INTERNATIONALISATION AT HOME

CRITICAL FRAMEWORKS FOR INCLUSIVE GLOBAL LEARNING

TINE FRISTRUP AND LASSE SONNE (EDS.)

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Dedication to Henrik Zipsane

We dedicate this work to *Henrik Zipsane*, whose unwavering mentorship has illuminated our path forward with wisdom, compassion, and companionship. Your generous guidance has transformed challenges into opportunities, and your profound insights have inspired us to reach beyond conventional boundaries. Your friendship has been a steadfast pillar of support, offering warmth during difficult moments and celebration during triumphs. The enthusiasm you bring to every endeavour is contagious, and your visionary approach continues to influence how we perceive and shape the world around us. Your ability to foster growth while honouring tradition demonstrates a rare balance we deeply admire. We are profoundly grateful for the countless hours you've invested in nurturing our potential, the doors you've opened, and the genuine care you've shown throughout our journey together.

With most profound appreciation and admiration, the editors, *Tine Fristrup and Lasse Sonne*

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Internationalisation at Home

Critical Frameworks for Inclusive Global Learning

Tine Fristrup and Lasse Sonne

Introduction

In this comprehensive exploration of Internationalisation at Home (IaH), Fristrup and Sonne (Eds.) assemble diverse scholarly perspectives that interrogate conventional paradigms of international education. Moving beyond mobility-centric approaches, this anthology examines how institutions can cultivate global consciousness through inclusive pedagogical strategies that recognise and respond to multidimensional identities, abilities, and socio-political contexts. The anthology's contributions illuminate how IaH initiatives navigate complex tensions between global interconnectedness and local specificity, between institutional standardisation and cultural plurality, and between neoliberal instrumentalism and emancipatory pedagogies. Through case studies spanning multiple geographical contexts—from Glasgow's award systems to Indonesia's IISMA programme and Nordic heritage institutions—the volume demonstrates how IaH manifests in diverse institutional settings while responding to specific educational, cultural, and political realities. This anthology advances the theoretical understanding of IaH as a multidimensional phenomenon that necessitates engagement with complex questions of access, representation, and democratic participation. By foregrounding critical perspectives on inclusion, cultural heritage, and institutional transformation, the collection offers conceptual tools and practical strategies for developing more equitable approaches to global learning that transcend geographical, cultural, and ability-based boundaries.

Internationalisation in Higher Education

The concept of internationalisation in higher education has undergone significant transformation in recent years, moving beyond its traditional association with student mobility to encompass more inclusive and accessible approaches. This anthology brings together diverse research perspectives on 'Internationalisation at Home' (IaH), examining how educational institutions can foster the development of global competencies, cultural understanding, and international perspectives. As higher education institutions worldwide grapple with creating more equitable and sustainable approaches to internationalisation, this collection offers critical insights into innovative practices, theoretical frameworks, and emerging challenges in the field.

The anthology addresses a fundamental question in contemporary higher education: how can institutions cultivate global citizenship and intercultural competence among students who may never cross national borders? This question has gained particular relevance in light of environmental sustainability concerns, economic inequalities affecting student mobility, and the rapid digitalisation of education that enables new forms of international engagement (de Wit and Altbach, 2021). The contributions in this volume examine diverse manifestations of IaH across different geographical, cultural, and institutional contexts, offering theoretical perspectives and practical examples that can inform policy and practice.

Conceptual Foundations and Global Perspectives

The research landscape of internationalisation has expanded significantly over the past four decades, as evidenced by **Agezew and Erdei**'s bibliometric analysis. Their study reveals an exponential growth in scientific production related to internationalisation and IaH between 1984 and 2024, with significant contributions from the UK, USA, China, and Australia. Their analysis of co-occurrence networks identifies key concepts in the field, including "internationalisation", "globalisation", "internationalisation at home", "international students", and "intercultural competence". The authors note that while contributions from particular regions have dominated research in this area, there are growing efforts at international collaboration, suggesting that internationalisation is indeed a "truly global endeavour".

This global perspective is complemented by **Romero-Hernández and Sonne**'s examination of social capital formation through museums and learning. Their research positions museums as critical sites for fostering social cohesion, trust, and reciprocity—key components of social capital that contribute to democracy and economic development. By conceptualising museums as learning organisations that extend beyond their physical walls, the authors demonstrate how cultural institutions can play vital roles in promoting social integration and intercultural understanding within local communities.

Institutional Frameworks and Comparative Perspectives

Several contributions to this anthology examine specific institutional frameworks for implementing IaH. **Varga**'s research at the University of Glasgow introduces two initiatives that foster student-facing internationalisation without requiring physical mobility: the GlasGow Global award system and institutional support for field trips with substantive pre-departure and post-return activities. As Varga argues, the "home dimension" of international

field trips—the work preceding and following the travel experience—contributes equally to their success as the mobility experience itself.

Miranda and Aditya offer a comparative perspective examining Indonesia's approach to internationalisation through the IISMA (Indonesian International Student Mobility Awards) programme. Established in 2021 as part of the *Merdeka Belajar-Kampus Merdeka* (Freedom to Learn and Freedom Campus) policy, this programme enables undergraduate and vocational students to spend one semester at top universities or industries worldwide. The authors compare this initiative with the Erasmus+ programme in Hungary, offering valuable insights into how different national contexts shape internationalisation policies and practices.

Aye and Kheng's comparative study of Cambodian and Myanmar students in Hungary further explores the dynamics influencing student mobility. Their research investigates the push-pull factors motivating students from these developing nations to pursue higher education abroad, particularly in non-traditional study destinations. Through semi-structured interviews and inductive thematic analysis, the authors provide insights into decision-making dynamics that can inform recruitment strategies and policy development for higher education institutions seeking to attract diverse international student cohorts.

According to Brøgger's (2021) analysis of neo-nationalism in European higher education critically examines the tensions between national interests and European integration efforts. Drawing on Derrida's concept of hauntology, Brøgger (2021) argues that "a specter is haunting European higher education – the specter of neo-nationalism" as nationalist sentiments resurface across Europe. Using Denmark as a case study, Brøgger (2021) demonstrates how national policies, such as reducing English-language university programmes, reflect intersections of economic nationalism and ethno-nationalism that challenge the post-World War II international alliances aimed at harmonising European higher education systems.

This analysis reveals how the Bologna Process's efforts to create a European Higher Education Area through educational harmonisation are increasingly contested by nationalist counter-reactions, potentially reshaping international collaboration and transforming the landscape of European higher education.

Critical Perspectives and Inclusion

A significant strength of this anthology lies in its critical examination of power dynamics, accessibility, and inclusion in internationalisation efforts. **Fristrup**'s three contributions offer incisive analyses of ableism and disability politics in contemporary society. In "The Politics of Ableism", **Fristrup** investigates how young men diagnosed with Tourette Syndrome navigate complex intersections of disability, gender, and age within ableist social structures. Through poetic representations of lived experiences, the research illuminates how "ableist-intersections" shape subject positions across different institutional arenas, including educational settings.

This critical lens is extended in **Fristrup**'s examination of "ablenationalism"—a contemporary biopolitical phenomenon at the intersection of disability politics, nationalist projects, and neoliberal governance. Drawing on concepts of "empowermentality" and "therapeutic citizenship", **Fristrup** demonstrates how market logic transforms bodies into "fractured terrains" subject to optimisation, creating hierarchies of inclusion based on rehabilitation capacity and productive contribution. The analysis also identifies emergent forms of resistance through "cripping practices" that challenge normative assumptions about embodiment.

Fristrup's critique of the Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program further interrogates the global commodification of disability recognition systems. Using Carol Bacchi's "What's the Problem Represented to be" framework, this research reveals how market-driven disability recognition programs intersect with cultural imperialism, economic disparities, and institutional power dynamics, raising critical questions about accessibility, cultural sovereignty, and economic justice.

The theme of inclusion is further developed in **Rusli**'s examination of digitalisation and internationalisation for students with Special Educational Needs (SEN) in Malaysian inclusive classrooms. Drawing on the Malaysian Ministry of Education's "Guidelines for Inclusive Education Program Students with Special Needs", **Rusli** explores how digital tools and platforms can enable educational establishments to connect with students internationally, transcending limitations of time and place. This research emphasises the importance of integrating inclusive education standards into frameworks of digitalisation and internationalisation to create education systems that are both internationally competitive and responsive to diverse student needs.

Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development

Several contributions examine how internationalisation at home intersects with cultural heritage and sustainable development. **Sonne and Burki**'s case study of a UNESCO World Heritage Site application in Vestfold, Norway, analyses the challenges of managing cultural heritage development within an international framework. Their research identifies complex stakeholder relationships involving public bodies, private actors, and civil society representatives, highlighting the resource dependencies and potential conflicts that complicate management in this domain.

Sonne's examination of co-creative learning processes between schools and heritage institutions in Northern Europe (Finland, Germany, Norway, and Sweden) offers a practical example of internationalisation at home. The research proposes new collaborative approaches to history and heritage education that can foster social sustainability and community resilience. This work aims to enhance educational competencies and promote socially sustainable integration between different educational organisations by developing co-creation processes between schoolteachers and heritage institution staff.

The theme of sustainable development is further explored in **Sonne**'s article on women's historiography, which addresses the limited representation of women in historical narratives both internationally and domestically. Using the case of Danish UN economist Ester Boserup, whose work influenced agricultural innovation, gender equality, and sustainability, Sonne demonstrates how women's history and sustainability can be effectively taught to impact future developments toward greater gender equality—a key component of the UN Sustainability Goals.

Kristiansen et al.'s analysis of racialised media representations in Norwegian sports provides an additional critical perspective on societal development. Their examination of a 2021 media debate on structural racism in Norwegian sports reveals three distinct frames of understanding: one that views racism as a marginal problem and individual responsibility, another that conceptualises it as structural and reflective of broader societal issues, and a third used by the Norwegian Sports Confederation to legitimise their strategies. The authors identify an "anti-racial self-understanding embedded in Nordic exceptionalism and colour-blindness" that shapes how racism is perceived and addressed in Norwegian contexts.

The Spectre of Neo-nationalism and Its Implications

The tensions between national interests and European integration highlighted by Brøgger (2021) deserve particular attention for their profound implications on internationalisation efforts. Drawing on Derrida's concept of hauntology, Brøgger argues that "the nationalist revenants of Europe are starting to manifest as a tension between the local and the European and global" in higher education policy. The post-World War II international alliances are "haunted by something returning from absence, namely the closed borders of the European nation-states".

Brøgger's (2021) case study of Denmark illustrates how economic nationalism, justified through arguments about protecting the welfare state, intersects with ethno-nationalist sentiments. Following the 2015 Danish general election, the Danish People's Party's influence led to initiatives to reduce the number of international students by closing English-language university programmes. The political debate centred on protecting the Danish economy and welfare system but was underpinned by ethno-nationalist tones, reflecting what Brøgger (2021) characterises as "a structural or systemic ethno-nationalism coated in economic rationalities".

These nationalist counter-reactions to European harmonisation efforts represent what Brøgger (2021) terms "neo-nationalism", distinguished from historical predecessors by being "post-Cold War readjustments" that have "developed their sense of 'the national' in close connection to their opposition to 'the European project'". These neo-nationalisms construct a hierarchical ideological pattern positioning an essentialised "us" against two groups of "them": the "Brussels-based EU authorities" positioned above and regional EU migrants or non-EU migrants (including foreign students) positioned below. This analysis suggests that the implementation of the Bologna Process has suffered from democratic deficits that have contributed to alienation among both politicians and academics. The perceived imposition of predominantly Anglo-Saxon-inspired standards through soft governance mechanisms has triggered resistance that, when combined with the after-effects of the 2008 financial crisis and the 2015 migration crisis, has fuelled nationalist sentiments that now threaten to reshape international collaboration in higher education.

Concluding Remarks

This anthology contributes significantly to our understanding of internationalisation at home as a multifaceted phenomenon encompassing institutional policies, pedagogical approaches, digital innovations, and critical perspectives on inclusion and power. The diverse research

presented herein demonstrates that IaH is not merely a substitute for physical mobility but a distinct approach to fostering global citizenship, intercultural competence, and social sustainability within local educational contexts.

As higher education institutions navigate an increasingly complex global landscape, the insights offered in this collection can inform more equitable, inclusive, and sustainable approaches to internationalisation. By moving beyond narrow conceptions of mobility to embrace broader understandings of global engagement, institutions can better prepare students for the interconnected challenges and opportunities of the 21st century, regardless of their ability to travel abroad.

At the same time, the anthology reveals the tensions and contradictions inherent in internationalisation efforts, particularly as they encounter resurgent nationalist sentiments. Brøgger's (2021) analysis reminds us that "the ambition of harmonising Europe may be brought about by other means than treating higher education in economic terms through market-making and import of Anglo-American standards". This suggests the need for approaches to internationalisation that are more attentive to local contexts, cultural differences, and democratic participation.

As we reflect on the future of internationalisation at home, this anthology challenges us to develop a more nuanced understanding of how global and local forces interact in shaping higher education. It invites us to imagine forms of internationalisation that can foster global citizenship and intercultural understanding while respecting cultural diversity, promoting inclusion, and acknowledging the legitimate concerns of local communities. In this way, the anthology makes a valuable contribution to ongoing debates about the purpose and practice of higher education in an increasingly interconnected yet divided world.

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The Evolving Research Landscape of Internationalisation

A Bibliometric Analysis of Global and Local Trends

Birhanu Haile Agezew and Gábor Erdei

Abstract

This bibliometric analysis discusses the international trends of the research landscape in internationalisation and internationalisation at home. A systematic search of literature reviews was conducted in Scopus database to retrieve peer-reviewed articles published between a time span of 1984-2024. The total documents identified using keywords as a search strategy were extracted from 593 total scientific journal articles using the PRISMA protocol. The analysis was conducted primarily using R and VOS viewer to identify trends in publication output, most cited authors and articles, collaboration networks, co-occurrence networks, and emerging themes. The result of the analysis depicts an exponential growth of scientific production in recent years with significant contributions from countries such as the UK, USA China and Australia. Co-occurrence network of keywords indicates that among other important concepts, internationalisation, globalisation, internationalisation at home, international students, internationalisation of higher education, intercultural competence and higher education are the most discussed concepts in the field. It underscores the most cited and impactful authors, relevant sources and key affiliations. Limitations include potential exclusion of non-English and non-indexed publications. Despite the research field being dominated by research from a limited region, there exists growing effort of international collaboration among various corners of the globe, which implies that the topic is a truly global endeavour.

Keywords: Internationalisation, Internationalisation at home, higher education, Bibliometric analysis

Introduction

In recent years, internationalisation has become a vigorous strategy of excellence among academic institutions across the globe. As to Knight (2004), it was conventionally conceptualised as the process by which post-secondary education is integrated into the functions and purposes of an institution to produce internationally oriented, and interculturally diverse global citizens. In other words, this concept is usually entangled with a mere staff exchange and student mobility programs, cooperation and partnerships with foreign establishments. The idea was more expounded as the influences globalisation is resulting in open global borders, and connections among higher education institutions, which in turn has tremendous role in embracing internationalisation of enhancing education quality, global competitiveness, and preparing students to fulfil the demands of the interconnected world (Altbach & Knight, 2007).

However, there are challenges and critiques to the traditional approaches as to how they conceptualised internationalisation. In the traditional approach, outbound student mobility programs have got overemphasised, which focuses few numbers of groups who can afford tuition fees abroad (Beelen & Jones, 2015). By then, internationalisation simply means studying abroad and getting accustomed and integrated to the global cultures. The majority segment of the population is not meant to have access according to this traditional approach as most of them cannot afford to study abroad. Because of this criticism, the concept of Internationalization at Home (IaH) has emerged and promoted. It refers to the integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the existing curriculum and campus life of all students (Crowther et al., 2000). It seeks all, including those who cannot travel abroad for study, to have access to internationalisation in an inclusive and comprehensive approach to develop global competence.

Internationalisation at home is becoming a response strategy to the rapidly changing world and increasing demand of global skills by not only it integrates global perspectives into the indigenous curriculum, but also fosters intercultural interactions among students and staff, promoting co-curricular activities, and partnership for community engagement (De Wit 2019).

Despite its growing importance, its knowledge production trends and scholarly landscape remain complex and fragmented. So far, several studies have tried to explore various scopes of the topic, including policy-related issues in higher education, students learning and learning outcomes, and some of the bottlenecks of global partnerships, curriculum design, and teaching-

learning experiences ((Jiang & Carpenter, 2014; Leask, 2015). However, knowledge production lacks consistency and remains scattered across various disciplines. Therefore, the researchers believe there should be a need for a comprehensive analysis of the literature to study trends, key contributors, and trending themes in the field of the research.

To these ends, a comprehensive bibliometric analysis is needed to map the trend of researching on internationalisation and IaH. This technique uses quantitative methods to analyse patterns in academic publishing, offering insights into the productivity of researchers, the impact of their work, and the evolution of specific topics over time (Zupic & Čater, 2015). This study, therefore, is to create a clear understanding of the research landscape of the field, its development and future directions.

Research questions

The analysis was meant to answer the following research questions.

1. What are the key trends in publication output on internationalisation and Internationalization at Home (IaH) from 1984 to 2024, and how has the annual growth rate of research evolved over time?

2. Which countries, institutions, and authors are the most influential in terms of publication output and citation impact in the field of internationalisation and IaH?

3. What are the patterns of international collaboration in the research on internationalisation and IaH, and how do they affect the impact of citations and productivity?

4. Which keywords and thematic areas dominate the literature on internationalisation and IaH, and how have these themes evolved across different time periods?

Literature review

In the era of globalisation, where academic institutions are interconnected to each other, the concept of internationalisation has become a crucial topic of research among various higher education scholars (Knight, 2004). In relation to this, there is a growing demand for research on the notion of internationalisation at home, introduced by Crowther et al. (2000) with the intention of acquiring all the global skills and competencies without necessarily students engaged in mobility programs (Beelen & Jones, 2015). Theoretically, internationalisation is defined as the integration of various global dimensions into the functions and purposes of an

institution to produce internationally oriented, and interculturally diverse global citizens (Knight, 2004), strategies like student and staff exchange programs, and collaborative research projects help the process to occur. With reference to the role higher education institutions in creating citizens with global skills and outlooks, there have been debates among researchers and scholars over the years (De Wit, 2021). Internationalisation at Home emerged has emerged and promoted which integrates international and intercultural dimensions into the existing curriculum, and the use of virtual exchanges (Beelen & Jones, 2015). Internationalisation promotes institutional reputation, creates global citizenship, and prepares graduates for global competition in the labour market (Qiang, 2003; Knight, 2008). On the other hand, IAH, which in fact was devised in response to non-mobility, makes sure non-mobile students have global exposure without going abroad through curriculum integration. Some of the strategies for IaH initiatives such as virtual exchanges and global curricula foster intercultural skills (Leask, 2009), a trend accelerated by COVID-19 (Soria & Troisi, 2014). With regard researchers on the topic with scholars like Knight (2004) and De Wit (2021) are among the leading in the field. Even though it has several benefits, internationalisation faces various limitations of commercialisation (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Marginson, 2006) and discrimination (Brooks & Waters, 2011), and technological challenges for virtual exchanges (Commander et al., 2022).

Methodology

This bibliometric analysis of research on internationalisation and internationalisation at home was conducted in line with the PRISMA (fig. 1) (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) protocol (Moher, Liberati, Tetzla, & 2010). More specifically, it involved the following steps.

Search Strategy

A systematic search of literature reviews was conducted in Scopus database to retrieve peer-reviewed articles published between 1984-2024. Key words including internationalisation, internationalisation at home alongside Boolean operators were used to search for the appropriate documents in the database.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Several mechanisms and procedures were undertaken to determine the exact number of studies to be included in the study. Documents were included if they were empirical studies, journal articles, published between 1984-2024, and written only in English language. Documents

which were not written in English language, not peer reviewed journal articles (including book chapters, conference papers, reviews, books and others), were excluded from the list criteria.

Extraction

Key data such as author names, year of publication, journal, country of affiliation, institution of affiliation, citations, and keywords were extracted from the final set of articles for the analysis.

Data Analysis

The bibliometric analysis was conducted primarily using R and VOS viewer to identify trends in publication output, most cited authors and articles, collaboration networks, co-occurrence networks, and emerging themes.
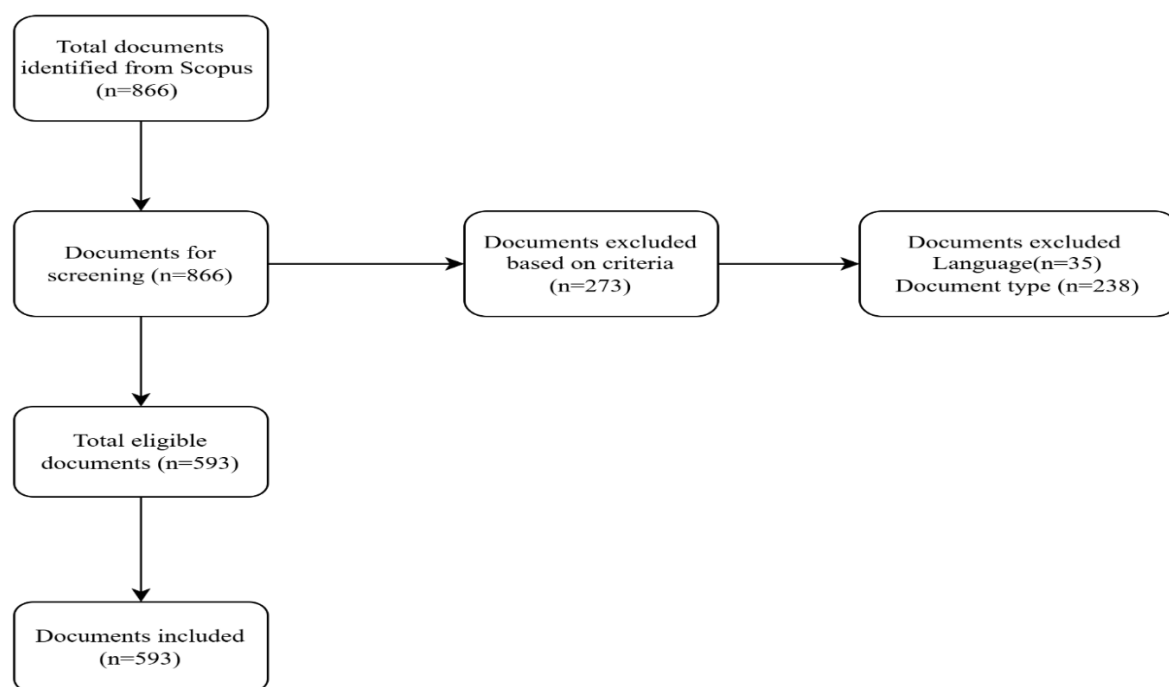
Figure 1: The PRISMA model

Results

Table 1: Main information about data

Timespan	1984-2024
Total documents included	593
Annual growth rate %	11.08
Document average age	6.97
Average citations per doc	29.77
References	28909
Keywords plus (id)	716
Author's keywords (de)	1743
Authors	1343
Authors of single-authored docs	151
Single-authored docs	156
Co-authors per doc	2.57
International co-authorships %	34.06
Document types	
Article	593

Table 1 displays the dataset comprises of 593 documents spans from 1984 to 2024 growing by 11.08% annually. Each document has got an average citation of 29.77 times. A total volume of 28,909 references are included within the documents, 716 Keywords Plus and 1,743 author keywords are incorporated. The dataset includes 1,343 authors, of which, 151 are authors of single authored documents resulting in 156 single-authored articles, international co-authorship accounts to 34.06% of the total volume of documents feature international co-authorship, and all documents are classified as articles.

Documents

Annual scientific production of publications
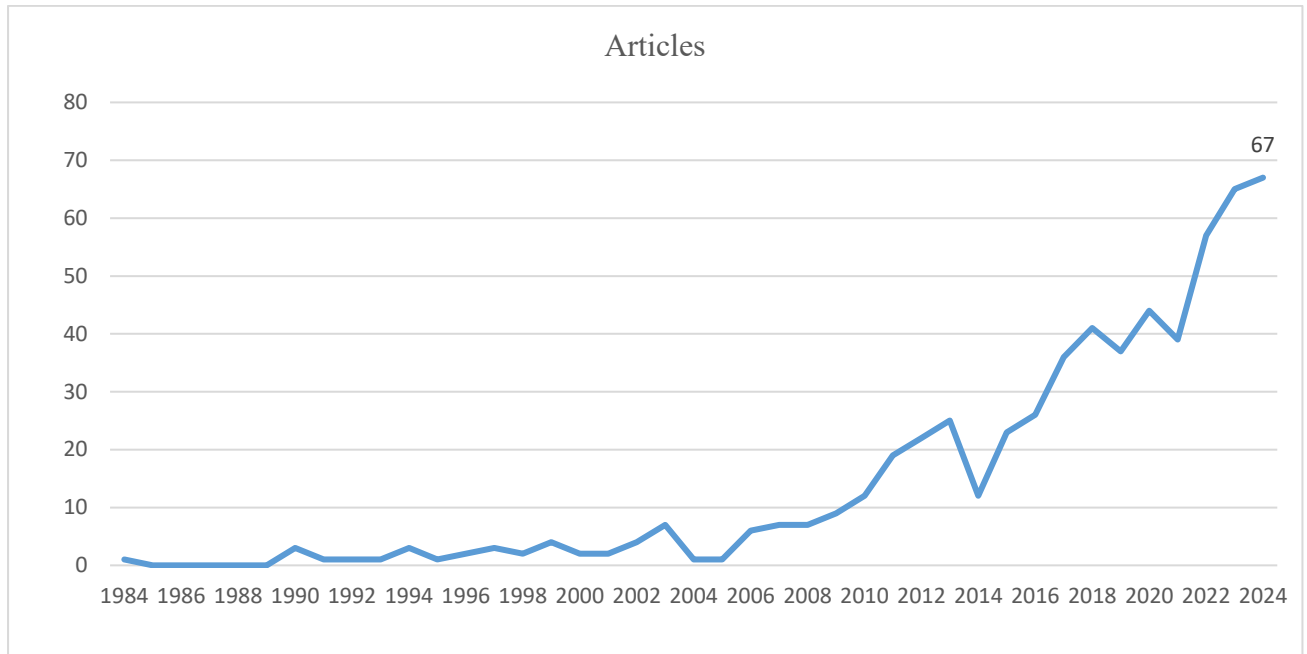
Fig 2: scientific production of publications over time

The above figure shows the total volume of annual scientific production of publications from the base year 1984 onwards in the research area of internationalisation at home. It generally portrays an increasing trend of knowledge production in recent years. The total number of scientific outputs produced in the year 2024 was found to be the higher number of all-time reaching 67 articles so long as research in the history of the topic is concerned. In the first two decades, particularly, the base years had an insignificant, in some cases even no, volume of scientific outputs.

Citations

Average citation per year
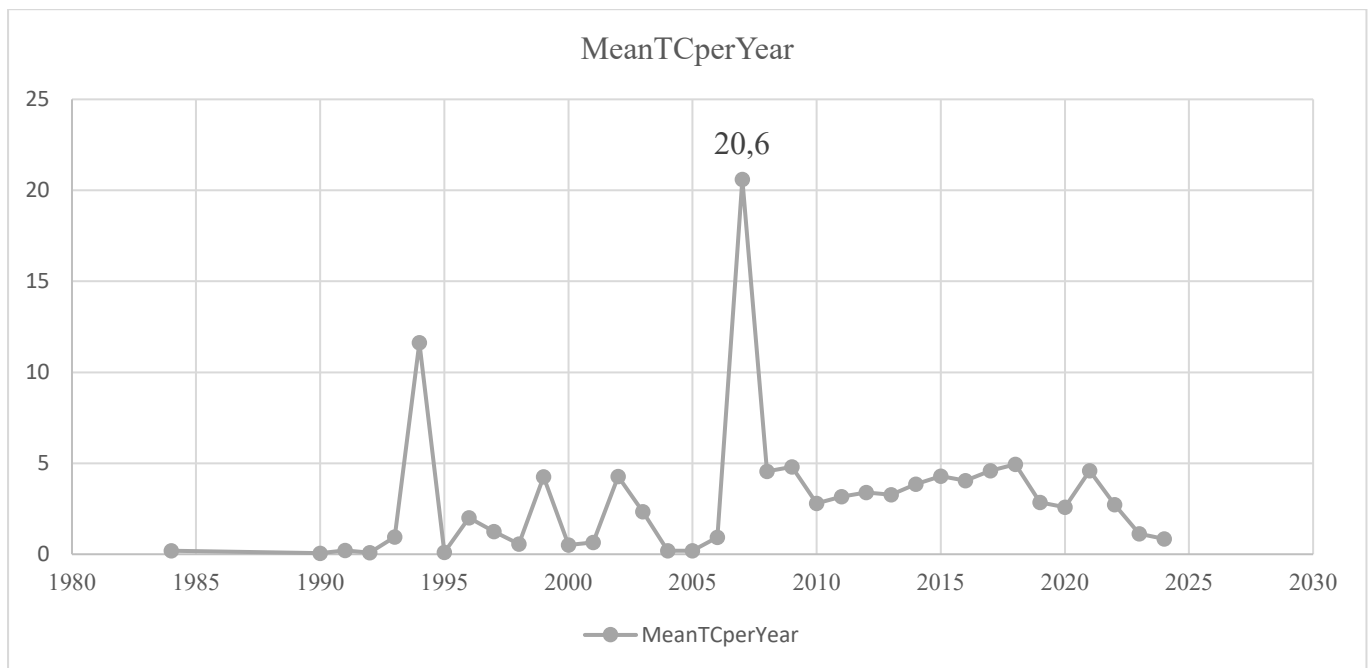
Fig 3: average citation per year

Table 2: Globally most cited papers

Paper	DOI	TC	TC per Year	Normalised TC
LUO Y, 2007, J INT BUS STUD	10.1057/palgrave.jibs.8400275	2197	122.06	5.92
PHILLIPS MCDOUGALL P, 1994, J BUS VENTURING	10.1016/0883-9026(94)90017-5	1080	34.84	3.00
GUILLÉN MF, 2009, ACAD MANAGE PERSPECT	10.5465/AMP.2009.39985538	579	36.19	7.54
MARANO V, 2017, J INT BUS STUD	10.1057/jibs.2016.17	357	44.63	9.73
PATEL P, 1999, RES POLICY	10.1016/S0048-7333(98)00117-6	334	12.85	3.02
BOISOT M, 2008, MANAGE ORGAN REV	10.1111/j.1740-8784.2008.00116.x	332	19.53	4.30
DE WIT H, 2021, POLICY REV HIGH EDUC	10.1080/23322969.2020.1820898	321	80.25	17.48
BONAGLIA F, 2007, J WORLD BUS	10.1016/j.jwb.2007.06.001	311	17.28	0.84
BEUGELSDIJK S, 2018, J MANAGE	10.1177/0149206317729027	283	40.43	8.17
NARULA R, 2002, RES POLICY	10.1016/S0048-7333(01)00148-2	225	9.78	2.29

Table 2 highlights the globally most cited papers with their respective DOI, total citations and annual average citations and normalised total citations. The paper by Luo (2007) was the most cited, with 2,197 citations and 122.06 annual citations. Papers written by Phillips and McDougall (1994) is the second in the list with 1,080 total citations and 34.84 average annual citations. Notably, even though the paper by De Wit (2021) is published very recently, it has the highest normalised total citations of 17.48, showing its significant impact in a short period.

Table 3: Locally most cited papers

Document	DOI	Year	LC	GC	NLC	NGC
SORIA KM, 2014, J STUD INT EDUC	10.1177/1028315313496572	2014	51	220	9.56	5.19
LUO Y, 2007, J INT BUS STUD	10.1057/palgrave.jibs.8400275	2007	50	2197	6.03	5.92
NILSSON B, 2003, J STUD INT EDUC	10.1177/1028315302250178	2003	26	127	6.28	2.46
HARRISON N, 2015, TEACH HIGH EDUC	10.1080/13562517.2015.1022147	2015	22	91	9.73	2.12
DE WIT H, 2021, POLICY REV HIGH EDUC	10.1080/23322969.2020.1820898	2021	16	321	20.80	17.48
ALMEIDA J, 2019, EUR EDUC RES J	10.1177/1474904118807537	2019	15	48	12.91	2.81
BOISOT M, 2008, MANAGE ORGAN REV	10.1111/j.1740-8784.2008.00116.x	2008	13	332	6.07	4.30
JONES E, 2013, PUB MONEY MANAGE	10.1080/09540962.2013.763416	2013	12	120	9.09	3.06
JON J-E, 2013, J STUD INT EDUC	10.1177/1028315312468329	2013	10	94	7.58	2.40
TRAHAR S, 2011, HIGH EDUC RES DEV	10.1080/07294360.2011.598452	2011	10	59	7.04	1.33

Table 3 provides insights about the local citation of the top ten most cited and influential academic papers. The paper by Soria et al. (2014) has got the highest citation ratio (23.18) with 51 local and 220 global citations. Luo (2007) stands out for its total global citations (2,197), but with a lower citation ratio (2.28). Papers like Nilsson (2003) and Harrison (2015) have relatively high citation ratios (20.47 and 24.18, respectively). De Wit (2021), although recent, has 321 global citations and a notable normalised global citation value of 17.48, reflecting its significant impact in a short period. The data highlights the relationship between the local and global influence of these academic works.

Most relevant sources (sources impact)
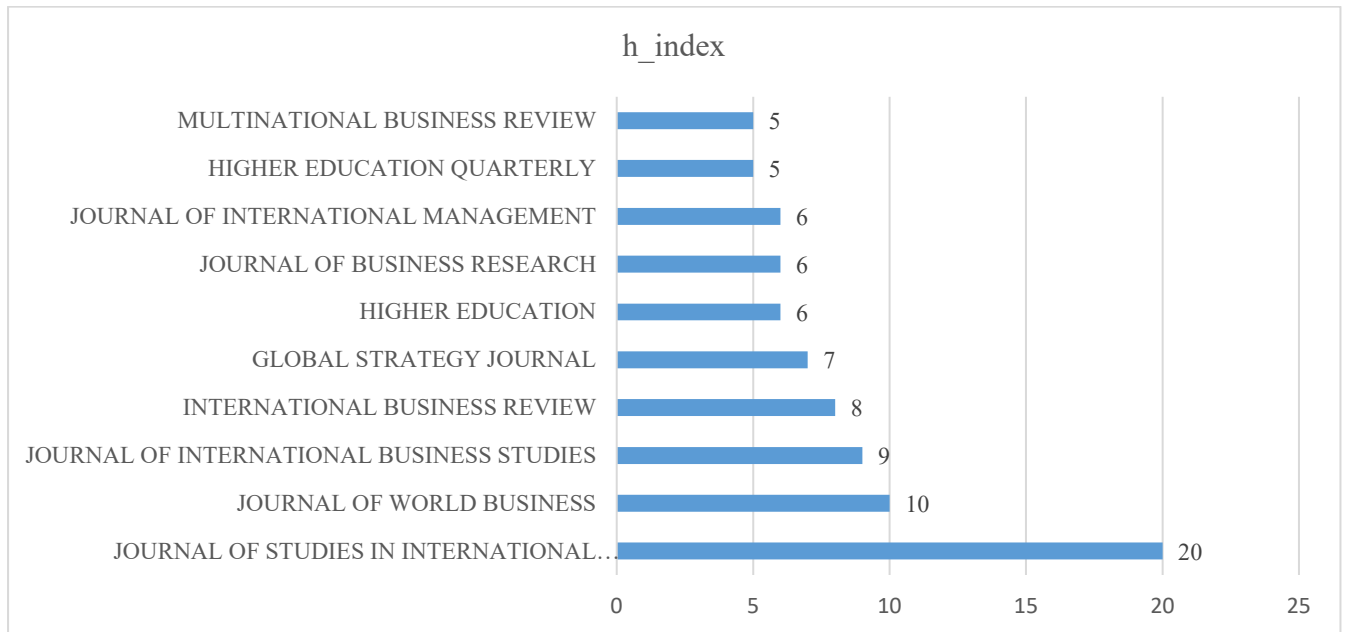
Fig 3: Relevant sources

Table 4: Relevant sources

Source	H_Index	G_Index	M_Index	TC	NP	PY_Start
Journal of studies in international education	20	36	0.91	1366	46	2003
Journal of world business	10	11	0.56	1209	11	2007
Journal of international business studies	9	10	0.50	3068	10	2007
International business review	8	8	0.89	407	8	2016
Global strategy journal	7	9	0.70	325	9	2015
Higher education	6	8	0.46	257	8	2012
Journal of business research	6	7	0.15	235	7	1984
Journal of international management	6	7	0.43	189	7	2011
Higher education quarterly	5	7	0.45	120	7	2014
Multinational business review	5	8	0.38	194	8	2012

In table 4 and fig 3, various academic sources were presented with different bibliometric measures including the h-index, g-index and m-indices of the scientific journals. One of the pioneers' academic journals in the research area is the journal of studies in international education, with the highest H-index (20) and 1366 total volume of citations over the time span of 20 plus years since 2003. The paper accumulates 46 academic and scientific papers related to the specific research matter under discussion. From this, one can understand that this academic source is the most relevant and impactful journal in the field of internationalisation followed by journal of world business (H-index=10, TC= 1209) and journal of international business studies (H-index=9, TC=3068). As the M-Index shows citation impact of the academic journals adjusted for time, the *Journal of Studies in International Education* stands out followed by *International Business Review*.

Production overtime
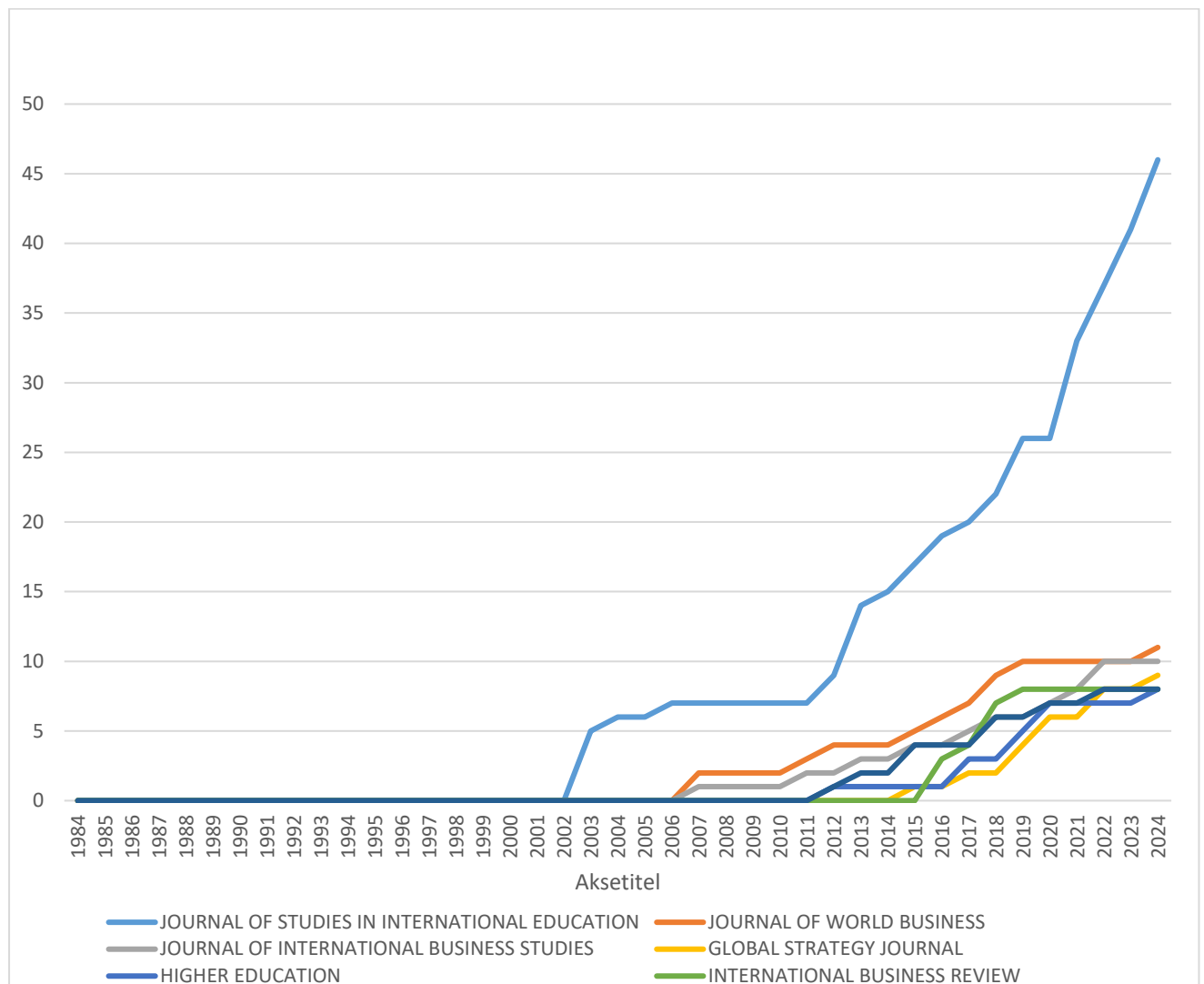
Fig.4: production capacity of sources overtime

The above figure 4 shows a comprehensive scientific output of the most relevant and impactful sources over the time span of four decades. Remarkably, the Journal of Studies in International Education has had an ever-increasing scale of production of scientific papers over the years. The figure further depicts that this journal's publication volume is increasing yearly, leaving the rest far behind, followed by the Journal of World Business. Analysing from a pattern view of point, there is an increasing trend of publications in almost all the journals from the year of commencing publication, reflecting a strong need for flourishing the research field, internationalisation. Substantial volumes of publications were observed in very recent years, indicating that the field of research is to continue an eye-catching interest of researchers across the globe.

Authors

Table 5: Most relevant authors

Authors	Articles	Articles Fractionalised
CHAN EA	8	1.57
CARLSON E	7	1.07
LI J	7	2.83
CUERVO-CAZURRA A	5	2.33
MITTELMEIER J	4	1.03
RIENTIES B	4	0.95
STENBERG M	4	0.50
WANG Y	4	1.23
CARNEY M	3	1.08
CHAN B	3	0.39

Table 5 depicts the most relevant and impactful authors to the academic and scientific community, represented by the number of academic publications they authored and their fractionalised contributions. The first two authors are Chan and Carlson, who authored 8 and 7 articles, the highest of all time, with fractional contribution of 1.57 and 1.07 respectively. This reflects that these authors have massive involvement in research related to internationalisation in co-authored papers, where individual share found to be smaller. On the other hand, Li, who authored seven academic articles in scientific journals with a fractionalised contribution of 2.83, represents that the author's involvement in co-authored research works with a much more significant role. Similarly, the author Cuervo-Cazurra, with five articles authored and an article fractionalised score of 2.33, also contributes significantly to the published articles. The other authors, like Stenberg (four articles, 0.51 fractionalised score) and Chan (three articles, 0.40 fractionalised score), represent these authors who had less significant individual roles played in the papers they have co-authored. The rest fractionalised score indicates that the authors had a moderated role in the co-authored articles.

Table 6: Authors Productivity and impact

Author	h_index	g_index	m_index	TC	NP	PY_start
CARLSON E	6	7	0.75	119	7	2017
CHAN EA	6	8	0.60	132	8	2015
LI J	6	7	0.46	304	7	2012
CUERVO-CAZURRA A	5	5	0.36	493	5	2011
RIENTIES B	4	4	0.34	169	4	2013
STENBERG M	4	4	0.5	97	4	2017
CHAN B	3	3	0.38	74	3	2017
CIABUSCHI F	3	3	0.38	168	3	2017
CIRAVEGNA L	3	3	0.38	297	3	2017
DALY A	3	3	0.20	40	3	2010

Table 6 presents information on the most productive and impactful authors with various bibliometric indices, including H-Index, G-Index, M-Index, total citations (TC), number of publications (NP), and the year they started publishing (PY_start). According to the bibliometric data, the following authors were identified as the most productive and impactful authors engaged in scientific and knowledge production in the field of internationalisation. Authors Carlson and Chan are at the top of the box considering various metrics with an H-Index of 6, which represents each of them have six papers with a minimum of six citations. However, they differ in G-index and total citations. Comparing to each other, Chan has a higher metrics of G-Index (8) and slightly a greater number of total citations (132) than Carlson (119), on the other hand, Carlson has a higher M-Index (0.75), which implies faster accumulation of citations in relation to career length. On similar vein, the author, Li, has parallel H-Index and G-Index (6 and 7 respectively), but significant number of citations (304), representing a higher impact per paper. However, the lower M-Index (0.46) shows, this author has taken a longer span of career to accumulate these citations. Another notable author is Cuervo-Cazurra, who accumulates a relatively lower H-Index (5) indicating that the author has at least five scientific outputs with at least five citations. This author has a much higher total citation volume (493), portrays he has fewer but highly productive scientific papers. So long as his M-Index is concerned, 0.36, indicates, there exist a slower citation growth over time comparing to the commencement of the career of the author.

On the other hand, the following authors, Ciabuschi and Ciravegna both have lower H-Indexes score of 3, but the latter accumulates a total volume 297 citations, comparing to Ciabuschi's 168 total citations. This further indicates that Ciravegna has fewer scientific production but higher individual impact than the latter author. Authors named Rienties (H-index=4), Stenberg, H-index=4) and Chan(H-index=3) show they have lower H-Indices, with moderate citation impacts. The last and least author in the box from the top ten most impactful and productive authors is Daly. The author accumulates only three publications, 40 citations, with the lowest M-Index (0.20), depicts the author is least productive and has had a smaller impact over a longer career span.

Affiliations and countries

Table 7: Important affiliations by institutions

Affiliated institution	Articles
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University	24
Maastricht University	17
Zhejiang University	17
La Trobe University	14
Malmö University	13
Beijing Normal University	11
Northeastern University	11
Deakin University	10
Comillas Pontifical University	9
The Chinese University of Hong Kong	9

This table lists the top affiliations contributing to research output and their number of articles. The Hong Kong Polytechnic University leads with 24 articles, significantly contributing to the research field. Maastricht University and Zhejiang University follow with 17 articles each, showing strong research activity from the Netherlands and China, respectively. La Trobe University (14 articles) and Malmö University (13 articles) are other key contributors from Australia and Sweden. Other notable institutions include Beijing Normal University and Northeastern University with 11 articles each, along with Deakin University (10 articles), and Comillas Pontifical University and The Chinese University of Hong Kong, each contributing with nine articles. These institutions represent a diverse global presence in academic research.

Table 8: Countries with a high number of scientific productions

Country	Freq
UK	210
USA	193
CHINA	153
AUSTRALIA	120
SPAIN	73
NETHERLANDS	62
GERMANY	57
SWEDEN	57
CANADA	49
ITALY	40
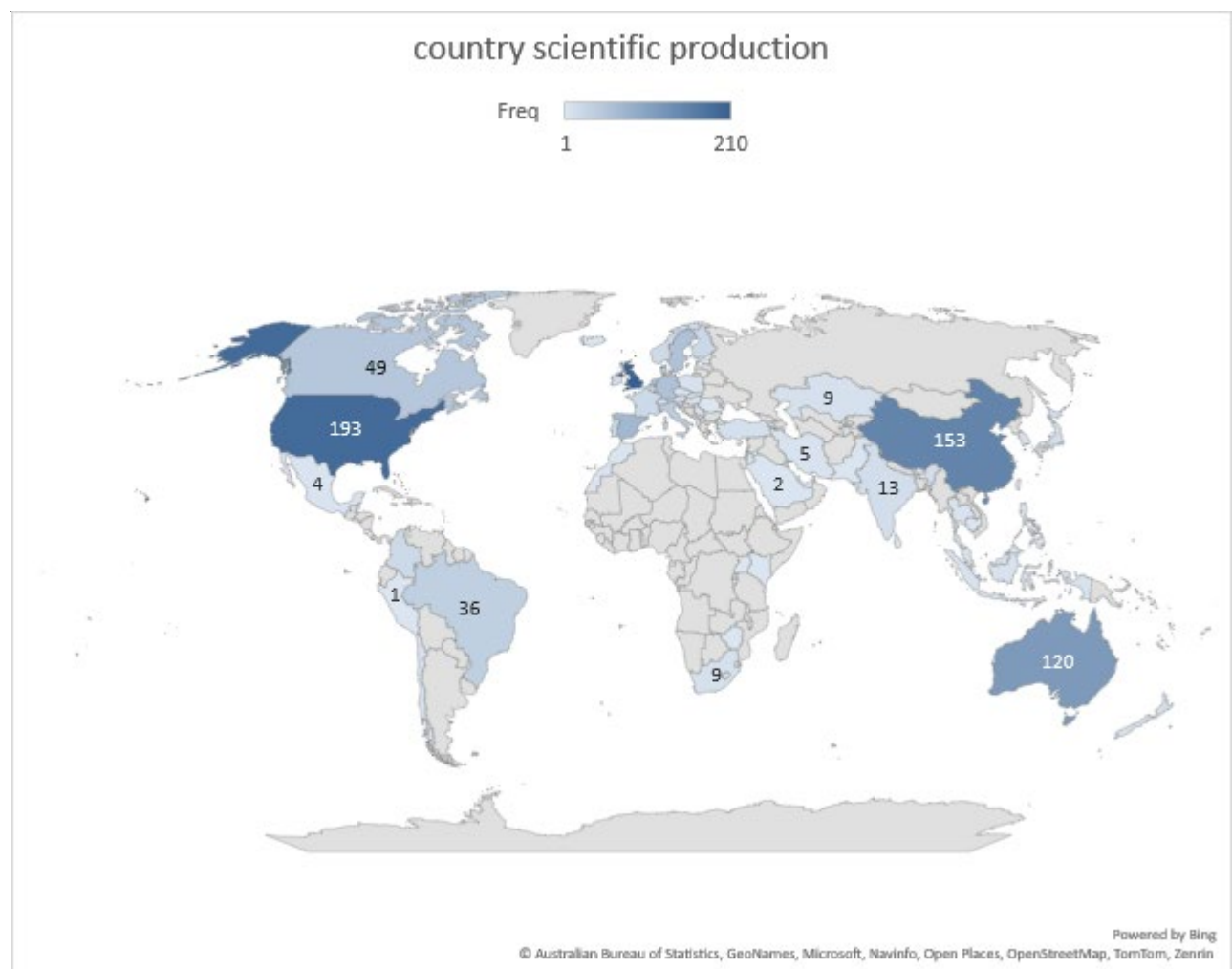
Fig 5: Countries' scientific production

The above table 8 and figure 5 show countries with the highest number of scientific productions. As clearly seen, The United Kingdom leads with 210 publications, followed by the USA with 193, and China with 153. Other countries among the top contributors include Australia, Spain, and the Netherlands have also significant roles with a total number of scientific productions of 120, 73 and 62 respectively. Germany, Sweden, Canada, and Italy with a total scientific production of 57, 57, 49, and 40 have also notable contribution to scientific body of knowledge in the field of internationalisation.

Most cited countries

Table 9: Most cited countries

Country	TC	Average Citations
USA	4993	79.3
UNITED KINGDOM	3179	43.5
CHINA	672	12.4
SWEDEN	618	32.5
CANADA	546	26
AUSTRALIA	511	18.9
NETHERLANDS	434	24.1
NORWAY	386	35.1
FRANCE	356	71.2
HONG KONG	305	19.1

This table shows the countries with the most cited citations based on their total citations (TC) and average article citations. The USA leads with 4,993 citations and an average of 79.3 citations per article, followed by the United Kingdom with 3,179 citations and an average of 43.5. China has 672 total citations but a lower average per article (12.4), indicating a high output but less impact per publication compared to the USA and UK. Despite having fewer total citations, Sweden and Norway stand out with higher average citations per article (32.5 and 35.1, respectively). France also has a high impact with 356 citations and an impressive 71.2 citations per article. Other countries like Canada, Australia, Netherlands, and Hong Kong show moderate total citations with average article citations ranging from 18.9 to 35.1, indicating significant yet varied influence.

Thematic areas: Most frequently discussed themes
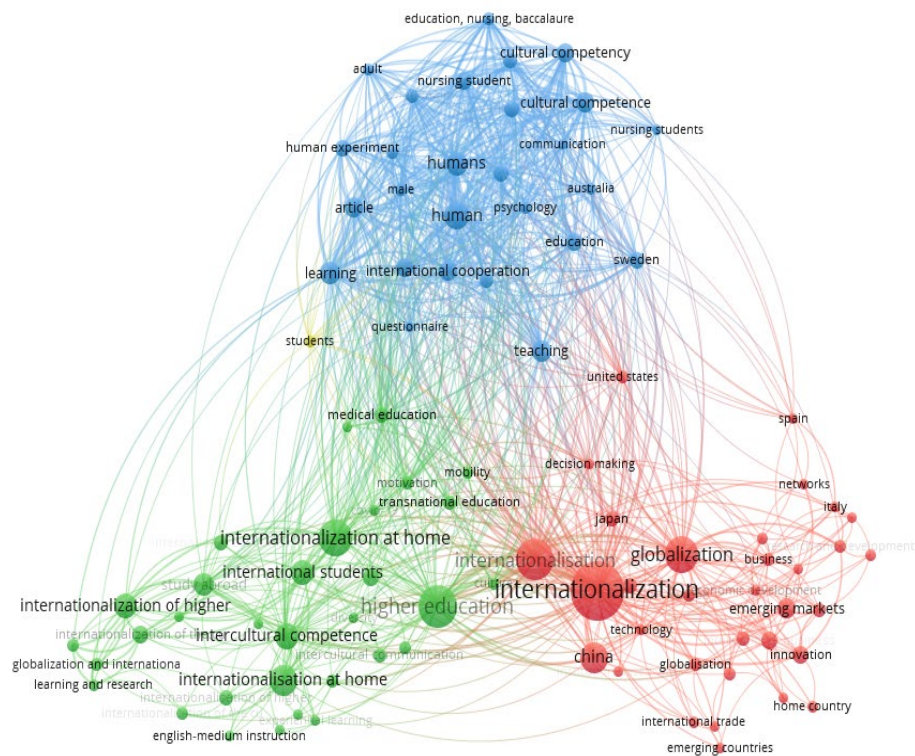
Figure 6: co-occurrence network of keywords
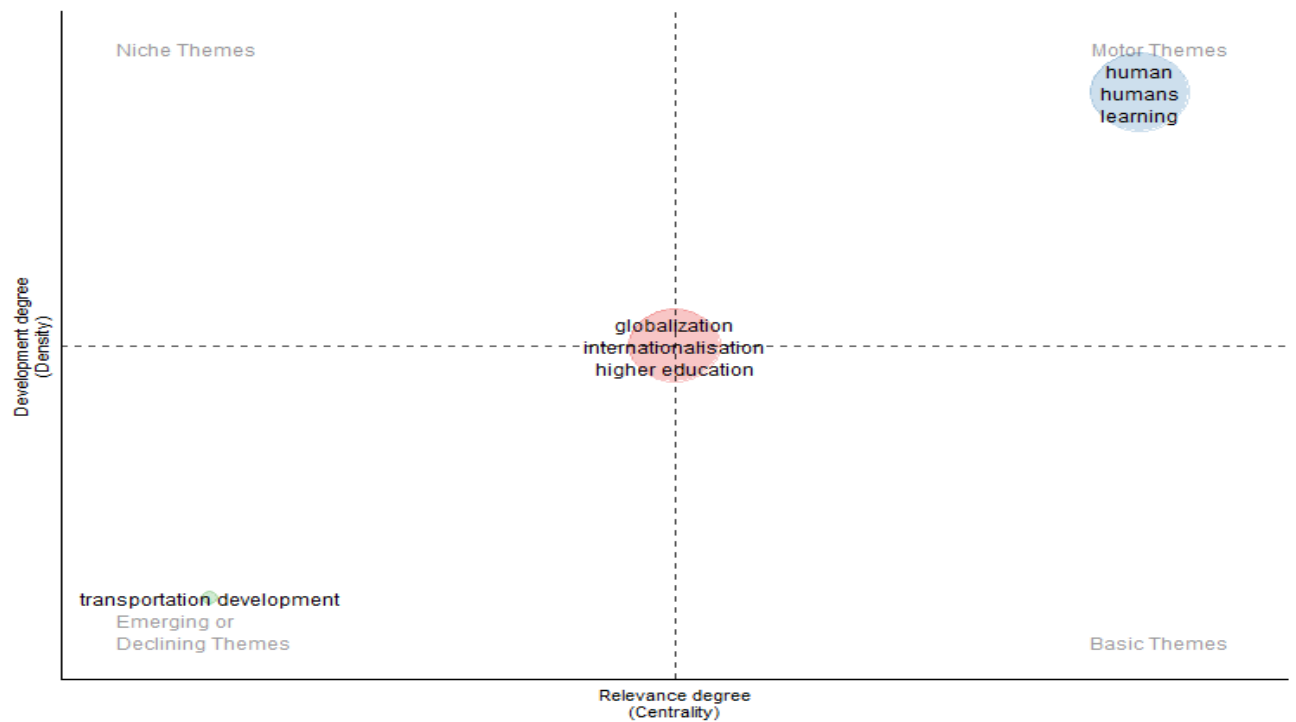
Fig. 7: Degree of relevance of keywords
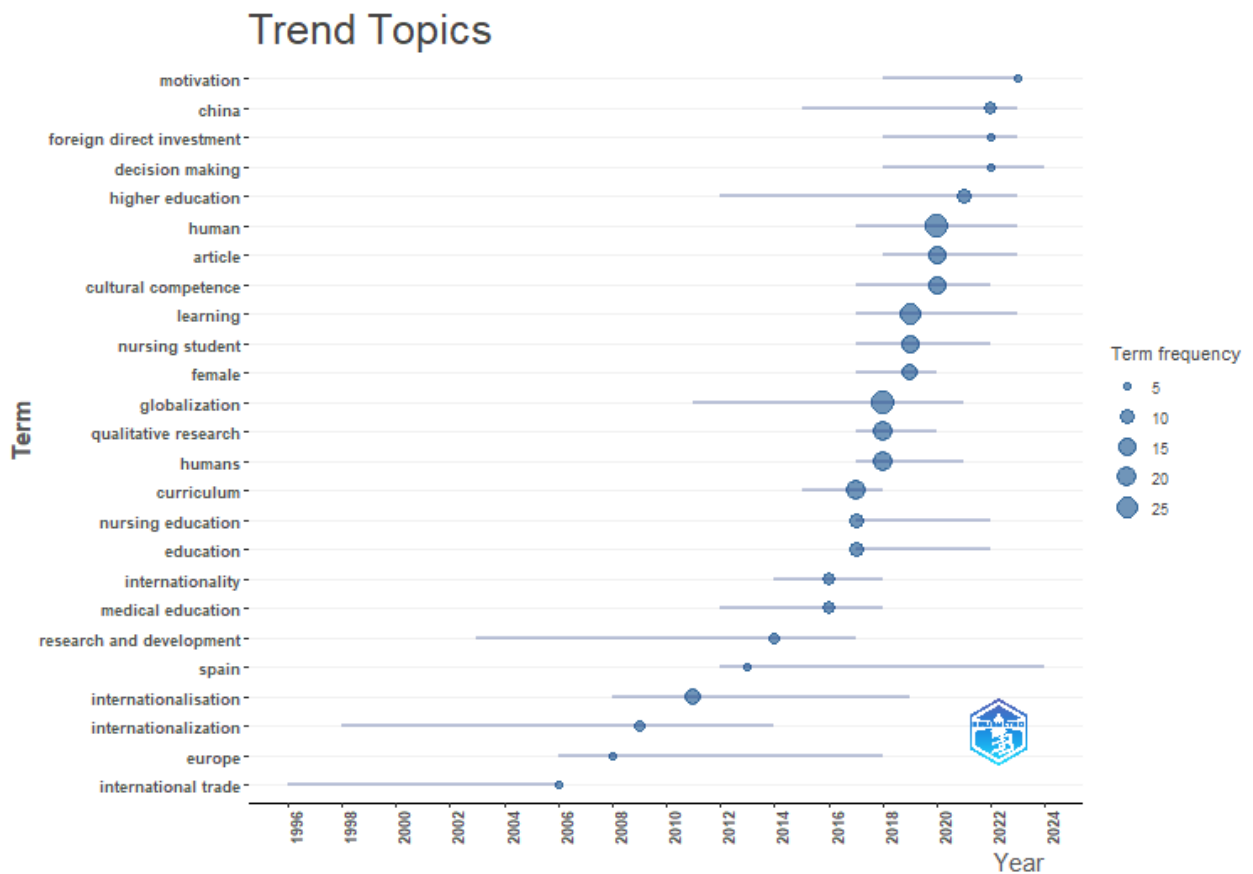
Fig. 8: Trending topics

Figure 6 shows the interconnectedness of key words in the field of internationalisation research. Among other important concepts, internationalisation, globalisation, internationalisation at home, international students, internationalisation of higher education, intercultural competence and higher education are the most discussed concepts in the field. These keywords co-occur and are interconnected within other in the research discourse of internationalisation. In relation to relevance of keywords, concepts like globalisation, internationalisation and higher education have got the most central themes in the field of internationalisation research (fig. 7). Moreover, fig 8 shows that the trending topics in the field of internationalisation over time, in recent years, concepts like motivation, China, foreign direct investment and decision making are the most trending themes.

