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To Measure What Counts or to Count What is Measured? A Foucauldian Genealogy carried out on strategic reports from Lund University

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Abstract

This thesis applies a Foucauldian genealogy to examine the power relations in global university rankings, by analysing three strategic reports from Lund University. The strategic reports are from 1995-2000, 2012-2016, and 2017-2026. The theory applied is Foucault's power/knowledge theory. The research question that guides this thesis is *What signs of adaptation to rankings can be identified in the strategic reports from Lund University from 1995, 2012 and 2017? What are the main discursive shifts, how did they develop and what are their implications for the academic knowledge of the university?* The dominant discourses identified in the analysis are internationalisation, the role of the university & its core values, and leadership. Several signs of adaptations to global university rankings by Lund University have been identified in the strategic reports and consist of shifts in discourse. Internationalisation has shifted from being a new phenomenon in 1995 to being one of the main strengths of the university. The university starts to behave more like a brand, benchmarking its services to other universities. The discourse about the role of the university has changed from autonomous and uncompromising to become a force that should respond to societal challenges and even with changed core values. The implications for the changing role of the university is that it could weaken the university's credibility as an academic force. Regarding leadership, the discourse has shifted from having its focus on academic leadership with an emphasis on ethics, towards becoming a collegial leadership with a focus on measurement and evaluation internalising power within the organisation. In line with previous research, this thesis also argues that the relationship between rankings, policy makers, and the academia is complex. This paper further argues that Lund University has become part of a circular process where rankings impose a state of urgency and a need for universities to adapt to a new reality, which is changed again when a new ranking is released.

Key words: Foucault, Discourse Analysis, Global University Rankings, Lund University, Power Relations, Reputation.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Rankings in higher education have gained importance and influence in recent years, capturing the interest of decision-makers to the extent that they are shaping the higher education (Pusser & Marginson, 2013; Hazelkorn, 2011). The first global university ranking, created by the Shanghai Jiao Tong University and known as Academic Ranking of World Universities, was founded in 2003 (Hazelkorn, 2011).

Global university rankings (from here on only referred to as global rankings) are a response to globalisation and the idea of commodifying education and viewing knowledge as the basis of economic growth (Hazelkorn, 2011). The ranking industry itself has turned into a big business (Lynch, 2013), especially for private publishers that use the rankings to sell more newspapers (Lynch, 2013; Hazelkorn 2011). Another outcome of global rankings is the increase in students leaving their countries to pursue their studies in another part of the world. Since the year 2000, the number of students that study abroad has increased by 50%. If this trend continues, in 2025, almost 8 million students would study abroad (Lynch, 2013). Furthermore, the private higher education industry is valued at a total of \$400 billion dollars globally, which has not gone unnoticed by the countries around the world. This value has led governments to think about how to trade education internationally and has laid the foundation for what is known as a global knowledge economy (Hazelkorn, 2011; Lynch, 2013). By commodifying education as an international tradable service, it has increasingly started to be defined as private rather than public, at the expense of ethical codes such as free education and healthcare for all (Lynch, 2015). Furthermore, the commodification of education is giving way to rankings that are a seemingly friendly and power neutral method to evaluate how a university and a country's education system is doing (Cuthbert, 2011; Lynch 2015).

In Sweden, there is a long-term vision of becoming an internationally regarded knowledge nation with a top-quality education “*Sweden shall be one of the most attractive, international knowledge nations with world leading quality of education and research*” (Lund University, 2020a).

The quote shows that Swedish authorities have a clear vision of making Sweden a knowledge nation. Furthermore, internationalisation is a prioritised area for Lund University's, and it is stated at the university website that there are several reasons why a university should become more international. *“The most important of these [reasons] is to enhance the quality of activities. There are also political, economic and social / cultural reasons that benefit society as a whole when universities and colleges become more international in their activities”* (Lund University", 2020a).

Under the section 'global rankings' at the website of Lund University, one can read that Lund University is a top 100 university, which is also frequently used in their marketing (see image 5 & 6 in appendix). The university places 92nd in the QS Ranking 2020, 96th in the Times Higher Education (THE) World University Rankings 2020, and Top 101–150 universities in the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) (Lund University, 2020b). It is concluded that the university is among the top 0.4% of the world's universities (Lund University, 2020b).

1.2 Problem

Neoliberalism and commodification of education have made global rankings a seemingly friendly way to control and measure education. However, there are political and global forces with own interests at heart, such as selling magazines for private publishers and to commodify and trade education internationally for global organisations (Lynch, 2013; Hazelkorn 2011). This causes higher education institutions to move values such as education for all to a second level of relevance and instead give priority to activities and values that help them move up in the global rankings. This, in turn, can cause changes in the organising of the university and can have consequences both in the short run and the long run (Hazelkorn, 2011). Furthermore, from an academic perspective, global rankings can have consequences on the academia, and it is, therefore, essential to study the subject and create awareness of the implications. As the title of this thesis implies and as previous research also indicate (Cuthbert (2011) it has turned into a question of whether to measure what is important to a university or to count what the rankings measure.

Global university rankings have been subject to many studies in the last years (Lynch 2014; Lynch 2013; Deem & Brehony, 2005; Hazelkorn 2011). Literature on the matter brings up

several aspects such as the origins, problems with its methodologies and its connections to new managerialism. However, the power relations in the global rankings are not studied in detail, and several perspectives are not considered, such as the implication of rankings on university knowledge, if the universities have started to adapt their strategies to the global rankings, or in-depth studies regarding the complex relationship between rankings and societal actors such as governments. The current literature also provides a narrow perspective on the topic, dealing primarily with literature from the field of education and sociology (Hazelkorn, 2011; Lynch, 2013).

It is important to study if there are signs that universities are adapting their strategies to rank higher because this can have consequences for the role of the university. Furthermore, it is important to study how these shifts in discourse have developed and what impact they can have on knowledge for a university.

1.3 Aim and Research Question

This thesis aims to provide insights on the power-relations in global rankings and on the implications on academic knowledge if a university adapts to global rankings. To do this, a Foucauldian genealogy will be carried out on the strategic reports from Lund University from 1995, 2012 and 2017 to analyse shifts in discourse and how these have developed. Furthermore, the paper will offer a new perspective through strategic communication and will apply Foucault's power-knowledge theory. The research question for this thesis is as follows:

What signs of adaptation to rankings can be identified in the strategic reports from Lund University from 1995, 2012 and 2017? What are the main discursive shifts, how did they develop and what are their implications for the academic knowledge of the university?

1.4 The Topic in Relation to Strategic Communication

In today's modern society, there is a focus on efficiency, even in strategic communication, which has made measurement important to be able to show results (Buhmann & Likely, 2018). Measurement is crucial to be able to show the purposeful use of strategic communication in order to fulfil an organisations goals and mission and is therefore considered a cornerstone of strategic communication (Hallahan, Holtzhausen, van Ruler, Verčič, & Sriramesh, 2007). However, there is general approach to measurement that is uncritical where one as-

sumes that measurement techniques are objective practices (Buhmann & Likely, 2018). In that sense, it is overlooked that measurement has the power and capacity to change objects that are measured. In this regard, the power to influence behaviours is also central to strategic communication (Hallahan, Holtzhausen, van Ruler, Verčič, & Sriramesh, 2007). Furthermore, besides measurements, rankings are essentially about reputation, another component that is vital to strategic communication (Falkheimer & Heide, 2018). Furthermore, strategic communication is a tool to build an organisations reputation which becomes an intangible asset as competition increases (Rindova, Williamson & Petkova, 2010)

1.5 Delimitation

The paper is limited only to global university rankings and not national or regional rankings. Furthermore, while the literature discusses higher education institutions in general, this paper will focus on universities only.

1.6 Structure

Following the introduction chapter, this thesis will provide insight on the existing body of literature concerning global university rankings. Thereafter an introduction to the theoretical framework with Michel Foucault where important concepts will be explained. The method section covers the methodological aspects of the paper, how the research has been carried out, as well as methodological limitations. The analysis deals with the results of the study, followed by a discussion where the findings are discussed in relation to the existing body of literature. Ultimately, the conclusion sums up the findings and reflections of this paper and include contributions and possibilities for further research.

2. Literature Review

Global university rankings have been subject to research since they first entered the scene in 2003 with the launch of the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) (Hazelkorn, 2011). However, previous research has its focus on why rankings started in the first place, why rankings were given importance as well as problems with ranking measurements (Lynch 2014; Lynch 2013; Deem et al., 2003). Some researchers discuss power aspects in the global rankings to some extent and claim that rankings undoubtedly will have an effect on universities, but they do not specify how, or what implications it will entail (Pusser & Marginson, 2013; Lynch 2014). Furthermore, previous research is written from scholars in the fields of education, or sociology, and the strategic communication perspective is scarce. Four main themes have been identified in the literature and will be presented here below.

2.1 There are Political and Private Corporative Forces behind the Rankings

The first theme of the literature is that there are political and private corporative forces behind the rankings that are cementing power relations in higher education, even if it is still uncommon to link power and rankings together (Altbach 2012; Lynch 2014; Peters, 2019; Tierney & Lanford, 2017). Researchers state that both global organisations such as the World Bank and the European Union are forces behind the rankings but there are also private companies such as publishers that have their own interests at heart and they use global rankings to sell (Lynch, 2014; Lynch 2013, Peters, 2019). Another example of a political force behind the rankings, is the European University Association, that has carried out several studies of rankings and the European Commission initiated a project in 2008 to develop their own ranking including over 500 universities (Lynch, 2014; Lynch, 2013).

Other researchers argue that the rankings serve as internal indicators of power relations and power disputes within a country, and claim that there is a global fixation with rankings and with the commodification of higher education (Pusser and Marginson, 2013; Altbach, 2012, Lynch 2014). Some authors also state that rankings cement power relationships in higher education and are a way to benchmark how well a nation is performing in comparison to others (Tierney and Lanford, 2017). Goglio (2016) explains that the rankings, academia, and policymakers all are part of a complex relationship, which is more complicated than what it first might appear to be. It is more than a one-way relationship where rankings affect an organisa-

tion, but rather a complex relationship where the organisation can use the ranking to justify restructurings within the organisation (Goglio, 2016).

2.2 New Managerialism has Given Way to Rankings

A second theme in the literature is that new managerialism which is closely related to power, measurement and control has given way to rankings (Deem et al., 2003, Lynch, 2014; Deem & Brehony, 2005; Tierney and Lanford, 2017). New managerialism, which has become influenced by neoliberalism, has changed both strategies and activities within universities (Deem & Brehony, 2005; Lynch, 2015). In turn, new managerialism makes use of global rankings that appear as friendly but is method to assert control and the rankings also turn into a valid form of measuring performance (Lynch, 2015; Power et al. 2009). According to Power et al (2009), the rankings create a reputation that is externally created when comparing universities to each other. However, as the university gives the ranking importance, it manages to gain power and get a grip of organisation. This means that power is internalised within the organisation, largely due to the control and evaluation aspects of new managerialism, and the indicators for organisational performance become aligned with the indicators of rankings (Power et al. 2009). The proximity to control and evaluation in universities can also be seen in the use of language (Deem & Brehony, 2005).

Furthermore, it is argued that rankings are the inevitable result of worldwide massification of education and that power is essential to both massification and globalisation (Altbach, 2012). Even so, it is also argued that the rankings influence massification, for example by influencing them to create uniformity among institutions and a more significant focus on global competition, moving other national concerns to a secondary level of importance (Tierney and Lanford, 2017;Goglio, 2016).

2.3 Global Rankings Cause Change in a University

A third theme in the literature is that global rankings cause a change in the core strategies and values of a university and pressures it to become a business organisation (Lynch 2014; Lynch, 2013; Tierney and Lanford, 2017; Hazelkorn, 2011; Peter 2017). The global rankings affect how higher education institutions view their identity, for example, the internal culture, as well as what activities are valued and prioritised (Hazelkorn, 2011; Lynch 2013). Others argue that organisations feel obligated to answer to the perceptions created by the rankings and that the

rankings have caused the universities to alter aspects of their core strategies and increasingly are turning into global actors (Power et al. 2009). Two examples are the universities Loughborough and Cambridge that have made rankings a cornerstone of their strategic work. In addition, the University St. Gallen in Switzerland has implemented the term 'rank management' to describe its core activities (Power et al, 2009).

