Mobile Bodies of Color: Racial, Ethnic, and National Exclusion/Inclusion in International Higher Education

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Abstract

This cumulative dissertation introduces novel concepts in understanding dynamics of difference in international higher education by exploring representation of embodiment in Swiss international higher education institutions and the attendant affective relations to those representations. The studies demonstrate the roles of visual differences, such as race and gender, on the emotional landscape of the university campus. The contributions of this work are threefold. First, the dissertation identifies the presence and absence of Whiteness and non-White bodies as *dis/embodied racial discourses* that govern representation, impacting the racialization of space. This extends previous work in Critical Whiteness Studies by demonstrating the structuring force of Whiteness as a disembodied construct that affectively governs representation. Second, the dissertation identifies nuances in racial discourses in Switzerland and Western Europe more broadly by highlighting the *unspeakability* of race. Racial unspeakability expands on notions of "race blindness" and "race muteness" by addressing the affective dimensions that discursively render the concept of race unspeakable. The concept of racial unspeakability further governs how other dynamics of difference, namely gender but also disability, religion, and nationality, are more easily discussed in the university setting. Finally, the dissertation delves more deeply into the complexities of interpersonal racial discourse by identifying *emotional difficulties* with discussions of difference. The synthetic approach used to identify emotional difficulties advances affective-discursive analysis as a methodology that exposes emotional and ideological investments in mainstream racial discourses and the attendant discursive practices of these investments.

The dissertation draws on a broad range of methodological influence; it incorporates discourse theoretical analysis of 2,498 pages of images collected from international office websites at all twelve Swiss universities as well as thirty-one semi-structured interviews conducted using photo-elicitation techniques and analyzed using narrative analysis and a synthetic approach to affective-discursive analysis to paint a complex picture of diversity

dynamics in Switzerland. The studies contribute to international higher education studies, discourse studies, and race/ethnicity studies by utilizing complex interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks, situating this dissertation at the cutting edge of research in various fields.

Keywords: Race, ethnicity, discourse, visuals, embodiment, nationality, Whiteness

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Table of Contents

List of Figures and Images

List of Appendices

Academic Contributions from the Dissertation

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Hernandez, G. (2021) Racial Unspeakability: Affect and Embodiment in Swiss International Higher Education. Journal of International Students

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Hernandez G., Denk, A., (Forthcoming. June issue of Transcience). Covered, Obscured, Hidden: Representing Inequality and the United Nations Development Programme

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Students pursuing international higher education must navigate the university as a site of competing meanings of diversity (Ahmed, 2012; Arghavan et al., 2019; Maher & Tetreault, 2013). Increasingly necessary interventions into understanding and facilitating diversity, equity, and inclusion for international and domestic students are becoming more commonplace (Haapakoski & Pashby, 2017; Mora et al., 2021; Yao & Viggiano, 2019). However, overarching emotional investments in the status quo lead to categorizations of students that result in hierarchies of inclusion and exclusion with implications for foreigners and citizens alike. Inequalities in international higher education produced by this hierarchy of inclusion/exclusion are shaped by various dynamics of difference, including race, ethnicity, and nationality.

This dissertation explores diversity in international higher education by applying theories of embodiment and affect to expose unjust dynamics of racial, ethnic, and national categorization. The research findings presented here contribute to emerging literature in critical internationalization studies, race and ethnicity studies, and discourse/affect studies by proposing a novel set of theoretical concepts in international higher education, expanding current understandings of diversity in an increasingly important global setting. Insights from analyses of relations between and amongst international students, defined as "students who have crossed a national or territorial border for education and are now enrolled outside their country of origin" (UNESCO, 2012), domestic students, and administrators in Swiss universities expose undertheorized aspects of the international higher education experience.

The dissertation consists of five chapters, including three articles presenting the results of two research projects as the core. Chapter three, Racial Unspeakability: Affect and Embodiment in Swiss International Higher Education Institutions, has been published as an article in the Journal of International Students. Chapter two has been submitted to Discourse: Politics of Cultural Education. Chapter four is under review at the Journal of Studies in International Higher Education. The first chapter provides an outline for the overall dissertation and an overview of the literature on concepts that will be expanded upon

during the individual chapters. Each chapter then introduces the theoretical concepts that expand understandings of discourses of difference in international higher education (hereafter IHE). Finally, the conclusion demonstrates the importance of the findings for each chapter regarding further implications in a broader context.

International Higher Education and affective racial inclusion/exclusion

Local and regional discourses of visual diversity in Switzerland present an opportunity to study race, ethnicity, and nationality in an underrepresented yet globally important location for IHE research. This dissertation utilizes discourse theories to provide interdisciplinary insights into the dynamics of inclusion/exclusion based on race. It further incorporates notions of affect to explore the impact of these dynamics on embodied subjects. The melding of affect and discourse affords a unique exploration of the IHE context.

Scholarship on IHE has focused predominantly on international student mobility/migration and other notions of internationalization (Bilecen & Van Mol, 2017; Green & Whitsed, 2015; Kosmützky & Putty, 2016; McAllister-Grande & Whatley, 2020). Accounts of international student mobility/migration tend to focus on the social and political issues of student migrants, particularly from the policy perspective (Findlay, 2011; King & Raghuram, 2012; Lo, 2018; Riaño, Lombard, et al., 2018; Riaño, Mol, et al., 2018). In comparison, research that prioritizes internationalization often engages with (im)mobilities of knowledge, concerned with the "internationalization of the curriculum" through the physical presence as well as digital and epistemological ties to international spaces in the classroom (Boni & Calabuig, 2017; Buckner & Stein, 2020; Jones, 2017; Knight, 2004, 2015; Leask, 2015).

For studies of IHE, a critical turn has focused on power dynamics between nation-states as senders of knowledge and the mobility of people as embodied carriers of that knowledge (Kamola, 2014; King & Raghuram, 2013; Lo, 2018; Yao & Viggiano, 2019). The importance of these varied approaches can be seen through recent developments in higher education research, most notably in calls for studies and practices in IHE to diversify

and decolonize (McAllister-Grande & Whatley, 2020; Stein & Andreotti, 2017b). Ongoing attempts to reconcile power issues mark the contemporary and future significance of concerns with equity in IHE as a field of practice and study.

Mainstream approaches within IHE research expose a tendency to place the weight of problems with studying outside of one's home country upon the international student rather than the recipient institution (Constantine et al., 2005; Gareis, 2012; J. Lee & Rice, 2007). Studies find that the ascription of cultural meanings to national origin becomes the ground for discrimination in various university contexts (Ifedi, 2019; Kamara, 2017; J. Lee & Opio, 2011). As Lee and Rice point out, "discrimination becomes, seemingly, justified by cultural difference or national origin rather than by physical characteristics alone and can thus disarm the fight against racism by appealing to 'natural' tendencies to preserve group cultural identity in this case, the dominant group" (2007 p. 389). This assumes a set of "insurmountable differences" between cultural groups that present increasing difficulties at the personal and institutional levels (Vertovec 1996). By refusing to address differences, institutions further perpetuate problems of inequity.

Inclusion/Exclusion

Inclusion refers to "organizational strategies and practices that promote meaningful social and academic interactions among persons and groups who differ in their experiences, their views, and their traits" (Tienda, 2013, p. 1). This conceptualization places the onus on institutional power structures to foster diversity and support diverse individuals within organizations. Inclusion in the education context is also often related to inclusive efforts towards specific communities. For example, inclusive education in the UK context tends to centralize students with disabilities (Dunne et al., 2018; Keller & Galgay, 2010; Woodcock & Hardy, 2017). While scholars and administrators purport the importance of inclusion in the university, what it means to be an inclusive campus is often poorly understood (Mora et al., 2021). For instance, in the Spanish context, researchers posit a connection between identification with a minoritized group and exclusion from the mainstream student populace

(Gallego-Noche et al., 2021). However, the link between perceived discrimination and structural exclusions is tenuous. In the above study, people who exhibited “right-wing ideologies” claimed experiences of discrimination, yet at structural levels occupy drastically different societal positions to other minoritized groups identified in the study.

Additionally, European higher education has been demonstrated to include specific demographics selectively while excluding others. There is also a lack of data on underrepresented groups and a lack of consensus on the kinds of inclusive measures best suited for specific contexts in Europe (Kottmann et al., 2019). Additionally, in a multinational study, Veidemane et al. found that even when stakeholders identify inclusion as a university good, institutions lack a clear conceptualization of the mechanisms that affect underrepresented groups (Veidemane et al., 2021). This dissertation addresses affective and discursive mechanisms as integral governing forces in inclusion/exclusion dynamics.

One must also differentiate efforts to create an inclusive university from efforts that champion diversity. Diversity in internationalization continues to emerge as an important issue (Bilecen & Van Mol, 2017; McAllister-Grande & Whatley, 2020). However, the importance of so-called diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts belie the operationalization of diversity as a marketing term. The term diversity is an empty signifier that is often filled with meaning that serves increasingly marketized interests. Neoliberal multiculturalism, an outgrowth of racial liberalism of the 80s and 90s, obfuscates structural issues of race to serve the neoliberal interests of commodifying the university as a “diverse” and “inclusive” place (Melamed, 2006).

Representations of diversity signal an affective pressure to profess inclusivity. However, critical engagement with representation demonstrates the limits of inclusion in diversity discourse. Studies have shown that discourses of "equality," "diversity," and "inclusion" (DEI) demonstrate rhetorical trends not towards abolishing discrimination but rather towards perpetuating ineffective strategies towards social justice (Noon, 2018; Oswick & Noon, 2014). The general trend of diversity efforts requires rethinking common-

sense notions of institutionalized DEI initiatives in university contexts. "Otherwise approaches" to rethinking social justice on the university campus emphasize the structuring aspect of race and colonialism within the university as a site of knowledge production, resulting in the contextually dependent inclusion/exclusion of diverse groups (Stein & Andreotti, 2018a).

Concerns about the unequal inclusion of students of color in international student mobility have been raised over the last decade (Brux & Fry, 2010; Jasmine Lee & Green, 2016; Sweeney, 2013; Willis, 2015). While race and ethnicity are imbricated in the concept of nation, and therefore internationalization, little attention is paid to race in international academic mobility, particularly outside of Anglophone contexts. (Buckner & Stein, 2020; Seeber et al., 2020; Adegbola et al., 2018; Bardhan & Zhang, 2017; Dolby, 2004; Hanassab, 2006). This select attention impoverishes thought about IHE by selectively excluding a broad range of countries and contexts that are increasingly important on the global stage. Specific dynamics in academic mobility outside of the Anglophone world offer insights into key notions of diversity in IHE.

In many countries, incoming international students are framed in both policy and public discourses as competitors to domestic students, a way to increase revenue through tuition fees, or academically inadequate but charitably allowed to attend (Stein & Andreotti, 2016). This dynamic presents international students as a problem while highlighting their financial exploitation. Additionally, scholars note that universities often view international students from a "deficit" perspective, further constructing international students as burdens (Jones, 2017; Marginson, 2014). Institutional deficit narratives shape and are shaped by perceptions of international students based on intersections of race, ethnicity, and nationality.

The concept of the international student has faced calls for revision (Jones, 2017). Institutional, legal, and public discourses often define international students as outsiders entering an unfamiliar context (Prazeres, 2013). However, trends in the study of

international student migration/mobility demonstrate a broader diversity in international student populations that complicates simples foreign/domestic binary distinctions (Kosmutzky & Putty, 2016). International students at American universities constantly negotiate their ethnic and national identities vis-à-vis their immigration status, demonstrating the impact of local discourses on students' evolving sense of identity (Batterton & Horner, 2016). Discrepancies between international students' sense of self in their new surroundings and identities back home have also gained scholarly attention. For instance, scholars note that international students in the United States face challenges with racial discrimination and must 'learn' new ways they are racially categorized (Fries-Britt et al., 2014; Mitchell et al., 2017). US-centric racial understandings offer some insight into the dynamics of difference, yet a more holistic picture is needed.

Scholars explore the intellectual, logistic, and financial challenges faced by international students, yet these exclusions are merely one aspect of the overall higher education landscape (Baker, 2016; Kinginger, 2008; Mosneaga, 2016; O'Connor, 2017; Pitts, 2009; Straker, 2016). The emotional implications of inclusion and exclusion offer a more nuanced understanding of embodied diversity in education and the attendant power relations. Affect theory provides unique tools for thinking through differences at individual and structural levels.

Affect

Sara Ahmed revolutionized thinking of affect, race, and media by incorporating analysis of emotion in her studies of large-scale media discourses (Ahmed, 2013). Entwining race and affect offers the capacity to theorize racial exclusion by pinpointing how emotive language is used to represent specific groups in society. Ahmed conceptualized affect in terms of flows of energy between individuals. For her, affect is "sticky;" certain meanings are more viscous than others and coagulate around the surface of specific people, places, or things (Ahmed, 2010). Additionally, affect moves from one individual, group, or space to the next, characterizing how they are perceived (Ahmed, 2006). With her concept

of “affective economies,” Ahmed argues that affect flows between people to create collectivities that exchange and value emotions in ways that function similar to market economies (Richard & Rudnyckyj, 2009).

Additionally, affective flows can imbue people and spaces with meanings that replicate colonial hierarchies of race, gender, and other power relations (Purtschert, 2015). However, this process lacks a clearly theorized view of the mundane and common-place ways affect is transmitted between people and larger structures. As Wetherell (2012) notes, thinking about affective transmission in this esoteric way elides the concrete ways that affect and discourse motivate specific practices. Wetherell suggests the concept of discursive-affective practices to draw the link between emotions and various forms of discursive communication (Wetherell, 2012; Wetherell et al., 2015, 2020).

Wetherell’s approach merging affect and discourse unites human emotions and structured power relations. Wetherell argues that discourse and affect are inextricably linked, a concept that has been acknowledged by many critical social scientists (Mcavoy, 2015; Moreno-Gabriel & Johnson, 2020; Westberg, 2021a; Wetherell, 2012). Rather than approach affect as a "cultural uncanny," an affective-discursive approach defines emotions as an integral force in how people make sense of their surroundings and navigate intimate arrangements of social interaction. The discursive-affective approach focusing on "influence, intensity, and impact," eschewing a reductionist view and recognizes the simultaneous systemic and agentic nature of actors in society (Wetherell et al., 2020)

The study of affect in education processes has grown in importance. Yet, the implications for the fluid and dynamic crossing of borders in pursuit of education require analyses of more than socio-economic patterns or media or policy discourses (Doerr & Taïeb, 2017; Metcalfe, 2017; Wit, 2002). International student mobility entails social, geographic, and affective transitions that must be explicated carefully (Morley et al., 2019). Affect encourages an emotional attachment to specific ways of pursuing higher education (Shahjahan et al., 2020). For example, intimacies that span national borders in relationships

created before, during, or after study abroad are one driving factor for international educational mobility (Olwig & Valentin, 2015; Pagano & Roselle, 2009). The mundane, inconspicuous, yet powerful forces shaping educational processes are constructed by discourses undergirded by affective power (Boler, 1999; Zembylas & Loukaidis, 2021).

Analyses of affect and discourse must consider the embodied experiences and positions of social actors (Chávez, 2018; Tschirhart, 2015). Embodiment affords individuals a particular position within the affective, discursive, and material landscape of their surroundings (Appuhamilage, 2020; Zembylas & Loukaidis, 2021). Not only in large-scale media endeavors but also in interpersonal interactions, affect governs the relational intensity between speakers, shaping a shared embodied experience (Ayata et al., 2019). Though embodiment has been theoretically explored in communication studies, psychology, and race/ethnicity studies, among other disciplines, it has received limited attention in mainstream IHE research. This limited interest is particularly pronounced regarding racialized differences amongst academically mobile marginalized groups.

Race

Race is a historically informed evolving construct that assigns specific meanings to individuals and groups associated with physical appearance based on real or assumed geographic origin, establishing a hierarchy positioning Whiteness at the top (Goldberg, 2006). Despite the emerging acknowledgment of racism in Europe, race as a concept often goes undiscussed in popular and academic discourses (El-Tayeb, 2011). The silencing of race in Western Europe (Beaman, 2018; Essed, 1992; Guillaumin, 1988) and Switzerland specifically (Boulila, 2019; Cretton, 2018; Ossipow et al., 2019) is historically conditioned. The historical conditions are impacted by post-World War 2 discourses of race, state, and nation. For example, the discourse of scientific racism, which posits the biological inferiority of non-White populations, influenced the construction of nineteenth-century race relations, leading to contemporary hierarchies of nation-states (Barder, 2019). Historical relations between countries influenced the institution of the ‘racial state’ as a modern, global

construct (Goldberg, 2018). The racial state reflects the creation of a global hierarchy as an outcome of linear modernity that necessitates a world system in which racial exclusion and inequality characterize contemporary social relations (Winant, 2002).

Academic discussions of race in Europe are shaped by linguistic, geographic, and cultural specificities. For example, race is often discussed in the context of migration, thus denying the presence of non-White nationals of European countries and strengthening the symbolic and material boundaries of 'fortress Europe.' (Erel et al., 2016). Additionally, the concept of race is rendered taboo in the various national languages of the European continent, disabling critical discussion of racism and attendant power dynamics (Gibbons, 2006; Grigolo et al., 2011; Zienkowski, 2017). In continental Europe, race is interrelated with migration status and national origin more often than the "melting pot" cultures of the United States and the UK. The term neo-racism, a form of racism that emphasizes cultural difference, has been helpful in describing processes of establishing difference through discourse (Balibar, 2004). Analysis of evolving forms of racism acknowledges the ideological and material underpinnings of race and suggests implications for the discriminatory social practices imbricated in creating racial hierarchies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005). Wodak argues for visual argumentative analysis of race, asserting that race can be constructed discursively through visual means (Richardson & Wodak, 2009). The term race becomes a signifier that stands for biology within this practice yet is filled with cultural meaning based on visual interpretation.

Interpreting racial meanings based on visual signifiers is far from a straightforward process; Stuart Hall observed that each signifier has "no fixed meaning, no real meaning in the obvious sense, until it has been represented" (Hall, 1997). The interpretation of racial dynamics relies on Kress and van Leeuwen's work on visual semiotics as a "grammar of visual design" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). Relying on this grammar, racial meanings are interpreted and linked through visual stimuli, facilitating specific understandings of

racialized bodies while rejecting other understandings. The emphasis on physical appearance means race is perceived predominantly through visual means (Alcoff, 2005).

Vision is the primary sense we use to determine racial differences (Amin, 2010; Nakamura, 2002, 2008). The moment we identify racial (and other) differences is called, in a nod to the classic Freudian scene of identification, the "seen of difference" by Ann Pellegrini (1997, p. 10). This moment is also when "deviation from an assumed norm registers as such through visual means" (Joseph, 2017 p. 3317). The seen of difference is that moment in which established norms become the backdrop against which differences are interpreted visually. Thus, visual norms are the starting point from which we begin to differentiate between different people. This starting point involves the individual(s) perceiving and the individual(s) being perceived, assigning a relationship between them co-constitutive of racial meaning.

In education studies, race has garnered attention in studies of domestic education contexts in the UK and the US (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Leonardo, 2005, 2013). However, race as a concept in IHE is often underacknowledged. Despite being a field premised on notions of diverse national origins, studies in IHE have yet to sustain meaningful discussions of race outside of the Anglophone sphere. Often, discussions of race in IHE will privilege US-centric understandings of race, glossing over the nuances established by traditions of race scholars in Europe. For example, seminal articles in the literature have established international students in the US as a prime target of perceived discrimination, demonstrating a need for cross-cultural understanding among people of diverse origins (Fries-Britt et al., 2014; Hanassab, 2006; Pitts, 2009). Other important articles in the field describe the experiences of US-American students in other countries (Dolby, 2004; Sweeney, 2013; Tian & Lowe, 2013; T. Y. Willis, 2015). However, the abundance of research on US-American students' experiences abroad in the literature does not reflect United States' position as a predominantly receiving country (Börjesson, 2010).

Some scholarship has begun to do the critical work of acknowledging race in IHE outside of the US context. For example, the meaning of race available in IHE contexts has produced evolving understandings of neo-racism (J. Lee & Rice, 2007). Lee et al. have argued that "neo-racism is not simply discrimination against ethnic minority individuals from developing, non-Western countries migrating to the West" (Lee et al., 2016, p. 16). In a ground-breaking article conducted in Korea amongst East-Asian university students, Lee et al. highlight intertwined notions of neo-racism and neo-nationalism that shape understandings of a context-specific racialized hierarchy outside of the US in which Korean students discriminated against other East-Asian peoples. Their study provided one of few non-US specific examples that resonate with Balibar's assertion that culturally specific forms of racism attempt to fix meanings of race and nation as a target for overt and covert forms of symbolic violence due to cultural understandings of embodied differences (Balibar, 2007).

Embodiment

After the affective turn, scholars became interested in social experiences outside of discourse (Kennedy, 2018; Mcavoy, 2015; Wetherell, 2015). These extradiscursive aspects of social experience include embodiment and physiological responses to the world (Callard & Papoulias, 2010). Scholars note that the body is the first and foremost medium through which one can affect and be affected (Blackman, 2012; DeLanda, 2006). Embodiment is the ever-changing interaction process between the body and the surrounding environment (Johnson, 1989).

Embodiment is how individuals encounter the world and is always already constructed, sustained, and negotiated through bodily experience (Arnal et al., 2012; Brooks & Waters, 2017; Horton & Kraftl, 2013). Thus, the experience of those with different bodies is impacted by how those differences come to matter. Embodied differences between minority and majority groups have emerged as an integral point in studies of affect in US domestic higher education (Leonardo, 2013; J. Walton, 2018). The ways embodied

experiences are impacted by intersectional differences (i.e., race, gender, sexuality, ability status, etc.) highlight how embodied differences disrupt the environmental affective landscape for largely white, cisgender, patriarchal institutions (Halualani, 2010; Tate, 2014). Expanding on notions of racial difference from the US and the UK means acknowledging race, ethnicity, and nationality as oft unspoken dynamics of difference in IHE in Switzerland and Western Europe more broadly.

The world is perceived through lived experiences and sensory perceptions interpreted through the body (Dion et al., 2011). Thus, new contexts where the body is perceived differently can tell us how embodiment differs across time and space and how discoursive-affective flows influence the body. For example, the perception of the embodied differences between racialized refugees facilitates or complicates transitions into various international contexts (Wettergren, 2010). Often, this perception relies on the importance of visible differences between individuals, including race. As a perceived visual dynamic, race always emerges through embodied encounters. The relationship between visual perception and embodiment is thoroughly explicated in this dissertation. For example, each study undertaken emphasizes affective reactions to visual representation of diversely embodied people that are embodied as well, thus highlighting the relational nature of discourse and affect. This link is often underemphasized in the literature on visual representation.

The studies presented in chapters two, three, and four expand on work done outside of the United States and the UK by contributing novel approaches to engaging with race, ethnicity, and nationality in Switzerland. These studies provide various innovative concepts to address how individuals in higher education institutions negotiate, narrate, and navigate the affective and material impacts of discourses of diversity.

Research Strategy

Rationale for the dissertation

The findings presented in this dissertation contribute to the emerging body of literature critically engaging with race, ethnicity, and nationality in IHE. The main

theoretical contributions of this dissertation are reimagined conceptualizations of representations of Whiteness and non-Whiteness (chapter two), concrete notions of the unspeakability of race (chapter three), and a defined classification of the emotional difficulties that university students and administrators have with representations of race (chapter four). These three contributions interweave to demonstrate the intricacies of visible differences in IHE. The findings are useful for scholars and practitioners working in IHE as the discussion expands on the context-specific demands of analyzing racial diversity.

By combining interdisciplinary approaches found in education and communication studies research, this work expands current understandings of dynamics of race, representation, and affect. It further proposes innovative conceptualizations of the treatment and interpretation of racial representation.

