisting the transformation in the text dimension.

The different types of justification implanted in the policies are not separated. They seamlessly interconnect to one another, constructing a compelling storytelling with a sound logic, backing up the ground of the transformation that these strategy policies are facilitating. The compelling eloquence of the narratives are subconsciously changing the audience's perception of reality from the chosen and emphasized perspectives provided by the policymakers, all happening at a social-psychological level.

I reordered the presentation of the results, from the top-down order (from discursive-social to text), reverse from the analysis process from the logic of bottom-up (from text to discursive-social), so it is easier for the audience to better understand the results – Fairclough (1993) suggests the sequence of analysis can be flexible insofar as the analysis covers all the three dimensions.
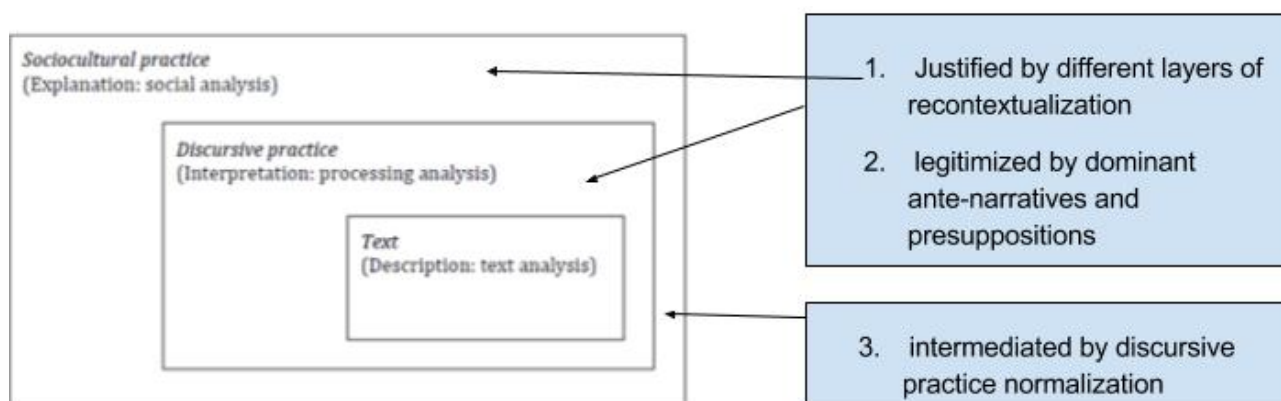
How the analysis corresponds to Fairclough's framework: as see in the above illustration I draw. The part 1 and 2 at the same time analyze social practice and discursive practice together. Part 3 discursive analysis corresponds to the text level in the framework.

This study takes a step further, not constricting the analysis on the data but involving a more in-depth analysis of the deeper issues surrounded to the examined subject--more value is added by the further critical evaluation of the macro environment and the dynamic between the EU, the state, and the UEF context beneath the data, and such analysis will be included in the following recontextualization and ante-narrative analyses.

5.1 Legitimized by layers of recontextualization- Finland's Exit Strategies to Escape the Crisis?

Recontextualization is investigated as one important category in this study, because the comparison of the documents shows that there are various newly emerged identity elements in the new policies after the reforms that are not created out of thin air nor the invention of the policymakers. Those new elements are actually the recontextualization of other discourses. This category is central as to understand where these new constitutive elements (e.g. education export and quality assurance) come from.

Recontextualization originates from Basil Bernstein's (1990) sociology of education. Bernstein (1990) characterized the "recontextualizing principle" as "a principle for appropriating other discourses and bringing them into a special relation with each other for the purposes of their selection, transmission and acquisition" (1990, pp.183-184). In other words, recontextualization is a process in which one discourse or its meaning transfers into another context. Linell (1998) simply

put it as "the dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context ... to another" (p.154).

In CDA, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) developed recontextualization as a "dialectic of colonization and appropriation". They see the recontextualization as a two-way dynamic, in which there is a parallel process of an external discourse (in this case, EU's strategies, Finnish national strategies, etc., in the following analysis) colonizing the recontextualizing practices (in this case, Finnish university's strategies); and simultaneously a process of the external discourse being appropriated within the recontextualizing practices.

One prominent analysis result is that the new UEF strategy policies noticeably recontextualized elements from European Union (EU) policies and Finnish national policies. This forms the top-down level consistency (EU level- Finnish national level-UEF institutional level) in policy direction, which I mark as **EU-FI-UEF consistency** in this study. This part of analysis not only clarifies where the new elements of the UEF identity come from, but also exemplifies how the realization of EU policies reaching from member state level to local institutional level. Wodak and Fairclough (2010) point out that making sense of the recontextualization dialectic is crucial for seeing the bigger picture of how member states are implementing the EU policies.

The analysis shows, the EU crisis rhetoric is transferred into the Finnish HE context, the same justification to escape economy crisis, to be "competitive" and "succeed" is adopted to justify the transition of a Finnish university. It suggests that the Finnish universities' priority is aligned to the economic priorities of the EU and the state in a synchronized way. The compliance to EU policies' economic initiative to take the share of global market and occupy a competitive position in global market has spread to the Finnish higher education.

From the establishment of an increasingly concrete quality assurance system, the transit to a "student-centered university", the same justification to exit economic crisis, the encouragement to export following the European Commission's country-specific recommendation, the top-down consistency, all indicate that UEF's current development is in line with EU's planning direction.

According to the EU treaties, the European Commission does not hold legal capacity over member states' education sectors; member states are responsible for their own education and training systems. But the EU helps them set joint goals and share good practices (European Commission, 2014a). Despite no legal power over education sectors, as shown in the following analysis, the European Commission's policies have disseminated their policy discourses in the UEF policies.

From the policy level, for the exit strategy to be effective, the European Commission sets out the EU2020 Strategy as the cardinal proposal (discussed in the following section 5.1.1), and makes country specific recommendations to the member states to make their own national strategies. However, as the strategy states, the European Commission requires member states' commitment to this strategy (p.6), otherwise the Commission "will monitor progress towards the targets, facilitate policy exchange" and "policy warnings could be issued in case of inadequate response" (p.6). In this regard, the European Commission shows its power above the member states. And the top-down EU-FI-UEF policy consistency indicates that this power has reached to the Finnish local level.

5.1.1 How the documents present the policy context: Cooperation VS. Competition

As the analysis of ante-narrative tool clarified in the previous section, the crisis of "European universities are failing" and the global competition are the main context provided by the new policies. On the contrast, the old documents provide context based on "collaboration" rather than "competition". As shown in the following table, the notable difference of the old policy context "corporation" VS. new policy context "challenge and competition":

Table 1 Cooperation VS. Competition

before the reform		after the reform	
Document 2000	2007	2010	2012
The University … strives to develop the cooperation network which has been created among universities and regional development authorities in Western Europe, northwestern Russia and the Baltic countries.	Currently, the University of Joensuu is linked, through bilateral agreements of cooperation, with 55 universities based in a total of 23 countries. The University of Joensuu coordinates the Finnish-Russian Cross-Border University.	Over the past few years, the global research and innovation environment has gone through a rapid change and become more compact in nature. … Moreover, research universities have moved to a central role and they are expected face new challenges…	European higher education institutions are failing. …Furthermore, university-business cooperation between European universities and companies is not extensive enough.

The attractiveness of Finland as a business, work and living environment must be increased… |

		…to meet the demands of operational efficiency.	The strategy…strives towards Finland becoming one of the world's leading education-based economies

Table 1 shows the comparison, there is a different take on similar "changing circumstances": the policies before the reform choose to seek "innovative ways of cooperation" (Document 2007, p.2), e.g:

> In order to take advantage of changing circumstances, the University also
> encourages new, innovative ways of cooperation, including those not based on
> formal agreements.

Document 2007, p.2

Whereas the new policies, the rationale become to "succeed" and be "internationally competitive" (this will be further discussed in Section 5.2.1). Both collaboration and competition are among the important trends in the development of higher education in recent years (e.g. de Wit et al, 2015), but how the policy picks the phenomena to use it as background and build up the logic implies the policy's attitude and orientation.

The discourse emphasis shift from collaboration to competition indicates that on the discourse level, the new policy storytelling provides the immediate justification for the transition: "the context has changed". This provides the basic rationale behind the policy direction change. Setting this as background, the new policies then recontextualized a series of new concepts.

The national context of these new UEF policies is the Finnish social restructuring. The Finnish higher education sector restructuring is part of it and the most direct background for the UEF policy changes. In the broader context, however, all these changes are part of the overall European restructuring and transformation. The Commission (2010) summarized the crisis Europe is facing:

> Europe faces a moment of transformation. The crisis has wiped out years of
> economic and social progress and exposed structural weaknesses in Europe's
> economy. In the meantime, the world is moving fast and long-term challenges –
> globalisation, pressure on resources, ageing – intensify. The EU must now take
> charge of its future.

EUROPE 2020: A European Strategy for Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth, p.5

In March 2010, the European Commission launched its flagship strategy *EUROPE 2020: A Strategy for Smart, Sustainable And Inclusive Growth* (hereafter Europe 2020 Strategy). The strategy policy expresses itself as "a credible exit strategy" for the EU crisis (p.6). The Europe 2020 Strategy is drawn to combat the recession and the unemployment rise from the economic and financial crisis. The Commission stated that a successful exit from the crisis required shaping the public policies for the changed circumstances, in order to return the EU on a sustainable and high growth path. (European Commission, 2010)

Since the onset of the crisis, the European Commission's central focus has been to mapping a way for the EU to get out of the crisis, encouraging the member states to mobilize all possible solutions to return to growth and promote the competitive economies. (European Commission, 2013)

Policies are employed as instruments "massively" to combat the crisis. In Europe 2020 strategy:

> Policy instruments were decisively, and massively, used to counteract the crisis. To support the EU's economic growth potential and the sustainability of our social models, the consolidation of public finances in the context of the Stability and Growth Pact involves setting priorities and making hard choices…budgetary consolidation programmes should prioritise 'growth-enhancing items' such as education and skills, R&D and innovation…

From Chapter 4. EXIT FROM THE CRISIS: FIRST STEPS TOWARDS 2020, p.24

The EU indicates that "the structural weaknesses in Europe's economy can only be addressed by moving ahead with structural reforms" and Europe must act collectively, take the effort together to get out of the crisis together (European Commission, 2013). This partly explains the high consistency of the policies-- From this perspective, the EU-FI-UEF consistency shows an integrated effort and determination to combat the crisis and exit the crisis.

The crisis is the common ground that connects all the three level policies. Structural weakness is a common disadvantage exposed by the crisis that both addressed by the EU and Finnish state policies from Ministry of Finance (MOF) (European Commission, 2010; MOF, 2013, 2014, 2015). Based on this background the Finnish national programmes (MOF, 2013, 2014, 2015) continued stressing the ongoing structural reform. The Finnish higher education restructurings belong to the overall national structural reforms.

Two axes – competitiveness and smart growth

The UEF new policies contain a nexus of constructed discourses, which together compose a solid policy storytelling/narrative. This policy storytelling/narrative is based on two axes – "smart growth" and "competitiveness", which constitute the kernel of "the exit strategies to escape the crisis". "Competitiveness" and "smart growth" are the central discourses that recontextualized from the Europe 2020 Strategy's three priorities (p.5).

- Smart growth: developing economic growth based on knowledge and innovation. (p.5)
- Competitiveness: building competitive advantages based on resource efficient and sustainable mechanisms. (pp.14-15)

The convergence of these two concepts are the commodification of Finnish higher education. I drew the following illustration (figure 2):

Figure 2: two core discourses and their convergence in UEF new policies

These two core discourses of the new policies are consistent to the EU and the national level polices. As the same sense as the two priorities in EU 2020 strategy which the European Commission suggests are mutually reinforcing each other (p.5). The aim of promoting smart growth is to enhance the competitiveness. The competitiveness relies on the smart growth, as a sustainable development largely replies on the solutions and technologies coming from the knowledge and innovation.

Together with the convergent principal presupposition (that knowledge can be utilized for economic growth) establishes the foundation of the new UEF policies. It makes all the newly introduced

discourses like "education export" (e.g. Document 2012, section 6.1) and "entrepreneur university" (e.g.Document 2014a, p.6) possible.

On the basis of these axes, core discourses are transferred and implanted to the UEF policies. e.g. Based the axis of "smart growth" the new policies introduce a series of recontextualized discourses like education export and close collaboration with business. The recontextualized concept "smart growth" corresponds to the ante-narratives of marketization. And the "competitiveness" corresponds to the "global competition" ante-narratives. These all together formulate the whole new storytelling represents that the new policy direction has changed to a new ideology.