Collaboration Network
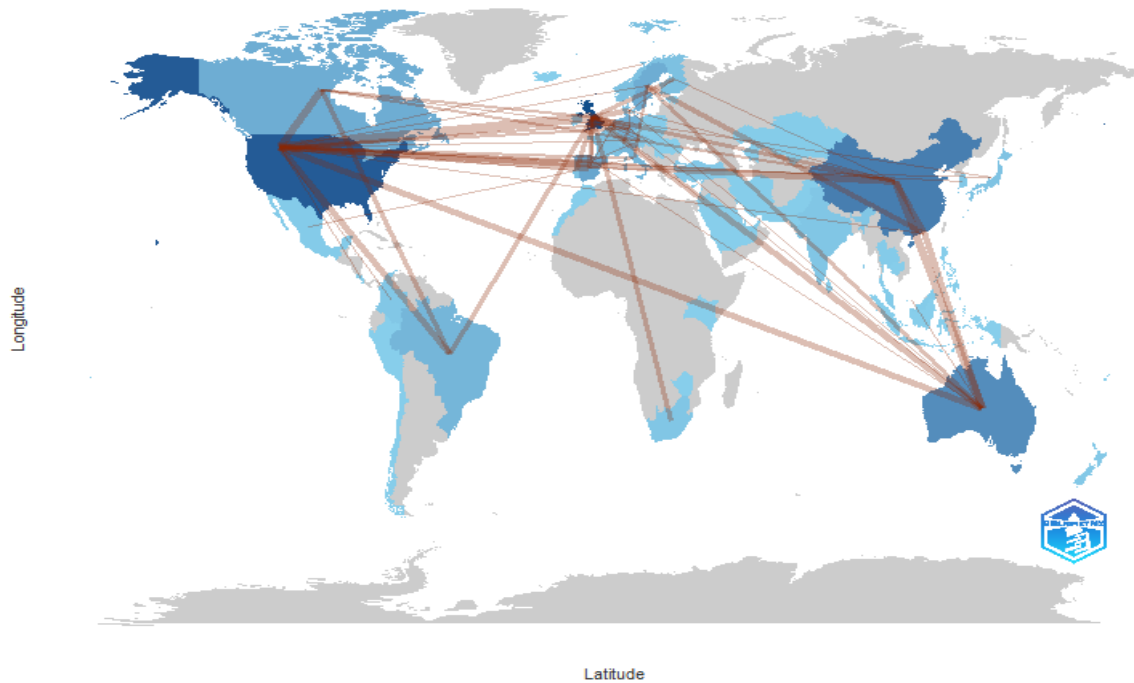
Fig.9: Countries collaboration network

The above figure 9 shows how countries are networked in collaborative research efforts in the field. The most collaborations are among and between the USA, UK, Australia, China, Canada, Brazil and the EU. There is no or limited effort to collaborate with Russia, most African countries, and some Asian and South American countries.

Conclusions

This study is a comprehensive examination of bibliometric analysis on the research landscape of internationalisation and Internationalization at Home. It emphasises scientific knowledge production, research trends, impactful and productive sources and authors, and key research collaboration efforts over time. According to this analysis, there has been a significant increase in the production of scientific knowledge on internationalisation. In the last decade, a notable contribution of research output from countries such as the United States, United Kingdom, and China. Despite the research field being dominated by research from a limited region, there exists growing effort of international collaboration among various corners of the globe, which implies that the topic is a truly global endeavour.

On the other hand, Internationalization at Home has emerged as a strategy response to nonmotility, which is becoming an important research focus, reflecting the shift toward inclusive internationalisation strategies. The bibliometric analysis also discussed the most productive and impactful authors and institutions. Moreover, the thematic evolution in the field.

Limitations and Future Research

Even though this analysis has significant contributions, it is not also free from limitations. The first limitation is its reliance on a limited on one database, Scopus. It may not capture other relevant publications from other databases like web of Science (WoS), EBSCO and other important databases. The analysis also did not consider including documents in non-English languages and other document types other than journal articles for the sake of the analysis. Secondly, this analysis focuses on quantitative data analysis, which some documents may have reflect quality impact. Other researchers may consider these limitations by considering various sources and databases in the future.

Data availability statement

This is a review article, and the raw data of this article is publicly available within the Scopus database. The final dataset of this research is available from the corresponding author and can be submitted upon request by the journal.

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Social Capital, Museums, Learning and Social Integration in Europe

Museums and Learning as Tools for Fostering Social Cohesion, Identity, Trust, and Social Capital

Manuel Romero-Hernández and Lasse Sonne

Abstract

Foreigners and other community members can be seen as assets, a source of capital. Social cohesion is determinative to a society evolving into a successful union rather than a mere sum of individual interests. Developing common interests will encourage people to expand their networks and communities. Belonging, or the perception thereof, implies that members consider the benefits of other group members in their utility function. Trust is rooted in the expectation of receiving benefits from other group members or society at large. Reciprocity is closely tied to trust and serves as a potent adhesive for fostering social capital. Social capital is critical for nurturing trust, democracy, and, consequently, well-being and economic development within a society. In this chapter, we propose museums and learning as tools for fostering social cohesion, identity, trust, and social capital. We argue that museums serve as social gathering places within a new paradigm for lifelong learning, emphasising the social aspects of learning and positioning museums as learning organisations that contribute to societal development beyond their physical walls. Therefore, we contend that museums play a significant role in building social capital and promoting social integration.

Introduction

Social cohesion can be considered a priority and a positive benefit for any developed society; it is a tool for making a society more successful and sustainable, developing the common interest more so than the sum of individual interests. It is also a way of expanding the identity of belonging to a community, which not only leads to more economic exchanges but also develops a better environment for peace and co-living. A significant portion of the European Union's budget, for example, is dedicated to policies favouring social cohesion within the union, and many of the reforms adopted within the union are also aimed at this objective (Matti et al., 2023). It is important to remember that individual interests recently led an important member to withdraw from the European Union.

Social capital is a resource that can have multiple forms of impact on the objective of achieving a more cohesive society, and museums are a source for generating this resource. Social capital is an intangible value present in society and derives directly from the social relations between the members of a group or community. By translation, the benefit affects not only the individual but also society. A country with a strong social relations network is a country with strong potential for economic development, as well as a society with better indices of democracy, equality, and well-being, as has been shown in many studies (Putnam et al., 1993; Helliwell and Putnam, 1995; Whiteley, 2002; Iyer et al., 2005; Woolcock, 1998; Chou, 2003). The value that social relations bring to a country's welfare and economy is related to the economic capital that is also linked to the value of human capital.

A society with strong human capital will always have more value to contribute to its stock of social capital and consequently to its economic development and welfare. Individuals learn that they can obtain benefits from social relations for their individual economy and quality of life, which favours trust in the rest of the group, which can also translate into increased trust in society if the group develops activities that contribute positively to its development. We see the social capital of an individual as the value of the information and the value of the goods and services to which individuals have access through their social network. This value will be a function of the value of human capital and the value of economic capital.

A person whose social network has greater human capital and, consequently, advanced knowledge will potentially have access to more valuable information that will bring great economic and welfare gains. An individual whose social capital network has high economic

capital also potentially has access to goods and services that provide a higher level of well-being. The value of an individual's social capital is therefore not only a function of the density of his or her social network but also of the value of his or her human and economic capital.

In this article, we develop the concept of social capital as a means of fostering social cohesion, and we offer the use of museums as a tool for channelling knowledge formation and learning.

Museums are a social meeting place where people with common interests can meet in the exhibition halls, cafeterias and restaurants, or outdoor spaces. These can act as a meeting point for different social and ethnic groups and favour the creation of a space for developing social networks and common learning, thus promoting the formation of social capital, trust, and social cohesion.

Learning is always social. Museums as instruments of knowledge and learning are a source of human capital. Learning in museums is an efficient instrument for encouraging socialisation and for favouring and consolidating the formation of social networks. Museums are institutions designed to foster individual and collective social capital and social cohesion. Museums that develop activities focused on learning and cultural exchange are more effective at building knowledge, human capital, and, consequently, private and collective social capital.

Museums are a meeting point where not only can spontaneous social relations be fostered but also those generated by programmed activities. Programmed activities, which focus on learning, bring together people with a common interest in the knowledge being transmitted. If the aim is to develop and foster social relations, social capital, and social cohesion, then museums, as a meeting point for people with common interests, serve as an additional building block in society. Programmed activities reinforce museums' efficiency in their role of forming social capital, as such activities allow museums to focus on favouring points of common interest between different social groups and, furthermore, because through learning and knowledge such activities favour the formation of human capital, which is a source of social capital.

This article begins with a section devoted to developing an understanding of the concept of social capital. The article then develops the relationship with trust, reciprocity, and social cohesion and describes the benefits of developing social capital. Finally, it describes the role that museums can play in the formation of social capital and in the development of a more cohesive society.

Understanding the concept of social capital

Bourdieu (1986) delineated three forms of capital that an individual must possess and develop throughout their life, and which determine their success, wealth, and well-being: economic capital, social capital, and cultural capital. **Economic capital** is related to financial and material assets. **Cultural capital** involves the accumulation of knowledge and competencies by way of education and social interaction. Generally, individuals possessing higher levels of economic and cultural capital are afforded greater opportunities for success within society.The third form of capital with a significant influence on an individual's wealth and quality of life is **social capital**. Social capital comprises the actual or potential resources accessible by an individual by virtue of their membership in social networks, whether these networks are institutionalised or informal. These resources may be assets or services, but they also include the information, influence, and support that facilitate access to the employment, educational, and social opportunities that enhance an individual's living conditions. Social capital is considered an intangible concept that generates real benefits individually and for the community.

Social capital takes time to accumulate and to generate a tendency that will persist in the future. Putnam et al. (1993) found that in Italy, regions with high levels of social capital, associated with a high degree of civic engagement and societal trust, tend to have better governance and greater economic development. Corruption, lack of cooperation, and lack of trust are linked with lower levels of democratic development. Putnam concluded that, in general, societies with higher social capital, generated by greater civic participation and higher levels of trust, promote social cohesion and democratic quality. For Herreros (2017), social capital is an intangible resource accessible through connection to a social network. It is information. Like human and physical capital, it is a resource that facilitates the achievement of certain goals. Membership in social networks determines an individual's potential stock of social capital (Sandefur and Laumann, 1988). Closed networks or strong ties can make it easier to obtain information.

Although social relationships are a source of social capital, they do not constitute social capital in and of themselves. Social capital consists simply of derived resources. We regard social capital as more than mere information; it is also access to assets and services obtained from members of the social network. We see an individual's social capital as the value of the information and the goods and services to which the individual has access through their social network. This value will depend on the value of the human capital and the value of the economic capital. A person with a social network that has greater human capital, and

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consequently advanced knowledge, will potentially have access to higher-value information that will bring them significant economic gains and well-being. A person with a social network that has a high level of economic capital also has potential access to goods and services that will provide a greater level of well-being. Therefore, the value of an individual's social capital depends not only on the density of their social network but also on the value of the human and economic capital within it.

As regards information, it represents the collective stock of knowledge that circulates within society and is accessible to its members. This knowledge can be utilised for the benefit of individuals, groups, or society. This definition has two components. First, we refer to social capital as a stock; second, we refer to the flow of knowledge within society. A country with a high level of knowledge, derived from substantial human capital and a high level of innovation, can accumulate significant knowledge. However, if the dissemination of this information is poor, the capacity to generate wealth will be limited. Social networks function as the "highways" along which knowledge spreads within a society, creating wealth and well-being. Consider two farmers producing olives in the same valley, with similar conditions and locations. The difference is that one farmer is a member of a cooperative, while the other has chosen to operate independently. A farmer who remains isolated has less potential for generating wealth than a farmer who is part of a community of farmers, where interactions facilitate the generation and exchange of knowledge that will be transformed into well-being and wealth. The farmer belonging to the cooperative gains advantages that can make his business more profitable. Part of his benefit stems from the utilisation of communal resources, such as joint olive commercialisation or shared resources that reduce costs.

However, these benefits may not be classified as social capital. By interacting with each other, the farmers share information about farming techniques or which olive species might be more productive for oil production. This kind of knowledge, which enhances the benefits to farmers who are members of a community, is what we could consider social capital. This concept can be scaled up to apply to a society. Societies with a greater number of civic associations and social relationships increase their knowledge base, thereby enhancing the overall well-being of the country.

On the other hand, the quality of the knowledge shared is also crucial. A society characterised by higher levels of human capital, innovation culture, and development tends to generate greater wealth and well-being. For example, consider two farming cooperatives; a cooperative

located in an area with a long tradition of innovation and higher human capital is likely to produce higher levels of wealth and well-being than a cooperative in a less innovative area with a lower level of human capital.

Social capital, trust and reciprocity, and social cohesion

Sandefur and Laumann (1988) identified three benefits that the formation of social capital may confer – information, influence and control, and social solidarity – to which we could add social cohesion. It takes time for social capital to accumulate and to generate a tendency that will persist in the future. Social capital is also a source of trust generation within society. The formation of social capital helps individuals to trust society and its institutions and motivates them to contribute positively to the community. Corruption, lack of cooperation, and lack of trust are linked with lower levels of democratic development. As to how social capital is formed, Rothstein and Stolle (2008) used World Values data to present evidence of a positive correlation between the quality of state institutions and the levels of citizens' trust in society and institutions. Countries with lower levels of corruption and greater transparency and institutional efficiency generate higher levels of trust among their citizens towards institutions and society in general. Those countries that have implemented policies to reduce corruption and improve institutional efficiency have increased levels of trust, which is crucial for fostering social cohesion and social capital.

For Newton (2001), an important part of social welfare comes from membership in voluntary organisations in the community. Newton described social capital as a factor that promotes social integration, economic efficiency, and democratic stability. In his work, he distinguished between social and political trust. He found that social trust is correlated with high income, education, and social status, which can be found among those he refers to as the "winners" of society. Political trust, on the other hand, is associated with a well-functioning government and economy, low levels of corruption, economic growth, and unemployment. Public policies and their economic impact can also perpetuate the exclusion and marginalisation of certain social groups in favour of others where opportunities for access to education and the equitable distribution of wealth are limited (Loury, 2000).

Societies based on privileges instead of equal opportunities generate inequality and social exclusion and restrict economic growth. To make the economy and society work, citizens must be involved, and how they are involved in society and in the formation of social capital is

related to trust (Rothstein and Stolle, 2008). High levels of social welfare are found in societies that also have high levels of trust, such as Norway, Finland, Sweden, and Denmark. While social capital and trust are highly correlated, and both linked to what Newton (2001) called the winners of society – people with high levels of income, education, and social status – these two concepts are not the same.

Trust can be seen as a result or an element of social capital. Trust is an expectation, not a behaviour. Trust is sometimes seen as an element of social capital, and sometimes because of it. Participation in social networks provides access to social capital resources in the form of reciprocal obligations, which generate trust and private information in the hands of a network's members (Herreros, 2017). Trust is grounded in an expectation of the preferences of other people. If we trust others, it is because we think the others are trustworthy and we will face less social uncertainty. This is related to what we expect to receive from other persons. Social capital involves reciprocity. People invest in social relations because they think they will receive benefits from it. These benefits are expected to be received directly from other group members or from society in general. Belonging to a social network is a source of social capital. The generosity of its members is based on reciprocity or altruism and leads to a sense of group belonging, which develops cohesion in the group and favours integration.

Generosity implies that individuals include the utility of other members of society in their utility functions so that their actions benefit others without necessarily generating a direct benefit to themselves. This apparent sense of altruism towards members of one's group may arise because the individual expects to receive benefits from groups other than his own, or because he has already received benefits from society on other occasions that have led to this feeling of reciprocity.

The members of the social network offer their information, their services, and their actions because they have received or expect to receive at some point. This reception may come from other members of the group or from other groups or networks in society. Reciprocity is a source of trust and social cohesion. The expectation of benefits from society raises the individual's confidence and encourages him or her to provide benefit to others. Generosity and reciprocity build trust and increase the feeling of belonging to a group, which builds social cohesion and favours social integration.

The perception of belonging to a group implies that members also expect to receive benefits from society at large and not just from other members. One way to transform individual trust into social trust is through participation in civic social networks. (Putnam et al., 1993). Herreros (2017) discussed how social trust can be built in a society: participation in social networks can lead to an individual's trust in society growing if he has a good perception of his participation in the social network. This can contribute to increased trust in his society. The individual learns to receive signals from his group that he can trust. Interaction between individuals in associations and groups where deliberation and discussion take place is a source of social capital because of the information that is generated. Finally, belonging to a social network where members obtain benefits that are transformed into trust can lead them to their increased trust in the rest of society. The losses they may have experienced with unknown individuals can be compensated for by members of their groups.

Benefits of developing social capital

Increasing social capital is a way to expand economic development, well-being, and social cohesion (D. Lee, 2013; Putnam et al., 1993). The academic literature provides ample evidence supporting the influence of social capital on social and economic development. Indeed, social capital has a significant impact on economic development (Knack and Keefer, 1997; Woolcock, 1998; Whiteley, 2002; Helliwell and Putnam, 1995).

Chou (2006) demonstrated the macroeconomic impact of social capital on human capital development and financial development, through its effects on collective trust and social norms, as well as by facilitating collaboration and business innovation. Rupashinga (2000) found evidence that per capital income grows more rapidly in countries with a high level of social capital.

Knack and Keefer (1997) used a sample of 29 countries to demonstrate that social capital significantly influences indicators of trust and civic norms. These are more pronounced in societies with higher and more equitable incomes, less predatory governance, and populations with better education and ethnic homogeneity. Their findings indicate that trust and civic cooperation are positively associated with stronger economic performance. Contrary to Putnam's findings, they observed no correlation between associational activity and economic performance. Additionally, they found that trust and norms of civic cooperation are more robust in countries with formal institutions that effectively protect property and contract rights.

Utilising cross-country data, Knack (2003) examined the relationship between social trust, group formation, and economic growth in various countries. The study reveals that social trust and social participation exert a positive influence on economic growth. The author posits that policies aimed at developing and consolidating social capital are as crucial as traditional economic growth policies. This leads to the conclusion that, in general, initiatives designed to strengthen social cohesion can yield long-term economic development benefits.

Coleman (1994) produced one of the pioneering works highlighting the role of social capital in human capital formation. Becker (1993) discussed investment in the skills and knowledge that individuals acquire through education and work experience. Investment in human capital has a direct impact on individuals' productivity and income, affecting both their personal well-being and a country's economic development. Becker argued that, like physical capital, human capital can be cultivated and has a direct impact on individuals' productivity and earnings. This investment in human capital influences not only individual welfare but also a country's overall economic development.

La Porta et al. (1997) and Putnam et al. (1993) found evidence that in countries with strong hierarchical religions, particularly Catholic countries, there is a negative correlation with trust, and consequently with the formation of social capital and social cohesion. The reason for this is the imposition of a vertical hierarchical model that limits cooperation. This hierarchical structure tends to inhibit the development of the horizontal networks and trust relationships that are crucial for building social capital. The vertical nature of these religious institutions may discourage the formation of autonomous civic associations and reduce interpersonal trust outside of family or close-knit groups, potentially impacting broader societal cooperation and economic development.

Correspondingly, Klein (2011) found that social capital has a positive effect on well-being and trust, both in other members of a society and in institutions. Hamilton et al. (2016) utilised data from the Gallup World Poll to present empirical evidence that links social capital and trust with levels of well-being. They underscored the importance of social capital as a source of social well-being. Social relationships and social cohesion are pivotal to both individual and collective well-being. Trust in institutions and interpersonal trust are used as indicators of social capital; higher levels of societal trust are associated with greater individual happiness and satisfaction. Increased trust in institutions corresponds with greater well-being. Hamilton et al.

(2016) proposed that inequality can erode social capital and trust. Moreover, more egalitarian societies consistently demonstrate higher levels of trust and cohesion.

Woolcock (1998) suggested that social capital exerts a significant and positive influence on the sustainable economic development of a society by facilitating access to information and opportunities. This leads to greater prosperity, as members are more inclined to collaborate and share resources, which also enhances social cohesion. Woolcock highlighted that building social capital can be achieved by encouraging citizen participation in organisations and associations that promote cooperation and trust. This approach offers an effective strategy for combatting poverty, unemployment, and lack of opportunity. There is no guarantee that social capital will improve well-being if knowledge is used to destroy human or physical capital. Human knowledge can be used to improve life conditions with medicines but also to destroy them with arms and bombs. Olson (1982) argued that not all forms of political and social organisation are conducive to economic development and well-being. Knack (2003) asserted that certain social groups that prioritise individual interests and do not promote cooperative habits and trust in society and institutions can negatively impact economic efficiency and social cohesion.

Museums and social capital

A museum is a social space for learning and eventually for creating social capital, and consequently, social cohesion. Lee (2013) in his work studied how an art experience involving different ethnic and cultural groups turned out to be a source of fostering mutual respect, tolerance towards differences, trust, empathy, a sense of oneness, solidarity, and group cohesion.

There are fewer works to be found that explore the impact of museums on social capital. Camarero et al. (2011) highlighted that collaboration between external agents and museum networks is a primary source for the success of a museum and its capacity for innovation. Murzyn y Dzialek (2013) explored how cultural heritage can be used as a tool to build social capital in a community, fostering social cohesion and community identity. The preservation and promotion of a society's heritage fosters civic participation, a sense of belonging, and collaboration among social groups, promoting the development of social networks. Beel and Wallace (2018) emphasised that cultural practices and heritage facilitate the creation of social networks and therefore capital formation, even when digital platforms are used.

The museum institution as an actor in societal development

The museum is a social meeting place, often with many social spaces, such as exhibitions, cafés, restaurants, and outdoor areas. That a museum is also an arena for lifelong learning is perhaps not as well known. What is probably least known is the connection between the museum as a social meeting place and the museum as a source of lifelong learning.

According to the International Council of Museums (ICOM), museums are not primarily social meeting places or institutions of teaching and learning (Eriksen, 2009, p. 13). ICOM describes itself as "the international organisation of museums and museum professionals which is committed to the research, conservation, continuation and communication to society of the world's natural and cultural heritage, present and future, tangible and intangible" (ICOM, 2023, p. 3).

The museum organisation has traditionally been more focused on monologue than dialogue with the surrounding community. At the same time, ICOM's own definition contains formulations that include the museum as an institution that engages in education, studies and experiences (Sonne and Banik, 2021, p. 23).

A broader definition of the museum institution has been developed by ICOM's Standing Committee for the Museum Definition, Prospects and Potentials for ICOM's Executive Board. The proposal showed a willingness to change the direction of museums towards being institutions that engage more clearly in issues such as democracy, inclusion, equal rights, active partnerships, human dignity, social justice, and global equality. The proposal also showed a willingness to develop the museum institution into social meeting places with equal access for everyone to make use of cultural heritage:

> Museums are democratizing, inclusive and polyphonic spaces for critical dialogue about the pasts and the futures. Acknowledging and addressing the conflicts and challenges of the present, they hold artefacts and specimens in trust for society, safeguard diverse memories for future generations and guarantee equal rights and equal access to heritage for all people.
>
> (Steen, 2019; Sonne and Banik, 2021, pp. 23–24)

The proposal goes on to state that

> museums are not for profit. They are participatory and transparent, and work in active partnership with and for diverse communities to collect, preserve, research, interpret,

exhibit, and enhance understandings of the world, aiming to contribute to human dignity and social justice, global equality and planetary wellbeing.

(Steen, 2019; Sonne and Banik, 2021, pp. 23–24)

The proposal was rejected in 2019 when it came up for a vote at ICOM's extraordinary general meeting. However, the confrontation within ICOM in the spring and summer of 2019 revealed where the fronts in the global museum world are heading. On the one hand, there is a goal for the museum to be an active player in societal development, such as in relation to the UN's sustainability goals. On the other hand, there is a desire to maintain the museum's role as in the definition that ICOM has already adopted (Steen, 2019; Sonne and Banik, 2021, p. 24).

ICOM's definition of museums is the starting point for museum operations in Europe. The idea that culture, and thus the museum, was a good without extensive political governance has been replaced with result-oriented demands. In the 2000s, the tendency is that museums will no longer just manage, research, preserve, and communicate. They should now know their audience and be a resource in society by being relevant and accessible and contributing to social inclusion and learning (Hooper-Greenhill, 2004, p. 152). The British cultural heritage researcher Graham Black goes so far as to claim that "the best museums inspire, excite, empower, give confidence and help individuals and communities grow" (Black, 2009, p. 3).

The museum sector has gone from focusing on management and one-way communication from museum to visitor to having a new awareness of the public's experiences and learning. This implies a recognition of the many paths that knowledge acquisition may follow and the need for museums to be far more responsive to the public (Hylland, 2017, pp. 88–89).

Although many museums are still oriented towards the collections, it can be said that with the growth of market thinking in museums, with a focus on making money, there is a shift in museums' overall orientation to a focus on the public, learning, and, not least, experience. This is a paradigm shift that will have a major influence on museum organisations in relation to what they do and what skills their employees have.

In the wake of this, a recognition has emerged that museums must be seen as a social meeting place and an arena for lifelong learning. This raises questions about what the public is really left with after a visit and how the museum can be relevant to more people. The result is a more systematic way of thinking about learning practices, and the development of special tools for planning and evaluating the informal learning that takes place in such institutions.

Traditionally, the museum is not an educational or learning institution. As a genre, the museum is tasked with collection, preservation, research, and dissemination. As with the concepts of education and learning, the concept of genre has a social aspect to which the museum as an institution has adapted over many years (Eriksen, 2009, p. 15). Conceiving an institution such as a museum in a context of formal, informal, or non-formal learning represents a break with the previous genre of the museum, or at least a break with how the museum was previously seen. However, a changing world means that institutions also change, and that new openings and opportunities arise, even for museums (Sonne and Banik, 2021, p. 27).

An important turning point for museums occurred in 1996, when the new strategy for lifelong learning was introduced by the OECD, and everyone needed to begin working with concepts such as formal learning, informal learning, and non-formal learning within the new learning paradigm. Previously, learning had been perceived as occurring in formal institutions of education, such as schools, colleges, and universities. Learning now became something through which even cultural heritage institutions such as archives, libraries, and museums could define themselves (Sonne and Banik, 2021, p. 28).

The museum does not usually engage in formal learning. Rather, it is a supplement or a contributor to a school or university, where formal learning is organised and structured in relation to clearly defined learning objectives. More typically, the museum contributes to informal learning. This may happen, for example, when visitors walk around the museum and learn new things in an unorganised way, such as by looking at an exhibition or perhaps through casual conversations with others. In principle, the possibilities for informal learning are unlimited (OECD, 2021).

Museums' contribution to non-formal learning is perhaps what extends their original activity the most (Eriksen, 2009, p. 13). Non-formal learning is often organised, but not necessarily via specific training objectives. In addition, the mediator or museum educator is often not professionally trained – for example, as a teacher or a kindergarten teacher. Often the term "non-formal learning" is defined as being between formal and informal learning (OECD, 2021). For museums, being connected with lifelong learning has brought many new development opportunities. The political and social recognition of museums' learning and teaching endeavours has been growing in recent years (ibid.). In principle, museums can be involved in all areas of lifelong learning (Sonne and Banik, 2021, pp. 27–28).

In 2006, the European analysis agency KEA submitted a report to the European Commission on the economic, political, and social dimensions of culture (KEA, 2006). Based on the Lisbon Strategy's growth targets and the European Commission's agenda for a digital agenda for Europe, it was argued that the cultural and creative sectors should be included in the Lisbon Strategy's development targets for economic growth and job creation (European Commission, 2018).

Furthermore, Pier Luigi Sacco, an Italian professor of cultural economics, among others, developed the term "culture's generation 3.0", in which respect he argued that culture should be perceived as an integral part of the growth economy based on innovation and as part of lifelong learning (Sacco, 2011, pp. 6–9). According to Sacco, culture can be seen from three different angles: cost-driven, investment-driven, and innovation-driven.

According to Sacco, in generation 3.0, culture generates economic value and can be seen as something that complements other areas of society. This occurs through direct and indirect spill-over effects from culture into other areas of society, such as by creating innovation, entrepreneurship, economic growth, welfare, social cohesion, lifelong learning, identity development, and sustainability (Sacco, 2011, pp. 1–3). Some areas of innovation-driven culture may be capacity-building via lifelong learning and social inclusion. In principle, the possibilities are limitless.

Most importantly, Sacco's contribution equated culture and education by defining cultural participation as a prerequisite for innovation and economic growth in the same way as education. Sacco thus influenced how we usually perceive culture and cultural heritage, shifting it away from something that costs money and requires a surplus in society towards something that is an important cause of innovation and growth, and that society thus cannot afford *not* to invest in (Sacco, 2011, p. 6). As a result of this way of seeing culture, culture gradually became more and more integrated into the EU's strategies for competitiveness and social cohesion (Sonne and Banik, 2021, p. 31).

By 2018, European cultural policy was predominantly focused on cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. However, a strategy document from 2007 pointed out that, as a goal of European cultural policy, it should promote culture as a catalyst for creativity, which was included in the Lisbon strategy for growth and employment. Later, the European agenda for culture received a completely different emphasis. Culture is now increasingly seen as an engine for economic development (European Commission, 2018, p. 4).

Similarly, the social dimension was later emphasised in European cultural policy. Among other things, cultural heritage should be promoted as a resource that can be used to transform society by developing links between culture, education, social areas, urban planning, research, and innovation. This includes creating links between culture, health, and well-being (European Commission, 2018, pp. 2–3).

The European agenda for culture was closely linked to the programme for Creative Europe (2018), with a focus on competitiveness, innovation, and social inclusion. This programme highlighted the importance of culture and cultural heritage in European economic, social, and external cooperation, with a view to strengthening Europe's competitiveness. There has even been discussion about culture-based creativity related to education (European Commission, 2018).

Culture, including museums, has moved into a new area that is largely about maximising benefits for society, individuals, and organisations via innovation and development that go beyond what the cultural area has traditionally dealt with. Culture and cultural heritage are now more and more about producing added value through innovation. This development largely reflects what Sacco defined in 2011 as culture's generation 3.0 (Sacco, 2011, pp. 3–4).

Learning is a social activity. Although the individual's learning is typically the learning we put at the centre, learning does not take place in isolation from a social context. The combination of the terms "social" and "learning" is important to note (Jarvis, 2007, pp. 1–2).

In other words, learning is a process of transforming all of our experiences via thoughts, actions, and feelings, by which we thus transform ourselves as we continue to build perceptions of an external world in our own biography. It is not possible to completely detach oneself from a social context when learning something new. This contrasts with, for example, the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche, who argued that we must detach ourselves from the influence of others to be fully and completely true to ourselves. According to Jarvis, this is not entirely possible, as there will always be social contexts that influence our development and thus our transformations due to learning processes. Learning is thus something social and typically something that is also socially constructed (Jarvis, 2007, pp. 5–7).

We as humans learn new things in social contexts. The importance of the social aspect of learning is recognised in the EU's strategy for key competences and lifelong learning. The EU key competences include a social key competence, which the EU defines as the ability to work together with others in a constructive way and handle conflicts in an inclusive and supportive

context. Social competence also relates to understanding the widely accepted patterns of behaviour and rules for communication in different societies and environments. The skills include the ability to learn and work with others and seek support, when relevant, and to manage one's working life and social interaction effectively. The individual should be able to communicate constructively in different environments, collaborate in teams, and be able to negotiate. This involves being able to show tolerance, express and understand different points of view, and be able to create trust and feel empathy (European Union, 2006, p. 10). The social key competence is based on a positive attitude to one's personal, social, and physical well-being and to lifelong learning. It is attitudinally based on cooperation, impact, and integrity. This implies respect for the diversity of others and their needs and being prepared both to overcome prejudice and to compromise (European Union, 2006, p. 10).

Situating the museum as a social meeting place for lifelong learning is therefore extremely relevant. Not only is it a good idea in terms of scientific learning theory, it is also linked with political objectives for lifelong learning with a focus on social competence development, which is part of a wider societal development strategy to engender economic, social, and sustainable development. Social capital development and social inclusion are a part of this development.

The museum as an institution is increasingly a social space where people can meet. It is also increasingly an arena for lifelong learning and for formal, informal, and especially non-formal learning. The museum is thus developing into a social meeting place for lifelong learning. It can thus be said that the museum is moving away from the traditional collection orientation towards an audience orientation with a focus on both learning and experiences. Such movement away from being a supply-oriented institution towards being a demand-oriented institution has many advantages, but naturally also many challenges. On the positive side, the museum as a social meeting place and an arena for lifelong learning is more relevant to society. The museum can thus connect to political objectives by contributing to the development of social capital, social inclusion, social cohesion, economic growth, and sustainability (Sonne and Banik, 2021, p. 42). Museums have much to offer in this regard. This is evident from the many policy documents with goals and strategies developed by the EU in recent decades.

Opportunities also entail challenges, such as the challenge of developing museums' own capacity. This transformation is probably well underway in many European museums, encouraged by a European cultural policy that focuses on culture and cultural heritage as having more than just intrinsic value. European cultural policy expects museums to be a part

of the greater overall strategy for society's development, which, among other things, involves development towards contributing to social capital development and social inclusion. This can be described as a paradigm shift in the museum institution's orientation and activities.

Concluding remarks

In this article, we have argued that museums are learning spaces that have good preconditions for contributing to social capital development and social integration in Europe. Our point of departure was the concept of social capital, which we argued is critical for nurturing trust, democracy, and, consequently, well-being and economic development within a society. We have proposed museums and learning as tools for fostering social cohesion, identity, trust, and social capital. We have argued that museums serve as social gathering places within a new paradigm of lifelong learning, emphasising the social aspects of learning and positioning museums as learning organisations that contribute to societal development beyond their physical walls. On this basis, we contend that museums play a significant role in building social capital and promoting social integration. Finally, we argue that the more the museum as an institution perceives itself as an actor producing added value and innovation by way of learning, the more the museum institution will be capable of contributing to building social capital development and thus promoting social integration.

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Internationalisation Home and Abroad

A Reward System and Student Field Trips in an Age of Uncertainty

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Abstract

This article offers insight into non-travel-based international activities at the University of Glasgow. Traditionally, a university has taken pride in its position as a higher learning institution catering to the local student population. Since 2010, it has developed an international profile by establishing productive partnerships with other universities globally and joining Universitas 21 and other networks. The article introduces two initiatives focusing on modalities of student-facing internationalisation that do not require physical mobility. The GlasGow Global award system, through an intricate system of measuring student input, fosters and encourages student activity in the international arena. The University also supports field trips in financial and institutional terms. The article elaborates on the home dimension of student field trips and argues that work preceding and following a trip contributes to its success equally.

Keywords: Duke of Edinburgh Award, GlasGow Global Award, preparing field trips

Introduction

While internationalisation in a university setting has been clearly identified as an essential attribute of good, quality, or fit-for-the -21st century education to raise global citizens (Santoro and Major, 2012), its meanings, definitions and practices have attracted surprisingly little research. Internationalisation activities currently include a range of practices: the recruitment of international students in a bid to increase the diversity of the student body's composition; the increase of international student exchanges for research students to serve further research collaborations; short-term visiting student arrangements for taught courses (i.e. mobilities supported by the Erasmus Programme or the Turing Scheme); joint, dual and double degree delivery; research visits and research fellowships for staff and students; study trips for students (credit-bearing or non-credit bearing)**.** The international tendency to internationalise education is visible everywhere: it the UK university system, postgraduate courses increasingly cater for students from all continents, while in continental Europe, the proliferation of courses taught in English – as opposed to the national languages – is a clear indicator of the intention to attract non-local students. On a more theoretical level, these instances of internationalisation are captured in Glasgow University's International Strategy, which identifies global relationships, research, recruitment and reputation (University of Glasgow Glasgow Global International Strategy).

Internationalisation is attractive from a range of perspectives, including an ideological commitment to developing planetary consciousness for agents and actors in education; a pure pragmatic (and very UK-specific) perspective of attracting higher fee-paying students to the universities, to the rather instrumentalised perspective of training the students for global employment opportunities in the workforce. Nevertheless, internationalisation has encountered a range of challenges. From a British perspective, the departure from the European Union has erected a major structural barrier. This has resulted in British students and staff no longer enjoying the advantages of mobility opportunities offered by the Erasmus scheme and also by the limitations on the role of British universities in European funding applications. In addition, the number of students from continental Europe has been dramatically reduced. Several compensatory mechanisms, such as the Turing Scheme, have been introduced to support student mobility within and outside Europe. These truly serve the purpose of educating citizens for the global economy. These funding schemes are much more limited in their financial capacity. A similar obstacle is presented by the cost-of-living crisis, which, though not completely halting international student engagement and mobility, still presents individual as

well as institutional challenges related to mobility choices. Experience shows that support for internationalisation is the first one to go in the case of a massive budget crisis at any university (Lei 2010, 47).

This article introduces two initiatives undertaken by the University of Glasgow that aim to offer new dimensions to internationalisation. Exploring the tension between the inevitable sweep of globalisation, with its technological, financial and conceptual dimensions on the one hand, and conditions thwarting it on the other, the article aims to introduce two established practices that continue to foster internationalisation: GlasGOw Global Awards and student field trips. The former offers a viable incentive to encourage internationalisation in all forms, including home activities, while the latter shows that the 'at home' aspects of field trips are essential for the pedagogical success of such trips. Taken together, they offer compelling evidence that, notwithstanding ideological and financial barriers, innovative pedagogical practices can foster internationalisation in education.

GlasGOw Global

GlasGow Global Awards were introduced to the University of Glasgow in 2015 as part of the policy of capturing and enhancing student engagement in international activity. The University is one of the four ancient universities of Scotland, with a distinguished history from 1451 and a long history of teaching international students. However, it was known primarily as a local university until the early 21st century, catering for Scottish students, especially those in the West of Scotland (University of Glasgow University Story). This student body composition was slightly changed with the special arrangements that European Union citizens enjoyed until Brexit: similar to Scottish-domiciled students, they were entitled to five years of undergraduate teaching with no tuition fee. As a result of the relevant legislation, the four ancient universities of Scotland (Aberdeen, St Andrews, Edinburgh, Glasgow) taught a high percentage of European students. European students were also matriculated in other institutions. This arrangement applied to the last intake of students in September 2020, whose graduation date is June 2024. Since then, the decrease in student numbers from continental Europe has been noticeable.

The GlasGOw Global Awards scheme was set up as part of the broader internationalisation agenda introduced in 2010 after the restructuring of the University and under the leadership of Anne Anderson, then Vice Principal of the University (Bergin et al., 2007). It aims to encourage

undergraduate students' participation in different kinds of internationalisation activities. Its model was based on that of the Duke of Edinburgh Award, a highly prestigious British award open to 14-24-year-olds that encourages pupils to perform community service, endurance hillwalking and other activities in the service of the community and of self-improvement. Moreover, it offers a simple and transparent evaluation system for achieving the different degrees of the Duke of Edinburgh Award, ranging from the Bronze to the Gold award. The Award is also part of the student's University application. GlasGOw Global was also conceived to encourage student activism and participation, while offering clear indicators of measures and impact.

The College of Social Sciences Glasgow Global Award scheme was launched in 2016, and by 2024, about 800 awards were given out in COSS; approximately 100 per year. Only final year students can apply, therefore students have three years to complete the tasks. The College of Arts and Humanities and the College of Science and Engineering have also adopted the award system, with equally high level of student interest. The Award is part of the student's Higher Education Achievement Report (the official UK record of the student's achievement during their period of study), and a certificate is also provided that they can show to employers during job interviews (Westwood, 2025).

GlasGOw Global offers engagement opportunities for undergraduate students on three different tiers. As the University defines, activities feeding into the tiers fall into the following categories (University of Glasgow College of Arts and Humanities International: Glasgow Global Awards):

> **Engage** with the international scene at the University of Glasgow by learning a new language, joining an internationally orientated organisation, or become a student mentor for incoming international students!

> **Explore** by under taking a short-term work-based placement or period of study at another campus – an excellent way to gain an insight into another culture!

> **Exchange** through spending time studying abroad at a partner university.

In more specific detail, these categories are broken down to activities (the subcategories of academic – social – voluntary – practical – cultural); event types as serving practical examples

(field trip, taster visit, internship, study abroad etc.), duration (per visit, per semester etc.) location (Glasgow- Scotland-overseas) and the number of points that can be earned by these activities.

Engage:

Subcategory	Event type	Duration	Location	Points
Academic	Taster visit	Up to 5 days	Overseas	15
Academic	Field trip	Up to 5 days	Overseas	15
Academic	Conference attendance	Up to 5 days	Overseas	10
Voluntary	Secondary school outreach activities promoting the understanding of 'global	Per visit	Scotland	5
Social	International student mentor	Academic year	Glasgow	10
Social	International student lead mentor	Academic year	Glasgow	30
Social	Member of approved international society	Academic year	Glasgow	10
Academic	Attend a talk/presentation/seminar by visiting International Speaker	Per event	Glasgow	2
Academic	Joint courses with overseas partners (no mobility)	One semester	Glasgow	10
Academic	Joint courses with overseas partner (with 2-4 days abroad)	One semester (with 2-4 days abroad)	Overseas	15

Explore:

Subcategory	Event type	Duration	Location	Points
Academic	Common Purpose Programme	5 days	Overseas	20
Academic	Research placement recognised as part of an academic course	5 days to 8 days	Overseas	30
Practical	Internships (non-compulsory)	5 days to 8 days	Overseas	30
Practical	Field trip	5 days to 8 days	Overseas	30
Academic	Summer school (UoG partner university or non-partner)	5 days to 8 days	Overseas	30
Voluntary	Voluntary work	5 days to 8 days	Scotland	15
Voluntary	Voluntary work	5 days to 8 days	Overseas	30
Academic	Language skills development (online, language cafes, classes)	5 days to 8 days	Scotland	20
Academic	MOOCS/online courses, CIVIS BPs	5 days to 8 days	Anywhere	30
Social	Officer of SRC	5 days to 8 days	Glasgow	25
Practical	Internships/work placement (compulsory	5 days to 8 days	Overseas	30

	part of degree programme)			

Exchange:

Subcategory	Event type	Duration	Location	Points
Academic/cultural	Study abroad (Go Abroad programme)	One semester	Overseas	40
Academic/cultural	Study abroad (Go Abroad programme)	Academic year	Overseas	80
Practical	Internship/work placements (compulsory part of degree programme)	One semester	Overseas	50
Practical/cultural	Language Year Abroad (SMLC only)	Academic year	Overseas	80
Practical/cultural	Gap year working abroad	Academic year	Overseas	50
Social	Go Abroad student ambassador	Academic year	Overseas	30

This very carefully elaborated system recommends international activities for students and also captures a range of different activities that they undertake, whilst pointing out the internationalisation potential of different kinds of activities that may often not be seen as international. The first category 'Engage' is particularly important in this respect: local secondary school activities, promoting the understanding of global citizenship, or attending a

talk or presentation of an international speaker count as international activities, while from the 'Explore' group, UK-based language skills development also earns internationalisation points. In the 'Engage' group, only four of the ten activity types listed require overseas travel. For all activities, the student can earn 122 points (counting each activity once, though the student may attend seminars by visiting speakers more than once), and at least 67 points can be earned while staying at home. In the 'Explore' category, eleven activity types are listed, four of which do not require foreign travel at all. Of the 290 points that can be earned (not accounting for repeat activities such as multiple MOOCS), 90 points can be earned with activities not requiring foreign travel. 'Engage' only has 6 categories, but all of them rely on travel undertaken overseas, with the maximum number of 330 points achievable. It is very clear, therefore, that students whose circumstances inhibit international mobility can still undertake international work.

The carefully detailed listing of work and international activity, which captures 'internationalisation' activity in a number of forms, is matched with a system of tiers whose descriptors allow the awards to be classified (University of Glasgow College of Arts and Humanities International: Glasgow Global Awards):

Bronze Award: 75-149 points

A student who has achieved this award will have demonstrated a commitment to internationalisation and cultural awareness through undertaking academic, social and cultural activities. They will have developed some knowledge of differing international educational, social or working cultures and a good level of international awareness.

Silver Award: 150-199 points

A student who has achieved this award will have demonstrated a strong commitment to internationalisation and cultural awareness through undertaking a range of academic, social and cultural activities. They will have built up a sound knowledge of differing international educational, social or working cultures and a level of cultural awareness sufficient for them to be recognised as having a strong level of international awareness.

Gold Award: 200 points or more

A student who has achieved this award has demonstrated an outstanding commitment to internationalisation through voluntarily undertaking a wide range of academic, social and cultural activities. They will have built up cultural awareness and sensitivity, and sufficient knowledge of differing international educational, social or working cultures, that they can be described as a global citizen.

Relating the thresholds with those aspects internationalisation that require no mobility, the following conclusions can be drawn:

Bronze Award: 75-149 points

The minimum requirement of 75 points can be accumulated by 67 points from the 'Engage' category and by adding some activities from 'Explore.' MOOCS and online courses can earn 30 points per course. The minimum requirements for gaining the Bronze award are easy to fulfil during the four years of undergraduate study without any travel undertaken.

Silver Award: 150-199 points

The minimum requirement of 150 points can be fulfilled in the following ways: 67 points can be earned in the 'Engage' category, and 90 points can be added from the 'Explore' activities that do not require any geographical mobility. Alternatively, 'Engage' also offers opportunities that can be doubled, such as secondary school visits or attending visiting lecturers' seminars. 'Explore' offers MOOCS and online courses with no limitation on the number of engagement with courses, but MOOCS and online courses have a high point value. It can be concluded that the Silver award is also obtainable without leaving the country, although a creative selection of MOOCS and online courses will help to achieve the minimum requirements.

Gold Award: 200 points or more

The most convenient way to achieve the Gold Award is to undertake study abroad, such as language year abroad (compulsory for students on a foreign language degree), or an internship abroad. Adding the role of Go Abroad Student Ambassador can significantly raise the student's points. But it is important to know about the Gold award that it requires significantly more than a simple study abroad period: two semesters abroad earn 80 points and even the addition of 30 points for Student Ambassadors overseas, the student can only earn 130 points. The need to engage with activities under 'Engage' or 'Explore ' – several of which can be pursued at the home university – indicates that the Award is not meant to reward only formal, organised and structured mobility, rather, it is an encouragement to engage internationalisation throughout the student's entire course of study.

The Gold Award is also open to students unable to leave to Scotland. Limitations on the student's ability to move abroad may come from family circumstances, caring commitments,

heath conditions, the need to maintain gainful employment, or students may have disabilities The previous calculation showed that 67 points could be gained from stay-at-home activities taken from 'Engage,' and 90 points from 'Explore' activities. The missing 43 points could be earned from undertaking several secondary school outreach activities, or attending a list of international speaker talks, or taking courses with overseas partners whilst staying at home. From the category of 'Explore,' language skills development and MOOCS offer relatively easy ways of gaining points necessary for the Gold Award, even for those students who are unable to leave Scotland. Experience shows that participation in the mentor scheme is genuinely popular with students, and about 5 awardees each year get Gold Awards without having studied abroad. Most students who gain awards generally come from the Law, Politics and Economics programs.

Field Trips

The second type of international activity developed by the University of Glasgow is a diversity of field trips, whose 'home' dimension is the subject of this article. Field trips represent a well-established pedagogical practice, with much scholarship devoted to their nature, and much practical guidance available. Earlier research focused on traditional field trips, while research since the millennium has also offered explorations of technology-mediated fieldtrips, which serve as full alternatives or as complements to actual physical trips. Virtual Field Trips (VFT, fully online) and Remote Accessible Field trips (RAF, that is, some students are on location and some at home) were discussed already as early as in 2007 by Bergin et al., whose study introduces the 20th century predecessors of such computer-mediated experiments. VFTs represented a useful addition to undergraduate courses, though it was acknowledged already then that they offered no replacement for courses in the geographical space. These technology-mediated stay-at home fieldtrips can be considered as forerunners to COIL (Collaborative Online International Learning) type of internationalisation activities.

The present section focuses on real-life physical field trips, which are carefully planned, orchestrated experiences developed for the institution's own students, in harmony with their specific degree or programme requirements. They may also incorporate some pre-made workshops and presentations offered by museums and knowledge institutions; they are often re-run with modifications in response to student feedback, the changing landscape in tertiary education, to disciplinary advances, and to political and cultural changes in the region. Academic content and its pedagogical execution are thus kept up-to date. Here I focus on the

'Monuments and Memories' honours course offered by the university department 'Central European Studies' of the University of Glasgow, which is a credit-bearing (20 GU credits equalling 10 ECTS), one-week long elective honours course for upper year students, running, with slight modifications, since 2009. The trip's focus is on the memorialisation of history and recent history in the public spaces of post-communist countries, with destinations of the Baltic countries and Serbia, while the trips under my guidance had Budapest as the destination. By discussing complex relationships among 1) the logistics and preparation of short-term study trips, 2) the learning outcomes, and 3) the active participation of local academics and representatives of knowledge institutions, this section offers an opportunity to further the thinking on the home dimension of internationalisation.

Disciplinary considerations play a major role in field trips. Natural sciences most obviously offer such opportunities, where encountering biological or ecological phenomena in real life, rather than in pure laboratory circumstances, is of particular significance (Lei, 2010). Business education is also a particularly fertile ground, as is demonstrated by the special issue of the *Journal of Teaching International Business*. The emphasis on field trips stems from the drive to train students for employment in global business. As the editors put it, '[after the] COVID-19 pandemic … a labor market that will increasingly prize a broadened critical thinking toolset, and the ability to work in international teams composed of a culturally diverse and a geographically distributed workforce' (Scherer and Suarez 2020, 288). Social sciences and humanities field trips are less frequently commented on, though their benefit is immense for their disciplines. Regardless of the discipline, trips offer the opportunity to learn creative research design and experiment with research methodologies (Lei 2010, 43). Discussing the specificities and preparations of a fieldtrip at the intersection of humanities and social sciences, this essay will add to the available body of literature in the field still under development.

Field trips are widely held to be educationally beneficial to students. A number of empirical studies have demonstrated their benefits both on a cognitive level (Rosenthal, 1968; MacKenzie and White, 1982) and on an affective level (Orion and Hofstein, 1991; Orion and Hofstein, 1994), confirming the general consensus on their usefulness. A key term to field trips is the notion of 'experiential learning,' defined by the Association for Experiential Education, as '**a teaching philosophy** that informs many methodologies in which educators purposefully engage with learners in direct experience and focused reflection in order to increase knowledge, develop skills, clarify values, and develop people's capacity to contribute to their communities'

(Association for Experiential Education, 2025. This line of thought is expanded by Kolb who suggests that '[l]earning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience' (Kolb, 2015, 49). Experiential learning activities encourage such hands-on, authentic experiences, therefore students develop an interest in the geographical environment of the subject matter, whether it is knowledge about biology, human geography or history and politics (Behrendt, 2014). In the course 'Monuments and Memories,' students can observe institutions that create historical memory and that are created by historical memory; the nature of historical memory building during the communist period, the reflection on the memory of communism after 1991, the nature of use of public space for commemorative purposes, the interaction of politics and memorialisation, the interaction between stages of history and memorialisation, and the interaction between the inhabitants of the city and memory. These intentions are captured in the learning objectives:

- Demonstrate a conceptual and empirical understanding of the role of collective memory construction in the formation of collective identity and its relation to political thinking
- Critically evaluate the role of historical memory in the shaping of political and social processes
- Develop a capacity to engage with and challenge their preconceptions in order to expand their point of view by gaining meaningful knowledge through experiential education
- Contribute to their future employability and personal development through student leadership and reflective practice.

Inductive and deductive reasoning, critical thinking, the challenge of underlying assumptions, interpersonal skills, leadership skills are all part of the learning objectives.

Challenges

Nevertheless, fieldtrips also have a range of challenges and difficulties which militate against them. The institution needs to invest staff time and finances in supporting trips with regard to staff-student ratio requirements, while staff needs to be committed to availability outside office hours. Preliminary arrangements require a close cooperation between academic and professional staff: academically suitable yet accessible and affordable destination needs to be identified, and permissions, insurance, ethical clearance, accommodation and transportation needs to be organised, while academics bear the weight of planning and executing the academic programme during the trip. Special arrangements for students with physical or mental

disabilities also need to be made (Lei, 2010, p. 46). Equally importantly, field trip organisation is not part of formal training in the pedagogical training of lecturers, which results in additional work for academics. Students also face challenges in terms of academic work for other courses, family and job obligations, and for the less widely travelled students, the very act of travelling or exposure to intensity of group travel can be a source of stress. This can be helped by providing a supportive setting for students while also making student field trips optional stand-alone courses or offering stay-at-home alternatives. 'Monument' is a stand-alone course, but the importance of psychological preparation should not be negated.

Preparation for academics, students, and preparatory meetings

Academic experience of the destination's culture, history and society form an essential part of a fieldtrip, and they are particularly significant as no formal training is offered for academics. Teaching staff may be involved from the very early stages of preparation and have a role in overseeing the preparation as conducting the entire trip, while in some instances, the educational institution has an established model for organising field trips. In the case of 'Monuments' it started off from a very similar field trip organised in 2009 to the Baltic countries, and at that stage, the trip was a credit bearing part of an elective social science qualitative methods training course. It was transformed into self-standing, credit bearing elective honours course (i.e. upper two years of the compulsory 4 years) in 2019. The core content of material legacy and communist legacy in Eastern Europe remained the same, while the original destination of the Baltics shifted to Central Europe. In both variations, academics organising the trips had long-standing personal connections to the destination either through birth or having lived in the country for years, and the also spoke the local language. Personal emotional investment, profound knowledge and personal connections play an important role in any curriculum dealing with history and society in a human context. This interest and passion of staff allows students to develop similar personal investment, which then leads to more nuanced observations and more intensive curiosity in the matter and construct more abstract and unexpected connections.

Preparing the students with the conceptual foundations is essential part of the general preparatory process (Behrendt 2014, 240). Student preparation goes back to the previous years of studying East Central Europe: by the time students reach year 3 or 4, they will have studied this programme of language-based area studies over 4 semesters, including courses covering the history of the region, with an emphasis on the 19th and 20th centuries; and two semesters of

contemporary social science, with focus on contemporary political transformations and aspects of unemployment and education.

Students therefore elect 'Monuments', fully equipped with the knowledge concerning history and politics, though the prerequisite courses are regional rather than country-specific, and no factual or conceptual engagement with memory studies, placemaking studies or urban geography is included. Additional disciplines therefore need to be integrated into the process: a carefully curated reading list of concerning memory regimes in addition to scholarly essays concerning very specific case studies of regional memorialisations. It must be borne in mind that classroom coverage of the courses is abstract and conceptual, while visiting museums and other knowledge institutions reflects the reality of regime change. Disciplinary situatedness is thus essential for the preparation.

Staff preparation includes the setting of assessments, which may be of the type previously not encountered by the students. The course assessment comprises three weighted components:

1. 1,500 word reflective diary based on the field trip

2. 2,500 word research proposal based on the country visited

3. Group presentation based on the small group exploration undertaken during a day-long walk, observing historical memory representations and manifestations.

Of these three assignment types, the research proposal is a familiar genre to the students, but reflective diaries and group presentation based on real-life experience are a new territory. Reflective diaries prove to be particularly challenging, as the combination of individual observation, individual reflection and scholarly distance requires a very specific skill. Students are given detailed guidance and list of relevant scholarly sources about its methodology, but earlier submissions for the same course are not shared. Reflexive practices can also be used as a starting point for the group presentation and relevant guidance is prepared and distributed.

Planning and arranging the academic program is perhaps the most important element of the preparatory process. The Glasgow field trip relies on a model established by the Central and East European studies with recurrent elements such as museum and knowledge institution visits and talks delivered by fellow academics, but each separate trip requires changes and adaptations. Staff is, therefore, responsible not only for selecting and timing these visits, but also for having in-depth negotiations with academic counterparts on the basis of reciprocal collegiality. In this case, academics from the institutions have extended online exchanges to

agree on the topics covered to comply with curriculum demands and with the timing of the talk within the week's program with regard to the students' exposure to historical memory sites. Talks delivered by museum professionals require a different treatment: they often use scripted, general presentations, hence the academic will need to be fully prepared to supplement the talk and relate the content to the students' own knowledge capital. Students receive information about the detailed program in advance, with references to the background of institutions to be visited. This kind of intensive preparation for the trip allows students to have ownership of the project.

Organising the logistics of the trip (flights, accommodation, local travel) is a fairly straightforward matter in the case of European destinations. The University is contracted with a particular travel agency to arrange for staff and student booking. In the case of 'Monuments,' accommodation and flights were identified by the lecturer, who used their extensive experience of social and physical geography to identify well-timed budget flights and a suitable youth hostel for accommodation. The UK based travel agency then proceeded to make the reservations. The administrative tasks related to the booking (passport checks etc) were a shared responsibility between the academic and administrative support staff.

The series of trip preparatory sessions need to start shortly after the application process in October and formal and informal venues could be equally used. 'Monuments' is best scheduled for a mid-February week when most humanities and social sciences courses at Glasgow pause teaching for a week. The application process also outlines the tasks to be undertaken by the students, including passport renewals, visa applications, financial and budgeting preparations for the trip, as students are responsible for their daily expenses, while the University subsidises the flights and accommodation. Managing expectations about academic and social matters is the focus of the six-week period before the trip. Academic load-related preparation needs to emphasise the demanding academic nature of the course during and after the trip: students will have several weeks to submit the assignments, which build on notes taken during their time away. Academic rigour is crucial to the trip, and the trip's difference from more commercial cultural tourism must be foregrounded. Student expectations need to be addressed also from a cultural perspective. Many students coming from rural or small town Scotland find visiting a major city with two million inhabitants bewildering. It is equally true that students who never experienced a major political turmoil on the scale of the events of Eastern Europe in 1989-91, see a challenge in assessing the choices of a rather fluid period. Their earlier textbook studies discuss the choices from hindsight and lessons learnt in the last 30 years, but they do not force

them to identify with real-life actors and agents. A fieldtrip makes those situations real and three-dimensional (Bevins, 2020, p. 298).

An equally important aspect is the creation of social cohesion between the group members in a bid to help them turn into independent learners willing to work and act in a team. The ability and willingness to share thoughts are also useful for developing a social space for self-reflection and the understanding of the researcher's positionality, which is core to the assignments. Previous international exposure of students also needs to be considered: while most students have significant travel experience, earlier travel destinations do not necessarily include extended urban trips or culture focused activities, which otherwise would prepare the intellectual foundations of memory studies. Their social preparedness therefore requires careful assessment and possible creative interventions.

A typical trip

The programme of a typical trip shows how the activities mentioned before are intertwined to provide intellectual coherence. Ideally, the week is front-loaded with university lectures and seminars, while the second half of the week is for cultural excursions. Group project, which will draw on the content of previous events, will fall on the last day of the trip.

The actual programme of the trip, based on the 2017 version, is as follows:

Day 1: travel to Budapest; travel to accommodation; short trip to a well-known lookout point

Day 2: Local bus trip to Memento Park where statues of the communist era are exhibited; guided tour provided by a museum professional and expansion provided by academic

Day 3: attending two guest lectures delivered by academics at two established partner universities, both on the topic of post-communist remembrance in Hungary. The students gain information about the post-communist memory regimes from different perspectives. Meeting with students at host universities.

Day 4.: Visit to Heroes' Square to observe the memorialisation of history in a fin-de-siecle monument; visit to the House of Terror Museum that commemorates the victims of communism, guided tour provided by a museum historian and further workshop and discussion with a curator

Day 5: Visit to the Parliament with formal guided tour and visit to the underground exhibition to commemorate the 1956 revolution, also guided tour

Day 6: Visit to Kerepesi Cemetery (National Pantheon) to observe the memorialisation of national heroes. Guided tour provided by the academic in charge.

Day 7: Project day: students embark on a project set and prepared by the academic. The students work in small groups, visit the sites and prepare a presentation on the basis of monuments seen and passers-by interviewed. The visit is helped by guiding questions provided by the academic. The day closes with the presentation of experiences by the groups and an open-floor discussion.

The following chart offers a summary of the practices used by the 'Monuments' course. The categories of 'Best practices' (left column) are used by Blevins et al. in reference to a course in Guatemala, while the right-hand column is their application in 'Monuments'.

Best practice	'Monuments' practice
1. Pre-trip orientation programs to educate and prepare students	1. Academics provide general training in the history society of the region, and pre-trips meetings and orientation is provided. Practical concerns discussed and setting expectations is crucial. Group cohesion is encouraged.
2. Use trusted local provider to overcome problems of asymmetric information and moral hazards in provision of logistical services	2. GU uses local knowledge to secure ground transportation, accommodation, catering recommendation
3. Provide students with pedagogically approved, critical thinking experiences, deepened by journal writing assigned essays or research papers	3. GU designs its own course and collaborates with academics in the receiving country and also knowledge institutional professionals
4. Minimise shallow experiences in tourist locations that create or reinforce stereotypes	4. Trips do offer a combination of relevant tourist locations with lesser know venues
5. Ensure the well-being of Indigenous peoples and communities	5. n/a
6. Require post-trip debriefing to discuss learning objectives and evaluate the trip.	6. Post-trip assignments offering scholarly reflections of the experience.

After-trip actions

After-trip actions – as opposed to preparatory activity – are rarely mentioned in literature about field trips, and it is indeed indicative of the lack of attention paid to them. Yet the post-trip work related to the field trip is an equally important part of the pedagogical process, as it rounds up and enhances the reflexive mental and emotional work of the students. It is also a significant element for the lecturer who can gather material for the improvement of future trips. After trip activities therefore include work completed by the students and also the work of academics for the preparation of future trips.

Reflections on the field trip are mediated and assessed in the form of regular, credit-bearing assessments as mentioned before. Two of the three assignments are to be prepared after the return from the field trip, with deadlines at least 4 weeks after return. The group presentation is scheduled as the closing act of the trip. The two individual assignments are based on the trip: the research design assessment draws on knowledge covered in the courses of the preceding four semesters (history, politics, society) but they also require the synthesis of this knowledge in a creative and reflected manner. The research design assignment relies on qualitative research methodological training received in the home institution before departure, but designing a research project with special reference to a one country and one set of disciplinary issues requires the creative application of newly observed phenomena.