Rankings also cause higher education institutions to decrease the importance of values such as 'education for all' to make room for other values such as the best and most effective ways to work with rankings and how the university can do better (Lynch 2015; Lynch 2014). In this regard, rankings challenge the relationship between essential and peripheral values and activities, since the rankings begin as external factors not related to core activities but motivate the university to change. (Power et al. 2009). Thus, rankings influence a university to change its moral framework (Lynch, 2013). Rankings are also closing higher education audience, making education most accessible for wealthy individuals. One sign of this is for example, in the Times Higher Education Top 200, over 20 of the best universities in the world are also among the wealthiest in the world (Peters, 2019).

Additionally, rankings cause change in behaviour as they permeate institutions and additionally creates change in the tasks for the university staff, on both an academic and administrative level (Power et al. 2009). It is claimed that rankings cause significant changes to a university's core strategies and activities and there is strong evidence that rankings cause universities to change their strategic missions (Power et al. 2009). However, there are a few exceptions of universities in the US that recently have refused to participate in rankings (Power et al, 2009).

Global rankings also pressure universities to act as business organisations with specific targets by putting universities on public display as well as encouraging intense competition which leads to establishing hierarchy between countries and universities ((Lynch, 2013; Pusser & Marginson, 2013). This normalises neoliberalist values and favour the strongest nations since they possess the conditions to respond to the rankings (Pusser & Marginson, 2013). Other researchers such as Peters (2019) claims that universities that do well in rankings, let the rankings become an important component of the university's identity. The internalised control in institutions, that global rankings are a part of, cause institutions not to have complete control, instead, they are part of a geo-political struggle where governments intent to strengthen their role in the global knowledge economy (Hazelkorn, 2011). This internalisation of control in

the organisation can also be related to power, but because power and rankings are usually not linked together, it is not explicitly stated.

2.4 Rankings Define What is Important in a University

A fourth theme in the literature is that ranking define what is important in a university. Rankings do not represent all areas of study and give priority to subjects such as natural sciences and do usually not include teaching as a ranking indicator. Additionally, rankings make governments more concerned about how their universities rank instead of finding ways to improve their educational system (Lynch, 2013; Cuthbert, 2011; Pusser and Marginson, 2013; Altbach 2012). One problematic aspect is that the rankings use different metrics, some rankings find the number of Nobel prizes among researchers and alumni important, others focus more on measurements related to reputation (Power et al. 2009).

Furthermore, some types of research and studies are privileged over others. Studies related to the STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) are given priority and in many global rankings, humanities are many times not included (Altbach 2012, Pusser & Marginson, 2013, Lynch 2014). Likewise, rankings can limit innovative research that is not measurable, and teaching and student experience are not considered in rankings either (Altbach, 2012; Tierney and Lanford, 2017). Altbach (2012) states that the methodology causes students to be more interested in a university's prestige rather than in a programme of their interest which as Cuthbert (2011) explains, changes the focus to *"'count what is measured' rather than 'measuring what counts' (p.3).*

Furthermore, rankings are closely related to reputation and it is one of the common indicators of university rankings (Power et al. 2009). However, this implies another problematic aspect, namely that rankings create reputation, but reputation is also affected by the perceptions of prospective students and alumni, forming a system where rankings both produce and measure reputation (Power et al. 2009). This is also related to power even though it is not specifically stated, since it gives the rankings the power to both create and evaluate a university but it could also make it harder for some universities to improve in their ranking position. However, the evaluation aspect in rankings can be attractive to managers looking to evaluate efforts in a seemingly friendly way which could also result in a short-cut to an improved reputation.

The political forces in knowledge economies prioritise STEM subjects because they are more valued in today's society and are also measure focused professions (Lynch, 2014). The rankings are also formed in such a way that it is almost impossible for new universities to rank high and it is makes universities that have a history of ranking high to perceive themselves as superior to the rest and also increasingly concerned with the ranking systems (Power et al. 2009). However, rankings seem to be here to stay and their use of more complex data are making them harder to ignore. Evidence for this is the increasing amount of higher education institutions that use them for example to market the university internationally (Lynch,2013; Peters, 2019). In this regard, it is important to be aware of the power relations in rankings and understand what implications these could have. Power et al. (2009) state even though there are doubts concerning the methodology of rankings, there is still a general acceptance of their results being considered facts which causes management to direct their focus to them.

2.5 The Importance of Studying the Topic

It is important to study the power relations in global rankings because there are still many aspects that have not been further investigated. The existing body of literature expresses uncertainty about the consequences of global rankings as some universities use the ranking indicators as part of their strategy plans, which causes authors to wonder, if the indicators will change, will the universities keep adapting to them (Hazelkorn, 2011). Researchers (Power et al. 2009) also argue that it necessary to explore the possible implications and they express concern over the fact that a society where organisations are increasingly concerned with how they are perceived and even shape their strategies and activities thereafter can be vulnerable, since private interests could take advantage of it. Some even go as far as stating that this is one the most important issues of our time (Power et al. 2009).

2.6 Synthesis

As presented in the literature review, the existing literature argue that global university rankings have caught researcher's attention since their beginning in 2003. The current literature indicates that there are political and private corporative forces behind the rankings that are cementing power relations in higher education (Tierney & Lanford, 2017; Lynch, 2013). However, it is still uncommon to link power and rankings together. Furthermore, new managerialism, which is closely related to power and control, has given way to rankings and the power relations behind global rankings cause change in a university (Deem et al., 2003,

Lynch, 2014). Furthermore, the rankings decide what is important to a university. The rankings seem to be here to stay and are becoming more sophisticated (Peters, 2019). Some researchers argue that there is uncertainty regarding the consequences of rankings (Hazelkorn, 2011). It is important to study if there are signs that universities are adapting their strategies to rank higher because this can have consequences for academic knowledge of the university. Even though some researchers touch upon the subject of power, it is an aspect that is not studied in detail (Power et al, 2009). Furthermore, the current literature also provides a narrow perspective, dealing virtually exclusively with literature from the fields of education and sociology.

3. Theory

Michel Foucault (1926-1984) was a French provocative thinker (Smart, 2002). He has been both celebrated and criticised, and his work shows signs of both structuralism and hermeneutics. Nevertheless, he was not particularly fond of any of these categorisations (Smart, 2002). The central topic of his work was power and knowledge (Smart, 2002; Ali, 2016; Carter Mckinlay, Rowlinson, 2002). Foucault focuses on how power is exercised and the effects of power, rather than what it is or where it comes from (Smart, 2002; Foucault, 1982). Foucault introduced many important concepts, such as archaeology, genealogy, governmentality, and bio-power. These are crucial to the understanding of his work and will, therefore, be explained in this chapter.

3.1 Power-Knowledge

One of Foucault's main ideas is that power and knowledge are strongly connected. He stated that "*it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power*" (Foucault 1980: 52). He argued that power is not exercised but diffused and internalised in institutions and society, making it difficult to establish who is behind it (Ali, 2016). For example, in a workplace, power circulates and is not limited to a hierarchical top-down scheme (Ali, 2016). He often argued that power is given to individuals by the role that we give them. He gives an example from the mid-1700s when doctors categorised criminals and mad people together, due to the limited knowledge in psychiatry. The doctors were given this authority based on the power invested in them by having the title doctor. (Ali, 2016). Furthermore, he argued that knowledge is organised by the current *épistémé* in society; the episteme decides what is true and not in the discourses of a given time (Foucault, 1980).

Power operates anonymously in us, and we might believe that we are free thinkers and decide how to be and act. However, we are always limited to the current episteme and what is considered normal and abnormal and will correct ourselves to how we think we should behave (Ali, 2016). "*...Epistemes regulate our thoughts by determining what we can know, how we can know and how to interpret things; which makes it difficult, if not impossible, for most subjects to think outside their epistemic reach.*" (Ali, 2016:14). As the quote implies, we will always be slaves to our epistemic reality, unable to reach our full potential. Foucault argues

that the episteme of our time contributes to new knowledge, but it also constrains us to the current episteme and prohibits us from developing our true self (Ali, 2016; Carter, Mckinlay, Rowlinson, 2002).

According to Foucault, the modern episteme is defined by three dimensions. These dimensions are the mathematical and physical science, philosophical reflections, and the sciences of language, life and production (Smart, 2002). In his book *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault studies the evolution of punishment where society has moved from very public and harsh physical punishments. He gives an example of a man being tortured in a square in France in the mid-1700s and then remarks how the modern prisons have come to punish the mind instead of the body (Foucault, 1977). He further explains by describing the panopticon in a prison, which meant that the prison guard could have an uninterrupted full view of the prisoner from every angle (see appendix image 1). The consequence of the prisoner being constantly watched is that he self-disciplines himself (Foucault, 1977; Carter, Mckinlay, Rowlinson, 2002; Smart, 2002).

Power, according to Foucault, is not conceived as something owned by a group or the State, but rather as a strategy. Power is not an obligation that is forced upon the defenceless but is transmitted by and through them. It is a complex strategy and not an institution or structure (Smart, 2002). “...Power relations are rooted deep in the social nexus, not reconstituted "above" society as a supplementary structure whose radical effacement one could perhaps dream of” (Foucault, 1982: 791). As the quote shows, Foucault argued that power is diffused in our society and does not come from one person or one institution. Furthermore, with power diffused in society, the people start to self-discipline, just like the example with the prisoners and the panopticon. For example, when standing in line in a supermarket, no one tells us to do it, but we know that we are supposed to (Ali, 2016). Foucault also argues that:

A society without power relations can only be an abstraction. Which, be it said in passing, makes all the more politically necessary the analysis of power relations in a given society, their historical formation, the source of their strength or fragility, the conditions which are necessary to transform some or to abolish others (Foucault, 1982:791).

Additionally, Foucault also claims that when analysing an institution, it is necessary to use power relations as a starting point and not vice versa (Foucault, 1982).

3.2 The subject and power

Though Foucault is well-known for his work regarding power, he argues that his goal has never been to scrutinise power, but the real core of his work has rather dealt with investigating human beings as subjects (Foucault, 1982). As he explains it “*My objective, instead, has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects*” (Foucault, 1982: 777). Nevertheless, he reasons that the human subject is also placed in complex power relations (Foucault, 1982). Foucault’s argues that the subject is either divided in himself or divided from others and gives the example of the sick and the healthy or the criminals and the ‘good’. He calls this the dividing practises (Foucault, 1982).

Foucault investigated the role that knowledge-producing institutions such as education and the media have on creating what is being considered normal, concerning the current épistémé of our time, and labelling us as the subject. If one does not correspond to what is seen as normal, they are seen not quite seen as subjects (Ali, 2016). The episteme can differ in different countries, and Ali (2016) gives the example that in Egypt, being gay is considered a type of neurosis. According to Foucault, the creation of normality and abnormality in society is just another way for power to diffuse into society, because we start to monitor ourselves to fit in with what our society accepts (Ali, 2016). “*Consequently, we feel that we are being watched and judged so we bring ourselves in check to fit-in the identity that is made available for us; we become good citizens, we become docile bodies*” (Ali, 2016: 8). This could also be drawn to the previous example of the workplace, where we often have a ‘work personality’ that is aligned with what is accepted in the current discourse of how a person should be at work (Carter, Mckinlay, Rowlinson, 2002).

Foucault asserts that where there is power, there is also resistance. These exist parallelly, and one is not possible without the other (Smart, 2002). He also argues that transgressions to what is considered the norm are the only heroic act of individuals (Anderson & Grinberg, 1998). Additionally, Foucault argues that it is important to create places that are safe to express resistance to the current discourses. Some researchers argue that it is important for example schools to protect these spaces where problematisation rather than normalisation can be expressed, and that first step to do this is for an educational institution to start view itself as a disciplinary practice (Anderson & Grinberg, 1998).

3.3 Bio-power and Governmentality

When Foucault discusses discipline, he is referring to an individual level (Hewitt, 1983). Bio-power, however, introduces the concept of disciplining an entire population. It combines his other concept bio-politics, which is a technology of power developed by discipline (Hewitt, 1983). Sometimes bio-power and bio-politics are used interchangeably by Foucault (Hewitt, 1983). However, from 1978, the concept of bio-politics is less prominent in Foucault work, and a new concept is introduced, namely governmentality. Governmentality comes from the phrase governmental rationality and refers to the logic of who politically is governed. Foucault's claims that governmentality means three things. (Finkelde, 2013). Firstly, it is

[...] the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument (Foucault, 1977: 144).