The UEF new policies, especially the latest one Document 2014, clearly take a stand for EU's initiatives. For example, in the opening statement of Document 2014a, UEF declares the priorities of research and education as to find solutions for four global challenges:

- Ageing, lifestyles and health
- Learning in a digitised society
- Cultural encounters, mobility's and borders
- Environmental change and sufficiency of natural resources

Document 2014a, p.2

These address the "seven flagship initiatives" of the Europe 2020 Strategy (pp.5-6). For example, the UEF priority of "environmental change and sufficiency of natural resources" address the Europe 2020 Strategy's "resource efficient Europe" priority, which is to build a more competitive economy based on an energy-efficient sustainable development (p.6). From the discourse level, the UEF new policies mirror the EU exit strategy as if they were part of Finland's exit strategy to step out the crisis.

5.1.2 "Time to Be Smart": Smart Growth, Quality Assurance, Student-Centered

The above macro-level recontextualization analysis explained the new paradigm of the UEF new policy. At the micro-level, the following 3 recontextualized discourses from the EU level policies give a more detailed representation:

- Smart Growth
- Quality assurance
- A student-centered university

Coincidentally, or not, "smart" is the central theme of the new slogans of UEF's branding complain, which are:

- Time to be smart
- smart since by smart people
- State of smart

The university even uses "#smartversity" (a coined word merging "smart" and "university") as its reference for the posters and online social media.

"Smart growth" is the first and foremost principal strategy for the Europe 2020 strategy discourse (p.5). The apparent connotation of "smart" is "knowledge and innovation" (p.11). The discourse of "smart" has become prevalent in the European policies after The EU promotes the concept in the "exit strategy", and it reaches to the Finnish national policies, e.g. 2014 Finland's National Programme's "resource-smart solutions in municipalities, businesses and households" (p.42) and " the smart specialization" (p.49) (MOF, 2014). Now the "smart" discourse reaches to UEF policy (e.g. Document 2014a).

There is a connection with UEF's smart discourse recontextualizing EU's discourse. For example, UEF states under "smart science by smart people" that "we are committed to promoting the status of researchers and developing the research career in accordance with the criteria defined by the European Commission" (UEF, 2017).

The European Commission emphasizes that true competitiveness relies on the modernization of universities and the future of science and technology, and the movement towards a "knowledge-based economy" is crucial; Emphasis also addresses that to achieve the goals higher education reform further implementation is also important (Council of the European Union, 2008). The

Commission shows interest in the higher education sector in recent years: from the Bologna Process and the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) to Erasmus+ programme, the EU plays an important role in the process. This findings accord to Walkenhorst's(2007) research that even though the European Union has no direct legal capacity for education areas for their members as an intermediate organization, it still occupied a vantage point in the higher education reforms.

Quality Assurance

Quality Assurance has been brought to the European higher education's attention since the Bologna Process. In 2003 European ministerial meeting, the ministers recognized that "the quality of higher education has proven to be at the heart of the setting up of a European Higher Education Area (EHEA)" and "the primary responsibility for quality assurance in higher education lies with each institution itself and this provides the basis for real accountability" (Berlin Communiqué, 2003).

Eurydice, Educational, Audiovisual, & Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) defines quality assurance as:

> Quality assurance in higher education can be understood as policies, procedures and practices that are designed to achieve, maintain or enhance quality as it is understood in a specific context.

The European higher education area in 2012: Bologna process implantation report, p60

European Commission (2015) states that improving European higher education quality lies "at the core of the Bologna Process", which also "has underpinned major developments in quality assurance during the last 15 years" (p.87). In its 2014 report, European Commission (2014b) advocates higher education institutes integrating quality assurance into every area:

> It (quality assurance) needs to **engage with all areas of an institution's activities**, to keep up with change in how higher education is designed and delivered, and involve the entire institution in creating a quality culture that underpins teaching and learning.

European Commission (2014b) Report on Progress in Quality Assurance in Higher Education, p.9

This provides rationale for incorporating quality management in every aspect of UEF's activity in the strategy papers, which is fully presented in Document 2012 and 2014a with every section tailed a following up "monitor" description ascribed to quality assurance.

The rhetoric of quality management only starts to appear after the reforms in the new policies. Document 2000 and 2007 mentioned "quality" in a general way but not "quality management", saying that the university "is committed to quality in its international educational and research cooperation" (Document 2007, p.7). Document 2010 starts to mention quality management in one sentence as "internal audits and annual management reviews are carried out in compliance with the university's quality management system." (p.13). Document 2012 dedicates the whole chapter 7 to quality management as "Quality Management and Performance Indicators Relating to International Activities" (p.16). And Document 2014 assigns the whole document to describe the details of quality management through implementation. **This is evident that after 2010 the strategies attach more and more significance to quality assurance.**

The significant emphasis on quality assurance in UEF's new policy goes in line with European Commission's policy change at the same time. Further analyzing the context of the recontextualization in the latest strategy Document 2014 links to the most relevant Bologna Process ministerial conference in 2012. From the Bucharest Communiqué (2012), the emphasis starts to shift towards quality assurance, with clear contrast from London Communiqué (2007) which gives full priority to the social dimension of higher education to increase equal access to education and develop social responsibility. The Bucharest Communiqué (2012)starts to prioritize "quality assurance" over "social dimension", which European Commission (2015) explains, "thus linking overall quality goals in higher education to the development of quality assurance systems." (p.87). Bucharest Communiqué (2012) also suggests the *Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area* (ESG) is connecting member states to common objectives with regard to quality assurance. Obviously, from the pervasive rhetoric of quality management in the new strategy Document 2014, UEF is aligned to "common objectives".

European Commission (2014b) reports that among the member states since 2009 "vast majority of HEIs have established explicit Quality Assurance structures and processes", and "over 75% of Finnish HEIs have a public strategy for continuous quality enhancement" (p.4).

In some way, the establishment of QA and all the measurability and accountability provide tools to deal with the "competitiveness" issues, to better incentive and push the faculties and relative

members to comply with the policies. (It is easy to see after the assessment report published which department is not fulfilling the pre-determined "goals" and who is accountable for which category.)

A student-centered university

Another recontextualized element is "student-centered" education. Document 2014a claims that UEF is a "student-centered university" in the mission statement, "we are an international, multidisciplinary and student-centered university…" (p.3), which is a very typical statement about one aspect of the university's identity as "who we are". In the previous polices, students nevertheless are mentioned as very important to the university, e.g. in Document 2000, "motivated and able students are the main resource of the University" (p.2). However, it is the latest strategy Document 2014a that attributes "a student-centred university" to the university's identity, for the first time.

The identity constitutive rhetoric "student-centered learning" is another recontextualized from EU's strategies. Although at the commencement of the Bologna Process, "student-centered learning" was not directly addressed, the following up process has seen a lot of effort goes to this part. It has been fully taken into part of the Bologna Process and European Commission's agenda since 2009 and consider as "central to the creation of a coherent European Higher Education Area" (Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué, 2009).

At the same time, other identity-constituting elements like "quality assurance" are also connected because of a paradigm shifting to "student-centered learning", as the EU guideline points out:

> Since 2005, considerable progress has been made in quality assurance as well as
> in other Bologna action lines such as qualifications frameworks, recognition and
> the promotion of the use of learning outcomes, all these contributing to a
> paradigm shift towards student-centered learning and teaching.

Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area (ESG). (2015), p5

Given these facts, the shift to "a student-centered university" seems to be a timely change that fits to the bigger "framework".   Meanwhile this recontextualized concept serves for the EU's other objectives like developing competitiveness and dealing with unemployment, as the Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué (2009) explains:

Student-centred learning and mobility will help students develop the competences they need in a changing labour market and will empower them to become active and responsible citizens.

The Bologna Process 2020 -The European Higher Education Area in the new decade, p.1

The following analysis clarifies the recontextualization from the national level policies, with two major discourses as example:

- education export
- branding as international problem-solving expert

I start with the phenomena of UEF recontextualizing these discourses from Finnish national policies, then analyze their deeper social and economic implications for the Finnish society.

5.1.3 The "EX" Factor – Export

From the analysis of Finland's socioeconomic situation mentioned above, and the reference to certain Finnish authorities' policies, the concept of "education export" is recontextualized from the national policies during the recession, mainly from Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) . "Education export" is proposed as a means to improve Finland's competitiveness and to contribute to the overall Finnish exports, as stated by Document 2012 as one of the university's "challenges":

The Finnish Education Export Strategy, published by the Ministry of Education in 2010, strives towards Finland becoming one of the world's leading education-based economies, which relies on the high quality of its education system, as well as towards significantly increasing the proportion of education and knowledge exports in relation to overall exports by 2015.

Doc 2012, p.4

This strategy is drafted by the working group led by the Minister of Education and Science, Henna Virkkunen, on 17 June 2009 to prepare and pinpoint the obstacles for possible education export. UEF policies recontextualized this strategy's initiative that Finland's strengths in the education

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"must be utilized and education must be developed into successful export articles for Finland" (p.5). The export strategy also believes that exporting Finnish education will improve other Finnish exports (p.7). Finnish HEIs are identified as "engines" and "operators" of the education export (p.13) in this strategy. This strategy, however, does not provide concreate solutions as how to export and what exactly to export (MOEC, 2010). Another issue for the working group was how to better define the education export in the Finnish context because it is a relatively new concept. The working group suggested that "export of education expertise" (in Finnish: koulutusosaamisen vienti) is more accurate than "education export" to describe the nature of the Finnish education export business because it's different than the already established business of the famous competitors like UK, but "education export" is still adopted as the official term because it has been commonly used in English-speaking countries (Juntunen, 2014). In the final report the strategy refer the concept as all education related export activities (Education export strategy 2010, p.7).

Finnish education, or already referred with a trademark by some scholars as "Finnish Education ®"(e.g. Monika Schatz, Ana Popovic & Fred Dervin, 2015), is marketed as "the strongest international brand of the country" and expected to turn to export revenue (MOEC, 2017). The ambassador for education export Marianne Huusko is considered as a "trailblazer" in this "business" (MOEC, 2017). Finland gains its reputation of its prominent education system and the high education quality worldwide (OECD, 2011), thus attracts global attention. Despite the "significant international interest", "no ready-made products" exist, or "none have at least been identified yet" (Education export strategy 2010, p.3).

The recontextualized discourse of education export is linked to the competition discourse (in the following section 5.2.1) because Finnish education is considered as a strength. The data (e.g. Document 2000, p.1) and other Finnish national polices (e.g. Education Export Strategy, p.15) consistently consider Finnish education should be utilized to increase Finland's global competitiveness. Finnish Funding Agency for Innovation (TEKES) (2016) include "education and research" as Finland's one competitive strength for Finnish business and industries (p.15).

At the same time education export discourse is also linked to the marketization discourse (in the following section 5.2.2) with the consistent presupposition of commodification of the Finnish education -- only with this presupposition as basis can the education export concept be valid, as in this regard education is viewed as a product/service that can be exported. For example:

from the UEF institutional level:	We promote the transfer of the university's research findings to support knowledge-based growth… Document 2014a, p.6 We are known as a partner…, and as a producer of research data and education… Document 2014a, p.3
From the Finnish national level:	Educational know-how will be a Finnish export cluster in the future. Educational know-how will be an increasingly important part of industrial and service products and in this way it will bolster other export sectors. Education export strategy, 2010, p.7
And as the same as the EU level:	Unleash Europe's innovative capabilities, improving educational outcomes and the quality and outputs of education institutions, and exploiting the economic and societal benefits of a digital society. **Europe 2020 Strategy, 2010, p.12**

Table 2 How education export is recontextualized from EU to UEF

The Europe 2020 Strategy is the flagship initiative that provide proposals for all member states. In the above table Europe 2020 strategy uses "outcomes", and "outputs" (p.12) as if education institutions are producers and education is product. This again exemplifies the EU-FI-UEF consistency.

With this presupposition, and the autonomy granted by new University Act 2009, the universities now can manage their education export like a business. They set up companies to configure the "business". UEF with collaboration of University of Tampere, University of Turku and Åbo Akademi University established Finland University Inc.. This is reflected in the discourse, for example:

> Transnational education is developed in cooperation with Finland University
> Inc.