Objectives

Mainstream IHE research has not leveraged insight into diversity in international higher education into meaningful analysis that illuminates the complexities of diversity, such as race, ethnicity, and nationality. While some academic literature has engaged in forays into some discrete forms of diversity (Hanassab, 2006; King & Raghuram, 2013; Sweeney, 2013), the extent of theorization of these dynamics of difference remains limited. Additionally, studies are rarely conducted in contexts outside of the US, resulting in a simplified view of complex global phenomena. The field of IHE studies has yet to reach its potential in the critical exploration of diversity.

An engagement with how difference is constructed is sorely needed in IHE research. Little is known about the role of affect and embodiment concerning diverse students' physical presence and visual representations. The dissertation argues that increasing the degree of diversity in images in university promotional materials is insufficient to address issues of inclusion/exclusion. It highlights the subtle ways the binary between Whiteness and non-Whiteness structures representation in Swiss universities. The second chapter expands on theories of representation by employing notions of "embodied absence" and "disembodied presence" to highlight the racialized nature of specific signifiers of a

modern/colonial global imaginary (Hook, 2008; Lentin, 2019; Stein & Andreotti, 2017b). The analysis explores global understandings of difference represented through visual discourses by identifying embodied and disembodied individuals as symbols of marginalization that influence imaginaries as "a set of commonly shared understandings and practices that render the great diversity of social life as already constituting a single, coherent 'global' whole" (Kamola, 2014, p. 515).

The concepts identified in each section of the thesis mark how visual and discursive representations of race and other forms of difference manifest in a context that has the potential to expose inconsistencies in the theorization derived from the United States and the United Kingdom: countries that occupy a hegemonic position in the literature. For example, one trend identified in chapter two shows that despite an absence of the entire body of White individuals, the disembodied presence of Whiteness demonstrates Whiteness' ubiquity. The unseen yet impactful nature of Whiteness identified in this study resonates with other studies of Whiteness in education. For instance, curricula in the US high school context bolstered ideologies of White supremacy by disguising the role of Whiteness in communicating symbolic violence towards racial minority students (Tanner, 2018). Furthermore, Gardner-McTaggart highlights the presence of solely White administrators in International Baccalaureate schools in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, exposing the paradoxical nature of administrators' positive evaluations of inclusivity and an almost complete absence of racial diversity on campus (Gardner-McTaggart, 2021). The insights from chapter two expand on this research; Whiteness in images on Swiss university websites occasionally partially disembodies White people but nevertheless maintains the invisible racialized hierarchy. This hierarchy shapes discourses of difference in the university context.

Another of this thesis' objectives is to trouble current notions of 'internationality' and its opposite, 'domesticity' in the field of IHE studies. It does so by paying careful attention to regional differences amongst national groups and suggesting "affective regional isolation" in chapter three. This concept asserts that national borders are not a container for a

homogeneous population of mobile students that move across borders from one nation-state to the next, but rather that affect governs regionally specific categories of difference that shape student mobility/migration in ways that are more complex than often presented in IHE literature. Calls to redefine the ideal international student within higher education have been made (Jones, 2017), yet the concept of the international student remains relatively unproblematized. The field consistently conceptualizes internationality relying on fixed notions of racialized individuals moving across national borders. The studies conducted for this dissertation provide concrete examples of how conceptualizing diverse categories of difference, such as race and nationality, as discrete fails to capture unique experiences within IHE.

In contrast with the United States, where many studies of representation focus on the numerical representation of minoritized students, Swiss university representation remains predominantly White. Nevertheless, analyses of diversity representation must remain context-specific. Given the attractive position of Switzerland within a global hierarchy of educational institutions, representation of the increasingly international student body should align with notions of equity. This dissertation speaks to theoretical notions of inequity by arguing that despite higher education discourses equating international students with racialized Others and national diversity as a positive feature of universities, representations of people of color follow similar patterns of marginalization found in Anglo-American university contexts. Furthermore, these patterns are not remedied in similar ways suggested by US-based scholars (Gathogo and Horton, 2018; Osei-Kofi et al., 2010; Saichaie and Morphew, 2014). In national contexts with smaller non-White populations, the issues related to racial divisions must be dealt with carefully. Exposing relations of inequity in a previously under-researched context means attending to the demographics of a given context.

The dissertation remedies the gap in the literature created by presenting international students as a sole problem by incorporating domestic student and administrator perspectives

on diversity. These studies speak to the theoretical gap between representation and embodiment; much of the discourse literature and IHE literature ignores the embodied responses to diversity representation. Chapter three identifies narratives of diversity that delimited specific configurations of a modern/colonial global imaginary, building on the insights discovered in the second chapter (Stein & Andreotti, 2017b).

The dissertation also develops innovative concepts such as dis/embodiment, racial unspeakability, and emotional difficulties that speak to contemporary ways race is conceptualized in Europe. The affective-discursive acts highlighted in the analysis illuminate race as an issue that instills an affective resistance to critical engagement with racial diversity. The dissertation uses affect theory to identify the taboo nature of race in linguistically specific terms. This has several implications: first, it expands upon contextually specific notions of racial diversity (Stam & Shohat, 2012). It also has implications for intra- and international studies; by utilizing Switzerland as the study context, the findings expand on previously undertaken studies that utilize monolingual contexts.

The incorporation of affect theory thematizes the meaningful yet oft-overlooked emotional stimuli that shape everyday life. By focusing on seemingly innocuous emotions, the dissertation highlights an important point: the ways racial and other forms of embodied diversity are discussed are integral in pursuing equity within the university. The intermingling of affect and discourse for small-scale studies on race and ethnicity provides innovative insight into notions of representation. While chapter two first established the impact of discourses of inclusion/exclusion through racialized representation, chapter three explored the affective impact of that representation and how that manifests in the expression of new discourses. Moreover, chapter four identifies specific manifestations of affective relations regarding embodied interaction. Taken together, the studies of this dissertation identify the theoretical and practical challenges discussing race in education.

Connecting the three chapters more broadly illustrates a broader vision of racial and affective relations on Swiss university campuses. The academic sphere in which diverse individuals come together to learn, develop, and form social relations is ultimately shaped by this vision of race and affect. The project undertaken for this dissertation facilitates an understanding of how affective practices are influenced by racial embodiment. Hence, this dissertation offers conceptual insights into a dynamic global phenomenon relevant for an increasing number of students, teachers, and administrators.

Methodologies

An increasing push in interdisciplinarity across social science fields means that researchers must stay abreast of current research trends, drawing upon a broad repertoire of techniques and perspectives to address research questions (Abbott, 2013). Specifically, the dissertation incorporates analytical approaches from discourse studies and affect studies to enrich the research conducted on IHE phenomena. The dissertation also relied on semi-structured interviews and photo-elicitation as data collection methods.

Data analysis methods

Discourse Theoretical analysis

The mutual relationship between discourses and semiotic structures has many implications within the specific field of discourses of difference in IHE. The construction of difference plays an integral role in higher education discourses. Rogers et al. point out that differences are constructed based on "available meanings" (Rogers et al., 2016). Individuals and institutions negotiate these available meanings, presenting particular problems relating to IHE.

Chapter two implemented Discourse Theoretical Analysis (DTA) to examine inclusion/exclusion in visual discourses of university promotional materials (Carpentier, 2010; Glynos et al., 2009; Howarth, 2014). Based on the socio-political theorizations of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, DTA is concerned with the contingency and instability of meanings that proliferate in a given cultural space. It traces these specific meanings by

relying on a post-structuralist, critical linguistics lens to analyze language employed within discourse.

An important concept in DTA is the concept of the imaginary, which is marked at its external borders by a horizon. The delimiting horizon functions as a boundary that both indicates and attempts to fix a limit to the extent of the discursive field. Husserl differentiated between internal and external horizons (Hermberg, 2006). The internal horizon includes the aspects of the field that the horizon delineates, while the external horizon is constitutive of the elements not included within the field. In other words, the imaginary is included within the internal field, and that which is rendered invisible, unthinkable, and impossible is beyond the external horizon.

The concept of the imaginary horizon was particularly relevant for the second chapter. The chapter identifies imaginary signifiers that delimit the horizon of the imaginary. This means that specific signs – in this case, images- were identified during the analysis that attempted to fix meanings within university promotional material. Discourse as a structure governs how meaning is made of embodied differences resulting in inclusion/exclusion.

The application of the concept of the imaginary has theoretical ramifications for discourse theory. Identifying the imaginary means including it as part of the Foucauldian "toolbox" suggested for discourse theoretical analysis (Carpentier & Cleen, 2007; Foucault & Lotringer, 1996). This toolbox addresses the issue that previous analytical approaches centering on discourse theory quickly move from the field to the articulations which constitute it without adequately addressing the context and possibilities delimited within the horizon. Adequate contextualization entails, for example, acknowledging researcher positionality and reflexivity within the discursive field, as has become standard for other critical approaches, such as those employing feminist theory or grounded theory. It further entails acknowledging the discursive, material, social, political, and visual constraints of the horizon, as establishing where these limits are is the first step from emancipation from them (Laclau, 1996).

Narrative analysis

Narrative analysis attends to the stories that make up social life and how they are communicated (Toolan, 2012). While narratives can be present in mass and popular media, chapter two features narrative analysis of interpersonal stories. The analysis pays careful attention to how students and administrators situate themselves within larger discourses to expose the ideological and underpinnings of narratives on university campuses. These narratives also featured emotional responses to questions of diversity, resulting in a focus on emotions as the driving force of this methodology (Wetherell, 2012).

The narrative analysis also identified the lexical (word choice), syntactic (word order), and prosodic (tone) levels to explore emotional expressions (Kleres, 2011). This approach, drawn from literary studies, allowed analyses of individual participants' word choice, word order, and tone to identify linguistic codes related to emotional embodiment within the data. By way of avoidance, these emotional expressions highlighted what participants were not saying, which supported alternative interpretations of individual narratives (Toolan, 2012). Additionally, the body language and other extra-linguistic cues were taken down as field notes to provide a deeper source of data for the analysis (Maharaj, 2016). Ultimately, the stories individuals told constructed a rich tapestry, the analysis of which provided novel conceptual understandings of Whiteness in Switzerland.

Synthetic approach: Stance theory and Emotive language

The dissertation also relies on expanding Glapka's synthetic approach to analyzing emotive reactions to images that represent diversely racialized individuals (2019). This approach incorporates stance taking theory (Du Bois, 2007) and combines it with analyses of emotional manifestations and thematization (Fiehler, 2002). The theoretical approach was expanded by attending to the "emotive language" in the education setting (Dunne et al., 2018). Stances, or ideological positions, were taken toward representations of diversity, and the emotional manifestations, particularly emotive language, were exposed through the analysis. Stance taking is the practice of "evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and

others) and aligning with other subjects with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field (Du Bois, 2007). Hence, stancetaking theory was best suited for analyzing these practices, as it exposes the emotional manifestations of specific difficulties with diversity. The approach further exposed ideological perspectives underlying the specific responses of stance taking acts in an affective-discursive sense.

The responses elicited from interview participants in both Glapka's study and this dissertation are characterized as affective-discursive practices or figurations "where body possibilities and routines become recruited or entangled together with meaning-making and with other social and material figurations" (Wetherell, 2012, p 19). These practices are simultaneously discursive and material, providing the basis for analyzing how the interview respondents positioned themselves regarding embodied and visual diversity. This approach allowed for analysis and interpretation of the value systems with which students evaluate, position, and align themselves, exposing a critical view of diversity representation.

Data collection methods

Photo elicitation

Photo-elicitation and visual methods have seen a resurgence in use in education studies (Dumangane, 2020; Metcalfe, 2015). Though welcome in its innovation in identifying complex problems of representation, this resurgence also suffers a lack of input from other visual methods, particularly methods that identify race as a visual marker (Boucher, Jr., 2018; Twine, 2006, 2016; G. Walton & Niblett, 2013). This dissertation remedies that issue by identifying how the interpretation of racialized images impacts embodied, affective responses. It further incorporates a discursive approach to tracing the trajectory of meaning production from the images and their interpretation. The elicitations drawn as responses from images are communicated as discursive-affective acts (Wetherell, 2012, 2015). Photo-elicitation techniques bridge the gap between representation and affect, theoretically expanding on the application of this technique employed by many researchers in education studies and more broadly.

Additionally, photo-elicitation was selected to provide respondents with a "rich and open alternative to spoken language" (Shaw, 2013, 793). Many of the respondents were non-native speakers of the three languages in which the interviews were primarily conducted: English, German, and Italian. The selection of photo-elicitation also "encourages the expression of reflections and thoughts that may not arise with other types of interviews." (ibid.). Relying on images to visualize how current university representations limit our thinking of how universities could potentially be envisioned highlights visuality as a theoretical approach to imagining the university "otherwise." (Stein & Andreotti, 2018a). This approach undergirds the analytical inquiry towards discursive and affective inclusion/exclusion on university campuses.

Semi-structured interviews

The interviews employed for the third and fourth chapters are conceptualized as affective-situated encounters (Ayata et al., 2019). While interviews are a common methodological choice to obtain qualitative data, the affective aspect of the interview is often largely underplayed (Robinson, 2016). Therefore, this dissertation seeks out the mundane yet powerful forces of affect that govern interpersonal interactions and reflect broader emotional investments in specific meanings of race, diversity, and inclusion (Wetherell et al., 2015).

Furthermore, the use of interviews relied on the relational nature of embodiment. Interview as a situated affective encounter also means that the interviewee and interviewers embodied interaction comes into play. Rather than think of the interview participant as a font of data, the interview process generated affective data that provides new ways of thinking about how racialized, and embodied individuals interact (Moreman, 2011). Additionally, as the interview partners belonged to various categories, the way the interviewer related to them created a unique constellation of relational intensity (for more information on researcher positionality, see page 123). Each situated affective encounter produced data unique to the interaction between the non-Swiss, non-White interviewer and

the predominantly White, Swiss participants. The differences in positionality between interviewers and interviewees meant that the interviews often adopted various relational intensities; interviewees became agitated, aggressive, conspiratorial, nervous, relieved, excited, etc., due to their (in)capacity to speak freely about subjects about which they were clearly opinionated. This relational tone resulted in a richness of the data that allowed for specific epistemological understandings of the "neutral, White, heterosexual, male researcher" to be undone (Grenz, 2005; Wojnicka, 2020). The positionality of the researcher and the interview participants informed how each of the interviews unfolded as a distinct narrative.

Selection of the research context and subjects

The selection of the research context and subjects presented several challenges and opportunities. First, access to the underrepresented context of Swiss higher education presented a rich chance to explore a setting in which relatively little research had been conducted. However, the applicability and relevance of the Swiss case to the rest of the world needed justification from the beginning. The following section outlines this justification.

Justification for Switzerland as a research context

Switzerland is a global internationalization hub. Despite the problematic nature of ranking systems (Shahjahan et al., 2017), it is the only non-Anglophone country that regularly features in the top ten globally ranked universities, thus proving its desirability as a study destination (*World University Rankings 2021*, 2021). Concentration on global hubs outside of the Anglophone world has led to innovative thinking that exposes exclusionary practices of the Anglophone world at the global level (Collins et al., 2014). Switzerland is also a unique context that demonstrates how linguistic differences function within a national container; it allows for more specificity in the cultural domain as variations in nationality are held constant while linguistic, religious, and sociocultural dynamics change based on region. Thus, conceptualizing Switzerland as a nation illuminates taken-for-granted notions of how

nation-state boundaries work to contain cultural mores and to what extent national contexts influence interregional and interpersonal relations at a local scale. This dissertation addresses notions of local and regional racial identities, with implications for relations between Swiss and non-Swiss people. Particularly, chapter two emphasizes that some Swiss people (i.e. those in the German-speaking part) are considered “more Swiss” than others (i.e. especially those in the Italian-speaking part). This distinction causes disruptions in national racial identity.

Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined community" remains a useful point of departure for conceptualizing relations between Swiss and non-Swiss people. It does not, however, attend to how within Switzerland, certain individuals are always imagined to be less than those in a dominant position, resulting in a qualified, incomplete belonging to the nation (Busch & Krzyz, 2007). Thinking of the nation as an imagined community flattens differences between co-nationals, particularly in racial terms. Racialized conceptions of difference are intrinsic in the construction of the nation (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991). Regarding the Swiss context, Mottier delineated three narratives of national identity that support a typology of national belonging in Switzerland:

"*Kulturnation narratives* which construct language, religion, traditions or customs as the essential 'stuff' of the nation; *Staatnation narratives* which privilege political institutions, citizenship rights and access to State territory; and *Volksnation narratives* which centre on notions of origin of the people or race." (Mottier, 2000)

Interestingly, these concepts are all noted in German, leading the reader to wonder what kinds of conceptualizations would have been possible had they been written in French, Italian, or Romansch, the other national languages of Switzerland. Due to a lack of linguistic homogeneity, one can assume that a culturally different approach to nation-building might have been possible in other circumstances.

Additionally, while these typologies are not mutually exclusive, it is important to note that the final concept of *Volksnation* specifically acknowledges a racialized, embodied

sense of exclusionary belonging, which is found in conceptualizations of integration throughout the literature on Swiss and Western-European integration more broadly (Binhas & Yaknich, 2019; Cheng, 2015; Dahinden, 2009; Duemmler, 2015; Horsti, 2016; Lentin & Titley, 2012). The exclusionary nature of the *Volksnation* has been used in historical discourses to maintain the "purity" of the Swiss race, Homo alpinus Helveticus, claimed by eugenicist Otto Schlaginhaufen to be "contaminated" by foreigners (Michel, 2015). This racist discourse resonates with conceptualizations of race held by some actors in the Swiss political landscape who rely on notions of Überfremdung, or overforeignization, to mobilize anti-immigrant sentiment (Riaño & Wastl-Walter, 2006; Skenderovic, 2007).

The nexus of race and integration in Switzerland has received growing attention (Cretton, 2018; Riaño, Lombard, et al., 2018; Wessendorf, 2008; Zschirnt, 2020). However, an approach is lacking that centers on the affective aspect of integration, especially regarding the racialization of differing embodiments. Reports of racialized abuse in the Swiss case, for example, often account for the impact of racism in psychological terms but externalizes the forces that govern cognitive and affective tendencies towards exclusion (Cretton, 2018). This dissertation remedies that issue by actively defining the emotional and affective aspects of inclusion/exclusion.

Justification for international higher education as study context

IHE is a phenomenon rich with intercultural encounters. The concept of internationalization, an integral aspect of IHE, includes an intercultural dimension as part of its definition (Knight, 2004). However, the proliferation and understanding of what constitutes intercultural within understandings of internationalization have expanded to the point of losing their analytical purchase (Knight, 2015). This dissertation highlights an integral part of understanding a specific issue within intercultural communication, namely the role of affect in constructions of inclusion/exclusion in discourses of difference.

The selection of IHE as a field of study for this dissertation had numerous reasons. First, intercultural interactions in IHE are ubiquitous, yet discourses within IHE flatten and

homogenize the embodied and lived experiences within these interactions (Marginson & Van der Wende, 2007). For example, IHE administrators often think of national borders as a container for culture, implying that experiences for individuals with the same national origin will be similar despite diverse regional and other differences between people from the same country. One need only examine the proliferation of research on "Chinese international students" as a singular, homogeneous category to witness this tendency (Grayson, 2014; Le, 2017; Yan & Berliner, 2016)

Second, given the ubiquity of IHE, study of this field has wide relevance to the larger academic community. Universities increasingly hire international candidates as professors (D. Kim & Jiang, 2021), international experience is viewed favorably and often essential in a successful application to study programs and employment opportunities (Succi & Canovi, 2020), and internationalization is adopted as a standard in both pedagogical and research practices (Geibel, 2020; Woldegiyorgis et al., 2018). The significance of international influences on academia as a whole means that critical attention must be paid to overarching dynamics of inclusion/exclusion within IHE.

Finally, considerations of racial and national inequalities in IHE are long overdue since, despite diversity as a normative premise of IHE, feelings of belonging and inclusion are typically afforded predominantly to White individuals on university campuses in Western countries (Basit & Tomlinson, 2012; A. J. Joseph et al., 2020; Tate, 2015). The opportunity to study outside of one's home country is becoming more accessible as an opportunity for underrepresented communities in the United States, yet similar discourses of equity in access for racialized minorities do not exist elsewhere to the same extent (Marijuan & Sanz, 2018).

This dissertation also speaks to a need for more context-specific understandings of visual diversity on university campuses. While much research has been done on university representation, little of it attends to on-the-ground experiences outside of Anglophone contexts (Bardhan & Zhang, 2017; Hanassab, 2006; J. Lee & Rice, 2007). This dissertation

provides insight into an under-researched context that nevertheless provides greater specificity to critiques of racial representation internationally.

Participant selection and sampling

The participant and research subject selection followed a specific trajectory: first, the exploratory project of the second chapter allowed for an overview of diversity representation in Switzerland. Second, students and administrators were chosen to provide an overall sense of how representation is interpreted and what issues exist when discussing visible diversity in the third chapter. Finally, for the fourth chapter, solely students were chosen to provide a more in-depth view of emotional responses to typical images of university promotional material. Ultimately, selecting these subjects allowed for novel insights into diversity representation in Switzerland that was also relevant for many Western countries.

Sampling for the first data set was chosen due to public access: the twelve universities in Switzerland were also chosen to represent the three main ethnolinguistic regions of the country. The images selected from each university website are also accessible by anyone, thus circumventing some of the ethical concerns brought up against the photo-elicitation techniques used in the latter part of the study (Miller, 2015). Swiss universities were chosen as they are the only non-Anglophone institutions to make it into the top ten universities worldwide regularly (QS World University Rankings 2021: Top Global Universities | Top Universities, 2021.; *Times Higher Education (THE)*, 2021). Despite the problematic nature of university rankings (Shahjahan et al., 2020), they are nevertheless an indicator of the desirability of the location of the university.

The students chosen for the dataset of chapter two reflected several tendencies among the overall student population: they were predominantly White and of a European nationality. The international students were slightly more likely to be female, as is typically the case in international exchange (Tompkins et al., 2017). The students represented a broad range of disciplines and included those specializing in both STEM fields and social sciences. They were contacted through a combination of snowball and purposive sampling, based on

the researcher's networks. Switzerland provided a rich opportunity during the initial data collection period; there are many accessible foreign and domestic students who speak the languages that the interviews were to be conducted in. The access to the students allowed the research to collect a substantial amount of research data in the initial collection phase. However, the Covid-19 pandemic prevented further collection of the data due to the logistical constraints caused by health concerns.

The interview with these participants was also facilitated by the unique role of the researcher: he is at once a non-Swiss citizen, a domestic student, and an administrator with close ties to a Swiss University infrastructure. This positionality allowed the researcher to establish common ground on several topics that emerged in the interview: participants discussed diversity, race, ethnicity, and affective relations in familiar ways. The researcher demonstrated "insider knowledge" that allowed him to relate to all participants due to his intersecting identities. With international students, the researcher was able to leverage his considerable experience as an academically mobile student to relate to the participants experiences. As a "domestic" PhD (i.e. someone registered at a Swiss university for the duration of their studies), he was able to connect with domestic students based on those experiences. He additionally spoke the native language of Swiss participants, further facilitating connection. Finally, interaction with administrators was facilitated by his experience in administrative roles at various universities. His work position entailed fostering relations between international universities, something to which all international officers can relate.

Additionally, as a person of color, the author was able to tease out specific responses to "difficult" questions, particularly (but not only) from the respondents of color. For example, many respondents described experiences they might not have described to a White Swiss researcher, whether they personally experienced them or not. These interactions often led to moments of catharsis for those students who experienced frustration with discriminatory tensions during their university time. Additionally, administrators saw the

interview as an opportunity to describe their experiences and difficulties with administrating diverse students. The author utilized these moments to express sympathy for the purpose of more fully understanding the affective aspect of these difficulties, which enriched the analysis, particularly for chapter four of this dissertation.