Secondly, it is the power-sovereignty that has developed in the West for a long time, forming what we call government. Thirdly, it is the result of a process of governmentalizing the State into an administrative State (Foucault, 1977).

3.4 Discourse, Archaeology and Genealogy

Discourse is central to Foucault's work. His definition includes more than just oral and textual linguistic practices. To him, discursive practices are the link between power and knowledge (Anderson & Grinberg, 1998). Foucault argues that disciplinary practices are forms of knowledge in the sense that they are practices that not only exist in text but are also in organisational practises, which meant that it is knowledge reproduced through practices (Anderson & Grinberg, 1998). He also argued that this is a circular process where discourse creates practices, and practices produce discourse. Discourse also shows what was true or important at that particular time and place. (Anderson & Grinberg, 1998). This could, for example, mean that being a good university staff member depends on the current discourse and does not necessarily mean the same in the 1950s as in today's society.

Foucault's concept of archaeology refers to that our way of thinking and behaving is linked to our current time and restrict our thought, making some thoughts unthinkable (Gutting, 2013). As a case in point, for a long time the earth was considered to be flat, and something else at

that time would have been unthinkable, nonetheless, in our current time, we know that the earth is round. Foucault gave more importance to underlying structures laying ground to a thought, rather than the person who thought it (Gutting, 2013). The concept of archaeology will be further explained in the methodology chapter of this paper.

Archaeology laid the foundation for Foucault's concept of genealogy (Merkelsen, 2010). Genealogy focuses on how discourses and power work together and can help give an answer to why some discourses prevail over others. With genealogy, the production of disciplinary practices is viewed as strategic elements in power, and also include history as an important aspect that can account for knowledge and discourse. However, traditional historians tend to critique Foucault's view of history and even calling it historically inaccurate (Anderson & Grinberg, 1998; Carter, Mckinlay, Rowlinson, 2002). Genealogy includes what is considered strange and require a different type of narrative that makes the past and present unfamiliar (Anderson & Grinberg, 1998). In a genealogical analysis, the focus would be on how control is exercised, how discourses are produced, and truth is formed. The concept of genealogy will be further explained in the methodology chapter.

3.6 Critics to Foucault

Some researchers criticise Foucault for not paying enough attention to how power can be resisted and others, for giving erroneous historical facts and neglecting relevant historiography (Carter, Mckinlay, Rowlinson, 2002). Two of his most known critics are Jürgen Habermas and Pierre Bourdieu.

The Habermas – Foucault debate is well known and up until today the debate is subject to studies and researchers who are analysing the arguments of each side (King, 2009). Habermas criticises Foucault on his normative foundation and comments both methodology and theoretical aspects of his work (Isenberg, 1991; King, 2009). Regarding the methodology, Habermas criticises Foucault for example on aspects such as the historicism and functionalism (Isenberg, 1991) and states that *“Foucault's empirical descriptions of power/knowledge relations are wrong in their generality and totality, and exclude any possibility of communicative action and reason”* (Isenberg, 1991: 301). Furthermore, the debate revolves around political judgements, which is, *“the purpose of which is to motivate political action”* (King, 2009:

288) and Habermas states that Foucault's work has political implications as he claims that Foucault encourages a political non-commitment (Isenberg, 1991; King 2009).

Additionally, Habermas argue that Foucault and other post-structuralist thinkers are obscuring different modes of discourse which has made political and critical discourse having no supremacy over, for example, literature and art discourse (Isenberg, 1991). Habermas line of thought came from Hegel and “[...] *totalities, universalism and harmony are emphasized, sharply differs from post-structuralism, which instead and in different forms stresses differences, disruptions and processes*” (Isenberg, 1991:300). As the quote shows, Habermas way of thinking differs greatly from Foucault's.

Pierre Bourdieu was another thinker who critiqued Foucault (Callewaert, 2006). Bourdieu started to focus his critique on Foucault's work during the last years of his life, between 1992 and 2002 when he felt that his fear had become true – features of Foucault's work was used to encourage an idealistic and subjectivist radical relativism (Callewaert, 2006). Bourdieu was not fond of authors like Habermas or Foucault, but he felt that it was impossible to ignore their writings (Callewaert, 2006). Bourdieu views both power and discourse different to Foucault (Callewaert,2006; Pitsoe & Letseka, 2012). “*Discourse not only does not cause and hence does not explain action, but discourse does not even explain discourse.*” (Callewaert, 2006: 78). Here one gain insight into the differences between Foucault's and Bourdieu's view of discourse. One of Bourdieu's main concepts is 'habitus' or social tendencies, which according to him lead behaviour (Pitsoe & Letseka, 2012). His view of power is different than Foucault's as “*Bourdieu sees power as culturally and symbolically created, and constantly re-legitimised through an interplay of agency and structure*” (Pitsoe & Letseka, 2012: 26).

4. Method

This chapter will deal with the ontological and epistemological aspects of this paper. It will also go into detail on the method of writing a genealogy, as well as presenting and motivating the choice of empirical material. It will also discuss the methodological limitations.

4.1 Ontology

Foucault's ontological position derives largely from reversing Kant's view on knowledge. Kant claimed that there are contingent conditions are necessary to have truth. Foucault reverse Kant's standpoint (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2020).” *Rather than asking what, in the apparently contingent, is actually necessary, he [Foucault] suggests asking what, in the apparently necessary, might be contingent*” (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2020). In that sense, Foucault rather claims that truth is a product created by historical forces and scientific truth (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2020). Kant maintained the classical view that knowledge is not linked to a historical context. (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2020). Foucault also believed that since Kant, the role of the philosophy changed.

Since Kant, the role of philosophy is to prevent reason from going beyond the limits of what is given in experience; but from the same moment, that is, since the development of the modern state and the political management of society, the role of philosophy is also to keep watch over the excessive powers of political rationality, which is a rather high expectation (Foucault, 1982: 779).

As the quote demonstrates, Foucault argues that the role of philosophy is to monitor excessive powers and argues that one must go beyond experience and question the reality without taking anything for granted. One can argue that Kant's thinking laid the foundation to Foucault's ontological position, and his view of discourse is more than just a vehicle for representation (Finkelde, 2013). Foucault viewed knowledge as a discursive construction depending on its historical context. Instead of the traditional historical view of history, Foucault does not pay attention to kings, popes or wars but rather knowledge as a force that moves society forward. In this post-structuralist perspective, power is dispersed in society instead of being exercised of a sovereign state (Finkelde, 2013).

4.2 Epistemology

To Foucault, concepts such as truth and validity are not universal since these are historically contingent and discourses that are socially constructed. Foucault states that the genealogist must destroy the importance of origins and unchanging truths (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). This quote on interpretation from *Nietzsche, Freud, Marx* (1964), describes Foucault's view on truth. "If interpretation can never be brought to an end, it is simply because there is nothing to interpret. There is nothing absolutely primary to interpret because at the bottom, everything is already interpretation" (Foucault, 1964:64). This quote shows Foucault's epistemological standpoint on truth, which is not absolute or universal, but historically contingent and lays within discourse.

Foucault is often discussed in relation to hermeneutics and structuralism, and his approach to these frequently changed in his books (Smart, 2002). Foucault's concept of archaeology, mentioned in the theory chapter, laid the grounds to genealogy, a concept strongly influenced by Nietzsche. Just like Nietzsche, Foucault was also a critique of the idea that history is a linear and transparent process (Merkelsen, 2010). The concept of archaeology sets apart from hermeneutics since Foucault investigated how truth is a discursive construction, whilst in hermeneutics, one tries to find the truth by conveying a deeper meaning or essence through the interpretation of the distance between oneself and a historical event (Merkelsen, 2010). Moving away from hermeneutics is something that archaeology has in common with structuralism and signs of agreeing with structuralism can be seen in Foucault's book *The Birth of the Clinic* (Merkelsen, 2010). On the other hand, in *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault compares the method to structuralism but never conveys his own view of it (Merkelsen, 2010).

Nevertheless, Foucault discovered methodological problems with archaeology which forces him to abandon structuralism (Merkelsen, 2010). The errors in the archaeology lay in its attempt to address discourses but without being able to create a link to the reality behind it, which therefore makes it impossible to become a strong analytical method (Merkelsen, 2010). Due to the nature of archaeology, Foucault must distance it from structuralism and therefore, developed the concept of genealogy. Genealogy has more in common with hermeneutics due to its interpretative aspects but without searching for essence. It was with the release of the genealogy that Foucault increased his focus on power (Merkelsen, 2010). Genealogy is considered a method that goes beyond both structuralism and hermeneutics (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983).

4.3 Genealogy as a Method for Analysis in This Study

A Foucauldian genealogy is a method that analyse power relations (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). It is a type of discourse analysis that considers the historical aspects and reflects on the present by asking questions like what is happening now? And what is the now that we all find ourselves in? (Tamboukou, 1999). A Foucauldian genealogy also seeks to recognise the historical dimensions of human reality (Tamboukou, 1999). In turn, human reality is considered the effect of historical and cultural practices. In this way, genealogy trace and explore these practices. The present is defined as the result of struggle and relations of force and domination where genealogy is the history of clashes, strategies and the interconnections between them (Tamboukou, 1999). Genealogy aims to trace different ways of thinking instead of accepting those that are already considered true. Nevertheless, genealogy does not incorporate all of Foucault's methodologies and is supported and complemented by archaeology (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983).

Archaeology still isolates and indicates the arbitrariness of the hermeneutic horizon of meaning. It shows that what seems like the continuous development of a meaning is crossed by discontinuous discursive formations. The continuities, he reminds us, reveal no finalities, no hidden underlying significations, no metaphysical certainties. Foucault's elaboration of genealogy was the first major step to a more satisfactory and self-consciously complex analysis of power. (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p.106).

This quote illustrates how genealogy arises from archaeology and still is supported by it and how genealogy came to be an analysis of power. However, it also specifies that one must not look at power as something stable, but, rather as manoeuvres and strategies that constantly active and always changing (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). Foucault believed like Nietzsche, that truth cannot be separated from the procedures of its creation. Foucault's concept of genealogy is heavily influenced by Nietzsche and his notion of power. Power, according to Nietzsche and Foucault's, is a polymorphism without any decided demarcations or positions. (Isenberg, 1991).

There is no clear one-way guide of how to carry out a Foucauldian genealogy, and that is a critique Foucault has received (Tamboukou, 1999). However, Tamboukou (1999) writes that Foucault "*...was against all closed types of methodologies and instead he was continually slipping away from being committed to any of them*" (p.1). Nevertheless, there are some starting points on how to carry out a genealogy. One should start by questioning what the truth is and eliminate certainties. Moreover, to ask what is happening now? and what is the now that

we all find ourselves in? (Tamboukou, 1999). A genealogist looks closely at the mechanisms of practices where norms and truths have been constructed, instead of looking beyond historical practises to find meaning. Genealogy can seem contradictory because it is important to look at the surface but still pay attention to details. (Tamboukou, 1999). A genealogist does not search for depth, but rather seeks after minor shifts, subtle contours, and small details (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983).

The fact is that whereas the interpreter must go himself to the bottom of things like an excavator, the moment of interpretation [genealogy] is on the contrary, one that projects out over the depth, raised more and more above the depth, always leaving the depth below, exposed to ever greater visibility (Foucault, 1964: 62).

The quote illustrates how a genealogist must raise above the depth in order to get the full picture. Foucault argued that if one study history like a traditional historian, one will miss important details that provide explanations for our society (Tamboukou, 1999).

Thomson (2011) builds on to the previously mentioned questions as a starting point when doing a genealogy, but also adds the following questions. These will guide the genealogy in this paper:

1. What is being represented here as a truth or as a norm?
2. How is this constructed? What 'evidence' is used? What is left out? What is foregrounded and backgrounded? What is made problematic and what is not? What alternative meanings/explanations are ignored? What is kept apart and what is joined together?
3. What interests are being mobilised and served by this and what are not?
4. How has this come to be?
5. What identities, actions, practices are made possible and /or desirable and/or required by this way of thinking/talking/understanding? What are disallowed? What is normalised and what is pathologized? (Thomson, 2011).