Doc 2014a, p.7

According to the European Commission's assessment of Finland's macroeconomic condition, Finland suffered a serious setback of competitiveness decline in past years. The rise of cost, the export market share loss, and large private debt were among the problems. Finland's terms of trade

also deteriorated. Import prices increased since 2000. Finland lost about 20% export market shares from 2005 to 2010. Finland's export industry largely suffered from the consequence of 2008 financial crisis and the European debt crisis. Meanwhile the export in new markets didn't grow significantly. The setback in exports was largely due to an unfavorable export structure. The export of goods declined from 2000 to 2012, however the value of services export had grown. Finland's exports now relies more on exports of services. (Ministry of Finance, 2012, 2013, 2014)

This social economic background to some extent pushes the emergence of education export strategy and partly explains the highly emphasized rhetoric of "competitiveness" which is repeated in different contexts including in the UEF strategy. And to promote education export seems reasonable because as the Finnish Funding Agency for Innovation (Tekes)(2016) implies, Finland lacks competitive products in the global market (Tekes Review 330/2016, p.5). This attempt positions Finnish HEIs as one of the respondents to "saving the Finnish economy". Apparently the fundamental motive for this strategy is economic.

What "education export" means to Finland's restructuring can be twofold: for the higher education restructuring, it requires partly marketization and commodification of Finnish education so that it can be a "commodity" to export (for this part, as analyzed earlier the obstacles have been cleared); for the Finnish export restructuring, education export will add a new category to the overall export structure.

Various practices in the new policies are under the **restructuring rationale**. Multiple level policies addressed the issue of restructuring (e.g. as discussed earlier, EU, Finnish government, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Education and Culture, UEF). Certain implementation of restructuring are already fulfilled (in this case Finnish higher education reform). This again is a good example of the CDA theory's post-structuralism dialectic (discussed in the Chapter 4): certain social practices within the EU are modeling the policy discourse; the policy discourse in term are constructing a particular reality that the policy prescribed, by executing and enforcing certain social actions directed by the policy discourse.

As analyzed in the previous section of ante-narrative tool, the macro and micro environment is prepared, and the basis of the proposal of export Finnish education is established -- the presupposition that education is a commodity. i.e. the policies presume that Finnish education can be utilized as product or service for transferring into "smart growth". This idea has been prompted as the background knowledge of the new policies. Without asking any consent, the documents

basically prescribe the hegemony that Finnish education now serves the economic development. This reflects in the CDA theory how power is constructed by the discourses.

At the same time, the university's role for fostering social responsibility and equality are not mentioned in the new policies. This clearly shows that now the priority is economic growth. The positioning of the education has changed in the documents: the Finnish higher education policies used to follow the egalitarian spirit (Kivinen et al, 2007), but now the new policies show a clear economic positioning. For example: the following table

before reform	after reform	after reform
Doc 2000	Doc 2007	Doc 2014a
Besides the above-mentioned ways, the University practises transfer of expertise also through its general task of transmission of culture....A central aspect of the University's general task of transmission of culture is cooperation with other local organs. The University will strive to take a more active role than before in projects which promote tolerance and equality in society. p.9	Equal opportunities The University is committed to the principle of equality in international education for female and male staff members. The University will also ensure that physically challenged staff and students have equal opportunities to participate in international educational and research cooperation programmes. p.7	The university is a non-discriminating and equal employer, whose skilled and motivated staff is the key to success. p.6

Table 3 the transition of the discourse of social equality

In the above table, the comparison shows that the university's discourse about promote social equality is reduced after the reform– the only equality discourse in the latest document 2014a is "UEF as an equal employer" and in Document 2014b the implementation document there is zero reference to equality.

The education export discourse is logically aligned to the overall policy storytelling, and closely connected to the next recontextualized branding discourse.

5.1.4 We Can Solve the World's Problems—From Country Branding to UEF Branding

As discussed earlier, in the latest policy Document 2014a, UEF prioritizes its position as an expert of solving the world's problems (p.2) in the opening statement "solutions to global challenges":

Finding solutions to the complex challenges of our changing world… Research and education are expected to provide interdisciplinary solutions and skills to create a responsible and sustainable future. The University of Eastern Finland has identified four global challenges for which we seek to find solutions through our strong research…

Document 2014a, p.2

This branding image as an international problem-solving expert is recontextualized from the Finnish national branding campaign: In 2008, former Foreign Minister Alexander Stubb appointed a "Country Brand Delegation" to "create a strong national image that will enhance Finland's international competitiveness" (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, 2008). Here the competitiveness discourse is accentuated again, which goes in line with EU's strategy. The fruit of this two year project is a country brand report Mission for Finland (2010), which essentiates Finland's brand image as a problem-solver – "in 2030, Finland will be the world's problem-solver" (p.3). Brand image is the image that the branding activities are trying to build in the audience' perception. The new UEF brand image is consistent with the country brand image that the delegation is building.

Country branding is a good example of the invasion of modern commodification culture into publicity management. Country branding is defined by researchers as "a relatively new type of marketing and public diplomacy, a developing field and a tool that governments use to promote their goods and services and to enhance awareness about their country, promote tourism, increase trade and attract foreign direct investment (FDI) and talent (Kilduff & Núñez Tabales, 2017, p.83). Positive country brands increase countries' competiveness in the global market (Gudjonsson, 2005).

The Finnish country brand strategy provides the same context of "crisis and challenge" (pp. 3-5) as UEF documents do. The latest UEF policy Document 2014a adopts the same approach as this country brand strategy as solution-oriented (p.3). On top of the solution orientation, the country brand report defines three central areas that can be used to strengthen the image of Finland. Finnish education accounts for 30% of Finland's country brand: the core of the country brand are functionality (innovation), nature and education (pp.5-9). Finnish education system in this strategy is branded as "the best in the world" (p.230). The strategy suggests Finland capitalize on this famous education system (pp.191-252). And in the beginning, the country brand report posits that "Finland is already the best country in the world" (p.3). The "mission" for Finnish higher education

is "copying the PISA success" and become "part of Finland's world famous education phenomenon", to reach up to the level of "among the best in the world" (p.210).

Those discourses bound Finland's image and Finnish education's image together. In this way they mutually promote each other. For example, The Centre for International Mobility (CIMO) (from 2017 named Finnish National Agency) (2015) for Education uses Finland' good international image to boost Finnish higher education's attractiveness ---

> CHOOSE FINLAND AND:
> Enter the most efficient education system in the world
> (The Efficiency index 2014)
> Enhance your skills in the most innovative country in the world
> (World Economic Forum 2015)
> Study in the best higher education and training system in the world (World
> Economic Forum 2015)
> Breathe the cleanest air in Europe
> (Environmental Performance Index 2014)

Higher Education in Finland 2015–2016, p.3

The implication of the brand image as an international problem-solving expert is again mainly economic and political– as the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland (2008) points out, the intention of the campaign is to "strengthen Finnish business' potential", promote investment interest and tourism to Finland, and increase international political influence.

Aronczyk (2016) sees the increasing popular transnational practice of nation branding as "the creation and communication of national identity using tools, techniques and expertise from the world of corporate brand management" (p.15). Thus besides the economic implication, this consistent UEF and Finland image is also a sign of consolidation of Finnish national identity in the face of crisis.

Looking into a more profound level, however, the Finnish country brand report answering the question "what is Finland" (p.24) by an economic solution is just too univocal and inadequate. Country branding is increasingly seen as a tactic for the nation states to deal with their problems. As Aronczyk (2016) reveals, country branding is an economic-driven discursive construction of the nation, but "when globalization is presented as an economic problem, it seems to warrant the adoption of an economic solution" (p.22). In this regard, this type of practice is cooperation

between business and public sectors to enhance competitiveness and diplomacy in the global market. The same economic rationale is employed in the UEF new polices.

The recontextualization from Finnish country branding strategy in UEF documents is as well part of a very consistent and logical nexus of discourses of "commodifying education, branding/marketing it, and then exporting it".

The branding concept is mainly recontextualized from the national level, but it also goes in line with the EU-FI-UEF consistency, as it correspond to EU's overall strategy of promoting European universities. As UEF expresses--

> UEF will contribute to the global marketing of European universities by participating in projects "Promoting Attractiveness of European Higher Education".

European Policy Statement of the University of Eastern Finland For The Years 2014 -2020, p.2

The logic of the new policy storytelling is very consistent. Firstly, the obstacles are cleared (as in ante-narrative analysis) so that macro and micro-environment is ready --- following that comes the branding of education and exporting education. The policy storytelling seems all very natural.

5.1.5 The Real Power behind The Strategy Shift

By Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999) recontextualization theory, these EU policies are "colonizing" the UEF policies. To understand this dynamic, this study takes an extra mile to investigate why the UEF policy is under the influence of the European Commission.

From the recontextualization analysis, how the Commission's strategy objectives reach to Finnish national level and then to UEF local level is fulfilled is by the intermediation of the structural funds. (i.e. this top-down EU-FI-UEF consistency is established by intermediation of the structural funding.) An analysis retracing the UEF's new policies' relation to the upper level national policies and then to the EU policies shows that the data is highly recontextualizing the state structural funding policy priorities and the state policy is highly recontextualizing the EU structural funding policy priorities. For instance, the following table takes one priority of EU policies as an example. In this table, from the top to down level (EU to UEF), the priority of EU to strengthen the connection between business and R&D in order to transfer innovation to economic growth is carried

on. This strategy priority is translated into one investment priority to incentivize collaboration between higher education sector and business sector, so that they mutually enhance each other. (Promote private investment to R&D collaboration with higher education, and in return, the research findings will transfer to business growth.)

How the cardinal policy Europe 2020 strategy is implemented is assured by the European structural funding. The Commission (2015) carried out a single set of rules (Common Provisions Regulation for the European Structural and Investment Funds) in "European Structural And Investment Funds 2014-2020: Official Texts And Commentaries" for EU's all structural and investment funds, and the aim of the rules is to make sure of the implementation of the Europe 2020 strategy's objectives (p.8). Common Provisions Regulation for the European Structural and Investment Funds translate the rules to 11 thematic objectives, which are exactly the objectives of the Europe 2020 strategy (p.16). Finnish Ministry of Finance's national programmes (2012, 2013, and 2015) and the Structural Funds Programme of Finland (2014) are all following the objectives of the Europe 2020 strategy. And the UEF new policies are following the objectives of Finnish national policies.

This finding goes in line with Bongardt and Torres's research (2010), it is the European and state Ministries of Finance that are in the central role of the real coordinators of the strategies in the European Union.

To summarize the recontextualization tool, the major identity ante-narratives are recontextualized from other discourses and the recontextualization fulfils the legitimization of the transition. At the same time, the analysis sees that the EU policies are directing the member states to a unification and convergence. (In wider context, whether it is a general trend that the European Commission's strategies generate homogeneousness among the member states can be further studied by including more data from more member states.)

To which extent this recontextualization is applied and adapted is not further elaborated in this paper due to the text limit and scale of the study, yet the analysis suffices to display how the external power institutions' discourses are transferred and implanted within the Finnish higher education sector context. Especially the EU priorities and the national economic priorities reach to the university strategies, to the operation level of how to run a Finnish university. This also indicates how the power of market capitalism is realized in Finnish higher education. From this perspective, one can see that the global capitalism's impact leaves the trace in the realm of Finnish higher education, with the policy text as the evidence.

The analysis of recontextualization form a top-down vertical comparison, in complementation with following part's horizontal longitudinal comparison of the textual dimension, form a more comprehensive analysis of the policies.

The marketization process in the Finnish educational policies is by no means a coincidental historical turn, but in line with the EU's development and planning.

5.2 Justified By Dominant Ante-Narratives and Presuppositions

This section explains the reoccurring patterns of rhetoric from the new policy documents that form the constituent ante-narratives of the new identity after the reform. This analysis category puts presuppositions and ante-narratives together because the presuppositions are the hidden messages from the ante-narratives. To restate what is ante-narrative – ante-narratives are fragmented pieces of discourse that constitute into the final narratives.

Presupposition, as Fairclough (1989, p. 39, 1992, p. 121) defined is background knowledge that is not explicitly presented in the discourse. For example: Tom just divorced last month. In this sentence, the presupposition is that Tom was once married before.

Polyzou (2015) summarizes two reasons why presupposition is an interesting "parameter" in discourse analysis:

1*) Presupposition can manipulate the audience by presenting certain beliefs as true, given or unquestionable, even if they were not know nor shared by the audience before.*

2) Shared background knowledge used for indirect ideological statement can be communicated without being explicitly asserted and justified (p.124)

Presuppositions hide the background ideologies and underlying presumptions "between the lines", thus subconsciously persuading the audience to consent to the worldview that the discourse harbors. The presumptions formulate the backdrop of the policy narratives. They are the canvas before anything is sketched and painted. They are the background of any organizational stories that are going to be told.

I distilled 2 dominant ante-narratives. They are consisted of substructural themes, which are interconnected and overlapping at some points.

- Global Competition ante-narratives
    - Competition
    - Ranking
- Marketization ante-narratives

    Four indicators that identify higher education marketization

    - autonomy
    - competition
    - information
    - price/fee

What need to be emphasized is that these ante-narratives are NOT seen in the old documents. e.g. the discourses of education export, ranking etc. ONLY appear in the new policies after the reform.