The second assignment, focusing on reflexive diaries, offered a complex challenge to the students: they had to rely on their own individual observations on monuments, histories, public space, statues and paintings and describe them in detail; they had to record their emotional reflections; simultaneously, they needed to apply scholarly categories from the fields of politics, history and cultural studies. This proved to be a real challenge to the students, and correspondence between them and academics shows that the process was demanding and rewarding at the same time.

Staff also need to reflect on their role and identity during the field trip. One particular challenge stems for the multiplicity of the roles that academics play before and during the trip. The lead academic in charge of the scholarly content and the programme leader are often the same person; tasked with inviting academics to deliver guest lectures for the students, and negotiating with knowledge institutions about the scholarly content of their presentation. In addition, academics are also in charge of setting the relevant assignments and preparing

students for the academic load. During the trip, academics impart information and encourage independent enquiry, which they may do by handing over the class to the host institution's lecturer or museum professional, or, alternatively, they can deliver talks themselves. In general, it is helpful to model the behaviour that is expected from the students. Academics are fully aware of the prior student knowledge and experience that defines the 'cognitive foundation onto which new connections can be made' (Behrend 2014, p. 242). Therefore, not only the diverse character of the role is demanding, but also several of these roles are outside of the repertoire of normal teaching duties.

Surveying the students after the end of the fieldtrip is an important tool to reflect on the trip's academic input and practical execution. From the lecturer's point of view, it is a good indication of which visits and activities worked best for the students, and students may also contribute useful ideas for the future. Student evaluations are largely standardised at the University for equity and comparability. Questions include the clarity of course aims, the availability and appropriate nature of the resources, the quality and method of assessment, references to classroom culture and the students' overall satisfaction with the course. Common comments referred to the importance of bringing events studied before to life, to the first-hand accounts of the academics involved in real-life events, to the richness of the programme and to the genuinely supportive atmosphere of the trip. Negative comments have been marginal, and if so, they addressed the occasionally dry comments of museum professionals. The field trip is now seen by students as the highlight of their studies of the discipline.

Conclusions

This article set out to examine two examples from the University of Glasgow that show internationalisation practices developed at a University that set out to raise its profile as a truly international institution 15 years ago. At that stage, external circumstances around international work were much more favourable, though recent developments in technology have enabled action on an unforeseen scale. It would be convenient to understand internationalisation purely as acts related to physical transborder travel such as teaching international students, teaching multi-location courses under the rubric of double or joint or dual degrees, conducting research with international colleague and generally entering into the ecosystem of globalised tertiary education. The single focus of transnational tertiary education, however, obscures the work and efforts that takes place without physical mobility. It is perhaps important to probe the core gain of any international activity: the development of critical thinking, the development of cultural

sensitivities, international competencies, and ability to synthetise knowledge from multiple perspectives. Taking these aims and personal attributes as the ultimate desideratum which can be attained by different means, the 'work of internationalisation' can immediately be seen as an umbrella term accommodating a variety of practices. Thus, the GlasGOw Global Award immediately appears more than simply a system of encouraging extracurricular student work: it enhances international attributes of students, points at the international potential of academic and social learning and also creates a community of practitioners of internationalisation who develop a commitment to international work and values. Field trips, widely acknowledged as acts of internationalisation, are essential in instilling the core values of international and intercultural competence. It is for this reason that home and abroad 'travels' are not dichotomous but dialectical processes, hence both need valued in their complementary ways.

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Internationalising Higher Education Through "IISMA Programme"

Indonesian Context

Hesti Miranda and David Sulistiawan Aditya

Abstract

Internationalisation has been a burgeoning issue in higher education around the world, including Indonesian higher education. Beside competing in the arena of global standard and ranking in the macro level, enhancing the quality of human resources is the main goal of Indonesian government in the micro level through this internationalisation agenda. The current programme that the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology has created since 2021 is the Indonesian International Student Mobility Awards, abbreviated as IISMA. The IISMA programme is a mobility programme under the *Merdeka Belajar-Kampus Merdeka* (Freedom to learn and Freedom Campus) policy in 2020. This is a mobility program for undergraduate and vocational students in higher education to spend one semester for courses, community services, or internships in the top universities or industries worldwide. There are sixty-seven host universities for undergraduate programmes and forty-six host universities for vocational programmes. This chapter present how Indonesian education defines the internationalisation agenda in their policy and curriculum, discuss the implementation at the institutional level by exploring how higher education interprets this agenda, and discuss what major issues emerge in the micro level practices of internationalisation by taking the context of the "IISMA programme" as a part of the "Merdeka" curriculum and comparing it with Erasmus+ in Hungary. The implications of the IISMA programme are discussed in the last part of the chapter.

Keywords: Institution policy, IISMA programme, Erasmus+, internationalisation, Indonesia's higher education

Internationalisation of Higher Education in Indonesia

The term "internationalisation" is fluid and contextual. As most of the literature on internationalisation is dominated by Western countries, mainly European countries, the term "internationalisation" in higher education can be traced back to the 1970s and 1980s, particularly in countries like Sweden and Germany (Crosier & Maki, 2022), and is mainly driven by western developed nations (Tight, 2022). This term is taken from international education and encompasses the various activities and ways of international dimensions in higher education. This term is defined within three main dimensions: economic, social, and political. These dimensions constitute its context and aim. The first dimension, for instance, is the most common context where internationalisation is taken up to show its significant role in the global world.

In this dimension, internationalisation is defined as international activities that strive to increase global competitiveness. On one hand, in the context of higher education, these activities are to provide international curriculum and training to increase the quality of human resources to compete in the international market. On the other hand, however, some negative perspectives also provide a different face of internationalisation in higher education. Some claim that the internationalisation of higher education, particularly by Western nations, is mainly for commercialisation to gain revenue due to the decreasing population and interest in higher education. In the social dimension, this term is somehow translated into a more cliché meaning. To us, internationalisation in higher education means international activities to provide access to quality education. Under the umbrella of the goal of SDG 4, which is quality of education, the internationalisation of higher education aims at providing access to quality education by enabling international mobility, grants, and educational access through technological supports like MOOCs.

Meanwhile, within the political dimension, the internationalisation of higher education can be understood as a political strategy to gain international recognition and diplomatic action to gain international cooperation (Surya, 2021). Every country has their policy on the internationalisation of higher education that represents its agenda behind the internationalisation, including the internationalisation agenda in Indonesian higher education. However, in general terms, internationalisation in higher education is commonly referred to as a trend of international activities by universities in Western developed countries that

encompass mainly two activities: 1) international mobility (student recruitment) and 2) establishment of campus branches, usually in developing countries (Tight, 2022).

With 4,004 higher education institutions spread throughout the country, Indonesia has its perspectives on viewing the internationalisation agenda in higher education. Since the new cabinet in 2019, Indonesian education, with a new ministry of education, rehauled the policy on educational curriculum and objectives, including internationalisation in higher education. This change was a response to the decrease in the Indonesian global competitiveness index ranking among 141 countries in 2019 from 45th to 50th, based on Badan Pusat Statistik (Indonesian Statistical Central Body). Improving the quality of human capital is the primary goal of Indonesian education policy through higher education. The Indonesian government believes that the quality of human capital is the key to improving Indonesia's global competitiveness index. Thus, since 2016, the Indonesian government, through the Ministry of Education, has established a policy to encourage Indonesian universities to get the position of world-class universities (Nurhaeni et al., 2021).

This process is conducted through the standardisation of instruments or measurement tools that are internationally recognised, such as accreditations and rankings. As Nurhaeni et al. (2021) point out:

> Internationalisation of Higher Education is a process at Higher Education that integrates an international component into the goals, functions, or delivery of education to improve its quality and enhance its competitiveness.

> (Nurhaeni et al., 2021)

However, the quality standard is commonly Westernised and very much determined by higher education analytic firms like Quacquarelli Symonds, which holds the QS World University Ranking. It cannot be denied that this standardisation is also influenced by how Indonesian higher education policy is directed. This is evidenced by many grants offered by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture for Indonesian higher education institutions to increase their positionality in this QS ranking, such as international accreditation grants, world-class professors, international mobility, credit transfer, etc. These grants are in line with world-class university assessment criteria established by higher education analytic firms. World-class

universities have become a common strategic plan among Indonesian universities due to this world ranking system.

Responding to this global trend, the operationalisation of the internationalisation of higher education in Indonesia was translated into a new program in higher education. The new program is called "Merdeka Belajar Kampus Merdeka.". The philosophical intention behind this curriculum can be understood from its name, "*Merdeka Belajar*" and "*Kampus Merdeka*" in English, which will be "Freedom to Learn" and "Freedom Campus," which means this program provides freedom for the learners in terms of learning and provides freedom for the higher education to manage their curriculum and courses. This program emphasises flexibility in learning. This program allows students of higher education throughout Indonesia to learn other courses outside their study program and take credits for the courses in other universities, either inside or outside the country, for one to two semesters. They are also given a chance to do other various activities, such as internships or social services in society or NGOs.

This programme is similar to the Erasmus programme in European countries. Meanwhile, this program indicates a looser, centralised curriculum for higher education institutions. This programme gives HEI the freedom to create courses and learning curricula to adapt to current technological advancements and dynamic social changes. However, basic competence is still determined by the government. The internationalisation agenda of the *Kampus Merdeka* can be seen from several programs this policy conveys, namely, the *Darmasiswa* Scholarship, *Magang Bersertifikat* (internship course), and IISMA programs. The *Darmasiswa* programme is a scholarship programme for international students outside Indonesia to learn the Indonesian language and culture in Indonesian universities. Meanwhile, *Magang Bersertifikat (internship course) is an internship program for Indonesian students who want to gain experience and skills to work and learn at* multinational or international companies around the world. IISMA, or the Indonesian International Students Mobility Awards, is a scholarship for Indonesian students to study for one or two semesters in other universities abroad. This programme has gained a lot of attention from Indonesian students and educators, as it has taken up a large part of the budget, but the outcome is still questionable. The following part discusses in detail how the IISMA programme was initiated and how it works.

International Student Mobility Awards/IISMA

As a response to the curriculum change to *Merdeka Belajar Kampus Merdeka*, or Freedom to Learn and Freedom Campus, the Ministry of Education of Indonesia initiated a programme to enhance student competency through exchange programmes abroad. In 2021, the Indonesian government demonstrated its commitment to educating Indonesian undergraduate students for their future careers by launching the Indonesia International Student Mobility Award programme (abbreviated as IISMA). This programme is a new initiative of similar mobility programs, offering fully funded international mobility exchange scholarships on a broad scale. As of 2023, the program has sponsored 2750 undergraduate students to participate in a semester-long study abroad program. The Indonesian Ministry of Education, directed by Nadiem Makarim, has declared that the programme's primary aim is to provide Indonesian students with the necessary skills, information, and abilities to thrive in their future professional endeavours (Dewanto & Pritasari, 2023). According to the Ministry of Education (2022), there were about 80 IISMA awardees, with 126 host universities (28 countries) around the world and 4,542 alumni. This programme had two types: undergraduate and vocational. This programme covered registration and tuition fees, health insurance fees, salary and living expenses, economy airfare and visas, and an emergency fund. In order to be eligible for the IISMA scholarship programme, students must meet certain requirements.

These requirements include being an Indonesian citizen and living in the country. They must also be registered at a university in their home country and currently studying in semesters 4–7 of an undergraduate program (S1). Additionally, they must be nominated by their home university and demonstrate English language proficiency with a minimum official score of IELTS 6.0, TOEFL iBT 78, Duolingo English Test 100, or TOEFL ITP 550. Furthermore, they should not have received any other foreign student exchange scholarships and must be willing to adhere to the rules and regulations set by the Ministry of Education and Culture during their participation in the programme. The evaluation of scholarship applicants will be based on their academic performance during their time in higher education institutions, their proficiency in foreign languages as demonstrated by the official documents requested by the IISMA selection committee, and other skills necessary to contribute to the activities of the IISMA Scholarship programme (Hartati & Riniati, 2022).

Furthermore, the IISMA programme collaborates with the university to support relevant study fields in education and cultural exchange for undergraduates (Ministry of Education, 2024) and vocational students (Ministry of Education, 2024a). Table 1 shows the university partners.

CONTINENTS	COUNTRIES	UNIVERSITIES
USA		Arizona State University
		Boston University
		Michigan State University
		Penn State University
		University of British Columbia
		University of California, Davis
		UC Chile
		University of Pennsylvania
		Yale University
		University of Colorado Boulder
		University of Texas at Austin
		The University of Chicago
		Cornell University
		University of Michigan New York
		University Georgetown
		University University of Toronto
		The University of Pennsylvania
		University of Missouri-Kansas City
	Canada	University of Waterloo
		Western University
		Georgian College
		Mohawk College
		Humber College

ASIA	South Korea	Hanyang university
		Korea University
		Woosong University
		Ulsan College
		Daegu Catholic University
	Malaysia	University Kebangsaan Malaysia
		Universiti Malaya
		Universiti Sains Malaysia
		Universiti Malaysia Pahang
		Universiti Teknologi
	Singapore	Nanyang Technological University
		Singapore Management University
	Taiwan	National Taiwan University
		National Taiwan University of Science and Technology (Taiwan Tech)
		National Taiwan Normal University
		National Sun Yat-sen University
		National Cheng Kung University
		National Formosa University
		Yuan Ze University
		National Yunlin University of Science and Technology
		National Kaohsiung University of Hospitality and Tourism
		Asia University
ASIA		

		Lunghwa University of Science and Technology National Pingtung University of Science and Technology Chung Yuan Christian University Yuanpei University of Medical Technology
	Thailand	Chulalangkorn University Prince of Songkla University Mahidol University
	Turkey	KOC University Middle East Technical University
	Japan	Osaka University Keio University Sophia University

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND	Australia	Australian National University
		Monash University
		The University of Adelaide
		The University of Queensland
		The University of Sydney
		The University of Melbourne
		The University of New South Wales
		The University of Western Australia
		Phoenix Academy
		Swinburne University of Technology
		Canberra Institute of Technology
		La Trobe College of Australia
		The University of Western Australia
		Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology
	New Zealand	Massey University
		The University of Auckland
		University of Otago
		University of Canterbury
		Victoria University of Wellington
		The University of Waikato
EUROPE	Netherland	Maastricht University
		Radbound University
		Universiteit Leiden
		University of Twente

		Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
		University of Groninge
		Saxion University of Applied Sciences
		The Hague University of Applied Sciences
	Belarus	Belarusian State University
	Belgia	Katholieke Universiteit
		Leuven KU Leuven
	Sweden	KTH Royal Institute of Technology
		Lund University
	Czech	Palacky University Olomouc
		Charles University
	Estonia	University of Tartu
	Hungary	University of Szeged
		University of Pécs
	Italy	Sapienza University of Rome
		University of Padua
		University of Pisa
		University of Siena
		Istituto Secoli
	German	Humboldt-Universitat zu Berlin
		Technische Universität Dresden
		Osnabrück University of Applied Sciences
		Jade University of Applied Sciences

	Croatia	University of Zagreb
	Lithuania	Vytautas Magnus University
	Poland	University of Warsaw
	Spain	Universidad Autonoma de Madrid Universitat Pompeu Fabra University of Granada
	France	Université de Caen Normandie Sciences Po Aix-Marseille University Finlandia Aalto University École Supérieure du Bois L'Ecole de design Nantes Atlantique Université de la Réunion Université Polytechnique Hauts-de-France Institut Polytechnique UniLaSalle Ecole des Arts Culinaires Lenôtre
	Rusia	St. Petersburg State University RUDN University Higher School of Economics National Research University Information Technologies, Mechanics and Optics (ITMO) University M.V.Lomonosov Moscow State University Tomsk State University
	Portugal	Polytechnic University of Porto

		University of Information Technology and Management, Rzeszow
England and Ireland	England	Lancaster University
		Newcastle University
		The University of Edinburgh
		University College London
		University of Birmingham
		University of Exeter
		University of Leeds
		University of Leicester
		University of Liverpool
		University of Sussex
		University of Warwick
		University of York Queen Mary
		University of London
		University of Southampton Queen's
		University Belfast
		University of Bristol
		University College London
		University of Edinburgh
		The University of Manchester
		Durham University
		The University of Sheffield
		Loughborough University

		The University of Bath Arts
		University Bournemouth
		Teesside University
		Cardiff and Vale College
		University of Portsmouth
		University of Nottingham
		Coventry University
	Ireland	NUI Galway
		University College Cork
		National University of Ireland
		University College Dublin
		Dundalk Institute of Technology
		Atlantic Technological University
		Shannon College of Hotel Management,
		University of Galway

	Scotland	University of Glasglow
		University of Limerick
		University of Galway
		University of Strathclyde
		City of Glasgow College

Table 1. List of universities of IISMA program (source: Ministry of Education, 2024)

Based on the list of universities on the IISMA website, students can choose a university based on their interests and apply according to the requirements of the university. For example, if the student wanted to apply to the University of Pecs in Hungary, Students had to go to the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology's website to apply. Then, students have to fulfil the requirements of the University of Pecs. The University of Pecs requires documents with an academic GPA of 3.0 or above, an IELTS score of 6.0, a TOEFL iBT score of 72, a TOEIC score of 785, and a Duolingo English test score of 100. Additionally, health, sport, and technology, as well as community engagement, meet the requirements for the area and field of study (Ministry of Education, 2024b). It means that students only need to fulfil the requirements of the host university to which they wanted to apply and what study field they were interested in.

Additionally, the IISMA programme provides opportunities for students. We aim to disseminate success stories or testimonials from individuals who have profited from the IISMA program. Table 2 highlights their experiences, achievements, and the positive impact the programme has had on their lives or careers.

Alumni	Countries	Benefit
2022	Galway	Gaining cross cultural understanding about Irish festival, history, and its traditional food (Athiyya, 2024).
	USA	Being aware to responsible for own academic
		Being encourage being disciplie about class activities.
		Discovering the good teachnique implemented for public speaking.
		Influencing on her approach leanring (Budiono, 2024).
2023	Australia	The mentorship programme aims to offer a wide range of materials.
		to learn that individualistic values are not always stereotypical in certain countries.
		Voluntary service work
		Work life balance (Dickyputra, 2023)
2021	USA	Boost confidence, validation on personal capability to encounter unfamiliar environment and its challenge (Steven, 2023).

2023	ASIA-Malaysia	I also acquired a remarkable experience. Engaging in this voluntary activity afforded me a plethora of invaluable experiences. Despite being away from home, they motivated me to contribute to the development of Indonesia. I was astounded by the enthusiasm and determination displayed by my pupils, which filled me with gratitude for the various experiences I have had, especially my time studying abroad with IISMA. I am thrilled to have the opportunity to contribute to the development of Indonesia through my involvement in IISMA (Iman, 2023).
2023	ASIA-Taiwan	As I settled into my new life there, my curiosity piqued and I started to question why the Taiwanese were so enthusiastic about embracing music from different parts of the world. Classical music, particularly European compositions, has always been included as a fundamental component of music education in higher academic institutions. The continuous immersion in classical music was the one aspect that necessitated a significant adaptation on my part, in a highly positive manner (Norfaizi, 2023).
2023	Europe-UK	Subsequently, I came to see that a strike is a potent mechanism for safeguarding the rights of workers. Experiencing directly in the UK enhances my comprehension and expertise in workers' rights and labour legislation (Murtadho, 2023).

Table 2. Benefits of IISMA based on their experience testimony (source: medium, IISMA editorial)

According to Table 2, most students experience positive attitudes towards the IISMA programme. They chose to study in Asia, Europe, Australia, or America. They are aware of the benefits of personality, such as being more responsible, disciplined, and confident, and they also enhance their knowledge about host countries and increase their contribution to promoting Indonesia. In a study from Dewanto and Pritasari (2023), Through their experience with

IISMA, students gained valuable skills such as teamwork, trustworthiness, achievement orientation, growth mindset, creativity and innovation, inclusivity, customer focus, openness to change, organisational commitment, job knowledge, responsibility and accountability, problem-solving, leadership, emotional intelligence, digital skills and competencies, communication and activate listening, and ongoing learning.

Furthermore, Aziez et al., (2024) researched on IISMA awardees who studied in Spain and found that during their studies, participants incorporated language within the context of cultural integration to adapt to individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds. The people's understanding and appreciation of cultural differences were enhanced. In addition, the participants' behaviour towards each other demonstrates a favourable attitude since they are open to listening to differing opinions during discussions and engagements. The IISMA challenges encourage the exchange of information and cultural interaction among participants and the local community, facilitating intellectual engagement. By effectively empathising with others' experiences, individuals demonstrate empathy. Additionally, the program facilitates the development of new behavioural patterns as participants embrace new customs from Spanish culture, demonstrating their ability to adjust and embrace various roles in different cultural environments. The IISMA programme significantly impacts its recipients' cross-cultural sensitivity, promoting their cultural integration, attitudes towards others, intellectual engagement, empathy, and behavioural adaptation.

Besides the benefits of this programme, there were also some challenges for the IISMA awardee. During the implementation of the IISMA, the participants encountered numerous challenges and obstacles during their programme. It was observable through the utilisation of the learning management system and the guidance of lecturers. Because the instructors mostly engaged in casual conversation and asked questions during the course, their interactions seemed to lack seriousness. Students look forward to having in-depth conversations and fully tackling a variety of issues. Discussions are restricted to the classroom setting, and students are unable to communicate with the appropriate instructors. Furthermore, a significant academic challenge arises from the fact that several instructors possess ambiguous linguistic accents when communicating in English, necessitating assistance in comprehending the imparted information. In terms of the lecture details, there were still unexpected changes to the timetable and a lack of additional cooperation. Assignments are typically completed individually, although some instructors may assign collaborative projects for final project evaluation.

Typically, the team is composed of individuals from the same ethnic background, which poses difficulties when it comes to completing group projects. Another determinant that enhances an individual's academic proficiency in conducting studies is the anticipation and standing of their parents. The issues observed include the numerous disparities in culture and language.

From a social perspective, the prevailing culture remains individualistic. The inherent individualism of a person poses challenges when it comes to engaging in social interactions. In addition, the language barrier is of utmost importance. English is only used as an introduction by a select group of individuals. A common motivation for many native speakers is the need to enhance their English fluency due to their native language. They originate from alterations in the prevailing culture and way of life, which may result in feelings of dissatisfaction, worry, and significant stress. Nevertheless, participants in IISMA commonly stated that cultural factors in the host country did not provide any hindrances. The time zone discrepancy with Indonesia can be resolved. By consistently attending class punctually and cultivating self-reliance, one can proactively embrace the value of punctuality as a cultural norm. Before to conducting any research, it is imperative to thoroughly investigate the local customs and traditions to account for any existing cultural limitations (Prasetyaningrum et al., 2022).

Students Mobility Erasmus+ in Hungary

Student mobility is the primary focus of Hungary's internationalisation. In the last 5–10 years, there has been a significant surge in overseas students. In 2017, the number of overseas students enrolled at Hungarian higher education institutions reached 32,000. This indicates that 11.5 per cent of the total student population comprises international students, resulting in a more diverse and expanded international student community. Furthermore, it is crucial to emphasise that in Hungary, international students can be classified into four primary categories: Hungarian-speaking, degree-seeking students from neighbouring countries. There are two groups of degree-seeking international students in the field of medical and health sciences who do not speak Hungarian as their native language. The first group consists of 2 students, while the second group consists of 3 students who mostly come from China, Turkey, Nigeria, and Iran. The cohort of international students, who are predominantly engaged in short-term (credit or exchange) mobility, do not have Hungarian as their native language. 13% of the students surveyed had previously participated in international mobility, exchange programs, or Erasmus+. Students typically participate in overseas programmes throughout their undergraduate studies, specifically in their second or third academic year. The primary

objective of overseas placement, as described by students, is to acquire experience and enhance language skills. This is followed by the need for a change of environment and, finally, the pursuit of a professional reputation. Based on the survey participants' responses, the preferred locations for Hungarian exchange students are Germany, Italy, Austria, and Portugal (Kovacs & Kasza, 2018). Therefore, we chose to compare the internationalisation of the Indonesian program with the Erasmus+ program in Hungary.

The European Union initially developed the "Erasmus" initiative in 1987. Its aim is to foster enhanced collaboration among universities and higher education institutions throughout Europe. This involved establishing a structured and cohesive framework for the exchange of students across national borders. Over time, the programme has broadened and deepened, and it is currently recognised as Erasmus+." The expanded version of this framework includes various previous European Union programmes for transnational collaboration and mobility in education, training, youth, and sport in Europe. Furthermore, it is increasingly exploring opportunities outside of Europe. Since its inception in 1987, more than 15 million individuals have participated in the Erasmus+ programme, owing to the passionate embrace of chances by faculty, students, young individuals, and learners of all age groups. The word "Erasmus" is derived from Erasmus of Rotterdam, a prominent intellectual and captivating lecturer of the Renaissance era. Erasmus toured extensively across Europe to impart knowledge and conduct research at various universities. Simultaneously, the term "Erasmus" also functioned flawlessly as the abbreviation for the European Community Action Scheme for Mobility of University Students. The current funding period for Erasmus+ spans from 2021 to 2027. The programme's goal is achieved through three "key actions." They were Key Action 1: Facilitating the movement of individuals for learning; Key Action 2: Fostering collaboration and partnership among various groups and institutions; and Key Action 3: Providing assistance for the creation of policies and fostering cooperation (European Commission, n.d.).

Erasmus+ provides opportunities for individuals and organisations to engage in mobility and collaboration in the areas of higher education, vocational education and training, adult and school education (including early childhood education and care), youth, and sport. The scheme provides financial support for mobility activities and collaboration, with a primary focus on organisations, institutions, bodies, or groups that arrange such activities. Participants can be classified as either individuals (learners or staff) or organisations (including informal groupings and self-employed individuals). Participating organisations are responsible for submitting and

managing Erasmus+ projects. Once a project is chosen, the applicant organisation becomes a recipient of an Erasmus+ grant and will get financial assistance to carry out their initiative (European Commission Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport, and Culture, 2023). Moreover, universities in Hungary might send their students to partner countries. Those universities could send their students to study with student mobility programmes in various countries. According to Erasmus+, the partnership is included in Table 4.

Eligible countries	Region	Countries
EU member states of European Union		Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechia, Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Ireland, Greece, Spain, France, Croatia, Italy, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Finland, Sweden
Third Country associated the program		North Macedonia, Serbia, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Türkiye
Third countries not associated program	*Western Balkans Region 1*	Albania; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Kosovo; Montenegro
	Neighbourhood East Region 2	Armenia; Azerbaijan; Belarus; Georgia; Moldova; Territory of Ukraine as recognised by international law

	South-Mediterranean countries Region 3	Algeria; Egypt; Israel; Jordan; Lebanon; Libya; Morocco; Palestine; Syria; Tunisia
	Russian Federation region 4	Territory of Russia as recognised by international law
	Region 5 Asia	Bangladesh, Bhutan, Cambodia, China, DPR Korea, India, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Vietnam High income countries and territories: Brunei, Hong Kong, Japan, Republic of Korea, Macao, Singapore and Taiwan
	Region 6 Central Asia	Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan
	Region 7 Middle East	Iran, Iraq, Yemen. High income countries: Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates
	Region 8 Pacific	Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu. High income countries: Australia, New Zealand

	Region 9 Sub-Saharan Africa	Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cabo Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Congo - Democratic Republic of the, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Eswatini, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe.
	Region 10 Latin America	Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela
	Region 11 Caribbean	Antigua & Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent & Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad & Tobago
	Region 12 US and Canada	United States of America, Canada
	Region 13	Andorra, Monaco, San Marino, Vatican City State

	Region 14	Faroe Islands, Switzerland, United Kingdom

Table 4. Erasmus+ countries (source: European Commission, n.d.)

According to Erasmus+ (2024b), the goal of mobility is to facilitate the acquisition of educational, linguistic, and cultural experiences in a higher education institution located in a different country. Academic mobility aims to facilitate a student's academic advancement and foster their aptitude growth. Students are currently registered at higher education institutions with an Erasmus Charter for Higher Education (ECHE) certification. Examine the mobility of higher education students, specifically those who study abroad for a duration of 2 to 12 months. The integration of academic study and practical work experience typically spans a period of 2 to 12 months. Doctoral students can participate in short-term mobility programmes that last between 5 and 30 days. Countries included in the programme, such as the Member States of the European Union, include Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, the Netherlands, Croatia, Ireland, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Sweden. Furthermore, the program includes the participation of the following non-EU member countries: The countries included on the list are the Republic of North Macedonia, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Turkey, and Serbia. Starting in 2021, the sending institution will have the authority to determine and carry out missions to partner countries. Furthermore, the condition of participation is that the student carries out research to acquire a diploma at the school and maintains an active student status during their period of mobility. Upon the conclusion of the study period, the foreign host institution is required to provide a certificate documenting the successful completion of the study programme and its corresponding outcomes. The primary responsibility of the sending institution is to ensure that all actions outlined in the research contract are fully acknowledged, accomplished, and validated. While studying abroad, students can receive the study scholarship or other loan disbursement they would typically receive at their home university. The student's institution has announced a mobility application, which can also be submitted directly to the higher education institution.

Furthermore, in terms of the benefit of the Erasmus+ programme, a survey conducted by Stilianos et al. (2013) found that the primary motive for participating in the Erasmus programme was the academic aspect, followed by multiculturalism. Contrary to the students emphasised as the primary factor for independence, this is followed by training in a foreign language and residing in another nation. The most significant components of the Erasmus programme, as identified by students aged 18–22, were personal autonomy, language proficiency development, academic mindset, and social connections. The students in the subsequent age group emphasised their academic disposition, personal autonomy, and the invaluable experience acquired by residing in a foreign country. Basilashvili and Kolbaia (2023), in their article, state that the reason why they wanted to take part in Erasmus+ was cultural considerations and career goals. They acquired life skills in addition to my credentials and academic knowledge. Thanks to the Erasmus+ programme, they have developed a greater sense of self-reliance, confidence, independence, and education. They are eager to share all of my knowledge with students and those around them. Residing in Hungary has exposed them to a distinct atmosphere and educational system that diverges from their native country, which they believe is the primary objective of participating in an exchange programme. This programme provided with the opportunity to become a useful contributor to the field of education, not just for young people but also for future generations.

Furthermore, Pokasić et al. (2019) findings revealed that Erasmus-enhanced personal development includes a desire for change and new experiences, pursuing education and living abroad, and seeking personal growth and independence. A significant proportion of responses have cultural components. Respondents' answers included activities such as socialising with new people and learning about their Erasmus country's customs and attributes. Based on the findings, it is evident that the primary incentive for individuals to apply for the Erasmus+ programme was personal development. The initial stage in developing cultural awareness involves an individual's internal growth, which is then manifested by their interaction with various societies and individuals from diverse cultures. Within the category of 'culture', one can appreciate and accept diverse cultures, explore indigenous music, cuisine, and beverages, gain knowledge about various religions, traditions, etiquette, values, and attitudes, understand the historical and political contexts of different nations, examine different lifestyles, and recognise commonalities among individuals and countries. The responders exhibited increased receptiveness towards various cultures, thereby dismantling bias, embracing diversity, and gaining insight into the customs and practices of others.

According to Huják (2015), study abroad programmes are critical for Hungary, not only due to the advantages supported by the European Union, but also because mobility programmes can potentially provide answers in the future for specific challenges that Hungarian higher education institutions may encounter. In recent times, the higher education system in Hungary has undergone a transition that could potentially result in unfavourable consequences for certain institutions. According to the findings, the students identified the potential to establish international ties as the most encouraging factor. Only 10 participants indicated that building international ties was not a motivating factor for them when considering applying for the Erasmus program. The possibility of travelling is also mentioned. The chance to enhance their proficiency in English in a foreign setting is the third most influential factor motivating students, alongside the option to learn other languages. This score signifies the indisputable supremacy of the English language over all others. Despite the host country not being an English-speaking nation, the majority of Erasmus and other exchange students engage in communication using both the local language and English, both between themselves and during their lectures. As a result, a student's linguistic proficiency may simultaneously improve in both their native language and English. Enhancing language skills is closely linked to gaining a deeper comprehension of diverse cultures. The respondent acknowledged "getting to know new cultures" as a motivating element.

Comparing IISMA program and Erasmus+

Internationalising education through a higher education programme was an obvious action that could be observed internationally. Higher education initiated the integration of its students into international programmes that support their education and indirectly promote their country. The IISMA and Erasmus+ programmes demonstrated action towards internationalising the country and improving higher education. In a similar vein, both programmes dispatched students to universities within their respective country partnerships. IISMA, on the other hand, only sent students to study abroad; however, this program did not accept foreign students to study in Indonesia. The Erasmus+ programme was responsible for both sending and accepting students. For instance, Hungary may accept students from any country, followed by its partner country, and it also has the option to send Hungarian students who are studying in any partner country.

Regarding partner countries, the IISMA program cannot be compared to the Erasmus program. First, the duration of the Erasmus+ program is much longer than that of the IISMA program. Erasmus+ had already been set up compared to the newbie IISMA programme. Second, both

programmes were managed differently. The European Union managed Erasmus+, while the Indonesian Ministry of Education managed the IISMA programme. In terms of scale, the differences were significant. The last point concerned the partnership country, which was designed for selection by the Indonesian government despite the large number of host countries cooperating with the IISMA program. It was still a small number compared to the Erasmus+ partnership countries.

Both programs aim to send students abroad to experience and enhance their abilities through IISMA or Erasmus+. Regardless of the skills or capabilities a student gains during the program, they also enhance collaboration among universities and higher education institutions. Additionally, the Indonesian government funded the IISMA programme, distributing the grant to students. On the other hand, the European Union funded the Erasmus+ programme, awarding the grant to a selected recipient organisation. The selection process for the programme also differed. The IISMA program was launched to send students abroad. Nevertheless, Erasmus+ had different cycles, and they classified the awardees as either individuals (learners or staff) or organisations (including informal groupings and self-employed individuals). Furthermore, both programmes appeared to offer significant benefits to the awardee in terms of internationalisation in higher education. Students gain experience studying abroad as a primary component of higher education. Awardee students improved their personal growth; they increased their self-reliance, confidence, and independence. Since they had to speak English, the awardees of both programmes also improved their language skills and learnt to adapt and integrate into the multicultural environment of the host country. The students also gained a deeper understanding of the host country.

Conclusion

In the context of internationalising higher education, the IISMA programme served as an effective tool to promote international education and encourage Indonesian students to pursue studies abroad. Cooperation with partner universities around the world could strengthen international collaboration for internationalisation. It could also expand Indonesia's international network, potentially leading to opportunities in sectors beyond education. This programme also improves the quality of education in Indonesia by sending Indonesian students to learn in a host country to understand and exchange the culture, increase their academics, and gain knowledge and employability skills that are needed for the future labour market.

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Understanding the Push-pull Factors of International Students in Hungary

A Comparative Study Between Cambodian and Myanmar Students

Su Hnin Aye and Meyly Kheng

Abstract

A new mobility pattern has emerged in recent years, with a growing number of international students choosing non-traditional study destinations. This study explores the factors influencing this trend by focusing on the unique context of Hungary as an emerging study destination and Cambodia and Myanmar as sending countries. By conducting semi-structured interviews, this research seeks to uncover the motivational factors propelling students from these two developing nations towards pursuing higher education abroad, as well as their reasons for choosing Hungary and its institutions. Employing an inductive thematic analysis, the study aims to illuminate the underlying factors shaping their decisions. The findings provide insights into the decision-making dynamics and valuable implications for higher education institutions. By understanding these factors, policymakers can refine recruitment strategies to attract a diverse cohort of international students, enrich the educational landscape, and foster a welcoming environment for students from various backgrounds.

Keywords: International students, Hungary, Push-pull factor, Non-traditional study destinations, Higher Education

Introduction

The number of international students has surged dramatically, increasing from 2.1 million in 2000 to 6.3 million in 2020, representing a threefold growth over two decades (Guillerme, 2022). According to Project Atlas (2023), the top host countries for international students are the United States (17% of 6.4 million), the United Kingdom (11%), Canada (10%), France (6%), Australia (6%), Germany (6%), Russia (4%), China (3%), Japan (3%), Spain (2%), Italy (2%), and Argentina (2%), with the remaining 26% distributed among other countries. However, despite their prominence, these leading host countries have seen a decline in their share of international students. For instance, the percentage of international students hosted by the United States fell from 28% in 2001 to 17% in 2023, Germany's share decreased from 9% in 2001 to 6% in 2023, and China's dropped from 10% in 2017 to 3% in 2023. This decline reflects a shift towards non-traditional mobility patterns, with an increasing trend of international students moving from developing countries to other developing countries or from developed countries to developing countries.

New host countries are emerging, challenging the dominance of traditional English-speaking host countries. For example, countries such as Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Korea, Japan, Thailand, Singapore, and South Africa are becoming prominent in the global education market, creating a more competitive landscape for international students. This new mobility pattern to non-traditional destinations has garnered increasing interest from researchers, raising intriguing questions about the factors driving international students to choose non-traditional destinations over traditional destinations. Previous studies have been examining mobility towards conventional destinations using the push-pull framework highlighting historical ties, geographic proximity, and economic connections between host and sending countries, and lack of educational resources, and limited economic opportunities in home countries (McMahon, 1992; Altbach, 1998; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002). However, more research is needed to understand the push and pull factors that influence student mobility towards non-traditional destinations.

In Central Europe, Hungary has recently become a popular study destination drawing international students worldwide. Regarding the share of international students to domestic students in higher education, Hungary ranked 9th among OECD countries (OECD, 2023). The international students from Asia, which represented the largest group of mobile students globally, accounted for over 30 %, the second largest group of international students in

Hungary. China, followed by Iran, India, Pakistan, Vietnam, South Korea, Japan, and Mongolia, are the top Asian countries sending students to Hungary (KSH, 2023). In contrast, countries from Southeast Asia, except Vietnam are found to send a smaller number of students. For Hungary, to transition from an emerging host nation to a major destination for international students, it is crucial to attract more international students not only from major sending countries but also from minor ones.

Southeast Asian countries, with 20 million students in tertiary education, represent a significant source of mobile students for many host nations. A report indicated that 91% of mobile students from the ASEAN region studied outside their region, with over 80% of these outgoing students going to Australia, the US, the UK, and Japan (Atherton et al., 2020). However, after 2013, many of these countries have become sending countries to Hungary following the establishment of the Stipendium Hungaricum scholarship program by the Hungarian government through bilateral educational cooperation agreements signed between the Ministries responsible for education. With this, a growing number of mobile students from the region are opting to study in Hungary over their typical study destinations. This change in mobility patterns raises several important questions. Why did these students veer away from their traditional mobility path? Is the scholarship program alone the primary factor drawing them, or are other motivational factors influencing their choices? This study will seek the answers to these questions focusing on two countries within the Southeast Asian region, Cambodia and Myanmar. This exploration will primarily draw on student perspectives, as they are central actors in this mobility journey. The findings are expected to add valuable insights into emerging mobility patterns and guide policymakers and educational institutions in Hungary and Southeast Asia.

Theoretical Framework: Push and Pull factors

The questions, "What motivates students to study abroad?" and "Why do they choose one study destination over another?" are central to research on international student mobility. A substantial body of literature in this area often employs the push-pull theoretical framework to explore these motivations. Push factors refer to the negative aspects of a student's home country that drive them to seek education abroad. According to Altbach (2004), these factors include limited educational opportunities, competitive university admission, the unavailability of certain study fields, low quality of education, and social or political instability. Conversely, pull factors are the positive attributes of the host countries that attract students. These factors can include a superior quality of education, a strong global economic position, and rich cultural

diversity. Mazzarol and his colleagues highlighted the dynamic interplay of push and pull factors on the study abroad decisions (Mazzarol et al.,1997; Mazzarol, 1998; Mazzarol et al., 2001; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002). Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) proposed that the decision-making process occurs in three stages: deciding to study abroad, selecting a host country, and choosing a host institution. Their research indicated that push factors in the home country influence the initial decision to pursue education abroad, while pull factors influence the subsequent selection of the host country and institution, making certain destinations more appealing than others.

A large body of country-specific research has identified push and pull factors from diverse perspectives, predominantly concentrating on major hosting and sending countries. For instance, focusing on Australia and its sending countries, Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) identified four key push factors: perceived low quality of education in the home country, difficulty gaining admission to local universities, limited diversity of study programs, and a desire to gain a better understanding of the West and potentially migrate after graduation. They also highlighted several pull factors that influence students' destination choices, including availability of knowledge and information regarding a particular host country, personal recommendation, cost, physical and academic environment, social link, and geographical proximity. Similarly, Matthew (2016) explored push and pull factors that influence Indian students' choice of the United States. He identified three main push factors that encouraged them to leave India: seeking personal growth, developing international connections, and creating professional networks. His study also pointed out the pulling attributes of the United States that draw Indian students, including the potential for higher salaries after graduation, superior public infrastructure and amenities, globally recognised high-quality academic programs, broader degree recognition, and easy access to information.

However, there has been an increasing focus on investigating push and pull factors behind the choices for emerging study destinations and underrepresented cohorts of international students. Research conducted by Rhein and Phillips (2022) identified the primary factors motivating American students to choose Thailand as their study-abroad destination. These factors include the desire for travel, the opportunity to experience a new culture, self-enrichment, and affordability. Hoşgörür and Aysel (2022) reported that international students were compelled to attend Turkish higher education institutions due to factors such as high unemployment rates in their country of origin, ongoing conflict, low educational standards, and a desire for exposure

to a different culture. Conversely, they were drawn to Turkey by its affordable cost of living, student-friendly bureaucratic procedures for recognised refugees, superior educational quality, cultural familiarity, and perceived emotional security. Kim and Zhang (2021) discovered that Korean college students were pushed by their perceived high-stress levels in their home country and dissatisfaction with the domestic education system. Despite these studies, further scholarly investigation is required to explore the push and pull factors that influence students' decisions to choose these non-traditional destinations. To fill this gap, this study will focus on international students who go to non-traditional study destinations in the central European region, Hungary. The push-pull theoretical framework will guide our study in discussing our findings.

Methodology

Research Questions and Design

The qualitative approach is used to explore the motivations of Cambodian and Myanmar international students in Hungary. The one-to-one semi-structured interview is used. The following research questions guided the study.

1. Why did Cambodian and Myanmar students decide to pursue their higher education abroad?
2. Why did Cambodian and Myanmar student choose Hungary for their higher education?
3. What were the motivations behind choosing their current enrolled Hungarian institution?
4. In what ways do the motivations of Cambodian and Myanmar students differ from each other?

Participants

International students from Cambodia and Myanmar currently studying at various Hungarian universities were recruited using a convenient sampling. A total of 12 Myanmar international students and 12 Cambodian international students participated in the interviews. Detailed background information of the participants is presented in Appendix 1.

Data collection

Before the interview, the consent forms were sent so that participants were well-informed about the research topic and the ethical considerations taken to protect their identities. Interviews are conducted both online and offline. For participants studying at the same university as the researchers, in-person, face-to-face interviews were conducted. Interviews were conducted via Zoom for those from different universities in other cities. The duration of the interviews ranged from 25 to 40 minutes. Participants had the option to choose their mother tongue or English as the interview language, with some opting for their mother tongue and others for English. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Data Analysis

Transcription was done using two AI transcription services, Otter.ai and Riverside. We used NVivo 14 to do the inductive latent thematic analysis. The analysis followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) guidelines which comprise these six phases:

Stage	Description
Iterative reading of the data set	- Read repeatedly and take notes to familiarise ourselves with the data. - Find significant points for themes by viewing transcriptions. - Analyse content pertinent to the study's topic. - Examine patterns in participants' answers.
Generating initial codes	- Create initial codes based on the data set. - Extract codes directly from the data using a bottom-up approach.
Searching for themes	- Collate initial codes into potential themes. - Sort codes into broader themes that align with the research questions. - Group codes that share a common essence.

Reviewing themes	- Examine data to ensure each theme forms a coherent pattern. - Rework themes if inconsistencies are found.
Defining themes	- Define themes refined in the previous stage. - Identify the essence of each theme and its data coverage. - Write a detailed analysis for each theme.
Producing the report	- Weave themes into a coherent narrative. - Construct a report to present the themes by the research questions. - Include vivid data extracts to illustrate the themes.

Findings

Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) identified three stages in the decision to study abroad: deciding to study abroad, choosing a host country, and choosing a host institution. Our study explores the motivations influencing each of these stages: the motivation to study abroad, the motivation for choosing Hungary as the host country, and the motivation for selecting a specific Hungarian institution. Therefore, we will present these motivations part by part, allowing the data to speak for itself. However, to sharpen our interpretation, we will analyse and discuss the findings through the lens of the push-pull theory (Malterud, 2015).

Motivations for Studying Abroad

Five themes emerged from Cambodian participants, and seven themes emerged from Myanmar participants. Common themes included personal motives, influential people, academic motives, and career-related motives. Three themes: political situation, pandemic impact, and scholarship motives emerged from Myanmar participants, and one theme, prior living abroad experiences, emerged from Cambodian participants. The common themes will be presented followed by the distinct themes.

Personal Motives

Personal motives such as the desire for personal growth, independence, and seeking new experiences drove both Cambodian and Myanmar participants to study abroad. Personal

motives were the most pronounced motivation for Cambodian participants, with 8 out of 12 participants citing this as their reason for studying abroad, compared to 4 Myanmar participants. Cambodian participants appeared more driven by personal motives than Myanmar participants. Some of the excerpts reflecting participants' personal motives were given below.

"…studying abroad, it's so difficult but it would offer us more opportunities like how we can adapt our life, you know, living abroad compared to what we're doing in our country. So it would like to improve us in many perspectives and aspects of life."

(Mek, a Cambodian participant)

"Another reason is that I feel like I won't grow as a grown-up if I just stick around with my family. I guess I will mature more if I study abroad. I am curious about what kind of new experiences I will encounter, and I would like to change myself from new experiences from studying abroad"

(Jasmine, a Myanmar participant)

Influential People

Influential people, including parents, family members, peers, friends, teachers, and relatives, emerged as the second most prevalent motivation for both groups. Six participants from each groups mentioned influential people as one of their motivations for studying abroad. Cambodian participants more frequently cited family members and relatives, whereas Myanmar participants often mentioned their friends and peers. They inspired Cambodian participants with relatives and family members studying abroad. For instance, a Cambodian participant, Mek was inspired by his uncle who studied abroad. On the other hand, Myanmar participants highlighted the influence of their friends and peers who had already started studying abroad, which affected their decision. For instance, Soe, stated that even though he was working in a prestigious company, his close friends leaving the country to study abroad affected his decision. These responses highlight the significance of influential people influencing studying abroad.

Academic Motives

Academic motives, including the desires to experience better quality education, improve foreign language proficiency, and build a strong academic background were also significant. More Cambodian participants (6 out of 12) were driven by these motives compared to Myanmar participants (4 out of 12). Both groups believed that studying abroad offered better opportunities and higher quality education than studying in their home countries. For example, Pok, a Cambodian participant, noted that studying abroad would provide more opportunities and a higher standard of education. Similarly, Soe, a Myanmar participant, shared the same thought with Pok and added his desire to improve his English skills by studying abroad, viewing it as a benefit of international education. These findings reveal that both Cambodian and Myanmar students perceive international education as superior to their home countries, driving them to seek further education abroad, with Cambodian participants placing slightly more emphasis on these motives.

Career-related Motives

Career-related motives representing participants' desire to seek better job prospects and professional working environment drove them to seek education abroad. Notably, four Cambodian and five Myanmar participants cited these motives as their reasons for studying abroad. Both groups' participants believed studying abroad would lead to better future job opportunities. For instance, a Cambodian participant, Laem believed that studying abroad experiences will benefit him in securing a better job in the future. He elucidated that,

> "…*Studying abroad would allow me to see how people live, how they earn money, and what opportunities might be available for a Cambodian student to secure a job in the future. These different reasons combined motivate me to study abroad.*"

Moana, a Myanmar participant, also pointed out that the low salary for university graduates in her country prompted her to pursue studies abroad to avoid financial difficulties. Participants' prior internship and work experiences also played a critical role in their decision to study abroad, with some expressing dissatisfaction with local business practices and seeking environments where their academic knowledge would be respected. These findings indicate that both Cambodian and Myanmar students view studying abroad as a pathway to better job opportunities and work environments, driving their pursuit of education abroad.

Prior Living Abroad Experiences

Prior living abroad experiences, mentioned only by Cambodian participants, also significantly motivated participants to study abroad. For instance, Pit, who had lived abroad during childhood, found English more comfortable for communication and preferred to study in English. He stated:

> "*I am more comfortable speaking and studying in English because I used to live abroad when I was younger, and English sort of became my main language. That's part of the reason.*"

This finding indicated that individuals who grow up in a foreign country often feel a stronger sense of belonging to that society and find it more comfortable to use a foreign language, which is their first language, rather than their mother tongue. This comfort and sense of belonging drive them to seek educational opportunities that allow them to return to an international community where their first language is commonly used.

Political Situation

The political situation was a major driving factor for Myanmar participants with 9 out of 12 participants mentioned political instability as their reason for studying abroad. Most of them cited the political situation as the major reason for their decision to study abroad. For instance, Rose said that the military coup made it impossible to attend a university in Myanmar. Many shared Rose's sentiment that the military coup obstructed their higher education opportunities. Jasmine, a high school graduate awaiting university admission, shared a similar view:

> "*First, it is because of the coup. Because of the coup, I didn't want to go to university, and I didn't have plans to go to university.*"

Some participants, like Kyaw and Ko Ko, expressed that they originally did not plan to study abroad but decided to leave the country due to the political situation disrupted their university education. While other participants mentioned the military coup as the main reason, they also cited other factors. However, one participant, Lisa, revealed that the military coup was the sole reason that compelled her to study abroad. This highlights how the political situation in Myanmar had driven students to seek education abroad.

Pandemic Impact

The pandemic also played a role in motivating Myanmar participants to study abroad. Some students said they did not have any plans to study abroad, but the university closure due to the pandemic and political instability made them think about studying abroad. For instance, Thuzar stated that she had attempted several study abroad opportunities, but they were unsuccessful. She had decided to stop applying for scholarship opportunities as she was already in her second year at a university in her country. However, when the pandemic hit, she decided to resume applying for scholarships while waiting for the university to reopen. This finding indicated that the pandemic impacted Myanmar students, intensifying their motives to pursue international education and seek alternative ways to continue their education. The fact that only Myanmar students noted the pandemic's impact may be due to sampling limitations. In our sample, Myanmar participants had varied academic start dates from 2021 onwards, with some making decisions influenced by the pandemic. In contrast, all Cambodian participants began their studies in 2023, after the pandemic had subsided.

Scholarship Motives

Scholarship motives played a significant role in motivating Myanmar students to pursue study abroad opportunities. For instance, Ko Ko mentioned that he was intrigued by the idea of a scholarship, which covers the cost of university education and offers the chance to live abroad while studying. Kyaw also mentioned that scholarship was the strongest motivation for his decision, despite other factors such as political instability and the influence of friends. This finding showcases the importance of scholarships in motivating Myanmar students to study abroad, providing financial relief and making international education accessible.

Motivations for Choosing Hungary

Four common themes emerged from both groups of participants, with each group placing different significance on these themes: scholarships, country-related factors, program-related factors, and affordability.

Scholarship

The allure of scholarships was a significant factor for both Cambodian and Myanmar participants, with six Cambodian and seven Myanmar participants reported this in the interviews. For some, scholarship alone was the sole reason for choosing Hungary. Kyaw, a

Myanmar participant, stated that he chose Hungary mainly because of the scholarship and because he had little knowledge about the country otherwise. Both groups mentioned Hungary's generous offer of full scholarships, covering tuition, living expenses, and accommodation, making it an attractive option. Additionally, a few participants from both groups mentioned the timing of the scholarship. For Cambodian participants, the early opening of the Hungarian scholarship application sparked their interest to apply first and choose over other options. Conversely, for Myanmar participants, the arrival of the scholarship during temporary closures due to the pandemic intrigued them, as they had more time to prepare for the application process. This highlights the crucial impact of financial aid on the decision to study in Hungary, especially through the availability of full scholarships that cover both tuition and living expenses extensively.

Country's Appeal

Hungary's multifaceted appeal, including its geographical position in Europe, safety, peace, favourable weather, and quality of education, wider degree recognition, and future career prospects, attracted both Cambodian and Myanmar participants. However, it was more prominent among Myanmar participants, with nine out of 12 citing these factors as reasons for choosing Hungary, compared to six Cambodian participants. The slight difference indicates that the host country's characteristics more influenced Myanmar participants, although Cambodian participants also highly value these aspects. Many participants from both groups expressed a preference for Europe as their study destination, choosing Hungary specifically because it is part of Europe. They viewed Europe as a land of opportunities, a cultural paradise, and a collection of diverse travel destinations, with Hungary embodying these appealing aspects. For instance, Khin, a Myanmar participant, chose Hungary over China because of its European location and cultural appeal, while Mek, a Cambodian participant, was drawn to Hungary's rich heritage and central location in Europe. Additionally, participants were attracted by the travel opportunities within the Schengen Area, which Hungary is part of, its proximity to popular travel destinations in Europe, the country's peace and safety, and the allure of its cold weather. Several Myanmar participants also noted the wider recognition of degrees awarded by Hungary across Europe, perceiving this as a stepping stone to enhance future job opportunities. These findings highlight that the country's appeal plays a pivotal role in steering international students' choice of one host country over another.

Program-Related Factors

Program-related factors, including the availability of preferred study fields, English-taught programs, short program durations, flexible admission requirements, and exemption from a separate one-year dedication to learning a host country's national language, were significant motivations. Six Cambodian and four Myanmar participants mentioned these factors, indicating their importance in decision-making. Cambodian participants valued program-related factors equally with country-related factors, while Myanmar participants placed slightly less emphasis on them which they showed more emphasis on these aspects when selecting an institution. Several participants from both countries mentioned the availability of their preferred majors provided in English. For instance, Maw, a Myanmar participant, chose Hungary because it offered the subject of her interest, and the language of instruction was English. Similarly, Nea, a Cambodian participant, mentioned that Hungary offered the food engineering program he had been searching for, which influenced his decision. Additionally, the shorter duration of study programs was attractive to some participants, such as Aung, a Myanmar participant, who appreciated that his major's program duration was shorter in Hungary than in his home country, allowing him to enter the job market quicker. Furthermore, the easier admission requirements attracted participants from both groups. Myint, a Myanmar participant, said,

"I was keeping an eye on a bunch of scholarships, and I noticed that this scholarship program requires lesser documentation compared to others that ask for thesis papers and research papers which made it a good start for me who was trying to apply for a scholarship for the first time."

This finding underscores the importance of program-related factors in attracting both Cambodian and Myanmar participants to study in Hungary.

Affordability

Affordability significantly influenced both groups, with five Myanmar and two Cambodian participants mentioning it. Myanmar students, including two fee-paying students, appeared more concerned about the affordability of tuition fees and living expenses compared to their Cambodian counterparts. However, scholarship students from both groups also considered the affordability of living expenses, recognising that the stipend they would receive might not fully cover their living costs. For instance, Nahh, a Cambodian participant, said,

"And another thing is regarding the living costs. You know, the scholarship they provide us is a smaller amount, but up until I passed, I was very hesitant. However, I also did some research about the living standards in Hungary, related to the cost of living and the prices of goods here. I found that Hungary is one of the countries with a low cost of living."

Two fee-paying Myanmar students compared Hungary with Australia and the United Kingdom finding Hungary more budget friendly. Hence, Hungary's affordability in terms of tuition fees and living expenses significantly captivated both Cambodian and Myanmar students who are either fee-paying or scholarship to study in Hungary.

Motivations to choose the host institution

Eight common themes emerged from the data of Cambodian and Myanmar participants: physical aspects, ranking and prestige, social environment, program and course-related factors, requirements, affordability, the university webpage description, and institution name. The significance of these themes varied between the two groups.

Physical Aspects

The physical aspects of the institution, such as the campus environment, facilities, and geographical location, were significant factors influencing the institution choices of both groups. Six participants from each group mentioned the physical aspects of the institution, indicating that both groups considered these aspects important in their decisions. Several participants mentioned the university's location, particularly the city where the university is situated, with some preferring capital cities and others opting for non-capital cities for their affordability and peaceful environment. For instance, Mek, a Cambodian participant, preferred studying in Debrecen due to its quieter life and lower living cost than Budapest. In contrast, Chhang, another Cambodian student, chose her university specifically because it was in Budapest, expressing a preference for studying in a capital city. Similarly, Myanmar participants mentioned their preferences for capital or non-capital cities based on living costs and environment. Additionally, the attractiveness of university infrastructure also played a pivotal role in influencing participants' choices, particularly emphasised by Myanmar participants. For instance, Maw cited the presence of a university research centre as a decisive factor, while abundant cosy libraries and multiple campuses across the city attracted Jasmine. Myanmar participants also mentioned the aesthetic appeal of European-style university

buildings as a distinguishing feature. These findings underscored the shared values both Cambodian and Myanmar students placed on the physical aspects of the institution and highlighted how these factors steer their decisions in choosing a particular university.

Ranking and Prestige

Ranking and prestige were also significant for host institution choice, with six Cambodian participants and five Myanmar participants emphasising the importance of the institution's reputation and academic standing. Several participants from both groups considered both overall rankings and subject-specific rankings, with some also attracted by the historical background of the university. For instance, one participant from Myanmar, Kyaw, stated,

> *"I chose it based on the rankings, especially the subject rankings. Besides, I also checked the university websites and found that my current university is the oldest one in this engineering field in Hungary. I think I was drawn to this fact."*

Similarly, several Cambodian participants, such as Pok, were drawn to her current university's long and rich history, which caught her attention during her search. Some participants also compared universities globally and locally, considering how their chosen institution ranked in Hungary and worldwide. For instance, Aung, a Myanmar participant, noted that while his university might not be in the top 100 worldwide, it ranks well within Hungary, making it a good choice for him. These findings revealed the significant role of university ranking and reputation in attracting Cambodian and Myanmar participants to their host institutions.

Social Environment

A university's social environment, including its student body's diversity and the surrounding city's atmosphere, was another important factor affecting institution choice. Five Cambodian and three Myanmar participants mentioned the social environment as a contributing factor, suggesting that Cambodian participants placed slightly more emphasis on this aspect. Both groups valued a large and diverse international student body, strengthening their decision to choose a particular university. For instance, Chhay, a Cambodian participant, noted that the university's diverse international environment was a key consideration. Similarly, Thuzar, a Myanmar participant, felt reassured in her choice upon discovering that her university had a significant international student population, which contrasted with other study destinations

with low international student bodies where international students might feel isolated. Additionally, some participants considered the welcoming atmosphere of the university and its surrounding city. For instance, Pok, a Cambodian participant, also stated that she selected her current university because of the international-friendly atmosphere of the university city. One Myanmar participant highlighted the low crime rate of the university city, which reassured him of his choice. These findings underscored the importance of safety, a welcoming atmosphere, and a large, diverse international student community in attracting Cambodian and Myanmar students to their chosen institutions.

Program and Course-Related Factors

Program and course-related factors, including the availability of the preferred major and program, the provision of a study program in English, course attraction, and relevance, were crucial determinants in choosing an institution, with 9 Myanmar and 4 Cambodian participants cited this as their key concerns. Myanmar participants seemed to emphasise program and course-related factors when selecting a university. Both groups mentioned the availability of the preferred major as a key motivation, with some of them also emphasised the importance of offering English-taught program. For instance, a Myanmar participant, Lisa stated,

> *"I chose my current university because this was the only university that offered social work, and social work in English. Social work was my top priority, so I ended up choosing this university."*

Similarly, Cambodian participants Pui, Nhha, and Chhay also mentioned that they chose their current universities as they were offering their preferred majors. Additionally, the shorter duration of study programs was attracting some students, like Pit, a Cambodian participant, who chose his program because it was relatively short yet packed with valuable content. Some participants also compared universities based on course descriptions, choosing the one with more relevant and attractive courses. For example, a Myanmar student, Khin mentioned that she chose her current university over other options because the courses offered were more relevant to her previous studies. These insights highlighted the significance of program and course-related factors enhancing an institution's competitive advantage in recruiting international students from Cambodia and Myanmar.

Admission Requirements

A university's flexible admission procedures and requirements influenced both Cambodian and Myanmar students, with four Myanmar and two Cambodian participants mentioning them in the interviews. Myanmar participants were more likely to pay attention to the institution's accessibility and eligibility criteria. Both groups mentioned choosing universities with more straightforward admission requirements. For instance, a Cambodian participant, Nhha said,

> "*At that time, I found a few universities like Corvinus and Obuda University. I started to research their entry requirements, and I discovered that Obuda University has lower requirements. So naturally, I decided to choose it because it's easier for me to get admitted and to secure a scholarship.*"

Participants also appreciated universities that offered additional language proficiency tests for applicants without IELTS certification, which attracted those who did not have the required certification. For instance, Jasmine, a Myanmar participant, highlighted that her university offered an English proficiency test, eliminating the need for a language proficiency certificate. Aung also chose a university that accepted the Duolingo test for language proficiency certification. He explained that the closure of the British Council in his country due to the pandemic prevented him from taking the IELTS test, and Duolingo was the only viable option. These findings indicate the roles of flexible admission procedures and requirements in recruiting more international students from Myanmar and Cambodia.

