

**Reflexive encounters with internationalisation(s):  
A critical rhizomatic narrative journeying**

**By**

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## **Declaration**

I declare that I have composed this thesis myself and that it embodies the results of my own research. Where appropriate, I have acknowledged the nature and extent of work carried out in collaboration with others included in the thesis.

Mostafa Gamal

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## Abstract

The story of reflexive encounters with internationalisation is a story of deep humanity and hope. Beyond being an institutional imposition that has cajoled us, shamed us, and rewarded us, the stories of internationalisation have the potential to offer us opportunities to reflect on what it means to be human, with others, and how we might otherwise live our lives with others. These (un)timely reflections force us to confront the question of what it means to ‘internationalise’ and ‘be internationalised’, and how we might be with ‘internationalisation’ otherwise. As I journey from Morocco to Scotland, I seek places of shelter, places of belonging. I narrativise (un)homely lives, places of pain and rejection, othering and dehumanisation. I navigate the deep crevices of silence...my silence and the silence of others. The echoes reverberate with self-silencing.

The stories of my journey do not freeze in the silence and self-silences. Conversing with *critical rhizomatic narrative* (Swanson, 2004, 2008) as methodology enables me to rhizomatically grapple with contradictions and ethical dilemmas. Through ‘moments of articulation’, I seek to engage – in critical, affective, embodied and reflexive ways - with a set of ethical dilemmas, contradictions and forms of cultural hegemony that are lived and relived. Simultaneously positioned as insider and outsider, interpellated to occupy irreconcilable positions that pull me apart and that institute a cutting duality at the heart of my being, I narrativise by way of offering provocative rhizomes for grappling with these lived ethical dilemmas. This is not a personal story, a musing, a jeremiad. It is the story of others, and of me in the world with others. Caught in the violent web of historical, geographical and political legacies, legacies in which their futurity is already mapped out, the others of internationalisation are inferiorised, dehumanised and pathologised. In my narrative renderings, and through postcolonial/decolonial journeying, I invite the reader into the lived experience of the other, and to take an ethical and political stance in order to contest and resist sites and actions of injustice. I invite the reader to join a conversation that opens up other conversations in a myriad of rhizomatic directions, in order to seek, together, more hopeful visions of the future.

This invitation into a disruptive narrative text might be disorientating for the reader, yet the invitation is a form of ethical address. I join others in decolonising methodologies of research. In so doing, I put out tendrils towards possibilities of a more hopeful world. In narrativising these dilemmas, and in bringing together different methodological, ethical and

political explorations into play in aesthetic forms, I intentionally do not adhere to the norms of conventional social science research methodologies. To do so would be an act of colonising and self-colonising. Instead, through the evocative and provocative power of narrative, and the conversations it permits with imaginaries of possibility and hope, a new relational world is ever-more-closer brought into being.

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## **Dedication**

This thesis is lovingly dedicated to my wife, Emma, who has been a wonderful companion and constant source of support and encouragement during the challenges of studying and life. I am truly thankful for having you in my life. This work is also dedicated to my two daughters, Leila and Fleur, for their forbearance in appreciating an understanding the competing pressures and demands that a PhD student, who is also a parent, can face while juggling academic and family life. I would also like to dedicate this thesis to my mother, Saadia, for her unconditional love and support, to the memory of my father, Omar and to my sisters Latifa, Samira and their siblings, for their support and hospitality when I am in Morocco. This thesis is also dedicated to my Scottish family: Sunniva for her continuous support and belief in me; Bram Sr. for his constant encouragement and conversation that sharpened my analysis and argumentation; Bram Jr. for his razor-sharp intellect and for giving his time to format this thesis; and Sam for his good-humoured support and encouragement.

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## Invitation to the reader

How do we think from a position of “double consciousness”? (Du Bois, 1953). Caught up in sites of struggles, between different ways of being, this journey I invite you to travel with me on is performative. It enacts living in/with/at the threshold of different possibilities of engaging with the world.

As I navigate everyday reality of living and working in the Global North, as I carry the sign of difference, I have learned the space allocated to me, not from reflection, not from theorising, not from observing from a detached position, but from embodied encounter. Linguistically, ethnically and culturally marked, my language assembles, reassembles and disassembles phoneme and morpheme. Saturated with loss, with allochronism, it lingers, it dwells, it refuses to be expelled. Betrayed by the slippery proposition, is it *at* or *on*? I am ‘caught out’ by the turn of phrase that does not fit in with the ‘normal’ way of speaking. My students, my colleagues notice: *What do you know about growing up in Scotland? You are not from here.*

This space fashioned out of the experience of migration, of hope and of being constantly repelled, denounced as a failure, deficient, a pale version of the ‘modern’ is (un)bordered. I am admitted to it, interpellated and acculturated into an institutional mindset. As a lecturer, I am ‘the internationaliser’. At the same time, the space is interrupted, parcelled into a thousand pieces of belonging and not belonging. My narratives resist but do not offer solutions. They grapple instead with the tensions, the dilemmas, the contradictions.