5.2.1 Global Competition ante-narrative--"Indeed, European higher education institutions are failing"

One predominant ante-narrative that legitimizes the construction discourse is the global competition storytelling.

The new policies set out the tension at the very beginning of the documents. For instance, Document 2012 sets up the backdrop that "Europe is failing" before any story is being told:

> However, according to analyses by the European Commission in 2005 and 2006, only a few European universities are recognised as global leaders. Indeed, European higher education institutions are failing to attract enough students, researchers and investments from outside the EU. Currently, the United States is the leader in attracting the best students, while China and India are also emerging as rivals to European higher education institutions.
> Doc 2012, p.3

Over the past few years, the global research and innovation environment has gone through a rapid change…In order for universities to succeed in the new environment, a high level of expertise and international networking is expected of them.

The open-minded merger of the universities enables the new university to better react to the changing needs of science and society and to meet the demands of operational efficiency

Doc 2010, p.4

At the very beginning, the discourse states "the fact" that Europe is "failing", which gives a sense of imperativeness – it's an absolutely unavoidable obligation to deal with the "failure". It implicitly implies that whatever this strategy proposes is the university's exit of "failing". The vibe of urgency entails a justification of action and tacit to face the "crisis" and "change". The opening statements' gravity and seriousness prompted by the competition rhetoric creates an atmosphere as if there were a threat and it subconsciously justifies that "we need, and must react, and take action now, otherwise we will lose!"

The competition ante-narratives also harbor the presupposition that it is the European higher education institutes' primary duty to compete in the global market, for example Document 2012, with some specific major competitors given, e.g. "United States, China and India"(p.3).

Wodak (2007) suggests that when use presupposition to present new ideas implicitly, in this case, the rhetoric that European higher education institutes should compete in the global market, it might stimulate consent, whereas bluntly present explicit ideas will be unfavorable.

Another hidden presupposition from the new policy texts is that European universities have to be the global leaders --"only a few European universities are recognised as global leaders" (p.3). It implies that European universities not only must compete in the global market, but also should dominate the market.

One of the hidden dimension of global competition ante-narrative is globalization. In education policies, globalization and internationalization are generally and massively used as the presuppositions to operationalize marketization. And these two concepts are mostly confused and

often treated as similar phenomena (Enders, 2004). Globalization and internationalization are repeatedly utilized to justify marketization in education policy changes, but the ground of these utilizations are often not contested. Critical scholar like Enders (2004) questions whether globalization in higher education is only a "discourse label rather than a social phenomenon", which is generally referred to explain all changes that affected higher education policy since the 1970s (p.367).

The competition ante-narratives overrun the new documents throughout the texts, directly and indirectly. Implicit discourse about competition that is more subtle can be found such as in Document 2014a, "strategic resources are allocated to the top-level international research areas and the advanced-level strong research areas" (p.4). Only "top-level" and "advanced-level strong" areas are prioritized with resources. This kind of comparison is the basis of competition.

The global competition ante-narrative is the main justification for major transformation at the macro level. But it is actually complemented by two other competition rhetoric at micro level:

- Inter-institutional competitions: the competitions among Finnish HEIs to compete for state resources within the country
- Intra-institutional competitions: the competitions among departments and different projects to compete for resource within the university

"Competition" is accelerated in an unprecedented level in the UEF new policies, compared to the ones before the reform. Competition as the motif of the new documents, is set as the background to justify the policy direction; to justify the transition of the university's identity; to justify the marketization of Finnish higher education.

Beyond the policy, it is the long-standing competition rationale. The underpinning belief is that competition, even if simulated, can produce an improved outcome in terms of the quality and quantity of education supplied (Teixeira & Dill, 2011).

Rewriting the mission of Finnish Higher education

The new documents blended a lot of tension. Higher education used to be expected to cradle civic development and intellectual competence of the society, and now "a high level of expertise and international networking" is expected (Document 2010, p4), they have to "meet the demands of

operational efficiency" (Document 2010, p4), they are expected "to succeed" (Document 2010, p4), to "attract the best students" (Document 2012, p3) and to "attract researchers and investments" (Document 2014) and to be " global leaders" (Document 2012, p3).

These recontextualized discourses are imposed to the narrative of the identity of the university.

The university henceforward is also expected to increase the attractiveness of the country and serve to help the country to "become one of the world's leading education-based economies" (Doc 2012, p.4) and "increase the export" (Doc 2012, p.4), e.g. Document 2012:

> The attractiveness of Finland as a business, work and living environment must be increased…
> The strategy…strives towards Finland becoming one of the world's leading education-based economies, which relies on the high quality of its education system, as well as towards significantly increasing the proportion of education and knowledge exports in relation to overall exports by 2015.

Document 2012, pp.3-4

There is another presupposition in the text: it is one of the obligations for higher education to develop university-business cooperation. e.g. "Furthermore, university-business cooperation between European universities and companies is not extensive enough" (Doc 2012, p.3).

Finnish HEIs are also expected to market themselves. As expected by the Ministry of Education and Culture (2009, p40), "the higher education institutions themselves have a key role to play in marketing their competence".

The competition discourse comes from the crisis, but the logic is from the economic aspect. The same logic is imposed to Finnish higher education-- is it fair that the authorities transfer the crisis to higher education, and let higher education shoulder part of the recession and write the "smart growth" into the top priorities of the HEI's agenda? The hidden presuppositions subtly switch the game in the background. The reality that the new polices are constructing is that henceforward not only universities are responsible of their own survival but also responsible of transferring knowledge to economic growth. This is written in the state economic priorities (Finnish Ministry of Finance, 2013). In this way, the state imposes an economic agenda to Finnish higher education.

The comparison analysis also shows there is a transition of priories of university: from local to global, from serve the society to be internationally competitive. E.g. the following table shows the changes of the mission of UEF:

Table 4 transition of mission statement of UEF

before reform		after reform	
Document 2000	Document 2007	Document 2010 & 2012	Document 2014
A full-fledged broadbased university, the University of Joensuu is responsible for looking after the research and education needs of Eastern Finland and providing related services to the community.	In its efforts to serve the needs of society, the University of Joensuu relies on its strengths and areas of expertise.	The University of Eastern Finland conducts internationally recognized research and its training provision is of a high international standard. The university has a strong profile in its areas of expertise and takes a particular interest in promoting the regional development of eastern Finland.	We are an international, multidisciplinary and student-centred university whose high standard of research and appealing academic offering build the competence base of the future.

Ranking

"Ranking" is another new discourse introduced to justify the whole storytelling of transition in the new documents. Ranking discourses and competition discourses mutually justify each other. As Bagley and Portnoi (2016) summarize that international ranking, as the product of competition, has become one of the most observable indicators of global competition in higher education sector; it is a by-product of completion yet it is also a driver to intensify further competition.

In the new policies, the repeated rhetoric of ranking, "we are (emphasis added) among the world's leading universities", is engraved into the narrative of UEF's identity. For example:

> We are ranked among the leading 200 research universities in the world and, in
> our strong research areas, among the world's leading 50 research universities.

Doc 2014a, p.3

The ranking rhetoric is one of the primary new features emerged in the new policy papers, which is not seen in the old strategies. The first mention appeared after the reforms in Document 2010:

> The University of Eastern Finland is an internationally recognised
> research and teaching university, which is among the three most
> important universities in Finland and among the leading 200
> universities in the world.

Doc 2010, p.5

This first mention also marked the first step of shifting to a new operational ideology and an official declaration to join the war of global "market". Hazelkorn (2008) in her OECD report calls higher education ranking as "the battle for world class excellence".

The ranking systems have both enabled and compelled international comparison and competition (van der Wende, 2008), becoming "perhaps the decisive move in norming higher education as a global market of nations and of universities" (2007, p.131). Global competition is thus used as a policy instrument, and "world-classness" in universities has become signifier of national productivity, power and prestige (Hazelkorn, 2008).

The ranking rhetoric is repeatedly mentioned throughout the policies. It is reinforced with the international competitiveness rhetoric and global leader rhetoric. The ranking discourse offers more than the justification to competition ante-narrative, but also justification to the marketization ante-narrative in the next section.

5.2.2 Marketization ante-narrative --- Constructing "the market"

Important result: the top-down policies swept the hindrances and prepared a favorable macro and micro environment for marketization to develop.

The indicators of higher education marketization

Brown (2011) summarized four key indicators for how we can identify the marketization of higher education: institutional autonomy, institutional competition, information, and price. Institutional autonomy means the institution has the freedom to determine their own missions, programmes and admissions, student and staff numbers, terms and conditions, etc. In different countries the extent of the autonomy varies, some enjoy most or all those aspects, others may have less freedom in some areas. Institutional competition means the competition among institutions for different resources. Information means the availability of the information of the services that helps certain clients to choose. For example, whether there is information for students to choose their programmes or universities. Price (I will call this indicator as "fee" in this paper as it is more contextually intuitive) refers to whether there is a cost for education provision, whether there is a tuition fee and to what extent the fee is subsidized.

How these indicators are evident in the data

Institutional autonomy: Granted by new University Act

Institutional autonomy can be seen in the new UEF policies that after the reform the university has the freedom to determine its own mission, values, vision (e.g. Document 2014a, p.3; Document 2012, p.5), develop UEF's own targeted research fields (e.g. Document 2014a, p.2) and set up its own strategic goals (e.g. Document 2014a, p.3). To archive the mission and the goals, UEF also has autonomy for its own recruitment of staff members. For example:

> The recruitment of key persons and the use of the Tenure Track is made more active.
> In addition to scientific and teaching-related merits, academic leadership and organisation skills are taken into consideration in recruitment.

Document 2014a, p.7

Even the whole policy can be drafted by the university itself "in collaboration with the staff, students and stakeholder groups" (Document 2014a, p.3) and "approved by the UEF Board" (Document 2014a, p.1), which shows the institutional autonomy to its own planning and operation.

In the wider Finnish context, institutional autonomy is granted to all the public universities by the 2009 Universities Act, which shifted the universities identity to independent legal entities

(Universities Act 558/2009, Section 5). This largely expanded the legal capacity of Finnish universities, which endows them more freedom to an unprecedented ratio. The expanded institutional autonomy after the reform also allows the universities free to enter the market, "the universities may pursue business activities which support the performance of the mission" (Universities Act 558/2009, Section 5). This eliminates barriers for marketization in the Finnish context at the legal and structural level.

The autonomy and restructuring also reflects a decentralization process. For instance, universities used to be constrained as a part of national administration since the 1970s (Aarrevaara et al, 2009), after the new Universities Act the highly centralized system is restructured. As universities will replace the state to be the employers of their staff members and they can set up their own terms and conditions for recruitment to reach their goals and build up competitiveness (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2009).

Institutional competition:

As in the competition ante-narrative analyzed in the previous section, the institutional competition is not just imposed by the policies but pervasively encouraged. Various tools are introduced to incentivize institutions to compete, for example, ranking is only introduced in the new policies after reform, Document 2010, 2012 and 2014, which will force Finnish universities to compete in the global market, whereas the state structural funding scheme will increase the institutional competition in the domestic scale. Therefore, this indicator of marketization is identifiable in the Finnish context as the policies enforce institutional competition both at global and domestic level.

Information:

There is no short of information in the digital dimension like internet, so what brings the analysis to a higher level would be questioning essentially what the information is serving for. A closer look into these documents sees that the provided information in the data are multifold: strategy policy narratives provide information of policy shifting and guidelines for changes – "what UEF is going to do"; scattered and fragmented ante-narratives provide information about UEF's identity – "who we are as UEF".

Additionally, compared to the old documents, the new documents' discourse bear an extra layer of information: pervasive promotional information serving for branding and marketing – "why UEF is special". (This is further interpreted in the following section 5.3)

The fact is the Finnish authorities require the higher education institutes to produce more information for the market: e.g. the 2011 Government Programme (Pääministeri Jyrki Kataisen hallituksen ohjelma) requires Finnish higher education institutions to profile themselves and provide information about their strengths (Prime Minister's Office, 2011), so does the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, with the intention to develop a more efficient and international university system with a globally recognized profile of differentiation (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011). The intervention is fulfilled by the government financing, as memoed in the government programmes (e.g. Finnish Ministry of Finance's national programmes 2012, 2013, and 2015).

This essentially is a typical government intervention to the market to create incentives ensuring the providers reveal information of themselves, because information is vital for any market (Teixeira & Dill, 2011). The incentive, in this case, is the governmental financing scheme. This makes sense from the market perspective, as to prepare the providers (universities) for the global markets they need to outstand themselves in the global market and tell the market what they can provide.