Affordability Once Again

Affordability was a significant concern, especially for Myanmar participants, with three mentioning this factor compared to one Cambodian participant. The slight difference can be attributed to the presence of fee-paying students among Myanmar participants, while all Cambodian participants were scholarship students. Fee-paying students were more concerned about financial costs, particularly tuition fees, compared to scholarship students. For example, Soe, a Myanmar fee-paying student, mentioned that the affordability of tuition fees was a significant reason for choosing his current university, as it was within his budget. Similarly, Rose, another fee-paying student, chose her university because she found the living costs more affordable in Debrecen compared to Budapest. However, scholarship students from both groups also considered living costs in their decisions, with Thuzar, a Myanmar participant, and Mek,

a Cambodian participant, choosing universities based on the affordability of living expenses in non-capital cities. This highlights the critical role of affordability in tuition fees and living costs in attracting international students from Cambodia and Myanmar to their chosen institutions.

Institution Name

The institution's name was also a key factor for both Cambodian and Myanmar students when deciding on a university. Three Myanmar and one Cambodian participant mentioned the institution name as a key concern. Myanmar students who encountered the Hungarian language for the first time, found it difficult to read and pronounce the names of Hungarian universities, leading them to choose institutions with easier-to-pronounce names. For instance, Jasmine, a Myanmar participant, mentioned that she was drawn to the name "University of Debrecen" because it was easier to read and pronounce compared to other Hungarian university names. Ko Ko also prioritised his current university because he found its name easier to pronounce. Additionally, a Myanmar participant, Kyaw mentioned that he was attracted to his university because it had the word "technology" in its name, indicating a focus on technology, which aligned with his academic interests. Chhay, a Cambodian participant, also mentioned her institution's name, which included her major, "Business," as a factor in her decision. These responses reveal that the institution's name significantly influenced the decision-making process of some Cambodian and Myanmar students, particularly those unfamiliar with the Hungarian language. This also unveiled that those who were never exposed to the language written with diacritics faced additional challenges when selecting a university in Hungary compared to their counterparts.

University Webpage Description

Finally, the university webpage description was mentioned by both groups, with one Cambodian and two Myanmar participants as influential factor. For instance, Moana, a Myanmar participant, was attracted to her current university because its website presented an appealing image of a perfect learning environment, highlighting a diverse international student community and an inviting town. Similarly, Chhay, a Cambodian participant, was intrigued by his university's webpage description, which highlighted the university's attractiveness, including additional opportunities such as hosting conferences, a wide variety of competitions, and career partnerships with international companies. He believed that these opportunities would benefit his future career, influencing his decision to choose the institution. These insights

highlight the importance of an attractive university webpage as an effective marketing strategy, reaching out to prospective students from distant countries like Cambodia and Myanmar across continents.

Discussion

Our study identified seven push factors and thirteen pull factors that influence the decision to study abroad and the choice of study destinations for Cambodian and Myanmar students.

The first step, deciding to study abroad, was driven by seven push factors: personal motives, influential people, academic motives, career-related motives, prior experience living abroad, political situation, and the impact of the pandemic, along with one pull factor: scholarship appeal. This finding aligns with previous research, which indicates that push factors predominantly shape the early stages of the decision to study abroad (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Guan et al., 2023). Personal motives were the most compelling push factor driven by Cambodian participants followed by influential people, academic motives, and career-related motives. Cambodian participants were more pushed by personal factors rather than factors tied to their home country. In contrast, Myanmar participants were more pushed by social and political forces within their country, particularly the political situation, the pandemic's impact and influential people. The pandemic initially caused temporary closures of universities in Myanmar, and a subsequent military coup extended these closures, disrupting academic activities and making students hesitant to continue their education under the military regime.

These factors, combined with scholarship opportunities and fee-paying options abroad, prompted many Myanmar students to seek education outside the country. Influential people, such as fellow students, parents, and teachers, also played a role in encouraging both Myanmar and Cambodian students to study abroad. However, some of this encouragement is rooted in political instability for Myanmar students. For Cambodian participants, the theme of influential people was different, as they cited inspiration from parents, family members, and relatives as reasons for studying abroad. The significance of political instability as a push factor for Myanmar students aligns with findings from Hoşgörür and Aysel (2022), who noted a similar trend among international students in Turkey. Interestingly, a unique scenario that highlighted the importance of prior living abroad experiences came from Cambodian participants. This finding expands on previous studies that only emphasised the influence of prior travel

experiences on the decision to study abroad (Penn & Tanner, 2008; Lane-Toomey & Lane, 2012; Dinga, 2018).

Overall, the push factors identified in our study align with those discussed in previous literature. Our study identified personal push factors, such as personal, academic, and career-related motives, which are consistent with the push factors defined by Shkoler and Rabenu (2022) as the pursuit of personal goals. Additionally, our findings resonate with those of Eder et al. (2010), who identified gaining unique experiences, acquiring new skills and knowledge, and improving language ability as significant push factors for studying abroad. We also identified macro-level push factors, including the political situation and the impact of the pandemic.

Our study identified four pull factors for host country choice: the country's appeal, scholarship's allure, program-related factors, and affordability. For Myanmar students, Hungary's multifaceted appeal was the strongest push factor whereas the country's appeal, scholarship's allure, and program-related factors were equally significant in pulling Cambodian participants. Our findings align with those of Rhein and Phillips (2022) who identified the desire for travel, the opportunity to experience a new culture, self-enrichment, and affordability as the primary factors motivating American students to choose Thailand. It was also consistent with the results of a nationwide survey conducted in Hungary, which highlighted the affordability of tuition fees as a primary reason for choosing Hungary (Malota, 2016). Li and Primecz (2023) also noted that Chinese students, particularly those from lower-middle-class families, chose Hungary for its affordability. However, our findings did not support all six influential pull factors Mazzarol et al. (1997) identified for host country selection. They focused on Australia as the host country and Taiwan and Indonesia as the sending countries, which shared some level of geographical proximity and economic ties. In contrast, Hungary, Cambodia, and Myanmar lack strong historical, geographical, and socio-economic connections, unlike the contexts of previous studies, underscoring the need for further research on the pull factors of emerging study destinations like Hungary.

In examining the motivations behind host institution choice, our study identified eight key pull factors: physical aspects, ranking and prestige, social atmosphere, program and course-related factors, admission requirements, affordability, university webpage description, and institution name. International students from both groups were influenced by these eight factors but with different significance in their decisions. Myanmar students were primarily attracted by the

program and course-related aspects of the institutions. In contrast, Cambodian students were most influenced by the physical aspects, ranking, and reputation of the institutions. The findings align with the study by Mazzarol and Soutar (2002), which found that international students were influenced by the ranking and reputation of institutions, the recognition of degrees awarded, and the presence of an international student body. However, unlike Mazzarol and Soutar's findings, our study participants did not mention the importance of alumni networks and institutional links. This omission underscores that Cambodia and Myanmar as new sending countries to Hungary, the alumni network and institutional links are not well-developed yet. The role of the university website description was notably significant, as participants emphasised its influence on their decisions. This finding supports Aarinen's (2012) research, which explored the impact of university websites on international students' choices. However, unlike findings in previous research (Ke et al., 2022; Guan et al., 2023), participants in our study did not mention potential immigration opportunities or recommendations from parents and friends influencing their study destination choices.

To conclude, our study, comparing international students from two countries, identified both individual and macro-environmental factors. Moreover, our findings highlighted that international students' decisions to study abroad and destination choices are influenced by a variety of multifaceted factors rather than single factors. Furthermore, our study underscored that push and pull factors are likely to vary across countries, reflecting each country's unique social, cultural, economic, and political contexts.

Conclusion

Our study identified seven push factors and thirteen pull factors that influence students' motivations for studying abroad and their choices of study destination. This qualitative study added valuable insights to the international student mobility literature, highlighting unique push and pull factors influencing mobility towards non-traditional study destinations. Few studies have focused on Cambodian and Myanmar students' motivations for studying abroad and their choice of study destination. As the first study to explore these students, our research revealed that international students from both countries are driven by both personal and macro-level factors, including several new pull factors not previously discussed in the literature. Additionally, our study addressed two significant gaps: first, the limited number of studies in the Hungarian context that examine international students' motivations using a push-pull framework, and second, the scarcity of country-specific research that focuses on study abroad

motivations and destination choices from the perspective of underrepresented sending countries. However, our study has limitations that should be acknowledged. Only 24 participants from both countries could not fully capture the diversity of experiences, affecting the generalizability of the findings. Furthermore, our exclusive focus on Hungary restricts the applicability of these findings to other emerging study destinations. Future research needs to employ a larger sample size in multiple host countries to provide a more nuanced understanding of the factors influencing international students' choices and experiences. For policymakers and educational institutions aiming to attract and support international students from Cambodia, Myanmar, and other parts of the world, significant implications can be drawn from the findings of this research. Understanding the push and pull factors reported by these students can inform the development of targeted recruitment strategies. Based on our findings, we recommend that higher education institutions around the world enhance their marketing strategies by improving university websites, increasing targeted marketing efforts, striving for higher positions in international rankings, building a prestigious institutional image, and offering a diverse range of English-taught programs across various study fields and academic levels.

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Appendix 1

No	Name	Country	Gender	Starting Academic Year	Major	Level of study	Type of Study
1	Jasmine	M	F	2023	Commence and Marketing	Bachelor	Scholarship
2	Aung	M	M	2022	Engineering	Bachelor	Scholarship
3	Rose	M	F	2023	Engineering	Bachelor	Self-financed
4	Khin	M	F	2021	Computer Sciences	Master	Scholarship
5	Maw	M	F	2021	Physics	Bachelor	Scholarship
6	Thuzar	M	F	2021	Computer Sciences	Bachelor	Scholarship
7	Ko Ko	M	M	2023	Computer Sciences	Bachelor	Scholarship
8	Myint	M	F	2023	International Economy and Business	Master	Scholarship
9	Kyaw	M	M	2022	Engineering	Bachelor	Scholarship
10	Moana	M	F	2021	Finance and Accounting	Bachelor	Scholarship
11	Lisa	M	F	2022	Social Work	Bachelor	Scholarship
12	Soe	M	M	2023	European and International Trade and	Master	Self-financed

					Investment Law		
13	Pok	C	F	2023	Business Administration and Management	Bachelor	Scholarship
14	Pit	C	M	2023	Construction Information Technology	Master	Scholarship
15	Pui		M	2023	Computer Sciences	Bachelor	Scholarship
16	Lerm	C	F	2023	Business administration and Management	Bachelor	Scholarship
17	Laem	C	M	2023	Agricultural Engineering	Bachelor	Scholarship
18	Nhhol	C	M	2023	Computer Sciences	Bachelor	Scholarship
19	Nhha	C	F	2023	Business Development	Master	Scholarship
20	Chhang	C	F	2023	Business Administration	Bachelor	Scholarship
21	Chhay	C	F	2023	Business Administration and Management	Bachelor	Scholarship

22	Ry	C	F	2023	International Economic and Business	Master	Scholarship
23	Mek	C	M	2023	Computer Sciences	Bachelor	Scholarship
24	Nea	C	M	2023	Food Engineering	Bachelor	Scholarship

The Politics of Ableism

Investigating Ableist-intersections in Disabled People's Lives Through Internalised Processes of Discrimination

Tine Fristrup

Abstract

When young men diagnosed with Tourette Syndrome (TS) perform adolescence they do it in figurations of "adults", "dis/adults" and "disadults", intersecting social categories of disability, gender, and age differently but embedded in contours of ableism. The article is looking into the doing of the relation between the social categories, the outcome of this doing and how this doing results in troubled or untroubled subject positions. If you manage to keep up appearances and pass as normal you can perform ableist-masculinity as the doing of Mr. Right Masculinity – as Man. If you fail to perform ableist-masculinity you become marked as dis/Man through understandings of dis/adulthood and becomings of the dis/human. Transgressing the forward slash becomes possible through imagistic becomings of the disadult through disclosing TS in an inclusive environment were dishumanity makes room for the becoming of the disman—not disMan because "Man" is an ableist assumption debunked by the notion of dishumanity. Coming of age as a young man with TS intersects with both gender and disability through ableist formations of gendered disability and disabled gendering. Ableist-intersections of social categories becomes a way to approach social figurations in general, which can be translated into different institutional arenas, i.e. educational arrangements, adding further social categories to the doing of ableist-intersections. Departing from social figurations broaden the scope of investigating ableist-intersections in disabled people's lives to disclose the social workings of becoming through the construction of un/troubled subject positions. The article presents ableist-intersections through poetic representations of young men's lived experiences with TS.

Keywords: Ableist-intersections, internalised ableism, disability, gender, age, dis/ability, DisHuman, poetic representations

The politics of ableism – when discrimination hurts

> Although there are many debates in disability studies and the disability services fields, most people would agree with the proposition that disabled people experience various degrees of subordinated and diminished lives through economic, social, legal, religious and cultural discrimination. These problems were recently formally recognised by the United Nations in the form of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which bind member nations who become signatories. In the light of this recognition, it is important to pause and think about the nature of harm that disabled people experience and the very concept of harm. For instance, is it the impairment itself that causes the harm? If so, we should focus on reducing or indeed eliminating the impairment, which is a common perspective. Such a view interprets disability as harmful in and of itself. In contrast, there is a view among some disabled people that whilst impairments at times cause inconvenience, tiredness and even pain, the primary source of harm is external to the person, situated in the realm of belief. (Campbell, 2009, p.16)

When we are shaped and formed by the politics of ableism, some of us are caught up in beliefs, values and norms that marks us as different through the production of discrimination, inequality, and social exclusion. According to Krieger (1999) discrimination harms health because inequality hurts. Discrimination refers to the construction of a distinction between people by judging them in accordance with an ableist belief system elaborated through societal, institutional, and cultural norms. Norms, we internalise and try to live up to even though some of us use all of our resources to *mask* our "abnormalities" produced through the discourse of normalcy as the hegemonic ableist belief system causing *internalised ableism* (Campbell, 2009) as guidelines of living, when becoming disabled by external forces embedded in the violence of austerity, and the sophistication of the austerity narrative, which "enables a kind of smash and grab politics to be supported by a deeply moral and ideological set of principles" (Cooper & Whyte, 2017, p. 22). When support and financial assistance provided by governments though welfare systems are becoming less available due to austerity (Falster, 2021; 2024, Falster & Pedersen, 2024) the notion of "to discriminate against" takes on another meaning:

In other words, when people discriminate against each other, more than simple distinctions are at issue. Instead, those who discriminate restrict, by judgment and action, the lives of those whom they discriminate against. (Krieger, 1999, p.297)

Not being able to meet a person's needs in the welfare system due to austerity is to discriminate against people in distinguishing them unfavourably from others. One assumption underpinning Campbell's (2009) argument is "that ableism is essentially harmful and, instead of providing solace to disabled people, it actually involves practices and attitudes that induce other forms of impairment and injury" (p.17).

This article follows from my previous research on ableism in general and educational ableism in particular (Fristrup et al., 2019; Fristrup & Odgaard, 2021a, 2021b; Fristrup & Odgaard, 2022; Fristrup, 2022, 2023a, 2023b). The article is about how disabled people live with ableism as internalised ableism. I offer illustrations of how internalised ableism operates through intersections of gender and age, and in this article, I try to theorise the way disabled people live with ableism through subject positions construed as *gendered disability* (living through internalised flawlessness) and *disabled gendering* (living through internalised tragedy).

Often cultural discourses and sociocultural practices are rooted in an aversion to disability and a lack of understanding of what life with a disability is like from the perspectives of those who experience disability. Avoidance may have much to do with the discomfort many feel about disability. The lack of opportunities for nondisabled and disabled people to engage with each other is exacerbated by the historical exclusion of disabled people from educational environments, which can be elaborated through the conceptual framework on ableism. Ableism is a "pervasive system of discrimination and exclusion that oppresses people with mental, emotional, and physical disabilities" (Rauscher & McClintock, 1997, p.198).

In this article, I draw extensively on an understanding of *ableism*, favoring Fiona Kumari Campbell's work (2001, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2012, 2017, 2018, 2019), particularly her latest attempt to develop Studies in Ableism (SiA) as a research methodology. Ableism occurs because of the persistent devaluing of disability and the dominance of viewpoints in which disability is cast as an inherently flawed and undesirable state of being:

> A move towards studies in ableism must not spell a separation with disability studies, rather the focus on ableism is meant to reconfigure a disability studies perspective and extend it. There is a real danger of those who come to studies in ableism without being exposed to the rich canon of critical disability studies will not feel inclined, accountable or committed to broader disability studies scholarship. (Campbell, 2009, p.4)

The proliferation and commonality of ableist assumptions about disability, over time, unfolds as a system of oppression. Like other systems of oppression, such as racism, sexism, classism, and heterosexism, ableism thrives on beliefs about the inherent superiority of some and the inferiority of others based on group traits. Ableism operates overtly and subtly at individual, cultural, and institutional levels. At these three levels, advantages available to nondisabled people are perpetuated, and disadvantage is produced for people with disabilities. Like other structural oppression, prejudice is at ableism's core, and discrimination is an outcome.

In the absence of robust public dialogue about disability and lack of opportunity to interact in mixed-ability groups, public understandings often reflect stereotypes and misconceptions that compose master narratives on disability. Master narratives are culturally derived, taken-for-granted "knowledge" or dominant assumptions about what society considers normal or desirable. Master narratives on disability characterise disability as something to be cured, eliminated, fixed, or overcome and depict life with a disability as tragic, pitiable, and burdensome. People with and without disabilities encounter these narratives and come to understand disability as an undesirable and inferior state of being. For instance, the beliefs that people with disabilities lead lives that are burdensome or sad, that they deserve pity and compassion or are courageous and sources of inspiration simply by being alive or engaging in everyday activities are largely unquestioned yet are rooted in assumptions that disability must always be experienced as a personal tragedy. In this article, the master narrative of the personal tragedy is elaborated through Campbell's concept of *internalised ableism* (2009) understood as processes of discrimination, inequality and social exclusion.

Understanding disability as a social construct through ableist-intersections

> We," the temporarily ablebodied, must be provoked into wonder about the very forms of embodiment to which "ablebodiedness" is indexed and against which normality and acceptability and employability and nearly all abilities are measured. It is in light of such stakes - the very possibilities and contours of a thinking that resists ableism with as much

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force, consistency, and complexity as it does other forms of oppression - that one should read Addressing Ableism. (Foreword by Joel Michael Reynolds in Jennifer Scuro 2018, p.xiii)

Almost twenty years ago, I was enrolled in a research project about young men living with the diagnosis of Tourette Syndrome (TS)[1]. The arrangement came about on the initiative of The Danish Tourette Syndrome Association, which arranged weekend camps once a year. The weekends were usually planned by two supervisors, as they offered supervision to young men with TS within a confined space where they could acquire a better understanding of their life situation, i.e. living with TS. The aim for the weekend camp I attended in 2005 was to share each other's life experiences in dealing with TS. I participated in the weekend by observing their social encounters in both formal (structured time by the supervisors) and informal settings (structured by themselves). I also joined a group of five young men and listened to their stories about being young men diagnosed with TS living in what we now call as an ableist-society.

Along with a woman from the now discontinued Centre for Rare Diseases and Disabilities in Denmark, I was invited to join the group and participate in some activities with the young men to better understand their lived experiences of disability. We wanted to understand the lived experiences as they unfolded during the weekend in relation to categories like work, family, friends, partners, living, education, and spare time.

The categories were selected in relation to general issues regarding "adolescence" and not aiming to focus specific on disabilities, but on what it was like to be young and trying to become one's own project according to ableist views on adolescence coined by an understanding of "adulthood" as an understanding of "the adult" as a perfect, species-typical and therefore essential and fully human, casting young disabled adults as a diminished state of being human, i.e. becoming cast as "dis/adults" through the lenses of critical dis/ability studies and the workings of the dis/ability complex (Fristrup, 2023a). I have for a long time

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[1] "Tourette Syndrome or Tourette's Syndrome (TS) is a neurological disorder that affects three boys for every girl. Typically, TS symptoms begin with a simple facial tic such as blink or twitch of the mouth or nose. Initially, there may be sounds – a cough, grunt, or sniff. However, if it is TS, the tic can and does become more complicated. Soon it involves more than one muscle group. The previous simple head jerk or blink may be replaced by a complex series of tics, such as lip smacking, hissing, followed by a shoulder jerk, and the child's stomach muscles tensing and tightening. Or it could become a sniff, hoot or cough, neck stretch or jerk, a hand wave followed by a foot stomping or hopping routine – or a myriad of other multiple vocal and motor tics in varying patterns, the severity of which may fluctuate from day-to-day and also with the time of day and situation" (Shimberg, 1995, p.30).

been think with the forward slash in "dis/ability" following Dan Goodley's *dis/ability studies* (2014) as a new theoretical approach to understanding practices of exclusion in Danish adult education (Fristrup et al., 2019; Fristrup & Odgaard, 2021a, 2021b; Fristrup & Odgaard, 2022; Fristrup, 2022, 2023a, 2023b). The critical point in this approach is that ability (the construction of normality) cannot be understood without disability (the construction of abnormality) and vice versa.

It becomes clear that any enquiry into an ableist belief system regarding adulthood requires some form of articulation on the underpinnings of such a system. The term "adolescence" is related to the understanding of "being young" and relates to understandings of the social category "age" (Bradley, 1996) as a question of what it means to become one's own project, i.e. the ongoing process of becoming (an able-bodied self). Unfortunately, we entered the camp equipped with notions of ableist-adolescence casting the young men diagnosed with TS as *dis/adults*.

Twenty years ago, I had never heard of the word *ableism*. When revisiting the empirical workings in the research project, it becomes evident that the researcher position in our approach to the young men was embedded in an ableist view on adolescence and disability. In our efforts to set disability aside, we unconsciously embarked upon a presumption, which was formatted by an ableist view on disability. Instead of just choosing to talk to the young men, we introduced the notion of drawing as a way of entering a conversation on adolescence – living with TS. When we presented our plans for the weekend and asked them to make some drawings about their lives with TS, the reaction came straight forward, and within two minutes, they had rejected the subject position offered by us in relation to drawing, with the argument that they wanted to talk like everybody else and did not want to be approached as disabled. They wanted to talk about their lived experiences and express themselves with the use of the Danish language not through drawings as if they didn't have word to be expressed. As several of the young men said during their subject positioning protest; we reminded them of their mothers and other social/care workers (see Mik-Meyer, 2016) that they meet every day and wanted to get away from on weekends like this. They were haunted by presumptions that infantilized them with the disrespect of seeing them as adolescents, just like in a Danish study (Mik-Meyer, 2016) where able-bodied co-workers engage in the "othering" of colleagues diagnosed with cerebral palsy (CP):

> The commonality of these very different individuals was, in other words, exclusively their 'different' appearances, indicating the presence of a dominant able/normal-body norm (ableism) in the workplace that allowed co-workers to unite all visible differences as 'other'. (Mik-Meyer, 2016, p. 1352)

We had planned the weekend at forehand instead of approaching the participants during the weekend, letting them into the planning process, to become a part of the process, and not just to take up orders from us, like they did every other day. We were from the very start positioning them as "Others" in relation to the social norms of disability (Meekosha, 2004). So, to be able to understand what it was like to live a life with TS, we simply had to accept their protest, because by doing so, we did not reproduce the process of subjectification, that these young men had to deal with in everyday life. A weekend like this was not meant to be about mothering and caring, it was clearly a discourse that they had the need to reject. They insisted on an ableist discourse; they wanted to talk about their lived experiences—like "normal people". They wanted to be part of the process and become participants. We had made activities *for* them, not *with* them.

Lars Grue and Arvid Heiberg (2000) talks about identity formations in adolescents by referring to Mark Priestly (1999) and his focus on how we make ourselves known through self-knowledge and by speaking about ourselves, making ourselves social subjects. We decided to change the way we had planned for them to approach the themes and instead accept that they wanted to talk about it not draw pictures of it. They were very grateful that we listened to them and changed our approach by letting them talk about their lived experiences instead of drawing them. This took place during the first hour we spent together with the young men, while we presented our plans for the weekend. It was quite a shock for us to hear their protests and deal with the troubled subject positions that indeed interrupted and disturbed *our* plans. We had to spend the night making new plans that could include the subject positions that they wanted to take up. But the interesting thing was that later that day, some of the participants on their own accord started to draw pictures of their lived experiences. In that sense the most important issue here was the feeling of being approached as an individual in control of their own situation, i.e. being approached as an able-bodied person. They knew the ableist accord of society and wanted to be addressed through the prism of ableism, making themselves known through self-knowledge and by speaking about themselves, making themselves social subjects not disabled subjects.

Living with TS as a young man meant navigating between closure and disclosure of their diagnosis to be able to live the life of a young *man/Man*, and do an ableist understanding of masculinity, where disability interrupts the normative gendering as a *disabled gendering*. What we were witnessing here was the gendered experience of disability addressing the processes through which both femininity and masculinity are constituted (Meekosha, 2004). The elaboration of *gendered disability* offers two different subject positions to the young man with TS, i.e. becoming a *man* (femininity) or becoming a *Man* (masculinity).

This points towards looking into the intersection of social categories as a pathway to understand troubled or untroubled subject positions. Focusing on the construction of un/troubled subject positions it might be interesting to see, how young men are offered subject positions, to identify themselves in relation to, and how they struggle to fit into these subject positions subverting their protests.

In this article, I revisit the empirical material, which was processed as poetic representations (Richardson, 1992) but never published. I examine the process of becoming a "Man" being young and diagnosed with TS. I argue how the social category of disability is toning and toned by the social categories of gender and age to be able to understand disability as a social construct through ableist-intersections.

I want to present the researcher's perspective in a first-person voice—an "I" (Ellis, 2004) in relation to the first social encounter I had with the young men that weekend in the summer of 2005. I have chosen to present it as poetic representations (Richardson 1992, 2002; Hølge-Hazelton 2002) focusing on the lived experiences of the researcher without suppressing and devaluing the subjective experiences of the researcher in her encounter with the research field (Fristrup, 2003). The poetic representation is the product of notes taking during the weekend in relation to both observations and conversations regarding the lived life on the camp side and outside the camp. It is structured in accordance with my emotionally lived and situated experience—that particular weekend with these young men. It is inspired by literacy and "methods" used by Laurel Richardson (1992) in her opposition to the sociological representation of lives.

Instead of focusing on authority in the voice of the researcher, I focus on emotionality in the voice of the researcher. Meaning that the knowledge production in relation to this article is gendered, and in general, question, the rational and controlled academic discourses available

in social sciences (Srdanovic et al., 2024). Looking into emotional experience reveals the presentations as self-representations or the investigator's inference from the research subject's self-representations. It reveals the power of language to present to oneself and to others what emotion is and what it means. Emotions are significant for the individual in acquiring a gendered sense of oneself (Shields, 2000), so to pursue the doing of intersectionality between the social categories of disability, gender, and age, I have chosen to do poetic representations focusing on how a disabled person makes a gendered sense of oneself embedded in ableist-intersections of social categories as ableist-formations of dis/adulthood.

It is the social encounter with the (research) field between me as a researcher and the young men as participants, that constitutes the core of the case, I want to present in this article. The core of the case is that disability is a social construction and stresses the importance of taking social factors into account (Söder, 1989), social factors like gender and age amongst other social categories. In the poetic representations in this article, I want to focus on how:

> Disability is defined by the meaning we attach to different kinds of physical and mental deviations. Disability is, so to speak, 'in the eye of the beholder'. We literally construct disability by interpreting such deviances according to socially anchored values and beliefs. (Söder, 1989, p.119)

We had made plans for the participants at the weekend camp at home, not with the participants during the weekend. We did not question the values of the norms regarding disability, we reproduced the norms by attending the weekend camp making the participants passive and with special needs; that made it necessary for them to start the conversations by drawing their experiences and not starting directly by jumping into having conversations with them about their live experiences.

Our ableist-assumptions about what it was like to live as a young man with TS were self-evidently embedded in ableist-norms about disability. At the same time, when we arrived, we saw able-bodied young men – not disabled-bodied young men, but we did not think about that until they protested against the subject positions offered to them by the planning, we had done at home. At least we could draw attention to the protest and subvert the subject positions offered to the young men and be aware of the gendered disability in relation to the disabled gendering that we embarked upon.

When I met with the participants one by one, I saw shy young men, generous young men and obliging young men—much like me and my friends when I was an adolescent. In other words, I saw a shared doing of ableist-adolescence as I saw my younger (able-bodied) self in their doings of ableist-adulthood. I could see myself in their ableist-doings, but I continued to be curious about how they were doing adolescence in relation to being diagnosed with TS, as if it had to be different from my own adulthood doings. I was looking for disabled bodies but saw only non-disabled bodies, as they had no visible differences that could label them as "Others" using ableist categories. As an able-bodied researcher I continued to be interested in how the young men lived their lives with TS. I couldn't let go of my ableist-assumptions, and kept asking myself, when they felt disabled? And what impact that experience might have had on their doings of adulthood becoming dis/adult? In many ways, I insisted upon the ableist-believes that their disability formatted their adulthood and their gendered doings.

I expected in this particular situation that disability was something real – something visible, and not a normative social construction embedded in doings of ableist-intersections between social categories like disability, gender, and age. I could have chosen to discuss adolescence in general, to demonstrate that they were just like any other young person – despite their disabilities and pretending that we were dealing with the same issues in adulthood. My aim, however, was not to show that the diagnosis did not mean anything or meant everything. I wanted to demonstrate how "disability" was socially embedded in their understandings of what it meant to be living as a young person with TS, which turned out to be formatted by the contours of ableism.

Constructing selves through social categories embedded in contours of ableism

> Discrimination is an enduring issue for all people with disabilities. Women and girls with disabilities however, are subjected to double discrimination: sexism as well as disability bias. Needless to say, women and girls of color who are disabled face a third layer of bias in the form of racism. (Froschl et al., 1999, p.1)

One might add "age" as a fourth layer of bias and in particular "old age" because discrimination is an enduring issue for elderly people and framed in the concept of "ageism" (Bytheway, 1995). But ageism is not discrimination by dominant groups in society against one particular minority group; it is much more complex than that. In fact, ageism appears in all sorts of situations and affects people of all ages (Bytheway, 1995). Discrimination is about prejudice

based on age, disability, gender, and ethnicity. The social categories intersect with one another as layers of bias in the ongoing process of becoming a self in late modernity. The self has become a constituted identity, open to revision; being re-thought and re-made. We are, not what we are, but what we make of ourselves, as Anthony Giddens proclaimed in 1991. But the question is how the social categories are acted out as stereotypes; as artifacts of culture, that can only be understood by exploring their relations to each other in the cultural system (Meekosha, 2004, p.9). When products of biology become cultural phenomenon, the historical contexts interact with the cultural locations and sustain the social relations of for example "gendered disability" in constant reiterations of stereotypes and expectations:

> Put simply, disabled men are expected to behave and express their being differently to disabled women in all cultures, though the manner of these expressions will be culturally specific. It is likely though that the hierarchies of power—most usually male over female, able-bodied over disabled—will set the cultural parameters. (Meekosha, 2004, p.9)

The historical contexts, the cultural locations and the social relations constitute the self as a "social self", being shaped and re-shaped in the intersection between social categories. In this article, I want to focus on the gendering of disability understood as "gendered disability" and the disabling of gender understood as "disabled gendering", in relation to the intersection between the social categories' "gender" and "disability". In order to do that, I will look into the perspective of:

1. *A historical context* focusing on the individuals' capacity to be independent, self-sufficient and self-determining.
2. *A cultural location* in Denmark where young men with Tourette Syndrome meet ones a year to camp.
3. *Social relations* between young men having the diagnosis of Tourette Syndrome and in relation to the other people attending the camp: supervisors and researchers.

The intersection between gender and disability is framed by the concept of "intersectionality" (Collins, 1998; Crenshaw, 1991) as a political approach to the social construction of categories like disability, gender, age, and ethnicity. An understanding of "identity politics" as a structural phenomenon that determines the outcome of the meaning making process as a social organization depending on the power relations in society, rather than ideology as separate

systems of oppression. Intersectionality explores how the social categories can be understood as systems that mutually construct one another or articulate with one another (Collins, 1998, p.63).

> Intersectionality offers a way of mediating the tension between assertions of multiple identities and the ongoing necessity of group politics. While the descriptive project of postmodernism of questioning the ways in which meaning is socially constructed is generally sound, this critique sometimes misreads the meaning of social construction and distorts its political relevance. To say that a category such as race or gender is socially constructed is not to say that the category has no significance in our world, on the contrary. (Crenshaw, 1991/2006, p.7)

The concept of intersectionality draws the attention to the struggle between a modern and a postmodern approach to the understanding of racism and sexism, oppression, and discrimination. A postmodern approach is critiquing the modern understanding of categories as being forced by structural systems and a tendency towards fixing categories and identities in ideologically informed ways. It is the scientific struggle that shifts the focus from identity politics to the complexity of lived experience and a reconsideration of the concept of intersectionality in relation to poststructuralist and social constructionist concepts of "subjectivity", "subjectification", "subject position" and "troublesome subject positions" respectively (Staunæs, 2003a, p.3).

> To become disabled is to be relegated to a marginalised status in society and brings into high relief for the disabled person the advantages accorded those who inhabit the unacknowledged "centre". To become disabled is to lose access to these privileges and, in so doing, to begin to be defined in very different ways. These processes are subtle such that the recruitment of disabled subjects into inferior subject positions derives from the creation of identities which seem natural and very much the responsibility of the individual psyche. Although the loss of one's comparatively privileged subject position may be very sudden and momentous according to the particular nature of the accident, illness or injury, the overall summoning to a new level of identification is a gradual process whereby the doubts from within, the stares and snubs from without, and the lack of access to previously available social locations and resources erode one's prior claim to social acceptability. (Calvin, 2003, p.1-2)

I aim to examine the social category of disability and to problematize the interpretations offered by ideological understandings of social categories. Disability, or being a disabled person, is often related to a minority position where the subject is constructed in relation to a majority of able subject position (Calvin, 2003; Evans, 1998; Shimberg, 1995; Barnes, 2003). My question is what kind of subject positions (Davies and Harré, 1990) the social category disability is offering to understand the self in relation to being a young person having the diagnosis of TS? On the topic of subject positions, I relate to the work of Davies and Harré (1990), where subject positions cover the positions, people take up and make their own understood as an ongoing process of becoming a subject to oneself. Self is to be understood as a social self because the self and the social are inseparable. Meaning that the constitution of the self is social because the self is given in relation to others, there is no self before the social encounter with others, it is articulated in the social encounter (Schmidt, 1980).

In examining how the subject positions offered are related to how other people understand or interpret the social category of disability, I do not understand social categories as fixed and exhaustive in relation to the interpretations offered by the category. If the category was fixed and exhaustive, it would mean that the category offers interpretations that are not related to contexts; then the content of the category is common and not dependent on the particular culture, categories are constructed in relation to the understanding of subject and self as socially constituted. Subject positions offered by the categories are contextually and culturally imbedded and cannot be separated from a majority and inclusive approach, which means that the interpretations offered by the category "disability" does not constitute an exclusiveness in relation to understand disability as a minority like the understanding of ethnic minorities and women (Staunæs, 2003a, 2005; Barnes, 2003). Rose Calvin (2003) argues that:

> The primary mechanism though which labeling is achieved is through the creation of stereotypical identities. In this way key words, such as "cripple", "disabled" or "handicapped", are attached to a set of images which, regardless of whether they describe the person in question, are assumed to do so because they are associated with disabled people in general. (Calvin, 2003, p.1)

The majority approach is expressed in the sentence: We are all disabled (Schmidt, 1995), which means that we all become someone in relation to other people and the subject positions offered in the settings we participate in. Subjectivities or identities are constructed in social

encounters (Fristrup, 2003), where intersections between categories take place and offer subject positions to understand the constitution of the self (Schmidt, 1980).

The understanding of social categories must be followed by a majority-inclusive approach, in which social categories are not perceived as special minority issues (Staunæs, 2005). It means that I will focus on the process of becoming a subject to the social category "disability". I am looking for ways to understand the process of subjectivity or subjectification (Foucault, 1979; 1988):

> The Foucauldian notion of subjectification comprises a two-sided view of the human actor: as both a subject, acting upon contextual conditions and as being subject to, in the sense of being determined by, the contextual conditions. (Staunæs, 2005, p.155)

The understanding of social categories is related to the understanding of contextual conditions and the possible interpretations offered by and to the subject, which relates to the understanding of culture as a way to constitute meaning that differs from context to context depending upon the culturally embedded interpretations of the understanding of disability (Ferguson, 2000). What makes sense in one context does not necessarily make sense in another context; this approach to social categories does not focus on the understanding of fixated categories and identities in an ideological framework, where subjects are determined by social systems and not able to grasp the complexity and ambiguity in social systems:

> The fixing of categories can be a useful strategy if you work in and against a system built upon the privileges and rights of certain fixed identities and categories and where "the natural" and "the given" can be converted into political actives, creating group solidarity internally and mobilization externally. (Staunæs, 2003a, p.3)

If you want to be able to grasp the complexity of "the social" understood as lived experiences, you need an analytical tool that can embrace the meaning-making process in lived experiences. This tool relates to the concept of intersectionality understood as "the doing of intersectionality" (Staunæs, 2003a, p.5): "This means the doing of the relation between categories, the outcome of this doing and how this doing results in either troubled or untroubled subject positions." The concept of troubled subject positions (Wetherell, 1998) is developed in discursive psychology and has a focus on interactions, dialogues, and negotiations:

> Where subject positions and subjectivities/identities become inappropriate, destabilised and difficult; where they are challenged and must be repaired. The concept covers positions that challenge the normativities at stake in certain everyday contexts of lived experiences. (Staunæs, 2003a, p.4)

Troubled subject positions are in focus and install the subject as a central figure in the understanding of the social construction of categories, where the doing of intersectionality opens the articulation of subject positions understood as troublesome or troubled.

The problem with fixated categories is that all the subjects have gone and left behind an ideologically framed discourse to ground all lived experiences. And that is the way to shape a minority approach where the norm of daily living is determined by rules of structural regulations in relation to the ideology offered in the interpretations of the social categories, where you find no troubled subject positions. These fixated categories offer master identities and uniform subject positions that are disturbed in the notion of the doing of intersectionality, where categories are ongoing processes of becoming (a subject). The processes of subjectification are in focus: "While remaining sensitive towards the processes in which people take up, ignore or resist accessible discourses, or make them their own" (Staunæs, 2003a, p.3). So, what subject positions do young men with TS take up in a cultural location where they are spending one weekend together with other young men having TS? What subject positions are offered to them during such a weekend, and what subject positions do they want to take up, ignore or resist? What constitutes a troubled subject position in this cultural location?

The intersection between the social categories involves the process of becoming un/marked, non/privileged in relation to understanding how these processes are produced, sustained, and subverted in specific situations (Staunæs, 2005). The becoming of a troubled subject may be seen as a construction where the category "disability" has not yet toned the category "age" in relation to adolescence. This might be one place to look for different ways of understanding the identity process and it might be interesting to investigate how these processes are carried out, for example in schools. One research question could then be what kind of subject positions are the young men offered and what positions do they take up, in what types of schooling (integrated, segregated, or inclusive)?

In this case it became clear to me that I could not understand "adolescence" without looking into the specific situations that these young people experienced. I observed what they did during the weekends, and how they interacted with each other. They were playing and drinking, and they were talking about their lived experiences, especially in relation to work and the question of whether to use medicine or not during work hours. I interpreted the experiences to be able to focus on the process of becoming a "Man", because they took up subject positions in attempt to show each other what the doing of masculinity was all about.

The doing of masculinity could be conceptualized with the concept of "Mr. Right Masculinity"[2], because some of the young men constituted a specific way or a dominant way of doing masculinity that leaf out other doings of masculinity or simply erased their masculinity leaving them disabled as dis/adults through disabled gendering. Among the young men at this camp there was a "right" way to do masculinity that resulted in putting pressure on the other young men who were troubled in their doing of "Mr. Right Masculinity"; in relation to playing football, drinking alcohol, and living independently.

The presentation of the young men's lived experiences as "Mr. Right Masculinity" is presented as poetic representations (Richardson 1992, 2002; Hølge-Hazelton 2002) to present the gendered sense of the self (Shields, 2000) and focus on both the gendered disability and the disabled gendering. There are six poetic representations based on observations and recorded /transcribed conversations with participants in the camp.

The first three poetic representations present the voice of "Mr. Right Masculinity" – being the dominant voice in and outside the camp focusing on the successful process of doing masculinity (gendered disability). The next two poetic representations present the voice of "Mr. Wrong Masculinity" —focusing on the experience of failure and not being able to do "Man" at all (disabled gendering). The last poetic representation represents an imagistic voice of the DisHuman transgressing Mr. Wright and Wrong Masculinity and debunking the constructions of gendered disability and disabled gendering.

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[2] Mr. Right Masculinity was the first concept used by Dorthe Staunæs in her presentation of gendering in a corporate firm in Denmark together with the concept of Mr. Malebonding. In the article "Corporate Fictions" from 2006 Dorthe Staunæs and Dorte Marie Søndergaard install the concept of Mr. Corporate Masculinity instead of Mr. Right Masculinity. I use the concept Mr. Right Masculinity because it goes beyond Mr. Corporate Masculinity and relates to the understanding of "doing Man" as a much broader phenomenon than Mr. Corporate Masculinity – related to the gendering in corporate firms.

Gendered disability

Playing football, drinking alcohol, and living independently becomes markers of adulthood and the doing of Man on ableist conditions, living independently and avoiding disclosing TS.

PLAYING FOOTBALL

They are playing football

He is playing too

He had just been to the hospital

The refrigerator landed on his foot

He and his partner were moving it down the stairs and it slipped

The doctors told him to sit still and relax

Now he is playing football

He is limping

But he is playing

Trying to hit the ball with the other foot

He scores, now it is 3:1

They cheer him

He is playing football like the others

Not letting the injured foot get in the way

Not letting the foot disable him

DRINKING ALCOHOL

The car is filled with all sorts of alcohol

The trunk is a bar

They can buy alcohol at a low price

I went to Germany to get the liquor

It is much cheaper than in Denmark

We drink like swine

When we are together on these weekends

It is just like all the other youngsters

But the combination of medicine and alcohol

Is not such a good thing

If we vomit too much

They just send us home

LIVING INDEPENDENTLY

He is working at a residential home

They are all diagnosed as having autism

He compares himself with them

He is well-functioning compared to them

He is living an independent life

He travels around in the world

He is a tourist guide

If the job he has does not fit him

He finds another more interesting job

He is not like the residents

They depend on help for everything

They need help in all areas of daily living

They need help

He does not need help from anyone

He is independent

Disabled gendering

A job on the side becomes the marker of failure in adulthood and relates to becoming a dis/adult and ready to become dependent on subsidies in retirement leaving him with the notion of becoming a dis/Man.

A JOB ON THE SIDE

I never really had a proper job

Once

I was an assistant at a furniture factory
I worked at a take a way
I was a freelance waiter for some time

Then
I went to commercial school for two years
I got my exam and cap

The day I got the cap on was a great day for my family and me
It had been a tough and hard battle to complete the two years
When I finally received my diploma, I had to get out and find apprenticeship
A new struggle started
I was either to early or too late with my applications
I only tried a few places
I was simply too stubborn about where I wanted to work
I have been in training different places
I quickly found out that I did not have the energy to work full time due to my tics
It takes to much energy to keep them down a full day
Sadly

I probably have to realize, that I have to find another way out

And that way out is probably retirement or a spare job

My family believes retirement probably is the way out

Then I can have a job on the side a few hours a day

I have to admit, that when the word retirement came up, I resisted

I still feel that I am much too young to retire

But if something else doesn't turn up, I guess I have to take it as it comes

Rejection becomes the marker of what happens when TS accidentally becomes disclosed but at the same time misunderstood and constructed as something dangerous when handling arms. The dismissal from the dream job constructs the young man as a dis/adult and as dis/Man.

REJECTION

10 years ago

I started in the home guard

I did not know

They did not know
Now I know

Now they know

I have got TS

I was in a company

With someone
I considered him to be my friend
One day

He saw a pillbox in my equipment
I had to explain
It was not any kind of drugs
It was some medication

I took it because of my illness

Anyway

He decided to contact his own doctor
He asked him

What kind of medicine it was
He was told

It was the kind of medication given to schizophrenics

He was told

If you take that kind of medicine
One should not carry a gun
He thought, I was schizophrenic
He felt threatened by me

He told the company commander
He did not dare to be in a company with me
I told him

I was not schizophrenic
I told him

I had TS

A week went by
I received a telephone call

From the company commander
I had to come for a meeting

Regarding my future in the company
I went up there
We got to talk a bit
They told me

I would have to resign from the company
I asked

Why?

They gave me the silliest excuse

I ever had heard
I was not fit
They had tried to make me more fit
They said

I did not corporate
That was not true of course

I said to them

You know it is not true
I had told them not to push me to hard
I felt lousy for days after
They stuck to their excuse
I was thrown out of the company

Another 14 days went by
I got a new phone call
This time from the new commander
I had to come for a meeting

Regarding my future in the home guard
I went up there
We got to talk a bit
They told me

I would have to resign from the home guard

I asked

Why?

They said it was because of my illness

I had lived with that all those years in the home guard

I never had any problems

They asked why I had kept it a secret

I did not know at that time

I did not find it important

I was by no mean dangerous to my surroundings

I was by no mean dangerous to myself

I asked them if they knew about TS

They could not answer the question

They switched topic

It made me sad

It made me mad

They did not know anything about the reason why

They kicked me out

I just signed a piece of paper

I was signed out of the home guard after 10 years

I told them

I would take it to the news

I sadly never did

I decided to write a book about my life with TS

I was thrown out of the home guard

10 years of faithful duty

I must admit

It bothers me

I was so fond of being in the home guard

I could not perform my service

I was considered limited capable

I felt sorry about it

I did look forward to becoming a soldier

I had made plans

I knew what I wanted within the army

I had a childhood dream

I wanted to become a commander soldier

I did not pass

Rejection

I chose the home guard

It was almost like being a real soldier

I was kicked out

Rejection

Beyond gendered disability and disabled gendering

Flying my own way is a way of doing *disadulthood*, transgressing the forward slash and become a *disadult* following the disclosure of TS in an imagistic inclusive workplace.

FLYING MY OWN WAY

I want to have an interesting job

Not just any job will do

The employees must accept my tics

I do not want to take medicine

I get so tired when I take the stuff

Sometimes I take drugs

Then I relax and my tics disappear

I sell drugs to others with TS

In fact, I have 97 customers

I produce the hashish in my back garden

Sometimes I get in trouble with the other dealers

The police know about my business

But they leave me alone

It gives me some extra money

I feel economically independent

So, I have my own house

I decide when to clean and party

I have just recorded a cd

That's why they call me CD

I do things that I like

Nobody is going to force me to do anything

That I don't like

My life must be filled with pleasure

I do not want to let the TS take over

And make me do uninteresting things

And become dependent on others

I want to be free as a bird

Flying my own way

Not following the paths of others

I do not want to be like my brother and my father

I want to be different

And make differences that matters

To me

Ableist-intersections of disability and gender

I focus on the analysis of the poetic representations in order to understand the gendered disability and the disabled gendering in relation to the doing of "man/Man", that concerns the understanding of how young men with TS are doing masculinity understood as the process of "doing intersectionality" between the categories of "disability", "gender", and "age". Gender is in this article a social construction, where gender relates to the social regulations of "doing gender" (Butler 1990, 1993, 2004; Søndergaard 1996; Staunæs 2003b). The word "doing" is very much present in gender research and articulated as *gendering* (West and Zimmerman, 1987) and breaks through the stereotypes in understanding gender as a fixated category. Gendering is related to the Foucauldian way of thinking subjecthood (Foucault, 1983) and the twofold signification referred to as "assujetissiment" (Foucault, 1988) translated by Butler (1997) as "subjectivation", by Minson (1985) as "subjectification" and by Connolly (1998) as "subjectivisation". Calvin (2003) argues that "subjectification" is a word already existing, which means "the action of making or being made subjective" (Calvin, 2003), and that it fits Foucault's statement:

> I will call assujetissiment the procedure by which one obtains the constitution of a subject, or more precisely, of a subjectivity which is of course only one of the given possibilities of organisation of our self-consciousness. (Foucault, 1988, p.39)

Bronwyn Davies (1992) talks about how the discursive category "female", or "woman", is related to the experience of being discursively constituted as one who belongs in that category and that the categorizing refers to a generalization of "all women", or "all men":

> When I talk about the experience of being "a woman", I refer to the experience of being assigned to the category female, of being discursively, interactively, and structurally positioned as such, and of taking up as one's own those discourses through which one is constituted as female. (Davies, 1992, p.54)

Gender is, in this article, related to different ways of doing masculinity in order do be doing "Man" as a troubled subject position to the stereotyped categorisation of disability understood as a way of living depending on others' help (Calvin, 2003). The intersection of disability and gender disturbs the subject positions offered by the category of disability. On the camp side, I saw ways in which the two ways of doing masculinity were fighting for authority and the access to articulate the content of being a "Man" – understood as Mr. Right Masculinity.

The social category "disability" is, in this setting, intersected by the social category "gender" and the intersectionality between disability and gender disrupts the understanding of being a person categorised as disabled. Gender in this case emphasised the doings of masculinity in two different ways: 1) The individual is to adapt to the environment (dependent living), and 2) the environment is to adapt to the individual (independent living). In relation to the dependent living the understanding of masculinity is toned by the social category disability, because the young man with TS has to take his medicine to be able to control his tics (Evans, 1998; Shimberg, 1995). In relation to the independent living, it is the opposite. The understanding of masculinity is not toned by the social category disability, because the young man with TS has chosen not to take medicine, in order to demand of the environment to accept his tics. It means that the two ways of doing masculinity has to do with how the category disability insects with the category gender and produces another understanding of what it is like to be a young man with TS.

In this article, I argue that the understanding of these young men and their identity work is formed by the intersection between disability and gender and that it is possible to take two different positions and create the understanding of "doing man" in two different ways. It is however, not two ways of "doing Man" that is valued equally, because the dependent living carries a lower status than independent living in the eyes of the young men doing masculinity the independent way. The two ways of "doing Man" takes place as verbal struggles, where those who live independently are trying to persuade those who live dependently, by telling them that by choosing a dependent lifestyle they install the disability category as central to

their construction of identity. It means that the young men trying to live independently understand themselves not as disabled, but as able to be living independently.

In other words, doing masculinity as "a dependent" highlights disability as a central element in the construction of identity. Therefore, the social construction of disability is shaped by different ways of doing gender that downplays disability. This indicates an evaluation of the two ways of doing masculinity, because in the eyes of the independent, the dependent is not "a reel man". In the eyes of the independent there is a genuine masculinity on the one hand and a lack of masculinity on the other. To be disabled is, in the eyes of the independent, the same as not being a Man, because in their view there is only one understanding of being a Man and that is not to be disabled. To be "a Man" is not to be disabled. Disability is in this case disabling the understanding of masculinity and the identity of these young men. When the social category gender intersects with the social category disability, it becomes clear that the social construction of disability is related to the understanding of how these young men understand themselves – as *able-bodied* or *dis/able-bodied*.

Intersectionality becomes a way for me as a researcher to understand these young men and their understanding of themselves, because the intersection offers ways to understand identity that cross the boundaries of the social categories and offer interpretations that is not possible through fixed categories. The social construction of disability is in other words nothing in itself; it becomes something in relation to something else. In this case the understanding of disability is related to the understanding of gender focusing on how the young men are doing masculinity. In the understanding of how they are doing masculinity, it is evident that the construction of disability is in relation to the construction of gender. The fact that the two social categories intersect, makes it possible for me as a researcher to understand how the category disability is socially constructed. In this case, disability is articulated as "something" in the intersection with gender (dis/Man) and age (dis/adult).

Intersectionality offers new ways of interpretation by disturbing the categorizations of both gender and disability, because to intersect is to disturb – you notice something because you see it with something else. It is possible to articulate the social category of disability in relation to something else. That means that the category disability is not fixed and exhaustive but socially constructed in relation to the intersection with other social categories. The intersection makes it possible to articulate what disability means in relation to specific contexts offering different interpretations of the young men's understanding of their lived experiences.

Discursive constitutions of subjectivity

In closing this article, I will discuss what discursively constitutes the young men's lived experiences of being Mr. Right Masculinity and becoming a Man. Are they simply working within the constraints of ableist-discourses to constitute themselves as comprehensible and knowable in order to be recognized as doing "Man"?

"Independent living" has been used by the disabled people's movement in order to challenge the conventional thinking of disability in a political and ideological way (Barnes, 2003):

> Part of the reason for this apparent and unprecedented success is almost universal appeal of the concept of "independent living" within the context of western culture. It is apolitical in the sense that it appeals directly to advocates of the politics of the right and the left, and it is political in that the environment and cultural changes needed to facilitate meaningful "independent living" for disabled people will benefit everyone regardless of impairment or status. (Barnes, 2003, p.4)

The concept of "inclusive living" has evolved from the concept of "independent living", to avoid misinterpretations by some disability activists in the UK, where the social model of disability is very influential (Barnes, 2003). Barnes (2003) points out that the philosophy of inclusiveness is much more appealing than the understanding of independent living, because Britain's disabled people's movement is based on an understanding of life in favour of all human beings being social and interdependent, which means that a truly independent lifestyle is inconceivable.

The sentence: "We are all disabled" (Schmidt, 1995) suspends sovereignty as an understanding of the social and install the subject as interdependent. If we are not sovereign, then the talk about independent living makes no sense. Barnes (2003) holds on to the understanding of disabled people being oppressed within capitalist society and continue to talk about: "An increasingly costly and complex barrier to the development of a truly meaningful inclusive representative democracy" (Barnes, 2003, p.5). Barnes (2003) points out that the philosophy of independent living is based on the assumptions that all human life is of equal worth, which means that everyone has the freedom of choice, control over their life and the right to participate fully in all areas of life.

"Interdependent" or "independent", that is the question? The doing of Mr. Right Masculinity unfolds the ableist understanding of the subject as sovereign and suspend the interdependent approach to the understanding of the social and the process of becoming a subject. That is why it is possible to understand the process of becoming as a process of longing—longing to become a sovereign subject. This understanding of the subject is related to the Cartian and Hegelian tradition that places the transcendental individual in the prominent role of ableist believes.

Interdependent living is related to the understanding of 'dependent living', because the becoming of a subject is related to the understanding of the social self, mentioned above. The two understandings of the social and the subject are related to a modern and a post-modern way of thinking and producing knowledge. I write this article in a post-modern era, and my understanding of the social and of the subject is based on an interdependent approach. Maybe that is why I do not think of the dependent living as a problem, but in the social encounter with the young men I find that their doing of Man only relates to the doing of Mr. Right Masculinity and an understanding of the subject as sovereign, in the sense that a young Man must strive for sovereignty.

The intersection between the social categories gender and disability opens the understanding of disability as a two-way-understanding that embraces some very different understandings of the social era. I think it is quite interesting that the way the young men are trying to do Mr. Right Masculinity relates to specific understandings of the value of 'work' in favour of Marxism:

> Marxism is deeply marked by the maleness of its originators and never more so than in the key role assumed by work in the constitution of human social identity. It is argued that the apparent gender neutrality of Marxist theoretical categories is in reality a gender–bias which legitimises Marxism's excessive focus on the 'masculine sphere' of commodity production. (Abberley, 1997, p.31)

This argument presupposes that doing Mr. Right Masculinity constructs the young man's subjectivity or identity in relation to his work and therefore he becomes disabled when he is out of work and perhaps facing an early retirement. Having or facing a retirement is what separates the two ways of "doing man" (independently (Man) or dependently (man)) by the young men with TS in this case.

Being Mr. Right Masculinity refers to a solid ableist-discourse that is rooted in the understanding of Enlightenment that share core notions of human perfectibility and labour as definitional of humanity, which are incompatible with the interests of disabled people. The limits of Enlightenment radicalism, as seen in the work of Marx, are defined by the logic and values of production. The meaning of *humanity* becomes co-terminus with such values: "Disabled" is created negatively in relation to them. This approach forms an explanatory framework for understanding the form and nature of disablement as a historical product" (Abberley, 1997, p.51).

Doing Man in this case is related to "making/doing gender and unmaking/undoing disability", which means that the making/doing of gender installs the possibility of taking control and being the boss in one's own life, not letting anyone else have the control, which again is related to the understanding of "making/doing disability" in that specific subject position. Trying to unmake/undo disability is, in this article, articulated as being in a troubled subject position, because the troubled interferes with the categorical understanding of the social category of "disability". By using gender as a perspective on the understanding of lived experiences in relation to having TS, it is possible to articulate what disability is in relation to specific contexts and not as a categorisation in general. In this case, the young men must make/do gender in order to unmake/undo disability, and the making/doing of gender is related to a historical construction of values in relation to the understanding of "work".

The problem in this case is related to how the young men understand the values of work in relation to constituting themselves as comprehensible and knowable in order to be recognised as "doing Man". They are simply working within the constraints of an available but ableist-discourse, which offers them a subject position they can take up and make their own. A subject position that constitutes the young men as troubled in relationship to the category of disability, and that is why they have to unmake/undo disability. The doing of intersectionality between the social categories disability and gender offers a troubled subject position that makes it possible to articulate the content of the social categories and understand the social constructions of categories like disability and gender as available discourses that people can take up, ignore or resist, and make their own. This is the understanding of gendered disability in relation to troublesome or troubled subject positions. The problem is that "it takes two to tango" and the social issues related to the intersection of categories is like dancing: Do you dare (to) challenge "Strictly Ballroom"!(?) Do you dare to challenge the disabled gendering

in order to talk about gendered disability in relation to untroubled subject positions: when some men find themselves unable to do Mr. Right Masculinity, and resent their decreasing capacity to be independent, self-sufficient, and self-determining, exploring their sexuality and widening their gendered sense of self to include more feminine and bi-sexual components (Meekosha, 2004, p.11).

The social construction of disability is a gendering construction of disability where you become a subject to hegemonic ableist-structures that could be different if the values of the ableist-structures where questioned. In this article, I have done my very best to question some of the hegemonic ableist-structures that constitute the potentials and challenges in the doing of intersectionality between the social categories' disability, gender, and age in a historical context, on a cultural location and among social relations. I have been addressing ableism and demonstrating how to navigate ableism with an emphasis on closure versus disclosure.

The contour of ableism operates in the confinement of normalcy, distancing disability in adulthood, leaving the young men with TS in constant demands of masking their TS *to be able to* perform the flawless masculinity as Man – the doings of Mr. Right Masculinity. Gendered abilities may necessarily dissolve disabled gendering and dismiss the disabilities focusing on the abilities in gendering. The DisHuman project is on the contrary oriented towards an imagistic time when dis/human becomes dishuman, and thinking about the human involves thinking about disability (Goodley & Runswick Cole, 2016). The dishuman approach without the forward slash in dis/human is "dis-ing" the dividing practices that establish the division between people as a critical intervention into the unsettling of humanism's universalism and the primacy of rationality and the unitary subject (Braidotti, 2013). When adulthood works on the confinement of dis/ability, I opt for future work on "dis-ing" adulthood to address and trouble the ableist normativity in constructions of dis/adults.

The question of the "human" has always been central to the politics of disability. It will be central to debunking ableist normativity, pointing towards dishuman times and efforts in society in general and not just in imagistic ways. Learning to become dishuman awakens a new normativity, which I call *dishumanity* (Fristrup, 2023a). It might be an idealist normativity, but any normativity is based on ideals. The problem with ableist normativity is that it is only a problem for those people being cast as dis/abled, dis/adults and dis/humans –

all in all, those people being exposed to practices of "dis-ing" performing dis/humanity and not dishumanity in social encounters.

In revisiting the social encounters that took place almost twenty years ago, I have enabled an investigation in not just intersections but in ableist-intersections, demonstrating how social categories shape the lives of disabled people through the ongoing work of the dis/ability complex in social figurations of the politics of ableism, i.e. discrimination, beyond the violence of austerity in the Danish welfare system.

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Ablenationalism and the Ablenationalist Politics of Disability in Neoliberal Societies

Cripping Empowermentality Embedded in Therapeutic Citizenship

Tine Fristrup

Abstract

This paper examines the emergence of ablenationalism as a contemporary biopolitical phenomenon at the intersection of disability politics, nationalist projects, and neoliberal governance. Drawing on Mitchell and Snyder's theoretical framework and building upon Puar's concept of homonationalism, the analysis reveals how modern nation-states selectively incorporate certain forms of disability while maintaining ableist power structures through what I term "empowermentality"—a form of governance operating through therapeutic citizenship demands. The paper demonstrates how neoliberal market logic transforms bodies into "fractured terrains" subject to endless optimisation, creating new hierarchies of inclusion based on one's capacity for rehabilitation and productive contribution. Through critical analysis of comfort industries, positive psychology, and therapeutic intervention regimes, the study illuminates how disability becomes commodified and marketised under neoliberal governance. The paper also examines emerging forms of resistance through cripping practices and queer/disability coalitions that challenge normative assumptions about embodiment and create alternative value systems. The analysis contributes to critical disability studies by revealing how ablenationalism operates as a sophisticated form of biopolitical control while highlighting possibilities for collective resistance that moves beyond individual empowerment to challenge the foundations of neoliberal ability-based citizenship. These findings have significant implications for understanding contemporary disability politics and imagining alternative futures that embrace bodily diversity without requiring conformity to ableist norms, i.e. establishing a counter position emphasising "depathologisation".

Keywords: Ablenationalism, disability studies, neoliberalism, biopolitics, therapeutic citizenship, crip theory, empowermentality, resistance, depathologisation

Introduction

In contemporary society, the intersection of disability politics, nationalist projects, and neoliberal governance has given rise to a complex phenomenon known as *ablenationalism* (Mitchell & Snyder, 2015). This concept, developed through an extension of Jasbir Puar's work on *homonationalism* (2007), illuminates how modern nation-states simultaneously incorporate certain forms of disability while maintaining and reinforcing ableist power structures. Understanding this phenomenon requires examining its theoretical foundations, operational mechanisms, and implications for disability politics and resistance. At its core, ablenationalism operates through the creation of what Mitchell and Snyder (2015) term the "able-disabled" category—those deemed capable of rehabilitation and productive contribution to the neoliberal economy. This selective inclusion process creates new hierarchies within disability communities, where citizenship value becomes increasingly tied to one's ability to conform to therapeutic citizenship demands. The concept draws heavily from Foucauldian notions of biopower and governmentality, revealing how bodies become sites of continuous improvement and optimisation under neoliberal governance.