4.4 Selection of Empirical Material

The empirical material in this paper consists of three texts from Lund University. All the texts are strategic reports from Lund University from three different periods. The first report is from 1995-2000, the second report is from 2012-2016, and the final report is from 2017-2026. Since the reports from 1995 and 2012 are in Swedish, all quotes in this paper have been translated by the author of this paper.

The Strategic Report 1995 – 2000 is Lund University's five-year Strategic Plan and is a 33 pages long document written in Swedish with the title *Lund University for the Future: Visions and Strategies*. The report deals with the leading strategies and prioritised areas for the upcoming five years. The document is overarching for the whole university.

The strategic plan 2012-2016 is a 16 pages long document titled *Strategic Plan for Lund University*, and it is written in Swedish. The main areas of the plan are collaboration across borders, quality, internationalisation and leadership. The plan is overarching for the university and aims to guide the upcoming decisions over the next years. The plan was to be completed by strategic plans on faculty level.

The Strategic Report 2017-2026 is the current strategic report at Lund University and is an eight pages long document written in English. Besides stating the six prioritised areas for the university, it also states the university's vision and mission. The six prioritised areas for the university during the given time frame are: Education and Research are to be Intertwined; Stimulating Active Collaboration to Solve Societal Changes; Continued Development as an International University; Well Developed Leadership and Collegiality are Success Factors, Students; Visitors and Staff are to be Offered a Stimulating Environment, and finally, the Potential of MAX IV and ESS is to be Fully Exploited.

4.4.1 Why were these texts chosen?

These reports were chosen as empirical material because they show the priorities for the university. The document from 1995 was Lund University's first strategic report ("*LU Futura: Tillbaka till framtiden*", 2020) and was chosen to be able to have a big time frame that will make it easier to identify changes in discourse, since some changes might take place over a long. Furthermore, it is interesting to have a document from a time before the internet became part of everyday life. The document from 2012 has been selected because some essential changes took place in Swedish education around that time. Firstly, the Bologna process has started, which aimed to unify European education, (European Commission, 2020) and it is also the year after Sweden decided to implement student fees for non-EU students (Antagning.se, 2020). The last report from 2017 is relevant because it is the current strategic report and will be in use until 2026, which makes it possible to analyse the differences to the current situation for the university.

4. 5 Reflections and limitations

Firstly, as stated in the theory section, discourse to Foucault does not only include oral or textual linguistic practices but is part of a wider phenomenon (Anderson & Grinberg, 1998). This implies that the themes from the studied reports are also a reflection of more general discourses in society. However, it is important to note that to replicate the research, each study would have to take the episteme of that time and specific characteristics into consideration.

Secondly, genealogy is a method that analyses power relations which makes it suitable for this study (Tamboukou, 1999). However, there are different opinions regarding the method and some theorists view genealogy as a critique of the current practices and conditions of our existence (Tamboukou, 1999). Others see genealogy as the resistance of micro-political practices. Theorists are fascinated with genealogy because of how it questions what is claimed to be true and the risk that it entails of never being certain to find satisfactory answers (Tamboukou, 1999).

Genealogy has received some criticism and linking back to Habermas, one of Foucault's main criticsers, one can see that he disapproves several aspects of the genealogical method (Isenberg, 1991). He compares Foucault's discourse formations to political systems and claims that Foucault's work contribute to mystifying power relations (Isenberg, 1991). Furthermore, Habermas criticises Foucault's theory of power and "[...] concludes, [it] appears as a 'dead end', cynical in its undertones, false in its ontology and reducible in its methodological applications" (Isenberg, 1991:302). Habermas focuses on the discourse of communicative reason which is contrary to Foucault's discourses as it emphasizes universalism. Habermas also criticises the anti-scientific aspects of genealogy and states that genealogy is attempting to be superior to human sciences (Isenberg, 1991).

5. Analysis

The analysis chapter will consist of a separate analysis of the three strategic reports, followed by a joint analysis of the three documents. The questions by Thomson (2011) will help guide the genealogy. However, they will not be discussed numerically. Each analysis of the strategic reports is divided into the topics: Background for the Report, Internationalisation, Leadership and the Role of the University and its Core Values.

5.1 The Strategic Report 1995 to 2000

5.1.1 Background for the report

Since the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, Sweden is attempting to improve its relations with neighbouring countries, through a new European collaboration (Svenska institutet, 2020). The Swedish Institute, which is a public agency that promotes interest in Sweden, received instructions to for the first time in history, promote Swedish education abroad. A research and education programme called 'Visbyprogrammet' was launched to introduce exchange studies between Sweden and the Baltic countries, Poland, and Russia (Svenska institutet, 2020).

In 1995 there were no global university rankings, and it would take another eight years before the first one would be launched. According to a survey, the most important factors in 1995 when choosing university were academic reputation, employability, and the size of the university (Hazelkorn, 2011). However, one must remember that there was minimal internet access in 1995, which meant that academic reputation was spread differently than in today's society and possibly did not have the same international reach.

5.1.2 Internationalisation

By studying the strategic report from 1995, one understands that internationalisation exists but is new. The interest in student exchange has increased, and the number of exchange students has increased from around 70 exchanges in 1991/1992 to 700 students in 1994/1995 (Strategic report 1995-2000). Evidence that suggests that internationalisation is new is that the strategic report is written in Swedish. If it had been written in English, it would have been more apparent that the university was trying to reach a broader audience. Furthermore, it is

mentioned in the report that Lund University should “*aim, reach and maintain an international top position in as many areas as possible*” (Strategic report 1995-2000, p.4).

In 1995, global university rankings did not exist yet, which means that other channels and organisations would have to be used to decide which universities are considered top universities. The document does not specify who at the time decided which universities have top positions, what the indicators might have been used, or where the lists of top positioned universities are published. The only point the strategic report mentions in order to gain a top position, is that Lund University’s natural place is among Europe’s best universities, and to achieve this, quality must be high. However, it is not mentioned what quality entails, how the good quality would be measured or how it would be communicated to the public. The statement is also somewhat of a paradox since it suggests that Lund University naturally belongs among Europe’s best universities but at the same time it implies that this is something that has to be achieved, thus, the university acknowledges that it is not one of the best ones at the time. Hence, by using this statement, the text normalises that Lund University should be among Europe’s best universities, but without giving any reasons to why it would belong among the top universities or what drives the university to have a top position in Europe. This suggests that the goal of becoming a top university might be a goal approaching externally.

One alternative is that Swedish authorities had this as a goal, especially observing the historical context, where Sweden is promoting Swedish education abroad through the Swedish Institute and the newly launched Visby programme, by introducing exchange with the Baltic countries, Russia and Poland. Furthermore, in 1995 Sweden entered the European Union which would explain why the Swedish government could have taken a more European approach, trying to look beyond the Swedish borders, including in topics such as education. The report also focuses on a regional collaboration rather than a greater international panorama, emphasising collaboration with small and middle large universities in the region, especially Denmark which is believed to contribute to the university’s development.

One aspect that is presented as problematic in the strategic report is that there is not enough support in Lund University to receive more international students. Building new accommodation and student counselling for international students is therefore desired, as well as having a generous way towards “*guest students*” (strategic report 1995-2000, p.17). The use of the word guest is particularly interesting since it suggests that the international students are not

part of the Lund University's student body but are considered temporal visitors. It suggests a us and them division between international and Swedish students. This division is evidence that internationalisation is new, and moreover, that the idea of internationalisation of education has not been totally embraced by the university yet, since they still separate international and national students. Another aspect that is mentioned as problematic is that there is no support or system for how to convert grades both for Swedish and international students and that this should be addressed. *"An important issue in this context is the crediting of studies abroad, an issue that needs to be resolved in a smooth and flexible way."* (Strategic Report 1995-2000: 17). At the time there was no common European grading system or procedures for how to convert grades which was an impediment for internationalisation.

The report states that at the time Lund University offered 230 courses taught in English and that the implementation of more Master programmes taught in English should be encouraged to double the number of international students. However, it is also stated that it is important that it does not influence the educational quality. This statement demonstrates that the university considered that a focus on internationalisation could cause a negative impact on educational quality. It could also be a way of suggesting that to increase international students, resources would have to be allocated to achieve it, which could affect the quality of the education. This shows that the prevailing discourse of internationalisation at the university was not completely positive at the time. This further suggests that the interest in internationalisation might not come entirely from the university itself.

5.1.3 The Role of the University and its Core Values

The strategic report from 1995, stresses that the university should act aligned with society, but without risking any of its core values as a university.

Free knowledge seeking, free research, promoting free thinking, as well as the task of being a bearer of culture and an arena for free debate – all of this is part of the notion of a university and is thus an expression of actions and attitudes that cannot be "adapted" to changes in the outside world (strategic report 1995-2000:4).

The quote presents what is considered the most important values of the university at the time. Ideas such as free knowledge seeking, free thinking and being an arena for free debate are values that the university consider vital for the role of the university. One can also sense that

in the background of this quote, there is a worry that the university will have to adapt itself to the outside world to benefit society and by doing so, risking its fundamental values. The quote, therefore, helps to demonstrate that in 1995 there was a conflicting discourse in the role of the university, and what the university thought internally, was not necessarily aligned with the wishes from the outside world, which could entail political or economic forces. The strategic report also mentions that the university has two main tasks: education and research. Since the 1960s, economic, organisational, and administrative structures have created a gap between the two main tasks, and it is the role of the university to overcome this gap. This affirmation reaffirms the idea that there are economic and political forces that the university fear will reshape the role of the university. The start of a shift in the discourse regarding the role of the university is taking place. Where on the one hand, the report focuses on the educational aspects such as quality and values, like free thinking, and expresses a fear of losing these values. Although, on the other hand, it is pointing to aspects which indicate that the goals are not coming entirely from the university itself. A case in point is the goal to be a top European university and to be beneficial to society.

Research is also an important part of the university, and the report conveys that the essential factors for research are contributing to new knowledge, ethics and how the research will be used. Nevertheless, the report states that even though the quest for new knowledge is most important, the university as a societal institution must be aware of external demands and wishes. There is also an emphasis on making research more international. The main reason for this is that research resources will come from international programmes, mostly from within the European Union. In research, one can also notice the start of a shift in discourse regarding the role of the university. The university claims that contributing to new knowledge, and the ethical aspects are of most importance. Simultaneously, the university should be aware of external demands and wishes and make research more international to compete for funding. A reason for this, considering the context, Sweden became a member of the European Union in 1995 which opened a new arena for funding for the university to consider.

5.1.4 Leadership

Under the title 'staff politic' leadership is mentioned in a short paragraph. It emphasises the importance of academic leadership. "*Academic leadership is something special since a university differs itself in many aspects from other organizations*" (strategic report 1995-2000: 28). The quote demonstrates that the university considers that the leadership of a university is

different from the one of other organisations. It further emphasises that the role of academic leadership is to inspire and stimulate co-workers, as well as having a developed sense of ethics. Nevertheless, leadership is not given much attention in the document. A reason for this could be that other aspects such as equality and the university's fundamental values were considered more important. Evidence for this is that the university leadership is emphasised being different from other organisations and it is also linked to the values of the university since it expresses the importance of being ethical and of realising that academic leadership is different from other organisations. Even though there are different goals mentioned in the report, such as becoming one of the top universities in Europe, leadership is not mentioned as a factor that could help achieve these goals. However, shared responsibility among the staff is emphasised and the report states that "*The safeguarding of individual freedom within the framework of the collective is crucial for the University to be able to fulfil its tasks*" (the strategic report 1995-2000: 29). The quote indicates that the staff's individual freedom in their work tasks were important, which could be a further reason why leadership is not included as a tactic to reach the goals since each employee had their own responsibility to contribute.

5.2 The Strategic Report 2012 to 2016

5.2.1 Background to the Report

In 2012, the global university rankings had started to establish themselves. The first global ranking was the Shanghai Jiao Tong University ranking launched in 2003 (today called the Academic Ranking of World Universities) (Hazelkorn, 2011). The QS World University Ranking and the Times Higher Education Ranking followed shortly in 2004. The response to ranking was immediate. The International Association of Universities was one of the organisations that wanted to understand the fast-moving phenomenon and sponsored a study to understand the impact and influence of rankings in 2006 (Hazelkorn, 2011). The number of citations, international outlook and learning environment are among the most common indicators in these rankings but with some own variations. For a complete view of the ranking indicators, see images 2,3 and 4 in the appendix.