Furthermore, as English emerged as a lingua franca, particularly in discussing diversity issues, many respondents commented on diverse relations in their campus experiences in English. This could potentially be attributed to their knowledge that the author is a native English speaker, as well as familiar with the linguistic specificities necessary to discuss diversity in nuanced ways. Ultimately, interactions with research participants were shaped by the positionality of both interview and interviewee, creating dynamics that were also captured in the analysis.

The selection of the students and administrators represented several challenges: first, there was no incentive for university administrators to provide their time. Understandably, university employees are very busy, thus providing a logistical challenge. Likewise, organizing interviews at several universities in the three main linguistic regions proved administratively difficult. Nevertheless, snowball and purposive sampling provided enough respondents to reach theoretical saturation based on the concepts that were discovered during the analysis.

Additionally, the choice to include both international and domestic students methodologically undoes the theoretically untenable binaries between the two. This research on Switzerland demonstrates the similarities between international students who share a language, religion, and similar cultures (i.e. Italian students in Ticino, French students in Suisse Romandie) and the differences between Swiss co-nationals who do not share a language, religion, or culture. Thus, this dissertation refutes conceptualizations of homogenized sending and receiving nations. Furthermore, research around issues within student mobility problematizes the incoming students, framing them in terms of their deficit (Montgomery & McDowell, 2009; Pasura, 2015). It was important to consider the domestic

students' and administrators' perspectives that contribute to racial meaning-making and inclusion/exclusion. Thus, the dissertation relies on a wide range of student and administrator input to create a rich data set that complements the analyses of the images collected for the first chapter.

The photos for the photo-elicitation techniques used to collect data for the third and fourth chapters were selected carefully. Ultimately, nine images were chosen that represented several kinds of images within the dataset (for an overview of the images, see Appendix 1). First, images were chosen from each region in Switzerland, assuring that there would be at least a partial representation of similar kinds of universities. Second, images were selected that represented the kinds of group dynamics present in the analysis of the first chapter : collectivity, isolation, embodied absence, and disembodied presence were relevant themes that needed to be shown for the interviews. Additionally, selecting images with White and non-White individuals within the university was integral to teasing out responses to visible differences in representation.

Dissertation outline

This work comprises the introduction, three chapters based on academic papers developed within the same framework, and a conclusion to demonstrate the impact of the findings of those chapters. The cumulative dissertation format was most conducive to a progressive demonstration of representations of embodiment. The dissertation format also demonstrates the impact of concepts developed in the theoretical framework and second chapter on subsequent chapters. The third and fourth chapters illuminate specific issues that emerged as the research progressed. The final chapter will demonstrate the implications for the findings of each chapter, outline the limitations, and make suggestions for future research. The following table represents the methods, subjects, and findings of the three chapters that make up the body of this dissertation.

Table 1

Dissertation Outline Table

	Method	Subjects	Findings
Chapter 2	Discourse Theoretical Analysis	Images representing visual diversity on Swiss university websites	White and non-White bodies reinforce a binary of "disembodied presence" and "embodied absence" that fixes meaning of racial representation
Chapter 3	Narrative analysis	International students Domestic students Administrators of international exchange offices	Racial unspeakability as a culturally contingent, affective force that governs narrations of race, ethnicity, and nationality.
Chapter 4	Synthetic approach: stance theory and affective-discursive analysis	International students Domestic students	Emotional difficulties reveal student positions on inclusion and diversity in higher education and are integral in how students navigate the embodied complexities of diversity representation

Chapter 2: Racial Dis/Embodiment: a Discourse Theoretical Analysis of Swiss University International Office Websites

Status:

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Abstract

This chapter examines the role of articulations of diverse elements that constitute an array of subject positions within the field of international student migration/mobility. I analyze representation on the websites of international student offices at all twelve Swiss universities, with a particular focus on images as "particularly persuasive producers of specific visions of social difference such as hierarchies of class, ethnicity, race or sexuality" (Trivundža, 2013, p. 7). I utilize a discourse theoretical approach (Carpentier, 2017; Carpentier & Cleen, 2007) as a basis for qualitative document analysis (Altheide & Schneider, 2013), to show the complexities of international conceptualizations of race, ethnicity, and nationality. The chapter identifies examples of racially embodied and disembodied presence and absence that govern context-specific forms of representation (Hook, 2008; Lentin, 2019). These findings suggest a novel interdisciplinary understanding of Whiteness in Switzerland that draws on understandings of racialized space as not only characterized by White bodies (Purtschert, 2015).

My research brings the undertheorized aspect of nationality to the fore within studies of IHE, as racial and ethnic conceptualizations cannot be thought without understanding the overarching role nationality is ascribed to identification in representation and (self-)identification. It demonstrates nuanced understandings of diversity representation in a field where such nuance is needed.

Key words: Visual Discourse, Whiteness, race, diversity, Switzerland

Introduction

The relationship between institutional discourses and diversity remains fraught. Few scholars would discount the importance of diverse, intercultural collectives to enrich social contexts. Diversity discourses in universities indicate deeper ideological investments in hierarchies shaped by differences such as race, gender, nationality, dis/ability, class, etc. International exchange programs are a prime example of dynamic interplays between varied concepts of diversity. This chapter addresses diversity representation in university international office websites by exploring how representations of race construct imaginaries of inclusion and exclusion shape admission decisions, classroom interactions, and forming social relationships during studies. While some scholarship has argued for the importance of institutional diversity discourses (Haapakoski and Pashby, 2017), a relative lack of research on embodied differences in visual representation has resulted in an underdeveloped understanding of visual dimensions of difference and its impact on power relations both during and beyond university study.

As Vertovec noted: 'representation is a politics of presence' because any representation necessarily shows some forms of presence but not others (Vertovec, 1996, p. 298). The question of representation of institutions—through promotional materials, websites, and all forms of spoken, written, and visual discourse—is a question of vision. Should representation be accurate or aspirational? Should universities accurately represent their facilities and student body as they are, or should they show what they could be potentially? These questions are the subject of much debate among those making efforts to portray their universities positively. This chapter provides insight into those questions by analyzing how diversity is represented in online university promotional materials in Switzerland, a global hub for international higher education (QS World University Rankings 2021). It traces the often violent foreclosures of the visual mode of representation that exclude marginalized people (Stein and Andreotti, 2018). It also identifies explicit efforts

and approaches to represent diversity and accounts for if and how alternative efforts are made (in)visible on university campuses.

Thinking through the colonial influences of race in the field of education is a step to be completed before combating forms of inequality (Ladson-Billings, 1998). This chapter is conceptually and methodologically undergirded by an 'otherwise approach,' emphasizing that 'race and colonialism are embedded in modern systems of knowledge production, governance, and capital accumulation' (Stein and Andreotti, 2018, p 11). Such a stance makes visible how the past reproduces the present, exposing the power relations that created and sustain current hierarchies (Stein and Andreotti, 2017a). Thus, race emerges as a salient factor in structuring relations through representation.

This chapter also speaks to the specific challenges of applying frameworks of racial analysis to a context in which White European self-conception is accepted as the norm, rendering anybody outside of that culturally Other (Stein, 2017). The otherwise approach acknowledges the limits of critique and engages in self-reflection on how best to practice international higher education (da Silva, 2013). This chapter identifies imaginaries as discursive assemblages that allow some common-sense understandings of possible social contexts and phenomena and forecloses others (Kamola, 2014). The study fills the gap produced by a lack of critical treatment of visuality in international higher education (hereafter IHE) research by addressing representations of race and nationality on university campuses in Switzerland.

The first section defines race and nationality as dominant yet undertheorized forms of difference in IHE research. The following section further outlines imaginaries of inclusion and exclusion (Stein and Andreotti, 2017b) by employing discourse theoretical analysis (DTA) that reveals what meanings are included and excluded through imaginary signifiers in Swiss universities' international office websites (Carpentier, 2017). Finally, the discussion and conclusions present implications of this work, point out the limitations and indicate directions for further research.

Visual inclusion/exclusion in education

Previous work on visual media demonstrates that images serve as semiotic resources that constitute and are constituted by social practices within universities (Ledin and Machin, 2017). These images are never selected from a neutral pool and demonstrate institutional attempts at representation that are often problematic. For example, representation concerning various visual differences is a point of theoretical contention in marketing international education (Hamid, 2017). The theoretical implications of differences represented in university discourses are often ignored, stressing approaches that center 'equality' and 'diversity' in marketing attempts (Shahjahan, Ramirez, and Andreotti, 2017). Simply increasing the degree of diversity in images is insufficient to address issues of inclusion/exclusion. Rather, it is crucial to address the link between underlying logics of difference and construction of the university context to understand the institutional discursive mechanisms for inclusion/exclusion (Osei-Kofi, Shahjahan, and Patton, 2010)

Diversity in International Higher Education

IHE provides a rich context to explore how representations of race, ethnicity, and nationality are reflected, refracted, and distorted within discourse across various contexts. Critical analyses of representation practices in IHE, while addressing important issues of inclusion/exclusion and (in)equality, often fail to address discourses of difference upon which inequality is predicated (George Mwangi et al., 2018). The dynamics of discourses are context-specific, positioning universities as a collection of (inter)national and (inter)cultural contexts in which race, ethnicity, and nationality are constantly reinterpreted. The presence of individuals of diverse nationalities is a normative premise of academic mobility, yet scholars' inattention to embodied difference in IHE research results in homogenized analyses of difference. This chapter addresses race as a discrete visual marker of difference by analyzing visual representation of university promotional materials (Alcoff, 2005).

Race and Nationality

Race is a geopolitically specific term 'taken historically as (or in terms of) identifying people geomorphically by their supposed phenotypes in terms of their imputed or implied geographic origins and the cultural characteristics considered to be associated with those geographic identifications, those landscapes and their associated characteristics' (Goldberg, 2009, p. 7). Race is specific to geopolitical region necessitating European-specific theorization (Goldberg, 2006). The current discursive landscape of Europe purports a 'post-racial' society in which explicit mentions of racial issues are taboo (Tate, 2016).

A 'regime of racelessness' (Michel, 2015) renders speaking of racial issues (i.e., public debates, activism) more difficult due to race's unmentionable nature (Boulila, 2019). In Switzerland, dominant discourses obscure the presence of non-White Swiss people and their experiences of racism, largely due to a perceived lack of colonial history (Purtschert, Falk, and Lüthi, 2016). However, race is visible due to the proliferation of images of non-White people in public media, which are often used to legitimate exclusionary strategies in discourses regarding immigration policy and social inclusion (Richardson and Wodak, 2009). Public media discourses in Switzerland frequently objectify non-White people, reflecting the marginalization of minority groups (Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011). While these discourses spotlight non-White individuals, Whiteness emerges as an unmarked yet critical category (Gallagher & Twine, 2017).

Whiteness

Whiteness is an invisible 'center' that remains a powerful yet uncommented discursive construct that exerts its power in everyday life (Nakayama & Krizek, 1995). In popular media discourses in Europe, this means that Whiteness becomes a cipher for national belonging; non-White individuals are presented as a culturally incompatible threat to the nation (Hervik, 2019). This supposed cultural incompatibility manifests in visual representations of immigrants as non-White interlopers to White European countries

(Picozza, 2021). The White/non-White dichotomy is necessary to maintain racial hierarchies that govern media and popular and political discourses in Europe (Beaman, 2018).

While most of the studies on Whiteness in Europe focus on mass media, this study explores representations of Whiteness in the education promotion context. It builds on the demonstration that Swissness is inextricably tied to Whiteness by highlighting contemporary manifestations of Switzerland's construction of Whiteness on university websites (Sanders, 2019). This belief is perpetuated through a historical consciousness that, despite the explicit Swiss colonial activities in European colonies in the past, nevertheless relies on Whiteness and Swissness to create exclusionary racial hierarchies (Cretton, 2018).

It is not merely through the presence of White bodies that physical spaces as affective landscapes become racialized. For example, Ahmed stresses that 'we need to examine not only how bodies become white, or fail to do so, but also how spaces can take on the very "qualities" that are given to such bodies' (Ahmed 2006, p 129). Taking representation as a focal point builds upon studies that assert Whiteness as an embodied influence on the racialization of space.

Disembodied Whiteness can exist as a constant presence *regardless* of the physical presence of White/non-White bodies. This assertion of the ever-present nature of Whiteness develops findings of studies that conceptualize "racialized space" as solely embodied. For instance, in the education context, Walton asserts that classrooms take on a racialized quality due to the physical presence of White bodies that affectively constrain how students of color learn, interact, and participate (J. Walton, 2018). However, a theoretical engagement with Whiteness as solely embodied neglects racialization dynamics outside and beyond the body.

Visual representations of Whiteness in Europe unite populations of White Europeans through shared meanings of stability, belonging, cleanliness, and purity (Gallagher & Twine, 2017). For example, Whiteness allows the nation to 'claim' White players of foreign origin on the German national soccer team, allowing their belonging to go uncontested (Gehring, 2016). In this example, the double-edged nature of uncontestable belonging is based on

appearances; even players born in Germany become hypervisible if they do not 'look German.' (Yue, 2000). Whiteness functions as an unmarked category that signifies belonging and privileges the disparate groups that collect under its banner. For scholars addressing visuality, Whiteness is an unseen yet powerful structuring force in Europe.

This study addresses visual Whiteness as an ever-present force by expanding upon Alana Lentin's helpful characterization of David Hook's 'racializing embodiment.' Her paper argues that White people are afforded a 'disembodied presence' in which the Whiteness is invisibilized yet overarchingly impacts the social context (Lentin, 2019, p. 12). Additionally, non-White people are featured in the form of 'embodied absence' that renders them visually present in ways that highlight their absence and marginalization (ibid). These theoretical concepts require a method capable of addressing the dense nuances of visual representation.

Methods

The selection of Switzerland as a setting for this study provides numerous benefits. First, Switzerland is not an Anglo-Saxon country—frequently overrepresented in the bodies of literature on race and IHE—and thus offers an alternative perspective to the dominant narratives of marketization throughout IHE literature due to higher percentages of international students and funding structures of Swiss universities (Riaño, Lombard, & Piguet, 2018). In 2018, Switzerland was home to two of the world's top ten rated universities, making it an attractive location for foreign and domestic students and researchers. This provides an opportunity to examine an underrepresented context and potentially reshape conversations in the fields of international student mobility/migration and racial and ethnic studies.

The data comprised promotional materials from the twelve Swiss universities' international student offices. These websites present the constructed nature of racial, ethnic, and national diversity of the student bodies at each university (Flick, 2014). The data were

collected through accessing the websites, downloading individual pages, and converting them to a 2,958 page PDF document.

Imaginary tools

Imaginaries are horizons that limit the discursive field of possibilities (Norval, 1997). The edges of these horizons are marked by 'imaginary signifiers' (Laclau, 1990). The term 'imaginary' is not an adjective but rather denotes that these are signifiers *of* the imaginary. Signifiers serve as structural points that fortify the boundary of the imaginary within which significatory practices attempt to fix meaning and establish social, political, and ideological contexts. Therefore, signifiers fix the borders of the imaginary between what is and what is not visible, thinkable, and possible. This study demonstrates how visual signifiers of race serve as nodal points that seek to fix meaning within imaginaries of inclusion/exclusion (Trivundža, 2015).

The analysis proceeded through reading the documents and identifying visual and discursive elements, following standardized steps of qualitative media analysis (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). Photos were coded depending on the prevalence of signifiers of the embodied presence of Whiteness. For example, visual indicators of phenotypical Whiteness (i.e., fair skin, straight hair, light-colored eyes, etc.) were noted within images as signifiers. The signifiers corresponded to codes that were used in the next step of the analysis. Codes such as 'White,' 'non-White,' 'male,' 'female,' 'student,' 'administrator,' etc., showed both the quality and quantity of the occurrences of representations of predominantly race and gender as visual categories. Finally, codes were grouped into larger categories which were further analyzed, following the "otherwise" approach to Discourse Theoretical Analysis by identifying how racial dynamics structure imaginaries produced by the website images (Carpentier, 2017; Stein & Andreotti, 2017a).

The nature of the research project necessarily foregrounded race as a structural factor in shaping international students' representations, which was confirmed in the analysis through the unequal ratio of White/non-White students. While other visual representations

of difference emerged (ability status, gender, age, etc.), this chapter primarily addresses how visual racialization shapes imaginaries of inclusion and exclusion. The main conceptual categories of disembodiment/embodiment and absence/presence are key binaries that structure the visual diversity discourses in universities.

Findings

The analysis revealed interdependent signifiers that act as imaginary signifiers: Whiteness and non-Whiteness. Within the visual imagery, Whiteness functioned as an empty signifier filled with inclusive meanings, showing what is possible for White bodies within Swiss universities (Laclau, 1996). The analysis revealed disembodied presence as a theme associated with Whiteness, as well as the embodied absence of bodies of color.

Disembodied presence

White disembodied presence emerged as a nodal signifier that fixed the meanings of all other signifiers. Images of individuals with physical features associated with European ancestry: fair skin, light-colored eyes, straight hair, etc., predominated. The visual markers of Whiteness included not only the complete, recognizable bodily presence of White individuals but also several instances of lighter-colored/fair-skinned body parts, including eyes, hair, and, most predominantly, hands. These recognizable body parts are an example of *disembodied presence*, i.e., the visual presence of Whiteness that is only partially embodied. Visual signifiers fix meanings reliant upon non-logocentric stimuli; in other words, the viewer only has access to the image to make sense of what is being perceived (Langbehn, 2010). Images of White people in Switzerland can be viewed as inconspicuous, but DTA reveals macro-contextual aspects of discourse that constitute how meaning is made of these promotional materials (Trivundža, 2015).

Almost every university website featured at least one prominent example of disembodied hands. These examples included hands performing experiments, indicating choices, and engaging in tasks related to practicing agency in the university context. For example:

Figure 1. White Hands

These images featured typically ‘masculine’ hands, often accentuated with masculine clothing, although feminine hands also appeared infrequently. These hands are not only a symbol of agency; they demonstrate, as the text in the above example says, who the ‘key players’ on campus are. The articulation of Whiteness and masculinity as a dominant factor in representation is a common trend throughout much of the Global North (Shome, 2000). Representations of Whiteness and masculinity demonstrate a gendered and intersecting imaginary of inclusion/exclusion: Women and men of color are excluded from the narrative of success and agency communicated by the symbolism of White male hands.

The owners of these White hands are never shown, yet the viewer can safely interpret them as belonging in the Swiss context; owners of White hands are not racially excluded in predominantly White environments. Thus, the hands and their Whiteness signify common practices and who performs them at the university. An ‘otherwise’ critique of this phenomenon draws attention to the references to White agency and individualism inherent in these signifiers (Stein & Andreotti, 2018a).

Another type of disembodied presence is images of blurred approximations and long-exposure shots of White individuals taken to give a general impression of a person without providing specific physical characteristics other than vague senses of color and shape. These blurred representations of people appeared frequently to indicate masses of people ‘on the go’ in ways that indicate agency and direction. These sorts of representations showed this ‘on the go’ blur both in the foreground and the background. For instance:

Figure 2. Disembodied Whiteness

The above examples demonstrate the form: these images represent people stripped of all but the barest physical characteristics. The long-exposure technique that creates transparent wisps of individuals transforms the subjects of the photos: the individuals go

from humans to ephemeral whisps. The only thing one can ascertain is the size, shape, and color of the person's clothing, hair, and skin. Other characteristics are left open to interpretation, but the physical features leave little room for the imagination: these figures are White, disembodied through their blurry outline, but nevertheless present. The repeated usage of after-image effects becomes hauntological; the people are there though they are no longer there (Derrida, 1994). The semi-translucent representations of White bodies become an effervescent reminder of the presence of Whiteness.

The signifier, in this case, takes on a less literal meaning than White skin; rather, the visuals depict disembodied figures to imply a sense of motion, multiplicity, and ephemerality. Often, the blurred figures take up much of the background or foreground, implying a mass or a crowd of fast-moving Whiteness. The technique of visually obscuring individuals yet leaving their Whiteness visible marks the imaginary of inclusion through visual impressions suggesting quick movement of disembodied presence of White bodies.

Embodied presence

Whiteness emerged in ways that signified an *embodied presence* as well. Subjects coded as White emerged predominantly within the promotional materials at a ratio of about 4:1 with students coded as non-White. In many cases, White students are shown in groups, indicating a collectivity not shown for non-White students. The following image is an example of this trend throughout the data.

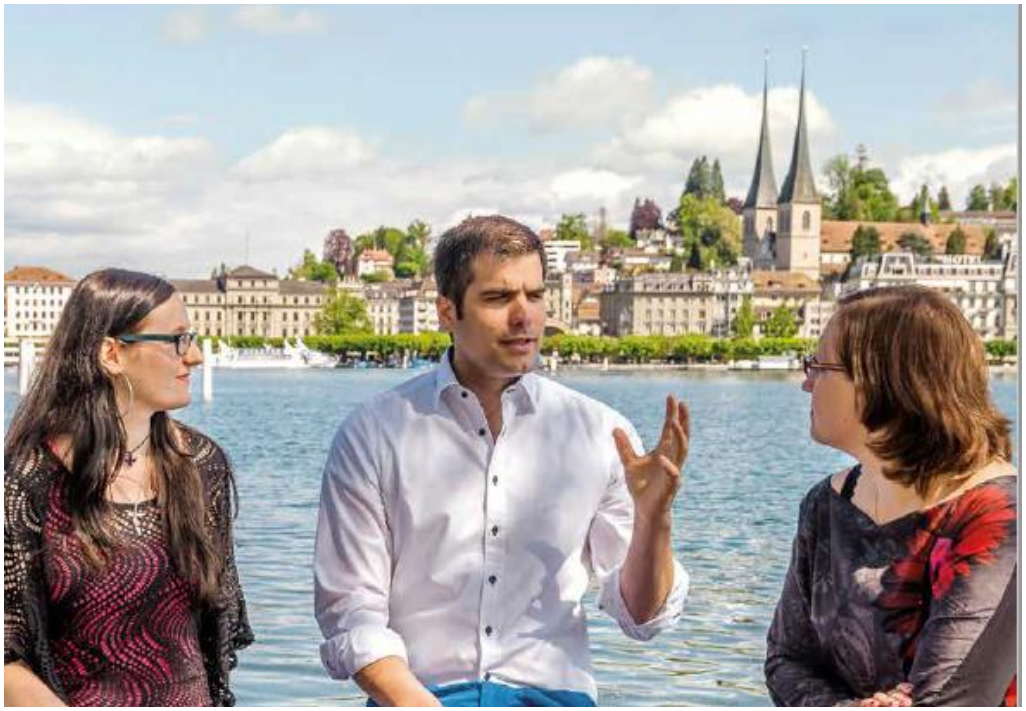

Figure 3. Embodied Whiteness

These images also position predominantly White subjects in front of recognizably Swiss backgrounds, further embedding them in the social context. Conversely, in instances where non-White subjects are represented, they are depicted in close-quarter shots that do not necessarily depict them as symbolically or physically a part of the Swiss context. This could be due to the use of stock photos or a desire to exhibit 'internationality,' however, the effect remains the same: non-White subjects are tokenized. In contrast, White subjects are represented in ostensibly more authentic ways: presented more frequently, more candidly, in less obviously 'posed' photographs, etc. This token representation works to fix the dichotomy of inclusion/exclusion within the imaginary of the university.

The tendency to represent White people in this way is particularly noticeable in light of the numerical absence of students of color on campus and the overt presence of students of color in some of the website promotional material. While there are no direct statistics that

correlate to racial makeup on campuses, several campuses provide statistics on the national origin of their students. This varies drastically from campus to campus; some campuses provide numbers of only foreign compared to domestic students, some provide numbers by continent, and some do not provide any information but assure the viewer of the website of the internationality of the campus through images. Nevertheless, for the websites that provide information, the number of students from countries with non-White majority populations remains minuscule, much less than the overall representation of non-White students within images.