Central to this system is the emergence of what the author terms "empowermentality"— understood as a form of governance that operates through political interventions aimed at "empowering" individuals into citizens. This process requires the internalisation of ableist norms and a commitment to constant self-improvement. Under this regime, bodies become "fractured terrains", divided into marketable parts each subject to therapeutic intervention. This fragmentation enables the proliferation of "comfort industries" that capitalise on the neoliberal imperative for constant self-improvement, creating endless cycles of bodily optimisation.

The market logic of ablenationalism transforms disability into opportunities for profit through therapeutic intervention. Bodies are increasingly valued not only for their capacity to labour but for the information they yield and their potential for improvement. This creates what Mitchell and Snyder (2015) describe as a "multisectoral market" where every bodily "imperfection" becomes a target for intervention and optimisation.

The article offers a particularly pointed critique of positive psychology's role in reinforcing these dynamics. Through what is termed the "Velcro effect", concepts of optimisation and improvement sticking to all aspects of life, transforming therapeutic intervention into a moral

imperative. This framework promotes individual responsibility for well-being while obscuring systemic issues and structural inequalities that produce disability in the first place.

However, the article also identifies significant forms of resistance to ablenationalism through what scholars term "cripping" practices. These efforts reject standardisation regimes and create alternative value systems that embrace bodily diversity and discontinuity. By forming coalitions between disability and queer communities, these resistance movements challenge the foundational assumptions of ablenationalist politics and create what Mitchell and Snyder call "counter-eugenic spaces and practices" (2015).

The emergence of crip theory provides theoretical tools for understanding and opposing ablenationalism. Drawing from both disability studies and queer theory, crip theory challenges the normative assumptions underlying therapeutic citizenship and proposes alternative ways of understanding bodily difference and community. This theoretical framework emphasises how disability intersects with other axes of difference including race, age, gender, sexuality, and class, revealing how different bodies become differently marked as "disabled" or "able-disabled" based on their social positioning.

The article suggests that effective resistance to ablenationalism requires moving beyond individual empowerment to collective action that challenges the very foundations of neoliberal ability-based citizenship. This involves questioning fundamental assumptions about progress, cure, and normalcy while creating alternative social arrangements that centre disabled experience and knowledge. Rather than seeking inclusion in ableist institutions, resistance movements must work to create new values and lifestyles that embrace discontinuity and difference.

In summarising, ablenationalism represents a sophisticated form of biopolitical control that operates by selectively incorporating disability while maintaining broader ableist power structures. Understanding this phenomenon is crucial for developing effective resistance strategies and imagining alternative futures that embrace bodily diversity without requiring conformity to ableist norms. The challenge ahead lies in developing collective responses to individualised therapeutic regimes while creating alternative values and lifestyles that embrace discontinuity and difference.

Understanding Ablenationalism: A Critical Framework

The intersection of disability politics, nationalist projects, and neoliberal governance has given rise to a complex phenomenon known as *ablenationalism*. This concept, developed by Mitchell and Snyder (2015), illuminates how modern nation-states simultaneously incorporate certain forms of disability while maintaining and reinforcing ableist power structures. Understanding ablenationalism requires examining its theoretical foundations, operational mechanisms, and broader implications for disability politics and resistance.

Ablenationalism builds upon Jasbir Puar's (2007) work on homonationalism, extending similar analytical frameworks to disability studies. Like *homonationalism*, which examines how certain queer subjects become incorporated into nationalist projects, ablenationalism reveals how some disabled bodies are selectively embraced while others remain excluded. This selective inclusion operates through what Mitchell and Snyder (2015) term the "able-disabled" category—those deemed capable of rehabilitation and productive contribution to the neoliberal economy.

The theoretical underpinning of ablenationalism draws heavily from Foucauldian concepts of biopower and governmentality, i.e. biopolitics:

> The concept of biopolitics was first outlined by Michel Foucault (2003, 2007, 2009) in his lectures at the Collège de France in the late 1970s in order to name and analyze emergent logics of power in the 18th and 19th centuries. According to Foucault, biopolitics refers to the processes by which human life, at the level of the population, emerged as a distinct political problem in Western societies. Foucault's early formulation of biopolitics was part of a broader attempt in his genealogical studies to think beyond Marxist theories of power and the State. (Means, 2022, p. 1968)

Under neoliberal governance, bodies become sites of continuous improvement and optimisation. This creates what Mitchell and Snyder (2015) describe as "fractured terrains", where bodies are fragmented into marketable, manageable parts, each subject to therapeutic intervention and improvement. Ablenationalism operates through several interconnected mechanisms. First, it transforms disability into market opportunity through the proliferation of "comfort industries" and therapeutic interventions. These industries capitalise on the neoliberal imperative for constant self-improvement, creating endless cycles of bodily optimisation. Second, ablenationalism establishes a form of therapeutic citizenship, where national

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belonging becomes linked to one's commitment to bodily improvement and self-sufficiency. This creates a hierarchy between those deemed "productive" citizens capable of rehabilitation and those viewed as permanently dependent or "unproductive". Third, ablenationalism operates through cultural narratives that emphasise "overcoming" disability through individual effort and responsibility. These narratives reinforce the idea that citizenship value is tied to bodily capability and the willingness to pursue constant improvement.

The implications of ablenationalism extend far beyond individual experience. At a political level, it weakens collective disability resistance by individualising systemic accessibility issues and fragmenting disability communities. Economically, it drives the privatisation of disability support services and transforms incapacity into profit opportunity. Socially, it reinforces ableist hierarchies while creating new forms of exclusion based on one's ability to conform to therapeutic citizenship demands. Despite its pervasive influence, ablenationalism faces significant resistance embedded in crip/queer collectivities. These movements reject the imperative of constant improvement and create alternative value systems that embrace bodily diversity and discontinuity. By forming coalitions between disability and queer communities, these resistance movements challenge the foundational assumptions of ablenationalist politics.

The emergence of "crip theory" (McRuer, 2006) provides theoretical tools for understanding and opposing ablenationalism. Drawing from both disability studies and queer theory, crip theory challenges the normative assumptions underlying therapeutic citizenship and proposes alternative ways of understanding bodily difference and community. Ablenationalism represents a crucial theoretical framework for understanding how disability becomes incorporated into nationalist projects under neoliberal governance. By revealing the connections between bodily optimisation, market logic, and citizenship value, it illuminates the complex ways that ableism operates in contemporary society. Understanding ablenationalism is essential for developing effective resistance strategies and imagining alternative futures that embrace bodily diversity without requiring conformity to ableist norms.

The challenge ahead lies in developing collective responses to individualised therapeutic regimes while creating alternative values and lifestyles that embrace discontinuity and difference. This requires moving beyond traditional identity-based approaches to consider how disability resistance movements can engage with both bodily and political economies in ways that challenge the very foundations of neoliberal ability-based citizenship embedded in

understandings of "neodisability" (Fristrup & Odgaard, 2021) as a fractured bodily terrain in an improvement and rehabilitation economy (Mitchell & Snyder, 2015).

Fractured bodies in a multisectoral market

In contemporary disability studies, the emergence of ablenationalism marks a critical intersection between neoliberal governance and disability politics. This phenomenon reveals how modern nation-states simultaneously incorporate certain forms of disability while reinforcing deeply embedded ableist norms. This analysis examines the complex dynamics of ablenationalism and explores potential modes of resistance through cripping practices. Ablenationalism emerges from the convergence of disability politics with nationalist projects under neoliberal governance. Within this framework, bodies become sites of continuous improvement and optimisation, subject to market forces that fragment them into what Mitchell and Snyder (2015) describe as "fractured terrains". This fragmentation manifests through the proliferation of therapeutic interventions, the emergence of comfort industries, and the transformation of bodily incapacity into market opportunity. The neoliberal context creates a paradoxical environment where disability becomes both a site of intervention and a source of profit. The marketplace's fragmentation of bodies into "good" and "bad" parts facilitates the commodification of disability, creating new markets for therapeutic interventions while simultaneously reinforcing ableist norms of productivity and self-improvement.

According to Mitchell and Snyder (2015) the body has become a multisectoral market:

> Whereas Fordist capitalism cultivated divided worker populations by hierarchicalizing the assembly line based on the functional demands of production, neoliberalism divides us within our own bodies. We are now perpetual members of an audience encouraged to experience our bodies in pieces - as fractured terrains where the "bad" parts of ourselves are ever multiplying. (Mitchell & Snyder, 2015, p. 221)

Dividing our bodies is made possible through the biopolitics of late capitalism and the training in separating one's good parts from one's bad parts. This kind of internalised practice divides the body into bits and pieces that can be capacitated when incapacitated through practices of piecing. According to Mitchell and Snyder (2015) the incapacity becomes a capacity in the neoliberal marketplace, and "the late capitalist litany of bodily frailties, imperfections, and incapacities gluts advertising networks as the hegemonic product pitch strategy of today.

Within this treatment-based environment disability rapidly becomes synonymous with a humanity that we are all seeking to *overcome*" (p. 220).

When imperfection becomes the reference for marketisation, *new industries of comfort* transcend our efforts to the disciplinary regimes of the therapies:

> […] that have now transcended their medically subordinate position within the health sciences to become our mainstream training gurus for improving on bodily imperfections writ large. Therapies have now gone "cultural" and encourage our mass dedication not to perfection but to the infinite pursuit of embodied "improvement". Once relatively isolated disability rehabilitation regimens are now applicable to all citizens; just as all citizens grow increasingly responsible for policing their own bodies as a foundational aspect of their well-being. Forms of therapy are increasingly becoming the market solution to ever-expanding ideas of debility, and to the degree that one resists therapy one also further resists greasing the neoliberal market skids. (Mitchell & Snyder, 2015, p. 221)

When *debility* becomes the target in our efforts to overcome *disability*, we need to consider the relation between debility and disability in regard to the question of capacity and incapacity. The quest for *dis-ing* the bodily *abilities* become a debilitation of bodies. Dis-ing as a practice becomes every *bodies* business in order to divide the good parts from the bad parts in pursuing rehabilitation as the improvement of the not necessarily degenerated parts of the body but the parts that can improve—be better than before the therapeutic intervention. It is a never-ending story—an infinite movement in an improvement economy, where the bodily parts are up for scrutiny within the neoliberal demands of productivity. The enterprising self (Rose, 1990) is governed through *prognosis time* in order to become *a subject to prognosis* (Puar, 2009). The question is whether *all* bodies are available for rehabilitation, following the incapacity of *all* bodies becoming capacitated in an improvement economy.

According to Puar (2009) discipline and punish may still be the primary apparatus of power in relation to useless bodies and bodies of excess, as we need to be able to distinguish between disability and debility in order to follow Mitchel and Snyder's (2015) idea of how this improvement economy will bring about new alliances of what Crenshaw (1991) calls *group politics*, understood as "refusal of our crip/queer bodies as perpetual objects of professional

labors provides a model of resistance wherein the ways our bodies function does not lead us to fall prey to regimes of standardization" (p. 1299).

> We now find ourselves encouraged not to conform to a general norm but rather condition-based norms that others who presumably share our disability group establish. This is really nothing but a move from a medical model based on an elusive average body to a therapy-based norm of an elusive average *disabled* body.
> (Mitchel & Snyder, 2015, p. 221)

According to Mitchel and Snyder (2015) the *socially debilitating experiences* (p. 222) constitute alternative corporeal creativities as *countereugenic efforts* (p. 218) that become disability driven: "bands of crip/queer people have produced viable alternatives to consumptive models of capital and the expulsion of bodily imperfection in order to envision a meaningful contrast of lifestyles, values, and investments adapted to life as discontinuity and contingency" (p. 222). The question is whether these efforts can be emphasised as countereugenic, because Puar (2009) points to the problem of bodies that are deemed available for injury as expendable bodies that require debilitation in order to sustain *the* order of late capitalism and the improvement economy. A *disarticulation of disability from disabled subjects* (Puar, 2009, p. 167) invites us to contest the notion of *all bodies* being a capacity as an incapacity. The problem emerges in the understanding of incapacity in relation to disability or debility, which in the work of Mitchell and Snyder (2015) has become increasingly fluid, and with a reference to Puar (2009) "referrers to this tactical expansion of impairment as a central feature of "debility" in her essay "Prognosis Time" (p. 12).

I find it problematic that Mitchell and Snyder (2015) refer to Puar's (2009) notion on debility as "impairment", because it can easily be misunderstood in relation to the social model of disability and its division between impairment and disability. In that way Mitchell and Snyder (2015) rearticulate the social models division and emphasis that the distinction between debility and disability recalls the distinction between impairment and disability. This is not the case in Puar's (2009) work, and the reason why she invites us to do a *disarticulation of disability from disabled subjects*. In this disarticulation, we approach debility as a politics of debility, where identity becomes a question of *risk coding* (Puar, 2009, p. 165), and different from identity as essence and a focus on normativity and pathology. Puar (2009) "wonder how we might view

queer and gender non-normative bodies in bio-informatic and statistical terms" (p. 165). When we live in prognosis times (Puar, 2009), we are living in relation to statistical risk, chance, and probability. Debility is Puar's (2009) approach to incapacity with a reference to *affective capacity*, as:

> […] encounters with social, cultural, and capitalist infrastructures (literal, built, architectural, ideological, public policy – encounters where bodily capacity may be rendered inadequate or challenged) potentially render affective capacity, in its productive movement, exploitative and exploited. Affective capacity in this sense – that is, a toggling between ontology and epistemology as they cycle in möbius tandem – occupies a steady tension with its opposite, incapacity, or what I will refer to in this essay as "debility". (Puar, 2009, p. 162)

Through the lenses of *affective capacities and tendencies*, we can contest the constitution of the intersectional political disability group establishment and the crip art of failure, as possibilities of resistance to neoliberalism. Following Puar's (2009) take on *incapacity, disability, and debility* that resonates in prognosis time:

> In my new project, provisionally entitled Debility and Capacity (of which I will here offer a brief, preliminary sketch), I intend to foreground questions of affect as bodily capacity not only in relation to forms of living and dying, but also to debility and disability. Why do these relations between affect, debility, and capacity matter? In Terrorist Assemblages, I propose a rapprochement of Foucauldian biopolitics and Achille Mbembe's necropolitical critique of it through what I call a "bio-necro collaboration," one that conceptually acknowledges biopower's direct activity to death, while remaining bound to the optimalization of life, and the nonchalance that necropolitics maintains towards death even as it pursues killing as a primary aim. (Puar, 2009, p. 163)

"Affect is therefore a site of bodily creative discombobulation and resistance but one that is also offered up for increasing monitoring and modulation" (Puar, 2009, p. 161) in a bio-necro collaboration. Puar (2009) wants to deconstruct the bio-necropolitical collaboration in using debility and capacity to think about bodies and events "that confound attempts to fold easily into and out of the distinctions between living and dying, and to reflect shifting, capacious, porous and contradictory parameters of bio and necro politics" (Puar, 2009, p. 163). If the value of a body is increasingly sought not only in its capacity to labour but in the information that it

yields—and if there is no such thing as excess, or excess info, if all information is eventually used or is at least seen as having imminent utility—we might ask whether this is truly a revaluing of otherwise worthless bodies left for dying (Puar, 2007, 2009).

Empowermentality and the Able-Disabled Imperative

I unfold the concept of "empowermentality" in order to provide a framework for understanding how neoliberal governance operates through technologies of self-improvement and the internalisation of ableist norms. This framework reveals the pressure on disabled individuals to embolden the ability side of the dis/ability complex as Goodley (2014) argues. The able-disabled imperative requires individuals to constantly work toward optimisation while maintaining their identity as legitimately disabled subjects. This dynamic creates a complex negotiation between disability identity and the demands of neoliberal citizenship. Disabled individuals must navigate the contradictory expectations of demonstrating both their legitimate need for accommodation and their commitment to self-improvement and productivity.

Inspired by Turnhout et al. (2014) and their conceptualisation of *measurementality*, I offer a conceptualisation of *empowermentality*. Turnhout et al. (2014) introduce the term measurementality "to signify the governance logic that emerges when transparency comes to stand next to effectiveness and efficiency as neoliberal principles and to highlight the connections that are forged between economic, managerial, and technocratic discourses" (p. 581). Measurementality is part and parcel of the neoliberal paradigm "in which science produces the raw materials for subsequent control and exchange and that, as a result, the intersection of science, discourse, policy, and economics within these governance systems requires sustained critical scrutiny" (Turnhout et al., 2014, p. 581).

The term measurementality problematises the role of transparency, standardisation, and knowledge in environmental governance. In their article Turnhout et al. (2014) discusses the term in the light of environmental governance and uses the concept so that it signifies an "'art of neoliberal governance' that emerges from privileging scientific techniques for assessing and measuring the environment as a set of standardized units which are further expressed, reified, and sedimented in policy and discourse and which, in turn, render the environment fungible" (p. 583). In adopting this concept to a critical scrutiny of the new production of comforting and empowering industries in an era of neoliberal-ableism (Goodley, 2014), we can better

understand how contemporary ableism operates on the individual, which brings with it a consideration of the centrality of "ability" to theorise late capitalist neoliberal societies.

When departing from Mitchell and Snyder's book titled *The biopolitics of disability. Neoliberalism, Ablenationalism, and Peripheral Embodiment* (2015), I want to unsettle the familiar certainties of modernist thought and write an article about fractured bodily terrains in the infinite pursuit of embodied improvement made possible through a Foucauldian approach to *governmentality* (Foucault, 1991) and inspired by what Cruikshank unfolds as *The will to empower* (1999). According to Foucault (1980), a regime of truth refers to the prevailing systems of knowledge, discourse, and power that determine what can be considered as true and valid within a particular domain. It establishes the criteria by which truth claims are evaluated and accepted, shaping the way knowledge is produced. *Empowermentality* is my contribution to understanding the rationality of governing through political interventions aiming at empowering individuals making them citizens. According to Cruikshank (1999), you are not born a citizen, you become a citizen through technologies of power that reflects the neoliberal times we live by in today's societies. The neoliberal governing of societies can be understood as an international emphasis to capitalise and marketises through new spaces for exploitation, which makes neoliberalism thrive at home.

Empowering industries embedded in the positive psychology regime

According to David Mitchell (2014), disabled people become productive as able-disabled, and Goodley (2014) notes that disabled people must embrace ableism to overcome their disabling conditions. In other words, "individuals need to embolden the ability side of the dis/ability complex in order to survive, hopefully thrive, but definitely make do and mend" (Goodley et al., 2014, p. 981). When disabled people are constituted as objects of rehabilitating interventions, they enter the category of able-disabled pointing towards the (social) work needed to overcome disability and become self-sufficient through ableist social work interventions embedded on the premise of rehabilitation, as "at the very same time, disabled people are cast as those damaged others who sit in stark contrast to the ableist imperative of economic, embodied, cultural and psychological self-sufficiency" (Goodley & Lawthom, 2019, pp. 235-236).

When individual citizens' internalise sovereignty characterised by modern societies, they become free to govern themselves (Rabinow & Rose, 2006). This emphasis on self-governance

fits perfectly with the rise of neoliberal thinking in the latter decades of the twentieth century. Neoliberalism provides the economic conditions for the making of contemporary citizens through ableism, because of its isolationism, which "invites new iterations of homophobia, xenophobia, nationalism, racism, sexism alongside disablism as ideological positions of prejudice that fit the logics of ableism" (Goodley & Lawthom, 2019, p. 237).

Following Dan Goodley and Rebecca Lawthom (2019), we, as poststructuralists, know that disability relies on its opposite *ability* to exist. When we acknowledge the split term *dis/ability* introduced by Goodley (2014), it requires us to think simultaneously about the processes of *disablism* and *ableism*. According to Goodley and Lawthom (2019), ableism accounts for the suffocating practices associated with a contemporary society that increasingly seeks to promote the species-typical individual citizen as "a citizen that is ready and able to work, productively contribute, an atomistic phenomenon bounded and cut off from others, capable, malleable and compliant" (Goodley & Lawthom, 2019, p. 235). Ableism breeds paranoia, confusion, fear and inadequacy, and ableism is an ideal that no one ever matches up to, according to Goodley and Lawthom (2019). As Robert McRuer (2006) carefully puts it, compulsory ableism is to disablism what compulsory heteronormativity is to homophobia. Goodley states that "ableism provides just the right amount of temperature and nutrients from which disablism can grow" (p. 78). Hence, disabled people come to occupy a crucial role in reproducing ableism (Goodley & Lawthom, 2019), they elaborate on the statement that "human enhancement, individual progression, cognitive advancement, economic independence and therapeutic growth are just some of the aims of an ableist regime" (Goodley & Lawthom, 2019, p. 235).

When the making of contemporary citizens is emphasised through ableism, we move from a modernist tale about exception and cultural rehabilitation to a dismodernist tale about exceptionality and neoliberal interventions (Mitchell & Snyder, 2015, p. 205). In the dismodernist tale capitalism produce the *dis* as a way to operate in the marketplace and create new consumerist opportunities in the neoliberal capitalism in order to create new *comforting and empowering* industries.

The point taken in regard to these new empowering industries is embedded in the willingness to commit to empowering efforts through the will to health:

The end of the 'Golden Age' of welfare capitalism in the 1970s was the prelude to a period of greater individualisation within societies and was accompanied by an increase in the importance of consumption as a way of organising social relations. During the same period there was also an expansion in the discourses aimed at enhancing the government of the autonomous self. One such discourse operates around what has been termed the 'will to health': it suggests that health has become a required goal for individual behaviour and has become synonymous with health itself. The generational groups whose life courses were most exposed to these changes are now approaching later life. We explore the extent to which social transformations related to risk, consumption and individualisation are reflected in the construction of later-life identities around health and ageing. We examine how the growth in health-related 'technologies of the self' have fostered a distinction between natural and normal ageing, wherein the former is associated with coming to terms with physical decline and the latter associated with maintaining norms of self-care aimed at delaying such decline. (Higgs et al., 2009, p. 687)

Whereas disabled people were trained to recognise their disabled parts as definitively inferior, the biopolitics of late capitalism trains everyone to separate their good from bad—a form of alienation that feeds the market's penchant for "treating" our parts separately in order to partition further for resource exploitation. The body becomes a terrain of definable localities each colonised by its particular pathologies as dictated by the marketplace. The late capitalist litany of bodily frailties, imperfections, and incapacities gluts advertising networks as the hegemonic product pitch strategy of today. Within this treatment-based environment disability rapidly becomes synonymous with a humanity that we are all seeking to *overcome*. The imperfect is becoming a standard formula of reference for alternative late liberal marketplace profit extraction. The rise to legitimacy of the therapies as new empowering comfort industries results as the twenty-first century opens. We are all subject to disciplinary regimes of the therapies that have now transcended their medically subordinate position within the health sciences to become our mainstream training gurus for improving on bodily imperfections writ large.

Once relatively isolated disability rehabilitation regimens are now applicable to all citizens, just as all citizens grow increasingly responsible for policing their own bodies as a foundational

aspect of their wellbeing. Forms of capacitating therapy are increasingly becoming the market solution to ever-expanding ideas of debility embedded in the imperative of human improvement:

> Positive psychology can be defined in a variety of ways but at its core it goes about the business of establishing, building upon, or improving human strengths. By strengths, we refer to human capacities that can withstand internal and external stressors, thereby promoting optimal human functioning when facing unexpected problems or challenges posed by daily life. Positive psychological research is also said to rest on three pillars: positive subjective states, positive traits, and positive institutions. (Wehmeyer & Dunn, 2022, p. 17)

The Velcro quality of knowledge regimes in neoliberal times work on capitalising the body as if it is in a constant need for therapeutic intervention to be able to flourish despite the violence of austerity, and the sophistication of the austerity narrative, which "enables a kind of smash and grab politics to be supported by a deeply moral and ideological set of principles" (Cooper & Whyte, 2017, p. 22). The violence of politics is twisted through a positive vocabulary made possible in the knowledge regime of positive psychology:

> Like any successful new subfield in psychology, positive psychology has what we might refer to as a Velcro quality to it: its content "sticks to" or connects with many of the concepts, constructs, or settings to which it is linked. We know that individuals who are flourishing in their daily lives, finding meaning and purpose in living, enjoy beneficial social relations with other people, experience favorable levels of self-esteem, and hold optimistic outlooks for the future (e.g., Bolt & Dunn, 2016). Clearly, these are intrapersonal factors that affect interpersonal relations and interact with many situations or environmental factors. (Wehmeyer & Dunn (Eds.), 2022, p. 15)

However seductive the knowledge regime of positive psychology it is in itself a subfield of psychology that flourished at the end of the twentieth century (Seligman, 1999, 2002) and is now a sustained and expanded area of scientific inquiry that is itself flourishing:

> Journal articles, books and handbooks, dedicated journals, and topical conferences appeared en masse and the first generation of positive psychologists quickly followed. Many psychologists who already identified as being social-

personality, clinical, or rehabilitation psychologists, among other types, quickly shifted their research programs to include questions and issues tied to the strengthoriented framework of positive psychology. One portrayal of the impact of positive psychology is how it helps people to flourish in their daily lives; that is, to report high levels of positive well-being while experiencing low levels of mental illness (Keyes, 2009, 2013; see also, Keyes & Simoes, 2012). Languishing is flourishing's opposing psychosocial process, one where social, psychological, and emotional well-being as well as mental health are all low (see, for example, Keyes, 2013). (Wehmeyer & Dunn, 2022, p. 15)

Dunn (2015) has previously identified some perspectives shared between positive psychology and rehabilitation psychology, where the latter field's purpose is to leverage research, practice, advocacy and education to promote well-being among disabled individuals and people with chronic health conditions.

According to Cruikshank (1999) the will to empower features the will to citizenship as a way of becoming a citizen through technologies of health embedded in discourses of positive psychology. In that sense, a democratic citizenship then becomes different from the biological citizenship by subscribing to different understandings of what it means to become a citizen in relation to the will to health and the will to empower, which draws upon two different registers of being, which collapses into an understanding of the democratic citizenship as embedded in a nurtured biology resulting in a division between fit and unfit subjects.

Cripping as Resistance: Alternative Corporeal Creativities

Resistance to ablenationalism emerges through cripping practices that challenge standardisation regimes and create alternative spaces for bodily expression. These practices reject the normative demands of improvement economies while developing condition-based rather than general norms. Counter-eugenic spaces and practices offer alternatives to traditional therapeutic interventions, emphasising collective experience over individual optimisation.

The historical intersection of disability and queerness provides fertile ground for resistance strategies. As Puar (2009) notes, disabled bodies have been historically produced as "already queer", creating natural alignments for coalition-building and shared resistance. This

intersection offers powerful opportunities for challenging normative assumptions about bodies, abilities, and citizenship.

Effective resistance to ablenationalism requires moving beyond traditional identity-based approaches to disability politics. The shift from a "disabled subject" to a "prognostic subject" (Puar, 2009) disrupts conventional narratives about disability and challenges linear assumptions about improvement and recovery. This temporal disruption of ability/disability binaries creates space for alternative understandings of embodiment and capability.

Resistance to ablenationalism must operate at both individual and collective levels, challenging the improvement economy's endless demands while creating alternative values and lifestyles that embrace discontinuity. Collective responses to individualised therapeutic regimes become crucial in building effective opposition to neoliberal ability-based citizenship.

Cripping ablenationalism reveals the complex interplay between disability resistance movements and neoliberal political economies. Effective resistance requires moving beyond individual empowerment to collective action that challenges the foundations of neoliberal ability-based citizenship. This analysis suggests that meaningful change demands a fundamental rethinking of how society values and understands bodily difference, moving away from market-driven optimisation toward more inclusive and collective forms of embodiment and citizenship.

Crip Theory: Challenging Ableist Paradigms Through Critical Disability Studies

> The contemporary US-NATO "culture of war" has its roots in European colonial history. European colonization, starting in the late 15th Century, was invariably supported by military conquest, violence, and political subordination. A colonial economy was established. The civilization and national identity of conquered countries were in many cases, destroyed. "Western cultural values" as well as the symbols, customs, and language of the colonizers were imposed. The colonial system ultimately led to the establishment of hegemonic relations, leading up to the consolidation of the British empire in the 18th and 19th centuries, followed by US neo-colonial expansionism in the late 19th century and in the wake of World War I. What is significant is that this culture of colonial violence inherited from the British empire has a bearing on the nature of contemporary US foreign

policy, which in large part is predicated on militarization at a global level. (Chossudovsky, 2023, p. 40)

With this quotation from Michel Chossudovsky (2023), I will repeat his words as a demarcated closing of this article: "The World is at a dangerous crossroads. A culture of war and military conquest is upheld. War is presented to public opinion as a peace-making endeavor which will ultimately result in the spread of Western democracy" (p. 35). When war becomes the political argument for peace-making, in order to be able to spread Western values, i.e. democracy, we approach some kind of a paradox, where the solution offered to peace-making is war. This paradox of offering war as a peace-making solution coins the paradox that underlines ablenationalism and the following of ablenationalist politics. Refusal of our queer/crip bodies as perpetual objects of professional labour provides a model of resistance wherein the ways our bodies function does not lead us to fall prey to regimes of standardisation, as we now find ourselves encouraged not to conform to a general norm but rather condition-based norms that others who presumably share our disability group establish: "This is really nothing but a move from a medical model based on an elusive average body to a therapy-based norm of an elusive average disabled body" (Mitchell & Snyder, 2015, p. 221). A disabled body that confines to notions of the able-disabled body echoing the ablenationalist agenda.

The intersections of "disabled and queer" subject formations are historically present through the production of disabled subjects as already queer bodies:

> Queer disability studies has taken up these issues, pushing at the boundedness of bodies, by exploring the 'mutation' or deviance of a body that is purportedly whole and organic. While it has generally pursued these questions around the subjectivities and political agendas that are and ought to be produced through the intersections of subject formations like "queer" and "disabled" (that is, queer disabled subjects or disabled queer subjects), these intersections push at the definitional boundaries of each term. In large part, this is because these intersections remind us certainly at the very least because they remind us of the historical entanglements that have produced disabled bodies as already queer (both in their bodily debilities and capacities but also in their sexual practices regardless of sexual object choice) as well as queer bodies that are allegedly intrinsically debilitated. (Puar, 2009, pp. 164-165)

Taking up the notion of *cripping* of the ableism in order to "reorient critique away from bodies and towards inadequately adapted environments" (Mitchell & Snyder, 2015, p. 204), bands of crip/queer people have produced viable alternatives to consumptive models of capital and the expulsion of bodily imperfection in order to envision a meaningful contrast of lifestyles, values, and investments adapted to life as discontinuity and contingency.

Robert McRuer's (2006) crip theory emerges at the intersection of disability studies and queer theory, offering a radical reimagining of bodily difference and social organisation. As a theoretical framework, it moves beyond traditional disability rights approaches to question fundamental assumptions about normalcy, ability, and embodiment. I examine crip theory's theoretical foundations, its relationship to contemporary biopolitics, and its potential for resisting ablenationalist paradigms.

Crip theory builds upon both disability studies and queer theory while developing its distinct theoretical trajectory. Drawing from McRuer's (2006) seminal work, crip theory positions compulsory able-bodiedness as analogous to compulsory heterosexuality, revealing how both systems operate to naturalise certain bodies and experiences while marginalising others. The theory challenges the medical model's individualisation of disability and the social model's sometimes rigid impairment/disability binary. Central to crip theory is its rejection of rehabilitation imperatives and what Alison Kafer (2013) terms "curative time"—the assumption that disability necessarily requires intervention and cure. Instead, crip theory advocates for what Mitchell and Snyder (2015) describe as "alternative corporeal creativities" that embrace bodily difference and reject normative standards of function and appearance.

Crip theory's analysis of contemporary biopolitics reveals how neoliberal governance operates through what Puar (2017) terms "debility and capacity". Rather than viewing disability as a fixed category, crip theory examines how bodies become differentially valued through their capacity for productivity and improvement. This reveals how contemporary therapeutic regimes create new forms of social sorting and control. The theory particularly challenges what Mitchell and Snyder (2015) term "ablenationalism" as the selective incorporation of certain disabled bodies into nationalist projects while maintaining broader ableist structures. This critique reveals how neoliberal inclusion often requires disabled subjects to approximate able-bodied norms, creating new hierarchies within disability communities.

Crip theory (McRuer, 2006) emphasises intersectional analysis, examining how disability intersects with other axes of difference including race, age, gender, sexuality, and class. This

approach reveals how different bodies become differently marked as "disabled" or "able" based on their social positioning. Particularly significant is crip theory's examination of how racial capitalism produces disability through environmental racism, unequal access to healthcare, and differential exposure to violence.

Perhaps most significantly, crip theory offers frameworks for resistance and alternative futures. Rather than seeking inclusion in ableist institutions, crip theory advocates for what Merri Lisa Johnson (2014) calls "crip world-making"—the creation of alternative social arrangements that centre disabled experience and knowledge, i.e. "cripistemologies". Crip theory's implications for disability politics are profound. By questioning fundamental assumptions about progress, cure, and normalcy, it offers new ways of conceptualising disability justice. This approach moves beyond rights-based frameworks to question how ability itself is constructed and valued. The theory particularly challenges contemporary therapeutic citizenship regimes that require constant self-improvement and optimisation. Instead, it advocates for what Eli Clare (2017) terms "brilliant imperfection"—an embrace of bodily difference that rejects normative standards of function and appearance.

Crip theory offers crucial tools for understanding and resisting contemporary ableism. By revealing how compulsory able-bodiedness operates alongside other systems of normalisation, it enables new forms of coalition-building and resistance. As neoliberal governance increasingly fragments and commodifies disabled bodies, crip theory's emphasis on collective resistance and alternative futures becomes increasingly vital. The theory's radical potential lies in its ability to question fundamental assumptions about progress, improvement, and human value. In doing so, it offers frameworks for imagining and creating more just and sustainable futures that embrace rather than erase bodily difference. As disability politics continues to evolve, crip theory's insights become increasingly crucial for understanding and resisting contemporary forms of ableism and biopolitical control.

I follow Puar (2009) emphasising that critical disability studies moves beyond its current imbrication in Euro-American identity-based rights politics—from the subject of disability to the subject of prognosis:

> Jain offers, but does not develop, the proposition that "living in prognosis" might be usefully deployed to re-tool disability studies beyond its current imbrication in Euro-American identity-based rights politics, moving us—as she suggests— from the disabled subject to the prognostic subject, from the subject of disability

to the subject of prognosis, thus changing the category of disability itself, while temporally decomposing the common disability activist mantra: "you're only able-bodied until you're disabled". Prognosis time, then, "severs the idea of a time line", puts pressure on the assumption of an expected life span—a barometer of one's modernity—and the privilege one has or does not have to presume what one's life span will be, hence troubling any common view of life phases, generational time, and longevity.

(Puar, 2009, pp. 165-166)

Depathologisation as a Counterpoint to Ableism

In order to address a new position in Critical Disability Studies, I follow Goodley's (2024) approach to depathologisation as a critical mode of engagement with disability. In his article "Depathologising the University", Goodley (2024) develops a critical framework addressing the exclusion of disabled people within university settings. Goodley positions this work as a response to what he views as the limitations of current Equality, Diversity and Inclusion (EDI) initiatives, which often marginalise disability concerns. The author argues that universities perpetuate both colonial legacies and ableist architectures, creating environments that privilege whiteness and able-bodiedness.

Goodley (2024) examines two student campaigns—the "Rhodes Must Fall" movement challenging colonial monuments at Oxford University and disabled student protests at the University of Birmingham—to illustrate how universities maintain exclusionary practices. Through these examples, he introduces two complementary modes of engagement: decolonisation and depathologisation. The latter represents Goodley's novel contribution, referring to challenging the medical model of disability that positions disability as an individual problem or pathology requiring accommodation rather than viewing disability as a generative force for institutional transformation.

The paper introduces "Disability Matters", a six-year research program across five countries that positions disability as "the driving subject of inquiry" (Goodley, 2024, p. 7) rather than a passive object of research. This project aims to promote inclusive university environments and challenge ableist research cultures. Drawing on Zondi's (2022) framework for decolonisation,

Goodley explores how concepts like relationality, mutual humanity, communalism, and humane excellence might inform depathologising practices.

Goodley concludes that depathologisation offers several opportunities for reimagining university environments, including centring disability as the authority rather than the problem; promoting disability studies literacy across curricula; confronting systemic ableism and disablism; encouraging forms of "tiny revolt" (Arndt, 2021) that question established norms; and embracing intersectional engagement that recognises the complex relationships between racial and disability justice work.

The article positions disability not as a deficit requiring accommodation but as a disruptive and productive force that can transform universities into more inclusive institutions serving their civic purpose of welcoming all community members.

In their article "The Depathologising University", Goodley, Liddiard, and Lawthom (2025) advance an original affirmative proposition: that the university is already engaging in depathologisation. Building on Goodley's (2024) earlier work that positioned depathologisation as a critical mode of engagement with disability in university settings, the authors argue that academics, researchers, and professional colleagues are actively working to challenge ableist and disablist practices within higher education institutions.

The authors frame depathologisation as a counterpoint to ableism that draws lessons from decolonial scholarship. While careful not to conflate ableism and colonialism, they position depathologisation as a parallel practice that, like decolonisation, seeks to transform institutional structures. Drawing on la paperson's (2017) work on the decolonising university, the authors view depathologisation as "building a decolonising machine out of colonising scraps" (p. 121).

Through a methodologically innovative approach of "composite conversations", the authors reflect on their experiences as principal investigators and research leaders of three funded research projects. Their analysis identifies three key themes that demonstrate depathologisation in action:

1. *Pushing back at university bureaucracy towards co-production*: The authors describe how they navigate complex bureaucratic processes to meaningfully include disabled people's organisations (DPOs) in research, positioning this as a form of "grudging acts" (Bottero, 2023) that simultaneously work within and against institutional constraints.

2. *Critically appropriating the performative university*: The article examines how researcher's appropriate performative measures like career development frameworks to center disability and support disabled researchers, transforming these measures from potential barriers into opportunities for inclusion.

3. *Enabling access as colleague*: Rather than viewing access as an institutional problem, the authors reconceptualise it as a valued colleague participating in and transforming research environments.

The article problematises depathologisation by acknowledging that it is "dirty work" (la paperson, 2017, p. 43), especially for disabled colleagues who must navigate institutions that do not expect their presence. The authors resist romanticising depathologisation, describing it as "deeply emotional, conflictual, draining, uncertain, experimental and risky labour" (p. 130). They also address the tension between maintaining a critical stance toward the university while working within it, noting the critique they have received for "toxic positivity" (p. 129).

This work emerges at a particularly challenging moment marked by what the authors describe as "the mainstreaming of far-right politics, an unfolding economic crisis in higher education and a global backlash against EDI or DEI" (Hamilton, 2024; Taix & AFP, 2024, p. 130). The authors position depathologisation as a necessary response to these challenges, emphasising that it requires collective action across the university. This points towards a concluding remark emphasising a critical approach to *ablenationalism* as a move from the subject of disability to the subject of prognosis to the subject of depathologisation.

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The Global Market of Disability Recognition

Examining the Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program's International Expansion

Tine Fristrup

Abstract

This study critically examines the international expansion of the Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program as a case study in the global commodification of disability recognition systems. Through Carol Bacchi's "What's the Problem Represented to be (WPR)" framework and analysis of ablenationalist structures, this research investigates how market-driven disability recognition programs intersect with cultural imperialism, economic disparities, and institutional power dynamics. The study reveals how commercial distribution networks often reinforce existing global inequalities, while the standardisation of disability identification across borders risks undermining local cultural approaches to disability support. Analysis of institutional implementations demonstrates how voluntary identification tools can become instruments of institutional control, particularly in care settings where staff adoption of identifiers creates complex power dynamics that potentially undermine resident autonomy. The research identifies significant concerns regarding the program's ableist underpinnings, including the burden of continuous self-identification and the reinforcement of medical model approaches to disability. Findings indicate that while standardised recognition systems may offer immediate practical benefits, their commercial implementation raises critical questions about accessibility, cultural sovereignty, and economic justice. The study concludes by proposing alternative frameworks centred on disability justice principles, emphasising the need for community-led solutions that balance international recognition with local autonomy and cultural preservation.

Keywords: Critical Disability Studies, ableism, globalisation, commodification, institutional power, cultural imperialism

Introduction

The internationalisation of the Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program[3] represents a significant case study in the global commodification of disability recognition systems. As this UK-originated program expands across borders, it raises critical questions about the commercialisation of accessibility, cultural imperialism in disability recognition, and the implications of standardising disability identification across diverse global contexts.

At the heart of this expansion lies a complex web of commercial interests driving the program's growth. The sunflower symbol, protected by international trademarks and licensing agreements, has become a commodified emblem of disability recognition. This commercialisation manifests primarily through corporate partnerships, with international airports and global retail chains serving as primary adoption points. The program's expansion follows market logic rather than disability-rights principles, with commercial viability often determining which regions receive access to the program.

This market-driven approach to accessibility creates significant disparities in program implementation. Economic barriers become particularly pronounced in Global South contexts, where licensing fees and implementation costs may prove prohibitive. The reliance on commercial distribution networks means that access to the program often follows existing patterns of global economic inequality, potentially reinforcing rather than alleviating disability-related disparities.

The cultural implications of this international expansion are equally concerning. The program effectively exports Western concepts of disability and identification across diverse cultural contexts, potentially undermining local understanding and approaches to disability support. Indigenous and non-Western disability cultures, which may have developed their effective systems of community support and recognition, face pressure to conform to this standardised, commercial model.

Power dynamics in this global expansion deserve particular scrutiny. The program has spread and often reflects and reinforces existing global power structures, with Global North institutions controlling the means of disability recognition. Local disability organisations, which may deeply understand their communities' needs and cultural contexts, often find

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[3] https://hdsunflower.com/ (December 2024)

themselves sidelined or forced to adopt external systems rather than developing locally appropriate solutions.

The standardisation inherent in the program's international expansion raises additional concerns. While standardisation can facilitate recognition across borders, it risks erasing the nuanced ways different cultures understand and express disability. The assumption that a single symbol can effectively communicate disability across all cultural contexts reflects a problematic universalism that may ignore crucial cultural differences in disability expression and support.

Economic disparities significantly impact the program's global implementation. The commercial nature of the program means that access often depends on the ability to pay, creating a tiered system of disability recognition that reflects and reinforces existing economic inequalities. This commodification of accessibility tools raises fundamental questions about the ethics of privatising disability recognition systems.

However, alternative approaches to international disability recognition exist. Some communities have developed local autonomy models that maintain control over disability identification systems while respecting cultural practices. Rights-based frameworks, operating through international disability-rights standards rather than commercial mechanisms, offer another potential approach. These alternatives often emphasise cultural integration and community leadership rather than standardised commercial solutions.

Moving forward requires fundamental reforms to address these issues. Structurally, control over disability identification systems needs decentralisation, with more significant support for local disability organisations and the development of non-commercial distribution networks. Cultural preservation must be prioritised, protecting local disability cultures and indigenous practices while maintaining diversity in support systems.

Economic accessibility demands particular attention. Removing commercial barriers, establishing public funding mechanisms, and ensuring equitable distribution systems are crucial steps toward universal availability. These reforms must balance the benefits of international recognition with respect for local autonomy and cultural diversity.

The future of international disability recognition requires moving beyond commercial models to support diverse, community-led solutions. This means developing systems that facilitate

cross-border recognition while respecting local cultures and ensuring universal access. Success requires careful attention to power dynamics, economic equity, and cultural preservation.

The internationalisation of the Sunflower Program ultimately serves as a cautionary tale about the risks of commodifying disability recognition systems. While the program's aim of facilitating disability recognition across borders has merit, its commercial implementation raises significant concerns about accessibility, cultural imperialism, and economic justice. Moving forward requires developing more equitable, culturally sensitive approaches prioritising disability rights over market interests.

True global accessibility cannot be achieved through commercial expansion alone. Instead, it requires developing systems that respect cultural diversity, ensure economic accessibility, and maintain community control while facilitating international recognition. This means moving beyond the current model of commercialised disability recognition toward more equitable, culturally responsive solutions that centre the needs and rights of disabled people across all contexts.

This article examines the complex implications of commercialising disability recognition systems internationally through a WPR approach.

A Critical Analysis of Disability Recognition Programs

Analysing disability recognition programs requires a sophisticated theoretical framework to address the complex interplay between institutional power, individual agency, and social recognition. This examination integrates Bacchi's (2009) "What's the Problem Represented to be?" (WPR) approach with critical disability theory and institutional analysis to examine how disability recognition schemes operate within and are transformed by institutional contexts. Bacchi's WPR approach, grounded in post-structural policy analysis, provides a critical framework for examining how "problems" are constructed through policy interventions. As Bacchi and Goodwin (2016) argue, policies do not simply address pre-existing problems but actively create particular understandings of what constitutes a "problem". This perspective aligns with what Tremain (2005) identifies as the governmental nature of disability categorisation, where institutional practices actively produce particular forms of disabled subjectivity.

The WPR approach comprises six interrelated questions:

1. What's the problem represented to be?

2. What presuppositions underlie this representation?

3. How has this representation come about?

4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation?

5. What effects are produced by this representation?

6. How/where has this representation been produced, disseminated, and defended?

As Bacchi (2012) elaborates, these questions provide a methodological framework for examining how policy "problems" are constituted through governmental practices and discourses. The WPR approach intersects productively with critical disability theory in several ways:

1. Problem Construction and Power Relations

Following Foucault's (1977) analysis of power-knowledge relations, the WPR approach examines how "problems" are constructed through institutional practices. This aligns with what Campbell (2009) terms "the ableist project," where disability is constructed through normative institutional frameworks. As Goodley (2014) argues, these constructions reflect broader social and political power relations that shape how disability is understood and managed.

2. Governmentality and Institutional Practice

The WPR framework's emphasis on governmentality (Bacchi, 2016) resonates with what Mladenov (2020) identifies as the institutional management of disability. This perspective reveals how recognition schemes, while ostensibly empowering, can function as what Rose (1999) terms "technologies of governance."

3. Intersectional Analysis

The WPR approach facilitates what Meekosha and Shuttleworth (2009) term "intersectional analysis" in disability studies. This allows examination of how disability intersects with other

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axes of difference, supporting what Thomas (2007) describes as complex embodiment in institutional contexts.

The integration of WPR with critical disability theory produces several methodological considerations:

1. Analysis of Problem Representations

Following Bacchi and Bonham (2014), analysis must examine:

- Discursive practices that construct "problems"

- Power relations embedded in problem representations

- Effects of particular problem representations on subjects

2. Critical Examination of Assumptions

The framework requires investigating what Garland-Thomson (2011) terms "the infrastructure of normal" and examining how institutional practices normalise particular understandings of disability.

3. Historical Analysis

Following Bacchi's (2012) emphasis on genealogy, the analysis must examine how particular problem representations have emerged historically, aligning with what Shakespeare (2006) identifies as the social construction of disability categories.

This integrated theoretical framework reveals several critical insights:

1. Production of Disability Subjects

Recognition programs, through what Butler (2004) terms "practices of recognition", actively produce particular forms of disabled subjectivity. As Tremain (2015) argues, these practices reflect broader power relations in disability governance.

2. Institutional Translation

The framework reveals how institutional implementation transforms voluntary recognition schemes through what Powell and DiMaggio (1991) term "institutional isomorphism", where practices become standardised across organisational contexts.

3. Power and Resistance

Following Bacchi's (2009) emphasis on effects, the analysis must examine both intended and unintended consequences of recognition schemes, including what McRuer (2006) identifies as possibilities for resistance and subversion.

Integrating Bacchi's WPR approach with critical disability theory provides a robust framework for analysing disability recognition programs. This theoretical synthesis reveals how such programs operate as governance technologies while identifying possibilities for resistance and transformation.

The Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program: A Critical Analysis

The Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program, conceived as a voluntary identification system for individuals with non-visible disabilities, undergoes significant transformation when implemented within institutional contexts. This analysis employs Bacchi's WPR framework to examine how institutional settings fundamentally reshape the program's nature and implications, drawing from critical disability theory (Goodley, 2013), institutional analysis (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991), and governmentality studies (Rose, 1999).

This analysis synthesises multiple theoretical perspectives:

- Bacchi's (2009) WPR approach to policy analysis

- Foucauldian perspectives on institutional power (Foucault, 1977)

- Critical disability theory (Goodley, 2013; Shakespeare, 2006)

- Institutional theory (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991)

- Intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1989; Moodley & Graham, 2015)

Question 1: What's the Problem Represented to be?

The institutional implementation of the Sunflower Program represents multiple interconnected "problems":

1. Institutional Efficiency

- The need for standardised identification systems

- Requirements for efficient resource allocation

- Communication challenges across shift changes

2. Care Management

- Coordination of support services

- Risk management requirements

- Documentation needs

As Tremain (2005) argues, such institutional representations often reflect broader biopolitical imperatives rather than individual needs.

Question 2: What Presuppositions or Assumptions Underlie this Representation?

Following Bacchi's framework, several key assumptions emerge:

1. Epistemological Assumptions

- Visual identification improves care delivery

- Standardisation enhances institutional efficiency

- Quick recognition leads to better support

2. Ontological Assumptions

- Disabilities are stable, categorisable phenomena

- Institutional categorisation benefits residents

- Visual identifiers effectively communicate complex needs

These assumptions reflect what Oliver (1990) terms the "individual model" of disability, prioritising medical and administrative frameworks over social and rights-based approaches.

Question 3: How has this Representation Come About?

The institutional translation emerged through:

1. Historical Context

- Evolution of medical models of disability (Barnes & Mercer, 2010)

- Development of institutional care practices

- Regulatory requirements in care settings

2. Power Relations

- Professional dominance in healthcare settings (Freidson, 2001)

- Institutional authority structures

- Regulatory frameworks

Question 4: What is Left Unproblematic?

Critical silences include:

1. Power Relations

- Institutional authority over individual autonomy

- Professional dominance in decision-making

- Systemic barriers to self-determination

2. Rights Issues

- Privacy implications

- Consent complexities

- Agency limitations

These silences reflect what Mladenov (2020) identifies as persistent tensions between care and control in institutional settings.

Question 5: What Effects are Produced?

Following Bacchi's categorisation:

1. Discursive Effects

- Reinforcement of medical models

- Creation of new institutional categories

- Transformation of voluntary tools into management mechanisms

2. Subjectification Effects

- Production of institutional subjects

- Transformation of identity frameworks

- Alteration of staff-resident relationships

3. Lived Effects

- Changes in care delivery

- Modified spatial access

- Transformed social relationships

These effects align with what Tremain (2005) describes as the production of disabled subjects through institutional practices.

Question 6: How/Where is this Representation Produced, Disseminated and Defended?

The institutional representation is maintained through:

1. Formal Mechanisms

- Care protocols

- Training programs

- Documentation systems

- Quality assurance frameworks

2. Informal Practices

- Professional cultures

- Institutional routines

- Communication patterns

This analysis reveals how institutional implementation transforms voluntary identification programs into governance mechanisms, supporting Foucault's (1977) analysis of institutional power and Shakespeare's (2006) critique of medical model approaches. The institutional translation of the Sunflower Program exemplifies broader tensions between individual autonomy and institutional efficiency in disability services. Future policy development must address these tensions while ensuring institutional practices do not override individual rights and dignity.

Institutional Translation and the Politics of Recognition

The institutional implementation of disability recognition schemes presents complex theoretical and practical challenges that intersect with fundamental questions of power, autonomy, and rights. This essay examines how the Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program, conceived initially as a voluntary identification system, undergoes significant transformation when translated into institutional contexts. Drawing from critical disability theory, institutional analysis, and Foucauldian perspectives on power, we analyse how institutional implementation reshapes the program's nature and implications for disability recognition and rights.

The transformation of voluntary identification programs within institutional settings reveals fundamental tensions between individual autonomy and institutional imperatives. As Tremain (2005) argues, institutional practices often reflect broader biopolitical imperatives that can override individual agency and choice. The Sunflower Program's institutional implementation exemplifies what Shakespeare (2006) identifies as the persistent tension between medical model approaches and rights-based frameworks in disability services.

Within institutional settings, the program's voluntary nature becomes compromised by what Rose (1999) terms "governance through freedom", where choice becomes an institutional control mechanism. The identifier transitions from a tool of personal agency to what Foucault (1977) would recognise as an instrument of institutional surveillance and categorisation. This transformation reflects broader patterns in what Oliver (1990) describes as the institutionalisation of disability management.

The institutional context fundamentally reshapes how knowledge about disability is produced and maintained. Following Powell and DiMaggio's (1991) institutional theory, we observe how professional practices, and organisational routines transform voluntary identification into standardised institutional processes. This transformation aligns with what Freidson (2001) identifies as professional dominance in healthcare settings, where expert knowledge supersedes individual experience.

The program's implementation creates what Goodley (2013) terms "new disability subjects", where institutional categorisation intersects with individual identity in complex ways. This process reflects broader patterns in what Barnes and Mercer (2010) describe as the medicalisation of disability experience, where institutional efficiency precedes personal autonomy.

The institutional translation of the Sunflower Program reveals complex intersectional dynamics that affect both implementation and impact. Following Crenshaw's (1989) intersectional framework, we observe how multiple axes of difference—including age, gender, race, and class—interact with disability status in institutional settings. These interactions create what Moodley and Graham (2015) term "compound marginalisation", where institutional practices can amplify existing social inequalities.

The program's implementation in care settings highlights what Mladenov (2020) identifies as the tension between care and control in institutional environments. This tension becomes especially apparent in how different institutional spaces create varying meanings for the identifier, reflecting what Kitchin (1998) terms the "spatiality of disability".

The institutional translation of voluntary identification programs reveals broader theoretical implications for disability studies and institutional analysis. First, it demonstrates what Hughes and Paterson (1997) identify as the embodied nature of institutional power relations, where visual identification becomes integrated into systems of institutional control. Second, it exemplifies what Thomas (2007) describes as the psycho-emotional dimensions of disablism, where institutional practices affect not only physical access but also identity and self-conception.

The analysis suggests several critical areas for policy intervention. Following Shakespeare's (2006) rights-based approach, institutions must develop robust frameworks for protecting individual autonomy within standardised care systems. This aligns with what Drake (1999) identifies as the need for transformative rather than adaptive approaches to disability policy.

Additionally, institutions must address what Priestley (1998) terms the "organisational construction of dependency", where institutional practices can reinforce rather than challenge disabling barriers. Barnes (2012) describes this as a fundamental reform of institutional cultures and practices.

The institutional translation of the Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program reveals fundamental tensions between individual rights and institutional imperatives in disability services. This analysis demonstrates how well-intentioned recognition schemes can become instruments of institutional control, supporting broader critiques of medicalised approaches to disability management. In the future development of similar programs, institutional power dynamics must be carefully considered while individual rights and agency protection are ensured.

A Complex Case Study in Disability Recognition

The Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program, while widely celebrated as an innovative solution for individuals with non-visible disabilities, presents a complex case study in disability policy and social intervention. Through Carol Bacchi's (2009) "What's the Problem Represented to be" (WPR) approach, we can unpack the underlying assumptions, implications, and unaddressed aspects of this increasingly popular initiative. At its core, the Sunflower Program represents the primary problem of recognition and identification. The program suggests that the fundamental challenge faced by individuals with hidden disabilities is the inability of others to recognise their need for assistance or accommodation. This seemingly straightforward framing carries significant implications for how we understand and address disability in public spaces. The program's underlying assumptions reveal a particular worldview about disability and social responsibility. By creating a voluntary identification system, the program presupposes that visibility is necessary for appropriate social response and that the burden of identification should rest with disabled individuals. This approach aligns with a medical model of disability, which focuses on individual conditions rather than societal barriers. While this may provide immediate practical benefits, it potentially deflects attention from more systemic issues. The historical context of this problem representation is significant. The program emerged from the commercial aviation industry's efforts to improve customer service, gradually expanding into retail and public spaces. This origin story reflects broader trends in disability advocacy and service provision, where market-driven solutions often precede rights-based approaches. The program's rapid adoption across various sectors demonstrates both its perceived utility and the persistent challenges faced by individuals with non-visible disabilities. However, several critical aspects remain unproblematic within this framework. The program does not address structural barriers, systemic discrimination such as ableism, or the fundamental power dynamics between service providers and disabled individuals. The economic aspects of accessing identifiers, privacy concerns, and the right to non-disclosure are similarly overlooked. Moreover, the intersectional experiences of disability, particularly when combined with other marginalised identities, receive insufficient attention.

The effects produced by this representation are multifaceted. Discursively, the program reinforces certain understandings of disability that emphasise individual identification over systemic change. It creates new categories of disabled people—those who participate in the program and those who do not—potentially introducing new forms of discrimination. The lived effects range from improved immediate access to assistance to increased surveillance and

potential commodification of disability identification. The program's representation is produced and maintained through various channels, including commercial partnerships, social media campaigns, and training programs. This dissemination network reflects the program's hybrid nature as both a social initiative and a commercial product, raising questions about the role of market forces in disability advocacy and support.

Despite these criticisms, the program's practical benefits cannot be dismissed. Many individuals report positive experiences with the sunflower lanyard, noting improved access to assistance and reduced social friction in public spaces. However, these individual successes should not overshadow the need for more comprehensive reform.

Several policy recommendations emerge from this analysis. First, the program should be supplemented with initiatives addressing structural barriers and promoting universal design. Second, leadership and governance should meaningfully include disabled people. Third, economic barriers to accessing identifiers should be eliminated. Fourth, robust privacy protections and accountability mechanisms should be established.

The program also requires stronger integration with broader disability rights advocacy. While voluntary identification can serve immediate needs, it should not divert resources or attention from efforts to achieve systemic change. Training programs for service providers should emphasise disability rights and justice, not just recognition of the sunflower symbol.

The Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program represents the possibilities and limitations of individual identification-based solutions to disability exclusion. While it offers practical benefits for many, a more comprehensive approach to disability inclusion would address systemic barriers while maintaining useful identification options for those who choose them. This analysis suggests that while the program can be a valuable tool, it should be part of a broader toolkit for achieving disability justice rather than an end in itself.

The way forward requires balancing immediate practical needs with long-term systemic change. This might involve maintaining and improving the Sunflower Program while simultaneously developing complementary initiatives that address structural barriers and promote universal design. Only through such a comprehensive approach can we move toward a society that genuinely accommodates and includes all individuals, regardless of the visibility of their disabilities.

The Institutionalisation of Disability Recognition

The transformation of the Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program within institutional care settings represents a critical example of how voluntary identification tools can become instruments of institutional power and control. This essay examines how the institutional context fundamentally reshapes the program's nature, purpose, and implications for residents and staff. When the Sunflower Program enters institutional spaces, it undergoes a profound transformation from a voluntary identification tool to an institutional management instrument. This shift fundamentally alters the nature of rights and recognition within care settings. Individual choice becomes constrained by institutional parameters, while consent transforms from an active, ongoing process into a one-time institutional procedure. Privacy, originally a cornerstone of the program, becomes reframed as an issue of institutional data management rather than personal autonomy. The institutional setting creates a paradoxical situation where increased recognition through the lanyard can lead to decreased recognition of individual agency. As the identifier becomes integrated into formal care processes, it risks becoming another layer of institutional categorisation rather than a tool for personal empowerment. The bureaucratic nature of institutional care settings inevitably absorbs the Sunflower Program into its existing systems and processes. Care plans reference the identifier as a management tool, while quality metrics might incorporate identifier recognition into their measurements. This bureaucratic absorption extends to resource allocation, where the lanyard's presence or absence might influence support provision decisions. Professional practices undergo significant transformation as care workers develop new shorthand based on the identifier. Assessment procedures risk becoming overly reliant on visual cues, potentially bypassing a more comprehensive understanding of individual needs. The program becomes embedded in handover practices and documentation systems, creating new categories of institutional knowledge and memory. The institutional implementation of the program reveals complex power dynamics in how knowledge about disability is produced and maintained. Staff expertise, shaped by institutional requirements, often overshadows individual lived experience. The lanyard becomes "evidence" in institutional documentation, contributing to medical knowledge frameworks that dominate over personal understanding. These power dynamics manifest in spatial and temporal control, where the identifier influences movement through institutional spaces and regulates when and how support is provided. Different institutional zones create varying meanings for the identifier, embedding it within the institutional rhythm rather than maintaining its function as a tool of personal choice.

The institutional context amplifies intersectional challenges in significant ways. Age intersects with disability in elder care settings, creating complex layers of identity and need. Gender affects how the identifier is interpreted by staff, while cultural backgrounds influence how the program is understood and implemented. Economic status impacts access to alternative support options, and the presence of multiple disabilities creates complicated identification challenges that the program may not adequately address.

The institutional translation of the Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program reveals fundamental tensions between individual autonomy and institutional efficiency. While the program aims to enhance recognition and support for individuals with hidden disabilities, its implementation in institutional settings risks reinforcing existing power structures and limiting rather than expanding individual agency.

Policy development must address these tensions by establishing clear guidelines for voluntary participation, protecting privacy rights, and ensuring resident control over identifier use. Alternative approaches to institutional support need exploration, potentially focusing on systemic changes rather than individual identification.

The transformation of the Sunflower Program in institutional settings is a critical reminder of how well-intentioned recognition schemes can become instruments of institutional control. Future development of similar programs must consider the institutional context and its potential impact on individual rights and agency.