The technological developments have been advancing fast since 1995, and more than 92% of the Swedish population used the internet in 2012 (Internetstiftelsen, 2020). In higher education, there is an increased focus on talent mobility and on keeping contact with former scholarship holders and alumni (Svenska institutet, 2020). Sweden starts to give scholarships to students outside of the European Union. More projects were launched to increase collabora-

tion and integration in the Baltic sea region. This is considered important to increase Swedish competitiveness (Svenska institutet, 2020). The year before, in 2011, Sweden implemented study fees for non-EU citizens (Antagning.se, 2020). There are important efforts to start an internationalisation of higher education at the time The Bologna process introduced in 1999, finished its first phase in 2010. The goal of the Bologna process was to seek coherence in the education and grading system across Europe. Furthermore, to increase mobility for both staff and students and to make European higher education more attractive and competitive worldwide (European Commission, 2020). A standard European university structure was introduced in 2007 (Universitets-och högskolerådet, 2020).

5.2.2 Internationalisation

Studying the strategic report 2012-2016, one note that internationalisation has become more established than in 1995 and has started to permeate throughout different levels of the university structure. Internationalisation is described as entirely positive and is one of the prioritised areas in the report. The concerns mentioned in the strategic report from 1995 are no longer expressed. The document also introduces thoughts related to marketing, for example, by introducing the discussion of how Lund University should be talked about internationally. It also starts to refer to the Lund University brand for the first time. *“Internationalisation is today one of the University’s strengths. We are popular among international students...”* (Strategic Report, 2012-2016: 8). The quote demonstrates a positive attitude towards internationalisation. It is stated that internationalisation is a process that enhances the university with new perspectives and opportunities for collaboration. The background context to the report stated that study fees for non-EU students have been implemented and a more general European grade system has been applied through the Bologna process, which has given way to internationalisation. International collaboration, diversity and mutual understanding are said to be important to face societal challenges in environment, health, sustainable development, and human rights. Internationalisation is put in the foreground for the university as one of the strengths. Left in the background is the historical context with increased internet access and globalisation, increasing political and economic opportunities that developed along with it.

In the strategic report from 2012 there is also a new focus on recruiting students from outside of the European Union. The report states that it shall recruit non-EU students to increase diversity and that Lund University should mirror the diversity in the world. Considering that student fees for international students had been introduced just a year before, makes one re-

flect that there are economic forces behind the decision to recruit students from outside of Europe. Even though Lund University is a public university and cannot make a profit as a private university, there can still be economic forces behind this strategy, for example, authorities attempting to attract international students to invest in Swedish education. This is the first time a word such as 'recruiting' is used in the reports. The word recruiting is connected to the active process of searching and selecting candidates and is usually found in companies when hiring staff. The use of this word illustrates how the shift in discourse regarding internationalisation is strengthened by language as internationalisation is starting to be looked at more as a business opportunity.

As part of the internationalisation process, Lund University has become a member of two global networks, Universitas21 (U21) and League of European Research Universities (LERU), which are intended to be long-term global collaboration. These memberships could be interpreted to be seen internationally by other universities and by a global public. There is also a new focus on creating joint education programmes together with other universities. "*We will also develop more joint educational programmes and join examinations with universities in different parts of the world*" (Strategic Report 2012-2016: 8). As this quote shows, internationalisation is presented as a global opportunity where not only Lund University offers own programmes and courses taught in English but also aims to offer joined ones with other universities. Furthermore, globalisation has also increased the possibilities for international financing. "*A growth in globalisation has also created access to international financing where we will participate and compete*" (Strategic Report 2012-2016: 8). As this quote demonstrates, globalisation offers besides internationalisation of studies also funding possibilities for research. Internationalisation is also presented as an opportunity for Swedish students to work internationally and in that way, contribute to sustainable global development.

5.2.3 The Role of the University and its Core Values

The role of the university presented in the 2012 strategic report is that the university should create problem solvers, leaders, developers of knowledge and that the knowledge that the students acquire at the university lays the groundwork for lifelong learning and provides a framework of knowledge, creativity and democratic values. Therefore, the university finds it important to strengthen social sciences, humanities, law, economics, and the artistic field and give them a new role in which they can take on societal challenges. It is important to the uni-

versity to contribute to societal development, and therefore they analyse what is needed by society and apply the perspective of external societal actors.

The document further states that academic integrity is absolute and that respect for debate and objectivity governs the university. Values such as rationality, quality and commitment permeate the university. A clear focus in the strategic report is the connection between university and society and how the university should contribute to societal change as well as preparing students to solve challenges that are presented in society. This is not only a shift in discourse in relation to the role of the university in 1995 but is also a connection to the rankings. For example, the Times Higher Education ranking measures industry income, which is referring to how valuable research is to companies. This can be one of the reasons why the university considers it to be important to have a focus on societal change and challenges. Evidence for this is that the report indicates that companies and organisations should view the university as a resource. Likewise, the report indicates that globalisation has given way to new international funding and that Lund University intends to compete for international funds, which means that focusing on current trends in society could increase their chances of receiving funds.

Other common indicators for the three global university rankings are research, reputation and international outlook (see in images 2,3 and 4 in the appendix). One can see that even though the rankings all measure differently, research is mostly measured based on the number of articles published and number of citations in all three of the rankings. In the ARWU ranking, they measure the number of Nobel prize winners among students and staff (image 2 in appendix), but this is also just a way of focusing on excellent acknowledged research. It also shows how difficult it would be for a new university to enter a ranking based on the criteria of having Nobel Prize winners. Not only because of the extreme difficultness of winning a Nobel Prize but also since almost no researchers win Nobel Prizes early on in their careers.

Giving priority to improve staff and students level of English is another aspect that the university wants to prioritise, and that will help to further position itself as an international university. There are reasons connected to the rankings within the goal of improving the English of students and staff at Lund University. Since Swedish is only spoken in Sweden, articles written in English would increase the chance to have the articles cited. The number of research citations is another indicator that the three rankings use. The report also states that there should be an increase in programmes taught in English which would attract more inter-

national students, which in turn relates to global rankings since international outlook/ international responses is also one of the common indicators among the rankings. Additionally, considering the historical context of the time, Sweden was looking to increase competitiveness and attracting students from other countries. Thus, a higher level of English and more programmes taught in English would help to increase Swedish universities competitiveness. There is also a connection in the timing between starting to give scholarships to non-EU students, promoting Swedish education in non-EU regions and the implementation of student fees for non-EU students which could be viewed as mobilisation of Swedish economic interests. The aim of creating joint programmes together with other European Universities is a way to increase reputation by joining forces with another university with a good reputation. Reputation is another common indicator for the rankings, which in turn will contribute to Sweden's development as part of globalisation, which is also described as desired at the time.

In the 2012 report, Lund University is talked about as a brand for the first time. “...*Lund University is a strong brand in the world*” (Strategic Report 2012-2016: 8). There is no information as to the reasons Lund University should be mentioned as a brand or why now. It could be connected to the increased internationalisation, making Lund University part of a bigger competition between the world's universities and where it is important to have a strong identity to stand-out to prospective students. However, both brands and rankings could be viewed as mechanisms that serve to reduce complexity and simplify decision-making. This type of knowledge is very different from the knowledge associated with the core values of Lund University at the time, such as academic integrity, respect for debate and objectivity. Thus, it is peculiar that the Lund University brand is introduced without any explanation or motivation in the report. However, it could be part of a strategy to make Lund University more visible. “*Increased visibility and clarity in how we communicate Lund University internationally, nationally and regionally, is important to be competitive*” (Strategic Report 2012-2016: 15). The quote confirms that it is necessary to both increase visibility and to reflect upon how Lund University should be communicated to others. To start referring to a Lund University brand and to join the LERU and U21 networks can be an attempt to become more visible to a global public. Additionally, to have a firm idea of how to communicate Lund University internationally would in turn show a stronger brand and could help to improve its reputation. This is further strengthened by stating that staff and students need to realise that they are ambassadors of the university, which also relates to efforts to increase reputation, for instance by word-of-mouth from alumni to presumptive students. The report states that Lund Universi-

ty has the pre-conditions to become a world-class university, especially since it is situated in one of Europe's most dynamic regions. This shows how the university, not only showcases its own strengths but are also using the outside world as a strength, in this case, the region where it is located, which not only includes Sweden but Denmark as it emphasises the Öresunds region. This could be an effort to increase the region's attractiveness together with other societal actors. The strategy mentioned to become a world-class university is to care for diversity and the university's core values, and by renewing themselves through the global opportunities that are presented.

5.2.4 Leadership

The strategic report also presents a new focus on internal routines and leadership. *“The demands increase on having a well-developed leadership and managership at the university. From institutions and strong research environments to labs and the administrative support”* (Strategic Report 2012-2016:12). As the quote indicates, there is a new demand for well-developed leadership at the university. However, the definition of well-developed leadership is not explained but the report mention that well-developed leadership would lead to having strong labs, which in turn would lead to better conditions to have strong research, which is one of the common indicators of the global rankings. It is not revealed or further explained where this demand surges from. A reason for this new demand could be that strong leadership is taken for granted as being something that will lead to more efficiency and leadership is commonly associated with words such as guidance, direction, and control. By stating that there is a need for well-developed leadership, it is also saying that leadership is currently under-developed. However, the report does not state in what way a well-developed leadership will contribute to the university or what challenges they think that leadership will solve. Still, the report indicates that internal routines have been modernised and that new procedures aiming to respond well to the next year's challenges and tasks have been created. This shows that the university is adapting itself, changing its internal strategies and procedures to fit the society's needs. The fact that the new procedures are developed to respond to societal changes could also mean that the new leadership would work towards responding to societal changes and accompany the university the new procedures.

As seen in the background context, Sweden has started significant efforts to internationalise higher education and is looking to make European higher education attractive and competitive. Leadership could be a tool to achieve this by making the new procedures and routines

even more efficient with effective leadership. This is further strengthened by the emphasis on the importance of carrying out mappings of global changes, change strategies, creating and sharing best practise as well as improving knowledge-sharing across the university. This indicates that the university is not only focusing on internal goals or goals strictly limited to universities but is involved and interested in what is going on in the outside world and intends for the entire university to become more efficient by sharing best practises.

5.3 The Strategic Report 2017 to 2026

5.3.1 Background to the Report

In 2017, the international landscape was changing. According to the Swedish Institute, New geographical priorities are taking place, and countries such as China, India and South American and African countries are given greater importance in education (Svenska institutet, 2020). In 2017, the Swedish Government appointed an investigator to look into the different options to increase internationalisation in the higher education sector and to suggest strategies to promote Sweden as a knowledge nation and study destination (Regeringskansliet, 2020). In 2017, universities in Sweden invested 38781 million kronor in development and research (Statistikmyndigheten, 2020).

5.3.2 Internationalisation

Regarding the discourse of internationalisation, it has by the 2017 report become completely normalised and is seen as the main strength of the university and is one of the prioritised areas in the strategic plan. *“The University’s other strengths include student influence, internationalisation and close engagement with wider society”* (the strategic plan 2017-2026: 3). By stating that it is normalised, it refers to being completely absorbed by the university, and there are no signs of resistance within the report. The university aims to continue its efforts in being internationally leading, which corresponds to the national plans of promoting Sweden as a knowledge nation. As stated in the background to the report, the Swedish government had this same year appointed a person to work entirely with investigating opportunities to increase internationalisation. Thus, the prioritised area and goal of being an international university goes hand-in-hand with authority’s goals. Hence, the fact that internationalisation is a prioritised goal shows a further shift in discourse.

Furthermore, it is expressed in the report that practises that can further increase internationalisation are desired. For example, the organisation should aim for global engagement and an

international perspective through strategies that further normalise internationalisation and improve its reputation by joining forces with other universities. Also, the university should be considered attractive and offer international opportunities to students and staff. By providing students and staff international opportunities, it increases the chances to have an excellent English level and to have international research which is desirable in the global rankings. Furthermore, being considered attractive by international students and staff would increase international outlook, another common indicator in the global rankings. The importance to be able to offer attractive environments and excellent study environments to both students and staff members is also emphasised. This is interesting since rankings often measure teaching through a university environment indicator and not through teaching itself. One can also notice that in the report, teaching is barely not mentioned in the document. The only time it is mentioned is under the heading 'Education and Research are to be Intertwined' where it says:

Teaching methods, course content and the students' own learning process are to equip students and doctoral students to meet new challenges. The teaching staff shall be highly qualified in teaching and learning and increased educational quality shall be particularly rewarded (Strategic report 2017-2026:5).