Thus, the number of people of color represented on these university websites does not align with the few reported statistics of national origin for each university. These representations paint a simplistic picture of Swiss universities that shows more visibly racially diverse subjects and simultaneously further marginalizes non-White subjects by presenting them in tokenizing ways that do not reflect the reality of the Swiss campus. The relative absence of non-White subjects overall, coupled with simplistic representations when they do appear, demonstrates an underlying tension between aspirational and accurate representations of on-campus diversity.

Embodied Absence

One benefit of DTA is its capacity to trace hidden meanings. In the data set, specific symbolic violence is practiced through the erasure of meaningful representations of people of color that is 'imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels' (Bourdieu, 1998 quoted in Carpentier, 2017, 162). Compared to the disembodied presence, there are no instances of hands of color nor Black or Brown faces moving quickly through the scene. In a binary fashion, the disembodied presence of White individuals necessitates an embodied absence of non-White individuals. Embodied absence refers to 'souls evacuated of psychological presence with the "psycho-materiality" of objects animated by racist beliefs' (Hook, 2008, p. 148). Images of people of color often present them engaging in a reduced range of activities, limiting them from the

fullness of behaviors depicted for their White counterparts. The ‘evacuation of psychological presence’ refers to an objectification present in, for example, the only images of groups of people of color representing them as token objects of study.

Figure 4. Non-White Embodied Absence

The absence of groups of students of color speaks volumes about the representation of social configurations on the university campus; while there were occasional groups consisting of a mixture of White and non-White people, these images played into the same dynamic as the above images: non-White people are the colorful, attractive objects to highlight diversity without a sense of agency. An ‘otherwise’ approach is interested in the underlying

epistemologies for this kind of representation: how do colonial relations inform the selection of these images (Stein and Andreotti 2018)? Following the otherwise approach, the image of these bodies matters far more than their actual presence on campus. Tokenism as objectification means people of color are represented as not contributing to the social context of the university (Maguire & Britten, 2018).

The embodied absence is also constructed through the absence of names and titles in the images of people of color. Often, disembodied heads with names and phone numbers for various White administrators were represented, demonstrating White individuals' widespread availability and accessibility as sources of knowledge. There was, however, only one instance of an administrator of color and one instance of a professor of color. The tokenistic representations of people of color fix meanings of limited inclusion through embodied absence. The absence of meaningful representations of embodied individuals of color in which individuals are agentic, individual, and belonging highlights a lack of full presence at the university. To quote Alana Lentin: 'they are there, but not there.' (2019, p. 626)

On occasion, websites provide insight into the futures of students who attend their universities. Of the numerous reports of experiences of both international and domestic students, there were only two instances of a person of color depicted as an example of success. Additionally, only one of those instances presented the student as a successful graduate of the university. All other instances depicted alumni as large groups of White individuals, providing a sense of collectivity denied to students of color. This representation contrasts the images of students of color who are often depicted either alone or surrounded by Whiteness. Taken together with the multitude of representations of successful White students on various websites, representation of non-White people highlights not only an embodied absence of students of color but also an absence of futures in which those students are successful.

In the few instances of representations of non-White bodies, non-Whiteness signified an ambiguous space of inclusion. In general, non-White people are represented in ways that set them apart from their White counterparts; these include tokenistic representation focusing on the common inclusion of one member from various racial groups to ensure representativeness. They also include several instances of centering a non-White student or students in noticeably contrived, unnatural ways suggesting a 'posed' quality of the photographs. These images could ostensibly be well-intentioned; nevertheless, the message communicated by including these subjects entails a more complex view than 'everyone is welcome.'

The ambiguity of including representation of people of color throughout the data in which they are only partially included exposes an imaginary of inclusion/exclusion. Within this imaginary, non-White subjects are depicted to signal a particular stance toward diversity, flattening it and rendering it consumable (Owens & Beistle, 2006). This imaginary also relies on the visual signifiers of Whiteness and non-Whiteness to signify who belongs as a student and who does not.

Those who are visually different from the status quo (i.e., racialized differently) are depicted as an embodied absence within the Swiss context. The dichotomy of inclusion and exclusion is no less present in representations of non-majority students, leaving the dynamic of representation up to the reader's interpretation. For example, non-White students are represented visually in online discourse and not marked in other ways that signify belonging to the Swiss context, even in terms of national identification. While representation of people of color in the Swiss and larger European contexts have been gaining prevalence in the public sphere, the images analyzed for this study demonstrate continuing exclusion (Campt, 2017)

Discussion

This chapter identified explicit and implicit themes within representation using the case of Swiss higher education institutions. The White/non-White binary manifested in

representations of embodied absence and disembodied presence as signifiers of the modern/colonial global imaginary. The analysis links how representation in IHE perpetuates small-scale colonial violences, making the invisible visible (Stein & Andreotti, 2017a).

In most cases, White people were represented performing a broader range of activities and in various social positions. This included agentic representations of White people making decisions, in positions of power, and as innocuous background figures. This representation suggests the disembodied presence of Whiteness as a key structuring force of imaginaries of inclusion/exclusion. Whiteness is a signifier of inclusion, belonging, and normalcy within the imaginary of the university.

Furthermore, the infrequent inclusion of non-White bodies demonstrated a lack of diverse representations for people of color. The absence of agency was signified through the objectification of non-White bodies as symbols of diversity that expressed meanings of exclusion and non-belonging. Moreover, this embodied absence of people of color exposed a lack of collective relationships with their White and non-White peers. Representation of this nature exposes the isolating and symbolically violent nature of tokenism within the university landscape. Ultimately, the White/non-White binary reflected in social and media landscapes is a contemporary problem in the Swiss university context.

This chapter demonstrated how visual representations of race and nationality construct imaginaries of inclusion/exclusion. These imaginaries are taken as horizons that delimit what is and is not possible within the discursive and visual field. For example, the discursive possibility of non-White people in positions of power or represented as the norm was non-existent despite the aspirational representation exhibited by the images. This chapter has shown the limits of discourses around diversity by highlighting the implicit (im)possibility of embodied presence for people of color.

This research highlighted signifiers that make possible imaginaries situated within a global/colonial frame. As such, limitations play an integral part in the theoretical framework. There are, however, limits to showing limits. While the otherwise approach to representation

in the modern/colonial setting of higher education advocates for different modes of representation, Stein and Andreotti admit that ‘there is no unproblematic way to depict the complicated knots of subjugation that make possible our existing educational institutions’ (2017, p. 17).

Conclusion

Overall, the data and analysis demonstrate that imaginaries of inclusion/exclusion within international student mobility are a complex discursive mosaic. The interwoven and contingent relationships between visual and textual representations of international students and the contexts in which they find themselves warrant further examination. This research provides further insight into the discussion on diversity representation in IHE in an underrepresented context with wide implications. Particularly in the landscape of growing neoliberal trends toward diversity, this research presents a nuanced discussion of how diversity may be imagined.

Chapter Three: Racial Unspeakability: Affect and Embodiment in Swiss International Higher Education Institutions

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Winning article of the Equal Opportunities Award issued by the Equality Commission at the Università della Svizzera Italiana

Abstract:

Increasing diversity in international student mobility/migration has gained attention in recent years (Bilecen & Van Mol, 2017). Diversity in international higher education institutions has primarily been understood in terms of diversity of national origin, meaning the dynamics of racial and ethnic differences are not adequately addressed in the literature (Estera & Shahjahan, 2018; George Mwangi et al., 2018). Furthermore, inclusion/exclusion at the university level regarding the nexus of race and migration needs further explication (Erel et al., 2016). This study uses data collected during semi-structured interviews with international and domestic students, and administrators, incorporating photo-elicitation techniques (Harper, 2002; Shaw, 2013) to identify the discursive and visual elements of exclusion/inclusion. It addresses visuality as an enabling mechanism within the field of discursivity (Mirzoeff, 2006; Yue, 2000) and further links discursive exclusion/inclusion to the material conditions of embodied differences attributed to race, ethnicity, and nationality. Overall the study finds that narratives of race, ethnicity, and nationality delimit a modern/colonial imaginary global (Stein & Andreotti, 2017b). It also situates context-specific concepts of race, ethnicity, and nationality within intersectional conversations of diversity, highlighting the often unacknowledged implications of race and ethnicity in relation to other aspects including gender and disability. It further demonstrates that the internal heterogeneity of both sending and receiving countries leads to varied meaning-making schemes for engaging with embodied racial differences and their attendant affective relations (Ahmed, 2013; Wetherell, 2012). Therefore, the project illuminates new ways of thinking through race, ethnicity, and nationality as affective, culturally-contingent social constructs (Fries-Britt et al., 2014; Mitchell et al., 2017).

Keywords: race, ethnicity, nationality, affect, embodiment

Introduction

Study abroad continues to gain importance, as evidenced by increases in the number of international students every year leading up to the Covid-19 pandemic (UNESCO, 2019). International students, defined as "students who have crossed a national or territorial border for the purpose of education and are now enrolled outside their country of origin" (UNESCO, 2012), are often unproblematically assumed to have generally positive experiences, despite academic work on the experiences of racism they face upon arrival to their new academic setting (Hanassab, 2006; Jon, 2012; Lee & Rice, 2007; Mitchell et al., 2017). Education scholars demonstrate how (neo-) racism negatively impacts international student experiences, specifically in Western nation-states or contexts around the world, focusing on the experiences of non- Western students (Hanassab, 2006; Yao, 2018). They show how race is linked with national origin; the two are imbricated in racial discrimination for students moving from countries where they are part of the majority population to countries where they are not (Lee et al., 2016).

There is a growing need for a critical stance towards analyzing the ideological and material contexts that make international study possible (Stein, 2017). However, the literature on internationalization often does not explain the differences and relations between 'sending' and 'receiving' countries, nor does it account for the heterogeneity within countries; international students may or may not face similar challenges in their home countries, resulting in experiences of exclusion and non- belonging in their newfound surroundings. Positive educational experiences matter for students and professors at the individual and collective levels; the emotional landscape of universities can be a positive or negative influence on knowledge sharing and production practices (Shahjahan et al., 2020).

Furthermore, extant literature on internationalization undertheorizes the role of emotions in academic processes. Emotions influence any given educational agenda and are deeply embedded in ideologies and practices that govern power relations in academic settings (Boler, 1999). However, embodiment as an affective process receives little to no

attention in internationalization literature (Craig et al., 2018). How, for example, are we to engage with affective processes like the excitement of arriving in a new country, homesickness, or the anger at experiencing discrimination in an unfamiliar setting?

During their time studying abroad, international students engage with new institutionalized practices and social settings. These students face these challenges and opportunities relying upon their own cultural schemas, and these new experiences often result in highly emotionally charged interactions. Narratives of these emotions serve to inform how important demographic differences like race and nationality manifest in the international higher education context. Therefore, I ask the following research question: How do students and administrators narrate race, ethnicity, and nation in international higher education?

This article outlines the theoretical complexities of international academic mobility and the associated power dynamics related to dynamics of difference. The article also brings to the fore under-examined notions of diversity, namely race and nationality. It highlights Switzerland as an illustrative place to empirically explore the gaps in the internationalization literature due to its linguistic and national diversity and unique position within the global higher education landscape. It then discusses the themes discovered through conducting qualitative research on the role of effect on racial embodiment. It concludes by suggesting new ways of thinking and feeling diversity for international students, domestic students, as well as administrators.

Literature Review

Race and Affect in Internationalization

Internationalization programs categorize students according to differences between national origins and destinations. As such, researchers examine how students from particular national origins adapt in terms of language and to obstacles in everyday life (e.g., Marginson, 2014; Pitts, 2009; Tian & Lowe, 2013). A broad overview of research on international students demonstrates that the field has not captured the nuances of racial

dynamics between students. Much research focuses on English-speaking students (usually American or English) abroad or exchange students studying in Anglo-American institutions (Jones, 2017; Riaño, Mol, et al., 2018). In these contexts, studies investigate how and why students are mobile (Collins et al., 2017; Lörz et al., 2016). Other studies examine how academic and experiential knowledge is transferred across borders (Findlay, 2011; Kim, 2010; Marginson & Van der Wende, 2007). However, these studies neglect how such transfers also entail interactions among students and faculty who are differentially positioned in terms of economic capital, racial and ethnic differences, language competencies, and legal status. These differences result in unspecified notions of how best to improve mobility experiences and a lack of understanding of students' and administrators' differences, leading to potentially alienating interactions.

Some research addresses intersections of nationality and gender (Bryant & Soria, 2015; Willis, 2015), while other scholars gesture towards other dimensions of difference like race and ethnicity (Hanassab, 2006; Lee & Green, 2016). Yet, these studies collectively downplay or neglect how structural inequalities and historical relations have shaped these categories as well as how international education is experienced within these categories, which thus shapes group and individual mobilities (Lee et al., 2016; Manathunga, 2017; Neveu Kringelbach, 2015). While knowledge, experience, and identity are contextually embodied (Sodhi, 2008), many studies in the field decontextualize and disembody those who are already marginalized.

International race perspectives

An emerging branch of critical internationalization studies conceptualizes exclusion/inclusion as resulting from structures of modernity heavily influenced by race and colonial ways of knowing and being (Estera & Shahjahan, 2018; Stein et al., 2016). These structures, such as racism, colonialism, etc., center Europe/North America as the pinnacle of human achievement undergirded by Enlightenment logics, which are supported by racial and colonial understandings of human difference (Hesse, 2007). Scholars in this critical branch

demonstrate that universities are shaped by the global capitalist system based on colonial relations with their enduring economic inequalities as well as a global imaginary undergirded by Western, Eurocentric values (Stein & Andreotti, 2017, 2018). Liberal notions of diversity have endured through logics of neoliberal multiculturalism. This means that culture has been viewed as a proxy for race, establishing a hegemonic understanding of cultural differences really meaning racial ones. This leads to what came to be known as cultural racism, a means that differentiates and excludes constructed racial groups based on culture (Taguieff, 1990). Cultural racism allowed these constructed groups to be discriminated against based on differences ascribed to their cultural origins. Further development of the understanding of race as culture gave way to a 'non-racial framework' in which references to race are avoided in search of modern civility (Melamed, 2006). A neoliberal framework of race seeks to obfuscate the causes of racial differentiation and systematically incorporate those differences within a system that privileges some racial groups above others.

The neo-liberalization of diversity rhetoric in international higher education means making empty gestures towards symbolic notions of inclusion, such as tokenistic inclusion of minoritized students/faculty (Cyr, 2018). Diversity, especially in Western higher education contexts, is premised on a vaguely theorized 'Other,' rather than engaging with context-specific realities of a power imbalance between various demographic groups (Ahmed, 2012; Cervulle, 2014). Furthermore, diversity rhetorics in higher education rarely address the systemic dimensions of gendered and racial exclusions, instead institutionalizing and bureaucratizing forms of conditional inclusion that perpetuate the status quo (Tate & Bagguley, 2017).

Recent research suggests a plethora of ways to think of equity and equality and more just global systems (Haapakoski & Pashby, 2017; Stein & Andreotti, 2017) and encourages us to engage with the role of differences in university populations more critically. While differences drive desires for internationalization, university administrators and even students

tend to treat, consume, and essentialize differences, which violently erases opportunities for transformative interactions and precludes even consideration of the systemic exclusions of certain bodies, let alone their substantive inclusion (Stein & Andreotti, 2016). Crucially, racial differences are often denied or ignored, resulting in experiences of alienation and discrimination for students racialized as non-White (Kamara, 2017). Conversely, this obfuscation of racial differences results in a misplaced sense of racial and national inclusion for international students racialized as White (Lee & Opio, 2011). This means that non-White international students face exclusion regardless of possible forms of belonging, and White international students are included solely based on phenotype.

As international students move, they bring in and encounter differing racial meanings, which might conflict with or change how they see themselves (Fries-Britt et al., 2014). While some racial groups might be perceived in terms of biologized phenotypical differences, others might be seen in terms of ethnic or cultural differences only. In other cases, national, ethnic, and cultural differences are conflated entirely. Globally, race has been employed as an exclusionary concept, identifying people by their real (or imagined) phenotypes and the meanings associated with those phenotypes (Goldberg, 2009). Certain phenotypes are articulated with meanings within specific cultural and geo-economic contexts resulting in distinct formations. For example, in Europe, those visually categorized as White are perceived to be simply "European," and those not White are perceived as raced and non-European (Hesse, 2007; Murji & Solomos, 2005).

Race and Racism in Switzerland

The broader European tendency of ignoring the existence of race/racism and Switzerland's specific tendency to be unwilling to discuss issues of racial difference means that race has a regional specificity in this context (El-Tayeb, 2011; Goldberg, 2009; Lavanchy, 2014). Conceptualizations of race in Switzerland will therefore necessarily differ from race concepts elsewhere. Important in this endeavor is the consideration of how specific language refers to various bodies. For example, discussions of race have been rendered taboo through

various institutional strategies, called "race-muteness" in the Swiss context (Lavanchy, 2014). In Swiss institutions, racial meanings are established through a "tacit premise of racialization" (Lavanchy, 2014), while people of color nevertheless frequently experience racial discrimination. However, "race muteness" as a concept demonstrates some shortcomings. The ableist origins of terms equating disabilities with racial ideologies (i.e., "color-blindness") mask the exclusionary function of such ideologies (May & Ferri, 2005). It is not, as the term would have one believe, that those claiming "color-blindness" or "race-muteness" are unable to see or speak of race; it is rather that they find specific strategies to avoid race (Ancy Annamma et al., 2016). The term "color-evasion" has been suggested, yet this does not accurately capture the nuance of these embodied and affective racially avoidant strategies. The issue is not always reducible to visual perceptions, as racial differences are analogous but not coterminous with physical differences, such as skin color (Alcoff, 2005). The unspeakability of race is actively practiced in linguistically sensitive ways. For example, euphemism takes culturally specific forms and emerges as a regional practice, thus highlighting the lack of language-specific vocabulary to address race in Switzerland. This lack of language to employ in discussing race has impoverished critical thought on issues of diversity. The literature in Switzerland on race positions racialized people as outsiders, largely because of the national narrative removing Switzerland's colonial histories (Purtschert, 2015). The logics behind this narrative construct Switzerland as a solely White country. Therefore, non-White people are often portrayed solely or primarily as recent migrants, denying the possibility of Swiss people of color. This has many implications for international higher education in Switzerland; it means that both international and domestic students of color are automatically ascribed migrant status, while White international students are mistaken as Swiss. Yet, this process is not as simple as one might expect; racialization processes in the Swiss context emphasize migration history and construct various political, national, and phenotypical hierarchies (Ossipow et al., 2019). For example, Swiss-Italian people are often excluded from the Swiss national community and more closely aligned with their Italian neighbors than their Swiss co-nationals. This alignment

gives way to an anti-Italian "racism" claimed by those facing discrimination. Despite all parties involved belonging to a distinct racial group, the dividing boundaries of ethnolinguistic group and nationality illuminate complexities that cannot be ignored when discussing diverging racialization practices in the Swiss context. In the previous example, a Swiss person might consider their Swiss-Italian co-national racially Other. The existence of somewhat exclusionary terms in Swiss-German for people from the south of Switzerland but as well as countries farther south (even those referring to other White people) can attest to this.

International students in Switzerland must learn to navigate the specific racial schemas in their local surroundings, generating specific kinds of navigational, embodied knowledge based upon their own situated (non-)belonging. As mobile students in Switzerland often move on after they have completed their studies (Riaño, Lombard, et al., 2018), they must also be aware of how their embodied knowledge will translate into the next country in which they find themselves. This is deeply affective, as globally mobile constructions of race structure and are structured by emotional processes.

Race and affect

Explaining race as a social construction focusing on meanings attached to different body phenotypes does not address the passions it arouses. Tolia-Kelly and Crang note, "racial categorization is felt and enacted through a profoundly emotive register" (Tolia-Kelly & Crang, 2010). The recent "affective turn" calls attention to the role of emotions in shaping all social phenomena, including the structuring of interactions among embodied subjects (Ahmed, 2013; Massumi 2002, Berlant 2005, Blackman 2012, Thrift 2004; Wetherell 2012). While some scholars argue that emotions are discrete and definable sensations (Damasio, 2003; Scherer, 2009), cultural studies scholars see them as a force beyond signification flowing between bodies. Many scholars decenter the embodied nature of affect, describing affect using various metaphors likening it to weather, for example (Wetherell et al., 2015). These approaches have been noted to "fetishize" emotion and affect and underplay the

embodied nature of affective interactions (Wetherell, 2020). When employing the work of feminists of color (Ahmed 2012; Jackson, 2015), the influence of embodiment on the conceptualization of affect and on affect itself must not be understated.

Race and Embodiment

Utilizing frameworks in which the racialized, gendered, sexualized experiences of thinkers play an integral role in developing affective theories means foregrounding the very distinctions that make such thinking innovative. It is useful to think of affect as "embodied meaning-making" dependent upon specific practices that converge to create specific constellations of behaviors, psychological processes, feelings, narratives, and other discursive and material constructs (Wetherell 2012).

Embodiment is the affective link between perception and somatic experience. Various forms of embodiment take place in affective terms, as the body is constructed based on its capacity to affect and be affected (Blackman 2012). Race is an embodied, lived experience (Saldanha, 2006) dependent on culturally specific forms of embodiment (Geurts, 2003) that are shaped by the systematically sanctioned normalcy and supremacy of certain bodies. One important form of embodiment is language, which plays a role in mediating and expressing the body.

Race is also heavily influenced by how the body exists in physical space and the feelings that emerge from that lived experience (Sossa & Bull, 2017). Feelings such as alienation from the racial and cultural landscape or the joy of connection with others in a new setting based on cultural or behavioral similarities are part of a conceptual framework that affects how individuals navigate the world. Crucially, specific language is used to engage in emotional expression. This means that individuals are constantly engaged in meaning-making practices from an embodied standpoint; cultural expressions and their concomitant forms of embodiment can only be interrogated from a specific situated perspective (Wetherell et al., 2015). This chapter understands embodiment in various

linguistic contexts rather than employing the monolithic notions of embodied race, ethnicity, gender, etc., that influence how students are categorized.

International students, Race, and Embodiment

International higher education institutions are situated within regionally specific systems of racialization (Goldberg, 2009) that provide meanings and emotions for interpretation of their specificity and affect the bodies of international students in various ways (Indelicato, 2018). Conceptualizing international students as a form of "cash, competition, or charity" (Stein and Andreotti, 2012) or "victim or villain" (Indelicato, 2018) draws upon particular emotional vocabularies that construct international students as well as their institutions in particular ways. For example, in the Australian context, an institutional "benevolence" towards international students results from a sense of colonial patronization of academic migrants (Indelicato, 2018). In this example, imbalanced relationships between institutions and students undermine students' potential for contesting dominant discourses. This demonstrates the necessity to consider the impact of various culturally inflected forms of emotion on embodiment as well as the potential for embodied individuals to contest oppressive perceptions of their embodiment.