Staff Use of the Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Lanyard in Community Settings

The practice of staff wearing the Hidden Disabilities Sunflower lanyard during community visits represents a complex transformation of institutional power and disability representation in public spaces. This essay examines how this practice creates new forms of institutional control while potentially undermining the program's original purpose and effectiveness.

When staff members wear the Sunflower lanyard while accompanying residents into community settings, they extend institutional boundaries beyond the physical walls of care facilities. This extension creates what might be termed "mobile institutional spaces"—areas where institutional power and control follow residents into what should be public, non-institutional environments. The lanyard, designed initially as a tool for individual empowerment and recognition, transforms into a symbol of institutional authority and surveillance.

The practice creates a paradoxical situation where staff members simultaneously represent institutional authority and, by wearing the lanyard, claim a form of disability identity or expertise. This dual representation complicates power dynamics and potentially undermines residents' autonomy in community settings.

The staff's wearing of the Sunflower lanyard raises critical questions about identity appropriation and representation. Staff members, by wearing an identifier meant for individuals with hidden disabilities, effectively position themselves as authorities or representatives of hidden disability experience. This appropriation risks overshadowing residents' lived experiences and creates confusion about who the lanyard is meant to identify.

Moreover, this practice can lead to a form of institutional colonisation of disability identity, where the professional caregiver role becomes blurred with disability representation. The resulting confusion potentially undermines the program's effectiveness and credibility in public spaces. Perhaps most critically, staff use of the lanyard risks diluting the program's original purpose and effectiveness. When care providers and individuals with hidden disabilities wear the same identifier, it creates confusion about the lanyard's intended purpose and meaning. This confusion may lead to reduced public understanding of hidden disabilities and potentially decrease the program's effectiveness as a tool for individual recognition and support.

The practice also risks creating scepticism about the program's legitimacy. If the public observes staff members wearing what is meant to be an identifier of hidden disabilities, it might lead to questioning the program's authenticity and purpose, potentially harming those who genuinely need the recognition the lanyard is meant to provide.

The presence of lanyard-wearing staff also affects how residents interact with the broader community. Rather than facilitating independent community engagement, this practice risks creating mediated interactions where staff members become gatekeepers of resident-community relationships. The institutional authority signified by staff wearing the lanyard may influence how community members approach and interact with residents, potentially reducing opportunities for direct, unmediated community engagement.

For staff members, wearing the lanyard creates complications for their professional roles. They must navigate complex dual identities as institutional representatives and wearers of a disability identifier. This duality can create confusion about their authority and position, potentially compromising their ability to support residents in community settings effectively.

The practice of staff wearing the Sunflower lanyard during community visits reveals complex tensions between institutional power, disability representation, and community integration. While potentially well-intentioned, this practice risks undermining the program's effectiveness while simultaneously extending institutional control into public spaces. Moving forward, institutions must carefully consider how their practices affect the integrity of disability recognition programs and the autonomy of the individuals they support.

The solution likely lies in developing alternative approaches that maintain clear boundaries between professional roles and disability identification while supporting genuine community integration for residents. This might involve rethinking how staff members are identified in community settings and developing new protocols prioritising resident autonomy while maintaining necessary support structures.

Beyond the Lanyard: Reimagining Professional Support in Community Integration

The challenge of balancing professional support with resident autonomy in community settings requires a fundamental reimagining of how we conceptualise and implement support practices. This essay explores alternative approaches that maintain clear professional boundaries while fostering genuine community integration and resident autonomy. The traditional visibility of support staff in community settings often creates unintended barriers to genuine integration. Rather than relying on visible identifiers that risk extending institutional power into public spaces, we must develop nuanced approaches to professional presence. This might involve professional identification systems that clearly distinguish support roles without mimicking disability recognition tools for creating unnecessary visibility. Such systems could include discrete professional badges or digital identification that can be verified when necessary but does not dominate social interactions. The key is to ensure that professional presence supports rather than overshadows resident engagement with the community. At the heart of reimagined support practices lies the principle of resident autonomy. This requires moving beyond traditional support models where staff visibility and control are assumed necessities. Instead, support structures should be designed with flexibility and resident choice. Residents should be able to determine how and when support is visible, how staff identify themselves, and what level of support they receive in different community contexts.

This approach requires developing protocols allowing varying support visibility based on individual preferences and needs. Some residents prefer more distant support, while others need other assistance. Perhaps the most significant shift needed is from staff-mediated community interaction to developing natural community connections. This involves recognising that genuine community integration cannot occur through professional support alone. Staff roles should increasingly focus on facilitating direct relationships between residents and community members, gradually reducing their visible presence as these natural connections develop. Underlying these alternative approaches must be a deep awareness of power dynamics in support relationships. This requires ongoing training and reflection on how professional practices can enhance or inhibit resident autonomy. Staff need regular opportunities to examine their role in power dynamics and develop skills in power-aware support practices. These practices should include regular feedback mechanisms for residents to shape how support is provided and clear protocols for addressing power imbalances when they arise. This might involve regular reviews of support practices, resident-led evaluation processes, and continuous adjustment of support approaches based on resident feedback.

A common concern in developing alternative approaches is maintaining safety while promoting autonomy. This requires developing sophisticated risk assessment tools that prioritise resident independence while ensuring appropriate support is available. Emergency protocols must be redesigned to function without relying on visible staff presence, perhaps utilising technology or community support networks.

Moving beyond traditional models of visible professional support requires a fundamental shift in conceptualising community integration. Success lies not in finding new ways to identify staff but in reimagining the entire support relationship. This means developing approaches that:

- Prioritise resident autonomy and choice

- Minimise institutional presence in community spaces

- Foster natural community connections

- Maintain awareness of power dynamics

- Ensure safety without compromising independence

The path forward involves continuous evaluation and adjustment of these approaches, always keeping resident autonomy and genuine community integration as the guiding principles. We can only move beyond the limitations of current support models and create truly inclusive community experiences through such fundamental reimagining.

Ableist Underpinnings in the Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program

The Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program, while widely adopted as a solution for individuals with non-visible disabilities, reveals deeply embedded ableist structures when examined through Carol Bacchi's (2009) "What's the Problem Represented to be" (WPR) framework. This analysis explores how the program may inadvertently reinforce ableist paradigms and structures.

At its core, the program represents ableism primarily as an awareness issue, suggesting that discrimination against people with hidden disabilities stems from others' inability to recognise their conditions. This framing problematically reduces systemic ableism to individual recognition, overlooking the complex web of discriminatory structures that permeate society. The implicit suggestion that appropriate accommodation naturally follows visibility reveals a fundamentally ableist assumption that fails to acknowledge more profound institutional barriers.

The program's underlying presuppositions reflect deeply rooted ableist thinking. Perhaps most significantly, it places the burden of identification on disabled individuals, reinforcing the notion that disability must be "proven" to be legitimate. This framework privileges "the non-disabled gaze" as the standard through which disability must be validated, maintaining traditional power dynamics where disabled individuals must justify their existence and needs. Furthermore, while seemingly empowering, the program's voluntary nature implicitly suggests that accessibility is a special provision rather than a fundamental right.

The historical context that produced this representation of the problem reveals its embeddedness in ableist traditions. The program emerges from a medical model approach that individualises disability, combined with capitalist frameworks that commodify accessibility solutions. This heritage is evident in how the program continues historical practices of marking and categorising disabled bodies, albeit in a modernised, seemingly progressive form. While well-intentioned, corporate diversity initiatives and certain forms of social media activism have

sometimes reinforced these individual responsibility narratives rather than challenging systemic barriers.

Critically, numerous ableist structures remain unproblematised within this framework. The program does not address systemic education, employment, and public spaces discrimination. The emotional and psychological burden of constant self-identification goes unacknowledged, as does the fundamental power imbalance between disabled individuals and service providers. Economic exploitation through commodified accessibility solutions remains unchallenged, while the intersection of ableism with other forms of oppression receives insufficient attention.

The effects produced by this representation operate on multiple levels. Discursively, the program reinforces the notion that disability needs to be "proved", maintaining ableist power structures through supposedly voluntary identification. It creates new hierarchies within disability communities and validates "the non-disabled gaze" as authoritative. The subjectification effects position disabled people as responsible for managing ableism, creating categories of "good disabled people" who self-identify versus those who do not. This dynamic encourages internalised ableism through self-surveillance and continuous performance of disability legitimacy.

The lived effects of these representations manifest in the physical and emotional labour of constant identification, economic barriers to accessing the program, and potential increased discrimination and surveillance. Those who choose not to participate may face reduced accommodation while existing ableist hierarchies are strengthened. The psychological impact of continual disability disclosure creates an additional burden that remains largely unacknowledged.

This ableist framework is produced and maintained through various channels, including corporate disability training programs, marketing materials emphasising individual responsibility, and customer service protocols. The commercial nature of the program, with its partnerships and profit mechanisms, further embeds it within capitalist structures that have historically perpetuated ableist systems.

Anti-ableist reform requires both immediate actions and structural changes. The program's narrative must shift from individual identification to systemic change, while all economic barriers to participation should be eliminated. Disabled voices must be centred in program governance, and mandatory anti-ableism training must be implemented. More fundamentally,

parallel initiatives addressing systemic ableism need development alongside universal design standards and robust legal frameworks for disability rights enforcement.

The implications of this analysis are far-reaching. While the Sunflower Program offers immediate practical benefits for some individuals, its framework potentially strengthens ableist systems that require disabled people to prove and justify their existence constantly. True anti-ableist reform requires addressing systemic barriers while ensuring that identification programs remain optional, not de facto requirements for fundamental rights and accommodations.

This critical examination reveals the complex interplay between well-intentioned accessibility initiatives and deeply rooted ableist structures. The path forward requires balancing immediate practical needs with the imperative to dismantle systemic ableism. This might involve maintaining aspects of the Sunflower Program while simultaneously developing more comprehensive initiatives that address structural barriers and promote universal design. Only through such a nuanced approach can we work toward a society that truly challenges ableist assumptions and structures rather than merely making them more palatable.

The ultimate goal must be to create a world where disabled individuals do not need to constantly identify or justify their existence—a world where accessibility is understood as a fundamental right rather than a special accommodation. This requires moving beyond individual identification programs to address the root causes of ableism in our social, economic, and political structures.

Ableist Mechanisms and Alternatives in Disability Recognition Programs

The Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program operationalises ableism through several distinct mechanisms. First, the program's identification system creates a form of performative disability disclosure, where individuals must actively demonstrate their disability status to receive basic accommodations. This mechanism reinforces what disability scholars call "compulsory able-bodiedness"—the assumption that one must either be "normal" or marked as "other". While seemingly empowering, the program's voluntary nature creates a paradoxical form of coerced disclosure. As the program becomes widespread, individuals who choose not to participate may face increased barriers to accommodation, effectively making participation mandatory for those who need consistent access to support. This creates what can be termed "visibility pressure"—the implicit requirement to make one's disability visible to be considered legitimate.

Furthermore, the program's standardisation of disability signalling reinforces ableist notions of what disability "should" look like. The sunflower lanyard becomes a new form of "proper" disability performance, creating hierarchies between those who can or choose to perform disability in this sanctioned way and those who cannot or will not.

The relationship between visibility and disability rights within the program reveals complex power dynamics. The emphasis on visibility reflects what disability theorist Lennard Davis (1995) calls the "hegemony of normalcy"—the social power to determine who needs to be marked as different and how that marking should occur. The program's focus on making hidden disabilities visible operates within what scholars term the "politics of recognition". While recognition can be important for accessing rights and resources, the requirement for recognition often reinforces existing power structures. In this case, it maintains the privilege of non-disabled people to grant or withhold accommodation based on their recognition of disability markers.

This visibility paradigm also intersects with what Tobin Siebers (2004) calls "disability as masquerade"—the complex ways disabled people must navigate between hiding and revealing their disabilities. The Sunflower Program adds another layer to this masquerade, creating a standardised form of disability performance that may not align with individuals' lived experiences or preferences.

Alternative frameworks for accessibility that do not reinforce ableist structures could include:

Universal Design Implementation:

> - Designing all spaces and services to be inherently accessible
>
> - Eliminating the need for individual identification
>
> - Incorporating flexibility and adaptability as standard features
>
> - Prioritising multi-modal communication and interaction options

Rights-Based Frameworks:

> - Establishing accessibility as a fundamental right rather than a special accommodation
>
> - Creating legal enforcement mechanisms that do not require individual disclosure

- Developing proactive rather than reactive accommodation systems

- Centering disabled perspectives in design and implementation

Community-Based Solutions:

- Supporting disabled-led organisations and initiatives

- Creating collective advocacy structures

- Developing peer support networks

- Building disability culture and pride outside medical frameworks

Capitalism's Role in Perpetuating Ableist Frameworks

The commodification of accessibility through programs like the Sunflower initiative reveals capitalism's deep entanglement with ableist structures. This manifests in several ways:

Market-Based Solutions:

- Commercialisation of accessibility tools and identifiers

- Profit-driven distribution of disability recognition symbols

- Creation of new markets through disability identification products

- Privatisation of accessibility solutions

Economic Barriers:

- Cost barriers to accessing identification tools

- Financial burden of continuous self-identification

- Economic exploitation of accessibility needs

- Market-driven determination of which disabilities receive recognition

Corporate Co-optation:

- Transformation of disability rights into corporate diversity initiatives

- Commercialisation of disability awareness

- Marketing of accessibility as a consumer choice

- Reduction of systemic change to individual consumer decisions

The path forward requires moving beyond individual identification programs to address the root causes of ableism while maintaining practical support systems. This means developing new frameworks that centre disability justice, challenge capitalist exploitation, and create truly inclusive environments that do not require constant disability performance or proof.

Beyond Recognition: Transformative Approaches to Disability Justice and Accessibility

The Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program, while representing a well-intentioned step toward disability recognition, serves as a starting point for examining more transformative approaches to disability justice and accessibility. This essay explores successful alternative frameworks, intersectional perspectives, and practical pathways toward systemic change, drawing on global examples and disability justice movements.

International case studies demonstrate the possibility of more comprehensive, rights-based approaches to disability support. Sweden's personal assistance program is a compelling example of centring disabled people's autonomy. Rather than requiring visible markers or continuous proof of disability, the Swedish model provides assistance based on self-defined needs, offering direct payments for users to manage their support. This approach respects individual autonomy and creates sustainable employment in the care sector, demonstrating how disability support can contribute to the broader social good.

Japan's universal design movement offers another instructive model, showing how accessibility can be integrated into mainstream design rather than treated as an afterthought. Japanese public transportation systems, for instance, incorporate universal access features from the ground up, while technology development centres on inclusive use. This approach demonstrates how anticipating diverse needs can become a cultural standard rather than an accommodation.

Indigenous-led disability organisations in Canada provide another alternative framework, showcasing how community-based approaches can integrate cultural practices with accessibility needs. These organisations demonstrate the possibility of holistic support systems

that emerge from and remain accountable to affected communities rather than being imposed from outside.

The intersection of disability with other aspects of identity and social position creates complex challenges that require nuanced responses. Racial discrimination compounds disability-related barriers, affecting everything from access to diagnosis to recognition of symptoms. Economic factors create additional layers of exclusion, with cost barriers to medical documentation and professional advocacy limiting access to support. Gender expectations further complicate disability recognition, influencing how symptoms are perceived and treated within healthcare systems.

Practical implementation of more comprehensive approaches requires action at multiple levels. In the short term, existing systems can be modified to remove cost barriers, implement mandatory anti-ableism training, and establish disabled-led oversight. Medium-term transformations might include developing universal design standards and creating accessibility certification programs. Long-term systemic changes require fundamental transformations in education, healthcare, and built environments.

Disability justice movements have contributed essential theoretical frameworks and organisational models for this transformative work. Their emphasis on intersectionality, collective access needs, and interdependence challenges individualistic approaches to disability support. These movements have developed alternative organisational structures, including horizontal leadership models and mutual aid networks, demonstrating more equitable ways of organising support.

Cultural innovations from disability communities, including disability arts movements and alternative communication methods, challenge dominant narratives about disability and create space for new forms of expression and understanding. Concepts like "crip time" and disability pride practices offer alternative frameworks for understanding and valuing diverse ways of being.

Legislative and institutional reforms play crucial roles in supporting these transformations. Strengthening anti-discrimination laws, mandating universal design standards, and establishing robust enforcement mechanisms create the legal framework for change. Institutional transformations in healthcare, education, and workplace systems can build on this foundation.

Emerging technologies offer new possibilities for accessibility, though their development must be guided by disability justice principles to avoid reinforcing existing inequities. Artificial intelligence, virtual reality, and remote access solutions could expand accessibility options only if developed with and for disabled communities.

Economic restructuring represents perhaps the most fundamental challenge and opportunity. Universal basic income proposals, cooperative business models, and alternative economic frameworks could address the material barriers many disabled people face while challenging the capitalist productivity demands that often underlie ableism.

The path forward requires integrating these various approaches into a comprehensive strategy for change. This means supporting immediate practical needs while building long-term solutions, centring intersectional perspectives in all reforms, and focusing on systemic transformation. Success requires moving beyond single-program solutions to address the complex web of ableism, capitalism, and other systems of oppression that impact disabled lives.

Community development plays a crucial role in this transformation. Funding disabled-led organisations, supporting peer advocacy programs, and creating accessible cultural spaces build the infrastructure for sustainable change. These initiatives must be paired with broader cultural shifts that challenge ableist assumptions and promote new narratives of disability.

The future of disability justice and accessibility lies not in individual identification programs but in comprehensive social, economic, and cultural transformation. This requires a sustained commitment to disability justice principles, robust community accountability, and a willingness to imagine and create radically different ways of organising society. Through such integrated approaches, we can work toward a world where accessibility is understood not as an accommodation but as a fundamental aspect of social justice.

Ablenationalism, Global Expansion and Commodification
The Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program's international expansion represents a significant case study in the global commodification of disability recognition systems. Initially developed in the UK, the program's spread across international borders raises critical questions about the standardisation, commercialisation, and cultural implications of disability identification systems. The Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program's global expansion offers a compelling

lens through which to examine ablenationalism—the complex intersection of disability rights, national identity, and neoliberal citizenship. As this UK-originated program spreads internationally, it reveals how disability recognition becomes entangled with nationalist ideologies and market-based citizenship, often reinforcing existing global power structures while purporting to advance disability rights.

The program's foundation reflects specific Western, neoliberal conceptions of disability recognition that exemplify ablenationalist thinking. By positioning the UK as a "progressive" leader in disability rights and exporting this model globally, the program reinforces particular ideas about what constitutes proper disability citizenship. This process creates and maintains hierarchies of disability recognition tied to national identity, where the "good disabled citizen" voluntarily participates in official recognition schemes and performs disability visibility in standardised, state-sanctioned ways.

As the program expands internationally, it manifests ablenationalism through the creation of transnational expectations for disability performance. Countries compete to demonstrate their "progressive" status through program adoption, transforming disability rights into national branding. This competition reinforces the idea that disability inclusion is a marker of national advancement rather than a fundamental human right, creating a hierarchy where wealthy nations control and define the parameters of disability recognition.

The economic dimensions of ablenationalism become particularly apparent in the program's commercial structure. Disability recognition becomes tied to consumer participation, with access dependent on market engagement. This market-based citizenship creates significant disparities in program implementation, reflecting and reinforcing existing global economic hierarchies. Wealthy nations not only control the recognition systems but shape how disability rights are understood and implemented globally through their economic power.

The cultural implications of this ablenationalist framework are profound. The program privileges Western disability concepts while marginalising alternative cultural approaches to disability understanding and support. Local disability cultures, which may have developed effective recognition and support systems, face pressure to conform to standardised, Western-centric models. Thus, the program promotes national values, with countries demonstrating their "progressiveness" by adopting Western disability recognition paradigms.

However, resistance to these ablenationalist frameworks exists. Local communities challenge standardised identification systems by developing alternative recognition methods and preserving cultural disability practices. These resistance movements demonstrate the possibility of recognition systems that operate outside the constraints of nationalist and neoliberal frameworks. Rights-based approaches, community-controlled identification systems, and cultural preservation initiatives offer alternatives to the current model.

Moving beyond ablenationalist frameworks requires fundamental structural changes. Control over disability recognition needs to be decentralised by national authorities and returned to local communities. Neoliberal citizenship requirements must be challenged, and non-national frameworks for rights must be developed. This transformation requires supporting diverse cultural approaches to disability while resisting standardisation pressures that serve nationalist interests.

The cultural dimension of this transformation is equally crucial. Challenging ablenationalist assumptions means recognising how national identity shapes our understanding of disability rights and working to preserve local disability practices. It requires developing truly international, rather than transnational, solutions that respect cultural diversity while ensuring universal access independent of citizenship status.

True disability justice necessitates moving beyond the limitations of ablenationalist frameworks. This means creating recognition systems that respect cultural diversity, challenge national competition, support local autonomy, and ensure universal access. The current expansion of the Sunflower Program demonstrates both the pervasive influence of ablenationalism and the urgent need to develop alternatives.

The path forward requires recognising how deeply ablenationalist thinking has shaped disability recognition systems while working to create more equitable and inclusive approaches. This means developing systems that centre disability justice rather than national pride, prioritising universal access over market participation, and respecting cultural diversity rather than imposing standardised Western models.

Success in this transformation requires sustained attention to power dynamics at national, economic, and cultural levels. It means supporting local disability communities in developing their recognition systems while ensuring these systems can communicate across borders without reinforcing nationalist hierarchies. Only through such comprehensive reform can we

move beyond ablenationalist frameworks toward genuinely equitable and inclusive disability recognition systems.

Beyond National Pride: The Global Politics of Disability Recognition

The intersection of disability rights, national identity, and global power structures reveals complex patterns of ablenationalism in contemporary disability recognition systems. The Hidden Disabilities Sunflower Program's international expansion provides a compelling case study of how disability rights become entangled with national pride, economic power, and cultural imperialism. This analysis examines how ablenationalism manifests across different national contexts, shapes resistance movements, and intersects with other systems of oppression.

The manifestation of ablenationalism varies significantly across national contexts, reflecting local political and cultural dynamics. In the United Kingdom, as the program's originator, ablenationalism appears in the marketing of disability rights leadership as part of post-Brexit national identity construction. The UK positions its approach to disability recognition as universally applicable, leveraging achievements in disability rights for international prestige. This reflects a broader pattern of using disability inclusion as evidence of national advancement and moral leadership.

The United States presents a distinct variation of ablenationalism, incorporating the Sunflower Program into existing ADA compliance frameworks while emphasising private sector leadership as evidence of American exceptionalism. This approach reflects deeply held national beliefs about market-based solutions and individualistic notions of citizenship. The American context demonstrates how ablenationalism can merge with corporate interests to create particular forms of disability recognition that reinforce both national pride and market dominance.

Australia's implementation of the program reveals yet another manifestation of ablenationalism, integrating disability recognition within the national mythology of the "fair go" while using disability inclusion to counter criticism of other human rights issues. The Australian context demonstrates how disability rights can be selectively emphasised within national narratives while other forms of exclusion persist.

Countries in the Global South face distinct pressures within this ablenationalist framework. Many are forced to adopt Western models of disability recognition to demonstrate "development" and "modernity", often at the expense of indigenous understanding and practices. Economic barriers to program implementation create new hierarchies of access, while pressure to demonstrate "modern" approaches to disability can lead to the displacement of effective local support systems.

However, resistance to these ablenationalist frameworks emerges in various forms. Indigenous communities have developed alternative approaches to understanding body-mind differences within cultural frameworks, rejecting individualistic identification models favouring community-based support systems. These approaches often emphasise collective responsibility and cultural integration rather than individual identification and market-based solutions.

Global South initiatives have created alternative frameworks emphasising collective approaches to disability support and integrating disability recognition within existing social structures. These initiatives often prioritise community knowledge and cultural practices over standardised Western models. Grassroots movements have developed alternative identification systems, mutual aid networks, and cultural pride initiatives that challenge the dominance of nationalist and market-based approaches.

The intersection of ablenationalism with other systems of oppression reveals additional complexities. Racial hierarchies shape access to and recognition within official disability identification systems, while class dynamics influence individuals' ability to perform disability in officially sanctioned ways. Gender expectations create different patterns of recognition and barriers to access, while colonial legacies continue to influence the global expansion of Western disability concepts.

Moving beyond ablenationalist frameworks requires both immediate reforms and long-term structural transformation. Immediate changes must include removing commercial barriers to access, supporting local initiatives, and recognising diverse approaches to disability support. Longer-term transformation requires dismantling nationalist frameworks of disability rights, creating genuine community control over recognition systems, and ensuring universal access independent of national or economic status.

Cultural transformation plays a crucial role in this process. Challenging nationalist pride in disability rights achievements requires recognising and valuing multiple ways of understanding

and supporting disability. This means moving beyond standardised Western models to support diverse cultural expressions and community knowledge.

The future of disability recognition lies in developing systems that can facilitate cross-border support while respecting cultural autonomy and ensuring universal access. This requires attention to local specificity and global connectivity, creating frameworks that accommodate diverse understandings of disability while ensuring practical support across contexts.

Success in this transformation requires sustained attention to power dynamics at national, economic, and cultural levels. It means supporting local disability communities in developing their recognition systems while ensuring these systems can communicate across borders without reinforcing nationalist hierarchies. Only through such comprehensive reform can we move beyond ablenationalist frameworks toward equitable and inclusive disability recognition systems that serve the needs of disabled people rather than national pride.

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Internationalisation and Digitalisation for Students with Special Educational Needs (SEN)

Emphasis on Malaysian Inclusive Classroom Guidelines

Nor Amalina Rusli

Abstract

In today's fast-changing world, digitalisation and internationalisation have become imperative to promote inclusive education, particularly for Special Educational Needs (SEN) students. Through the utilisation of various digital tools and platforms, educational establishments can establish connections with students internationally beyond the limitations of time and place. This chapter will provide the process of digitalisation and internalisation at home in constructing inclusive classrooms for SEN students, with a particular emphasis on Malaysia's educational guidelines. In this context, it will examine the difficulties and future directions of implementing internationalisation at home strategies and present recommendations for their successful application. Therefore, to ensure that this writing is relevant to the Malaysian context, a main reference from the Malaysian Ministry of Education, which was published in 2018, known as "Guidelines for Inclusive Education Program Students with Special Needs'" will be the main reference. These guidelines serve as a framework for implementing inclusive education, and this chapter will link each of these guidelines to digitalisation and internationalisation. Malaysia may work towards developing a comprehensive and internationally competitive education system by integrating inclusive education standards into the framework of digitalisation and internationalisation. This integration will support international cultural interaction while simultaneously meeting the varied demands of SEN students and preparing them for a digital world that is changing quickly (Humphreys, 2023). Subsequently, the application of the concept is examined through the policy delineated by the Ministry of Education in Malaysia.

Keywords: Digitalisation, internationalisation, special educational needs, inclusive classroom, guidelines

Introduction

As the world grows more interconnected, digitalisation and internationalisation have seeped into every aspect of learning, particularly in the context of teaching SEN students. The advent of digitalisation has caused a significant change in how education is provided and accessed worldwide. The learning requirements, accessibility, and participation, particularly through digital tools, have become quite significant for SEN students. Moreover, teachers can adapt their lessons to meet the unique requirements of their students by using technology by providing the tools needed to succeed both academically and socially. Different materials, such as educational applications and assistive technology devices, are helpful to support SEN students in accessing information in a way that is most appropriate to their abilities. In addition, through technology, there is effective communication between the teachers, parents, and other professionals that leads to the establishment of a multi-faceted support structure for the SEN students in and out of the classroom. Education has also been internationalised, and the best practices, policies, and other resources have been shared with the common aim of enhancing the learning of all learners. Therefore, in keeping with worldwide patterns and the process of integration, Malaysia has the opportunity to improve the standard and fairness of education for SEN students and secure its availability. Collaboration between countries allows teachers and other interested parties to utilise proven strategies and recommendations for promoting the inclusion of SEN students and addressing their unique requirements, regardless of cultural or geographical disparities.

The Malaysian Ministry of Education has established standards that are moulded to the country's specific circumstances, with the goal of fostering inclusive education for SEN students. The process of delivering inclusive education in Malaysia started by acknowledging the rights of children with special needs to education. This was in compliance with international policies such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) and the Salamanca Statement, which aim to promote education for all across the world. In Malaysia, the Persons with Disabilities Act 2008 and the Education Act 1996 serve as the legal foundations that govern the adoption of inclusive education. This practice has been enhanced through the formulation of social inclusion policies and guidelines by the Ministry of Education (MoE). For example, a framework for the inclusion of SEN students in mainstream schools has been established under the Special Education Regulations of 1997. Now, the most recent guideline for inclusive education in Malaysia, known as *Garis Panduan*

Program Pendidikan Inklusif Murid Berkeperluan Khas (Guidelines on the Implementation of Inclusive Education Programme for Students with Special Needs)," attempts to provide teachers, administrators, and legislators with comprehensive instructions and best practices (Special Education Division, 2018). The guidelines can be used as an educational standard to provide a suitable learning environment that encompasses all SEN students.

The expansion of these guidelines is rooted in the Universal Design for Learning (UDL) principles, which advocate for learning environments that incorporate various ways of presenting information, taking action, and engaging students. Additionally, the internationalisation and digitalisation of inclusive classroom guidelines can be applied to enhance Malaysia's efforts to provide an equitable education for SEN students. Thus, Malaysia can continue to work towards equalising opportunities for all students - with learning disabled or not - to reach their full potential by influencing various digital technology advancements, facilitating global knowledge and expertise exchange. The combination of internationalisation, digitalisation and the principles of an inclusive classroom, as outlined in this paper, holds significant promise in facilitating and enriching the learning experiences of SEN students in both Malaysian and global settings. Consequently, teachers and policymakers can foster an efficient learning environment and students' chances for academic achievement in the digital age by promoting creativity, cooperation, and involvement.

Definition of Internationalisation and Digitalisation

Internationalisation and digitalisation are pivotal concepts in the contemporary global landscape, profoundly influencing various sectors, including business, education, and governance. Internationalisation refers to the process by which businesses, institutions, or other entities expand their operations beyond domestic borders to operate on a global scale (Hooley et al., 1998). This process involves adopting strategies that cater to international markets, including cultural adaptation, foreign investment, and global partnership development. In education, internationalisation encompasses the integration of an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions, or delivery of postsecondary education (Knight, 2004). This can manifest through student and faculty exchanges, international research collaborations, and the incorporation of global perspectives into curricula. The ultimate goal of

internationalisation is to enhance global competence and foster mutual understanding across cultures.

Digitalisation refers to the integration of digital technologies into everyday activities, fundamentally transforming how organisations operate and deliver value to customers. digitalisation involves adopting tools such as cloud computing, big data, artificial intelligence, and the Internet of Things (IoT) to optimise processes, improve efficiency, and create new business models (Bharadwaj et al., 2013). In education, digitalisation includes using digital tools to enhance teaching and learning experiences, such as online courses, educational apps, and virtual classrooms. It also encompasses the digital transformation of administrative processes, enabling more efficient management and communication within educational institutions. Internationalisation and digitalisation are two sides of the same coin in today's world, as they have driven the networking process across continents, leading to the global spread of technology. If organisations and institutions embrace globalisation, then they will be able to stand in the light of global challenges while enhancing their innovative practices (Altbach & Knight, 2007). With this effect in place, future education landscapes will produce a more technologically literate, more connected society.

Special Educational Needs (SEN) Students

Special Educational Needs (SEN) students are a heterogeneous population in educational environments. They include people with a range of physical, cognitive, sensory, emotional, and behavioural disabilities who need extra assistance to succeed in school and in social situations. SEN students involve appreciating the difficulties that these students have and the need to ensure that extra assistance is given to enable them to grow to their full potential. SEN students present numerous compelling features and behaviours due to the great variability of SEN students. These needs can include learning disabilities, intellectual disabilities, developmental peculiarities, or developmental disorders such as autism spectrum disorder (ASD) (Department for Education, 2015). Moreover, SEN students could suffer from physical disabilities, sensory losses, or medical issues that affect them in a learning environment. Besides, SEN students may experience emotional and behavioural issues such as ADHD or other emotional disturbances, making their learning profile more challenging. Thus, understanding the situation of SEN students and the difficulties they encounter is an important component of providing the

appropriate support and inclusion (Friend & Bursuck, 2019). These concerns may be displayed in scholastic functioning, interpersonal relationships, and emotional adjustment. Some SEN students can experience academic problems due to learning disabilities that involve reading, writing, or mathematical processes, which require extra teaching and learning help. From a social perspective, they may experience difficulties in developing and maintaining friendships, speaking and being emotional, and managing personal behaviours that make them feel lonely or unaccepted. Furthermore, there are certain emotional conditions or a lack of proper emotions that can affect the learning process and activity within educational environments, including anxiety, depression, or frustration.

The educational demands of SEN students necessitate a multimodal strategy that prioritises collaboration between teachers, families, and specialised specialists, as well as individualised support. SEN students receive Individualised Education Programmes (IEPs) to determine specific objectives, modifications, and support that would be necessary for the students (Sanches-Ferreira et al., 2013). The implementation of inclusive classrooms has also been proven to promote diversity, equity, and belongingness by fostering positive attitudes, adapting curriculum and instruction, and providing peer support systems. The implementation of inclusive classrooms enhances diversity, equity, and belonging by addressing issues of social inequities, modifying the curriculum and methods of teaching, and putting in place collaborative peer-support systems. SEN students require early intervention, especially in classroom teaching and differentiated instruction for proper outcomes. Hence, the identification of SEN students' needs at an early stage of the learning process allows one to prevent possible academic, social, and emotional difficulties (Strogilos et al., 2021). Differentiated instruction can be described as adapting the learning content, activities, and evaluation methods to the students' learning styles, needs, and preferences to allow all learners to participate fully in the learning process.

Inclusive Education in Malaysia
UNICEF (n.d.) has defined inclusive education as referring to all children in the same classrooms and in the same schools. It involves genuine educational possibilities for previously marginalised groups, such as children with disabilities and minority language speakers. Inclusive education in Malaysia is an educational approach that aims to ensure that all students,

regardless of their ability or background, have access to quality education in an inclusive learning environment. Thus, to ensure that this aim achieves its objective, Malaysia has several policies and legislation that support inclusive education. The Education Act 1996 (Act 550) provides a legal framework for education in Malaysia, including special education (Ozel et al., 2017). In addition, the Ministry of Education has introduced the Akta Orang Kurang Upaya 2008 (Disabled Persons Act 2008) to support the right of individuals with disabilities to receive education without discrimination (Ang, 2014). A more in-depth focus on inclusive education has been implemented under the Malaysian Education Development Plan 2013-2025 (Pelan Pembangunan Pendidikan Malaysia (PPPM) 2013-2025) as the main target to improve the quality of education (Don et al., 2015).

Thus, the Malaysian government has tried to implement several programmes and initiatives that can provide new opportunities for students with learning difficulties. The introduction of the Program Pendidikan Khas Integrasi (PPKI) or Special Integration Education Programme, was started in 1962, when at that time special integration education only focused on visually impaired students. In 1963, the opening of special integration education classes for hearing impaired students was implemented. Looking at the positive impact of the two integration classes implemented, in 1988 the Malaysian government started a pilot class for elementary students with learning disabilities throughout the country. Recognising the importance of students with learning difficulties studying alongside normal students, the Malaysian government has implemented the Program Pendidikan Inklusif (Inclusive Education Program) through a full inclusive and partial inclusive approach. Full inclusion refers to a situation where students with learning difficulties study full-time alongside mainstream students, with or without the help of support services. Meanwhile, students who follow partial inclusion study together with mainstream students for certain subjects and certain activities only. Partial inclusion of co-academic or co-curricular activities is based on their potential, talent, and ability.

The implementation of this inclusive programme will not be successful if there is no source of support from the government. The collaboration between the Malaysian Ministry of Education and the Malaysian Ministry of Higher Education has successfully opened a course known as the Master's Degree in Special Education for students who wish to continue learning at the

higher learning level in special education. The National University of Malaysia and the University Pendidikan Sultan Idris (UPSI) are two pioneer institutions of higher learning that offer special education degrees. In addition, opportunities are also open to postgraduates who have an interest in special education by opening a postgraduate course in special education, which has been implemented by the Institut Perguruan Guru Kampus Perempuan Melayu (Malay Women's Campus Teacher Training Institute) in collaboration with the Department of Special Education (Jabatan Pendidikan Khas, 2022). Apart from focusing on teachers, the Malaysian government also focuses on learning aids, including teaching aids, learning technology, and curriculum modifications. The Malaysian Ministry of Education has issued a circular letter on the guidelines for special education learning support equipment and materials (Ministry of Education, 2024). The main objective of these guidelines is to ensure that SEN students receive high quality and relevant education.

Malaysia's Inclusive Classroom Guidelines

The main objective of writing this article is to link internationalisation, digitalisation, SEN students and inclusive classrooms to the *Garis Panduan Program Pendidikan Inklusif Pelajar Berkeperluan Khas* (Guideline for Inclusive Education Programme for Special Needs Students), which was issued by the Malaysian Government in 2018. This guide focuses on the importance of inclusive education, the provision of appropriate support, the use of technology and learning resources and also the provision of resources and infrastructure. In the guidelines, the Malaysian Ministry of Education (MoE) has provided a holistic model that has twelve elements (Figure 1) to ensure that learning in inclusive classes takes place successfully. Through these twelve elements of the holistic model, the focus and significance of internationalisation through digitalisation for SEN students and inclusive classrooms will be discussed.
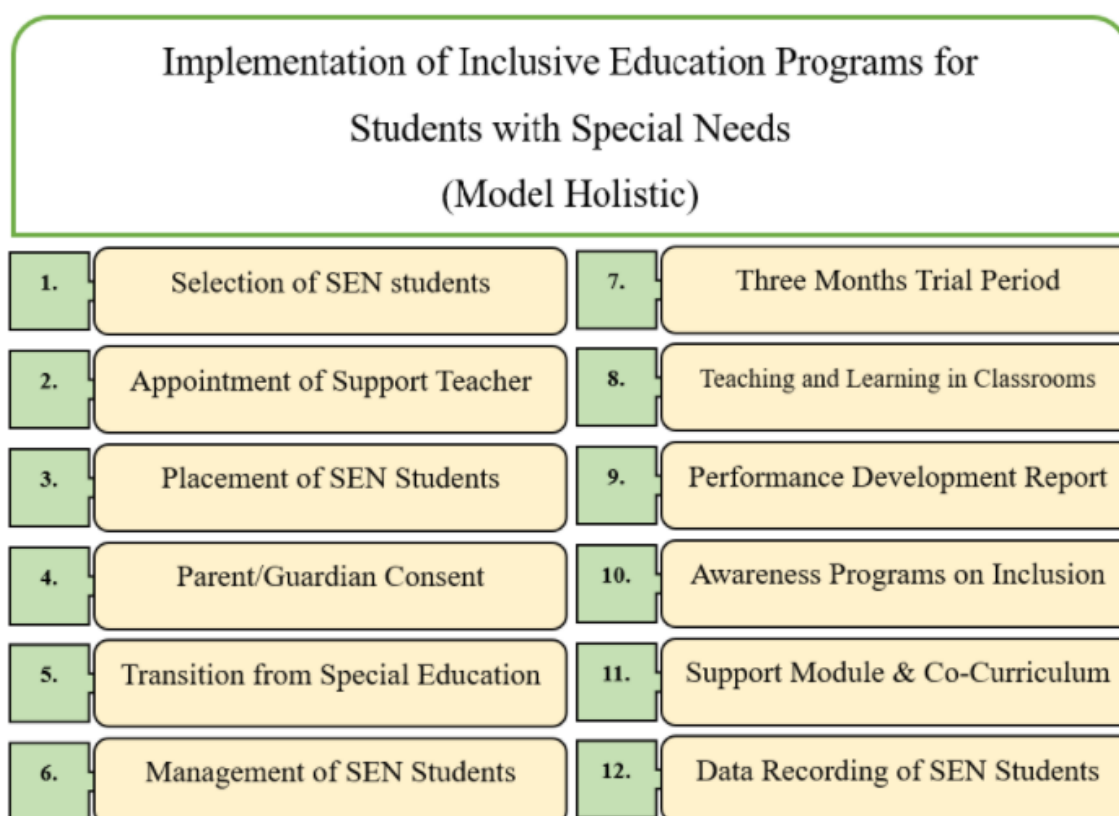
Implementation of Inclusive Education Programs for Students with Special Needs (Model Holistic)

1.	Selection of SEN students	7.	Three Months Trial Period
2.	Appointment of Support Teacher	8.	Teaching and Learning in Classrooms
3.	Placement of SEN Students	9.	Performance Development Report
4.	Parent/Guardian Consent	10.	Awareness Programs on Inclusion
5.	Transition from Special Education	11.	Support Module & Co-Curriculum
6.	Management of SEN Students	12.	Data Recording of SEN Students

Figure 1: Holistic Model of Implementation of Inclusive Education

Programmes for SEN students

Selection of SEN students to the Inclusive Education Programme

The selection of SEN students for the inclusive education programme in Malaysia has become an important focus in efforts to strengthen the country's education system. As stated in the guidelines, the process of selecting SEN students for inclusive classes begins when the children are in preschool or between the ages of 5 and 6. This selection process not only follows international trends, but also addresses the local needs of SEN students. The selection of SEN students for inclusive programmes reflects the country's seriousness in complying with the principles of human rights and educational opportunities. This also involves building teacher capacity and implementing a professional development plan that strengthens the international aspect of inclusive education. In addition, the transition to digitisation also has a big impact on the selection of students for inclusive programmes due to increased demand for digital learning platforms and tools (Bujang et al., 2020). The use of technology opens up new opportunities in

the delivery of curriculum that suits the needs of each student and achieves the international standard. SEN students can be given additional support through applications and digital platforms that facilitate access to learning materials. This not only improves equality in education, but also gives students the opportunity to develop the technological skills that are important in the future digital economy. Furthermore, it provides a nurturing environment that supports the holistic development of all students, creating a more inclusive, empathetic, and well-rounded society

Appointment of Support Teacher and Resource Teacher

In the guideline, the Malaysian government also outlines the appointment of support teachers and resource teachers. Support teachers and resource teachers work together with class teachers to adapt teaching methods and teaching aids to suit the needs of students. In addition, these teachers provide continuous guidance and supervision to students, including helping them manage their behaviour and emotions. Support teachers and resource teachers are teachers who have special education qualifications either from within the country or abroad. These teachers are trained to identify and address a wide range of learning needs. According to a study by Bt Abdullah & Razak (2014) on teachers' acceptance of in-service training and relevant components of in-service training programmes, this programme can support teachers' professional growth and development. Therefore, these needs become more complex in an internationalised context due to varying educational backgrounds and learning styles. Support teachers employ differentiated instruction and personalised learning plans to cater to the unique needs of each student, ensuring equitable access to education. Internationalisation offers teachers opportunities for professional growth through exposure to diverse educational practices and philosophies. Participating in international conferences, workshops, and online professional networks allows them to share their expertise and learn from global peers (Kowalczuk-Walędziak & Underwood, 2023). This continuous exchange of knowledge and best practices enriches their professional skills and enhances their ability to support students effectively. Moreover, support teachers are at the forefront of embracing and promoting cultural diversity within schools. Working with students from diverse cultural origins enables them to contribute to the development of an inclusive environment that values and respects individual diversity. Their proficiency with culturally sensitive teaching methods guarantees that every student, irrespective of their background, gets the assistance they require to thrive both academically and socially.

Placement of SEN Students in Inclusive Classroom

Designing inclusive classes that integrate SEN students into the mainstream is an important step in ensuring that all students receive a fair and equitable education. Research shows that inclusive education helps break down barriers and reduces the stigma associated with disabilities. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), this setting helps to build empathy, respect, and understanding among students, which is crucial for the social development of both SEN and non-SEN students (UNESCO, 2020). In this effort, the school's special education committee in Malaysia plays an important role in ensuring that inclusive classes meet the set standards. The two main aspects that need attention are internationalisation and digitalisation in the implementation of inclusive classes. Internationalisation refers to the acceptance and adaptation of inclusive education practices from around the world. The setting of inclusive classes that follow the age cohort of mainstream pupils or with a maximum difference of one year, is in line with international practice that promotes shared learning in a diverse environment. This ensures that SEN students do not feel isolated and can build social skills with their peers. Also, appropriate class sizes need to be carefully considered. In the international context, there are various models that show the effectiveness of smaller classes and are adapted to the needs of SEN students, which can be used as a reference. Digitalisation also plays an important role in supporting inclusive education. The use of technology in the classroom can help teachers adapt to the needs of each student. For example, adaptive learning software and mobile applications can be used to provide teaching materials that are modified according to the students' level of understanding. This not only helps SEN students follow lessons better, but also encourages them to be more independent in their learning. Teachers also play an important role in ensuring that SEN students get appropriate placement. Completing special needs student placement letters and obtaining consent from parents is an important step to ensure that all parties are involved in their children's education process. Effective communication between teachers, parents, and the School's Special Education Committee is key to the success of an inclusive classroom.

Parent/Guardian Consent

The advent of the digital age has exposed children to various online platforms and services, making parental consent a crucial safeguard against potential risks such as cyberbullying, inappropriate content, and privacy breaches. As children are exposed to more online platforms and services, getting parental approval is essential to shielding them from possible risks such

as improper content, cyberbullying, and privacy violations. The Personal Data Protection Act 2010 in Malaysia places great emphasis on the importance of seeking parental consent before collecting, processing, or revealing personal information of minors, thus ensuring their safety and overall well-being in the online environment. In addition, the "Child Online Protection" campaign by the Malaysian Communications and Multimedia Commission (MCMC) emphasises the significance of parental supervision and approval in reducing online risks for children (ECPAT, INTERPOL and UNICEF, 2022). Similarly, in the context of internationalisation, parental consent plays a crucial role when minors engage in activities like studying abroad, taking part in international competitions, or travelling by themselves. Malaysia's legal framework mandates that minors obtain parental consent in order to acquire passports or travel internationally, ensuring parental involvement and oversight in their children's global pursuits. Moreover, organisations and institutions that facilitate international programmes often require explicit consent from parents to comply with legal regulations and ensure the well-being of minors. However, the implementation and enforcement of parental consent in Malaysia face challenges, especially in the digital realm, despite the existence of legal frameworks and regulatory mechanisms. Difficulties arise from the absence of standardised procedures for obtaining digital consent and the presence of online platforms that lack sufficient safeguards, making it challenging for parents to effectively supervise their children. With the rapidly changing digital and global landscape, it is necessary to make concentrated efforts in raising awareness, streamlining procedures, and reinforcing enforcement mechanisms to effectively protect and empower minors in the digital era.

Transition from the Integration Special Education Programme to the Inclusive Education Programme

The transition from an integrated special education programme to an inclusive education programme is a major advancement in ensuring that every SEN student has access to education. This transition is essential for fostering an environment that respects diversity and promotes SEN students' academic and social development. Furthermore, SEN students are frequently isolated in the traditional integration special education programme, which gives them distinct educational experiences that may limit their chances for social engagement and academic advancement. While integration allows SEN students to participate in some general education activities, it does not fully include them in all aspects of school life. On the other hand, inclusive education aims to fully integrate SEN students into general education classrooms, where they

learn alongside their peers without disabilities. This approach is grounded in the belief that all students should have access to the same educational opportunities regardless of their abilities. Inclusive education benefits all students by providing greater access to the general curriculum and promoting higher expectations and academic achievement. Research shows that SEN students in inclusive settings often achieve better academic outcomes and show improved social skills compared to those in mainstream classrooms (Hehir et al., 2016). For SEN students, inclusive education fosters a sense of empathy and understanding, helping them to appreciate diversity and develop social skills necessary for living in a diverse society. Moreover, inclusive education aligns with international human rights standards, such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, emphasising the right to inclusive education (United Nations, 2006). Schools may show their dedication to social justice and equity by adopting inclusive education, which ensures that all students have the assistance they require to succeed.

Management of SEN students in the Inclusive Education Programme

The evolution of inclusive education, particularly for SEN students, has taken significant strides in recent years and is driven by internationalisation and digitalisation. This transformation is evident in how teachers introduce students to inclusive classrooms, select inclusive peers, and ensure regular monitoring by authorities. One of the critical elements of inclusive education in Malaysian guidelines is the effective introduction of SEN students to mainstream classrooms. Teachers play a pivotal role influencing SEN students' acceptance and success in an inclusive environment (Garrote et al., 2020). By leveraging international best practices, teachers can adopt strategies that have been proven effective globally. These strategies may include preparing an inclusive classroom environment, sensitising other students about inclusivity, and developing individualised transition plans that cater to the specific needs of SEN students. The selection of rakan inklusif or inclusive peers for SEN is a crucial step that requires careful consideration. This selection is typically done with the consensus of the class teacher, subject teachers, special education teachers, and sometimes, the students themselves. The chosen peers should exhibit empathy, patience, and a willingness to assist their classmates with special needs. Through internationalisation, educators can access a broader range of criteria and methods for selecting inclusive peers, drawing from global success stories and inclusive education models. Moreover, regular monitoring by educational authorities is essential to ensure the successful implementation of inclusive education

programs. This oversight ensures that the needs of MBK are being met and that inclusive practices are being adhered to effectively. Internationalisation brings about a standardisation of monitoring protocols, allowing for a more uniform approach across different regions and countries. Digitalisation further enhances this process by enabling real-time monitoring and data collection. With digital tools, authorities can conduct frequent assessments, gather feedback from teachers and students, and track the progress of SEN more efficiently.

Three Months Trial Period for SEN students in Inclusive Classroom

The concept of inclusive education strives to ensure that SEN students are integrated into mainstream classrooms to receive equitable educational opportunities. The introduction of a three-month trial period for SEN students within these inclusive classrooms is of significant importance for several reasons. The trial period allows teachers and school administrators to assess the feasibility and effectiveness of integrating SEN students into mainstream settings. This initial phase provides an opportunity to evaluate the level of support required by each student, the adaptability of teaching strategies, and the overall impact on both the student and their peers. By closely monitoring progress throughout this period, teachers can make well-informed decisions about long-term placement and required modifications to support structures. The trial period fosters a supportive environment where adjustments can be made based on real-time observations and feedback from teachers, parents, and support staff. It encourages collaboration among stakeholders to identify and implement appropriate accommodations, modifications, and supplementary aids that enhance the learning experience for SEN students. This proactive approach addresses immediate challenges and promotes continuous improvement in inclusive practices. Furthermore, the trial period serves as a period of adjustment and acclimatisation for SEN students themselves. It allows them to familiarise themselves with new routines, social dynamics, and learning expectations within the mainstream classroom. This gradual integration minimises potential stress and anxiety, promoting a smoother transition and increasing the likelihood of long-term academic and social success (Mikami et al., 2013). Malaysia hopes to establish a welcoming and inclusive learning atmosphere where all students, regardless of ability, can flourish and realise their full potential by offering a structured trial period.

Teaching and Learning in Inclusive Classrooms

In inclusive classes, teachers use a student-centered approach, where each student's needs and abilities are considered. This is in line with the concept of a student-centred approach, especially in the use of technology in the classroom, which is proven to provide many benefits to teachers and students (Kerimbayev et al., 2023). Various teaching strategies, such as project-based learning, the use of digital teaching aids, and different teaching methods, are used to ensure that all students can follow the lesson effectively. For example, SEN students may be given aids such as special learning software or tablets equipped with educational applications tailored to their needs. In addition, special education teachers and subject teachers need to work together to plan and implement PdP, such as co-teaching, team teaching, and collaborative teaching, in a way that is appropriate according to the student's ability level. The Special Needs Student Performance Development Report is an important initiative in ensuring the successful implementation of the inclusive class concept. This report provides an ongoing assessment of SEN students' academic and social development. With an emphasis on internationalisation, this report adopts standards and best practices from the international education system, ensuring that Malaysian students receive an education on par with developed countries. In the context of digitalisation, this report utilises digital technology to collect, store, and analyse student performance data. Cloud-based learning management systems are used to facilitate access and information sharing between teachers, parents, and the administration. This facilitates the monitoring and evaluation process and allows for faster and more effective intervention when needed. In addition, this report's use of digital technology allows data to be analysed in more depth using algorithms and data analytics. This helps identify certain trends and patterns in student development, which in turn can be used to adjust teaching strategies to meet individual student needs more accurately.

Report on the Development of Performance

The performance development report of SEN students is an important element in evaluating and monitoring the educational progress of students who need special attention (Dickey, 2023). This report can be prepared weekly or monthly according to the needs of SEN students. Through the concept of internationalisation and digitalisation, this performance report can be prepared more efficiently and effectively. Internationalisation allows the adoption of best practices from various countries that have advanced education systems for handling SEN students. Adapting strategies and techniques from other countries can improve the quality of

performance reports. For example, the use of advanced assistive technology and the latest teaching methodology from countries such as Finland or Japan can be applied to improve the report form. Digitisation introduces the use of software and applications to prepare and manage reports. Teachers can use digital platforms to enter student performance data systematically and consistently. Software such as Microsoft OneNote, Google Classroom, and specialised applications for special education such as Boardmaker Online, can facilitate the process of automatically preparing and sending reports. This saves teachers time and ensures that the data collected is accurate and easy to analyse. The SEN students' achievement analysis form, prepared by the accompanying teacher every month, can also be improved through internationalisation and digitalisation. Internationalisation allows teachers to share and compare achievement data with peers around the world. This allows them to gain insights and suggestions to improve their teaching strategies. Digitisation allows for more in-depth data analysis through the use of analytical and data visualisation software. For example, applications such as Tableau or Power BI can be used to produce comprehensive and easy-to-understand analytics reports. SEN report records can also be stored in digital form in a file as a record through the concept of internationalisation and digitalisation. Digital storage facilitates systematic access to and management of records. Teachers can save records in cloud storage such as Google Drive or Dropbox which allows access from anywhere and at any time. Internationalisation enables the use of records management systems that have been proven to be effective at the global level, while digitisation ensures that the records are secure, easily accessible, and regularly updated.

Programmes to Raise Awareness about Inclusive Education

Awareness of inclusive education is important to ensure that each community and local community are aware of the situation and uniqueness of each SEN student. According to De Boer (2021), three variables or closest individuals can be associated with SEN students: teachers, parents, and classmates. Therefore, in discussing programmes that can increase awareness about inclusive education, three modules have been prepared to help schools implement programs with a strategic focus. The first module is teacher professional development training (inclusive education), which aims to increase all teachers' understanding and awareness of the implementation of inclusive education. Teachers will be exposed to teaching methods that are suitable for SEN students in the inclusive classroom. In line with education based on digitalisation nowadays, teachers can attend seminars, conferences online

and learn how special education teachers from other countries deliver the teaching and learning process in an inclusive classroom. Next, the parent module, which is the second module under the awareness program on inclusive education, refers to the role of parents in providing support to the school to ensure that the inclusive education program is implemented effectively. In the context of internationalisation through digitalisation, parents are advised to explore online platforms, forums, or social media groups that highlight the education of SEN students. This can be a valuable source of information and makes it possible to interact with parents and professionals in the field of special needs worldwide. The inclusive partner module provides knowledge about inclusive education programs to mainstream students and SEN students about appropriate awareness programs or activities.

Teaching and Learning Support Module and Co-Curriculum

Additional modules that have been developed to assist teachers in implementing inclusive education programs play an important role in supporting the diversity of student needs and ensuring effective teaching and learning. The two modules mentioned are Modul Kokurikulum Murid Berkeperluan Khas (Special Needs Pupil Co-Curriculum Module) and Garis Panduan Pengajaran dan Pembelajaran (PdP) Bahasa Arab, Jawi dan Al-Quran (Teaching and Learning Guidelines (PdP) for Arabic, Jawi and Al-Quran). Co-curriculum is part of holistic education that focuses on academic achievement and students' social, emotional, and physical development (Esa et al., 2014). Therefore, the Special Needs Pupil Co-Curriculum Module aims to strengthen the implementation of the co-curriculum in inclusive education. Using a digital approach, this module provides structured and flexible resources for co-curricular activities. This includes guides, teaching materials, and suggested activities that can be adapted to the needs of different students. internationalisation in this context enables the sharing of international best practices in the field of co-curriculum, strengthening standards and innovation in the provision of inclusive education. Meanwhile, the Teaching and Learning Guidelines (PdP) for Arabic, Jawi and Al-Quran focus on teaching Arabic, Jawi writing system, and studying the Al-Quran in the context of inclusive education. It integrates digital technology to provide learning materials that are more accessible and highly competitive. internationalisation in this context involves the application of international standards in the teaching of Arabic and the study of the Qur'an, as well as the dissemination of best practices from various countries. This module also contains inclusive teaching strategies to support SEN students in understanding and mastering the subjects. These two modules demonstrate a

commitment to increase accessibility, equality, and effectiveness in inclusive education by integrating digital technology and internationalisation principles. This allows teachers to deliver more effective and inclusive lessons to all students, regardless of their background or needs.

Data Recording of SEN Students in Inclusive Education

Data recording of special education students in the Inclusive Education Programme is important in ensuring the effectiveness of inclusive education in Malaysia. In the Inclusive Education Programme Guidelines, there are two types of inclusiveness: full and partial. These two inclusive types aim to provide special education students a suitable and effective learning environment (Abdullah, 2017). Digitisation plays an important role in this data recording process. With the advancement of technology, information systems and digital databases allow data recording to be done more efficiently and accurately. Data such as student attendance, academic performance, personal progress, and special needs can be easily recorded and analysed. This allows teachers, school administrators, and education authorities to make more informed and accurate decisions to meet the needs of each student. For example, through the use of digital platforms, teachers and parents can access information on academic performance and student development in real time. This not only facilitates the monitoring of student progress but also allows for early intervention if there are problems. In addition, digitalisation also allows data recording to be done more safely and securely, with appropriate personal data protection. internationalisation is also an important aspect in recording data of special education students. Through internationalisation, Malaysia can adopt best practices from other countries that have succeeded in implementing inclusive education. This includes the use of international standards in data recording and the integration of the latest technology in education. By referring to these best practices, Malaysia can ensure that the inclusive education programs implemented are of high quality and meet global standards. In addition, internationalisation enables the exchange of knowledge and experience between countries. This can enrich Malaysia's approach to inclusive education, as well as ensure that special education students have access to equal and fair education. Through collaboration with international bodies, Malaysia can also obtain the technical support and resources needed to improve the data recording system and the overall inclusive education programme.

Challenges and Future Directions

Garis Panduan Program Pendidikan Inklusif (Inclusive Education Program Guidelines) issued by the Malaysian Ministry of Education aims to ensure that SEN students have equal educational opportunities with other students. In an effort to achieve this goal, the two main aspects that are focused on are digitisation and internationalisation. Both of these aspects bring various challenges as well as opportunities that require special attention to ensure their successful implementation. Digitisation offers great opportunities in inclusive education, but it comes with its own challenges. One of the main challenges is the digital divide between students and teachers. Not all SEN students have access to sufficient digital devices and the internet. This causes them to lag behind in the learning process that is increasingly oriented towards technology. Furthermore, the accessibility of appropriate technology and software for SEN students is still insufficient. For example, software developed for digital learning may not be user-friendly for students with visual or hearing impairments. Teachers also face challenges in adapting to new technology. Many teachers need additional training to effectively integrate technology into their teaching. Without adequate training, digitisation efforts may not achieve the desired effect. Internationalisation in inclusive education brings challenges in terms of the uniformity of educational standards and culture. Every country has a different education system and culture. When inclusive programmes try to integrate elements from other countries, there is a risk of not fitting into the local context. For example, successful inclusive education strategies in developed countries may not be directly applicable in Malaysia due to differences in facilities, teacher training, and family support. In addition, language is also an obstacle to internationalisation. Many learning and teacher training materials are produced in English or other languages, and this may be difficult to understand for those who are not fluent in that language. The Malaysian Ministry of Education needs to take several strategic steps to overcome this challenge. In the context of digitalisation, improving the technology infrastructure in schools is important. Investment in digital devices and internet access should be increased to ensure that all SEN students have equal access. In addition, the development of user-friendly software and applications for SEN students needs to be improved. Teachers' training and professional development should also be given priority. Teachers need to be given comprehensive training in the use of technology and effective inclusive teaching strategies. This includes exposure to best practices from other countries that can be adapted to local contexts. In the aspect of internationalisation, efforts need to be made to adapt successful inclusive education strategies from other countries into the Malaysian context. This requires an in-depth study and collaboration with international experts.

Conclusion

Internationalisation and digitalisation greatly benefit SEN students in inclusive classrooms, in line with the Inclusive Education Program Guidelines issued by the Malaysian Ministry of Education. Digitisation provides accessible platforms and tools for all students, including those with special needs, to enjoy quality education without discrimination. Through digital technology, these students can interact with learning content tailored to their needs, encouraging active involvement in learning. One of the important elements of this guideline is the provision of digital learning aids that are adapted for SEN students. For example, screen reader software for students with visual impairments and interactive learning applications that make it easier for students with learning disabilities to understand complex concepts. With technology like this, teaching can be adjusted according to each student's ability level and learning style, ensuring that they do not fall behind in their studies. In addition, digitisation facilitates communication and collaboration between SEN students and their peers in inclusive classrooms. The use of online learning platforms allows SEN students to interact with their peers virtually, promoting a sense of togetherness and social inclusion. This aligns with the guidelines' goal, which is to create an inclusive learning environment and support the social and emotional development of SEN students. Internationalisation through digitalisation also opens up opportunities for SEN students to gain access to global learning resources. With the internet, students can access courses, modules, and educational resources from around the world, enriching their learning experience. This not only improves their knowledge but also gives them the opportunity to understand and appreciate different cultures and perspectives, in line with the spirit of internationalisation. However, to achieve maximum effectiveness, the implementation of digitisation in inclusive education requires continuous support from schools and parents. Training and technical support should be provided to teachers to ensure they are proficient in using digital tools in their teaching. Parents also need to be involved in this digital learning process to provide support at home. Overall, digitisation plays an important role in realising the internationalisation of education for SEN students. Effective support and implementation can ensure that all students get fair and quality educational opportunities that are in line with the guidelines set by the Malaysian Ministry of Education.