Othered by powerful discourses, and undermined by desires, technologies, infrastructures, classificatory schemes, I offer a rhizomatic orientation to the world. An orientation that speaks at times in different registers.

This writing brings together more than one register in places. One of the registers is intentionally an embodied, evocative, dialogic and performative register that invites the reader into the lived experience of what it means to be othered. In its fragility, rhizomes must be cared for as the connections they establish are temporary, contingent and ceaselessly moving. But this invitation is not a voyeuristic gaze, where the other is offered in their transparency. It is an ethical appeal to share a futurity marked by being-with, building-with and sharing-with. Taking a temporary rest along this journey is a powerful other register, a more ‘known’ academic discourse. It is one that tries to fix me, in both senses of the word.

This discourse judges, blinds and hides the speaker and the location from which it speaks. Disembodied, it defines, classifies and (dis)orders. In its arsenal, ever so ready and primed to attack are reliability and validity.

Following, Fels's (2015) notion of 'performative inquiry', these two registers used in this thesis are intentionally performative. No attempt is made to translate one into another. No linearity of communication between the reader and the writer is assumed here. The registers may jar, but they are left on the page to do just that – to provoke reaction, to jostle with each other, to contribute in their interaction toward a disruptive text, one for which – I hope – the heart of the narrative renderings win out! In what follows, I step onto the path of my journey, but I allow the reader a glimpse, just a glimpse, of how my journey unfolds, the stops I make and the relational stories I tell. In the telling, I invite you, unprepared, into this entanglement. You might be shocked, discomforted, but it is possible that you also may be elated and moved.



## (Un)mapping the journey

### Thesis structure

This thesis is comprised of six stages, represented by phases in a circular journey. This journey is both metaphorical and literal. It is my journey from Morocco to Scotland. It starts with crossing the Mediterranean Sea, travelling by train from Spain to France and then France to Britain. As an international student and later as a lecturer in a further education institution, I engage reflexively with the contradictions and dilemmas in the encounters with internationalisation. As I do so, I seek to resist the cultural hegemonies of discourses and practices of internationalisation and related ontological oppressions, such that the narrative text is performative in this endeavour. Each stage of the journey grapples with dilemmas, provocations, resistances and possibilities of being otherwise in the world.

The narrativising journey lays down maps of what has been constituted as ‘is’ in internationalisation, what needs ‘unmapping’, and what journeying might be imagined otherwise. The shape of this thesis structure draws influence from *critical rhizomatic narrative methodology*, with its phases/stages of a journey, ‘moments of articulation’, rhizomatic narrative renderings, criticality and emphasis on silences, and its contribution to decolonising research (methodologies). It situates *critical rhizomatic narrative* within themes of internationalisation, and, through extended critical conversations with postcoloniality and decoloniality, seeks to enlarge the provocations it offers.

The first three contributions to the journey begin with narrative renderings that offer broader socio-political contextualisations in which the narratives are situated.

**Stage One: Season of migration to the North.** This is the start of the journey. It contextualises internationalisation within the wider context of colonialism and Eurocentrism. As a literal and a metaphorical start to the journey, it looks awry at Whiteness as a promise that lies at the heart of internationalisation discourses and practices. It also problematises the ‘unfettered mobility’ that internationalisation discourses promise. By invoking the concept of a Black Mediterranean, the figure of the internationally-mobile student is contrasted with that of immobilised people or those compelled to flee, ones whose bodies and souls are less ‘grievable’.

**Stage Two: At the Border.** On a literal level this is a crossing of the border, a state of transit. This stage opens with a narrative set at the Spanish-French border. Metaphorically, this stage

foregrounds some of the key themes in internationalisation discourses and practices. I use the metaphor of transit to evoke a sense of the ways in which internationalisation is inextricably linked with colonialism.

**Becoming international.** This is a performative text that centres three discursive orientations to internationalisation. It opens with a managerial and intuitional voice of internationalisation that drowns out alternate philosophical commitments to pedagogy and critical engagement; engagement that is about being-in-the-world as ‘it is’ and as it might be. It intentionally mimics and performs powerful neoliberal discourse. Coexisting with this voice is a liberal orientation. This voice performs ‘needs’ by installing exchange relations. The international student is a therapeutic case; theorised as deficient, unable to assimilate to the host culture and is ‘in need’ of help. The third orientation to internationalisation is critical of the celebratory view of internationalisation. It is performative of a criticality that seeks to expose the dark side of internationalisation.