The quote illustrates that even teaching is connected to equip students to be able to respond to new challenges, and one can imagine that these are referring to societal challenges. Additionally, stating that teaching staff should be highly qualified, and that educational quality shall be rewarded, is very vague. The fact that teaching is mostly measured by university environment and study conditions show that there is a bigger emphasis on study environment (which is how teaching is measured in rankings), rather than actual teaching techniques or teacher training.

It is also stated in the report that the university's boundary-crossing collaboration and unique disciplinary range are part of its success. By this means, one understands that interdisciplinary and cross boundary collaboration are positive and should be encouraged. It is said that intertwined research and education is necessary to achieve high quality and that even closer cooperation between disciplines will further create potential. A reason for this could be that in the rankings, some study areas are prioritised over others and creating interdisciplinary study areas could increase the visibility of the prioritised areas. This also creates competitiveness as it creates new programmes and therefore attract more international students. Besides interdisci-

iplinary collaboration within the university it is important to collaborate with other education institutions but also with the public sector, community life, business and industry. New collaborations should be encouraged and obstacles to collaboration must be identified and removed. Hence, all factors that prevent collaboration are problematic and disallowed. It is important to remember that the connection to the industry is also a common indicator in the rankings and linked to international funding that the university want to compete for.

5.3.3 Leadership

In the strategic report 2017- 2026, it is stated that leadership and more specifically, collegial leadership is needed to achieve the goals. It also states that a well-developed leadership and collegiality are key to success and will help to achieve goals and also reinforce critical discussion. One can associate collegial leadership with words such as shared responsibility, coeffective and co-acting and instead of having one clear leader, more co-workers would have leadership responsibility. This is an example where power has diffused more within the university and will be harder to locate with one specific person since all staff will have the responsibility and will discipline themselves. However, what is taken for granted is that leadership will help the organisation reach its goals but not how. It could, be for example, by creating tools of evaluation and measurement.

The report also states that leaders and managers at the university will also have the power of decision and be able to prioritise, lead and implement changes. This is evidence that leaders will be able to take measures to achieve their goals. If one connects this with the historical context, Swedish authorities are aiming to increase internationalisation and to promote Sweden as a knowledge nation and study destination. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to keep Swedish education competitive. A goal-oriented leadership will help to contribute to the indicators used in rankings and keep the university at the forefront of rankings, contributing to promoting Sweden as a knowledge nation.

5.3.4 The role of the university and its core values

As far as the discourse regarding the role of the university, the report states that the university must be set an example for society by assuming societal responsibility and meet global challenges, being a hub for international and national collaborations and external collaborations with the business sector. This is also aligned with the Swedish authorities political and economic goals of promoting Sweden as a knowledge nation. The university describes its role as

a preparation for students to be social agents and “...*champions of well-founded debate*” (the strategic report 2016-2026: 2). and emphasises its responsibility in facing societal challenges across different fields such a migration, climate, digitalisation, among others. Connecting this to the historical context, one notice that 2017 would be characterised by global challenges such as multiple deadly terror attacks through different cities of Europe and a massive digital attack also took place in 2017 affecting over a hundred countries. The tensions in society regarding these types of events probably existed before this and reinforced the nation’s preoccupation for the university to deal with these types of challenges in the future. The report further states that

A clear strategic shift is required for Lund University to develop as a stable bearer of knowledge culture in a changing world and to reinforce its position as a leading higher education institution and an inspiring societal force (strategic report 2016-2026: 3).

This quote shows that the university considers itself being the stable bearer of knowledge culture that shape our knowledge. With the words knowledge culture, it is implied that the university is the force that tells us what counts as knowledge and how it should be learned and taught, in the same way, a specific countries culture tells about different practises. The quote also demonstrates that the university considers that they need to make a shift to be able to be the bearer of knowledge culture but also to reinforce its position as an inspiring societal force and leading higher education institution. Thus, they are essentially stating that they need to make a change to maintain the same role. One could argue that it is because of the rankings imposing competition between the universities and creating an illusion of change that the university must respond to maintain as a leading higher education institution. The quote also shows that the university would like to shift even more to adapt to society needs. It also implies that there is a continuous shift in discourse in the role of the university, which moves closer to society and not its own autonomous organisation.

The report also mentions that the university should be an influential voice in public debate and research community and must, therefore, increase its visibility. What is not mentioned here is that increased visibility for the university is also beneficial to attract more international students and thus work to reach the authorities goals of becoming a knowledge nation.

The report states that Lund University follows the core values established by European Universities in the Magna Charta Universitatum. The Lund University core values are also based on Swedish public authority law and include, for example, impartiality, freedom of opinion but also efficiency and service. Especially important are academic freedom and autonomy and that universities should not feel pressure from wider society but should face up to defend integrity and quality of research and education. Here one can notice a clash in the discourse regarding the role of the university because, on the one hand, the report states that the university should value academic freedom and autonomy and not feel pressure from wider society. However, the report continuously states that the university needs to contribute to solving societal changes and take societal responsibility. This becomes paradoxical because the core values themselves are no longer coming from the university. As the report indicates, the values origin from the Magna Charta Universitatum, where several European Universities (with their own agendas and States with their own agendas) have decided on them. Other values come from the Swedish law and therefore are aligned with Swedish authorities. Hence, the core values can be seen as a product created by institutions and authorities in society, creating a paradox since they indicate to resist pressure from society which in fact, is what created them.

5.4 Analysis of the Three Documents Jointly

By comparing the three documents, there are noteworthy shifts that should be acknowledged. Furthermore, their development and impact on the academic knowledge of the university are discussed. The joint analysis will be divided into four subcategories: General Observations; Internationalisation on the Move; Leadership as a Form of Control and the Changing Role of the University.

5.4.1 General Observations

The outlook on the future has changed since 1995, and by 2017 a marketing aspect has been added. In the document of 1995, the discourse regarding the future is written as unknown and distant, and that one needs to be prepared for it but cannot know what it will have in store. However, in the document from 2012, the future is rather described as something close ahead. In the 2017 report, there is a focus on the societal changes that the future will hold, but the text shows that they are aware of what the challenges will come, such as challenges in digitalisation, migration and climate. Even though it is as difficult to predict the future in 2017 as it was in 1995, this could imply a tactic by Lund University to appear assured. It could also be a

marketing tactic where one cannot show its flaws to an external audience, and therefore, it is more competitive if they write with certainty about the future. Although the 1995 report also was an external document, almost no Swedish homes had internet at the time thus less people had access to the document even if it was a public document.

The tone in the documents has also changed. The 1995 report is open about the challenges that the university had and write, for example, that it is not yet among the top universities. Furthermore, the two reports from 2012 and 2017 have more marketing aspects regarding layout. Both later reports are shorter, have more images, clearer structure, and is referring to Lund University as already being the best. Part of the reason for the new layout are the development of the internet and increased use of computers, but there is also a clear shift into a new managerial way of operating.

Another observation is that for strategic reports, they are not that strategic. The reports written in 2012 and 2017 includes strategies to some extent. However, the 1995 report only states what needs to be done but not how. Even though, the how is mentioned in 2012 and 2017, it is still quite limited. A reason for this could be that the university does not want to publish its strategies for all the competition to read about them. Nevertheless, one notice that for strategic documents, all three documents do not consider many strategic aspects in them. The fact that the documents do not include developed strategies, responsible teams, or indicators for evaluation, generates the idea that the documents only use the word strategic ostensibly. Possibly it is a tactic to justify the goals in the report and make them feel thought through.

A further observation is that teaching seems to be given less importance in the 2012 and 2017 reports, even though it is one of the main activities that make up a university. Teaching is mentioned in the 1995 report with a focus on how to train teachers and teaching methods, but in 2012 this shifts into briefly mentioning that it is important to improve teachers' English level. In 2017 there is only one paragraph which very vaguely mention rewarding increased quality in teaching. The global rankings tend not to measure teaching, or if they have an indicator related to teaching, it most often refers to the study environment, which on the other hand is very often mentioned in the reports. As a case of point, the 2012 report several times brings up the importance of developing the universities study environment (p.8, p.11 and p.12) and one of the prioritised areas in the 2017 report is called "*students, employees, and*

visitors are to be offered attractive environments” (p.6). This provides further evidence to the adaptation to global rankings and their indicators.

5.4.2 Internationalisation on the move

By comparing the three reports, one discovers that there has been a significant shift in discourse regarding internationalisation. In the 1995 report, internationalisation existed, but it was a new phenomenon. At the time, Lund University was aiming to become a top European university, but there were no global rankings in 1995, which made it more difficult to benchmark universities. At the time, it was also considered that internationalisation could harm educational quality. In 2012, a European education system has been implemented through the Bologna process and Sweden has also implemented study fees for non-EU students. The word recruit is used for the first time referring to students which implies a more proactive pursuit of students and a step towards new managerialism. A new focus of creating joint programmes with other international universities is brought up. The report also mentions marketing aspects such as how Lund University should be talked about internationally and the University. It is also worth mentioning that Lund University founded the area of International Marketing and Recruitment in 2010 after the government’s decision to implement study fees for non-EU students (Carlsson, personal communication, 14 May 2020).

In 2017, internationalisation was completely normalised and was considered one of the main strengths of the university. Sweden is to be promoted as a study destination, and cross-disciplined collaborations are encouraged, both inside and outside the university. It is also mentioned that all obstacles that impede cross-disciplined collaborations should be removed. It is made clear that a shift in the discourse of internationalisation has taken place. The shift in discourse regarding internationalisation developed partly due to historical development. The increase in regional and later global cooperation and globalisation sparked the shift regarding internationalisation. By joining the European Union, Sweden increased cooperation with other European countries which led to the Bologna process. The goal of aiming to become a leading university was present already in 1995 and increased benchmarking between countries, and the massification of education contributed to a further shift in discourse. Furthermore, the global rankings emerging in 2003 were a very convenient tool to measure and compare education and to be used as a driving force to reach the goals. The global rankings relations start to permeate through the university, and it becomes more challenging to see if the rankings are beneficial to the university, to society, or to themselves?

Internationalisation contributes to increased competition and can put Sweden at the top of quality education, but then again, why is it important for the university to be the best in the world? Is it even possible for a university to measure how to be the best in an academic way? This shows a shift to new managerialism where the university behaves more like a brand, benchmarking its services with other brands, that is, other universities. The implications this could have is that by having all universities chasing the same goal, being the best. It could lead to neglecting the domestic market. It could also alter the way a university views knowledge, turning it into a brand outlook, where knowledge is no longer academic, and focus is removed from improving the educational system and limits it to look at what can be measured.

5.4.3 Leadership as a form of control

The discourse regarding leadership shifts from 1995 to 2017. The development of the leadership discourse changes in line with the role of the university and the development of rankings. In 1995, academic leadership was stressed, and it was supposed to be ethical and different from other organisations, and the university was more autonomous and separated from society. In 2012, leadership focused on sharpening internal routines and being able to respond to future challenges, as the university was supposed to be able to respond to societal challenges. It is stated that well-developed leadership is needed, and best practices are to be created and shared. In 2017, leaders were also given the power of decision to lead and implement changes and to deal with increasing competition which are factors that show how new managerialism is incorporated at the university. This is similar to the shifts in the role of the university at the time. Thus, the discourse regarding leadership has shifted and have been given more importance towards 2012 and 2017. During this time, the rankings have also become more established and are embraced by the leadership as the indicators become more internalised within the university. In 2017, the concept of collegial leadership was also introduced. The question is how collegial leadership can be? The leadership has an emphasis on control and evaluation and have now been given the power to make decisions and implement change. Power has also become more internalised, and it also causes the individual to become self-disciplinary. Thus, the leadership becomes a form of control with a focus on measuring and evaluation but his presented in a collegial way.