To cut the issue even deeper, all these conducts actually make a quintessential step of branding and marketing. In the most general sense, branding is the practice of collecting a set of the most representative qualities of the identity. It is the basis of marketing, which is delivering the branding results to an intended audience. The government requires the Finnish institutes to profile themselves (Kettunen, 2015), i.e. to summarize their own distinctive qualities. This is the foundation of branding, which makes further marketing possible. In this sense, it is the government that prepare the Finnish HE for further branding and the global market (as discussed earlier in section 5.1.4), and from the information presented in the UEF documents, they already achieved their goals.

From the perspective of the branding and marketing, the latest document Doc 2014a is one perfect information source for stakeholders, perspective investors and students- - it provides a clear and enhanced presentation of the core features and distinctive selling points of UEF, which is exactly the core value the provider (UEF) showcases to the market.

Here is an example:

Doc 2014a, p.2   In the opening section UEF straightforward summarized what the global market needs now
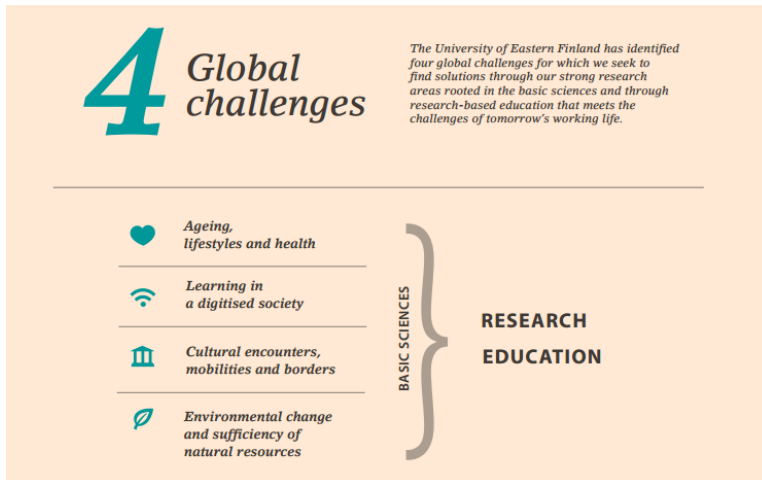
This is a good information to say "we know what the market demands, and we have what you need and we can supply"

The basic underlying concept of value in marketing is human needs (Armstrong et al, 2014). The opening statement shows that UEF clearly went through an assessment of the demands of the market, and seek to provide for these demands: " The University of Eastern Finland has identified four global challenges for which we seek to find solutions through our strong research areas rooted in the basic sciences and through research-based education ..." (Document 2014a, p.2)

The benefits of this marketing practice is multifold: it can attract research funding and other funding from more various sources as these research areas are prominent to the needs of the market; it can attract an investor or business partner as the autonomy allows Finnish universities to conduct business activities to increase income; it can attract perspective students who are looking for education and training of the trending research areas so that after graduation they will be more sought-after in the job market. More benefits can be counted.

What need to be pointed out though: from a higher level, UEF still shows itself serving for "public good", its advanced research is not just for the market, but also address the entire "human needs"

On another perspective of the massively accentuated rhetoric of ranking, it provides information for potential market, and information is consider vital for the market mechanism. Meanwhile this information also functions for branding purpose.

This indicator is also identifiable in the Finnish context: the 2009 University Act adds a new section – "Section 10. Fee-charging degree programmes", which marks that part of the Finnish HE starts to be subjected to marketization process (the part that is conducted in Finnish and Swedish language to domestic and EU students is not charged), some programmes can be charged: "Universities may charge fees for students admitted to a degree programme taught in a foreign language"(Section 10.1). With the permission to include some students' payment as part of the university's income, this means an important step to join the global market.

This indicator is reflected in the data, for instance, the discourses of "international master programme" and "education export" start to appear in the new documents, but not in the documents before the reform:

> We strengthen the university's profiles by developing international Master's
> degree programmes and doctoral education

Document 2014a, p.5

> Each of the faculties has one or several high-level international Master's degree
> programmes. The annual student intake in each of the international Master's
> degree programmes is at least 15–20 students.

Document 2012, p.8

> A versatile selection of Master's degree programmes, including the university's
> international Master's degree programmes, offer flexible study paths for the
> students to take after their Bachelor's level studies.

Document 2010, p.7

Education and Culture Minister Sanni Grahn-Laasonen suggested that lack of tuition fees was the biggest obstacle to promoting education export (Daily Finland, 2015). This obstacle is eliminated by the Finnish Parliament in December 2015: Finnish universities must charge tuition fees compulsorily from 2017 to non-EU students (Finnish Parliament, 2015).

As the marketization indicators suggest, the 2009 University Act already started the marketization-- it allows universities to charge fees voluntarily. The 2015 Finnish Parliament decision furthers the process by making the fee mandatory. The Finnish student union strongly opposed the bill of introducing the tuition fee, partly due to the fear that once the "gate is open" to charge non-EU

students, later policy will be introduced to charge all students; they also argue the tuition fee may jeopardize the Finnish higher education internationalization because the fee may drastically decrease the international student number, as it happened in Sweden with 80% drop of the number during the first two years after the fee is introduced (Weimer, 2015).

For the domestic market, tuition fee is the last hindrance for marketization in Finland. By the Finnish Constitution the education should be free of charge (The Constitution of Finland 731/1999, Section 16). Once the Finnish students are required to pay tuition fee, then the domestic market will also be established, which will lead the whole Finnish HE system to marketization. That is why I call the "fee" indicator as the last stand for the marketization in Finnish higher education system in this paper. **The Research Institute of the Finnish Economy (Etla) already proposed to also start charging tuition fee for Finnish and European students (Etla, 2017).**

The mandatory tuition charge makes Finland another member in Nordic counties that charging fees to non-EU students. Denmark started it in 2006, followed by Sweden in 2011. This also marks the marketization process in the Nordic countries.

To summarize the fulfillment situation of the above indicators: All the higher education marketization indicators are recognized in the new policies, i.e., the marketization is evident in Finnish higher education system.

Hence an "almost complete" ante-narrative of marketization can be extracted from the new policies, not yet complete, as the market intended to be built is still under construction, with certain aspect of the discourse vague and open-ended for possible future changes. For instance, the discourse about international degree programmes.

The change in the Finnish higher education system is huge as can be seen in the comparison of the data, given the time scape of the data is only from 2000 to 2014. This process, in only 14 years, is very progressive compared to the earlier discussed UK higher education marketization that takes the time of decades.

This meanwhile perfectly fits the macro environment cultivated by the EU and the state, including the top-down encouragement of competition and quality assurance, as if the macro environment prepared a perfect incubator for the marketization process to grow.

The European Higher Education Area (EHEA) EHEA and mutual recognition of degrees and unified ECTS credits system also eliminate barrier and clear the passage for global market because

their service/product need to be viable for the customer who is considering to "purchase" for it. After all, if a degree pursued in Finland is not recognized in another country, who is going to buy it? It is a predictable trend that more and more counties will achieve mutual recognition to each other's degrees and qualifications, so that domestic students will have more choices to pursue a degree abroad and the same sense more foreign students can come to domestic universities. This will increase the exchange flow of the students and expand the market to bigger and bigger.

The EU's macro environment and Finland's micro environment prepare by the UEF policies all see to that the external conditions are ready for the marketization to develop further, in Finland and EU.

5.3 Normalized by discursive practice transition

As discussed in the methodological chapter, language is always constituting social identities, social relations, and ideologies (Fairclough, 1992, p.12, 1993, p.134). Our social reality and meanings are fabricated through discourse. Thus, transformation is possible through changing discourse (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, pp.8-9). Catching the moments of these changing discourses help to shed light on the transformation, which is this section's purpose.

The transition of discursive practices is the trace and evidence of the changes in social practices, and discursive practices in term intermediate social practice for constructing a certain reality. The social transition can be traced from examining the discursive practices.

There are prominent discursive features in the new policies that bring out striking contrast compared to the discursive practices from the old documents before the reforms. These discursive practices facilitate the transition for the social changes with fine subtlety. Without comparison, they are almost undetectable because they appear very natural. Just as Fairclough (2007) suggests, it is through this naturalizing and normalizing of certain discourses and their backgrounded ideologies that engineering certain legitimacy is achieved.

The following section picks a few most representative discursive transitions that are reflecting, and at the same time assisting the social transition.

- notably colonization of commercial discourse results in hybrid style
- largely using present tense
- pervasive passivization

- new feature of using law to justify the transition

5.3.1 Hybrid Quasi-Advertising and Quasi-Corporate

There is a new discourse feature from the new documents with integrated business and advertising style, which can be found from individual word choice level, to discursive style level, to the overall visual layout level.

From the choice of vocabulary level, there is a notable increase of self-promotional words. Self-promotional words are the choice of words that clearly indicate the significance of the university, e.g. "efficient" and "top-level". Table 5 shows the results of picking the promotional words out of its own top 30 most frequent reoccurred word list from the data.

Table 5   Promotional Words from Top 30 Most Frequent Reoccurred Word List

before reforms			after reforms					
Document 2000			Document 2010			Document 2014a		
Word	Count	Density	Word	Count	Density	Word	Count	Density
high	5	0.16%	international	35	0.98%	international	23	1.26%
better	5	0.16%	high	15	0.42%	strong	10	0.55%
			strong	8	0.22%	efficient	7	0.38%
			significant	8	0.22%	active	6	0.33%
			competitive	8	0.22%	top-level	6	0.33%
			attractive	6	0.17%	global	6	0.33%
			versatile	5	0.14%	scientific	6	0.33%
						tomorrows	5	0.27%
						high	4	0.22%
						achievement	3	0.16%
						modern	3	0.16%
						strengthened	3	0.16%
						actively	3	0.16%
						efficiency	3	0.16%

The table 5 shows the amount of promotional words obviously increased after the reforms. This is one part of the phenomenon that promotional discourse patterns drastically increase and reoccur in the latest documents.

Another example from the choice of words is the pervasive use of "we", for example:

Sample a Document 2014a

MISSION, We are an international, multidisciplinary and student-centred university whose high standard of research and appealing academic offering build the competence base of the future.
We make use of the expertise of the entire academic community in our activities. Our activities are guided by principles relating to ethicality and sustainable development.
We are an internationally attractive university, which seeks to find interdisciplinary solutions to global challenges.
 We are home to Finland's best academic learning environments and most efficient study processes. Our academic offering is appealing, our teaching is student-centred and our students graduate within the target time
Our fields of study are efficient and competitive. The education we offer meets the needs of tomorrow's working life and opens the door to doctoral education.

Table 6 the frequency of use of "we" in the strategy documents

before reforms			after reforms		
Document 2000			Document 2014a		
	Word Count	Density		Word Count	Density
we	6	0.18%	we	30	1.57%

As shown in table 6, the pervasive use of "we" is one of the many discursive features that contributing a discourse style shift after the reforms. The pronoun "we" is used as personalization of the institution, which is used 30 times in the latest strategy paper Document 2014. This personalization style as addressing readers directly is commonly used in advertising practice, which is an example of hybrid quasi-advertising genre (Fairclough, 1993). Using "we" as a reference of self resembles a style of conversation, as if the text is directly talking to the audience. This kind of conversationalizing policy discourse is regarded by Fairclough (1994) as a type of commodification of public discourse, which is also an indicator of marketization of higher education (Fairclough, 1993, 1994).

The advertising characteristic can also been seen from the discourse style of the new documents:

Sample b, Document 2014a (brochure version), p4

> We don't do research simply for the sake of
> research. Instead, we want to address issues
> that impact all humanity
>
> At the UEF, interdisciplinarity is not
> something we do, it's who we are.
> We're number one in Finland when it comes to
> academic learning environments. We offer
> first-class education that is bound to make
> a difference.

Sample c Document 2010

> The University of Eastern Finland
> conducts internationally recognised
> research and its training provision
> is of a high international standard.
>
> The University of Eastern Finland
> is an internationally recognised
> research and teaching university,
> which is among the three most
> important universities in Finland
> and among the leading 200
> universities in the world.
>
> The University of Eastern Finland is an attractive
> and sought-after place at which to study, and
> the university's teaching is developed towards
> student-oriented learning processes. The university's
> teaching is of a uniformly high pedagogical
> standard and the teaching methods used are
> versatile.

Table 7   comparison of self-introduction of the university in the opening statements

before reforms	after reforms	
Document 2000	Document 2010	Document 2014a
STATEMENT OF PURPOSE A full-fledged broadbased university, the University of Joensuu is responsible for looking after the research and education needs of Eastern Finland and providing related services to the community.	MISSION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EASTERN FINLAND The University of Eastern Finland conducts internationally recognized research and its training provisionis of a high international standard. The university has a strong profile in its areas of expertise and takes a particular interest in promoting the regional development of eastern Finland.	MISSION We are an international, multidisciplinary and student-centred university whose high standard of research and appealing academic offering build the competence base of the future.