Interest in embodiment in international education is gaining scholarly attention (Blanco & Saunders, 2019). Amy Scott Metcalfe (2017) asserts that the "literature on academic mobility has not yet effectively addressed the question of subjective change within the academic profession as a whole or the academic body at the individual level" (p. 13). Her call for interrogating the politics of academic bodies moving in and across spaces reflects a greater need for scholars of academic mobility to interrogate how embodiments change through time and space. While Metcalfe highlights how bodies that are not particularly thought of as suspect (e.g., White, cisgender, heterosexual, able-bodied, and so forth) can be viewed as potentially not belonging, greater attention is needed to address how marginalized bodies are perceived in diverse contexts, and how their embodied knowledge changes within those contexts (Torres-Olave & Lee, 2019). Moving from national and

institutional contexts that are relatively similar to a member of many majority groups entails a completely different set of challenges and opportunities compared to moving to completely different settings where one must negotiate a newfound minority status. While critical internationalization scholars highlight the reproduction of racialized and gendered oppressions (Estera and Shahjahan, 2018; Gathogo and Horton, 2018), there is little engagement with "on the ground" experiences of the student "Other" that specifically names race as a determining factor in processes of inclusion and exclusion within international higher education, particularly outside of the U.S. or Anglophone contexts. Specifically, it is useful to map out how racial embodiment affects emotional expression within the modern/colonial imaginary that enables and prescribes specific racial meanings (Stein & Andreotti, 2017). Mapping out these emotions by examining what themes emerge from interpersonal discourses will prove useful to see how various racially embodied actors express themselves. For example, when certain actors – especially people racialized as non-White – emote in specifically negative ways (i.e., expressing anger, sadness, rage, etc.), these emotions are often politicized to portray the group as unnecessarily emotional, therefore denying the legitimacy of the emotions and those expressing them (Indelicato, 2018). The emotional force of these expressions reflects the context in which racialized embodiments take place.

Methodology

This study is built upon a collection of multi-disciplinary theories, drawing on theories of race and ethnicity, affect, and embodiment. It thus makes sense to rely on a bricolage of analytical methods to explore the rich data set (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). This chapter accounts for the relationship between discourse, or (un)spoken narratives, and affect, or the emotive flows that construct these narratives. The analytical bricolage incorporates data from field notes, informal conversations, and the interviewer's lived experience in addition to the transcribed semi-structured interviews. The bricolage positions the interview as a situated affective encounter, in which the "relationship between

interviewer and interlocutor […] is dynamic and always shaped by different relational intensities" Kahl et al., 2019). The study employs the bricolage of approaches to analysis and addresses the intertwined nature of affect, embodiment, and race through narrative.

Interview participants were asked to narrate their experiences, telling vivid stories that illuminated key themes crucial in constructing racial affective practices. Interviews were particularly suited for the study, as interviews allowed the participants to engage in affective linguistic practices, representing their experiences to construct narratives through affect. The study is also informed by a race-critical research praxis that considers the researcher's positionality as a Queer, Latinx/Black cisgender male (Brown, 2016). The researcher also incorporated his experience studying abroad in five countries in which his own racialized and gendered position relationally varied from the majority population.

Scholarship about internationalization has called for more research to focus outside of the taken-for-granted hubs of the U.K. and the U.S. Such research could provide nuanced insight into transregional contexts that potentially illuminate broader trends in international higher education that would decenter the dominant Westernized conceptualization of internationalization and provide further insight into the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion (McAllister-Grande & Whatley, 2020; Bilecen & Van Mol, 2017). It is important to locate research in underrepresented geographical areas in the literature because they tell us something about the complete picture of international higher education. Despite the problematic nature of using university ranking systems to signify global importance (Shahjahan et al., 2020), Swiss universities have nevertheless been consistently ranked among the top universities in these rankings. These rankings signal Switzerland's desirability as a host country on the global stage and demonstrate that it continues to be a hub of international academic mobility (Q.S. World University Rankings, 2020).

Furthermore, it is the only non-English speaking country with two universities that are regularly ranked among the top ten best universities (Times Higher Education, 2019). However, there is a dearth of research about internationalization specifically focused on

Switzerland. The existing research tends to focus on mobile flows of students rather than the experiential domain (Riaño et al., 2018). This study addresses how students narrate their experiences and offers insight into broader structural issues.

The author conducted twenty-six semi-structured interviews in English, German, and Italian. Twenty-one of the interviews were with students at the Bachelor's, Master's, and Ph.D. levels, and five were international office administrators. Students and administrators (and not, for example, faculty or other staff) were selected as interview participants because of their proximity to internationalization experiences. Fourteen students were international, and seven were domestic. Four of the administrators were domestic, and one was international. Four students were non-White (two of Asian descent, one Black, and one of Middle Eastern descent). The remaining students were all White. The discussion section features quotes attributed to pseudonyms selected by the research participants. All interview participants were found via purposive and snowball sampling. The demographic breakdown can be found in Figure 1.

Narrative analysis is concerned with the teller as well as the tale (Toolan, 2012). The analysis attended to the lexical (word choice), syntactic (word order), and prosodic (tone) levels to explore emotional expressions (Kleres, 2011). Uniting a literary studies approach with a methodology of emotion provided a systematic approach to the texts, allowing analyses of individual participants' word choice, word order, and tone to identify linguistic codes related to emotional embodiment within the data. These levels of emotional expression also accounted for what participants avoided saying by addressing meta-linguistic features of the interviews, supporting alternative interpretations of individual narratives (Toolan, 2012). Additionally, given the chapter 's focus on embodiment, the analysis took body language into account, acknowledging the cultural specificities of how bodies are used in conjunction with words to create meaning (Müller et al., 2013).

Figure 1. Demographic Information for Interview Participants

Name*	Gender	Age	Status	Race
Andrea	Female	Early 40s	Admin	White
Andreas	Male	Early 20s	BA student	White
Andy	Male	Late 20s	MA student	White
Blue	Female	Mid 20s	MA student	White
David	Male	Early 20s	Ba student	White
David	Male	Late 20s	PhD student	White
Elena	Female	Early 30s	PhD student	White
Esme	Female	Late 30s	Admin	White
Giacomo	Male	Mid 20s	MA student	White
Giovanni	Male	Mid 20s	MA student	White
Hakeema	Female	Late 30s	Admin	White
Indiana	Female	Early 20s	MA student	Black
Jo	Female	Early 20s	MA student	White
Laura	Female	Early 40s	Admin	White
Laura	Female	Late 30s	Admin	White
Leia	Female	Mid 20s	MA student	Asian
Ludovico	Male	Early 20s	BA student	White
Luna	Female	Early 20s	BA student	White
Maria	Female	Early 20s	MA student	White
Meagan	Female	Early 20s	MA student	White
Mercedes	Female	Mid 30s	MA student	White
Para	Female	Early 20s	BA student	White
Paula	Female	Mid 20s	MA student	Middle-eastern
Sara	Female	Mid 20s	PhD student	White
Stefan	Male	Early 20s	BA student	White
Vasco	Male	Mid 20s	MA student	Asian

*Note. All names are pseudonyms selected by interview participants

After constructing categories based on codes identified in the analysis, three main themes emerged that represent the complexities of affective negotiation processes for students and administrators at Swiss universities: the unspeakability of race, English as inclusion/exclusion, and affective regional isolation.

Findings

Racial unspeakability

A common theme throughout the data among respondents is an issue about what constitutes diversity and internationality. Appearance seemed to be the first measure of who is an international student and who is not. A repeating refrain was that "you can't tell" simply by looking. Respondents repeatedly indicated that the number of international students at their university is high, while common-sense notions of international students, as well as the official rhetoric at many universities, equate international students with racial and ethnic diversity. However, the international students that participants seemed to know or contact tended to be from White-majority countries.

In [my course], they asked us the question "with which passport do you travel, if not Swiss?" and half of the class raised their hand. After, I heard one is Irish, one is American, one is English, one is Italian, another is Argentinian and there I realized, one is also Finnish, 'Ah, there's a lot.'"

– Giacomo

When the respondent discovered that despite the homogeneity of physical appearance in his class, there were students of diverse nationalities, he expressed surprise that likely would not have been the case had all students been visually different. Thus, his surprise at the number of international students present in his class stems from the understanding of international students as non-White.

When pressed about whether White students are representative of the international program, one program coordinator summarized the issue succinctly

"Ah, it's sort of a problem (laughs) I don't know. Well, the question then is who exactly represents a Swiss university, and I mean I know [my university] has twelve percent international students, so you're going to see a diversity, which is a great thing.

– Esme

This quote contains nervous laughter and features the speaker shifting their body somewhat uncomfortably and explaining that diversity is a "great thing" while avoiding the issue of race in relation to diversity. Underlying anxiety around discussing issues of racial diversity was also quite common throughout the interviews. Over half of the respondents (15 out of 27) reported feelings of anxiety regarding diversity, and a similar proportion exhibited anxious behavior during the interview when asked more specific questions about phenotypical differences between students. For example, when asked about their definition of "international," they responded in various ways:

"(nervous laughter)… it's like an exam!"

–Hakeema

"(with hand in front of face) Yes, it's a little [uncomfortable]. I don't know…

– Ludovico

"(long pause)…I would have to think about it."

– Giovanni

These responses indicate something beyond a simple rejection of the question but rather an incapacity to address their feelings around this topic. One is both prevented from speaking about race by social norms and lacks the ability to speak about it.

The phrase "you can't tell" emerged frequently and indicated both an inability to tell someone's race, ethnicity, or nationality and the sense of being restricted from discussing race. Several participants even indicated that being able to tell might be akin to racism. As one participant put it, "I don't want to stray into bias […] It would probably be quite racist" (Stefan). This aversion was repeated even at the administrative level, where one program coordinator admitted she didn't "want to say something rude." (Hakeema) when further asked about how one distinguishes between international and non-international students. A key difference here in understanding national and racial markers for international

administrators is that they often know exactly where students come from. So, in this case, "you can't tell" doesn't mean an inability to tell (as administrators have access to detailed student information) but the feeling that acknowledging race is restricted. This phenomenon is an example of race being an affectively structured topic (Tolia-Kelly & Crang, 2010) as the emotional component of anxiety was a strongly inhibitive factor in discussing race. Emotional anxiety was also present in the interviews as the presence of the interviewer whose non-White body is assigned a differing racial meaning than a White interviewer's would, potentially influencing the way respondents discuss race. In a more general sense, the interplay between affect and embodiment results in an unwillingness to discuss race in Switzerland and elsewhere; these specific affective interactions shape the conceptualization of race. White students and administrators are aware of racial dynamics yet feel affectively inhibited from discussing them.

As one White student who grew up in Switzerland, but was nevertheless not Swiss-born, said,

"When I grew up, it was 20% foreign-born people, and now it's possibly even higher. I personally am very proud of the fact that I am, and a lot of my friends are people who are…not racially from Switzerland but are still part of the community."

– Stefan

This interview respondent tensed his body and paused before saying "not racially" from Switzerland, indicating a level of discomfort with the terminology. Furthermore, this quote firstly conflates being "racially from Switzerland" and having a Swiss passport. Furthermore, it quite succinctly summarizes people who do not racially belong but are nevertheless "part of the community," indicating some resistance to the idea of non-White Swiss people (Cretton, 2018; Michel, 2015).

The resistance to discussing race is confirmed in another quote from an interview participant who said:

"And on the other side, my colleague whose father is African, and she grew up in Switzerland and is fully Swiss, I mean…she can't speak African and all that…where you at first glance would think, she's not Swiss. But she totally is. That's why I find it relatively difficult to say…is he, well, is someone really Swiss?"

– Luna

While the message's point is to underscore the existence of non-White Swiss people, the binary remains starkly drawn through a lack of understanding of cultural hybridity (e.g., she doesn't speak "African") and the acknowledgment that upon first glance, one would think she is not Swiss. One can see an acknowledgment of racial exclusion of non-White people in Switzerland, but at the same time a difficulty in discussing it.

The difficulty of pinpointing exactly how these racial meaning-making structures are expressed was not lost on the participants. This manifestation of racial unspeakability took on specific cultural forms.

"I do not know, I feel like it is just a part of you. Like I said when you were asking, how do you identify international students? You cannot. I mean, I guess you can look at somebody and be like, "Oh, they are Filipino." But I just feel like it is a way of identifying yourself. I do not really know how to express that in words."

– Leia

Leia's understanding of racial sense-making aligns with many common-sense notions of identification. However, she refers to a deeper level of understanding identification, one that exists, for her and many others, beyond words. This incapacity to name the deeply felt dynamics of racial identification points out how affect functions to shape racialized embodiment: subjects within this discourse often feel that they can't explain how race works but feel it on an embodied level (Saldanha, 2006).

One student described encounters with international students as follows: "My impression is the ones you mean maybe you can tell by the skin color aren't exchange

students, but rather do their whole Master here, at least it's like this in my course. There are a few from the far East, yes, India, yeah they're from…I don't know exactly. But from far away. So, with the other European students, I wouldn't be able to tell if they're from Germany or from Italy, I think."

– Maria

This student distinguishes between short-term and long-term international students, yet marks them as from "far away," excluding the possibility of being a domestic student whose parents were not born in Switzerland, as well as students of European origin being from farther away than a student of color. As the quote above indicates, excluding the racially marked other is predicated on including those shielded from assumptions of Otherness by Whiteness.

In Switzerland, Whiteness serves to unite racially those of solely European ancestry and presumes to ignore the large ethnolinguistic differences. In the Swiss context, this manifests as an overarching, specifically Swiss, form of Whiteness that ignores cultural and linguistic distinctions between three distinct regions of Switzerland. Furthermore, this Whiteness works to include White international students and practically disrupts the common-sense notion of international students as predominantly people of color. White international students noted a superficial sense of inclusion, predicated on their physical appearance

"I don't know. Maybe if I don't say a word, not because I guess I could be Swiss if you look at me... […] Well, because I'm White, I guess. I mean, I'm not blonde, but I don't know."

– Mercedes

Gender diversity over racial diversity

Gender often served as a proxy for diversity. Interview respondents presented a greater facility and vocabulary in discussing gender issues and gender discrimination than other issues, such as race. For example,

"It's more woman, man discrimination […] I have the feeling that that's the bigger problem instead of nationality."

– Luna

Several respondents noted that, while other dynamics of difference did not emerge in their university lives, gender did. Other dynamics of difference did not feature heavily in the data; for example, only one interviewee mentioned ability status. One student noted in her courses,

"We discussed equality of men and women, but not religion, or origin or anything like that, if I remember correctly. Yes, it means for me actually the self-evident equal treatment regardless of where one comes from or what one thinks."

– Maria

Gender, in contrast to race, is a speakable concept that was readily intelligible to the interview respondents.

Students offered anecdotes of their own experiences with discrimination, largely focusing on gender and rarely intersecting with race, ethnicity, or nationality. A male student provided one vivid anecdote about the insensitive comments and behavior of a male non-Swiss lecturer.

"There was a lecturer who made some strange comments. It was rather sexist, I would say. He brought a few students to the front and wanted to show how a study is conducted, then he, yeah, he touched the woman. I found that pretty crass."

– Andreas

Here, gender nevertheless supersedes issues of national origin as the determining factor in the incident, supporting the argument that gender dynamics at play are more easily legible to these students. In another instance, jokes about Italian migrants emerged as a potential comparison to gender-based jokes:

Interviewer: A person that makes these jokes, for example, would they make jokes against women?

Respondent: Uh, maybe a little (laughs)

Interviewer: Do you see a difference there, or is it all the same?

Respondent: No, according to me, jokes about women are a little bit more serious. Jokes against Italians are a thing, after all, that in certain cases make people laugh and of which sometimes even Italians laugh. Sometimes it's not against a person; it's only a stereotype. No, about women, frankly it seems you shouldn't make them.

– Giacomo

In the case of discrimination against (presumably White) Italian commuters to the Italian-speaking region of Switzerland, Giacomo noted that it was an acceptable stereotype, indicating a willingness to differentiate based on national origin yet a clear opposition to gender-based discrimination. This interaction is emblematic of the general approach throughout the interviews to microaggressions based on origin compared to gender microaggressions: the former are more frequently occurring and acceptable, the latter less so. This reflects a lack of engagement with racial diversity and the ready substitution of gender for race in diversity discourse at the university in the Swiss context.

English as inclusion/exclusion

English as a marker of internationality was also a common response. One student said:

"While I am walking around on campus, either I know they are international just because I know them or I can hear them speaking English to one another."

– Andy

The language issue is always couched in nationality. As one student put it:

"I don't know. It's hard to tell who's an international student from the main. I just assume everyone who's speaking French is from here, but then maybe everyone just already knows how to speak French."

– Jo

Here, one notes the limits of thinking around what constitutes internationality: while in cases like the U.K. and the U.S., unaccented English can be understood as a reasonable indication of national belonging, French (in this case) is only somewhat likely to be an indicator of national belonging. Someone speaking French in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, particularly in the metropolitan areas, could very likely be French rather than French-Swiss. This is also the case in the Italian- speaking region, where almost 70,000 Italian-speakers of non-Swiss origin cross the border per day.

Another issue that emerged was when asked how to differentiate between domestic and international students, the most common answer was "by the language." A seemingly easy answer, however, obscures the practice of visually identifying students as non-White and potentially othering them. The apparently non-problematic process of othering through language, in a small number of cases, preceded acknowledgment of this nuance. For example, when asked about identifying international students, one respondent said

"Often by the language […] actually not really, no. Well, you can't say exactly, well theoretically everyone could be Swiss, they could all have a Swiss passport, you can't really assume that from the skin color or clothing."

- Meagan

Another student asserted,

"They can be identified. Often there's some accent or because of external characteristics. Well, people with the veil or somehow foreign people, yeah, there's a certain immigration background there. Well, of course I can't say if they have been here for 15 years or if they're second generation, you can't tell based on that."

- David

English goes in tandem with a "foreign appearance" as any European person of non-White origin can attest; people of color throughout Europe tend to be approached in English, even if they are native speakers of the national language (Yue, 2000).

Affective regional isolation

The regional differences noted in participants between the French-, Italian-, and German-speaking regions were a common theme. Students described the regions as being distinctly isolated from one another. For example:

So, I studied in [Swiss-German region] at one point for a semester, and that was the complete opposite. Everyone was Swiss, everyone just kind of hung out with each other. And so, within half a year, I met no one. I just pretty much went from my apartment to school, and then I interacted with them. So, it is very, very different from what I experienced here.

–Andreas

The differences between regions noted by this participant were also felt by those with other mobility experiences within Switzerland, namely between the German- and French-speaking regions. However, there was a difference among perceptions of these differences. One participant responded:

"Basically, I wouldn't say that [the German and French regions] are different. Not really, it's my experience. That's, well yeah, I think the mentality isn't that different, neither the students nor the teachers."

–Andreas

This participant, who is from the German part and had studied for years in both the French and German parts, asserted that he hadn't seen a 'noticeable' difference between these two regions other than language.

While there are differences between all three main regions of Switzerland, the main difference was noted between the Italian-speaking region and the rest. The exclusion of Swiss-Italians is characterized by an exoticized notion of Swiss-Italians belonging to Italy rather than Switzerland. One Swiss-Italian participant studying outside of his home region said:

"For [Swiss-French and Swiss-German people] Ticino seems international because we these exotic creatures who come from the south. It's really difficult."

–Giacomo

The interview proved to be predominantly governed by emotions as the concept of emotional fatigue at being outside of his home region emerged multiple times as he recounted stories of his "Swiss-Italianness" being at odds with his surroundings. Having studied in both the German and Italian speaking parts, this student described the emotions resulting from exclusionary rhetoric that cast him as outside of the dominant Swiss majority.

In the Swiss-Italian region, the Italian border-crossers were often put into the same category by all Swiss people, including Swiss-Italians. As one administrator from the Swiss-Italian region put it, while discussing an errant Italian international student:

"It's not a question of internationality, he was Italian. It's not like he came from who knows which country, and you say it was an intercultural clash."

– Laura

This anecdote feeds into larger narratives of the Swiss nation, constructing the Swiss-Italian region as simultaneously inside and outside. The affective register of this "clash" underscores how emotions on an interpersonal level construct a national Self in juxtaposition with an international Other; in this case, the Swiss Self recognized their own Italianness in the Other.

Discussion

Consistent with previous research, this study highlights racism as a multifaceted challenge, conceptually and practically (Fries-Britt et al., 2014; Lee et al., 2016). As shown in the interviews with both students and administrators, being unable to discuss diversity issues shaped affective and embodied responses in interactions amongst and between these groups. The ambiguity of identifying international students as such reflects an anxiety towards racialized Others in international academic settings, particularly on the part of the administrators. The most notable finding related to the anxiety was that administrators are aware of race-based distinctions yet were bound by their own positionality and embodiment to narrate encounters with international students, due to the unspeakability of race, in ways that reified common-sense notions of distinct national stereotypes.

Participants demonstrated a greater facility with speaking about gender-based dynamics. As scholars have noted, gender discrimination will often be highlighted in discussions of diversity at the expense of racial discrimination (Accapadi, 2007). This substitution also occurs in the Swiss context, where notions of race are obscured through the lens of nationality if mentioned at all (Ruigrok et al., 2007). Interview participants consistently identified gender as a dynamic of diversity and explicitly described the effects of gender-based discrimination. The interviews often featured subtle confirmation of race- and nationality-based discrimination, yet these instances were always informed by general anxiety around discussion of diversity issues. For the predominantly White participants, gender clearly played a role in their lives, while race was something they were not as adept at discussing.

The finding regarding English as a marker of internationality contributes a novel perspective on the role of English in the context of internationalization because, as much of the research suggests, English is often privileged over national languages in non-English-speaking countries (Baker, 2016). However, given that much of the research on internationalization is done in English and in English-speaking contexts, this study presents

an example of how, in certain contexts such as Switzerland, English can work to other international students. Students who study internationally, while typically more privileged than their counterparts who stay at home are rarely seen as linguistically privileged Others in the literature. However, this research uncovers a link between the use of English and (inter)nationality.

Additionally, English creates an affective link between Swiss universities and representations of internationality through the use of English on websites, as well as course offerings in English. Representations on websites center both English and notions of whose body is present at the university, who is perceived as capable and welcome. Additionally, English as the medium of instruction privileges those with stronger English skills. Furthermore, at the interpersonal level, English emerges as a means to communicate a specifically international embodiment. For example, all interview participants found it easier to relate to the English-native interviewer on a linguistic level, at least with certain phrases.

In the framework of the interview as a situated affective encounter, the embodiment of both interviewer and interviewee must be taken into account. The use of English in non-English conversation has significance; it often occurred to explain thoughts or feelings that didn't occur to the speaker in their native tongue. Also, the presence of a native English speaker, embodied within the affective encounter of the interview, played a role in how the encounter took place. Speaking English could be seen in this context as a means to form that emotive link through language. Often, the interviewer interpreted this attempt to speak in English as trying to convey a particular sentiment or construct a particular narrative. That narrative positioned both participants in the interview as international, cosmopolitan, and English-speaking in the moment.

Finally, the context in which the research took place affectively structured these interviews due to Switzerland's linguistic diversity. As regional differences emerged, one can see a breakdown in the logics of the nation-state that govern most studies of international student mobility. Indeed, the concept of internationality centers on crossing

national borders. However, respondents in the study discussed technically international students as "not international" as well as technically domestic students as foreign. These divisions call into question the logics undergirding internationalization taken for granted in larger countries believed to be monolingual. For example, countries that share a national border in which groups on both sides of said border share similarities (e.g., racial, ethnic, linguistic, etc.) might benefit from a new way of conceptualizing academic mobility. Countries with autochthonous, starkly contrasted ethnolinguistic groups, such as Canada, Spain, Belgium, Sweden, South Africa, India, and other international academic migration hubs, fall into this category.

Conclusion

Racial diversity in international academic mobility is a confluence of multiple enabling factors. The purpose of this article was to address how students and administrators discuss cultural and social diversity and what impact this has on the affective embodiment of internationality in international and domestic students. Emotional and linguistic processes are an integral part of the affective and racial embodiment of international students. While racial discrimination cannot be simplified solely to affective exclusion practices, the article identifies how students shape and are shaped by intercultural interactions. The study highlights the difficulties of pinpointing race issues and the emotional investment students and administrators have in a system that renders discussions of race-related topics unspeakable. Research suggests that identifying discriminatory practices is a first, important step towards equity, but that the bases on which students are divided into categories are more complex than thought by current conceptualizations of internationalization. Specifically, focusing on the affective dimension of race/racism in internationalization addresses crucial elements that existing analyses of racism in internationalization fail to engage. Empirically identifying affective dimensions, while not always a straightforward process, seeks to capture something beyond what is accounted for in descriptive analyses of policy texts or what interview participants say outright about race. The study offers a deeper

analysis of underlying affective racial mechanisms to better understand the international higher education context.