**Stage Three: At the Shore.** This stage is a deeper theoretical journeying. The narrative introduces the main themes and orientation of this stage of the journey.

**Shoreline thinking.** I use the metaphor of shoreline thinking as a liminal place from which to survey the wreckage of coloniality. I am guided in this stage of the journey by a range of postcolonial and decolonial theorists. Collectively, they have supplied me with an array of concepts to *think with* and coordinates *from which to think*, and they give meaning to my experience of internationalisation.

**Stage Four: At the Shelter.** Having surveyed the wreckage of coloniality, at this stage of the journey, I turn my attention to methodology.

**Roots in the sand.** I use this metaphor to unpack the nature and scope of the methodology I embrace for this journey. Just as roots cannot take hold in the sand, the methodology of *critical rhizomatic narrative* (CRN) is always-already emergent, always-already open. This stage also brings CRN into conversation with aspects of posthumanism.

**Stage Five: Unhomely Lives.** This is the main and longest part of the journey, and is distinguished by four interrelated but distinct narrative renderings. This stage of the journey throws me between the situated and embodied accounts of narrative, and the broader

conceptual themes of internationalisation that haunt my travels. The situated narrative accounts of lived experiences encounter internationalisation dialogically and rhizomatically, offering new tendrils of ethico-onto-epistemological ways of being in the world.

Metaphorically, this stage of the journey marks a transition from ‘being internationalised’ to becoming an ‘internationaliser’. I use the concept of ‘unhomely lives’ in order to give a sense of the embodied and reflexive encounters with internationalisation.

**The waiting room of history** is a reflexive account of the way internationalisation is taken up in a Scottish further education institution. It explores dominant assumptions within internationalisation discourses relating to the export of courses to the Global South. It considers the exchange relations this institutes and normalises. It also deals with the concept of silence and self-silencing.

**The tiger who came to tea** explores the deficit theorisation of international students within a Scottish higher education institution. It deals with the ways in which academic and media discourses “speak international students” into being. It also addresses the elision of the embodied experiences of international students.

**Taking a bullet** is a reflexive account of my experience of internationalising the curriculum. It addresses three incidents by way of staging internationalisation at Home as an embodied, lived and affective experience. It reflects on the ethical dilemmas of integrating an international dimension to the curriculum, promoting the presence of international lecturing staff on campus, and connecting classrooms globally.

**Stage Six: Season of migration to the South.** Metaphorically this stage represents a return to the South, not as a geographical location but as a postcolonial/decolonial site of struggle from which internationalisation can be envisioned anew. It asks questions about how we might live with others differently, opening up imaginaries and possibilities of more hopeful futures. It also offers some key contributions that this research makes to internationalisation, decolonising methodologies, ethico-onto-epistemologies, and hence how we might think, live, embody, and be in relation with others more meaningfully and hopefully.

Throughout this thesis, **FOOTNOTES** and **ENDNOTES** appear. **FOOTNOTES** (referenced using Roman numerals) are used to give short commentaries, explanations of terms and occasionally bibliographic references.

**ENDNOTES** (referenced numerically) are referred to as **RHIZOMATIC CONVERSATIONS**. These provide in-depth theoretical discussions and critiques, or offer alternative possible perspectives - as rhizomes - to parallel/divergent/ convergent discussions. While the **ENDNOTES** provide rhizomatic points of entry and theoretical grounding, the narratives can stand alone, thus inviting the reader to read the narratives variously.

## Season of migration to the North <sup>1</sup>

October, 1985

**Pizarro:** ...I'm tired. Where are you? You're so cold. I'd warm you if I could. But there's no warming now, not ever now. I'm cold too. There's a snow of death falling all round us. You can almost see it. It's over, lad. I'm coming after you. There's nothing but peace to come. We'll be put into the same earth, father and son in our own land. And that sun will roam uncaught over his empty pasture.

**Old Martin:** So fell Peru. We gave her greed, hunger and the Cross: three gifts for the civilized life. The family groups that sang on the terraces are gone. In their place slaves shuffle underground and they don't sing there. Peru is a silent country, frozen in avarice. So fell Spain, gorged with gold; distended; now dying.

[.....]