The discourses show a shift from plain and descriptive, to heavily self-promotional and advertising.

Sample b and c show a notable tone of promotion functional discourse. Table 7 displays the comparison of the opening description of what the university is. The same section introduces what the university is in the same kind of strategy documents, but it shows different presentation style and emphasis. Document 2000 before the reform takes a very modest tone, with the emphasis of "responsible" and "services", compared to Document 2010 and Document 2014a which boost clear self-promotional statement with the emphasis of "internationally recognized" and "high standard."

The discourse change is the result of the adoption of the quasi-advertising genre after the reforms due to the motivation of promotional concerns behind the discourse production (this corresponds with the analysis in section 5.2.2 marketization ante-narrative). This accords with the research of Fairclough (1993) that the style of public sector discourse has been increasingly colonized by advertisement-like promoting styles, which creates a lot of new semi-advertising discursive styles in the public sector. This study showcases an example in the higher education discourse. The boundaries between discursive practices from different sectors are get more and more blurred.

The quasi-corporate discourses can be found among the newly emerged discourses of indicators, measures, accountability and measurability (which do not exist in the documents before the reform).

From Document 2012 onwards the policies include a new section of "measures". For instance, Sample d --Document 2012 clarifies "measures" at the end of every chapter:

MEASURES
- The university supports the international mobility of researchers.
- The university includes a course supporting internationalisation in the studies of doctoral students and in the training of postdoctoral researchers.
- Teaching staff exchanges are included in university teachers' work plans covering 1,600 hours of work per person per year.
- The university encourages its researchers and teaching staff to be more active in visiting the university's partner institutions and research institutes abroad, and to expand the duration of their visits to a minimum of one week.
- The university's researchers are active in participating in international doctoral and postdoctoral research programmes.
- The working life skills of the university's graduates are enhanced by international trainee mobility programmes intended for newly graduated students.
- The university launches a service concept to cater for the needs of incoming international researchers and teaching staff in particular.
- The university offers supporting services relating to teaching and research staff mobility on all campuses of the university.

Accountability and indicator discourses are new discourses after the reform that only appears in Document 2014b, for example, the following sample e and f:

Sample e   accountability of the secession of "social impact", Document 2014b, p.5

Measure	Responsibility	Resources	Timetable
The principles of UEF's innovation policy (incl. technology transfer) are confirmed	Academic Rector University Services	Basic funding	Year 2015
Encouraging participation and influencing in national and international committees and forums	Rectors, Deans	Basic funding	Annually
Preparing a development plan to enhance alumni activities with a special emphasis on international alumni	University Services	Basic funding	Year 2015
Continuing the creation of the UEF brand	Development Services	Basic funding	Year 2015

Monitoring
- Number of technology transfers and spin off companies   - Credits completed in Open University   - Number of alumni

Sample f discourse of indicators, Document 2014b, p.7

Indicator	Monitoring of the strategy	Funding model	Indicator defined by the ministry	Performance agreement
Success in international rankings	x			
Publication forum classification (weighted number, categories 2 and 3 / teaching and research staff)	x	x		x
International peer-reviewed publications		x		
Other scientific publications		x		
Scientific publications / teaching and research staff			x	
Competitive research funding / overall funding	x		x	
International competitive research funding		x		
Other competitive research funding		x		

The increased clarity for measurability, from abstract description to more concreate illustration of the goals, tries to concreate the traditionally indefinite goals of education, transferring to something that can be measured, and can be monitored and evaluated by quantity. For example, the above sample e tries to measure the abstract "social impact" by "number of technology transfers and spin off companies, credits completed in Open University and number of alumni" (p.5).

Another example, sample g

> The university's teaching and research staff mobility has experienced a significant growth over the past few years, **and the goal by 2015 is to multiply the level of 2010 by 1.5.**
>
> Document 2012, p.7

Quantifiability turn

I call this transition in my paper **quantifiability turn**: as the shift to a result-based orientation, with all the discursive practices (e.g. "ranking", "measurement", "accountability") that try to breakdown the intangible high education quality and development into tangible and measurable units.

Quantifiability turn corresponds to section 5.2.2 marketization ante-narratives with the new University Act changing universities to independent legal entities, which enables them to operate like corporates. So the quasi-corporate discourses are in line with the identity change of Finnish universities.

The increasing quasi-corporate management rhetoric in the new polices also indicate underneath a changed ideology of university operation.

New features of tables, bullet points and lists

There is extensive use of tables in the new documents, for example, in the above Sample e and f. And bullet points and lists, for example in the below sample h and i:

Sample h Document 2014a, p.7

AN INTERNATIONALLY ATTRACTIVE UNIVERSITY

〉 The recruitment of international teaching and research staff is increasingly active.
〉 The number of international students is increased in a controlled manner.
〉 International staff members are integrated into the academic community.
〉 Transnational education is developed in cooperation with Finland University Inc.

Sample i Document 2012, p.8

MEASURES
- The international degree and non-degree programmes in the university's areas of expertise are developed in a more competitive direction and sufficient financial resources are secured to support this development.
- The university's doctoral programmes taught in English are restructured to allow their better marketing.
- Each of the faculties has one or several high-level international Master's degree programmes. The annual student intake in each of the international Master's degree programmes is at least 15–20 students.
- Each of the faculties has at least one international degree programme which is taught in English and which spans the entire study path from the Bachelor's to the Master's degree, and further on to the doctoral degree.
- The university encourages its high-quality Master's and doctoral degree programmes to participate in international educational cooperation projects.
- The Open University offers study modules taught in English; these study modules can be marketed internationally.

Increasing visual contents

A comparison of the data shows that from 2000 to 2015 the documents become more and more concise. Especially the new documents after reform display clearer emphasis of the major features of UEF. And these major features can be considered as the selling points of UEF from the perspective of branding and marketing. The style and layout of the new documents, especially Document 2014a is more than just an ordinary strategy policy document. The format is getting closer to a commercial brochure that provides more promotional information and visual content. For instance, the following figure compares the same content but in obviously different forms:

Document 2010   Document 2014a
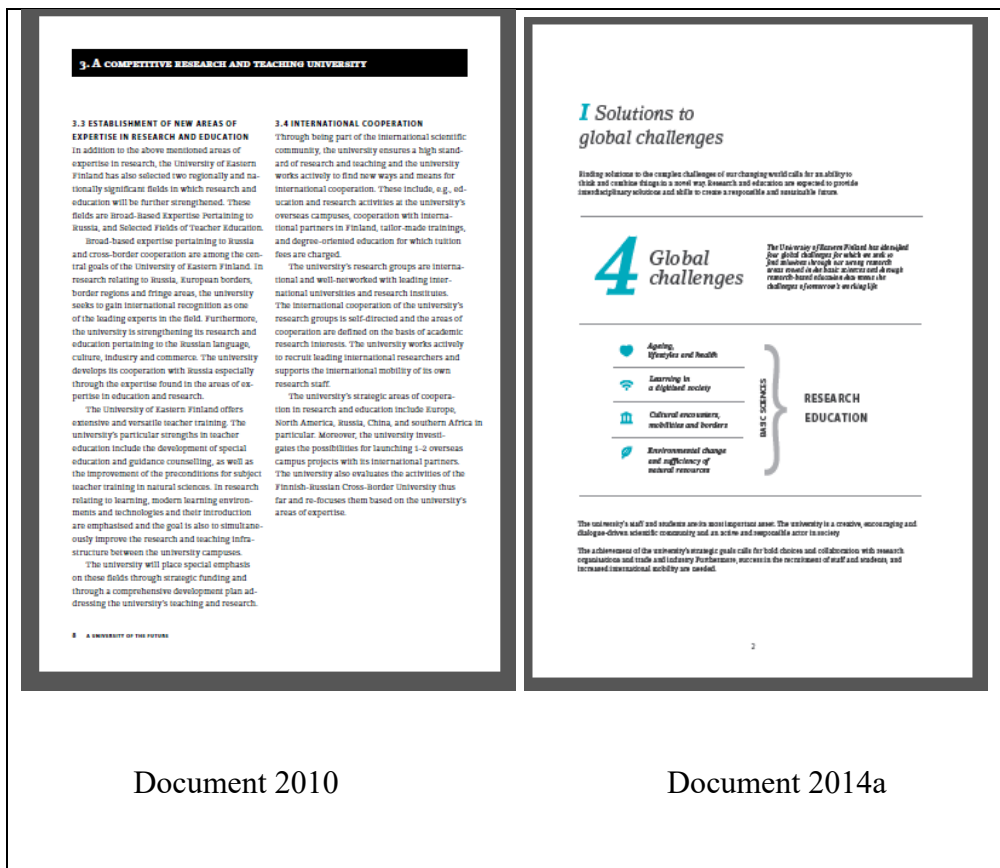
Figure 3

In this figure, the left (Document 2010, p.8) and right (Document 2014a, p.2) are the pages that express the same discourse of UEF's emphasized research areas. Clearly, Document 2014a is more concise, with an artistic design making it easier to read and prompting certain important information.

Not just the content but also the style has drastically changed if compared to the old documents, For example, the following table shows the difference:

Table 8 The first page of the documents

before reforms	after reforms	
Document 2007	Document 2012	Document 2014a

The above table shows that there is increasing visual contents added to the documents after the reform. Most notably, Document 2014a has a brochure version with large scale full page images used, which resembles a modern magazine. For example the following figure shows three pages from it:

page 4	page 5	page 10

Figure 4 page layout from brochure version of Document 2014a

The above analyzed phenomenon of the Finnish higher education discourse assimilating commercial and business discourses – a hybrid discourse that blended different sectors' discourses, is referred by Fairclough as "inter-discursive hybridity" (Fairclough, 2012). On the discursive level, the latest documents as public policy exhibit remarkably promotional property, which shows the blurred boundaries between a public service discourse and an advertising discourse.

The hybrid discourses also indicate the shift of the functionalities and the objectives of Finnish higher education discourses. The additional consideration of promotional function of discourse practice comes from the change of the university's identity marked by implementing new Universities Act which grants universities greater financial and operational autonomy (even with private status) than the previous legislation (as discussed in previous section 5.2.2). The new discourses bear extra concern of attracting more stakeholders and funding opportunities. As a result, the discourses largely adopt corporate and advertising discourse practice. This goes in line with Fairclogh's observation that higher education institutions facing different pressures, increasingly operate like corporates competing to attract more stakeholders.

On the social level, wider processes of social change can be seen as starting from change in discourse. The cause of social change results at the change in dialectical relationship, the relationship between semiosis and other elements of social practices (Fairclough, 2012). For example, the quasi-advertising discourses indicates that Finnish universities now are responsible for their own marketing (this is corresponding to 5.1.4 analysis of recontextualization of branding). The quasi-corporate discourses are in line with the social changes enacted by the new University Act that Finnish universities' identity has changed detaching from a centralized public administration system to independent legal entities like corporates (this corresponds to 4.2 analysis of marketization ante-narratives). The marketization of the Finnish higher education discourse is just one aspect of the marketization of Finnish higher education.

In the broader social context, in the worldwide scale, these results correspond to Fairlough's studies about marketization process, that the colonization of advertising and corporate discourses over higher education discourse is just one aspect of marketization of higher education, and these changes in higher education is just part of marketization and commodification in the public sector in a more general sense. (Fairclough, 1993).

5.3.2 Present Tense -- As If Already the Fact

The present tense is pervasively used in documents after the reforms compared to the presentation style of the same topic in documents before the reforms which largely used feature tense.

Table 9   the frequency of using "will" /future tense in each document

before reforms		after reforms		
Document 2000	Document 2007	Document 2010	Document 2012	Document 2014a
53 times	55 times	11 times	4 times	1 time

The above table shows that the frequency of using "will" has significantly reduced over the years, and as a result the discourses have changed to use present tense, for example, the discourses of research presented have shifted to use present tense:

Table 10   description about multidisciplinary research

before reforms	after reforms
Document 2000	Document 2014a
The University will strengthen its areas of emphasis and promising new multidisciplinary areas by means of project funding and reallocation of resources. Besides the four areas of emphasis, the University will also provide the necessary means of operation for other disciplines which are essential for a multidisciplinary entity.	A high scientific quality, interdisciplinarity, focus, constant renewal and strong engagement in international networks are characteristic of the research areas of the University of Eastern Finland. Research collaboration and the shared use of infrastructures with the university's strategic partners is enhanced in the research areas.