5.4.4 The changing role of the university

Another discourse that has been through a drastic shift from 1995 to 2017 is the role of the university. In the discourse in 1995, there was a major focus on preserving the university as a strong force that would not be influenced by society. One can detect a worry from the university that it will have to adapt itself to benefit society and by that, lose its fundamental values. In the report of 2012, however, the discourse about the role of the university shows that society and university are becoming more intertwined. The report mentions how the university creates problem solvers and that it is important to provide them with the knowledge that can help them take on societal challenges and that the university should contribute to societal development. The document mentions that its academic integrity and values are important and cannot be compromised, but a shift in how the university evolves itself with society can be identified. The shift is made even more evident in the 2017 report, where it is stated that the university's role is to set an example for society by assuming societal responsibility and be a hub for external collaboration with the business sector.

The university describes its role in preparing students to become social agents aiming to solve societal challenges that the world is facing. The development of this shift in discourse can also be related to the historical context. By joining the EU, Swedish universities could start applying for international funding. With more competition due to the massification of education, one can imagine that the university needs to compete with more universities for financing and therefore needs to connect with companies. Furthermore, having a strong tie with society and companies is another way for the university to become more competitive and it could increase the employability rate for alumni who get in contact with the company during their studies. The global rankings also have specific rankings with employability rates, which means that more contact with companies is beneficial to rankings as well. The implications of the changing role of the university that adapts progressively to society and its external actors is that the university's foundation could be weakened and its credibility as an academic force could be doubted. Especially so, if a university starts to collaborate exclusively with some companies and act as an elongated arm of marketing for them and could even disallow them to criticise certain aspects. This would influence academic knowledge and could change the role of the university from what started as an autonomous force with academic integrity and as an arena for free debate and turn it into corporate organisations that change their identity according to the neoliberalist market.

When it comes to the university's core values that were so essential in 1995, they are still considered essential. However, they have changed. In 1995, the core values were free knowledge seeking, free research, promoting free thinking, being a bearer of culture and an arena for free debate. In 2012, the values mentioned were rationality, quality, commitment, and academic integrity. In the 2017 report, the university now refers to the Magna Charta Universitatum for European universities core values. Additionally, it refers to Swedish law and also stating that efficiency and service now are included in the core values. The report further states that Lund University should be a bearer of knowledge culture, rather than a bearer of just culture as mentioned in 1995, which is particularly interesting since the knowledge culture is showing signs of changing into a brand knowledge. Also, that it should reinforce its position as a leading higher education institution and be an inspiring societal force, which shows a shift and abandonment of its position in 1995. This development can be seen as an extension to the changing role of the university where the change has reached even the fundamental essence of the university by changing its core values. The fact that the core values have changed that drastically over a little more than 20 years, is further evidence that the foundation of the academic knowledge and the autonomy of the university are being weakened.

5.4.5 Implications for strategic communication professionals

The fact that universities adapt to global rankings can also have consequences for strategic communication professionals. If universities become increasingly concerned with reputation and focus more on global rankings, this will put more pressure on strategic communication professionals to deliver measurable results. Aspects such as reputation are hard to measure, and it is often said that it is the effect of long-term efforts. However, global rankings provide a short-cut to an improved reputation that is quantifiable and provide tangible results to show to the management. Nevertheless, the global rankings are instable, and a university could easily lose its position if it does not submit up to date information each year, stay vigilant of the ranking indicators and is willing to comply with it and by that having to change some of its main activities and core values, and also stay vigilant of its competitors. In the end, it could cause the university to lose its reputation if it focuses on the short-term solution to a good reputation that global rankings provide. The question is, how far is a university willing to go in the name of reputation?

6. Discussion

This paper has identified several signs of adaptations to the global rankings in Lund University strategic reports from 1995, 2012 and 2017. It has also analysed how the discursive shifts have developed and what implications they can have for the academic knowledge of the university. Some of the main findings will now be discussed in relation to previous research.

One of the findings is that internationalisation has shifted from being new in 1995 and not considered entirely positive since the university believed it could affect the educational quality. In 2017 it was completely internalised and considered one of the main strengths of the university. In increasing its attention to internationalisation, Lund University not only complies with one of the common ranking indicators, namely international outlook, but it is also a way to become more competitive and being able to promote itself to international students. Several authors such as Altbach (2012), Lynch (2014) and Pusser & Marginson (2013) state that there is a global fixation with the commodification of higher education and Pusser & Marginson (2013) argue that the rankings work as internal indicators of power relations to the State, who is the regulator of higher education. In that sense, the rankings become a tool for the State to benchmark how the country is doing in comparison to others, which is increasingly important since Sweden wants to become a knowledge nation. Nevertheless, there is a risk that the State put too much pressure on the university to rank high which could make them neglect important aspects in their operations, such as the domestic market and teaching. As this thesis has shown, the university has prioritised activities in order to get a better ranking position, and also how teaching is mentioned in relation to the teaching indicators in rankings and not necessarily in how to improve teaching per say.

Furthermore, one starts to reflect on what has happened to make the concerns from 1995 disappear? In the document from 1995, Lund university did not express exactly how internationalisation would have a negative effect on educational quality. Is it due to a fear of the unknown and feeling insufficiently prepared to receive more international students? Or does the concern still exist within the university, but is no longer expressed because it is now a goal on national level? Or, is it because it would require the allocation of funds to international programmes? Since 2011 non-EU students pay a student fee to study in Sweden, which could be

a reason the concern about internationalisation disappears. As authors such as Altbach (2012) and Tierney & Lanford (2017) point out, rankings can cause governments to focus on how to rank better instead of on how to improve the educational system and they also increase global competition between universities. Furthermore, the increased competition could also extend to more areas, such as between students. Swedish students that wish to study a programme in English compete with international students to enter the programme which puts additional pressure on students. Today Lund University's international students make up 20% of the total student body and 60% of the master's student body (Lund University, 2020).

Another finding is that the discourse about the role of the university and its core values also have shifted over the years. The university's role has gone from being autonomous and uncompromising in its core values, to become a force that should respond to societal challenges and including core values traditionally related to business organisations, such as efficiency and service. This can be seen for example in the design of the reports, that not only change language from Swedish to English but it also becomes shorter, with more design and more commercially tone that does not mention any negative aspects. Business terms such as 'recruit' students and 'best-practice' are also starting to be included in the reports. This can relate to previous research as some scholars such as Lynch (2013) indicates that rankings put universities on public display turning them into business organisations, especially since a great deal of the world's population has internet access today, which was not the case in 1995, it makes the reports more accessible and in turn the university on an even bigger public display.

However, if the university would start to avoid certain information in the reports because it could be damaging for their competitors to access this information, it creates concerns regarding the transparency of the university. This leads up to the question, should the university prioritise being transparent or being competitive? In turn, the question makes one to reflect upon the conflicting roles between a university and a company. As mentioned, the rankings can pressure the university into becoming a business organisation and the reports from 2012 and 2017 mention the brand of Lund University. This is conflicting since a brand does not have academic knowledge and rather aims to make their customers choice as easy as possible, while a university is a centre for learning and aspires to teach and provide students with knowledge. Therefore, if the university is pressured into becoming a business organisation, it

would take focus from the knowledge acquisition and rather emphasise how to make students choice easier.

Additionally, Peters (2019) and Lynch (2014) argue that once rankings are established they become very important for the university's identity and that those who do well on the rankings let them shape their identity, causing control to be more internalised instead of coming from the State. Although I agree with Peters and Lynch about rankings shaping the university's identity, especially those who do well on rankings, such as the case of Lund University who has always ranked top 100 and has integrated the rankings in most of their marketing material. However, I cannot completely accept the idea that it causes control to no longer come from the State. I believe that the control still somewhat comes from the State and that it is part of a complex relationship between rankings, policy makers and the academia, which authors such as Lynch (2013) and Hazelkorn (2011) also argue. At first glance, it is difficult to see who is affecting who. Is it the State that obligates the universities to change to fit rankings or is it the rankings that adapt themselves in order to make a profit, or is it the university that uses the ranking as external legitimacy in order to adapt to rankings?

This paper suggests that Lund University has shaped their strategies to adapt to the rankings and use the rankings as external legitimation which has made the rankings more internalised within the organisation. Nevertheless, when ranking for the first time, it obligates the university to keep being ranked. If it were ranked lower, it would be seen as a failure. Also, being a top 100 university is one of the main selling points for Lund University. If they lost the ranking, it would cause their whole marketing to have to change. Originally, the global rankings could rank a university without the university reaching out to participate (QS, 2020a) and then feel obligated to continue to rank and therefore put more efforts into it. This is in line with what Power et al. (2009) indicate, namely that rankings provide an externally constructed reputation that gives the rankings power within the organisation.

Furthermore, by being ranked top 100, the Swedish authorities use that information to promote Sweden as a study destination which puts additional pressure on Lund University to continue to rank high. Thus, Lund University has become part of a circular process where rankings impose a state of urgency and a need for universities to adapt to a new reality, which is changed again when a new ranking is released. As also argued by Pusser & Marginson (2013) rankings normalise focusing on national interests. As point in case, in Sweden, the

State aims for Sweden to become a knowledge nation which puts pressure on the university further adapt to fit the ranking, until the next ranking is released. This circular process and internalisation of rankings make universities, as Hazelkorn (2011) claims, lose part of the control and make them players in a power struggle, representing a world of neoliberalism with forceful competition between countries.

A concern brought up by Power et al. (2009) in the literature review is that it is problematic if universities become so concerned with how they are perceived that they shape their strategies thereafter. This is concerning because it could cause the universities to neglect important aspects such as teaching, not measurable research, and academic freedom. According to the findings of this thesis, there are signs that Lund University is shaping its strategies and activities to rankings because they are concerned with their reputation and aims to rank higher and they are undoubtedly not alone in this. As stated in the literature review, many universities have staff that work exclusively with ranking strategy. Hazelkorn (2011) also raises a concern stating that many universities let the global ranking indicators shape their long term strategies and is concerned with the fact that if the ranking indicators change, will the university then change their strategies accordingly? This is an important question, especially if the massification and commodification of education cause countries governmental bodies to become increasingly interested in education. What would happen if the rankings would be influenced by extreme wing parties? Would the universities follow the rankings and authorities' extremist values? Thus, researchers such as Tierney and Lanford (2017) argue that rankings must change to benefit society and include more aspects such as a country's history and level of acceptance for academic freedom. Besides being easily infiltrated by politics, the ranking system also hinders new universities from being included in the ranking and gives highly ranked universities an excuse to increase study fees which will make education less accessible.

7. Conclusion

This thesis has aimed to provide insights on the power-relations in global rankings and on the implications a university adapting to global rankings can have for academic knowledge in a university. A Foucauldian genealogy has been carried out on the strategic reports from 1995-2000, 2012-2016 and 2017-2026 from Lund University to identify shifts in discourse and their development. The paper has offered a new perspective through strategic communication. The research question is: *What signs of adaptation to rankings can be identified in the strategic reports from Lund University from 1995, 2012 and 2017? What are the main discursive shifts, how did they develop and what are their implications for the academic knowledge of the university?*

Several signs of adaptations to global university rankings by Lund University have been identified in the strategic reports. The signs of adaptation consist of shifts in discourse, leading to a change in activities and prioritised areas within the university which have taken place due to power relations in the global rankings. The dominant discourses that have changed over the years in the reports have been arranged in the following themes: Internationalisation, the Role of the University & its Core Values and Leadership. Internationalisation has shifted from being a new phenomenon in 1995, involving concern about the effects on the educational quality to becoming internalised and considered one of the main strengths of the university. This change in discourse is related to the historical context and is aligned with the Swedish authorities' goals of making Swedish education competitive and becoming a knowledge nation and study destination. Internationalisation also shows a shift to new managerialism where the university behaves more like a brand, benchmarking its services. The implications of universities chasing the same goal of being the best, it could change the way a university views knowledge, turning it into a brand outlook, where knowledge is no longer academic, and focus is removed from improving the educational system and limits it to look at what can be measured.