It is important to center issues of race and nationality in internationalization as these issues have long been ignored in favor of neoliberal, Eurocentric approaches to equality. Additionally, administrators and domestic students should become cognizant of their own biases. This step would help acknowledge their limitations in interactions with international students, who arrive in a new context with their own situated affective interactive skills. Similarly, international students should become aware of the situatedness of these skills. Particularly for administrators that work with international students, becoming aware of the unnuanced way international students are categorized and how these categorizations influence international students is paramount in avoiding or interrupting exclusionary practices. However, it is worth noting that intellectual awareness of racial bias is necessary but often insufficient, as it does not necessarily mean a shift in the affective environment nor embodied realities of international higher education. The topics raised by this chapter form the basis for an important first step in transforming conscious thinking, which will further require scholars and practitioners to address how we can disrupt and ultimately change learned embodied/affective responses that enable systemic inequalities, particularly when these are rooted in logics that govern apparently well-meaning universities. Further studies should explore other contexts in which English is not a national language, as well as contexts with differing racial, ethnic, gender, and national demographics. The empirical nature of this study lends itself to comparative studies, in which a larger sample across students of differing positionalities would prove beneficial to exploring theories of race and affect in the international higher education context.

Despite a historical tendency to ignore race, international higher education must confront the unspeakability of race. This confrontation should be addressed within specific regional and linguistic contexts, resisting the tendency to apply a one-size-fits-all approach to discussing race. This study's findings contribute to shifting the focus in research on

internationalization to consider the unspoken, intangible, yet ever-present issues of race and affect.

Chapter 4: Emotional difficulties: an Affective Exploration of Swiss International Higher Education

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Abstract

This chapter answers how students' and administrators' emotional difficulties with racial representation are enabled through the affective-discursive environment in Swiss international higher education. Presenting images commonly found on international study office websites, the author used semi-structured interviews with photo-elicitation techniques (Harper, 2002; Shaw, 2013) to draw out participants' emotional responses to representation for analysis.

The analysis identifies three themes wry amusement, aggressive indifference, and uncritical acceptance. Respondents showed familiarity with international office promotional material; responses included eye-rolling, chuckling, and sighing. The contempt bred by this familiarity developed into bemusement with these commonplace representations, demonstrating a failure to engage with student and administrator participants' emotional lives. Additionally, statements such as "I don't care" or "It doesn't bother me" spoken quickly and dismissively demonstrated an aggressive form of indifference to discussing race issues, similar to discomfort in discussion of race in many educational contexts (Leonardo, 2005). These emotional trends shape the affective-discursive landscape of higher education and are an integral part of how students and administrators navigate the complexities of representation of student embodiment. The findings of this chapter highlight the link between the visual body, discourse, and emotions. The findings acknowledge the affective-discursive nature of race in international settings, an important first step in emotionally reckoning with the difficulties of diversity efforts in Switzerland and abroad

Key words: Affect, embodiment, race, emotional difficulties

Introduction

International higher education is a dynamic context with challenges characterized by interactions between people of different national, racial, and ethnic backgrounds. However, intricate relations constructed by racial differences cannot be understood fully only by discursive analyses of embodied difference. This article contributes to the growing body of work that posits affect, race, and meaning are profoundly interconnected; the consumption of mediatized representations of diversity not only serve an advertising function but also elicit emotional responses to concepts of diversity and inclusion on campus. These responses demonstrate the underlying affective nature of racial diversity in representation and interpersonal interactions. To engage with racial difference and the attendant power dynamics, the chapter explores emotional investments in readings of race in diversity representations.

While mainstream higher education research has been concerned with equality for decades (Marginson, 2015), only recently have education scholars begun to focus on the challenges of inequality with specific mentions of identity differences (Hernandez, 2021). Scholars explore the intellectual, logistic, and financial challenges (Adegbola et al., 2018; Jones, 2017; Kudo, 2015). As universities compete for students under increasing marketization pressure, they must present themselves as diverse, international, and offering 'the best experience' (Askehave, 2007). These promotional materials provide important insights into what university promotional offices consider inclusive and attractive. How students read these representations and their affective-discursive reactions tell us about power relations that permeate stances towards diversity.

This study builds on Glapka's (2019) synthetic approach by incorporating Dunne et al.'s approach in analyzing teachers' "emotive language" in response to images taken in the education setting. It further analyzes students' stances toward university promotion in majority-white European university settings. The concept of stance, or "the act of evaluation owned by a social actor," (Du Bois, 2007, p. 173) lays bare the tensions between contested

meanings of tacit societal values. Often, emotional responses to everyday surroundings go uncommented. By introducing the concept of stance and describing objects of stance as emotional difficulties, this study uncovers affective-discursive acts that communicate inclusion and exclusion.

Affective semiosis

Affect is "embodied meaning-making" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 3) conceptualized as "influence, intensity, and impact" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 4). This deviates from earlier considerations of affect as a mostly psychological phenomenon and draws attention to the body as a site of semiosis. Within Wetherell's affective-discursive framework, influence, intensity, and impact in the form of governing structural force must be negotiated through the body as well as the mind. In short, embodied affect is a felt intensity interwoven with meaning (Wetherell, 2019).

Highlighting the embodied experience of affect circumvents positivist tendencies of exploring the world through empirical study by addressing how emotions shape material and discursive experiences (Boler, 1999). Affect theory has the potential to defy the norms of existing academic discourses to bring emotions more clearly into focus, particularly in situations where discursive knowledge is insufficient to reconcile difficult cultural problems (Zembylas, 2014). Affective approaches to race acknowledge the tensions that mere knowledge can never fully assuage and could potentially provide alternative approaches to engaging with the complexities of inclusion and exclusion (Stein & Andreotti, 2018a).

The anxieties produced by the presence of racialized others, whether physical or represented in media, have been shown to govern national and institutional contexts as well as interpersonal relations (Ahmed, 2013; Tolia-Kelly, 2019). An approach that centers on emotional difficulties with power dynamics can account more fully for the role of emotion in responses to specific forms of racial representation (Zembylas, 2018). Analyses of mediatized discourses have centered on the political implications of emotions (Westberg,

2021b). However, approaches to interpersonal affective interactions that highlight notions of race and representation bridge larger and smaller scale discourses (Glapka, 2019).

Visual race

Public discourses in Europe tend to silence discussions of race (Cervulle, 2014; El-Tayeb, 2011; Essed, 1992). Here, race tends to be seen and not heard; research on visual racial differences focuses on discourses that 'teach' race based on sight by emphasizing the aspect of meaning-making through visual stimuli (Nayak, 2017; Yue, 2000). Discourses imbue race with meanings associated with specific phenotypes and how they are shaped by, for example, colonial history and evolving migration patterns that bring representations and the physical presence of racially different people (Clark, 2020; Frisina & Hawthorne, 2018). For Switzerland, the absence of explicit discussions about race help to shape racist discourses that take on regional, linguistic specificities (Boulila, 2019). The unique phenomenon of racial discussions among students in the predominant 'global hub' of education in Swiss institutions illuminates how race is represented in universities and attendant difficulties with inclusion.

Inclusion, not diversity

Inclusion in higher education constitutes "organizational strategies and practices that promote meaningful social and academic interactions among persons and groups who differ in their experiences, their views, and the traits" (Tienda, 2013). Inclusion differs from diversity efforts in universities, which focus on bringing in 'diverse' bodies to a potentially hostile, homogeneous environment (Ahmed, 2012; Tate, 2014). While education studies has been primarily concerned with moving from an integration paradigm to inclusion, this concern centers on specific demographics, such as disabled students (Woodcock & Hardy, 2017). This study distinguishes between concepts of diversity as an institutional benefit and inclusion as a normative premise in higher educations institutions (Cyr, 2018; Halualani, 2010). It further contributes to a growing body of literature by using the concept of

emotional difficulties to emphasize the affective and discursive nature of inclusion and concomitant forms of racialized exclusion (Chávez, 2018; Drzewiecka & Steyn, 2012).

Emotional difficulties in higher education

Experiencing emotional difficulties means seeing "things that may be very difficult to confront," forcing individuals to overcome specific emotional responses to external stimuli (Nussbaum, 1996). Emotional difficulties are responses to external stimuli manifested in particular stances towards diversity, as diversity is often associated with difficult situations of discomfort (Andreotti et al., 2018). In education studies, images that evoke emotional difficulties have been used to acknowledge differing interpretations of 'inclusion'" and provide a starting point for reflective engagement with diverse viewpoints and people (Dunne et al., 2018).

Internationalization studies point to emotional difficulties as an overarching force in the experiences of international students in their new setting (Tian & Lowe, 2013). Yet little attention is paid to the affective environment of international students or the emotional impact representation of that environment has on international and domestic students. In international higher education, the profound ambivalence of emotional challenges facilitates and complicates students' lives in ways not addressed by current foci on representation in university (Morley et al., 2019; M. Willis & Cromby, 2020). Identifying emotional difficulties with racial representation is a starting point for thinking of new ways of rupturing hegemonic power relations in academia based on embodied differences (Zembylas, 2012).

Racial representation in international higher education

Discussions of affect and race in education contexts typically center the inclusion and exclusion of racialized others (Ahmed, 2012). Emerging discussions on the materiality of the body acknowledge that affect as embodied meaning-making is an under-researched part of understanding internationalization (Brooks & Waters, 2017). Education scholars have also discussed how emotional investments are experienced in difficult contexts often

characterized by racial and/or ethnic tensions (Yao & Viggiano, 2019; Zembylas, 2014). Race in affect literature on education is mutually constitutive with "particular emotional practices and discourses that include some students and exclude others" (Zembylas, 2015, p. 183). This affective power demonstrates the need to explore how racialized power dynamics work in various settings more deeply. Focusing on stances toward promotional materials can give us insight into the affective landscape created by representations of diversity.

Methods

This study employed photo-elicitation techniques to facilitate semi-structured interviews and elicit affective stances towards racial representation (Harper, 2002). Nine photos representing visually diverse subjects participating in university life were selected from a larger dataset of images from the twelve Swiss universities' international office websites. The interviews lasted from 45 to 90 minutes. The interviewer conducted, recorded, and transcribed the interviews in German, Italian, or English. Participants were asked about their reactions to the images. The interview questions did not explicitly invite participants to discuss race to avoid prompting, but race emerged spontaneously (Griffin, 2007).

This analysis focuses on transcripts from twenty-seven interviews with six bachelor's students, fourteen master's students, and seven doctoral students; nineteen were female, and twelve were male. The participants were thirteen domestic students and fourteen international students. Two participants were Asian, one was Black, one was Middle-Eastern, two were White Latinas, and the remaining twenty-one were White. Participants were recruited via advertisements in various social media groups and direct emailing as well as snowball sampling through the interviewer's networks.

The author, a Queer, Black, Latinx, US-born man, conducted the interviews. The interviewer's status as a non-White, non-Swiss person impacted the interviews as the use of English and references to the United States were quite common, even in interviews not

conducted in English (Brown, 2016). Additionally, some participants who guessed that the interviewer could also speak Spanish used Spanish terminology.

The analysis used a synthetic affective-discursive approach developed by Glapka (2019) based on the larger affective-discursive framework (Wetherell, 2012) and combined with emotional manifestations and thematization (Fiehler, 2002) and stance theory (Du Bois, 2007). Further, Dunne et al.'s approach to emotional analysis was added to expand the notion of stances toward inclusion. Dunne et al. analyzed "emotive language" evoked by photographs taken by students and shown to teachers to understand the children's standpoint and emotional experiences, which resonates with Fiehler's concept of "emotional manifestations" (Dunne et al., 2018). These emotional responses showed how individuals position themselves regarding inclusion, invoking socio-cultural values (Du Bois, 2007).

The analysis proceeded through the following steps: transcripts were analyzed for manifestations of emotions in several categories, including vocal, non-vocal, verbal, and nonverbal expressions (Fiehler, 2002). Additional notes on paralinguistic cues were collected via field notes to enrich the data. Finally, the study identifies forms of emotional difficulty by marking evaluation, positioning, and alignment of stancetaking. Stances are characterized by affective-discursive relationships amongst subjects, between subjects and objects, and within specific socio-cultural environments. Three types of affective stances were identified within the data: uncritical acceptance, aggressive indifferences, and wry amusement. These stances indicated the respondents' emotional difficulties with questions of representation and highlighted tensions between diversity representation and inclusive environments.

Stances

Uncritical acceptance

Uncritical acceptance is an affective-discursive gesture toward accepting diversity without reflecting on its complex meanings. This affective stance often manifested through avoidance of specific linguistic markers of diversity, i.e., specific mentions of race,

ethnicity, and other forms of difference and the power imbalances and inequalities these differences might entail (George Mwangi et al., 2018). Respondents evaluated diversity as a benefit for the social context of the university (Maher & Tetreault, 2013). However, these responses did not show concrete understandings of diversity. For example, when asked if the images were representative of the diversity on campus, one White, male, international student demonstrated his uncertainty.

> Kirby: yeah, I think so. Yeah? I would say. I think the, the population here is quite large and rather diverse
>
> Interviewer: You sounded a little hesitant. And you said, yeah? tone goes up? What does that, what is what's going on there?
>
> Kirby: Yeah like, maybe the population isn't quite quite as diverse, but you know, these are all sort of images that the environment would be similar here. You know, like I'm not seeing like a recreational soccer team or something that I would say was missing from. From the environment here. Um, you know, these are all groups of three walking or, you know, slightly larger groups potentially studying together. I think that is something that I see quite regularly in the, in the day to day I've been to on campus.

This admission that the population isn't "quite as diverse" and his tone of voice showed his disbelief in the statement that the university is diverse and thus a negative evaluation of the promotional material. Nevertheless, he took a stance of unreflectively accepting the idea of diversity as he pointedly avoided saying more about it shifting instead to discussions of space, with vocal fillers and stuttering indicating hesitation. The linguistic and non-linguistic emotional manifestations demonstrated a lack of consideration of what diversity means and discomfort with his profession of inclusion. His affective-discursive acts demonstrated an embodied conflict between the desire to profess inclusivity and the material reality of a lack of diversity on campus, made visible through this stance of uncritical acceptance.

Another kind of uncritical acceptance emerged in the interviews that showed a complete removal of dynamics of difference from an embodied frame of reference. One

White, male, Swiss student studying outside of his home region struggled to define diversity but seemed to have strong opinions.

> Giacomo: For me diversity […] For me, it has nothing to do with ethnicities, with skin color. For me diversity is / In the sense, when I thought for myself what diversity was or how to conceptualize it with my companions, I would have told him even just / I don't know, I really like architecture, for me like diversity is seeing the wall in sight like this and then a whole beautiful piece in glass. Something that contrasts, but not related to people. Actually, diversity / It's true that before I asked the question to others I had to think for myself what it was. For me, especially, diversity is in well supported opinions, ones that aren't too extreme. However, I don't know how I would define diversity to you. We were born in this era where everything is so globalized that I have not / I have always had so many friends, acquaintances, contacts all over the world, that I have never really asked any questions. Even many girls. In fact, I've never had one who spoke Italian. They were all Slovenians, Estonia and South America, always a meat market at home, and I never actually felt swiss either.

On the one hand, Giacomo defined diversity as "nothing to do with ethnicities, with skin color" and "in well-supported opinions, ones that aren't too extreme." On the other, he went on to say that he could not define diversity. This is related to the previous example by a similar reluctance to name specific, critical characteristics. His statement that diversity is "something that contrasts, but not related to people" distances him from acknowledging race as an embodied characteristic, thus implying a purportedly accepting stance lacking criticality. While he acknowledges the "meat market" of women of different origins in his past, their flesh is distinctly female and not racialized. The problematic nature of his response to diverse visuals gestures towards an underpinning emotional difficulty; he professes acceptance of one-dimensional diversity (in this case, gender diversity) yet is averse to mentions of race. His statements also give a distinct evaluative character to his emotional difficulty with diversity representation; his stance comprises assigning diversity a specific disembodied quality and invoking the misogynistic socio-cultural values that categorize women as gendered bodies. This contrast between gender as embodied and race as disembodied demonstrates a problematic relationship with various forms of diversity;

Giacomo's emotional manifestations reject complex engagement with critical notions of diversity, instead describing his own limited engagement with diverse embodied subjects.

In general, for Giacomo, Kirby, and others, acceptance seemed motivated by an embodied desire to acknowledge the benefits of diversity and perform inclusivity. Yet, their responses to diverse representation showed a limited engagement with diversely embodied students. This stance reveals an amicable but lacking engagement with acceptance and highlights an emotional manifestation of difficulty with diversity on campus.

Aggressive indifference

The theme of "not caring" is an aggressive form of being "passionately unmoved" (Wetherell, 2015). Several students passionately claimed that they "do not care" and then illustrated that they care enough to adopt a negative stance toward representations of diversity. The specific manifestations were linguistic (i.e., explicitly saying I don't care) and paralinguistic (i.e., interrupting). These affective manifestations thematized the topic of diversity and specifically indicated a negative evaluative stance towards representation inclusive of visually diverse subjects.

Each respondent who exhibited this form of emotional difficulty vehemently claimed not to care about racial differences but explicitly derided the images. For example, one White international doctoral student gave cues throughout her interview that diversity is a laughable topic. Describing Black and White subjects, she said:

> Lynne: In terms of nationalities, etc, like the diversity. I think some of them are…alright. Sometimes, I must admit that I'm a little, it really brings my attention when there are pictures in which there is like, they almost feel like they are designed to condition you "hey look, we are so International." So they put someone (laughing) black and (laughing) someone white. And they're like "okay, I mean, I got it, international" but it's just like it almost makes me feel like they are like focusing so much on the skin color and I don't care, you know?. It's like, so maybe something that's much more subtle. […] I'm sure it's good to include different diversity as well but in some way that is not like (exhales, gestures with hands) yeah, but if it's all like white, extremely white people and dominant men and so, then again, that was also not what you want. So yeah, certain subtleties

The emotional difficulty is marked by her statement of ‘I don’t care.” The participant indicates that the socio-cultural value of internationality represented through different skin colors is overvalued through the emphasis on the word “so” in “so much focusing on skin color” and the mocking, exasperated tone of the phrase “okay, I mean, I got it, international.” Her conflation of race and internationality, common among all participants, further reinforces the notion that diversity does not mean inclusion by affectively marking differences without accepting them. Her tone does not signal inclusivity; on the contrary, it suggests that she is positioning herself in opposition to marking diversity. Lynne’s emotional manifestations position her in a stance critical of ‘focusing so much on color’ in favor of something that would be ‘more subtle.’ Her critical stance towards these representations leads her to suggest more ‘subtle’ representation that indicates the images are not subtle, and therefore less acceptable despite initial claims of not caring.

In addition to “not caring,” interruptions were a common occurrence in several interviews. For instance, one White, domestic student who was born outside of Switzerland expressed aggressive indifference in the following excerpt:

> Interviewer: Sure. You mentioned something about these could potentially be marketing images for brochures targeting people that are represented in these…
> Stefan: (Interrupting) So if we could be done by 16:00 that would be great.

The interruption of the penultimate question included an explicit epistemic statement, “If we could be finished by 16:00, that would be great,” in an annoyed tone of voice. This participant made clear that he was not aligned with the researcher’s critical inquiring stance through his divestment of the time he was willing to spend being interviewed. Through the content of his utterance, his tone also calibrated the relationship between interlocutors by disrupting the affective encounter through his clear expression of disinterest in the interview process. Stefan’s stance of aggressive indifference demonstrates

his overall positioning towards diverse racial representations; engaging with them is not worth his time. His difficulty with these representations elicited a stance that impacted the interview itself, creating a rushed intensity felt in extra-discursive ways.

These examples demonstrate a departure from the statement that these participants "don't care." The contrast between statements that they don't care about diversity and the length and quality of their responses show disapproving stances towards diverse representation, revealing a tension between inclusion and racial diversity. A stance of aggressive indifference towards diverse racial representation highlights emotional difficulties towards inclusion through visual means.

Wry Amusement

Wry amusement, a sense of being amused in a cynical or detached way, emerged in the data as emotional expressions that thematize a difficulty with how the visuals were constructed. This difficulty indicates an underlying problem with the representation of diversity on campus. One of the triggers for wry amusement was a perceived "lack of authenticity," which was a source of dissatisfaction with representation. Overall, respondents expressed mocking, incredulity, and disdain indicative of a negative stance that is most frequently manifested as a problem with specific aspects of representation.

Emotional difficulties were rarely explicitly named but demonstrated through emotional manifestations. Wry amusement occasionally manifested in a sardonic expression of explicit critique regarding the racial demographic makeup of the images. These manifestations indicate a negative evaluative stance towards how various racial groups are represented. For instance, one White female international student described the representations as follows:

> Azula: I would say: students… as usual a chunk of non-Caucasian people (laughs) and that's it.
> Interviewer: Do you think they're representative of the university here?

Azula: (more quietly) Yes...they could be
Interviewer: Ok.
Azula: Definitely, at the level of spaces, in the sense of public spaces where you can meet, computer rooms, then multimedia tools available, parks, campuses with facilities, etc.
Interviewer: And the other levels?
Azula: I told you, I'm thinking about multiculturalism. yes, I know that at the university I was doing last year, I think the share of Africans I think was 10 percent of the school, so the fact that there's only one black person (laughs) in these images…
Interviewer: Ah ok. Is there 10% of people of African roots there? And this guy in the image
Azula: Here, for example. Yes, on all images / He seems more Indian to me. This is dictated/ but maybe he's Moroccan (laughs) This dictated, obviously, only by visual prejudice, then maybe he's from L.A. (laughs) so I don't know.

Azula's wry, critical interpretation of how students are portrayed indicates her stance towards the visual representation of demographic differences. Several epistemic markers, including metaphorical language, describe large groups of non-White people as a 'chunk' and laughter, marking her negative stance verbally and non-verbally. When asked if this chunk was representative of the university, she pauses slightly and responds in a quieter voice that seemed unsure to the interviewer that they 'could be' before hurriedly describing the non-human aspects of the visuals. Thus, the topic shifts abruptly from embodied differences to abstract levels of representativity, avoiding embodied visual differences. When the interview is brought back to the issue of how people are represented, Azula pauses to think and highlights the disconnect between the presence of those with African origins at her institute in contrast with the university at large. This disconnect signals a tension between the representation of non-White bodies and their inclusion on campus.

She also laughs mockingly that there is ‘only one black person.’ The qualifier ‘only’ is another short comparative marker that indicates more Black people to reflect the number at the institute would be more appropriate. Compared to the word “chunk” to describe large groups of non-White people, one can infer from the affective-discursive acts within that specific sentence in the excerpt that she holds a critical stance and, thus, has a problem with how the subjects of the images are represented in the visuals. Rather than simply explicitly describing an emotional difficulty, she first linguistically marked the problems, then subtly demonstrated her stance of wry amusement toward the issue.

A final example demonstrating a slightly different version of wry amusement came from Vasco, a self-identified Asian student born in Switzerland. His interview was rife with mocking jokes at representations juxtaposing White and non-White students. Additionally, he specifically highlighted his difficulties with the representation of non-White embodied subjects and linked this to his own experiences by negatively evaluating this representation.