As table 10 shows, the same description about the strength of the university's multidisciplinary research --The old document uses the future tense as its statement of striving to achieve the goals, whereas the later one uses present tense as if all the goals have already been fulfilled (as the status quo). Similar statements are massively switching to present tense in the new documents, for example, Table 11:

Table 11 discourses of research standard

before reforms	after reforms
the University seeks to achieve and maintain the highest international standards in both teaching and research Doc 2007, p.2	We **are** ranked among the leading 200 research universities in the world and, in our strong research areas, among the world's leading 50 research universities. Doc 2014a

The above table shows the transition that UEF express: we "are" of high standard, not we "will be" of high standard. Similarly the following table 12:

table 12

before reforms	after reforms
Doc 2007	Doc 2010
International cooperation in education, training and research will be carried out both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis. Priority will be given to networking within European and global consortia of universities. Doc 2007 p2 paragraph 2	1.The university's research is of a high international standard. 2. The university's postgraduate education is of a high quality and the university's research careers are attractive. 3. The university's research environments are modern and meet high standards. 4. The university's research funding rests on a solid base. Doc 2010 p9 paragraph 2

Grammatically, we use the present tense to describe something that is related to general truth. e.g. Tuesday is the day after Monday. In CDA, the present tense bears additional function: it registers negation to the past and emphasizes the present that is "timeless, ahistorical" (Fairclough, 2001, p.131). From this perspective, it makes sense because UEF started the rebranding after the merger and the discourses is a reflection of the action of creating a new brand for UEF.

In the policies, the assertive statements in present tense gives the sense that as if they were timeless truth, as if already a matter of fact. For example, the above table 12, "the university's research is of a high international standard" (Doc 2010, p9) – it shows certainty, as if it is a fact. This also corresponds to the quasi-advertising discourses -- more certainty better serves marketing.

Advertising discourses largely use present tense as a linguistic device for persuasion and boosting positive thoughts about the advertised objects (Vaičenonienė, 2006).

5.3.3 Passivization – not accountable for everything

Another prominent change is that the new documents are massively using passivization, i.e. using a lot of passive voice. The agent that is responsible for the action or event is clearly presented in an active sentence. Whereas in passive sentences the responsible agents either are ambiguous or absent. The effect is that the social agents get obscured (Fowler et al., 1979).

Passivization is largely used in later documents, especially in almost every part of the latest document 2014a. For instance:

Sample j

internationally high-level and interdisciplinary research is strengthened a competitive research environment is maintained. top-level international researchers are recruited. talented young researchers are identified and supported. Expertise-driven entrepreneurship and extensive innovation activities are supported. The paths for utilising research findings are made clearer.

As shown in Sample j, a lot passive structures are used in the later documents, which leaves those events agentless, without any agent to be responsible for carrying out those activities.

This passivization obscures the agents responsible for these activities, which establishes a seeming paradox with the accountability discourse (discussed earlier in the quasi-corporate discourse) --- certain responsibilities are made clearer and clearer with indicator lists, tables and names to show who will be accountable, e.g., "increasing the amount of competitive external funding" (document 2014b, p4), "identifying and commercializing key products in transnational education"(document 2014b, p5) ; whereas some traditional responsibilities like student recruitment and preparing student for working life have become more and more obscured (see the following table 13 and 14). This discursive transition indicates the emphasis of university's operation has shifted to certain other areas whereas some old values of higher education get obscured.

Table 13　the discourse about student recruitment in different documents

before reforms		after reforms	
Document 2000	Doc 2007	Document 2010	Document 2014a
The University will intensify its student recruitment efforts and expand them beyond Eastern Finland. The dates of student selection will be made more flexible, and more students will be accepted on the basis of studies pursued at the open university.	the University of Joensuu seeks to attract students from all over the world to enroll in joint Master's degree programmes developed in cooperation with its Russian and Finnish partner universities. In order to be able to host an increasing number of international degree students, the University of Joensuu will also continue to develop its other Master's degree programmes taught in English To be able to host international short-term exchange students with no command of Finnish, and to be able to offer non-mobile domestic students an opportunity for internationalisation at home, the University of Joensuu will expand its already wide offering of international non-degree programmes taught in English.	the university is one of the most multidisciplinary universities in Finland and it works actively to recruit new students	The number of applicants choosing the university as their first choice is significantly increased. The number of international students is increased in a controlled manner.

Table 14 the discourse about preparing student about working life

before reforms		after reforms	
Document 2000	Document 2007	Document 2010	Document 2014a
The University is prepared to develop its strong areas of expertise and such new areas as support the students' labour market skills and the University's social impact by allocating them special funds and funds freed by	It is the aim of the University to offer its students an education enabling them to compete successfully in today's and tomorrow's global employment market	The University of Eastern Finland supports the future career opportunities of its students by, among other things, establishing working life connections in their fields of study.	learning environments are developed and skills to function effectively in tomorrow's working life are strengthened

reallocation of personnel and other resources, and also by intensifying external fund-raising at home and abroad.			

As shown in Table 13 and 14, the discourses of certain responsibilities of the university-- student recruitment and preparing student for future working life, has shifted. The shift is marked by two trends: from detailed planning description of the university's responsibility to fulfil these tasks to a vague description; from active to passive sentences.

In language use, we use passive voice to describe the action or event for which either we do not know the responsible actor (e.g. the glass is broken) or we know the responsible actor but we want to soften the fact (e.g., the glass is broken by me). The passive structure offers the advantage to possibly conceal the responsible actor (e.g. in the sentence "the glass is broken by me", either "by me" is deleted or not, it does not affect the grammatical correctness.) The emphasis is transferred to the object by using passive voice. To use active voice or passive voice depends on what we regard as important and what to be emphasized (McArthur & McArthur, 2005). It is precisely through this choice how we use the language that we expose our attitude.

Passivization, according to Puurtinen (2000), is an efficient discursive device to neutralize or mystify the connection among representing actions and involved actors or process, which then obscures the causality and responsibility, to an extent that the actors in the sentence can be removed (p.180). Uzuner-Smith and Englander (2015) suggest these passive structures create an effect: the agent in power position becomes opaque (p.75). This tactic used in the new policy papers naturalizes the process of strategy: it seems everything all happen by itself, naturally and effortlessly, free from manipulation by any power.

From this discursive transition, it shows that certain managerial and performance accountability is increased, which corresponds to the newly introduced quality assurance discourse (with the consistency of the same managerialism ideology); whereas some traditional social responsibility is reduced, with the passivization obscuring who is actually accountable.

Passivization has been regarded as a crucial area in the development of CDA, especially by Roger Fowler and the East Anglian School's early work, in which they consider that official documents largely adopting passivization is by no means incidental from the perspective of language use and

social control – such discourses are subjected to unequal power relations and reproduce a social inequality context to maintain inequality (Fowler et al, 1979; Billig, 2008).

5.3.4 New rhetoric of law – legitimatized by law

A highly noteworthy point is the auxiliary document of the latest strategy, Document 2014b. The implementation document serves as an executive guide for the strategy paper Document 2014a. The document itself stands out as the strategy has its own "strategy". Moreover, this is the only document among the data that brings out the rhetoric of the Finnish national law, as a new feature emerged, which is rare in a university strategy document.

Sample k Opening statement of Document 2014b (p.1)

> The Strategic Implementation Programme of the University of Eastern Finland is a document approved annually by the university's Board as defined in Section 14 of the Universities Act. The Strategic Implementation Programme coordinates the university's actions and finances for the upcoming year, as well as defines the most important measures for development.

The very opening of the Document 2014b starts with the official legal tone, stating this document's authority is "defined by the new University Act", which brings the unprecedented pressure from the law to all the following propositions this document lists. It brings authority and responsibility, which comes with the sense of the national law's unquestionable endorsement. In this way, the law grants the status of this document, and a sense of justification of all the social practices this document proposed is transplanted into these two documents 2014a and 2014b. From the very beginning, the audience is subtly, or I shall say subconsciously instilled a sense of justice.

Sample l the layout of Document 2014b (page 6 and 7)

As seen in Sample l, the layout of Document 2014b is strikingly different from all the previous strategy documents before 2014. The very detailed and highly systematic presentation manner imitates a legislative document, in which the formation and style appear transparent, systematic, impartial, and serious. Thus it also makes the audience think everything enacted by the policy is transparent and impartial.

Uzuner-Smith and Englander (2015) point out that "language is never innocent because it enacts the ideology of its producers" (p.78), the policymaker's ideologies and priorities are presented in the language use. In Document 2014a and 2014b, those discursive devices are employed to legitimize the performance-based evaluation and accountability system, and the managerialism philosophy behind. It is implanted in the audience's mind as a common-sense that these goals should be implemented and achieved. It resembles a to-do list that should be done.

The reference of law is one means of legitimizing the policy which Fairclough (2003) refers as "authorization". The new University Act is utilized to justify the document and the actions it enacts. Thus the law justifies the implementation of the social practices following this documents.

Summarizing the textual change analysis, the realization and legitimization of the transition is fulfilled at different levels and they are interconnected and complement each other. Together they construct a consistent and compelling storytelling of a new imaginary construct of the university – a competitive, high standard, international university. The branding artfully immerses in the strategies. What the discursive changes are doing is that it creates a convincing representation of the institution, however, which is only loyally serving the ideology of the policies. With the social

constitutive power of the discourse practice, the policy are devised to construct certain aspects of reality. As if the policy is saying, this is the reality of the university, soon.

5.4 Reliability and Validation

As a discourse analysis, this study is fully aware of the reflexivity issues and takes great account of the validity at all stages of the research. Although the standard of validity of this study is different from the positivism epistemological assumptions that all knowledge is absolute and unbiased, it doesn't mean the integrity of this research is compromised.

From the principle level, at the epistemological and ontological starting point, the most criticized point that inherited in discourse analyses has been concerned– relativism. However, even a research associates with relativism, neither the "academic value" nor "the political significance" of the research can be diminished by relativism (Potter & Wetherell, 1992; Edwards et al, 1995, Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.117). In educational sciences, Balarin (2008) argues, some social realism conceptualizations (see e.g., Young & Muller, 2007; Young, 2008) seeking alternatives for establish objectiveness for the sake of defining truth and knowledge, against constructivism and attempting to negate all types of realism, might face the danger of falling into an implicit foundationalism view of truth and knowledge, and failing to acknowledge otherness and difference, broader social change and theory development in social sciences (p.507-510).

For the positioning of myself as the researcher and the knowledge production, this study does not claim there is only a single truth. Nor does this study claim to provide a "better" version of truth, or me as the researcher has the privileged access to the absolute truth. This thesis provides one version of interpretation and representation of the reality. For example, this study does not claim the analysis can be a totality of the identity of the university, but rather sticks to one consistent aspect of its identity. And taking the same stand of the social constructivism, the study well understands even this research discourse itself, like any discourse, is hardly just representing but also constituting. It is not just mirroring the reality but bears the consequence of affecting the world.

Despite the positioning of the researcher in the process of knowledge production, as Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) argue, with consideration of reflexivity, discourse research can generate valuable knowledge through a particular theoretical and methodological framework (p.118).

Like most critical discourse analyses' ambition, this research hope to change the world for the better by unmask the hidden assumptions that might lead to a intended construct of how the world should be by some stakeholders (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.178). It aims to open up a discussion about a different look into the possibilities that these polices are shaping, in the hope of encouraging more scrutinizing of the current changes in Finnish higher education and the consequences.

This study would also argue that the results' objectiveness also comes from the position of the researcher, me as a non-Finnish researcher and an "outsider" with no conflict of interest, not likely to translate the social and cultural bias or taken-for-granted-knowledge into the research findings. It's also part of the value of the research to provide some international perspective of what messages are shown from the rebranding of Finnish universities under the lens of CDA.

Policy text are packed with political dispositions, which seems inevitable to exempt analysis from an absolutely unbiased reading of the material. Objectiveness is considered critical in every aspect in this research, but it does not compromise for purposeful neutrality. Nor does it fall into the extremes of deconstructing everything and criticizing anything, or critique for the sake of critique. This study takes a critical stance, and strategically sticks to providing results strictly under the given theatrical and methodological frame, strictly under the given data.

From methodological choices, it is optimal to choose Fairclough's CDA as the central framework to study the constitution of collective identity. Discourse theory has a strong theoretical foundation and Fairclough's framework offer an advantage of inclusion of other approaches in investigating this study's matters (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.146). Fairclough's framework offers a link to the social analysis, which helps this study overcomes a criticism that discourse analyses are often aloft from social context (e.g. Rogers et al., 2005, p.327).