Furthermore, the discourse about the role of the university has also changed. It has gone from being autonomous and uncompromising in its core values, to become a force that should respond to societal challenges and including core values traditionally related to business organi-

sations, such as efficiency and service. This can be considered an extension to the changing role of the university where the change has reached even the fundamental essence of the university by changing its core values. The significant changes that have taken place in 20 years shows that the foundation of the academic knowledge and the autonomy of the university are being weakened. The implications for the changing role of the university that adapts progressively to society could weaken the university's credibility as an academic force. Especially if a university starts to collaborate exclusively with some companies, acting as an elongated arm of marketing. In turn, this could influence academic knowledge and could change the role of the university from what started as an autonomous force with academic integrity into a corporate organisation that change their identity according to the neoliberalist market.

Regarding leadership, the discourse has shifted from having its focus on academic leadership with an emphasis on ethics, towards becoming a collegial leadership with a focus on measurement and evaluation internalising power within the organisation. In line with previous research, this thesis also argues that the relationship between rankings, policy makers, and the academia is complex, and by entering rankings, there is a pressure on Lund University to continue to rank high. Global rankings as a measurement is not power neutral as rankings cause universities to shift towards a focus on ranking indicators which become aligned with the indicators of the university's performance.

The paper further argues that the universities and rankings form part of a circular relationship where for example the Swedish authorities use the ranking positions to promote Sweden as a study destination, creating additional pressure. Thus, Lund University has become part of a circular process where rankings impose a state of urgency and a need for universities to adapt to a new reality, which is changed again when a new ranking is released.

7.1 Contributions

This paper contributes to deepening knowledge concerning the power relations in global rankings from a strategic communication point of view. It also provides specific insights on Lund University's shifts in discourse from 1995 to today and adaption to the rankings. The study is important since universities adaptation to global rankings can have consequences for the role of the university but also for communication professionals as higher education institutions become increasingly concerned with reputation and move towards operating as a brand, ne-

glecting important factors such as teaching and focus on areas related to global ranking indicators.

7.2 Further Research

A suggestion for further research would be to carry out similar studies in other universities to understand if there are similar shifts in discourse, as well as investigating strategies on how to limit global university rankings influence on universities. Furthermore, investigating differences between private and public universities to examine if there are differences in discourse and in the adaptation to rankings.

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9. Appendix

Image 1 – the Panopticon (Foucault, 1977, p.171)

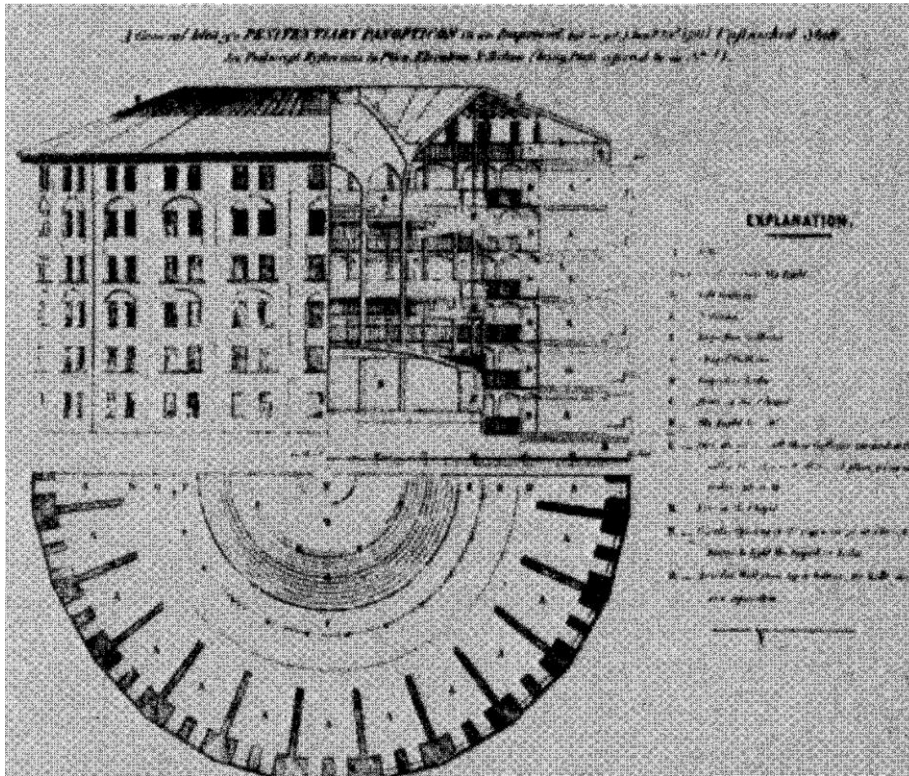


Image 2 – the Ranking Indicators for the ARWU ranking (ARWU, 2020a).

Indicator	Definition
Alumni	The total number of the alumni of an institution winning Nobel Prizes and Fields Medals. Alumni are defined as those who obtain bachelor's, master's or doctoral degrees from the institution. Different weights are set according to the periods of obtaining degrees. The weight is 100% for alumni obtaining degrees after 2011, 90% for alumni obtaining degrees in 2001-2010, 80% for alumni obtaining degrees in 1991-2000, and so on, and finally 10% for alumni obtaining degrees in 1921-1930. If a person obtains more than one degrees from an institution, the institution is considered once only.
Award	The total number of the staff of an institution winning Nobel Prizes in Physics, Chemistry, Medicine and Economics and Fields Medal in Mathematics. Staff is defined as those who work at an institution at the time of winning the prize. Different weights are set according to the periods of winning the prizes. The weight is 100% for winners after 2011, 90% for winners in 2001-2010, 80% for winners in 1991-2000, 70% for winners in 1981-1990, and so on, and finally 10% for winners in 1921-1930. If a winner is affiliated with more than one institution, each institution is assigned the reciprocal of the number of institutions. For Nobel prizes, if a prize is shared by more than one person, weights are set for winners according to their proportion of the prize.
HiCi	The number of Highly Cited Researchers selected by Clarivate Analytics. The Highly Cited Researchers list issued in December 2018 (2018 HCR List as of December 6, 2018) was used for the calculation of HiCi indicator in ARWU 2019. Only the primary affiliations of Highly Cited Researchers are considered.
N&S	The number of papers published in <i>Nature</i> and <i>Science</i> between 2014 and 2018. To distinguish the order of author affiliation, a weight of 100% is assigned for corresponding author affiliation, 50% for first author affiliation (second author affiliation if the first author affiliation is the same as corresponding author affiliation), 25% for the next author affiliation, and 10% for other author affiliations. When there are more than one corresponding author addresses, we consider the first corresponding author address as the corresponding author address and consider other corresponding author addresses as first author address, second author address etc. following the order of the author addresses. Only publications of 'Article' type is considered.
PUB	Total number of papers indexed in Science Citation Index-Expanded and Social Science Citation Index in 2018. Only publications of 'Article' type is considered. When calculating the total number of papers of an institution, a special weight of two was introduced for papers indexed in Social Science Citation Index.
PCP	The weighted scores of the above five indicators divided by the number of full-time equivalent academic staff. If the number of academic staff for institutions of a country cannot be obtained, the weighted scores of the above five indicators is used. For ARWU 2019, the numbers of full-time equivalent academic staff are obtained for institutions in USA, UK, France, Canada, Japan, Italy, China, Australia, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Belgium, South Korea, Czech, Slovenia, New Zealand etc.

Image 3 – The Times Higher Education Ranking indicators (Times Higher Education, 2020)

The performance indicators are grouped into five areas: **Teaching** (the learning environment); **Research** (volume, income and reputation); **Citations** (research influence); **International outlook** (staff, students and research); and **Industry Income** (knowledge transfer).

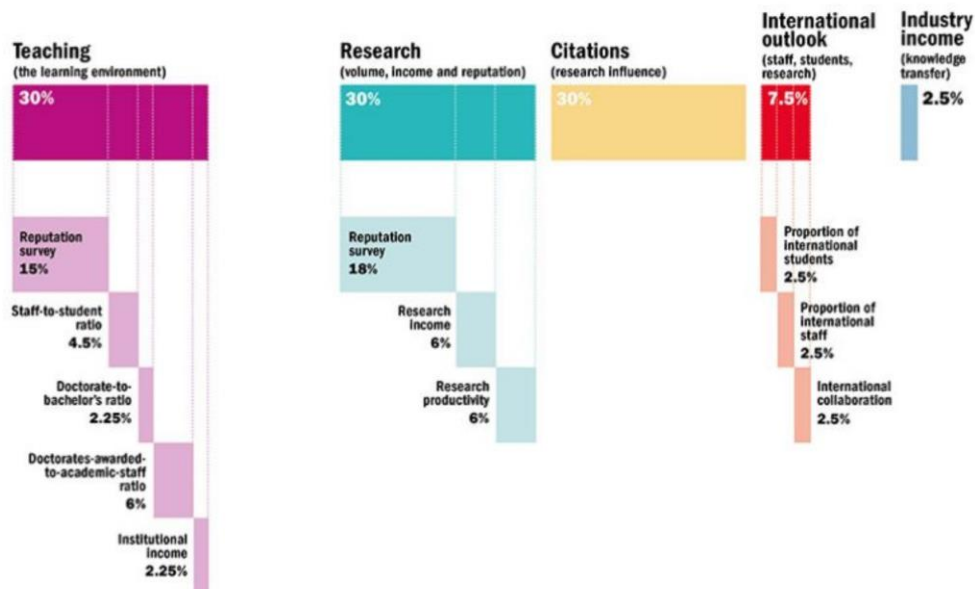


Image 4 – The QS Ranking Indicators (QS, 2020b)

Thus, universities continue to be evaluated according to the following six metrics:

1. Academic Reputation
2. Employer Reputation
3. Faculty/Student Ratio
4. Citations per faculty
5. International Faculty Ratio
6. International Student Ratio

Image 5 - (Lund University, 2020d)

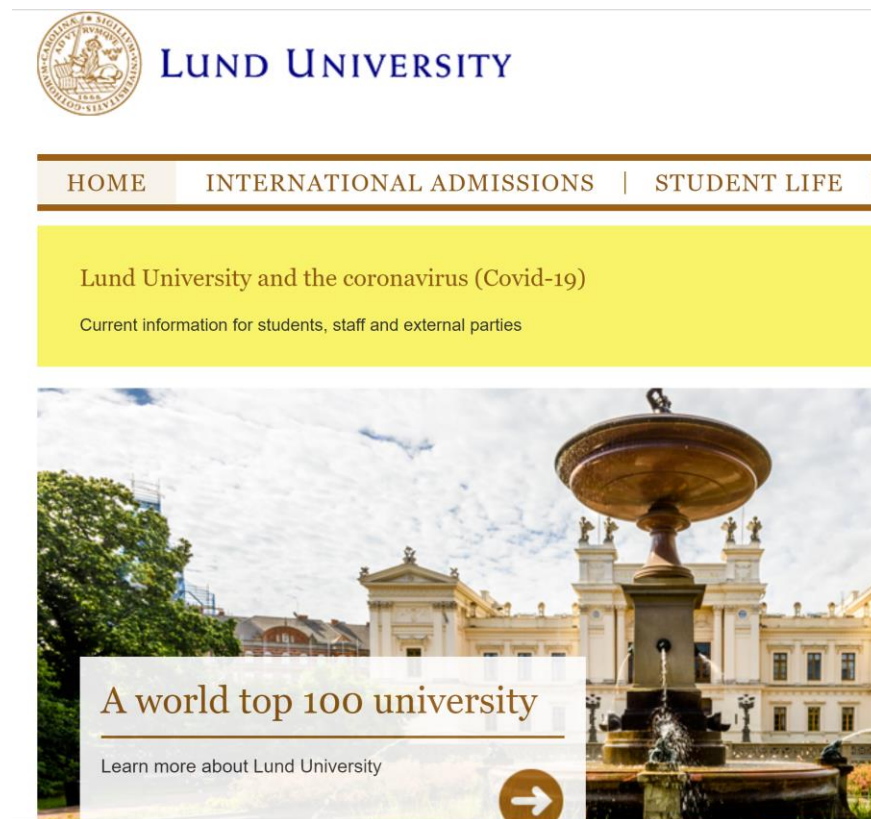


Image 6 - (Lund University, 2020e)

Top reasons to study at Lund University:

- A top 100 university in the world.
- Sweden's top-ranked comprehensive university.
- A top 100 university for graduate employability.
- The #1 choice for international students studying in Sweden, offering a choice of over 100 international degree programmes, as well as exchange and PhD studies.
- Founded in 1666 – one of the oldest and broadest universities in northern Europe.