**Pizarro:** [singing] "She is cut up, O little finch, for stealing grain, O little finch."

**Old Martin:** General, you did for me, and now I've done for you. And there's no joy in that. Or in anything now. But then there's no joy in the world that could match for me what I had when I first went with you across the water to find the gold country. And no pain like losing it. Save you all.

Peter Shaffer, *The Royal Hunt of the Sun* (1964)

I, too, crossed the water to find the gold country.<sup>2</sup>

It is 1985. I am 23 years old (just a few years older than my eldest daughter is now, as I sit down to type). I am beginning my journey from Morocco to Scotland. I do not know it then, but this journey will show me many aspects of the world I could not have considered as a young Moroccan man. I will encounter situations and challenges that will leave me dumbfounded, only able to make sense of them through my body, history, post/de/colonial theory and praxis long after the fact.

I have no premonitions, no eerie feelings as I stand on the open deck at the back of the ferry from Tangier to Spain. It is an October morning, still fresh and bright. As the unblinking African sun burns away the last of the cloud cover, the temperature begins to rise. I look back at the shoreline of Tangier. The small adobe villas clustered along the sea line dazzle in the bright morning sun. Rows of one and two-storey bungalows sweep back towards the hills, a

slow curve of life and colour. The Grand Mosque stands sentry above the port, the sun glimmers on the dark green baize of the minaret. In a few hours the *salat-al-zuhr* will ring out from the tower. By then the ship will have rounded the coast, and we will be out of earshot.

The red rucksack I have purchased especially for this trip is densely packed with items of clothing. There are books, toiletries, some food, and a photo album which sticks into the corner of my back as I recline, and use the pack as a cushion. It is a relief to put down this heavy load, albeit momentarily. I have carried it for a long time. My back aches, and the straps of the rucksack have left red marks on my shoulders. But none of this matters to me now. I am full of hope.

Earlier, standing in line at immigration control as I queued to get my passport stamped by the Moroccan police, I had felt nervous but elated. The queue was full of hopeful, anxious, worried faces, probably much like my own. A cacophony of voices, telephones ringing, barked orders and pleading entreaties offered to the border authorities. I clutched two prized documents as tightly as I could: a green passport, and a transcript of my Bachelor's degree. I am bound for the West, for Europe.<sup>3</sup>

The receding shores of Morocco begin to undulate to the movement of the ferry. Many people have made/burnt (*haraga*) this journey before me.<sup>4</sup> I think of the faces of the people in the immigration queue. I look around at the other passengers, see the same mix of hope and anxiety in their expressions. In many of their faces, hope wins out. They too, like me, are travelling towards some new, some different destiny, like so many others have in the past. Yet, this crossing has lost its innocence. Lured by Europe and the promise of a better life, too many have perished in the attempting of it, and ended up as corpses washed up on the coasts of Spain.

Some have made this crossing only to be turned back by Spanish immigration officers, whose ability to grant or deny entry makes them gatekeepers, arbiters of fate. In years to come, countless others who cross will become stateless migrants living in camps like the Calais 'Jungle'. Some who make this crossing will simply vanish. They become undocumented: the "sans papier", people whose bodies are the very emblem of their illegality. Those whose precarious existence manifests itself in a never-ending sense of insecurity, a lack of access to health services, education and meaningful employment activities, open to exploitation and dehumanisation.

Like these people, I too make this crossing. There are many differences between us, but the main one is that my movement is largely unfettered. As an international student, I join a distinct category of people converging on universities in ‘the metropole’. In many ways, the world in which I travel is that of an elite, but constrained by ideological and discursive norms; situated between a ruthlessly competitive, commercialised and commodified discourse of internationalisation, and another discourse that declares as its core principles the lofty notions of enabling international mobility, interculturalism, and the reciprocal flow of knowledge. I am on my way to the metropole to become a native informant; to document aspects of my culture. I will be compelled to convey these aspects in a transparent and an unmediated way. Or perhaps I am returning the “gift” given to me by the civilising mission? How is my mobility connected to the immobility of others?<sup>5</sup>

The receding shores of Africa lose their distinctiveness in the heat-haze and reflected sunlight. The many buildings that overlook the Tangier shoreline merge into an undifferentiated white mass. The coordinates of my journey are now fixed. My destination is the North. As Africa disappears, the shadow of Europe reaches the prow of the boat, bringing with it its own significance. Gibraltar’s majestic cliffs tower over the rolling, drifting ship. The port was once called Jabel Tariq. That name is lost in decades of European hegemony; lost to history. Now, it is the southernmost tip of the North - a borderland.