Vasco’s difficulty with this representation reflects his stance towards racial diversity in the Swiss University context. When asked about images of differently racialized students all sitting together, he described differences between “Western” and “Asian” girls:

> Vasco: Image 8, it seems to me so much like a language school, because there is always a Latin and there is always an Asian. For example, in Australia I saw so many Latinos and so many Asians going there to study, and there are always them, plus five girls. (...) Latino is very swaggering, as I said, Asian is a bit stiff, (in English) nerdy, typical guy with glasses, (in English) nerd, skinny; instead, Latin is very over-the-top, Casanova. Instead, Image 9 is inside a university: I see two Asians and an Indian woman who are in the same row, same desk, and then the other white people among them. This is strange to me, because I am the opposite: I would sit here with two other Western girls / I don’t come to go to an Asian, that is, no, I would sit where there is room, but from an Asian I cannot,

> because maybe I have the image of seeing my mother controlling me (laughs) (in English) the Tiger mom.

Vasco uses "descriptions of circumstances relevant to an experience" (Fiehler 2002, p. 92) to relate to the images. For instance, his "Tiger Mom" joke hints at his history with racialization. His usage of the phrase in English indicates an awareness of globalized notions of race and an attempt to align with the non-Swiss interviewer. Rather than seriously accepting constructions of Asian Otherness, Vasco playfully acknowledges them while demonstrating the impact internalization of otherness has had on his sense of humor and partially aligning himself with globalized racial ideals. Furthermore, he positions himself within socio-cultural race norms in the Swiss context against his reading of the example, taking a stance that illuminates the limits of diversity representation for inclusion. His wry amusement is a manifestation of the tension between inclusive embodied difference and lacking attempts to represent diversity.

Many students expressed a wryness related to their representations of their own type of racialized embodiment; Vasco's emotional difficulty is an emic critique of the representation of non-White bodies in Swiss higher education. Vasco's responses demonstrate how his emotional difficulties with racial representation have manifested inclusion/exclusion in his experiences at university. Overall, wry amusement highlights diversity representation as the subject of ridicule and critique, emphasizing students' difficulties with representing diverse bodies.

Discussion and concluding remarks

This study demonstrated the impact of emotions around racial representation by identifying the affective-discursive acts that constitute stancetaking practices and indicate emotional difficulties. It elucidates the effects of the muting of race by emphasizing the affective dimension, demonstrated by embodied senses of acceptance, indifference, and amusement. Manifestations of emotion indicate evaluations of representations of race in line

with socio-cultural values, rendering it unspeakable (Hernandez, 2021). As is often the case in Western Europe and elsewhere, the problematics of race "blindness" and "muteness" are to be seen, heard, and felt in subtler, more insidious ways.

The study further theoretically expands the affective nature of inclusion by distinguishing it from the impact of representations of diversity. Despite increasingly capitalistic pressures, university diversity rhetoric is often at odds with embodied inclusion on campuses. This study has shown institutional discourses of diversity are not reflected in the affective environment; perspectives on inclusion remain uncritical, aggressive, and wry. Finally, through analyzing common-place emotional expressions, rather than the "particularly emotional" (Fiehler 2002, p. 96), this analysis exposes mundane occurrences of forceful emotional intensity. It provides a framework for situations where racialized exclusions play a powerful yet inconspicuous role.

The stances toward racial representation suggest a need to discuss racial diversity on university campuses. Particularly in highly diverse international environments, an engagement with university life means that those in the position to include others would improve the overall atmosphere of the university by extending a hand to their minoritized peers. This study provides a first step into exploring how affect manifests in expressing various perspectives on diversity in mobility as the *sine qua non* of global academia (Morley et al., 2018).

The purpose of examining the emotional difficulty is perhaps not to immediately rush toward a solution but rather sit with the complexities that cause this emotional difficulty and reflect on otherwise improbable or seemingly impossible representations of diversity on campus. This would mean asking difficult questions whose answers might be incommensurate with the university project as a whole and thinking about the function of equity within neoliberal institutions (Stein & Andreotti, 2018a).

Discursive analyses of affective interaction are increasingly important in a world characterized by power relations driven by emotion in media, politics, and culture. Identifying emotional difficulties as a stance towards various kinds of representation further highlights the material reality of diversity on campus. The theoretical framework expanded upon in this study illuminates the warp and weft of interwoven aspects of discourse and affect. The benefit of acknowledging emotional difficulties entails not achieving the goal of doing diversity the "right way," but a step in a more generative direction.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusions: Understanding Race, Representation, and Affect in International Higher Education

This dissertation provides a complex image of racial and affective relations in IHE. By combining approaches from IHE studies, discourse studies, and race/ethnicity studies, this work expands current understandings of dynamics of race, representation, and affect. The main theoretical contributions of this dissertation are reimagined conceptualizations of representations of Whiteness and non-Whiteness (chapter two), concrete notions of the unspeakability of race (chapter three), and a classification of some emotional difficulties that university students and administrators have with representations of race (chapter four). These three contributions interweave to demonstrate the intricacies of visible differences in the underrepresented context of Switzerland. The findings are useful for scholars and practitioners working in IHE as the discussion expands on the context-specific demands of analyzing racial diversity. The following sections synthesize the findings of the three studies of this dissertation and demonstrate the implications in broader conceptual strokes. They address the underlying issues that motivated this dissertation: how race, ethnicity, and nationality manifest in IHE.

(In)visible imaginaries

This work demonstrated the analytical benefits of exploring diversity representation through the lens of a modern/colonial global imaginary. The concept of the modern/colonial global imaginary allows us to explore the affective implications of discourses that govern conceptualizations of difference within context-specific fields. For IHE, the imaginary governs how differences are (not) discussed within a framework that centralizes difference. The specific context of Swiss IHE illuminates the delimiting nature of the global imaginary within a context that at first blush seems irrelevant to modern/colonial thinking. However, upon deeper analysis, identifying how the modern/colonial global imaginary facilitates specific discourses in the Swiss context exposes the relevance of race analysis. This research contributes a novel insight into affective relations engendered by perceptions of visual racial differences.

The second chapter demonstrated how representations of international students construct and are constructed by imaginaries of inclusion/exclusion. The analysis followed an "otherwise" approach to imagining equity within IHE (Stein et al., 2020; Stein & Andreotti, 2018a, 2017a). This approach is fundamentally oriented towards questioning the current configuration of universities in a global context in which a hegemonic imaginary governs what discourses become understood, acceptable, and meaningful (Stein & Andreotti, 2017b). The otherwise approach meant centralizing the unseen mechanisms that govern representation as a politics of presence on university campuses. For example, the study critiques common-place representations of Whiteness in Swiss universities, highlighting the modern/colonial global imaginary as an overarching structure that renders representations of White disembodied presence possible. Thus, overall dissertation expands on visual and embodied aspects of the imaginary by incorporating analysis of representations of and embodied reactions to racial diversity

Chapter two presents a deep analysis of lived experiences of diversity among students and administrators. It provides insight into potential aspirations toward inclusivity in university promotional materials while exposing underlying ideological structures that make specific forms of representation possible. Specifically, it identified dis/embodied forms of racial representation as a structural force in university representation, a key missing piece in the IHE literature. In doing so, it also contributes to the critical race literature by highlighting the link between representational and embodied forms of racialization.

In the third chapter, narratives of experiences with diversity illuminated the imaginary as a complex mosaic of stories, images, and other forms of representation that shape and are shaped by discourses of difference. Thus, the relationship between discourses and representation is characterized by lived experiences based on embodiment, reported in the interview as an affective situated interaction (Kahl et al., 2019). This intertwining of discourse, representation, and embodiment within research encounters exposes the relational intensities, influences, and impacts of discourses shaped by global imaginaries. Students and

administrators were limited by their own embodied understandings of race, rendering the concept itself discursively unspeakable. The conceptualization of race as unspeakable expands on notions of individuals as either "race mute" or "race-blind" (Annamma et al., 2017; El-Tayeb, 2011; Keaton, 2010). It argues that, rather than individuals being unable to perceive or speak of race, the concept of race is rendered unspeakable through affective discourses of diversity. This conceptualization shifts the focus away from earlier ableist ideas around race and acknowledges the affective and discursive factors constructing how individuals relate to concepts of racial difference. The chapter further finds that specific configurations of affect, facilitated by the modern/colonial global imaginary, allow individuals to engage in affective-discursive acts that prioritize other forms of diversity, such as gender and linguistic diversity over racial diversity.

Furthermore, the governing power of the modern/colonial global imaginary attempts to fix conflicting meanings into a coherent whole. For example, meanings associated with the White/non-White binary, such as productive/lazy, deserving/undeserving, present/absent, etc., are all facilitated within this global imaginary. The research conducted for chapters two, three, and four presents a context-specific analysis of the impacts of common-sense understandings of race and visual differences. Understandings of difference neatly dovetail into common-sense discourses of diversity, popularized in, for example, the website discourses analyzed in chapter two.

Students and administrators narrated their interpretations of diversity within the neoliberal, marketized context of the contemporary university, signaling their awareness of diversity's "added value." The commodification of diversity is elucidated throughout chapters two, three, and four. For example, administrators in chapter two pointed to the positive nature of generalized notions of international diversity in visual representation without demonstrating an understanding of the full meaning of their statements. The narrative analysis in that chapter demonstrated the consumptive nature of this perspective on diversity; shiny, happy faces on university websites are good for business (Ahmed & Swan,

2006). This perspective on diversity representation is also governed by the modern/colonial global imaginary, which positions visibly racially different subjects as a commodity to be consumed by White viewers.

However, the tensions identified in chapters three and four show a discrepancy between the representation of embodied Others and their inclusion on campus. Respondents in interviews noted a lack of "authenticity" in the visual representations of university websites, indicating a discrepancy between the lived experiences and demographic diversity of individuals on campus. The research identified a mismatch between how diversity is represented online and how it is perceived, which impacted the affective expressions of students regarding racial differences on campus.

Chapter four presents an analysis of embodied affective reactions to representations of diversity. The findings address the gap in the literature between images and emotional responses, linking visuals and affect. By identifying the interview as an affective situated encounter, this research exposes an investment in particular forms of emotional responses (Kahl et al., 2019). The analysis presented categories of affective-discursive acts: wry amusement, uncritical acceptance, and aggressive indifference, informed by the emotional landscape created by visual representation.

Diversity and Inclusion/exclusion

This research has shown the limits of discourses around diversity by highlighting implicit ideologies underpinning affective reactions to representations of diversity. It has further shown the role of embodied forms of visible difference in how students and administrators discursively categorize various groups on campus. The affective-discursive configurations established in chapters three and four rely on the discursive imaginary identified in chapter two. While chapter three emphasized the power of the global imaginary over limiting discussion of racial diversity, chapter four demonstrated the specificities of those limitations. These mutually constitutive discursive constructs create meaningful forms of inclusion/exclusion

Visible embodied differences are an integral part of the modern/colonial global imaginary. While some research emphasizes colonial relations as an artifact of history (Börjesson, 2010; A. J. Joseph et al., 2020), the role of colonial history in interpersonal interactions in academic contexts remains undertheorized. This dissertation emphasizes embodied social differences as also remnants of colonial relations. Meanings made of, for example, non-White bodies reflect the historical impact of colonial relations, even, as this research has shown, in the absence of direct historical ties to colonies (Purtschert & Fischer-Tiné, 2015). The emphasis on visible embodied differences in constructing inclusion/exclusion in the Swiss context is another contribution to the literature.

Furthermore, the findings of chapter two specifically illustrated the importance of online representations of visible diversity. The importance of marking context-specific forms of embodiment remains a challenge for contemporary scholars and practitioners. The analysis in chapter two provided examples of the fleeting nature of embodied absence and disembodied presence through representations of Whiteness as ephemeral and non-Whiteness as present, yet not present. These conceptualizations of the White/non-White binary revitalize notions of race in Europe, as they build on analyses of various forms of media and demonstrate the relevance of these analyses for representation in IHE.

Through analysis of website visuals compared to a synthesis of news analyses and popular media studies, the findings show that representations of Whiteness continue to elude perception as a racial category. Similarly, representations of non-White bodies continue to be instrumentalized to reflect institutional aspirations for diversity. This desire for difference means that, though people of color are featured in some representations, they tend to be represented in ways that demonstrate their exclusion from the university context. Additionally, this research has demonstrated such tokenistic representations of people of color do not go unnoticed. The affective impact of these representations has lead to embodied reactions of disdain and mocking among students and administrators. Thus, the

tensions illuminated by the analysis demonstrated an ongoing need to identify emergent ways race is represented.

Stances towards diversity

The concept of racial unspeakability introduced in chapter three highlights the difficulties of pinpointing problems with racial representation, rendering deeply felt emotional opinions of race-related topics unspeakable. Racial unspeakability exposes the emotional investments that students and administrators have in particular communicative acts around race. Identifying affect in race-related discussions in education captures specificities of affect, rather than treating it as a "cultural uncanny" (Wetherell et al., p. 57). The specifics of emotional difficulties, wry amusement, aggressive indifference, and uncritical acceptance identified in chapter four provide a framework for identifying interpersonal affective resistance to diversity discourses. These emotional difficulties warrant further discussion, as their implications are interrelated with the overall contributions of the dissertation.

Emotional difficulties with representations of race indicate value-laden understandings of visible differences. In Switzerland, as in other countries in the Global North, the problematically ableist notions of race "blindness" or "muteness" are perceptible in less obvious ways. Aggressive indifference towards diversity, for example, highlights a powerfully ambivalent tension in individual perceptions of diversity. This tension can be linked to frustrations with reminders of one's privilege, fears of the myth of resource scarcity, or anger at feelings of loss of majority-linked power, to name a few possibilities. While the research did not delve into concrete explanatory factors for aggressive indifference, the findings show that affective-discursive assemblages play a powerful role in constructing how students perceive and react to visible differences.

Another finding of this research illuminated the uncritical acceptance of diversity discourses. The findings of chapter four suggest that uncritical acceptance plays a discursive role in the perception of Whiteness/non-Whiteness. Exposing the relationship between

uncritical acceptance of representations of racial difference and the position of Whiteness supports the findings of chapter two, which state that Whiteness can occupy a position of disembodied presence that is often taken for granted. Uncritical acceptance bolsters the unspoken assumption of Whiteness as default by leaving White bodies and representations of Whiteness as the norm unquestioned. The imbrication of uncritical acceptance of representations of university campus life with Whiteness as disembodied presence contributes to the racialization of the university sphere, both materially and discursively (J. Walton, 2018). Acceptance without reflection is both a cause and effect of the imaginary that attempts to reconcile conflicting meanings of diversity in IHE into a singular, coherent discourse.

The interviews additionally elicited some reactions that expressed a familiarity and knowledge of representation of embodied differences. Wry amusement with diversity representation indicated a specific emotional relationship of derision towards the genre of online diversity representation and the diversity it represents. Additionally, the concept of wry amusement builds on the unspeakability of race, as the amused expressions likely come partially from a place of discomfort. Rather than speak of or describe their feelings toward racial diversity, respondents laugh. The familiarity with diversity representations and well-rehearsed emotional reactions to images of this genre demonstrate specific ideas of what constitutes the material, embodied, and lived reality for all students on campus.

This dissertation highlights an urgent need to discuss racial diversity on university campuses in Switzerland and Europe more broadly. A more just engagement with university life means that White students, administrators, and those in otherwise privileged positions could improve the inclusive atmosphere of the university by proactively engaging with their minoritized peers. This dissertation further demonstrates the impact of how diversity is conceptualized in modern universities, as well as the impact of affect on reactions to diversity representation within global academia (Morley et al. 2018).

In the face of increasingly marketized pressure, university diversity discourses may not facilitate the inclusion of diversely embodied people on campus. This study has demonstrated that diversity discourses may misalign with the affective environment. Perspectives on the representation of visibly different people remain partially unspeakable, uncritical, aggressive, and wry. This analysis further exposes mundane occurrences of impactful emotional intensity as units of analysis. It provides an affective framework in which exclusion based on visible difference is manifested through subtle affective forces.

The findings explicated here contribute to the theorizing of affect as a governing force by demonstrating how it works at the intersection between visual representation and embodiment. For example, the dissertation demonstrates the affective impact of well-worn tropes of people of color presented in ways that are rendered normal and logical by the modern/colonial imaginary. The interpretation of these representations is facilitated the affective flow characterizing racialized space in both visual and embodied terms. Emotions connect individuals with particular perspectives and engender specific reactions to representations of diversity. Furthermore, an emphasis on affect allows for analysis of embodied responses to discourse. Incorporating extralinguistic signifiers (visuals in chapter two, emotional expressions in chapters three and four) repositions the body as an important site of negotiating meaning within IHE.

Empirically identifying affective dimensions, while not always a straightforward process, captures more than the explicit statements in interview participants' interpretations of racial differences. Affect theory emphasizes the meaningful yet oft-overlooked emotional stimuli that shape everyday life. The fourth chapter provides examples of affect's impact on representation. Additionally, by thematizing the innocuous, the chapter highlights an important point throughout the entire dissertation: discussion of racial and other forms of embodied diversity are integral to the pursuit of equity. Finally, the intermingling of affect and discourse for small-scale studies on race and ethnicity provides innovative insight into notions of representation. While chapter two first established the impact of discourses of

inclusion/exclusion through racialized representation, chapter three explored the affective impact of that representation and how that manifests in the expression of new discourses. The studies presented in this dissertation reveal the deeply felt problems with racial representation in IHE.

The affective practices identified in the data in response to images of university life further demonstrate how the interview subjects affectively negotiate their lives throughout their period in university. Ultimately this framework allows for an analysis that exposes deeper affective structures that govern relations between and amongst individuals on campus.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

The above-mentioned otherwise approach suggests "sitting with the difficulties" of complex representation rather than unreflective thought and action. This approach has implications for theory and practice. For practitioners, this looks like refraining from the usual grasp towards tokenized faces to represent a diverse campus reality that may not exist. For scholars, an otherwise approach emphasizes self-reflection and acknowledgment of one's complicity in potential harms. This approach alerts us to the possibilities of self-critical engagement with the Other and provides context for accepting the limitations of scholarly endeavors.

Representation

One limitation to the critique of representation is a lack of imaginable alternatives. While the otherwise approach to representation in the modern/colonial setting of higher education advocates for different modes of representation, the authors admit that "there is no unproblematic way to depict the complicated knots of subjugation that make possible our existing educational institutions" (Stein and Andreotti, p. 17). This being the case, it is largely outside the scope of this dissertation to explore concrete suggestions about potential other ways to engage in IHE in detail. Nevertheless, potential new strategies of

representation could include asking students of color how/if they would like to be represented, seeking to admit more students of color, seeking to increase employment of more administrators of color, which would institutional demonstrate a commitment to more just representation. Swiss universities would benefit from an engagement with the issues presented here.

Implications within/outside of Switzerland

Though Switzerland represents a unique laboratory for representation and IHE, it is nonetheless a small country. Furthermore, students who choose to study in Switzerland do not represent a large proportion of international students globally, as most international students tend to select Anglophone countries. Nevertheless, over 51,000, or 31.4% of the student population, are categorized as international (Federal Statistical Office, 2021). Additionally, over 50% of the doctoral student population has international origins, the second-highest proportion amongst OECD countries (ibid). These numbers demonstrate the importance of globalized flows of the embodied carriers of knowledge. While the findings of this dissertation may be unique to the Swiss case to some extent, the internationalization of education landscapes in many countries reflect the importance of understanding how differences come to matter.

Furthermore, the opportunity to explore a national context that is highly international yet underrepresented in the literature provided insights into possible alternatives of imaginaries of inclusion/exclusion that demonstrate Switzerland as a valuable case. This chance to explore under-researched contexts should extend to other places that hold global importance in the education landscape while at the same time diverging from the standard destinations of the US and the UK. For example, countries like India, Singapore, and Canada demonstrate similar characteristics to Switzerland in that they are multilingual and multicultural hubs of educations in their respective world regions. Further studies of IHE would benefit from adapting and using some of the concepts and approaches employed within this dissertation in other national contexts.

An additional direction for further research would be analyses incorporating other dynamics of difference, for example, gender, dis/ability, and religion. In addition to being racialized, visual subjects are marked in myriad ways. While some research in IHE has explored embodied dynamics of difference in terms of gender, other visible differences that impact affective relations remain undertheorized. Gender remains an important part of the discourses that construct imaginaries of inclusion/exclusion, yet it was not a discrete focus of this research. Nevertheless, gender was incorporated in, for example, the discussion of agency in chapter two regarding White hands and the hierarchy of "speakable" topics in chapter three. Further research should more fully incorporate intersectional analyses of gender and other important dynamics.

Awareness and Reflection

This dissertation is positioned within the traditions of critical internationalization studies, discourse studies, and affect studies. Therefore, critique is at the heart of its engagement with the complex themes presented in chapters two, three, and four. The dissertation draws upon and expands a tradition in IHE research of exposing inherent power relations that privilege taken for granted notions of normalcy (George Mwangi et al., 2018; Stein & Andreotti, 2017b). The interdisciplinary thrust of encouraging self-reflection comes from critical engagement with IHE discourses.

However, intellectual awareness often falls short in remedying problems associated with embodied realities of exclusion within IHE. Nevertheless, the study findings provide a foundation for transforming conscious thinking of racial biases. The dissertation also provided a first step for scholars and practitioners to address how to re-direct embodied/affective responses towards less exclusive outcomes. For example, by consciously following the otherwise approach to racial representation, scholars and practitioners can more critically discuss engaging with context-specific forms of diversity. Further studies in this vein should be conducted in additional contexts with differing ethnic, racial, national,

and gender demographics. A larger sample of students and administrators would further strengthen the findings of this study.

Sitting with difficulties

Chapter four of this dissertation argues that emotional difficulties lie at the root of problems with racial representation. However, it purposefully does not suggest fixed, concrete solutions to be followed by administrators in charge of deciding representation strategies. This ambivalence is in line with recognizing the potential complicities of institutions in greater challenges in education (Stein, 2020). Racial representation presents its own complex challenges whose solutions have only begun to be discussed in contemporary higher education discourses in Europe.

While the overall dissertation engages with the complexities of representation and diversity in the predominantly White institutions of Switzerland, identifying the affective root of problems has broader implications. However, critical engagement with race and diversity doesn't suggest that there exists a simple solution. Rather, this dissertation, in line with emerging research in critical internationalization studies, emphasizes the importance of recognizing one's social role and function in perpetuating potential harms (Stein, 2021).

By suggesting a calm reflection upon the causes of emotional difficulties, chapter four is limited to providing examples of difficulties and suggesting that one thinks through various implications of affect on campus. However, in searching for answers to the research questions, it is perhaps more important to think about the overall function and effects of discourses of diversity within neoliberal institutions at personal and institutional levels (Stein & Andreotti, 2018a).

Positionality statement

Author positionality played a crucial role in the critical praxis of this dissertation. As a Black, Latinx, Queer man born in the United States but with living, working, and teaching experience in nine countries, the topic of this dissertation was selected and influenced by my

lived experiences. The work produced through this academic endeavor is a deeply personal engagement with topics that occupy me at an emotional, physical, ontological, and epistemological level. Throughout my Ph.D., I often found myself in situations where I was the only person of color, the only international student, and/or the only Queer person in the room. These personal experiences created a desire to expose the affective impacts I felt in scholarly ways. The same forces driving me to engage in academic mobility also govern societal and academic interest in IHE.

As someone who shared experience of living, studying, and working abroad with my research subjects, the similarities between us were not lost on me. However, I believe this international perspective afforded me unique insights into the contextual relevance of the concepts I explored throughout the research. Additionally, the linguistic capabilities I gained throughout my stay in German-, Italian- and Spanish-speaking regions assisted me greatly in conducting and facilitating the interviews with as many people as I could in their native language. These intercultural skills greatly facilitated the affective interactions within the research interviews.