From the data collection level, certain limits are minimized. The data screening is not biased --the data is not personally hand-picked and filtered, the only six English policy documents published during 2000 -2015 are all included. All the documents as data are provided by the same source (the university itself). And all the documents as the university's public policy are open and accessible to the world. The data collection of using existing public documents that are not considered "provoked data", avoids some shortcomings of other forms of discursive data. For instance, interview data that some researchers regard as problematic because the data is generated by the social interaction of

both interviewer and interviewee and simulated by "leading" questions (see e.g., Smith, 1995, p.13). This, however, does not mean that this research claims interview data is less valid. Using public published documents as data also avoid certain ethical issues or trustworthiness of the data. For example, interview data may involve personal privacy issue.

From the analysis and report level, the whole process of analysis and argumentation is well grounded in literature with sound theoretical ground and methodological guidance. The analysis sticks to Fairclough's CDA framework. As expressed throughout the report, this study values consistency, starting from the choice of theoretical and methodological framework, and through the analysis procedure itself. The critique is also grounded in literature rather than just my own interpretation, in order to avoid bias. The analytical process is substantially rooted in the data, and well documented. It provides a very thorough and detailed account of the data analysis with great respect to transparency. This accords with Potter and Wetherell's assessment of validity (1987) that the research report does not only provide the results, but also acts itself as part of the validation (p172). The whole analysis's transparency and detailedness provides chances for readers to evaluate the analytical procedure and results themselves.

Moreover, this study stands the test of the validity in terms of "coherence" and "fruitfulness", which are well agreed criteria by social constructivism scholars (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Potter, 1996; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). "Coherence" as the study carries on the quest with the insight from previous research in the field (in this case mostly from Fairclough's CDA school), and itself serves as a further verification of the previous studies. However, some scholars may question this criterion's disposition to conservatism. Which is why this criterion is complemented by another criterion "fruitfulness" (Potter & Wetherell 1987, p.171) -- this study's fruitfulness is that it provides a scientific elucidation of the marketization phenomenon under the framework. In addition, the verdict of the validity relies on this study's contribution to the collective aspect of knowledge production (Howarth, 2000, p.130), of which a focal point is that this study only seeks its credibility within its only domain.

Chapter 6 Conclusion & Discussion -- Is It Really A Zero-Sum Game?

This chapter concludes the results of the research and discusses about the general issues pertaining to the research findings. And some research parts are not included due to time limit will be briefly discussed and further study is suggested in the end of the chapter.

6.1 Summary of Findings

Research question 1

How is the new UEF envisioned by its own new policies after the reform?

To summarize how UEF's new identity is portrayed in the new policy discourse, with the comparison of the university's identity described in the old documents, the main characteristics are summarized in the following table:

before the reform	after the reform
- a collaborative university - a university with the local and regional development as priority - a responsible actor to serve the local community - an active actor committed to promoting tolerance and equality in society - teaching is important	- a competitive university - A world-class, top-ranked, attractive international university - an international problem-solving expert for the world - an active actor to transfer knowledge to smart economic growth - an exporter of Finnish education expertise - a university following quality assurance to improve quality - teaching is important

Certain aspects are carried on from the past (before the reform), e.g. the continuum of teaching as a priority of UEF is mentioned. Different features are added and accentuated, among which the most important aspects are: world-class and top-ranked, student-centred university, transfering knowledge to smart economic growth. Those features are the essential aspects that set apart the university from its old identity.

Research question 2 how the transition is justified:

In the new policies, success of higher education is depicted as a zero-sum game: if not winning then failing, instead of the old policy ideology implies the success as of a "win-win" situation.

The rationale of implementing market mechanism are twofold: for self-survival and for supporting Finnish economy.

Different discursive tools are devised to justify and implement the changes: From the quasi-advertising and quasi-corporate discourse, a certain corporate feature is endowed to the university. The ante-narratives of competition used as the new context, instead of collaboration used as the context in the old documents, are used to justify transforming the university as a competitive international problem-sloving expert in the global market. The recontextualized discourses from the national and EU level policies form the EU-FI-UEF top-down consistency to justify the transition desirable for the authorities. Discourses that carry a different ideology are directing the policy to a different course.

From the recontextualization consistency, the transition is one result of the policy instruments that the upper level policies utilized to implement the structural reform. This result corresponds to European Union's evaluation of the policy implementation in Finland (EU, 2016).

Research question 3

Is there a connection between the marketization of higher education and the transition of UEF?

Yes. The analysis shows that all the indicators of marketization of higher education (information, autonomy, competitions, fee/price) are identified in the new policies. The marketized discourses are

the evidences of the marketization of the Finnish higher education. There is an enhanced discourse about knowledge economy in the policies, with enhanced influence from neoliberalism.

The marketization discourse is part of the overall new policy discourse that essentially commodifies Finnish higher education, turning the institutions that are traditionally regarded as cultural institutions to institutions that serve the national economy.

The new policies have written a smart economic growth agenda into the priorities of Finnish HEIs. The rationale provided within the new policies positions a Finnish university into a prescribed hegemony, subject to a newly imposed "market" and all the stress coming from internal and external evaluations, global ranking authorities, benchmarks, and "good practices" from the EU and state. Within these dimensions of constructed externality, there is just not much space for resistance for a Finnish university with a directed route for its future.

It is predictable that the future higher education policies will still be under the influence of the EU and national economic priorities as long as the structural funds and investments still serve to intermediate.

6.2 Happy ever after? -- Is it enough to solve all the problems?

"Time to be smart", as UEF's new slogan, coincidentally, can almost be used as a shared slogan for EU's Europe 2020 Strategy– as the European Commission advocates in this strategy, it's time to be "smart", and it's time to use "smart growth" to guide member states exit crisis. A fundamental economic presupposition, from EU's "smart growth" to UEF's "smart science by smart people", is rather subtly transplanted into a Finnish university's strategy plan and the imaginary of what it will be in the near future.

This study shows the evidence of the marketization of Finnish higher education discourse. It is just an instance of the worldwide higher education marketization phenomena. The findings contribute to the wider research concerning higher education marketization. It is evident from the analysis that after the reform Finnish higher education has been remarkably progressed in the process of marketization in such a short time, compared to the UK which started marketization from late 1980s and went through decades for its marketization process (as mentioned in section 2.1). This study's findings correspond to Fairclough's studies about higher education marketization, and in the same respect the marketization of education sector is just one facet of the marketization of public services

(e.g. Fairclough,1993), and the global capitalism's impact to the social changes (e.g. Fairclough, 2007, 2011). And in more general terms, this is just one instance of how capitalism has impacted over the process of knowledge production (e.g.Ohmann, 2003).

The new policy discourse starts to connect university to economic growth, reflecting the new philosophy of neoliberalism's commodification of knowledge and the positioning of the higher education institutions' role in the "knowledge economy" (Burton-Jones, 1999; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), which also comes in line with the trend of educational policy development in a neoliberalism direction (see e.g. Carter & O'Neill). This also implies how the policymakers view the universities' role in their society. The institutional identity change is closely associated with the bigger economic and political changes. This case study is an example of the changing dynamics between the higher education institutes and their external relations, and an example of European universities going through what Enders & De Boer (2009) refer as the "confusion" stage of the institutions questing for their identities within a wider context of European social, economic and political transitions.

The study's finding of EU-FI-UEF policy consistency is in line with the research of Risto Rinne (2008) and Rinne et al (2004) that Finland is an early "eager adopter" of policies from the European Union (EU) and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Rinne's studies suggest that Finland has quite loyally carried on the up level polices and followed the recommendations from the EU and OECD and these supranational organizations have a significant influence in Finnish educational policies (Rinne, 2008, p.476). This study's analysis displays how this influence has reached to a Finnish university –reached to the institutional level.

This consistency also accords to Benneworth et al's (2011) study that there has not been any major opposing voice against the higher education policies in Finland, and the reform has been developed quite smoothly (p.73).

From Doc 2014b detailed accountabilities we can see the autonomy granted by reform, more administration power has transfer to universities. This goes in line with the trend of decentralization. However the freedom is still confined by the national strategies, especially by the funding strategies. On the paper, the university has more autonomy, but from this study, analysis shows that Finnish HEIs are still strictly subjected to the national economic priorities and national educational policies by the priorities of structural funding.

Unfinished story of "the market"

It is clear that the latest strategy policies are introducing the market mechanism in the hope of "the transfer of the university's research findings to support knowledge-based growth" (e.g. Document 2014a Part V, p.6). Yet what remains unclear is how exactly this "market" is going to work out with plenty of ambiguous and vague statements. This is the same in the national policies (e.g. the Finnish education export strategy), since no exact answers are addressing what are actually the commodities of Finnish education export and how they can be profitable. Even the top-down policies cleared the obstacles for marketization, there are a lot unsolved problems, e.g. how exactly the "market" can work in the Finnish context is still a question mark. Because some fundamental contradictions of market mechanism versus Finland's long tradition of social equality. There are many competition discourses in the new policies and the economic rationale is used to justify putting the university into the market to compete, but how to compete is not explained.

Besides, is an economic growth approach enough to solve all the complicated problems? Is it really a zero-sum game that occupying a vantage point in the global market with the "competitiveness" will lead the way out of the crisis, both for the Finnish economy and a Finnish university's future? An economic approach is not adequate to solve the complex problems that Finnish society is facing, including the aging society, the overall restructuring, and the economic recovery.

There is no guarantee that the EU 2020 strategy will be effective and lead all member states out of the crisis. And there is no prior substantial evidence that benchmarking everything and monitoring every activity is going to save the Finnish economy and survive the university.

For the story of marketization in Finnish HE, it is just beginning. In other parts of the world, the rhetoric of free market is firmly established in their system in many countries, such as the USA, Australia, the UK, etc. But in Finnish higher education, the analysis shows the market discourse starts to spread pervasively only after the reforms.

As discussed earlier the transformation of the Finnish higher education system is already evident in some regards (e.g. Puhakka, 2012; Puhakka et al, 2010), but the transformation brought by marketization won't just constrict to education area, it will expand to the social changes. Applying "the market" scheme will potentially increase the social stratification (see Tan, 1998; Tooley, 1997)– as one key mechanism of the market is to incentive competition to improve efficiency.   The internal competing for funding, plus the external competing with all the other universities in the global market will deprive the energy of the Fin HEIs. Who is "succeeding" by the European Union's definition? Who is ultimately winning?

When major energy of a university is spent for attracting investment, competing for funding, striving to get higher in the top ranking list, what can assure the quality of education? Even the underlying rationale that market and competition will improve efficiency, whose interest is really at stake? —the students –the future of Finland. When all the "good practice" universities that are excellent at attracting funding and resources take the major share of resources, can they serve the whole population of Finnish students? No. Even the students will have to compete with each other to get into the "quality" and "top" universities. And the ones who are left to go to the less resourced universities—can they get the same quality education as in the "top" universities that attract more resources? This will lead to the social stratification, which is against the Finnish inclusion culture and the soul of equality. The only difference is that how big the social gap will be, and the difference depends on how the government will regulate the competition. Thus this is not just changing the landscape of the Finnish higher education, this is going to change the whole landscape of Finnish society.

6.3 Further study

At the beginning of the research, I conducted a few interviews with relevant members of the university. The interviews suggest the market mechanism is still under exploration, e.g. the marketing is still being developed; education export projects are still being planned or just at the starting stage. For this regard, more data need be gathered to get a clearer view of the ongoing situation. And further following up studies needed. That is why the interview data is not included in this study, besides the intension of keeping this study simple and clear.

And there are some parts are not included in the final text to simplify the thesis and also because the text limits:

- power transfer, policy steering and governance

Part of the goal of the study is to shed light on the ways in which systems of power can impact on higher education by the meanings they construct and represent in the policy texts and processes. The power is constructed by the policy and one examination result is that some power has transferred to the university because the autonomous authority granted by University Act. But due to the text limit, this part can't be further discussed here.

The analysis of the discursive transition of university discourse also indicates the changing governance of higher education in Finland. The relationship change between the state and the university is reflected in the discourses of operation anatomy, university responsibility and funding. Part of my research project is addressing these issues and the results will be presented in later papers.

- Where is resistance?

As discussed in section 5.1 the EU-FI-UEF consistency in the policy implementation, there is no resistance in the policies. No contradictory force is found against the policy direction. But it is valuable to study other discourses of the university to see how the transformation is regarded at different levels from different voices.

It is hard to say whether this study's HE transformation reflects the overall public sector's reform of moving away from the welfare system, or it is the coping mechanism for dealing with the crisis. Long-term evaluation is still needed.

This study takes full acknowledgement of its limitations due to the complexity of the investigated matters and the time strain as a master's thesis project. Which is why this is not the end of the research but merely the beginning – as a sketched roadmap to guide my later PhD studies and to better address the questions that I raised in this study in the future.

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