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Management or Mismanagement of Cultural Heritage Sites

A Regional Viking Case Study in Norway

Lasse Sonne and Umar Burki

Abstract

This article uses a UNESCO application case study in Vestfold, Norway to analyse the challenges of internationalisation in a home region as this relates to managing the development of a World Heritage Site. Relevant stakeholders are analysed using empirical material such as reports and conversations. The research questions are the following: who are the stakeholders, and what are their interests in a concrete case dealing with societal development through cultural heritage? Resource dependency and potential conflicts between stakeholders are analysed. The research findings based on a UNESCO application case study from Norway demonstrate that cultural heritage is an area with the involvement of many kinds of stakeholders, from public bodies to private actors and representatives of civil society such as history associations. The management of the area is complicated by the complexity of the actors involved, given their different interests and strengths, and by the resource dependency between these actors, which is based on assets that are difficult to analyse in the ways that management-related issues are usually analysed. The article thus stresses that there is a greater risk of mismanagement in cultural heritage than in, for example, more traditional private companies or public bodies.

Introduction

Internationalisation at home, in this case a region in Norway, is not without challenges. Considering the importance and relevance of the Viking Age in the European context, especially in the northern part of Europe, Viking heritage sites offer rich historical, cultural, and educational learning resources. The growing awareness of the exclusive heritage of the Viking Age lies behind the efforts for heritage Viking sites to be included in UNESCO's World Heritage List. Given the relative importance of the Viking Age in the European context, it was assumed that it would be easy for the Viking heritage sites, scattered in the north of the European continent and the United Kingdom, to be included in the UNESCO World Heritage List. In other words, it seemed that nominating Viking Age sites in Northern Europe for inclusion in this list would be rather unproblematic.

The reality, however, has been quite different. In 2015, five countries – Denmark, Germany, Iceland, Latvia, and Norway – initiated the process for some of the most famous Viking Age sites in Northern Europe to be included in the UNESCO World Heritage List. The whole process took seven years (2008–2015). In 2014, after six years of work, these five countries submitted their 438-page application to the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. In the summer of 2015, the applicant countries received the decision of the World Heritage Committee. The committee rejected the application and explained in a half-page letter its reasons for rejecting the application. In its decision, the World Heritage Committee stated that it had not actually examined the nomination of the Viking Age sites in Northern Europe but had simply decided to defer the examination. The World Heritage Committee also recommended that the countries contact the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) for guidance on building and submitting a new application to the World Heritage Committee.[4] This framework is called the upstream process. Furthermore, the committee said that recommendations from an expert Viking Age sites mission should be included in any revised nomination application.

What are the challenges associated with managing the development of a cultural heritage site, and what are the factors in successful management versus unsuccessful management? In a democratic society, stakeholders play an extremely important role in managing the

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[4] World Heritage 39 COM, WHC-15/39.COM.19, Bonn 8 July 2015, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, World Heritage Committee, thirty-ninth session, Bonn, Germany, 28 June – 8 July 2015, Decisions adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its 39th session, Bonn 2015, p. 194. ICOMOS is a professional association that works for the conservation and protection of cultural heritage places around the world and offers advice to UNESCO on World Heritage Sites.

development of a cultural heritage site. Stakeholders also play a crucial role in the balance between management and mismanagement. This research paper therefore deals with the question of management and mismanagement of cultural heritage sites with a focus on the stakeholders involved. By using a Viking case study and a UNESCO application process for including cultural heritage sites in the World Heritage List, the paper considers reasons behind the successful or unsuccessful management of cultural heritage sites and the implications of stakeholders' involvement.

The Viking Age, dating from the eighth to the eleventh century AD, is a significant period in the history of Northern Europe and holds a fascination for the world. Moreover, the Viking Age is important in both European and global history. Even today, many Viking Age settlements, with their cultural relics and their history of Viking interaction with other cultural groups, are scattered throughout Europe, especially in Northern Europe.

Such an outcome was unexpected, given the huge amount of work invested in the nomination application and the relative status of the Viking Age sites in Northern Europe. For the group of stakeholders, it was unacceptable and suggested that a stakeholder must have committed a very serious mistake in the application process. The applicants debated the mistakes they might have made during the application process. One of their key points of debate was whether UNESCO disliked the Viking Age and its culture or whether the failure was a case of mismanagement of the application process – in other words, was this a good example of mismanaging cultural heritage?

This study explores the underlying factors in the unsuccessful UNESCO application process. The remainder of the paper has four sections. The next two sections outline the theoretical foundations, the stakeholders, and their roles in the application process, and then the UNESCO application process and the methodology applied. This is followed by the outcomes and discussion sections.

Conceptual Framework and Theoretical Foundations

Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage can be defined as an expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation, including customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expressions, and values. Cultural heritage can be intangible or tangible

(ICOMOS, 2002). As part of human activity, cultural heritage produces tangible representations of value systems, beliefs, traditions, and lifestyles. As an essential part of culture, cultural heritage contains these visible and tangible traces from antiquity up to the recent past. Cultural heritage is thus a broad concept consisting of different types of heritage built environments (buildings, townscapes, and archaeological remains), natural environments (rural landscapes, coasts and shorelines, agricultural heritage), and artefacts (books and documents, objects, pictures). According to UNESCO, the power of culture and heritage have long been undervalued. UNESCO finds culture imperative for the development of any society. Previously, cultural heritage was regarded merely as a source of income. Now, cultural heritage is increasingly seen as a dynamic and transformative force, an indicator and facilitator of social development. Sacco finds that culture as a dynamic force in societal development should occupy a central place in EU competitiveness and cohesion strategies (Sacco, 2011).

Like natural and mixed heritage sites, cultural heritage sites are non-transferable assets. Any kind of culturally embedded place, building, or artefact has a certain value and is hence considered a resource. With this perspective in mind, this study draws impulses from the resource-based view to enforce the theoretical foundations that the authors deem necessary for approaching this research area. According to the resource-based view, when business firms have access to or have gained ownership of unique products or resources that are valuable, rare, non-imitable, and non-substitutable, they have competitive advantages over other business firms (Barney, 1991). In our research context, cultural heritage sites are rare valuable resources, for unique historical reasons these sites are *imperfect imitability* (Arthur, 1989; Barney, 1991). In this manner, cultural heritage sites are unique resources or site-specific assets (Williamson, 1979) that provide unique competitive advantages to their proprietors (stakeholders). To put it differently, cultural sites are idiosyncratic resources and hence non-imitable and non-substitutable.

Project Management
Successfully applying for UNESCO World Heritage status needs to be conducted like any other project. Project management is a practice that involves initiating, planning, executing, controlling, and closing the work of a team. Project management also involves achieving specific goals and satisfying specific success criteria at specified times. This leads to the primary challenge of project management, namely achieving the project's goal within given

constraints (Philips, 2003). A further challenge of project management is gathering all necessary inputs (such as from project partners) and applying them to satisfy the predefined objectives.

A characteristic of project management is that projects are temporary endeavours. A project is designed to produce a result with a defined beginning and a defined end. A project is usually time constrained. It is undertaken to achieve unique goals and objectives. A project is typically intended to bring about beneficial change or added value (Nokes, 2007).

The temporary nature of projects stands in contrast with the usual work of organisations, businesses, and institutions (Dinsmore et al., 2005). Most organisations operate in a repetitive, permanent, or semi-permanent way. They have functional activities for the purpose of producing products or services. In practice, project management requires the development of distinct technical skills and management strategies (Cattani, Ferriani, Frederiksen and Florian, 2011). This is the case whether one is developing a new product or service in a business or applying for World Heritage status with UNESCO.

Stakeholder Management

In relation to a project, a stakeholder may be an individual, a group, or an organisation that can affect, be affected by, or perceive itself as affected by a decision, activity, or outcome of a project (Project Management Institute, 2013). Stakeholder management is thus a critical component of the successful delivery of a project, programme, or activity.

Stakeholder management usually comprises four steps (Moore, 2011):

1. Identifying, recognising, and acknowledging the stakeholders
2. Determining the influence and interests
3. Establishing a communication management plan
4. Influencing and engaging the stakeholders

Stakeholders are typically mapped and managed as follows (Association for Project Management, 2020):

A. High power interested people: Manage closely
B. High power, less interested people: Keep satisfied
C. Low power interested people: Keep informed
D. Low power, less interested people: Monitor

In our research settings, regional and local authorities, museums, business entities, and civil societies are unique stakeholders. They all have a strong desire to control and manage cultural sites. However, each of these stakeholders wants to apply its own agenda to control and utilise the cultural heritage sites.

Stakeholders are often very different and might thus be difficult to control in a management setting. Stakeholders' divergent interests and approaches to, for example, the question of a cultural heritage site can develop into conflicts of interest that lead to mismanagement of the cultural site. This development is in line with the political economy framework, which argues that actors (stakeholders) try to simultaneously pursue their self-interest and collective goals. Internally, economic decision-making processes determine the terms of trade between stakeholders, sociopolitical structures define the power dependence between stakeholders, and finally, internal sociopolitical processes describe the dominant sentiments between stakeholders (Stern and Reve, 1990). Hence, when a group of divergent stakeholders is involved in decision-making activities, it is important to analyse the social, economic, and political parameters to ensure successful stakeholder management.

Table 1 lists the most important stakeholders represented in the application process for World Heritage status, along with their main objectives and the complexity associated with these objectives. Besides local and regional actors, we have also added the government level and UNESCO.

Table 1: Divergent Stakeholders, Objectives, and Complexity

Stakeholders	Main Objectives	Complexity
UNESCO	- Protecting and consolidating global heritage - Developing knowledge base for global understanding and cultural familiarity	Determines global heritage policy and brand provider
Government(s)	- Fortifying national identity - Nurturing national cohesion objectives, sustaining political philosophical goals, and achieving the desired socioeconomic development	Complex interwoven objectives Difficulties in formulating a single focus strategy
Regional Authorities	- Maintaining regional identity and its role in regional development - Promoting regional identity and its role in national society	Complex interwoven objectives
Local Municipalities	- Maintaining local identity and its role in local development - Promoting local identity and its role in regional-cum-national society	Complex interwoven objectives
Regional Museums	- Maintaining and communicating local and regional identity - Development through increased number of visitors to the region	Conserver of heritage and agent for regional growth
Commercial Partners	- Long-term commercial Interests - Sustainable profitability	Profitability vs. social and cultural responsibility

Civil Society	- Representing national, regional, and local identities - Historical sites are resources for historical and social educational, international social interactions and provide leisure	Act as consumers as well as citizens

As Table 1 shows, different stakeholders have different objectives, resulting in a high level of complexity. This creates a significant challenge for project management that is attempting to successfully apply for UNESCO World Heritage status. In fact, the high level of complexity caused by different objectives and thus conflicting and/or competing interests would make the application process difficult to control for any applicant. The reason is that project management departs from management and becomes instead a matter of mediating between different interests – in other words, it becomes politics.

Methodology

The object of our research was to analyse the challenges associated with managing the development of a cultural heritage site. We sought to understand the reasons for successful versus unsuccessful management of cultural heritage. Our point of origin was that stakeholders play a crucial role in affecting the balance between management and mismanagement. To answer the research question, we decided to study a Norwegian case of applying to nominate Viking Age sites for inclusion in the World Heritage List. Official documents from UNESCO and documents from the application process were analysed, such as the official application document and the decision by UNESCO. We also studied reports developed by regional authorities in Vestfold, Norway and had conversations with different stakeholders with interests in the application process. Finally, we used theory and other research literature to frame the question of applying for World Heritage status within a socio-political context.

Research Findings and Discussion

UNESCO and the World Heritage List

To have a World Heritage List proposal accepted, it is important to understand the history and politics of UNESCO and the World Heritage List. The movement to establish universal heritage protection dates to the establishment of the League of Nations in 1919 but emerged specifically when the United Nations and UNESCO were set up after World War II (Johansson, 2015). The specific idea of safeguarding a universal heritage of global interest materialised with the decision to establish the World Heritage Convention in 1972, the purpose of which was to select nominated heritage sites for the World Heritage List based on so-called outstanding universal value. The first sites were listed in 1978. In 2014, the World Heritage List consisted of 1,007 heritage sites, representing cultural, natural, and mixed cultural and natural heritage sites (Johansson, 2015).

To understand the UNESCO and World Heritage List system, it is important to better understand the concept of heritage. According to Graham and Howard, heritage is not a question of only tangible or intangible heritage. It is also a question of the meanings attached to heritage and the representations created from heritage (Graham and Howard, 2008). As most heritage is represented by national bodies, representations tend to become focused on a national identity instead of universal identities. Thus, when heritage becomes politics, it also tends to become a question of national politics.

Furthermore, when heritage becomes politics – in this case, cultural heritage politics – it becomes a question not so much of the past as of the present and the future (Aronsson, 2004). To understand UNESCO and the World Heritage List, it is important not only to understand it in the context of cultural heritage politics, but also to understand that UNESCO is not a national body encouraging the development of national cultural policies. It is an international political organisation whose purpose is to encourage the development of an international or global community.

Despite UNESCO being an international or global organisation, the European sites are clearly overrepresented in the World Heritage List compared with other parts of the world. This is especially true of Italy and Spain, where cultural heritage provides important competitive advantages for the tourism industry. There has been growth in the academic research dealing with world heritage (see, for example, Aronsson, 2006; Ronström, 2007; Vestheim, 2008;

Johansson, 2015). Although culture and heritage are not yet all that high on the political agenda of most countries, the increase in research is a result of culture and heritage in fact rising the agenda, not least because heritage is increasingly being acknowledged as a value and resource for use in socioeconomic and socio-political development (Sacco, 2011).

The Norwegian Viking Case

In the World Heritage Committee's decision not to nominate the Viking Age sites in Northern Europe, the committee indicated certain issues related to the area of the Viking Ages sites that the application should have addressed. Firstly, the decision stressed that the state parties should "explore further the full scope, scale and nature of Viking Age Sea and river migration and trade routes, and the settlements that these routes engendered".[5] Secondly, it indicated that the state parties should define "the main parameters of time space, and cultural terms related to migrations". Thirdly, according to the World Heritage Committee, the state parties should map "the major migration and trade routes and of the surviving evidence for Viking trade settlements along these routes". Finally, it indicated that the state parties should select "the routes where significant remains survive which illuminate migration and trade and the key facets of influence and cultural exchange".[6]

Key terms used in the World Heritage Committee's decision not to nominate the Viking Age sites in Northern Europe include "migration", "trade routes", "cultural exchange", and "settlements". The World Heritage Committee used this language as it is of particular importance when applying for a nomination, as a nomination does not revolve around a heritage site's isolated value. Rather, a heritage site should represent something bigger or universal that can connect the world around something universal or global that, by and large, has affected the entire world. Possible examples are migration, trade, cultural exchange, settlements, and other areas such as farming, industrialisation, working class culture, and so forth. But to say that the Viking Age as such is not so important when nominating a historical site is the same as saying that the history of the Roman Empire is not so important. Clearly, then, something had gone wrong in the management of the application, when the Viking Age sites in Northern Europe

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[5] World Heritage 39 COM, WHC-15/39.COM.19, Bonn 8 July 2015, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, World Heritage Committee, thirty-ninth session, Bonn, Germany, 28 June – 8 July 2015, Decisions adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its 39th session, Bonn 2015, p. 194.
[6] Ibid.

were at the core of the application rather than, for example, universal issues such as migration, trade, cultural exchange, and so forth.[7]

One problem, or challenge, may have been the high number and complexity of stakeholders involved in the application process[8] – stakeholders on the transnational, national, regional, and local levels. If we concentrate just on the regional level – the county of Vestfold – there were already many stakeholders involved with different interests. On the national level in Norway, the Ministry of Culture was the official applicant to UNESCO and represented national interests in having Viking Age sites approved as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO. It is important to understand that the Viking Age plays an important role in the construction of a Norwegian identity and thus plays an important role in Norwegian nation formation.

First, the regional authorities managed the application on a regional level. The authorities included municipalities with different interests due to the location of the Viking Age sites. These authorities would have had the task of organising the communications and place management in relation to a nomination. Second, the museums located in the area were stakeholders that had different kinds of interests linked with developing their activities. Third, the business life and the tourism industry were important stakeholders, which of course had a focus on profit and commercial development. In addition, there are many historical volunteer associations in Vestfold which also work with the Viking Age, from shipbuilders to other private historical associations. These private associations are not necessarily interested in commercial development but may be more interested in working with old craftsmanship or trying to maintain a certain local, regional, or national identity, such as a Viking identity. Finally, the regional university college was a stakeholder with an interest in education, research, and development in areas linked with World Heritage status.

Obviously, the complexity of stakeholders that represent public life, business life, and civil society would make any area difficult to manage and not just cultural heritage. However, what intensifies the complexity even more is that there are different interests within the different areas of public life, business life, and civil society. For example, the municipalities may tend

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[7] See Stefánsdóttir, Agnes and Matthias Malük (eds.), Viking Age Sites in Northern Europe, A transnational serial nomination to UNESCO's World Heritage List, January 2014, Pretmet – Eco Labelling Printing Company.
[8] Areas of the different stakeholders in Vestfold were presented in a report by representatives of the stakeholders involved with a focus on how to develop the attractiveness of the Viking Age sites in Vestold during the preparation of the World Heritage application. See Herdis Hølleland (ed.), Rapport, Arbeidsgruppe for attraksjonsutvikling av Skipshaugene i Vestfold, Vestfold fylkeskommune, undated document.

to compete, and hotels, restaurants, shops, and camping sites also have different interests. The complexity does not end with this, however, as Vestfold and Norway were only one of the five regions and nations involved in the application process. The problem with the stakeholders involved was probably that the project management of the application process lost its focus on UNESCO's priorities for nominations for World Heritage status. Consequently, it was not surprising that the World Heritage Committee decision not to nominate the Viking Age sites in Northern Europe for the World Heritage List stated that "any revised nomination will need to be considered by an expert mission to the sites". Nor was it a surprise that the World Heritage Committee recommended that the state parties "consider inviting ICOMOS to offer advice and guidance in the framework of the Upstream Process".[9] Put another way, the question of how to be included in the World Heritage List had been misunderstood, and the misunderstanding needed to be rectified before another attempt for nomination was made. It can be argued that the misunderstanding was the result of mismanagement. Stakeholders and interests pulling in directions irrelevant to the application for World Heritage status should have been kept under control.

Despite the Ministry of Culture and its Directorate for Cultural Heritage being the most important actor in the case of the World Heritage List nomination, the Vestfold County Authority made an important effort to coordinate and manage the possibility of a World Heritage nomination in Vestfold. The County Authority chaired the development of a management plan for the Vestfold ship burials in the period 2012–2016 – this is one of the Viking Age sites in Northern Europe. The County Authority developed the management plan in collaboration with other public organs and institutions, such as the municipalities of Horten, Tønsberg, and Sandefjord, where the ship burials are located, the national Directorate for Cultural Heritage, and the Vestfold County Museums.

The management plan was quite ambitious as regards the dissemination, preservation, protection, and production of knowledge of the ship burials. On the other hand, the management plan did not contain a strategy for meeting UNESCO's policy priorities of emphasis on universality and the international by dealing with, for example, questions of

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9 World Heritage 39 COM, WHC-15/39.COM.19, Bonn 8 July 2015, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, World Heritage Committee, thirty-ninth session, Bonn, Germany, 28 June – 8 July 2015, Decisions adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its 39th session, Bonn 2015, p. 194.

migration, trade routes, and cultural exchange and building these into the regional management plan.[10]

The World Heritage Application Process

Nomination for the UNESCO World Heritage List is a complex procedure, not least when five different countries are involved and there are many sites in each country. Paragraph 51 of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage states, "At the time of inscription of a property on the World Heritage List, the Committee adopts a Statement of Outstanding Universal Value […] which will be the key reference for the future effective protection and management of the property." To satisfy this statement, the applicants should have good arguments for why the Viking Age sites in Northern Europe are of particularly outstanding universal value.[11]

Paragraph 52 of the guidelines state, "The *Convention* is not intended to ensure the protection of all properties of great interest, importance or value, but only for a select list of the most outstanding of these from an international viewpoint. It is not to be assumed that a property of national and/or regional importance will automatically be inscribed on the World Heritage List." Again, this means that applicants should have good arguments for why the Viking Age sites in Northern Europe are particularly outstanding from an international point of view.[12]

The nomination process began with an invitation from Iceland in 2008. By 2010, the work was underway. By 2011, a tentative list of sites for nomination was ready. There are several reasons why the failure of the nomination might be a question of mismanagement, especially due to unforeseen challenges related to managing the application process. These challenges may have related to the different working cultures of the countries involved, or working together in English (English was not a native language in any of the countries involved), or the normative differences in how to deal with international collaboration.

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[10] See UNESCO Heritage List, Viking Age Sites in Northern Europe, Vestfold ship burials, Management plan 2012-2016, Prepared by working group for World Heritage status for Vestfold ship burials, Author 2011 edition, Kjersti Løkken, Vestfold County Authority, Revised edition (autumn 2013): Herdis Hølleland, Vestfold County Authority, Oslo, January 2014.
[11] Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, World Heritage Centre, WHC.15/01 8 July 2015, UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Paris, p. 11.
[12] Ibid., p. 12.

One problem that can be stressed is that, during the application process, there was in fact no management at all. This is because management was difficult given the different management traditions in the participating countries. For example, while some countries have an informal attitude towards international co-operation, such as the Nordic countries, other countries, including Latvia, follow a much more formal procedure. Another problem may have been the use of English in the application process, as English is not any of the countries' official language. This may have led to misunderstandings and made it difficult to agree on a single voice. A further problem may have been that the Icelandic project manager and the editor of the application were not the same person, which made the application process even more difficult to coordinate.

External risk factors (factors can be categorised as internal and external), which may be difficult to foresee, may also complicate a World Heritage application. In this case, the financial crisis that hit Iceland in 2008 caused problems, because Iceland suddenly could not or would not invest as much in the application project as before the crisis. Consequently, the German partner involved took on more responsibility for management.

What is most important when beginning to apply for World Heritage status is having a project manager who really knows how the UNESCO system works – someone who knows how the commission works, understands the directives, and has studied UNESCO's policy documents. The project manager should be a strong leader who can make decisions so that the application fit the UNESCO framework. It is more important for the project manager to understand UNESCO's regulations than to follow the directives of professionals related to the heritage site or sites. Put another way, a key problem in the management of the case of the Viking Age sites was that the representatives involved decided to begin by focusing on the sites as the key to World Heritage status when instead they should have begun by focusing on UNESCO's policy priorities.

One of the main problems was probably that the project began on a national level by choosing the Viking Age and sites related to it. It began in Iceland, whose national authorities wanted the Viking Age included in the World Heritage List. As the project continued, it became increasingly difficult to adjust the project to align with UNESCO's policy goals. The project should have started with UNESCO, by understanding what UNESCO wanted. Then, the project group should have chosen sites that represented UNESCO's policy priorities. It is also

important to stress that successful management of a UNESCO application requires the involvement of a politically trained project manager who understands how politics work, not least international politics. This project manager should also be capable of brokering not only between applicants and UNESCO but also between the different countries participating in the project and between the different levels of society within the nation-state. Finally, the project manager should serve as a broker between different areas of society, from the public authorities to private business and representatives of civil society. A likely problem in the Viking case is that the brokering system was not well developed.

Conclusion

We have argued that many things can go wrong when dealing with the internationalisation of a home region. One reason for the failure of the UNESCO application are the possible deviations from the guidelines that were evident in the application. These deviations principally arose from the different interests and stakes of the stakeholders involved in the application process. The other significant reason was the application for UNESCO cultural heritage site status having an overly narrow focus, being local (and national) rather than international. This was also due to the local interests of all the stakeholders involved.

The overall issue in the management or mismanagement throughout the application process was the attitude of the participating countries, particularly in relation to UNESCO's heritage requirements. The submission process for a UNESCO World Heritage application is a highly complicated process, and the application in this case study lacked salient parameters for coping with this stringent application process.

First, and usually in a transnational context, a constituent team/committee/body is established composed of competent professionals with a high level of competence in the nominated site and its adjoining areas, representatives from the local community, and other relevant stakeholders such as museums, research institutions, and local historians. Second, there must be a steering group whose members represent all the involved countries and all the local, regional, and national authorities. This steering group should have a manager-cum-project manager. It is important that the manager has the required experience and knowledge about the UNESCO application procedures and the capability to play and manage the role of broker between UNESCO and the heritage-seeking application stakeholders.

Furthermore, it is also very important that this manager be capable of acting as a project manager who can interact with, work with, and be an integral part of key decision-making activities at the local, regional, national, and transnational levels. Furthermore, she or he must be capable of connecting the steering committee and UNESCO regarding the key heritage status areas, the required policies, and other vital professional areas. Rationally, this suggests that there should be at least ten persons per participating country acting as full managers-cum-project managers to minimise the various risks that could arise due to misunderstandings, and which could lead to mismanagement of the assigned UNESCO application.

In our case, there was clear absence of a competent committee, a steering committee, a competent manager-cum-project manager, and individuals with the competence and prior experience in UNESCO heritage site application. Such managerial shortcomings further complicated the delicate and complex application process and, consequently, the application failed.

The applicants failed to convince UNESCO that the Viking Age sites were of universal value and international interest despite the unlikelihood of anyone suggesting that the history of the Vikings is anything less than fascinating, including on a global level. A likely problem is that Viking Age history has been most important in defining the national heritage of Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. To make it into the World Heritage List, Viking Age history should be reinterpreted within a universal and international context.

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Co-creating a Social Sustainable Future Through History and Heritage Education

Lasse Sonne

Abstract

The article examines the development of social sustainability in four countries in Northern Europe (Finland, Germany, Norway, and Sweden) through history and heritage education. The article suggests the development of new co-creative learning and development processes for schoolteachers and relevant employees at heritage institutions such as archives and museums. In Northern Europe, there are many programmes tailored for schools by heritage organisations with learning activities where schools visit cultural heritage institutions such as archives, libraries, and museums. Collaboration between schools and heritage institutions on developing these activities is, however, poor. A risk is that learning activities at heritage institutions may become irrelevant for school curriculums, the teaching activities at schools, and how learning outcomes are assessed at schools. This article therefore aims to encourage the development of co-creation processes between schoolteachers and relevant employees at heritage institutions who work with learning activities for schools. The aim of the project is to better understand the development of competencies in co-creation processes between teachers at schools and pedagogical staff at heritage institutions. The aim is furthermore to understand development of competencies in the areas of social sustainability, culture, and community resilience through history and heritage education. On an organisational level, the aim is to develop a better understanding of new methods regarding how schools and heritage institutions together work with education. The aim is furthermore to develop co-creation processes leading to social sustainable integration between the two types of history and heritage education organisations. This article's point of departure is a Nordplus Horizon project co-financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers.

Introduction

A problem with collaborative learning between schools and heritage institutions is that these are separate institutions with differing formal and informal expectations of teaching and learning activities. This article addresses the development of new co-creative learning and development processes for schoolteachers and relevant employees at heritage institutions such as archives and museums. In Northern Europe, there are many programmes with learning activities tailored by heritage organisations for schools. Classes from primary schools, secondary schools and high schools visit cultural heritage institutions such as archives, libraries, and museums. However, the collaboration between schools and heritage institutions to develop these activities is not well-developed. This lack of collaboration is problematic in that learning activities at heritage institutions may become irrelevant to the school curriculums, the teaching activities at schools, and how learning outcomes are assessed at schools. This article therefore aims to encourage the development of co-creation processes between schoolteachers and staff at heritage institutions engaged in developing learning activities for schools.

This article's point of departure is a Nordplus Horizon project co-financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers. This development project aims, among other things, to better understand the development of competencies in co-creation processes between teachers at schools and pedagogical staff at heritage institutions. It also aims to understand development of competencies in the areas of social sustainability, culture, and community resilience through history and heritage education. On an organisational level, the development project aims to develop a better understanding of new methods in terms of how schools and heritage institutions work together with education. The final aim of the project is to develop co-creation processes that lead to the social sustainable integration of the two types of organisations regarding history and heritage education (NCK, 2025).

Nordplus and Horizon – cross-sectoral relevance

The Nordplus Programme, which is subordinated to the Nordic Council of Ministers, offers financial support between partners in lifelong learning from the eight participating countries (Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, and Sweden) and three

autonomous regions in the Baltic and Nordic area (Greenland, the Aaland Islands, and the Faro Islands).

According to Nordplus's general objectives:

> Nordplus is the Nordic Council of Ministers' programme for education, continuous learning and Nordic–Baltic co-operation in the field of education. The programme contributes to the goals in the Nordic Vision 2030 and its three strategic priorities: the green Nordic Region, the competitive Nordic Region and the socially sustainable Nordic Region. Vital and versatile collaboration and mobility throughout the Nordic Region and Baltic states are central for a knowledge-based, inclusive and integrated region. (Nordplus, 2023, p. 1)

The Nordplus Programme consists of the following sub-programmes: Nordplus Junior, Nordplus Higher Education, Nordplus Adult, Nordplus Nordic Languages, and Nordplus Horizontal. Nordplus Junior finances school development work through partnerships between schools in the Nordic and Baltic countries (Nordplus, 2025a). Nordplus Higher Education is a mobility and network programme in the higher education sector on the bachelor's and master's levels that creates collaboration between institutions participating in the programme through exchanges, experience, good practice, and innovative results. The programme also supports collaboration between higher education institutions and other organisations (Nordplus, 2025b). Nordplus Adult contributes to development and innovation within the Nordic and Baltic adult learning sector. It encompasses all fields of adult education and learning, general and vocational adult learning, and formal, non-formal, and informal adult education and learning (Nordplus, 2025c).

Nordplus Nordic Languages has four guiding objectives: promoting Nordic languages and culture and mutual Nordic–Baltic linguistic and cultural understanding; improving inter-Nordic language comprehension (primarily between Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian), especially among children and young people; stimulating interest in and knowledge and understanding of the languages of the Nordic countries essential to society (Danish, Finnish, Faroese, Greenlandic, Icelandic, Norwegian, Sami, and Swedish) and Nordic sign language; and revitalising national minority languages in the Nordic Region for cultural and inclusive purposes (Nordplus, 2025d).

Here we are dealing with a Nordplus Horizontal project. Nordplus Horizontal is a cross-sectoral programme supporting innovative projects across traditional categories and sectors, as well as projects that address new, broad, and complex challenges. Nordplus Horizontal is open to institutions and organisations that want to cooperate to develop education within lifelong learning (Nordplus, 2025e). One of the main goals of this project proposal is thus to contribute to the goals of Nordplus Horizontal by increasing cross-sectoral cooperation. The project proposal was therefore developed to be relevant to more than one sector. The most effective way of achieving such development is by focusing on sustainable development through co-creation and co-production. The goal is for all participants in the Nordplus Horizon-project to benefit from participating in the project such that the project contributes to the development of all of the organisations and sectors involved. This focus makes the project relevant for all participants because they are all directly involved in forming the innovations and outcomes of the project. Innovation for sustainable development is a complicated process. It is democratic process that often involves many stakeholders. All of the participants in this Horizon project are involved in forming the innovation process based on their own particular interests. This makes the project highly relevant for all participants (Nordplus, 2024).

In this project, the aim is to develop competencies in co-creation processes between teachers at schools and pedagogical staff at heritage institutions. The aim is furthermore to develop competencies in the areas of social sustainability, culture, and community resilience through history and heritage education. Organisationally, the aim is to develop new methods regarding how schools and heritage institutions work with education in relation to each other, as well as to develop co-creation processes that lead to sustainable integration between the two types of organisations. The overall aim is to achieve more integrated collaboration between schools and heritage institutions on educational activities. The general aim of education in history and heritage is to support the development of a more social sustainable future for the Nordic–Baltic countries, with a focus on cultural competencies and community resilience. The method is to initiate such development on the basis of cross-sectoral relevance for the organisations involved in the development project.

A horizontal partnership

The project partners represent all sectors acknowledged in the Nordplus programme and come from civil society, the private sector, and the public sector. The following types of organisations are represented: higher education, NGOs, upper secondary schools, the private sector, and the public sector. There are nine participating organisations:

1. University of South-Eastern Norway (USN) (coordinator), Norway
2. Nordic Centre of Heritage Learning and Creativity AB (NCK), Östersund, Sweden
3. Gymnasiet Grankulla samskola, a Swedish-language municipal high school in Grankulla, Helsinki, Finland
4. Gymnasiet Lärkan, a Swedish-language municipal high school in the Södra Haga district of Helsinki, Finland
5. Thor Heyerdahl Upper Secondary School, in Larvik, Norway
6. Vestfoldmuseene IKS, a regional museum owned by eight municipalities in Vestfold as well as by Vestfold County Municipality, in Norway
7. Svenska Folkskolans Vänner, a Finnish association that aims to support the schooling of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland
8. Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, a scholarly society for the collection, archiving, and dissemination of knowledge about Finland–Swedish culture
9. A. P. Møller School, a Danish gymnasium in Southern Schleswig, Germany

Project anchoring at the local and regional levels

Because it is important for Nordplus programmes to have local and regional anchoring, this Nordplus development project was developed so that it has clear local and regional anchoring in Finland, Norway, and Southern Schleswig, to involve schools and teachers and heritage institutions such as archives and museums. This local and regional collaboration ensures that not only is a network developed, but also a culture of working and co-creating together. This anchoring is much easier to accomplish on a local level rather than across the entire Nordic-Baltic Area. The anchoring also facilitates the anchoring of the results and experiences within the participating organisations following the project's conclusion.

A further dimension of anchoring the project at the local and regional levels is the Nordplus development project's daily relevance for all organisations. One of the project goals is for the

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teachers involved to change how they work with heritage institutions and influence their fellow colleagues in this regard. Similarly, another goal is for museum staff to change how they work with schoolteachers and to influence their colleagues in the archives and museums. This will benefit both the teachers at schools and the staff in heritage institutions as adult learners. The project was also anchored in the participating organisations' management at the highest level. The project has received very positive feedback from the management of all the organisations.

Another consideration is the roles of the University of South-Eastern Norway (USN) and the Nordic Centre of Heritage Learning and Creativity (NCK). Both organisations are concerned with adult education and learning in the Nordic–Baltic Area. USN also educates history teachers and future staff for heritage institutions through bachelor's, master's, and doctoral programmes. The results and experience of the Nordplus development project will be incorporated within different programmes following the project's conclusion.

So far, USN, Thor Heyerdahl Upper Secondary School, Gymnasiet Grankulla samskola, Gymnasiet Lärkan and A. P. Møller Skolen have already developed close collaboration on the school practice of teacher students. The results and experiences from the Nordplus development project are expected to support the continuation of the collaboration that has been developed. The same is expected of the collaboration with Vestfoldmuseene in Norway and SLS and Svenska folkskolans vänner in Finland. As such, the Nordplus development project can be described as deepening pre-existing collaboration.

State-of-the-art

A previous Nordplus Horizontal project – Museums and Education in the North – compared initiatives in Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden to cooperation between museums and schools: "Skoletjenesten" in Denmark, "Den kulturelle skolesekken" in Norway, "Skapande skola" in Sweden, and the Finnish model with more local varieties. Research was added and resulted in an anthology edited by Fristrup (2020a) entitled *Museums and Education in the North* with contributions from project participants (Fristrup, 2020b; Levä, 2020; Olesen, 2020; Risan, 2020; Sonne, 2020).

It concludes that there are many learning activities in the Nordic countries where schools visit cultural heritage institutions such as museums and where schools are offered different kinds of activities for pupils. On the other hand, collaboration in the development of these activities is

poor and typically non-existent. The risk is that the collaboration between schools and heritage institutions will become irrelevant, especially for the school curriculums and teaching activities. This project therefore aims to encourage the development of co-creation processes between schoolteachers and relevant staff at heritage institutions who work on learning activities for schools.

In addition, Nordic researchers have published books and articles that are relevant to this Nordplus development project, including Sonne and Salvesen (2020), Wollentz, Djupdræt, Hansen, and Sonne (2021), Sonne and Banik (2021), Banik and Sonne (2021), Sonne (2022a), and Wollentz, Djupdræt, Hansen, Sonne, and Banik (2022).

Conceptual project framework

This section defines some of the key concepts in the Nordplus development project.

The term **history education** is used to refer to history teaching and history education within a formal education system based on a national curriculum. This Nordplus development project focuses on teachers employed in public upper secondary schools.

Heritage education is used to refer to education and learning organised by heritage institutions such as archives, libraries, and museums. Usually, the education and learning organised by these institutions are not based on a national curriculum, even though heritage institutions offer education and learning to school pupils. Since heritage institutions are usually not seen as formal education institutions, they often use the term "heritage learning" instead of "heritage education" to emphasise that it is not formal but a way of learning where cultural heritage and pedagogical practice meet. In this project, however, it was decided to use the term "heritage education" to emphasise the integration of history education at schools with learning or education activities at heritage institutions. Project meetings have been organised to discuss core concepts for the Nordplus highlight strategy for 2023 and 2024, such as social sustainability, cultural competence, community resilience, and co-creation (Nordplus, 2023).

Social sustainability is an important concept in the Nordplus development project because it includes the formal and informal processes, systems, structures, and relationships that actively support the capacity of current and future generations to, for example, create liveable communities that are equitable, diverse, connected, and democratic and that provide a good quality of life. Social sustainability also relates to creating sustainable places that promote

wellbeing by understanding what people need from the places where they live and work. Social sustainability concerns social and cultural life and developing systems for citizen engagement and spaces where people and places can evolve (Adec Innovations, 2025; Diversity for Social Impact, 2025; United Nations Global Compact, 2025). In the Nordplus development project, the concept of social sustainability is integrated into the area of history and heritage education and into the area of schools and heritage organisations and their collaboration with each other.

Cultural competence is another important concept in the Nordplus development project, and it is also a part of social sustainability. Cultural competence is defined as intercultural competence that leads to effective and appropriate communication with people of other cultures. In part, this is intercultural or cross-cultural education used for training to achieve cultural competence. The Nordplus development project therefore focuses on important aspects of cultural competence for development through history and heritage education. These include mindfulness, cognitive flexibility, tolerance for ambiguity, behavioural flexibility, and cross-cultural empathy (Deardorff, 2009). The Nordplus development project enables the development of cultural competence through further collaboration between schools and heritage institutions, between schoolteachers and the pedagogical staff at heritage institutions.

The concept of **community resilience**, as part of social sustainability, is also important in the Nordplus development project. Schools, heritage institutions, schoolteachers, and staff at heritage institutions are all extremely important resources for communities' efforts to minimise the collapse of our Nordic–Baltic societies. The Covid-19 pandemic has drawn attention to the need for community resilience (Fathi, 2022), and the war in Ukraine proves that Nordic–Baltic societies need to be thinking about community resilience. The latter is an example of the important role that schools and heritage institutions with education have to play as a resource in Nordic–Baltic societies' efforts to develop community resilience as part of social sustainability. History and heritage education are important to a country's preparedness against external threats to its security and way of life, such as a democratic way of life with a strong emphasis on human rights. In the Nordplus development project, this dimension is further developed by way schoolteachers' and heritage staff's collaboration on education.

Co-creation (with co-production) is the last of the important concepts in the Nordplus development project. Co-creation simply means the practice of collaboration between stakeholders in a design process (USAID, 2024; Think Local, Act Personal, 2025). In our case, it is a question of the stakeholders – schools, heritage institutions, and universities with teacher

education – co-designing a new type of education. In coming together to create new learning outcomes, new learning activities, and new assessment tools, the participants in the Nordplus development project perform different roles and offer diverse insights. This provides a holistic view of what a new kind of history and heritage education should and can include so as to achieve the overall goal of the Nordplus development project: developing social sustainability through history and heritage education.

Project activities

The purpose of the Nordplus development project is to develop social sustainability through history and heritage education. To this end, there will be seminars with analyses of the topic and discussions between the participating organisations. Workshops will develop and test new teaching methods. In addition, new teaching material will be developed. It is hoped that a network can be established for further cooperation and thus broaden the method developed in the project within the Nordic–Baltic Area in general and onwards into Europe. It is goal that the development work conducted have the greatest possible impact. The development of new teaching material is the main activity.

A kick-off meeting was organised in in Vestfold, Norway in September 2024. The meeting focussed on developing a joint Nordic concept of co-creating socially sustainable form of history and heritage education. At the meeting, a series of good practices and themes from national curriculums in the Nordic countries and Germany was initiated. Each of the countries has a different national curriculum for history education, which poses a challenge. The same holds true for teaching traditions. During the project activities, three different national curriculums – from Finland, Norway, and Sweden – were compared, along with a regional/national curriculum from Germany. The purpose of the collection and analysis of the curriculums was to identify themes in line with the Nordplus highlight strategy for 2023 and 2024, which is a strategy for enhancing educational cooperation for a socially sustainable future. The Nordplus highlight relates to all Nordplus programmes and all sectors within the field of education and training. The concept of social sustainability entails, for example, cultural competence and community resilience. Integrated with these themes is also Nordic competitiveness based on knowledge, innovation, and mobility (Nordplus Handbook, 2023, p. 4). Good practical examples from the three countries will be analysed in a report.

Developing and testing new methods of learning in relation to co-creation are an important part of the Nordplus development project. This will happen through the organisation of workshops with group work. The purpose is to develop a co-creative model of constructive alignment that the schools can use for educational activities at heritage institutions. The workshops will include co-creative work with the development of descriptions of relevant learning outcomes, the development of learning activities, and, finally, the development of assessment forms for schools.

As co-creation is difficult to achieve, the workshops will follow an eight-step plan:

1. Developing an overview – what the participants want to examine
2. Determining the goal of the workshop
3. Developing a list of tangible outcomes
4. Planning what will be achieved, how it will be designed, and the steps forward
5. Developing a detailed plan with each activity in the workshop
6. Warming up with improvisation exercises
7. Sketching ideas
8. Sharing ideas

In the planning and conduct of the workshops, the Nordplus development project takes a co-production-based approach.

In the workshops, the activities will build on participants' capabilities. A two-way reciprocal relationship developed, and the development of peer support networks will be encouraged. The boundaries between delivering and receiving services (heritage institutions and schools) will be blurred. Here, "services" means teaching, learning, and education. A goal of the workshops is to enable heritage institutions to jointly deliver a service with schools rather than just deliver a service to the schools.

The results of the development and analysis of the workshops' experience-based co-creation processes will be collated into a report with the findings and proposals for learning outcomes, learning activities, and an assessment method.

The next step in the project activities will be to develop a course with new teaching material for teachers and relevant staff from heritage institutions. The course curriculum and teaching material will be developed in line with the findings and developments of the previous activities

in the project. The goal here is to develop a new co-creative model for constructive alignment. Teaching materials will be made freely accessible online to a wider interested public.

As regards the development of a new course, the co-creative development course will be tested and evaluated. During the test, participants will establish a focus group with teachers from Finnish schools and a focus group with pedagogical staff from heritage institutions in Finland. The results will furnish suggestions for adjusting the course.

Following the testing, evaluation, and adjustment of the course, a final course will be developed with a course curriculum and teaching materials. The final course and teaching material are planned to be made freely accessible online to the wider interested public.

One of the final development project activities is the final conference, to be held in the city of Slesvig, Germany at the A. P. Møller Skolen. At the conference, the results of the Nordplus Horizon development project will be presented for the region of Slesvig in Germany, including public and private stakeholders such as teachers and staff from heritage institutions, together with other stakeholders interested in the project.

Project evaluation

An important part of the evaluation process will be discussions in project partner meetings, where the participants discuss keeping the time schedule, conducting work packages (activities), and the quality of the outcomes together with the extent to which milestones are met.

Project monitoring and evaluation of project management will be performed by an administrative research department at USN. This department has a well-developed controller apparatus for monitoring international projects. The USN controllers are part of the Norwegian government system for control of public spending (USN is a public university). Attaching USN controllers to the project means that an authorised Nordic public risk assessment is connected to the project process.

Evaluation of the content (course and material) developed in the project will be included in the workshops as well as in the test course and the final course. The content of the workshops and the test course and final course will be thoroughly evaluated. Evaluation is an important component of the project activities. Examples of good practices will be gathered, and pilot

testing will be conducted to ascertain what does work and what does not in terms of ways of co-creating new learning processes consisting of learning outcomes, learning activities, and assessment.

The test course will be conducted twice over the course of the project, once in Finland, mainly for Finnish participants, and once in Norway, mainly for Norwegian participants. However, the test course will be open for all citizens of the Nordic–Baltic countries. The goal is for the course and the material to benefit all countries in the Nordic–Baltic area, not just Finland and Norway.

The Generic Learning Outcomes (GLO) planning and evaluation model will be used to plan and evaluate the course. The GLO is a British planning and evaluation tool developed for measuring the impact of learning outcomes at individual, organisational, and societal levels. The GLO was originally developed to enable heritage organisations such as archives, libraries, and museums to provide evidence of the impact that these organisations have on outcome-focused learning (Sonne, 2022b, pp. 104–105).

Despite criticism that the GLO is not a precise tool for measuring exact outcomes such as in mathematics, it is a suitable evaluation tool for this Nordplus development project. The GLO takes a holistic approach to learning that fits very well with this project, where the focus is on developing social sustainability in terms of cultural competencies and community resilience by way of history and heritage education. The goal of learning in this context is, of course, knowledge, but even more so it is competence development in areas such as attitudes and values. The GLO tool is good at measuring, or giving insights into, the development of attitudes and values. Therefore, the GLO is the right planning and evaluation tool for use in this Nordplus development project.

The workshops and test course will be evaluated through focus group discussions, and the GLO will be used to plan the discussions. The result of the evaluations will be anonymous statements written by the participants and observers among the participants in the project. In addition, the evaluation of the course will include questionnaires and interviews with course participants conducted before and after the test course. The purpose is to identify expectations and results of the learning (learning outcomes) as well as other, for example, practical issues of importance to the course.

The Nordplus development project will conclude with the submission of a final report Nordplus. During the compilation of the final report, the project participants will, together, evaluate the benefits of the project for each participant.

Project results

The results and outcomes of the Nordplus development project will consist of new competencies in mastering co-creation processes between teachers at schools and pedagogical staff at heritage institutions. They will also consist of competencies related to social sustainability, culture, and community resilience through history and heritage education. The target group is above all schoolteachers working with history education and staff from heritage institutions such as archives, libraries, and museums who work with heritage education.

On the organisational level, the project's expected results and outcomes include new ways for schools and heritage institutions to collaborate. Another outcome expected on this level is a contribution to more integrated collaboration between these two types of organisations. A third expected outcome is organisational competence in initiating and developing co-creation processes that lead to more social sustainability in both types of organisations.

A further goal of the Nordplus development project is for the two types of organisations to be learning organisations in the way they learn and develop through the co-creation processes initiated in the Nordplus development project. On sectoral/regional levels and societal and Nordic–Baltic levels, the expected project outcomes include contributing to a more socially sustainable future for the Nordic-Baltic countries. This contribution will be focused on increased cultural competencies and community resilience through history and heritage education.

The project group, including the partner institutions, was developed to have the highest possible impact. Therefore, the Nordplus development project departs from practice and stays as close as possible to the project's target group (teachers, future teachers, and heritage staff working with heritage education).

One of the goals is to have the biggest possible effect on the target group. It is also a goal for the colleagues of these teachers and heritage staff to be affected within the participating organisations. Furthermore, the hope is to use the project participants' networks to affect the project target group within the Nordic–Baltic countries. This target group consists of, for example, teachers, students, and heritage staff from other schools, universities, and heritage institutions.

The benefit for adult learners (teachers and heritage staff) will be new competencies in a new area of development. These new competencies will have an impact on the learners at schools,

who represent the end target group of the project, even though the project is for adult learners and focuses on adult vocational education.

The benefit for the participating project organisations will be better, more relevant, and more effective history teaching in schools. For the schools, heritage education will become an even more developed resource that the school can benefit from in its teaching activities. For heritage institutions, the benefit will be greater collaboration with schools, resulting in more visitors and more income.

Nordic–Baltic added value

An important element of the Nordplus programme is its contribution to the development of so-called Nordic–Baltic added value. The Nordic countries have already developed different arrangements for collaboration between schools and heritage institutions. These arrangements are among the most developed in the world. In this development project, we aim to use experiences from three of the Nordic countries along with Southern Schleswig to further develop the concept of collaboration between schools and heritage institutions. This would not be possible in a strictly national context where the exchange of practices and experiences between the arrangements would be missing. The benefit for the organisations participating in the Nordplus development project is that they will be able to base their further development on experiences from organisations in other Nordic countries where collaboration between schools and heritage institutions is well-developed. Thus, the general added value in the Nordic–Baltic context is an even further developed model for collaboration and co-creation between schools and heritage institutions in relation to history and heritage education.

Impact and dissemination

The project's impact is based on a three-level model. First, the project aims to have an impact on individuals, consisting of the target group of schoolteachers, relevant staff at heritage institutions, and the end target group – pupils. Second, the project aims to have an impact on organisations involved in the project, such as schools, heritage institutions, and universities. Third, the project aims to have an impact society in general by way of new competence developments related to history education, heritage education, social sustainability, cultural competence, community resilience, co-creation, and co-production.

The project's central communication tool will be the project homepage. The homepage will be established by NCK at www.nckultur.org, with information about local and regional websites, online material, and social media for professional exchange in other Nordic–Baltic countries, as well as in Europe and the world in general. The homepage will also be used to provide computer-based learning material for the public, which will support the co-creation course developed in the project. A homepage has previously been used to spread information about many other projects, including Nordplus Adult and Nordplus Horizon projects.

Concluding remarks

The Nordplus Horizon development project Co-creating a Social Sustainable Future through History and Heritage Education is ambitious. The project aims to cross borders between different educational and learning traditions in schools and heritage institutions. The project also aims to cross borders between different professions (schoolteachers and heritage institution staff). In addition, the project aims to make the two sides of the border work together and develop new teaching, learning, and education by co-creating and co-producing a new type of education. Furthermore, the project aims to have an impact on societal development about the development of social sustainability, cultural competence, and community resilience. These are extremely ambitious goals. They are, however, necessary goals in a more politically unstable world marked by uncertainty and the new kind of world order on the horizon that has not been seen since the World Wars.

The recent developments towards a less stable world call for new ways of thinking with new ways of societal development. In this article, a Nordplus development project has been used as an example for that purpose. Development towards a new world order that is unacceptable for democratic states such as the Nordic and Baltic states calls for new strategies and methods to address such development. There are many ways to deal with this kind of development. This article has suggested using the areas of teaching, learning, and education, in addition to the development of a new style of co-creation between schools and heritage institutions, to contribute to a more sustainable, resilient, and culturally competent society.

The Nordplus development project dealt with in this article, of course, begins with politics and thus its departure point is policy formulated by the Nordic and Baltic governments. The intention of the project, however, is not to discuss politics. Instead, the intention is to implement

on a practical level joint Nordic and Baltic policies formulated by the Nordic Council of Ministers and adopted by the Nordic and Baltic governments. Thus, the Nordplus development project is an example of what one might be called internationalisation at home, meaning that a joint international policy becomes a national policy that is even implemented locally and regionally in the countries in question.

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Women's History, Learning, and the Impact on Sustainable Development

The Case of UN Economist Ester Boserup. A Translation

Lasse Sonne

Abstract

This article deals with the limited representation of women in historical narratives of importance, both internationally and domestically. One might argue that women are in fact discriminated against in the way that history has been written until now. This is problematic for sustainability and the implementation of the UN sustainability goals, one of which addresses gender equality. This article therefore combines gender studies and women's history with the teaching of sustainability through history. Its main purpose is to elaborate on how women's history and sustainability can most effectively be taught to have an impact on future developments towards greater equality between men and women. The Danish UN economist Ester Boserup is used here as an example of a woman who stands out as a historical monument in global economic development and who deserves a high status in both history and teaching. The life and work of Boserup can teach us much of importance. Boserup had a considerable historical influence on innovation in agriculture, gender equality, and sustainability.

Keywords: Women's historiography, Sustainable development, Gender equality, Economic innovation, Educational impact

Introduction

This article is a secondary publication, a translation of a primary publication by the author in Norwegian entitled *Kvinnehistorie, bærekraftig utvikling og undervisning i historie: FN-økonomen Ester Boserup* (Sonne, 2024, pp. 157–174). The current article reflects minor changes made to the original, due to improvements made to the primary publication. It is now being re-published to reach a different, broader group of readers beyond Norway and Scandinavia with an interest in gender studies, women's history, and sustainable development and who cannot read Norwegian or another Scandinavian language. As English is the most used research language outside of Scandinavia, it was decided to translate and publish the article in English.

In the article, gender studies, women's history, and sustainability are combined with education science and teaching sustainability through history. The article's main purpose is to elaborate on how to most effectively teach women's history and sustainability so as to have an impact on future developments towards greater equality between men and women. In academic studies of history, and in history teaching within schools and universities and outside of formal educational institutions, the low priority of women's history is well-known. Gender structures in society have affected women's history such that it has been largely excluded from research and from textbooks used in schools and universities. Beyond these institutions and learning environments, the situation is no better. The statues erected of important historical people are mostly of men. Museums relate the history of men. Internationally the problem is similar, with women considered to play an unimportant role. Thus, there is a clear tendency for women in both domestic and international historical research to be marginalised.

Women's exclusion from historical narratives has distorted the perception of history and of who has driven history forward (see, for example, Anderson, Bonnie, & Zinsser, 2000; Bridenthal, Stuard, and Wiesner-Hanks, 1997; Smith, 1988). This is a problem, first and foremost because it is not true that history has been driven by men alone, and secondly because half of the population consists of women. A huge effort is needed to correct the distorted picture of male-dominated history. Education, teaching, and learning are effective means for striving towards historical equality because here we can have the most effective impact on changing our historical perceptions, and thus on changing individual and societal development.

The Danish economist Ester Boserup is an example of a woman who stands out as a historical monument in global economic development and who deserves a high status in both history and teaching. There is much of importance that we can learn from her life and her work in advancing innovation in agriculture, gender equality, and sustainability.

Background: Ester Boserup

Ester Boserup (1910–1999) was a Danish economist. As a student, in addition to theoretical economics she also studied sociology and agricultural policy. Boserup worked for the Danish government from 1935 to 1947 and for the United Nations (UN) Economic Commission of Europe from 1947 to 1965. Boserup is best known for *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure* (1965), which addresses overpopulation and food security. Boserup was one of the foremost critics of the Malthusian view of population growth. Boserup argued against Thomas Robert Malthus's (1766–1834) hypothesis that, due to population growth, the need for food will at a given point in time exceed food production. Boserup claimed that population pressure leads to innovation in agriculture and more intensive use of the land (Boserup, 1981; Mæhlum, 2017).

Boserup's reaction was foremost against the theory of the so-called Malthusian trap, according to which the world has a demographic ceiling whereby population development will be limited by maximum food production. In other words, food produced, and food required will meet at a point of demographic crisis. After this point, population growth will cease as the result of food shortages. People will starve. They will die from disease and in wars over food and land. The Malthusian trap – or the Malthusian hypothesis – was developed at a time when economies were foremost agricultural and when poor populations spent most of their income on food. In other words, it predated the industrial revolution. The Malthusian hypothesis also offers a way of understanding economic and demographic dynamics in present-day low-income societies (Stone, undated).

The work and ideas of Ester Boserup

Ester Boserup wrote seminal works on agrarian change and the role of women in development. Boserup is known for her theory of agricultural intensification, which posits that population change drives the intensity of agricultural production. Her position countered the Malthusian

theory that agricultural methods determine population via limits on food supply. Boserup's arguments can be summarised in four main points:

1) Societies are not static but characterised by continual industrial processes and technological innovation.
2) Societies are characterised by renewable and replaceable human capital.
3) Societies are characterised by institutional changes.
4) Demographic growth generates economic development, meaning that a greater population size leads to increased demand for food, leading to more intensive agricultural technology, leading to increased production, leading to increased population, and so forth. This is also known as Boserup's positive spiral of development.

In short, one can argue that one of the main differences between Boserup and Malthus is that Boserup had a belief in human capability whereas Malthus did not. Where Malthus perceived population growth as a problem, Boserup perceived population growth as an opportunity for economic growth (Tinker, 2001, pp. 1–12).

Boserup's work has, however, been criticised. The main critical points can be summarised in the following three points:

1. Boserup's work was too broad in that it neglects ecological variation as a precondition for agricultural production and agricultural change. Some areas are better suited than others for intensive food production.
2. Boserup overlooked social factors, and that intensive agricultural production is often dependent on the cultures and habits of the population living in a certain area.
3. Boserup neglects the role of the political economy, such as markets, subsidies, and institutional conditions that may be advantageous or disadvantageous for agricultural development (Stone, undated, pp. 331–333).

Nevertheless, Boserup contributed an important critique of Malthus through her emphasis on economic and societal development as dynamic rather than static. For instance, she argued that modern societies are characterised by continual industrial processes and technological innovation. She also argued that modern societies are characterised by renewable and replaceable human capital. A third argument she made is that modern societies are characterised by institutional changes. These arguments may seem elementary, but they were important in order for us to understand that modern economics is a matter of technological change

increasing productivity and making new resources available to society (Cameron & Neal, 2003, p. 18). Modern economics understands that it is always possible to raise the ceiling of technology, productivity and production permitting further growth in population.

Seen from this perspective, Boserup contributed by rejecting the Middle Age perspective of static development, replacing it with a modern perspective where economic, technological, and demographic development have no limits.

Sustainability and Ester Boserup

Boserup's contribution to innovation in agriculture is mirrored in the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that came later. One might argue that a growing population and more intensified agricultural and industrial development present a challenge to sustainability. However, innovation and technological development are in fact preconditions for the successful implementation of the UN SDGs. Sustainability requires new inventions and new ways of looking at societal and industrial development. Boserup made an early contribution to the question of sustainability regarding inequalities in modernisation that she thought should be addressed through structural changes, and political change. Her principal field of observation was women's role in agriculture. In *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (1970), Boserup argued for the importance of women in the practice of agriculture. According to Boserup, women had always been important beyond the corporate–commercial farming system, but they were overlooked in the economic theory and development practice at the time (Turner II & Fischer-Kowalski, 2010, p. 21964).

Boserup argued that women's status is diminished in Western-led development. Her work therefore sought to change the status of women's role in the economy. For example, Boserup inspired the UN Decade for Women (1975–1985). At the World Conference on Women in Mexico City in 1975 – the UN's International Women's Year – a summary of her book was distributed. Boserup's book was published in seven issues in five languages between 1970 and 2007. Boserup thus had considerable influence on the development of gender studies.

Boserup's contribution to sustainability is multifaceted. Boserup's work on innovation in agriculture and food production relates to SDG 1: no poverty, SDG 2: zero hunger (no hunger), and SDG 3: good health and well-being. SDG 5 (gender equality) relates to an area to which she has made a considerable contribution. Other SDGs are also relevant when analysing

Boserup's influence on the SDGs, first and foremost SDG 8: decent work and economic growth, SDG 9: industry, innovation, and infrastructure, SDG 10: reduced inequality, and SDG 11: sustainable cities and communities.

Of course, all the SDGs are important for achieving a more sustainable world. However, gender equality stands out because a key issue in achieving the SDGs in general is prioritising women's empowerment and equality. Of course, investment in women and girls has a positive impact on economies, but such investment often exceeds its initial scope in the way that it spreads like rings in water, thus having an even greater impact on the SDGs in general. This is acknowledged by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (OECD, 2015). Boserup understood early on and demonstrated in her research that investment in women and girls is beneficial not only for women and girls themselves but also for society generally. The fact that such investment would also have an important influence on the development of the UN SDGs can be interpreted as Boserup being an antecedent to the UN SDGs in this case as well.

Impact on sustainable development

What is impact? And how do we make use of the history, ideas, and theories of Boserup to secure the implementation of the UN SDGs? According to the British Research Excellence Framework (REF), impact is defined as "an effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia" (Gulbrandsen, 2017; Gulbrandsen & Sivertsen, 2018, p. 12).

Consequently, there are many forms of impact, from academic impact to societal impact, such as impact on economic development, on culture, and on the private or public sector. An important component of successful impact is change in attitudes or values regarding a certain problem, such as through the introduction of a new understanding of or new knowledge about a certain topic or problem. One example could be sustainable development. Impact could come about by way of through lobbyism as the result of direct influence on political decision-makers. However, impact can occur through other channels. According to Pedersen (2017), education is at the foundation of our society. New knowledge is most effectively disseminated through education and learning. Through education and learning, it is possible to activate or change all areas of a society. Consequently, the most effective kind of impact, at least in the long run, is

most likely to come about through education and learning. This is also the case with the UN SDGs and the dissemination and implementation of these goals.

In the following, we analyse how it is possible to disseminate and implement UN SDGs through education and learning, and by using the history, ideas, and theories of Boserup as a case. We will then focus on relevant learning outcomes that could result from planning education related to the UN SDGs and the history of Boserup.

Didactics: What is it? How does it work?

When an educator plans new teaching and competence development, they usually use a didactic approach. Didactics simply means the art of teaching. Didactics is often translated into teaching theory. Didactics deals with three basic questions: What should be taught? How should it be taught? Why should it be taught? In our case, we want to teach sustainable development. We want to teach it by way of the UN SDGs and the history of Boserup. Finally, we want to teach this because we find it important. The reasons for something being important may differ, but one good reason is that it is a decided policy in a certain area, and it has been included in a national curriculum.