Regarding the interviews, the interviewer and interviewee positionality played a role in constructing the interview, and thus, the data. As a person of color, how I am perceived in Switzerland as an outsider colored the statements of the interview participants in ways that would have been different had the interviewer been a White, Swiss individual. Relatedly, my gender presentation as a Queer person, though mitigated by attempts at maintaining "professionality," influences how I am perceived by the world. For example, my Queer aesthetic presentation, mannerisms, and relatability may have helped gain trust and involvement from the interview participants, who were predominantly female. It may have also potentially alienated the male participants. The dynamics of inclusion/exclusion at the personal level were at play throughout the data collection process.

Relatedly, my status as an outsider in the Swiss context had a particular influence on conducting the research. For instance, my name signals an incongruity evident upon meeting

interview participants and expressing the correct pronunciation, particularly for Italian native speakers. The incongruity with notions of normalcy I experienced as a foreigner in the Swiss context helped me relate to the international students I interviewed. Conversely, my position as a university employee who coordinates international programs also provided somewhat of an "insider" status with the administrators I interviewed. Generally, my social positions afforded opportunities to relate to the interview participants yet provided enough analytical distance for insightful analysis.

Personal Academic Growth and Future Research

My post-doctoral period will be spent expanding on themes I developed throughout my Ph.D. I have accepted a position as a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Amsterdam in which I will be a researcher/coordinator of the Mental Health 4 All project. This project explores the communication of mental health initiatives directed towards low-language proficiency third-country nationals. My responsibilities entail exploring the role of culture in these initiatives and in producing educational narrative videos as resources for those who wish to access mental health services. My position as a post-doctoral researcher and lecturer will further strengthen my research profile and assist me in my ultimate career goal: becoming a tenure-track professor.

Additionally, I am developing a book proposal that fills a research gap that I identified with my doctoral work by exploring a previously unresearched group: Black European doctoral students. This book project is situated between (international) higher education studies and race/ethnicity studies and will explore the affective navigation strategies European doctoral students of African descent employ to navigate academia. This book project stems directly from work I began during my Ph.D. and would not be possible without the interdisciplinary basis that my doctoral work afforded me.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Photo elicitation images

Image 1

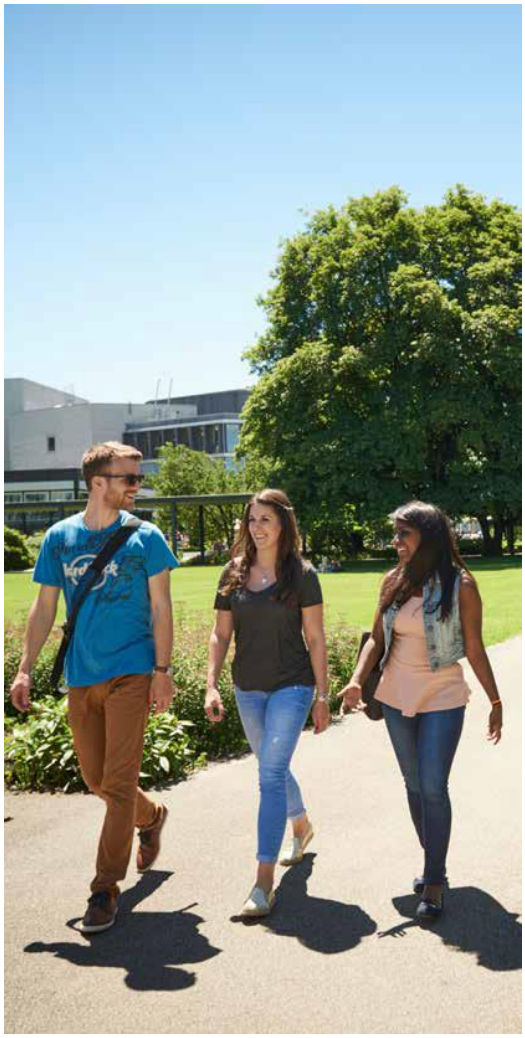


Image 2

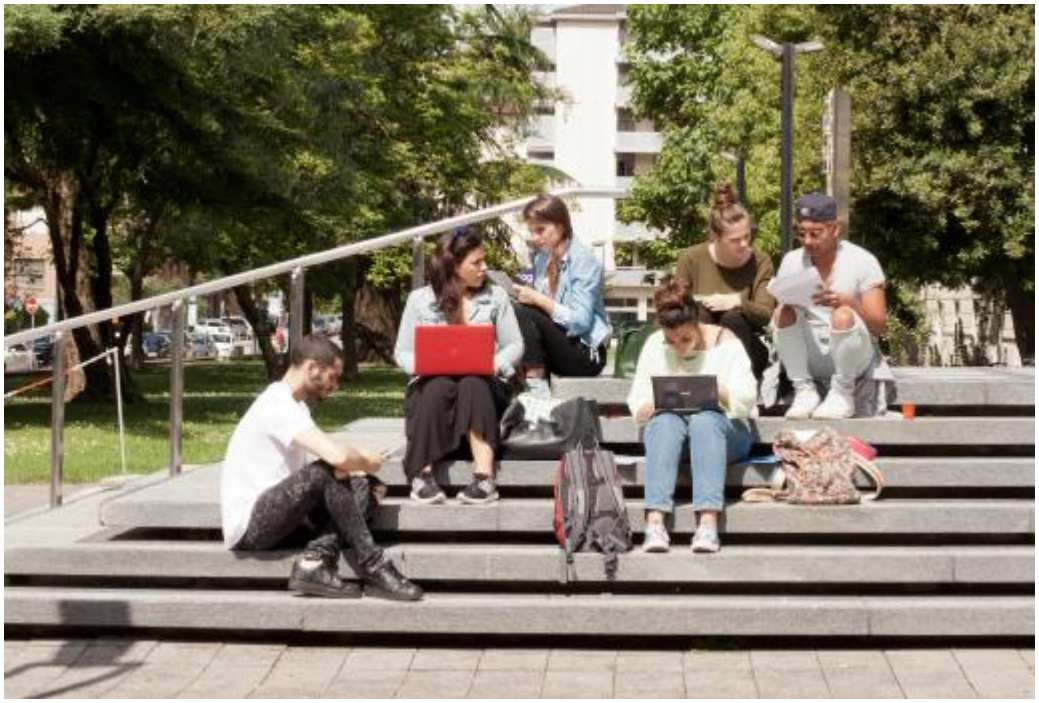


Image 3

Image 4

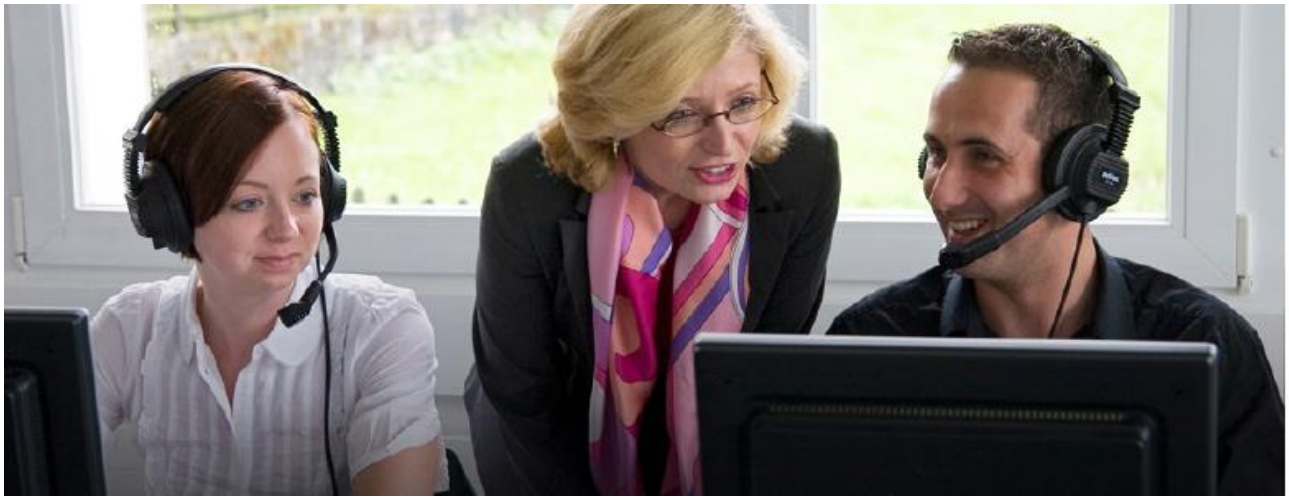


Image 5

Image 6

Image 7

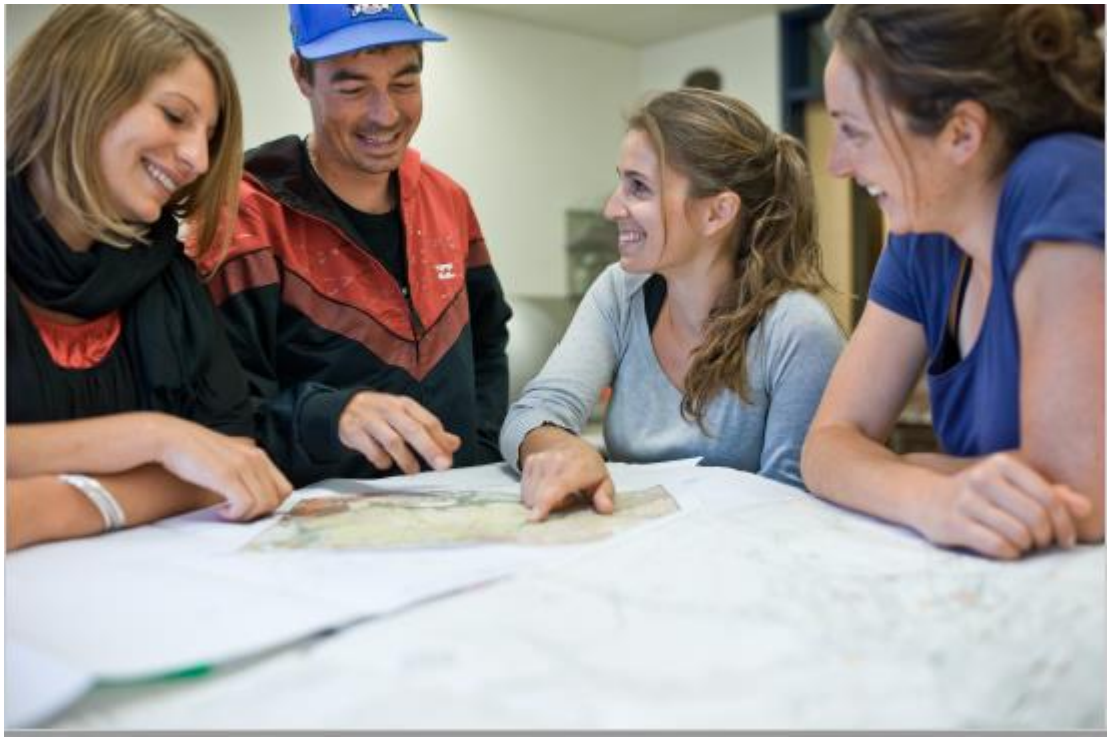
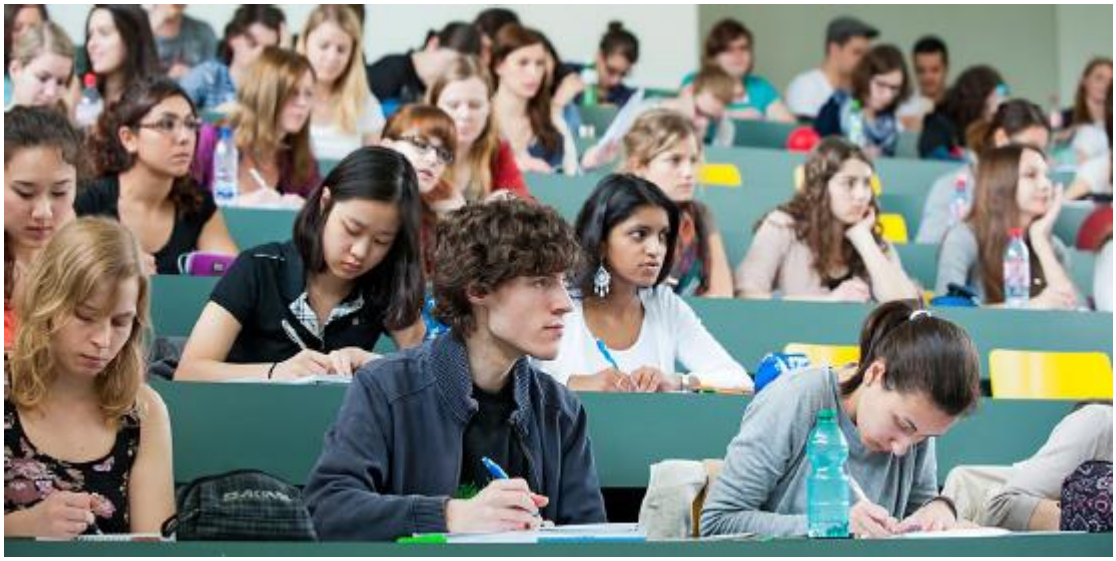


Image 8

Image 9



Appendix 2: Interview Questions for Administrators in English

1. Tell me about yourself
2. When did you start working here?
3. How did you get into academic exchange?
4. Tell me what your role is in the school. What is involved in your day-to-day work? How would you describe your work? (i.e. rewarding, stressful, frustrating, just a job, etc.)
5. Why is international exchange (rewarding, stressful, frustrating, just a job, etc.)?
6. With whom do you have the most contact? The least? What kind of interactions do you have?
7. Can you describe a memorable interaction with a student that happened during work? What makes it stand out in your mind? What else happened?
    a. How did it make you feel?
        i. Was there a physical sensation associated with that feeling?
        ii. (if not responsive) How do you normally feel that feeling? Is there a place in your body?
8. (if the memorable moment is only negative or positive) Was there a moment that was different (i.e. positive if they were all negative, or vice-versa)? How was it different? What made it stand out in your mind? What else happened?
    a. How did it make you feel?
        i. Was there a physical sensation associated with that feeling? How do you normally feel that feeling? Is there a place in your body?
9. What students do you normally come into contact with?
    a. Where are they from? What places/countries are important?
    b. What differences do you see?

   c. What differences do you think matter during their time here? How do you tell?
      i. What differences matter in their interactions with other students? administrators? Faculty?
   d. What role, if any, does the region we're in play? Would it be different in another region of Switzerland? How?
10. Please look at these images. Can you tell me what you see? What does it represent?
   a. Do you think they represent a typical "Swiss university"? Why? What would make it more representative?
   b. Would you like to select a particular image? What would you change about it? How and why?

Appendix 3: - Questions for International and Domestic students in English

1. Tell me about yourself

2. how long have you been a student?

3. What motivated you to study here?

4. Can you tell me what your day-to-day is like?

5. What do you think of the student body here at this university?

6. Whom do you interact with most? Least? What kind of interactions do you have?

7. Can you describe a memorable moment that happened during your studies? What made it stand out in your mind? What else happened?
a. How did it make you feel?
i. (however they react) What does that feel like in your body?

ii. Was there a physical sensation associated with that feeling?
8. (if the memorable moment was only negative or positive) Was there a moment that was different (i.e. positive if they were all negative or vice-versa)? How was it different? What made it stand out in your mind? What else happened?
a. How did it make you feel?
i. Was there a physical sensation associated with that feeling?
9. What do you know about international students on campus? Do you see them? (How can you tell?) Do you interact with them?
a. (if applicable) How do those interactions compare with interactions with domestic students?

b. Do you know what countries the international students here come from? What differences do you notice?

c. When do those differences come up?
10. Can you describe a memorable moment that happened with an international student? What made it stand out in your mind? What else happened?
a. How did it make you feel?
i. (however they react) What does that feel like in your body?

ii. Was there a physical sensation associated with that feeling?
11. Do people ever make any assumptions about you? How? Have you ever had any misunderstandings/altercations?
a. How did it make you feel?

b. Do you know why the interaction happened?

c. How did you realize?

12. Do you ever talk about your experiences as a student? Where? With whom?

Appendix 1 - Questions for International and Domestic students

13. What role does the region we're in play? Do you think your experiences would be different in another region of Switzerland?

14. Please look at these images. Can you tell me what you see? Do you think they represent the university here?
a. Is there anything you would change about them? Is there a specific image you would like to change? How and why? Would this make it more representative of the university?

b. What about (a drastically different image)?

c. With whom do you feel an affinity? Is there anyone you are "most like"?

Appendix 4: Interview Questions in Italian

1. Mi dici qualcosa su di te?
2. Per quanto sei stato studente?
3. Cosa ti ha motivato per studiare qui?
4. Mi puoi dire come e la tua vita quotidiana?
5. Cosa pensi del corpo studentesco?
6. Con chi ha più contatto? Con chi ne ha di meno? Che tipo di interazioni hai?
7. Mi puoi descrivere un momento memorabile che e successo durante lo studio? Perché era memorabile? Che cos'altro e successo?
    a. Come ti sentiva?
        i. (however they react) In quale parte del corpo lo sentiva?
        ii. C'era una sensazione fisica associato al sentimento?
8. (if the memorable moment was only positive or negative? Ti viene in mente un altro momento memorabile? (i.e. positive if all negative or negative if all positive) In che senso era diverso? Perché? Che cos'altro e successo?
    a. Come ti sentiva?
        i. (however they react) In quale parte del corpo lo sentiva?
        ii. C'era una sensazione fisica associato al sentimento?
9. Cosa sai degli studenti ospiti qui? Li vede? (Come li distingui?) Hai contatto con loro?
    a. (if applicable) c'è una differenza tra le relazioni con loro e con gli studenti USI?
    b. Sai di quali paesi provengono gli studenti ospiti? Come? Che tipi di differenze vedi?
    c. Quando ti rendi conto delle differenze?
10. Mi puoi descrivere un momento memorabile con uno studente ospite? Perché era memorabile? Che cos'altro e successo?

   a. Come ti sentiva?
      i. (however they react) In quale parte del corpo lo sentiva?
      ii. C'era una sensazione fisica associato al sentimento?
11. the memorable moment was only positive or negative? Ti viene in mente un altro momento memorabile? (i.e. positive if all negative or negative if all positive) In che senso? Perche? Che cos'altro e successo?
   a. Come ti sentiva?
      i. (however they react) In quale parte del corpo lo sentiva?
      ii. C'era una sensazione fisica associato al sentimento?
12. Quale immagine ti pensi che la gente si faccia di te? Come? Ha avuto problemi/alterchi?
      i. Come ti sentiva?
      ii. Sai perché e successo questo problema?
      iii. Come te ne rendeva conto?
13. Ci sono momenti specifici in cui parli della esperienza come studente? Dove? Con chi?
14. Che ruolo gioca la regione della Svizzera in cui siamo? Pensi che le esperienze sarebbero diverse in un'altra regione?
15. Guarda queste immagini. Mi puoi dire cosa vedi? Pensi che sono rappresentative dell'Università?
   a. c'è qualcosa che cambieresti? C'è un'immagine specifica che cambieresti? Come e perché? Sarebbe in quel caso più rappresentative dell'Università?
   b. E quest'immagine?
   c. c'è qualcuno nell'immagini con cui senti un'affinità? c'è qualcuno che te assomiglia?

Appendix 5: Interview Questions in German

1. Erzähl mal etwas über dich
2. Wie lange bist du Student?
3. Was hatte dich motiviert, hier zu studieren?
4. Könnest du mir erzählen, wie dein Alltag aussieht?
5. Was haltest du von den Studenten an dieser Universität?
6. Mit wem hast du am meisten zu tun? Am wenigsten? Was für Kontakte hast du mit denen?
7. Könnest du mir von einem einprägsamen Moment während ihres Studiums erzählen? Was war dadran so prägend? Was ist sonst passiert?
    a. Wie hast du dich dabei gefühlt?
        i. (however they react) Und wo an deinem Körper fühlt es sich so an?
        ii. Gibt es eine physische Empfindung verbunden mit diesem Gefühl?
8. (if the memorable moment was only negative or positive) Gab es einen anderen Moment? Wie war es anders? Was war dadran so prägend? Ist sonst was passiert?
    a. Wie hast sich dabei gefühlt?
        i. (however they react) Und wo an deinem Körper fühlt es sich so an?

        ii. Gibt es eine physische Empfindung verbunden mit diesem Gefühl?

9. Weisst du etwas über ausländische Studierenden hier an der Uni? Siehst du sie? (Wie identifizierst du sie?) Hast du auch mit ihnen?
    a. (if applicabable) Wie ist der Kontakt mit ihnen im vergleich mit einheimischen Studierenden?
    b. Wissen Sie aus welchen Ländern die ausländischen Studierende herkommen? Was für Unterschiede sieht man?
    c. Wann sind diese Unterschiede auffällig?
10. Könntest du mir von einem einprägsamen Moment mit einem ausländischen Studierenden erzählen? Was war dadran so prägend? Was ist sonst passiert?
    a. Wie haben Sie sich dabei gefühlt?
        i. (however they react) Und wo an deinem Körper fühlt es sich so an?
        ii. Gibt es eine physische Empfindung verbunden mit diesem Gefühl?
11. (if the memorable moment was only negative or positive) Gab es einen anderen Moment? Wie war es anders? Wie hat es dich eingeprägt? Ist sonst was passiert?
    a. Wie hast du dich dabei gefühlt?
        i. (however they react) Und wo an deinem Körper fühlt es sich so an?
        ii. Gibt es eine physische Empfindung verbunden mit diesem Gefühl?
12. Haben die Leute irgendwelche Vermutungen/Annahmen über dich? Hast du Missverständnisse oder Probleme gehabt?
    a. Wie hat das sich angefühlt?
    b. Weisst du warum es das Missverständnis gab?
    c. Wie hast du es gemerkt?

13. Hast du die Möglichkeit mit anderen über deine Erfahrung als Student zu reden? Wo? Mit wem?
14. Was für eine Rolle spielt die Sprachregion in der wir sind? Wäre die Erfahrung anders in einer anderen Sprachregion? Wie?
15. Schau mal diese Bilder an. Was siehst du? Sind sie repräsentativ für die Uni?
    a. Würden Sie was an den Bildern ändern? Gibt es ein bestimmtes Bild das sie ändern würden? Wie und weshalb? Würde dies das Bild repräsentativer machen?
    b. Und das Bild (a different one)
    c. Gibt es jemanden in dem Bild mit dem Sie sich identifizieren können? Gibt es jemanden der dich ähnelt?

Appendix 6: Research Subject Contact Email Template

For use with administrators:

Dear Sir/Madam,
I hope this email finds you well. My name is Gian Hernandez. I am a PhD student at Università della Svizzera Italiana writing my dissertation on international academic mobility. I am interested in conducting research interviews regarding diversity at your university. If you agree, I would come to a place that is comfortable at a convenient time and we would discuss your duties at the university, as well as interactions you have had as an administrator of academic mobility. The interview would be recorded and transcribed by myself, and kept anonymous for the purpose of publication. If you have any further questions, the information sheet and consent form are attached. I look forward to hearing from you soon.
Best regards,
Gian Hernandez

For use with students via email:
Hello,
I hope this email finds you well. My name is Gian Hernandez. I am a PhD student at Università della Svizzera Italiana writing my dissertation on international academic mobility. I am interested in conducting research regarding diversity at your university. If you agree, I would come to a place that is comfortable at a convenient time and we would discuss your experiences at the university, as well as interactions you have had with both international and domestic students. The interview would be recorded and transcribed by myself, and kept anonymous for the purpose of publication. If you have any further questions, the information sheet and consent form are attached. I look forward to hearing from you soon.
Best regards,
Gian Hernandez
For posting on Facebook and other social media

Hello all,
My name is Gian; I'm a Ph.D. student doing research on international academic mobility. I'll soon be coming to your university to conduct some research interviews and need your help! If you have some time to talk with me about your experience on-campus that would be really great. I can meet at a time/place that works for you and we can chat (it will be recorded and transcribed but kept totally anonymous!)
Thanks!