Besides didactics, there is also a didactical relation model that has been developed for didactic planning, implementation, and the evaluation of teaching. The didactical relation model was first described in 1978 by Bjørndal and Lieberg in *Nye veier i didaktikken* and it has been used since then as a planning model for teaching in teacher education in Norway. Because so many conditions interfere with each other, the model shows the complexity and diversity of didactic activity. The model is designed to provide a dynamic view of the teaching process, and one of the model's main points is that no one category takes priority. The model has six factors, which are equal and have a mutual influence on each other: 1) the student; 2) the goal of teaching; 3) the frame; 4) the working method; 5) the contents; and 5) the assessment.

The requirements of participants, as a didactic category, means that students have different expectations, knowledge, experiences, abilities, and home backgrounds. Framework factors relate to the teaching environment. These are conditions that variously limit or enable teaching and learning. It is important to have clear goals for teaching and learning. The word "why" becomes important when we set goals for teaching. An example of a clear goal may be that we

want the students to understand the UN SDGs and the importance of Boserup's thinking. "Working methods" refers to how teachers facilitate pupils' learning. In other words, how can we most effectively learn about the UN SDGs and the history of Boserup?

Assessment relates to putting a value on something. We can use assessment in different ways: product assessment versus process assessment, formal assessment versus informal assessment, individual assessment versus system assessment, objective assessment versus subjective assessment, mid-term assessment versus final assessment (Hiim & Hippe, 2006).

Another way to approach teaching is through the concept of constructive alignment, which means there should be a connection between learning outcomes, learning activities, and the test/evaluation of the effects of teaching. All of this should be in accordance with the learning activities and the expected learning outcomes (Biggs & Tang, 2011, pp. 95–110). In this case, it means that how we measure the progression of knowledge acquired about the UN SDGs and the history of Boserup should relate to the learning outcomes we planned, to the result of the learning process, and to the learning activities.

Teaching about sustainability – an example from Norway

The Norwegian school system provides an example of a rather new curriculum (2020) that includes teaching about sustainability. Norway's goal is the mandatory inclusion of teaching about sustainability in all school topics. This has been a challenge in the case of history, because at the universities and colleges where the teachers have been educated, history education was not initially developed to be crosscutting with, for example, a focus on sustainability. Instead, such education has focused on theoretical and philosophical issues, as well as source-critical technique, which is at the core of the history subject's method. History didactics and public history are today integral parts of many types of education, but there is a long way to go before most of history education can be described as cross-cutting.

The Norwegian curriculum from 2020 states that the schools must facilitate learning within three interdisciplinary themes: public health and life skills; democracy and citizenship; and sustainable development (Norwegian Curriculum 1, 2020).

Sustainable development as a cross-cutting theme puts emphasis on the school facilitating students' understanding of the basic dilemmas and developmental features of society and how these can be handled. According to the curriculum, sustainable development is based on understanding the connection between social, economic, and environmental conditions. The

cross-cutting theme covers issues related to the environment and climate, poverty and the distribution of resources, conflicts, health, gender equality, demography, and education. Students should learn about the connection between the various aspects of sustainable development (Norwegian Curriculum 2, 2020).

In the history subject, sustainable development as a cross-cutting theme relates to enabling students' understanding of the interaction between human beings and nature. The subject should show how humans have related to nature and how they have managed and used resources. The history subject should also shed light on how human activity has changed the conditions for living on earth, even as humankind has had the ability to solve problems that have arisen. History awareness should, according to the curriculum, give students an understanding of how their own choices have consequences that become the story of others. Thus, students should, according to the curriculum, also become aware of their own opportunities to contribute to a more sustainable society (Norwegian Curriculum 3, 2020). As we have already seen, the case of Boserup fits very well with teaching sustainability through the subject of history, because Boserup dealt with many of the issues that are dealt with in the Norwegian curriculum from 2020.

Planning and evaluating teaching about sustainability, history, and Boserup

Different tools can be used when we plan our learning outcomes, our teaching activities, and how to test/evaluate our teaching.

One tool are the European key competences in lifelong learning. Key competences are a combination of knowledge, skills, and attitudes appropriate to a context, in this case sustainability, history, and Boserup. Key competences involve the ability to meet a wide range of requirements. Students and their educators need different skills to meet the ever-changing demands of a globalised and modern world. These demands require the development of every individual's skill throughout their life, not only to gain access to the labour market but also to be flexible and adaptable in the modern world. The eight key competences elaborated upon by the European Union include communication in one's mother tongue; communication in a foreign language; mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology; digital competences; ability to learn; social competences; civic competences; and the ability to

take initiative and be entrepreneurial (entrepreneurial competence), as well as the ability to be culturally aware and be able to express oneself culturally (Rådet, 2018).

The abovementioned competences are all important in combination with overall knowledge, skills, and attitudes within the respective areas of study. The transformation of technology, social structures, and the labour market puts new demands on people. The key competences can be seen as facilitative, offering one opportunity to develop new competences and update old competences to find a place in an ever-changing society. However, the development of key skills is important not only for the labour market but for all citizens in a society. Thus, working with key competences and the history of Boserup may result in important sustainability impacts within modern society.

Another tool, 21st-century skills, can also be used for planning and evaluating teaching. The tool 21st-century skills were developed in the United States and includes the skills identified as necessary to succeed in 21st-century society. It is a tool that can be used by workplaces, educators, business leaders, academics, and government agencies. The skills of the 21st century can be perceived as part of a growing international movement focusing on skills that citizens should master in preparation for, among other things, being part of a rapidly changing digital society. Many of these skills are also linked to deeper learning, which is based on the mastery of skills such as analytical reasoning, complex problem-solving, and teamwork. The skills differ from traditional academic skills in that they do not focus primarily on knowledge (Sonne & Salvesen, 2020; Sonne, 2022, pp. 100–102).

The main difference between the 20th century and the 21st century has been the emergence of sophisticated information and communication technologies. Furthermore, in the 21st century, there is an ever-growing focus on the need for self-actualisation, while the need for citizenship, a job, and an income remains central aspects of people's lives (Dede, 2009, p. 1).

Life and career skills are the main areas in the 21st century skills framework (Sonne, 2022, pp. 101–102). Many dimensions of the 21st-century skills framework could be used for planning sustainability impacts. For example, problem-solving and innovation are highly suitable for combining with teaching about sustainability and Boserup.

Soft skills are a third planning and evaluation tool. According to Durowoju and Onuka (2014), soft skills are an individual's personal characteristics or qualities that make it possible, for example, to have a good relationship with other people, whether family, friends, or people at

work, in social settings, or in other parts of society. Robles (2012) further highlights that soft skills are intangible, non-technical, and personality-specific skills that determine one's strengths as a leader, facilitator, mediator, and negotiator. Soft skills can provide an opening to find and build social networks and expand an information base. Soft skills can be used to address the area of sustainability in many ways, not least to develop individual sustainability through, for example, stress management and personal and professional life planning. Soft skills, however, also relate to team and/or organisational dimensions such as relations to peers and superiors and diversity management, which are all important areas for developing an impact on sustainability.

There is a comprehensive range of literature on methodological approaches to learning and evaluating learning that can be used as background material for developing new teaching about sustainability and Boserup (see, for example, Ehlers, 2019; Hattie, 2015; Biggs, 2011; Prøitz, 2016; Andersen, Wahlgren, & Wandall, 2017; Hylland, 2017). Participant-centred and self-directed approaches to learning are now seen as important because, according to the literature above, they are viewed as the most effective pedagogically.

The development of new teaching implies the development of new learning objectives. Several tools to measure the effects of learning, teaching, and education have been developed, but primarily for formal learning institutions such as schools, colleges, and universities (Andersen, Wahlgren, & Wandall, 2017). Thus, they are less useful in the more informal learning environments of relevance for a historical approach, such as archives, libraries, and museums, where the immediate measurement of learning and social effects can be challenging. Furthermore, the effects in informal learning institutions can be significantly different to the effects of teaching in schools. Whereas in formal education courses learning can be measured over time by way of local and national tests that use predefined criteria as expressed in curricula, the same opportunities are not available to cultural institutions.

One of the most ambitious planning and evaluation tools designed for the cultural heritage area was developed in England by the Inspiring Learning for All project of the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (Arts Council England 1, 2, 3, 2022; Thorhauge, 2014, p. 75ff). Within this project, the Generic Learning Outcomes (GLO) tool was developed for planning and evaluating learning in archives, libraries, and museums.

The GLO is a holistic planning and evaluation tool based on a constructivist approach to learning, according to which learning should depart from participation and dialogue (Sonne &

Banik, 2021, pp. 39–40). Furthermore, the GLO tool can be used to structure learning activities by following questionnaires or qualitative interviews and it can also be used to create structure within pre-existing material (Jönsson & Peterson, 2011, p. 52; Thorhauge, 2014, pp. 76–79; Knudsen, 2017, pp. 40–41).

The GLO tool was developed for five areas: ***knowledge and understanding***; ***skills***; ***attitudes and values***; ***fun, inspiration, and creativity***; and ***activity, behaviour, and progression***. These areas are all important for our case, but the final area is perhaps of particular importance for sustainability impact and Boserup for we need to be active/proactive, we need to change the direction of our behaviour towards sustainability, innovation, and gender, and we need progression to maximise impact (Sonne, 2009, pp. 14–19).

Choosing the teaching method

There are many forms of teaching to choose from when developing a new type of teaching that focuses on the most effective impact. Examples of types of teaching include traditional formal teaching, student active teaching, participant-directed teaching, and self-directed learning (see, for example, Sonne & Kristiansen, 2022, pp. 61–65). However, the Visible Learning (VL) model, developed by a New Zealand professor of educational sciences, John Hattie (2015), can offer a starting point. This model addresses the evidence relating to which kinds of teaching have the greatest effect on learning. Hattie has compared various methods that affect learning to discover which method or methods are most effective. Hattie (2015, p. 81) encapsulates VL in six key findings related to learning effects. He defines the first and most important of these as teachers' ability to believe that their role is to evaluate the effect that they as teachers have on learning. The second is teachers' ability to work together in terms of knowing and evaluating their effects on learning. According to Hattie, these are the two most important factors when new teaching is being developed and conducted. The third most-important factor is teachers' basing their teaching on previous learning – in other words, what they bring to the teaching. The fourth most important is teachers explicitly stating at the beginning of a lesson what constitutes a successful result of the learning situation. The fifth most-important factor indicated by Hattie is the optimal proportioning of surface learning and in-depth learning within learning programmes. The sixth most-important factor is determining an appropriate level of challenge in teaching. This enables the measurement of whether a common goal for teaching and education has been achieved.

Another approach is taken by Australian educational psychologist John B. Biggs (2011, pp. 3–6), who believes that teachers should focus on three levels when organising teaching: level one, focusing on who the learner is; level two, focusing on what the teacher does; and level three, focusing on what the learner does. In other words, level three provides a teaching model centred on the person who is to learn something – that is, on what the learner does. Level three thus focuses on how effectively the intended learning outcomes are achieved. For Biggs, learning involves more than just focusing on the factual knowledge, concepts, or principles that must be covered and understood in a lesson. According to Biggs, the teacher should be more aware of three things. Firstly, what does the learner intend to learn – in other words, what is the intended learning outcome or a satisfactory learning outcome? Secondly, the content of the intended learning outcomes should be clear to the learner. Thirdly, the kind of teaching and learning activities necessary to achieve the intended levels of understanding should be clear.

According to Biggs (2011, p. 6), levels one and two do not address these questions. According to Biggs, what matters is what the learner dos and not so much what the teachers do. The teachers should therefore take a participant-centred approach to teaching and focus on clarifying the intended learning outcomes in relation to their teaching. Thus, teaching is about understanding different levels of learning outcome declarations and about understanding how the participants within a learning environment achieve the levels of learning declared in a learning outcome declaration. It is furthermore about having methods for detecting whether declared learning outcomes have been achieved sufficiently or satisfactorily, or for detecting whether they have not been achieved.

Hattie and Biggs agree that learning outcomes are achieved most effectively when teaching moves away from being teacher-centred towards being centred on the learner and thus on what the student does while learning. This maximises the opportunities to achieve the highest levels of learning outcomes.

One could continue by contrasting the American educational psychologist Robert M. Gagné, who argues that learning is something measurable, predefined, and behaviourally oriented – which could be referred to as a closed system, where goals and learning outcomes are broken down into knowledge and skills – with American professor of education science Elliot Eisner, who argues that learning is measurable within limits, process-oriented, and personally experienced (Prøitz, 2016, pp. 37–47). In contrast with Gagné, Eisner understands learning as an open system where goals and learning outcomes are broken down into behavioural goals,

problem-solving goals, and expressive learning outcomes. Eisner believes that a learner also learns useful things in connection with expressive learning outcomes, meaning the learning outcomes that arise in the meeting between the learner and the situations in which the learning takes place.

By taking this discussion as a point of departure, one could establish different ways of teaching about sustainability and Boserup. However, a modern approach would be to develop learning activities based on a process-oriented and personally experienced form of teaching and to develop a teaching concept with a so-called self-directed learning orientation. This would not only enable the achievement of individual development through learning but also largely the development of the social setting through learning, such as the class, school, or society in general.

Concluding remarks

The most effective way of changing the world is by developing new forms of teaching and education. Impacts relating to gender studies, women's history, and sustainability are effectively achieved when these goals are combined with education science and teaching as a tool. UN SDG 5, relating to gender equality, is a particularly important SDG. Changing the focus from men's to women's role in history can improve perceptions of equality and establish a more sustainable world. Men have occupied more space than women in historical narratives, obstructing the development of sustainability. The use of important female role models like Boserup can make it possible to change the perceptions of men's importance at women's expense.

Boserup's importance as a role model includes the fact that she was not royalty or anything of that kind. She was a female economist and scientist who sought to change the world for the better by means of research, economics, and innovation. She was in fact successful in this regard and left a big mark on the world, especially among those with an interest in economic development, innovation in agriculture and food production, and equality between men and women. What we can learn from Boserup is that we can change history and history can change us. By taking new approaches to history and reinventing our teaching and competence development in history, we can also change the world in the interests of sustainability. History and history teaching are important tools for implementing the 17 SDGs developed by the UN.

This means that history and history teaching are effective tools for achieving peace and prosperity for people and the planet, now and in the future, as formulated by the UN.

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Shaping Racialised Media Representations in Norwegian Sports

An Anti-racial Self-understanding Embedded in Nordic Exceptionalism and Hegemonic Colour-blindness

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Abstract

The article sheds light on how the Norwegian media presents, processes, and shapes perceptions of *racism* in Norwegian sports. The article is based on a debate in the media between mid-February and March 2021 on whether there is structural racism in Norwegian sports. We ask: How does the media represent racism in Norwegian sports? The analysis deals with the different views on racism presented, and these perceptions are arranged in three different frames of understanding. The first understanding was based on the fact that racism in Norwegian sports is a marginal problem that can often be explained by individual minority ethnics' lack of cultural understanding and that it is not the responsibility of organised sports to correct it. The second understanding is of sport as part of society where racism is practised and where challenges experienced by individual minorities can be conceptualised as signs of structural racism. The NIF uses the last understanding to legitimise their strategies. The media debate exemplifies how Norwegian media can carry out their democratic mission by highlighting how social problems are reflected in Norwegian sports. Our data shows that Norwegian media and sports present an anti-racial self-understanding embedded in Nordic exceptionalism and colour-blindness.

Introduction

The murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis on May 25, 2020, and the international Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement led to an increased discussion of racism in the Norwegian media. In the spring and summer of 2020, many current and former athletes spoke about their experiences of racism in Norwegian sports. Organised sports were challenged by their lack of awareness and recognition of racism and discrimination. At a leadership meeting of the Norwegian Sports Confederation and Olympic Paralympic Committees (NIF) on June 5, 2020, a resolution on racism was adopted. As a follow-up, the board of the Norwegian Sports Confederation decided that a survey of the state of central organisational links should be carried out. Through the mapping and the subsequent media debate, a phrase gained extra importance: structural racism.

International research has long documented the occurrence of structural racism in sports. Internationally, institutional, and structural reasons have been uncovered for lack of guidelines for inclusion, as well as the underrepresentation of minority ethnic athletes, managers, and coaches in sports (Bradbury, 2013; Rockhill et al., 2021; Walker et al., 2021), as well as stereotypical media representations of minorities in sports (Farrington et al., 2012). In Norway, even though few sports researchers have explicitly focused on racism, a similar trend appears. It has been documented that racism and ethnic discrimination cause underrepresentation of ethnic minorities, predominantly minority ethnic girls (Massao, 2016; Strandbu et al., 2019), but also underrepresentation of leaders with a minority background (Fasting et al., 2008). In other words, racism and structural racism are not new to Norwegian sport (Andersson, 2008; Massao, 2016; Skille & Broch, 2019), and NIF's commissioned report is therefore a confirmation of the results of these studies (Kristiansen & Sonne, 2021).

The media debate on racism in Norwegian sports was triggered by Kristiansen and Sonne's (2021) research report, and the media debate turned into a track that primarily dealt with whether structural racism exists in the Norwegian context. Although the media debate presented several sides of the case, we follow Elgvin (2021) in questioning whether this process can be understood as elucidating and shaping ideas about structural racism in Norwegian sports. By the fact that public discourse defines structural racism as non-existent, one simultaneously contributes to a public debate where experiences of racism in sports become masked and silenced in its constant reproduction of racialised efforts. Rather than a nuanced debate about structural racism, the Norwegian public descends into a conflict over different

political ideologies about how Norwegian society unfolds and develops. The Labor Party and the Government led by Prime Minister Erna Solberg (Right) recognised that structural racism probably exists in Norway, while the Progressive Party and parts of the Conservative Party questioned the problem (Haakonsen & Haugan, 2021; Redaksjonen Resett, 2021; Teigen, 2021).

We shed light on how Norwegian sports, in general, and NIF, are represented through the Norwegian media, as they are critical of whether there is structural racism or cultural superiority in their own organisation. We analyse the media debate triggered by the research report from 2021 about the role of sport in terms of racism and structural racism. In combining theoretical and conceptual clarifications of structural racism within the framework of Goffman's (1974) frame analysis, we demonstrate how the Norwegian media places NIF in a situation where they have to deal with their institutional inadequacy and a public debate emphasising expectations about societal changes. However, the changes have become impossible to talk about because Norway is a country imbued with official anti-racism, with colour-blindness as the societal and cultural norm.

Understanding racism

Racism is a social process that takes as its starting point the biological characteristics of a human group to establish a moral and social hierarchy (Bangstad & Døving, 2015; Gullestad, 2002). Racism is both historically and culturally changeable, and research has identified how racism is expressed in different forms in different social and historical periods. Racism occurs at different levels, from individual (person to person) to structural (groups and system) level, directly as racist slurs and indirectly as microaggression (Sue et al., 2008), but also as 'positive' stereotypes such as 'Africans are talented in soccer and running' (Massao, 2016; Massao & Fasting, 2010). Racism can be intended but takes various unintended forms (Elgvin, 2021; Gullestad, 2002; Lien, 1997). We even see explicit forms of racism, such as racist slurs, disappear in public space, without racism based on the same stereotypes disappearing from society.

Today, the concept of racism is problematic to talk about in a Nordic context and mainly refers to the exercise of explicit notions about the position of different groups of people in a hierarchy of values (Craig, 2007; Rogstad & Midtbøen, 2010). Gilroy (2006) observes that a new form

of racism, which is disconnected from established biological hierarchies linked to racist ideology, is relevant. When race has become an inflamed term in public places, 'race' is often replaced by 'culture', but the premises are the same in that cultures are incompatible and that mixing different cultures can lead to conflict (Bangstad & Døving, 2015). The individual is now predetermined by her or his cultural background instead of referring to race. Racism, or cultural superiority, is therefore "not concerned with identifying individual racists, but seeks to uncover mechanisms that can explain systematic differences between the majority and minorities" (Rogstad & Midtbøen, 2010, p. 49). Both culture and race are essential for uncovering how media debates present and shape systematic differences between minorities and the majority in Norwegian sports.

Structural racism

When the goal is to focus on social structures, patterns and mechanisms, structural racism is a relevant term. Structural racism can be understood as institutions, culture, and society being structured in ways that exclude minorities from participating on the same lines as majorities (James, 1996). Structural racism, therefore, has negative consequences for democracy and citizenship, both in sports and society.

Elgvin (2021) discusses whether structural racism exists in Norway when it is prohibited by law. He shows that racism can be structural in three ways. Firstly, in that society's laws discriminate based on skin colour, ethnicity or religious background. Elgvin (2021) believes this does not occur in Norway. The second way involves an intentional explanation of structural racism, where enough people in social institutions exhibit racist or discriminatory tendencies. This also applies where the law is the same for everyone, for example, when a large enough number of people practice a discourse that is negatively attuned to minorities (Elgvin, 2021, p. 101). Finally, there is a functionalist explanation. This explanatory model emphasises that the structure of an institution systematically benefits people from the majority population more than it benefits minorities. This can lead to biases "which cause a social institution to function structurally racist - also where the individuals in the institution are not necessarily racist themselves" (Elgvin, 2021, p. 99). This form of structural racism can be exemplified through how different voices are excluded to maintain a cultural hegemony. That is, "when voices that criticise the majority public are ridiculed, muted, and excluded, then a public that does not need to deal with critical expressions is maintained" (Elgvin, 2021, p. 104).

Racism in sports

Media is a powerful socialisation force and may be considered a form of education, especially concerning race (Hill Collins, 2009). Alongside family, academic institutions, politics and other sites of socialisation, the sport media shape understanding of race and racial relations (Van Sterkenburg et al., 2010). As a central cultural text, the sport arena is one of the most powerful discursive spaces for the deployment of dominant racial ideology and myths (Leonard, 2004). While sport represents a contested racial terrain, "where racial images, ideologies, and inequalities are constructed, transformed, and constantly struggled over" (Hartmann, 2000, p. 230), the cultural images and representation in sport largely serve to naturalise white supremacy. In particular, the racialised construction of Black players often rationalises the control, contempt and fear of Black Americans even as they are celebrated and lauded as examples of racial equality (Ferber, 2007, cited in Haslerig et al., 2020, pp. 272-273).

According to Haslerig et al. (2020), "American sports have often functioned as a site of integration and cross-racial interaction, at least symbolically; as such, sports may also be a particularly public site of racial conflict and stereotyping" (p. 273), and the public site of racial conflict follows the perspective of Haslerig et al. (2020), but in favour of a Nordic context. We argue in this article that the representation of Nordic sports in public media is embedded in Nordic exceptionalism, i.e. a hegemonic Nordic colour-blindness that sees itself as antiracist and condemns any mention of the word 'race'. This Nordic colour-blindness makes it impossible to talk about racial conflicts in a Nordic sports setting, and the hegemonic Nordic colour-blindness makes it impossible even to address the notion of colour-blindness because it erases 'race' as a point of reference in Nordic sports.

Nordic exceptionalism and colour-blindness

> The discourse of Nordic exceptionalism is often traced back to the period following World War II, when researchers within the fields of International Relations and Security Policy caught interest in the Nordic region as an example of what Karl W. Deutsch in 1957 described as a unique 'security community' in a time of global unrest and polarisation. With reference to the alleged 'mutual sympathy and loyalty' between the Nordic nations - the so-called 'we-feeling' - researchers argued that the Nordic region stood out for its unique ability to resolve problems, domestically as well as internationally, by means of 'peaceful change' (Danbolt, 2016, p. 4).

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When the historical point of reference unfolds the construction of a Nordic we-feeling embedded in peacefulness, the peacefulness, paradoxically, turns into numbness when the resolving of racial problems in Norwegian sports becomes a domestication of problems embedded in Nordic exceptionalism but performed through Nordic colour-blindness. We talk about a hegemonic ideology of Nordic colour-blindness that can be extracted from the frame analysis of the 23 media texts and unfolded through three frameworks. The frameworks are all embedded in what Hübinette and Andersson (2012) call "ethnicisation", which unfolds in a Swedish context as a self-image of being "white deluxe" (p. 98) based on "the idea that Sweden was the most white of all white nations and its population accordingly the elite of humankind itself was a taken-for-granted scientific 'truth' at least up to the mid-1900s (Pinter, 2010, p. 98).

According to Hübinette and Andersson (2012), the social revolutions of the 1960s were:

> […] an almost total public memory loss of Swedish thinking on 'race', and from the mid-1970s, multicultural policy, antiracist rhetoric and colour-blindness replaced the myth of the 'Nordic' race to the extent that race, not only as a concept but even as a word, has disappeared from everyday and official language. (Hübinette and Lundström, 2011, p. 99)

This ethnicisation has resulted in Sweden being able to brand and promote itself as the most tolerant and open-minded Western country, and therefore a particularly suitable one to receive adoptees of colour from the former colonies. Sweden, therefore, saw itself as the most suitable Western nation to receive adoptees of colour from any country in the world. (Hübinette & Andersson, 2012, p. 99)

As in most Western European countries, the term 'ethnicity' and the word 'culture' have come to replace race, emphasising the notions of ethnic Swedes as white Swedes versus Swedes of colour, non-Christian Swedes and non-Western Swedes (i.e. immigrants) (Hübinette & Andersson, 2012). The Swedish context can also be applied to other Nordic contexts. The problem is that the abolishment of the word 'race' can lead to racial isolation and feelings of shame when talking about race. The disappearance of physical appearance from public debates equates to the disappearance of race, racism, structural racism, and even processes of racialisation. Issues of racism are impossible to talk about in the context of Nordic exceptionalism and hegemonic colour-blindness, which includes the Norwegian sports federations and their representations in public media.

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To understand our present, we need to know, and be openminded enough to critically examine, our past. European history is to a great extent also a history about race, racialisation, and racism. Since the colonisers of past centuries defined the boundaries between "civilised" and "savages" by applying value standards in which notions of race, ethnicity, culture, and religion were interwoven, racialisation became deeply inherent in how (white) Europeans viewed the world, themselves, and others (Maneri 2020; Lentin 2008, 2020; Silverstein 2005). While in the US, a denial of race as a social fact is virtually unimaginable given the country's overtly racist history, from ethnic cleansing and slavery to racial segregation and police violence, in Europe, an illusion of colorblindness has thrived for a long time (Lentin 2008, 2011; Törngren et al. 2019). Race as concept has therefore been viable in Anglo-Saxon scholarship, but much less so in the European context, where it was largely replaced by the broader and less specific term 'ethnicity'. (Hellgren & Bereményi, 2022, p. 1)

Applying the term racialisation has become mainstream in social sciences, according to Hellgren and Bereményi (2022), and can be understood as:

> […] more than being merely related to skin color or phenotype, may also encompass a rather vague sense of (devalued) 'ethnicity', 'culture', or religion, and in practice, it often intersects with categories such as class, and/or gender in the negative stereotyping of people with certain characteristics. (p. 3)

Ethnic discrimination, in turn, is primarily considered a consequence of racialisation, and discrimination and racism are often used as practically synonymous and interchangeable concepts. Hellgren and Bereményi (2022) argue that post-racial discourse in Europe is closely related to the liberal views that the individual freedom ensured by the European democracies will automatically push racism to the margins. In addition, they suggest that present racial plurality, taken as a sign of modernity, does not invite a profound revision of racism as a fundamental element in the formation of Europe. It may thereby be used discursively in ways that impede coming to terms with the current forms of racist practices. Due to the denial of race as 'unreasonable', it paradoxically persists as a structuring logic, as we will see in the upcoming frame analysis of the public media debate following the publishing of the research report on racism in Norwegian sports (Kristiansen & Sonne, 2021).

In this study on the Norwegian media debate regarding racism, structural racism was defined as "discussion and debate about whether systematic, structural and institutionalised racism

exists" (Retriever/Fritt ord, 2020, s. 14). Sport itself at NIF has also operationalised several concepts in its work with racism. However, structural racism is not one of these. NIF (2020) defines racism as a subjective experience of a racist statement or action by the person who experiences this, regardless of whether this was intended negatively.

Publishing the research report on structural racism in Norwegian sports

On February 10, 2021, the research report containing different Norwegian sports federations' responses to racism and follow-up action plans in their respective federations was published (Kristiansen & Sonne, 2021). The report was announced in the established public debate climate and is related to the ongoing BLM debate in the media (Retriever/Fritt ord, 2020) and the Government's demand for diversity (Regjeringen.no, 2019). Overall, this led to a discussion about using the term *structural racism* concerning Norwegian sport. The report showed, through the self-reporting of 55 Norwegian sports federations, that racism and discrimination were low priority before summer 2020. The main conclusion in the report was that there were tendencies towards structural racism since few of Norway's ethnic minority population participate in Norwegian sports. This is in line with previous research in the field, which has documented forms of institutional discrimination and how ethnic minorities experience a cultural limitation of their opportunities to participate (Andersson, 2008; Fasting et al., 2018; Massao, 2016; Skille & Broch, 2019).

The main conclusion in the report suggested that there were tendencies towards structural racism as few of Norway's ethnic minority population participate in sports. This is in line with the previous research in the field, which has documented forms of institutional discrimination and how ethnic minorities experience a cultural limitation of their opportunities to participate. Based on self-reporting, the report is clear that it is impossible to say whether this is intentional or unintentional, but the pattern is clear: Participation in sports reflects society to a limited extent:

- There are few measures and earmarked funds to prevent racism and discrimination.
- Many national federations lack a clear piece of legislation to prevent racism.
- There are few sports facilities in areas where many people with a visible minority background live.
- Two-thirds of the national federations have not conducted programs on racism and discrimination.

The report discussed social exclusion, but it did not answer how, and there was little in its findings and conclusions to suggest that the subsequent public debate should only deal with structural racism in Norwegian sport.

Organising media texts through a frame analysis

To analyse the media debate that followed the report on diversity in Norwegian sport, a search was carried out in Retriever in the period 10.02.2021 (the presentation of the report) and up to 18.03.2021 (a few days after NIF had reviewed the report). The sources we searched for were from 'web' and 'web–closed' categories. The search targeted identifying internet sources with news and comments related to the report presentation at Ullevaal on February 10, 2021. The search string used was: (rapport* ONEAR/5 rasis*) OR "Idrettsglede for alle" OR (Kristiansen ONEAR/5 Sonne) to cover articles that mentioned the report in various ways. There were 31 hits. Ten texts were taken out since they referred to racism more generally and were not part of the debate. After reading through them all, two texts were added because they were referenced in several places. The findings of this analysis are based on 23 texts.

The reading of the texts went through two rounds: the first round took place at the same time as the collection of texts to get an immediate and broad overview. Table 1 shows the complete dataset with title and summarised argumentation. The second round was a more systematic reading, where newspaper articles were organised and analysed using a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The texts were categorised following Goffman's approach to frame analysis (1974) and the desire to see which angles the media covered, which can thus be understood as shaping our ideas about diversity and racism in sports and society (Wagner & Kristiansen, 2019).

Frame analysis (Goffman, 1974) is an appropriate tool when the aim is to study (political) communication in news (Knudsen, 2016; Sandvik et al., 2017), and it helps us to understand the power of the angle and its subsequent consequences. Thus, frame analysis (Goffman, 1974) is relevant for this study as we are concerned with the aspects of the content selected by the media and how this can be understood as influencing the understanding of the media user/reader/audience. The media's framing of issues can lead to a polarisation of society, which can be found in the subsequent debate (Wei et al., 2015). This can very quickly happen when

the topic is something as inflamed as racism. Therefore, frame analysis (Goffman, 1974) is a good starting point for analysing different 'framings' of racism in Norwegian sports.

The appearance of three frameworks in the media texts
Table 1 shows who participated in the discussion and briefly the arguments they used. Based on this table, we will divide the media debate about the report into three frames.

The first framework is based on the notion that racism in Norwegian sports is constructed as a marginal problem following an understanding of minorities as lacking cultural understandings of what we now can elaborate as Norwegian exceptionalism. This approach can often explain that sports cannot or should not correct a social problem made invisible in Nordic colour-blindness.

The second framework approaches sports as part of a society where racism is practised and embeds all minorities' challenges as a sign of structural racism.

The third framework is used when the Norwegian sports federations treat the aforementioned frames to legitimise their daily activities and social value.

	Source /date	Title (Our translation of the title)	Argument in the text
(1)	AP10.02.2021	Minorities' participation in sports does not reflect society	Many national federations are now working to include everyone, and the structural racism is unintentional.
(2)	AP 10.02.2021	Little boys shouted 'fucking homo' without anyone caring	Comment by journalist Birger Løfaldli: It is emphasised that sports are not isolated from the rest of the world. The absence of correction creates negative attitudes.
(3)	AP 10.02.2021	The findings about racism in Norwegian sports are scary	Comment by journalist Røed-Johansen: Journalists have not shed enough light on the topic either. Sports cannot solve everything on its own. But it can be part of the solution.
(4)	AP 10.02.2021	Crushing report on sports: Tendencies towards structural racism	Minister of Culture Abid Raja supports that NIF says they take this seriously, and he expects them to follow up with concrete measures to strengthen the work against racism.
(5)	**Aftenposten** 22.02.2021	Why doesn't the voluntary sector recruit more leaders with immigrant backgrounds?	Comment: Marit Aure (UiT) & Kari Lydersen (volunteer center in Tromsø Red Cross): The study shows that immigrants do not fit into the picture of enthusiasts
(6)	**Dagbladet** 10.02.2021	Racism in sports depressing report: - A wake-up call	Balanced review of the report. Quotes Berit Kjøll on "Norwegian sports have not been attentive enough in the fight against racism - and that the summer of 2020 was an awakening".
(7)	VG 10.02.2021	The word must capture!	Comment: journalist Leif Welhaven: Praise to NIF for measures after BLM.
(8)	VG 20.02.2021	Sports contribute more to bridge-building than to discord and racism	Comment: Arve Hjelseth & Mads Skauge (NTNU): No documentation of structural racism.
(9)	**Document.no** 10.02.2021	Is 'structural racism' to blame for the lack of immigrants in sports?	Comment by Erling Marthinsen. Is it the fault of ethnic Norwegians that few Somalis go skiing? Should critical race theory be included in sports? I

			have no idea about the extent of racism.
(10)	**NIF** 10.02.2021	Norwegian sports do not reflect the diversity of society	We must recruit more trusted representatives with minority backgrounds and increase knowledge.
(11)	**NIF** 18.02.2021	Norwegian sports are not racist	Comment by Berit Kjøll: Joy of sports for everyone must be reflected in practice.
(12)	**NIF** 25.02.2021	New report: Inclusion measures yield results	Article about the work NIF does and shows that "Inclusion in sports clubs" can work.
(13)	**TV2** 10.02.2021	New racism report presented: - Participation of people with visible minority backgrounds is low	The Norwegian Sports Federation aims to reflect the diversity in society into sports. There must always be a reaction to prevent racism from happening again
(14)	**NRK** 10.02.2021	Crushing racism report in sports	Focus on report presentation and Kjøll's comments after the press conference.
(15)	**NRK** 10.02.2021	Minority groups should take responsibility after crushing report	Interview with Soliman Sarwar, treasurer of a local club who encourages minorities to take their place in sports. Angle on solutions to involve more people.
(16)	**NRK** 16.02.2021	Sports is not racist	Chronicle by Himanshu Gulani, sports policy spokesperson for FrP: Rejects that there is racism
(17)	**Resett** 10.02.2021	Sports accused of structural racism	Comment from Raja that racism is harmful to both the individual, sports and society. The term "structural racism" is highlighted and linked to BLM.
(18)	**Resett** 15.02.2021	How idiotic can journalism really get in this 'anti-racist' year?	Discussion of Kjetil Rolness, who is critical of racism allegations against Norwegian sports and the implementation of the survey on behalf of NIF
(19)	**Utrop** 11.02.2021	Structural racism in Norwegian sports: - A leadership problem	Article highlights Kjøll's comments that we must do something about the blind spot against racism. Sports must be better equipped to address this issue.
(20)	**Utrop** 15.02.2021	Structure, leadership and grassroots - This is how racism in sports can be combated	Comment by Claudio Castello: If sports are to tackle structural racism, several people with multicultural backgrounds must sit on boards.

(21)	**Utrop** 26.02.2021	Inclusion measures yield results	The article highlights that inclusion in sports clubs works, and that we should engage immigrant parents in various roles.
(22)	**M24** 14.02.2021	The ghost of racism in Norwegian sports	Comment by Kjetil Rolness: criticism of report, journalism, and sports participation.
(23)	**AP** 24.02.2021	Sports can lose itself in the pursuit of solving socio-political tasks	Chronicle by Hans B. Skaset: Discusses what the primary task of sports should be and believes it does not include 'solving socio-political tasks'.

Table 1. *Overview of actors involved in the media debate after using the search string: (rapport* ONEAR/5 rasis*) OR "Idrettsglede for alle" OR (Kristiansen ONEAR/5 Sonne)*

The first framework: It is not a structural problem

The first framework revealed in the newspaper texts is based on the assumption that racism in Norwegian sports is a marginal problem insofar as minorities lack a cultural understanding of Norwegian exceptionalism, and it can be divided into two parts concerning: 1) *Voluntary participation and minorities' lack of cultural understanding; 2) The problem with political correctness: The media exaggerates and twists reality.*

Voluntary participation and minorities' lack of understanding

Firstly, debaters who use this framework consider racism in Norwegian sports to be a marginal problem and neither the fault of sports nor sports' responsibility to correct it. In the wake of the report (Kristiansen & Sonne, 2021), criticism of the term structural racism was linked to the question of what role sports play in Norwegian society. It was emphasised that Norwegian sports are both *voluntarily* organised and *voluntary* to participate in. Therefore, the existence of structural racism in Norwegian sports was rejected through a framework that points to the lack of participation from minorities who *choose* not to participate. Those who used this framing believed that those ethnic minorities in Norway who do not want to participate on the same cultural terms as majority-ethnic Norwegians, sports (and thus Norwegian sports culture) should not be subordinated to a political goal that should *force* ethnic minorities into Norwegian sports:

One should be careful not to generalise, but my perception is that parents with immigrant backgrounds are less involved in their children's sports than others… If my perception is correct, that is probably the reason for the lack of representation, not structural racism. (16, 16.02)

Sports representatives also questioned what the primary task of sports should be (23, 24.02). Should sports/NIF organise social integration or open sports competitions to all? For these debaters, this seemed like a timely question because sports are increasingly being given tasks outside of their core business of organising competitions - namely, responsibility related to social inequalities through economics as a barrier, sexual harassment/abuse, equality - and racism.

If you take on a voluntary position in sports, there are high demands for non-sporting responsibilities. When the NIF commissioned a report on racism in Norwegian sports, it was clear that they initially wanted more information on how the 55 national federations worked with inclusion. These carried out self-reporting on status, legislation, and measures. Many media debaters perceived the status report from the federation level as an attack on the entire sports organisation, and that the demands that were applied at the professional level (federations) should also apply to all clubs regardless of size. Defence using a frame that wanted to preserve sports in its current form was used by both breadth and elite sports. In legitimising these efforts, racism had to be understood as marginal.

The problem with political correctness: The media exaggerates and twists reality
Secondly, the first framework allowed a depiction of the media's portrayal of racism as a bigger problem than the Norwegian sports thought it was. It is a way of explaining racism away as a marginal problem. Several debaters accused the media (and journalists) of having too much of a spotlight on racism and that they exaggerated the findings. This was clear in many comments, such as "The media exaggerates findings of racism in Norwegian sports with wording and reports" (18, 10.02). Others went further: "The fact that the media have bought these narratives about racism in sports without asking critical questions may be because such critical nuances are quickly perceived as sticks in the wheels of the anti-racist work, we all support" (8,10.02).

The media discussion of the concept of structural racism was steered in the direction of whether there are individual cases of racism or whether there is structural racism in Norwegian sports.

The power of the concept and its inability to explain racism as random and individual was perceived by many as deeply provocative: "To claim that sport is structurally racist is, to put it mildly, gross" (16, 16.02), some argued. In addition, it was emphasised that the underrepresentation of "minorities can be due to many things, but in the vast majority of cases, it is not due to not racism" (16, 16.02). The claim that was made was that the media had created a "ghost of racism" that does not exist in Norwegian sports (22, 14.02). Some went so far as to claim that one smears an "ugly, ugly accusation thinly over thousands of people" and places a "dark cloud of suspicion over a significant part of the population" (18, 10.02).

NIF is Norway's largest voluntary organisation and a key symbol of Norwegian democratic culture (Broch, 2020). Of the voices that allowed themselves to be provoked, the media's use of the term was an attack on the Norwegian sports administration and the Norwegian majority ethnic culture. The media were, therefore, perceived in the light of a framework that defined them as supporting excessive political correctness by making racism a more significant issue than it "actually is".

Several voices thus claimed that many minority-ethnic Norwegians lacked a cultural understanding of sports and how it is practised in Norway. They claimed that minorities did not understand that "a harsh tone has always characterised sport... [so] how big can this [alleged] racism problem be?" (9, 10.02). Ethnic minorities do not understand how demanding competitive Norwegian sport and its majority ethnic discourse is, and the lack of minorities in sport was used to explain an ethnic minority deficiency. It is a lack of understanding and of language that is the problem.

This framework thus attempts to turn a focus from structural challenges in Norwegian sports and Norway to an attempt to find structural explanations in Norwegian immigrant communities. Those who used this framework claimed that their side of the story and their frame of understanding was subdued in that it was both politically correct and, therefore, far safer to blame an ethnic majority than a minority. The media's use of the term structural racism was perceived to be framed as a hunt for racism in Norwegian sports that does not exist, and if it existed, it should not be a big problem. These debaters linked the two frameworks, which implies that this is not a structural problem and that it is the media that is the problem; in this way, it is does not a problem that minorities are not represented:

Here is the question that is never asked: Is this necessarily a problem? Is it reasonable to expect that all groups in all places of society should be represented with their share of the population? And when they are in the minority, should we immediately assume that it is due to ugly attitudes or exclusionary structures [in the majority population]? Does a numerical skew always have to be about moral guilt? Racism is a two-way process, is it not? How idiotic can journalism get in this year of 'anti-racism'? (22, 14.02)

One thing became clear as it was repeated that low minority-ethnic participation is likely "due to factors other than racism" (8, 10.02). Most critical debaters remained silent about what other societal factors these could be. The two frameworks mapped here nevertheless provided an opportunity to criticise what the critics defined as a one-sided focus on structural racism. It was an opportunity and an attempt both to focus on the individual minority person who, "makes an individual choice not to participate" and the media's excessive political correctness. The sports federation itself also stated that "sport has been founded on volunteerism for 150 years, and it is equally voluntary to participate" to this day (23, 24.02). With this logic, therefore, sports should not have different tasks today than it has had in the past, in a time when majority-ethnic ideals were less visibly threatened by diversity and multiculturalism (Skille & Broch, 2019).

The second framework: We have a structural problem - majority-ethnic dilutions and possible assessment

The second frame used in the newspaper articles is a direct contrast to the frame discussed above. This framework sees sport as part of Norwegian society, which can be understood through Elgvin's functional approach to structural racism (2021). Racism is practised and understood intuitively through the sum of individual minorities' challenges and the everyday signs of structural exclusion witnessed through the majority's practice of cultural hegemony. This is how the debate was seen and framed by the discussants highlighted in this section. They, therefore, sought to combat this form of structural racism and used this framework to turn the debate towards various proposals and perspectives on inclusion. These debaters drew on research to argue that "inclusion measures work" (12, 25.02). Debaters with a multicultural background stated, "those of us with a multicultural background must help and contribute" (15, 10.02). Others argued that combining organisational measures and willingness to participate is vital since "better inclusion leads to more knowledge about the challenges and barriers that

children, young people and adults with minority backgrounds may experience in society and sports" (10, 10.02).

This framework was also built concerning previous research and projects. Chronicle writers [kronikkforfattere] in Aftenposten were able to narrate a story that even though "Norway are world champions in volunteering" and thus have both a vibrant and potentially inclusive civil society, there are few ethnic minority "fire souls". "Fire souls" passionately devote their lives to voluntary work. This uniquely Norwegian "honorary designation" is not only linked to practical work but also identity work connected to a "foundational narrative" about Norwegian local identity and community:

> Board members and managers often assumed that immigrants do not have the motivation and the characteristics that this 'basic narrative' [about the fire soul] requires. They, therefore, believed that people with a multicultural background do not meet the underlying criteria for what a fire soul should be and, thus, who this can be. People with a foreign background were not familiar with volunteerism and Norwegian volunteerism. This implied that they do not fit into the image of the fiery soul. At the same time, no one had done anything to check if this was correct. (5, 22.02)

This statement was echoed in yet another article:

> Fair or foul: Football is a great example. When the selection committee [of the Oslo football district] recently appointed a new board, they could not find a place for one person with a minority-ethnic background. In Oslo, over 33 per cent of the inhabitants have an immigrant background. None of them are represented on the board of the city's own football club. (3, 10.02)

As a result, this framework led to discussions of what measures should be taken, and in particular, increased awareness-raising was highlighted through expressions such as "sport is not isolated from the rest of the world" (2, 10.02), "Sport must follow up with concrete measures to strengthen the work against racism (4, 10.02) and "...[must] raise awareness and incorporate more immigrants (5, 22.02). This was suggested to be done by forcing "the electoral committees to make changes... It is probably not enough to talk about quotas - here it must be forced through concrete demands..." (7, 10.02). The overall aim of these various suggestions concerning measures was that sport should, to a greater extent, reflect a diverse Norwegian society and thus be able to listen to and understand the many cases of racism

experienced in Norwegian sports. This was probably as much about being a supportive and understanding sports organisation as it is about sports alone overcoming racism in Norway. Many also emphasised that it is not so easy to stand up for something if you feel ostracised:

> Even if we think that we are open and inclusive, there are mechanisms and cultural codes that make the threshold to participation in the community high, both among those who want to be active players and especially on the coaching and management side. We cannot accept that someone or some group decides that dark-skinned children do not find it fun to go skiing or do dog sledging, or for that matter, that light-skinned children should not play cricket. (11, 18.02)

With Gullestad (2002), we argue that Norway has a compulsion to reduce individual differences, diversity and inequalities, and, instead, emphasise equality through an ideology of sameness. If one is to claim that sport organisations are structurally racist, it is not enough to show that the institution can be perceived as racist or that it can have effects that have a more negative impact on minority ethnics than majority ethnics. There must also be a feedback mechanism that actively contributes to the practice of racism being continued, claims Elgvin (2021). With Elgvin (2021), we can say that the reproduction of a cultural hegemony that masks diversity and disagreements is undemocratic, both when it comes to possible representation and when it comes to diverse frameworks of understanding. Several of the debaters in the Norwegian media pointed out that a cultural majority-ethnic hegemony has very real personal inflictions and that perceived individual problems must therefore be understood as a more general and social problem in sport, which is, perhaps to this day, not discussed as enough:

> Not making adjustments creates bad attitudes. Negative attitudes. 'The wave of bullying against players on social media is part of a deep social crisis. However, perhaps football can provide a solution?' wrote The Guardian's Jonathan Liew in an in-depth article about the issue of racism a couple of days ago... it is not many months since one of the courtside guards at Sandefjord stadium shouted 'monkey' at Vålerenga's Ousmane Camara. On the eve of last year's season, KBK's Flamur Kastrati called Vålerenga coach Dag-Eilev Fagermo 'damn faggot' in a heated discussion. Then it was reacted. (2, 10.02)

It is reasonable to believe that in Norwegian society, embedded in the global context of the Black Lives Matter movement, but also in an atmosphere of an emerging focus on identity politics, the report's minor findings of racism was also steered into a discussion that was

already primed to highlight how sport "must be better equipped to deal with racism issues" (19, 11.02). The other frame, which claimed that structural racism was not present in Norwegian sport, saw this national and global context differently and used it to explain why "a very few cases of racism" received "too much media focus and the problem is therefore reinforced by a distorted representation of the extent" (9, 10.2). With a framing that argued that sport is both parts of a Norwegian society with racism and that Norwegian sport even lags behind society in its understanding and dealing with this phenomenon, the sports president Kjøll herself was able to point out how vigilance and applied measures can and should go together in assessing racism in sports:

> A very few cases of racism have been reported, but there is still reason to believe that only a small proportion of racist incidents are reported... The positive thing is that everyone who took part in the survey is positive and has a will for change. (13,10.02)

The third framework: The Norwegian Sports Federation's legitimation of an adaptive sports culture

State funds, sports and political demands require sports to contribute to a multicultural society. This is also in line with the *Government's action plan against racism and discrimination based on ethnicity and religion 2020-2023*, which states that:

> In the letter of fund provision to the Norwegian Confederation of Sports (NIF), one of three overall objectives for the provision is that the grant shall "contribute to maintaining and safeguarding NIF as an open and inclusive organisation and that the sports teams are arenas for developing opinions and social unity.
>
> (Regjeringen.no, 2019, p. 33, our translation)

With the transfer of government lottery funds, there is a clear requirement that sports must now take a broader and socially relevant role than traditional Norwegian sports have been founded on. Sports can contribute to a positive direction, so it is crucial that sports organisations also contribute to social cohesion and sustainability through social inclusion and work against racism and discrimination. An inclusive sport is an arena where young people can experience life skills, belonging, and unity. Therefore, the Government wants sports to listen more to the new voices, as stated by Abid Raja (Ministry of Culture, 2021). Sport and politics are intertwined. The question is more about how they are intertwined today and in the future.

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Former NIF worker and current Director of Studies at the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences Anja Rynning Veum stated that:

> Engaging immigrant parents as coaches, referees, board members, or in other voluntary work activities is essential for getting their children involved in sports. It is, therefore, gratifying to see that the sports teams that are part of the *Inclusion scheme* have fairly high participation and that more people are working to increase participation. (12, 25.02)

As mentioned, there is no shortage of locally documented measures for inclusion in Norwegian sports and efforts against exclusion. This somewhat naïve approach to volunteerism and a good civil society (Broch, 2022) was followed up by journalists who wrote that "it remains to be seen whether the sports tops dare to be sufficiently rigid in their ranks to make a difference in the future" (6, VG, 10.02.2021). The last frame, also mapped out in this article, must therefore be understood as a legitimation framework used when the sports federations present and maintain a positive narrative about themselves (Broch & Skille, 2019). In this attempt, NIF can treat both angles mentioned above to legitimise its activities and social value. They can try to moderate the debate climate while taking on a role as a responsible debater and contributor. The fact that "sport has been founded on voluntary participation for 150 years, and participation is equally voluntary" is no longer an adequate description of Norwegian sport in 2021.

Directing the debate towards a more upbeat track embraced more voices. It was emphasised that NIF's many sports federations are now working to include all (1, 10.02), and twice as many federations state that they intend to recruit leaders with minority backgrounds (14, 10.02). These are examples of technical solutions and organisational measures. Although this can and often includes moral efforts at the local level, such as cultural diversity training, few measures focused on NIF's own organisational culture. The report showed that although there was no lack of will, there was a lack of institutional measures in NIF. In addition, the report led to NIF having to go out and explain what they meant by the term 'structural racism' due to the significant criticism this entailed. Sports president Berit Kjøll wrote:

> The term 'structural racism' was blown up in the media after the publication of the research report last week. 'Structural racism' is a term that can mean several things. It can be applied to the deliberate exclusion of persons based on ethnicity, country of origin, and skin colour, but it can also be applied to structures where the consequence is that people with a minority background in practice have less opportunity to participate

than those with a majority background, without anyone wanting it to be so. As far as sport is concerned, it is the last type of structural racism/discrimination that researchers see tendencies towards. This is something we in sport need to be open to. We must constantly challenge ourselves on whether we can become even better, and we cannot be satisfied with the 'status quo' when we see that our organisation is not in line with societal developments. (11, NIF 18.02)

Kjøll believed that using the term took the focus away from the case. Previous research suggests that Kjøll may be right about this (Rogstad & Midtbøen, 2010), and her definition of structural racism is similar to Elgvin's functionalist explanation of the term (Elgvin, 2021). She emphasises that Norway must take inequality in the sports systems seriously – and more people must be included to enjoy "equality-minded" sports.

Initially, and in commissioning the report, NIF stated that Norwegian sports wanted "increased transparency about racism" and that more knowledge was needed than the many anecdotes from former athletes that were now loaded in the media. The knowledge would come from a "mapping of status in key organisational levels" (Kristiansen & Sonne, 2021, p. i). After the report, which pointed out that there was more than anecdotal racism in Norwegian sport, Kjøll stressed all contradictions in that Norwegian sport is not racist, but that racism exists – in addition to reiterating that "change takes time, but we will work to ensure that changes to more diversity in sport take place faster" (11, 18.02). There was also tremendous pressure when *Minister of Culture Raja stated that he expected NIF to follow up the report with concrete measures to strengthen efforts to combat racism* (17, 10.02). On that occasion, it also came from NIF that:

> We (sport) do not reflect the diversity of our society well enough, even though we have this as a clear goal in our plans and strategies, says NIF. We can be better, and we must be better. Sport does not provide joy for everyone when we do not reflect our society among our children, youth, adults, coaches and leaders. (6, 10.02)

The media debate accompanying the report on racism in Norwegian sports demonstrated a polarised framing (Goffman, 1974). Sports are part Norwegian culture. However, the concept of culture has undergone extensive changes in recent decades through the influence of a new, more progressive cultural policy focusing on how cultural institutions should facilitate diversity and inclusion. Culture is expected to create value that complements areas of society that are not only in the self-interest of the cultural institution. If the premise that sport is part

of cultural life is accepted, then sports can not only be perceived as being carriers of intrinsic values but must, if we follow the principle of Sacco (2011), be ready to go beyond their comfort zones and help solve other societal challenges than those that have been regarded as original concerns. Since the 1990s, Norwegian sport has taken on this innovative and progressive role through various integration, inclusion, and anti-racism projects (see Eidheim, 1998; Skille, 2006; Strandbu, 2002). The main arguments have been that inclusion in sport and through sport are ways to increase ethnic minorities' participation in other social arenas such as work and politics. In legitimising its institution, NIF cannot escape this reality. Departing from our frame analysis, we can point out that Norwegian sports as a cultural institution has changed its character, and to maintain its legitimacy and state support, NIF is obliged to use this framework.

Concluding remarks

This article analysed the media debate on structural racism in Norwegian sport, triggered by the report "Idrettsglede for alle/ The joy of sport for all" (Kristiansen & Sonne, 2021). The framework analysis shows how the portrayal of sports as 'morally good' runs a danger of contributing to maintaining a form of structural racism through cultural hegemony that does not relate to the broader society. The contradiction is a framing that approaches sports as part of society.

Much of the criticism against the use of the term structural racism in Norwegian sports used a framework that emphasised that participation is voluntary, and that the media had inflated a politically correct discussion. Norwegian sports culture, argued by those who used this framework, should not be subordinated to a public discourse that does not concern the realities of sport, its institutional goals, and organised sport. The report and the notion that forms of structural racism exist in Norway and Norwegian sports were supported by most of the newspaper articles dealt with in this article (see Table 1). Debaters framed the sport's role and responsibility in national and global racism debates, pointing out that although Norwegian sports have challenges, that does not stop them from solving societal challenges. In this public and turbulent landscape, NIF had commissioned a report on discrimination, racism, and social inclusion in sport . The ensuing debate was primarily due to the use of the term racism and, but not least, structural racism, while the spotlight on social inclusion disappeared.

The media's contribution and coverage of different views of the role of sports in society is crucial not only to uncover racism in sports but also to raise discussions and awareness of topics. The international Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement swept through Norwegian media and Norwegian sports. When using the concept of structural racism in the research report, the public debate was heated, which led to a discussion of racism in Norwegian sports. This analysis demonstrates that Norwegian media exercised their social responsibility in this regard by provoking a report that, in turn, operationalised the concept of structural racism that provided new insights into how Norwegian cultural superiority is exercised in sports and publicly. Through the debate, frameworks were manifested that show us how minority ethnic Norwegians are culturally excluded from a community, which, according to the NIF, has been voluntarily equally for over 150 years. As a legitimising middle ground, the enthusiasts of the volunteers were defended by declaring Norwegian sports as antiracist but acknowledging that racism exists and that sports must reflect the broader societal discussions on racism. Of course, volunteering is not a racist idea.

When NIF points out that Norwegian sports are antiracist but acknowledges that racism exists in sports, it reproduces the hegemony of colour-blindness in the voluntary culture that, even if it is not necessarily the intention of those who participate, becomes exclusionary for ethnic minorities. Both frameworks that denounce structural racism and legitimise narrations that mask societal challenges in sports may cause some groups to withdraw from their voluntary involvement if they feel that their position as volunteers results in resistance and the impossibility of gaining traction (Andersson, 2008; Elgvin, 2021; Fasting et al., 2008; Massao, 2016; Skille & Broch, 2019). The media debate has proven how Norwegian media can fulfil their social mission by focusing on how different social problems are reflected in Norwegian sports, in this case, articulated as structural racism embedded in Nordic exceptionalism and hegemonic colour-blindness.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix

A chronological list of the 23 analysed media texts (see table 1):

1. Kristiansen, E & Sonne, L. Minoriteters deltagelse i idretten speiler ikke samfunnet [Minorities' participation in sports does not reflect society], Aftenposten 10.02.2021

2. Løfaldli, B. Små gutter ropte «jævla homo» uten at noen brydde seg [Little boys shouted "fucking homo" without anyone caring], Aftenposten 10.02.2021

3. Røed-Johansen, D. Funnene om rasisme i norsk idrett er skremmende lesning [The findings about racism in Norwegian sports are scary reading], Aftenposten 10.02.2021

4. Strøm, O. K. Knusende rapport om idretten: Tendenser til strukturell rasisme [Crushing report on sports: Tendencies towards structural racism], Aftenposten 10.02.2021

5. Aure, M & Lydersen, K. Hvorfor rekrutterer ikke frivilligheten flere ledere med innvandrerbakgrunn? [Why doesn't the voluntary sector recruit more leaders with immigrant backgrounds?], Aftenposten 22.02.2021

6. Hugsted, C. M. Rasisme i idretten Nedslående rapport: - En tankevekker [Racism in sports Depressing report: - A wake-up call, Dagbladet], Dagbladet 10.02.2021

7. Welhaven, L. Ordet må fange! [The word must capture!], VG nett 10.02.2021

8. Sjøli, H. P. Idretten bidrar mer til brobygging enn til splid og rasisme [Sports contributes more to bridge-building than to disharmony and racism], VG nett 20.02.2021

9. Marthinsen, E. Har «strukturell rasisme» skylden for at det er få innvandrere i idretten? [Does "structural racism" blame for the lack of immigrants in sports?], Document.no 10.02.2021

10. (Pressemelding). Norsk idrett speiler ikke mangfoldet i samfunnet [Norwegian sports does not reflect the diversity of society], NIF10.02.2021

11. Kjøll, B. Norsk idrett er ikke rasistisk [Norwegian sports is not racialised], NIF 18.02.2021

12. (Pressemelding). Ny rapport: Inkluderingstiltak gir resultater [New report: Inclusion measures yield results], NIF 25.02.2021

13. Egelandsdal, P. W. E. Ny rasisme-rapport lagt frem: - Deltakelse av personer med synlig minoritetsbakgrunn er lav [New racism report presented: - Participation of people with visible minority backgrounds is low], TV2 10.02.2021

14. Christiansen, S. S et al. Knusende rasisme-rapport i idretten [Devastating racism report in sports], NRK 10.02.2021

15. Christiansen, S. S et al. Ber minoritetene ta ansvar etter knusende rapport: - Kom dere opp av sofaen [Minority groups should take responsibility after crushing report: - Get off the couch], NRK 10.02.2021

16. Gulati, H. Idretten er ikke rasistisk [Sports is not racist], NRK 16 02.2021

17. (Editorial staff). Idretten anklages for strukturell rasisme [Sports accused of structural racism], Resett 10.02.2021

18. Hammer, E. Rolness: - Hvor idiotisk kan journalistikk egentlig bli i dette «antirasistiske» året? [How idiotic can journalism really get in this "anti-racist" year?], Resett 15.02.2021

19. (NTB). Strukturell rasisme i norsk idrett: - Et ledelsesproblem [Structural racism in Norwegian sports: - A leadership problem], Utrop 11.02.2021

20. Castello, C. Inkluderingstiltak gir resultater [Inclusion measures yield results], Utrop 15.02.2021

21. (Editorial staff). Struktur, ledelse og grasrot - Slik kan rasisme i idretten bekjempes [Structure, leadership and grassroots - This is how racism in sports can be combated], Utrop 26.02.2021

22. Rolness, K. Rasismespøkelset i norsk idrett [Haunted by the colonial past in Norwegian sports] , Medier24 14.02.2021

23. Skaset, H. B. Idretten kan miste seg selv i jakten på å løse sosialpolitiske oppgaver [Sports can lose itself in the pursuit of solving socio-political tasks], Aftenposten 24.02.2021

In this comprehensive exploration of **Internationalisation at Home** (IaH), Fristrup and Sonne (Eds.) assemble diverse scholarly perspectives that interrogate conventional paradigms of international education. Moving beyond mobility-centric approaches, this anthology examines how institutions can cultivate global consciousness through inclusive pedagogical strategies that recognise and respond to multidimensional identities, abilities, and socio-political contexts. The anthology's contributions illuminate how IaH initiatives navigate complex tensions between global interconnectedness and local specificity, between institutional standardisation and cultural plurality, and between neoliberal instrumentalism and emancipatory pedagogies. Through case studies spanning multiple geographical contexts—from Glasgow's award systems to Indonesia's IISMA programme and Nordic heritage institutions—the volume demonstrates how IaH manifests in diverse institutional settings while responding to specific educational, cultural, and political realities. This anthology advances the theoretical understanding of IaH as a multidimensional phenomenon that necessitates engagement with complex questions of access, representation, and democratic participation. By foregrounding critical perspectives on inclusion, cultural heritage, and institutional transformation, the collection offers conceptual tools and practical strategies for developing more equitable approaches to global learning that transcend geographical, cultural, and ability-based boundaries.