The ferry sounds mingle with the slap and swish of the waves. A soft salt mist rises from the sea to cool my face. I look and listen more closely to the passengers, and detect different accents, different tongues. I look at the faces of the Europeans with whom I share the deck of the ferry, and try to see the same hope there, the same anxiety, as I see in the faces of my fellow Moroccan travellers. In truth, most of the European faces are serene. They project the quiet confidence of the wealthy. I hear French, German, even an American accent. Perhaps they are now returning to their safe, ‘civilised’ environs after a few days amidst the exotic spice and ‘savagery’ of the souks, the Atlas Mountains, the mosques and the minarets. From this “savage slot”, here I stand, in front of Europe.<sup>6</sup> Drawn to it, I am mesmerised by its powers to enthrall, seduce and captivate; and at the same time to block, to reject, and to deport.

## Rhizomatic conversations

<sup>1</sup> This is a title of a novel by the Sudanese novelist Tayeb Saleh. This does not mean that I reproduce in the duality of North/South, two distinct geographical locations. A key lesson from postcolonial theorising, especially Said's *Orientalism*, is that the North/South binary (or Western/non-Western) institutes with it civilisational differences and these have profound consequences. As Said argues, Orientalism as a way of studying the Orient, construes the idea of European identity as superior in comparison to non-Europeans. Similarly, in development discourse, the effect of this binary is that it essentialises the South as the site of poverty and underdevelopment as a residual problem, emanating from the putative inability of the South to manage its resources and govern itself. These representations are then invoked to justify intervention by others. I treat the South and North as relational constructs in order to highlight their historical, cultural, economic and political entanglement. I return to this concern in the last section of this thesis. As its title suggests, the season of migration to the South, is a metaphorical journey whose purpose is to undo this duality and the distinctiveness of the North and the South. In this, I follow de Sousa Santos's understanding of the South, not as a geographical location, but a site of suffering. Comaroff and Comaroff's insights here are pertinent:

where are we to place those powerhouses to which we keep returning, the likes of India, Brazil, South Africa, and Nigeria, which seem to straddle the cleavage between hemispheres? And this is not to mention the most portentous player of all, China. On the one hand, these are among the more dynamic economies on the planet. Yet, still being highly polarized, they are geo-scapes in which enclaves of wealth and order feed off, and sustain, large stretches of scarcity, violence, and exclusion. Microcosms of the so-called North-South divide. Which is also true, increasingly, of Euro-America. In short, there is much South in the North, much North in the South, and more of both to come in the future. (2012, p. 127)

<sup>2</sup> This play is a wonderful and tragic example of extraction, plunder and disposition. I want to highlight the connection between gold and ruin as both side of the 'golden coin'. At one level, gold invokes the neoliberal discourse of internationalisation where educational mobility has a significant impact on the employment prospect of students. As Murphy-Lejeune (2002) argues, educational mobility enables students to acquire "mobility capital", which is "a sub-component of human capital, enabling individuals to enhance their skills because of their richness of experience gained by living abroad" (p.51), a dominant theme of a neoliberal global citizenship. At another level, in invoking gold, I am referring to Stuart Hall's paradox:



There is a tremendous paradox here which I cannot help relishing myself to; that in the very moment when finally Britain convinced itself it had to decolonize, it had to get rid of them, we all came back home. As they hauled down the flag, we got on the banana boat and sailed right into London. That is a terrible paradox because they had ruled the world for three hundred years and, at least, when they had made up their minds to climb out of that hole, at least the others ought to have stayed out there in the rim, behaved themselves, gone somewhere else, or found some other client state. No, they had always said that this was really home, the streets were paved with gold and, bloody hell, we just came to check out whether that was so or not. (1989, p. 4)

The journey Hall describes here is one where the other - that which European identity, negates and subjugates, yet is essential to its very formation - sails to the metropole. A metropole which is built on extraction. Fanon thoughtfully articulates this when he says:

[i]n concrete terms Europe has been bloated out of all proportions by the gold and raw materials from such colonial countries as Latin America, China, and Africa. Today Europe's tower of opulence faces these continents, for centuries the point of departure of their shipments of diamonds, oil, silk and cotton, timber, and exotic produce to this very same Europe. Europe is literally the creation of the Third World. The riches which are choking it are those plundered from the underdeveloped peoples. The ports of Holland, the docks in Bordeaux and Liverpool owe their importance to the trade and deportation of millions of slaves. And when we hear the head of a European nation declare with hand on heart that he must come to the aid of the unfortunate peoples of the underdeveloped world, we do not tremble with gratitude. On the contrary, we say among ourselves, "it is a just reparation we are getting". (1963, pp.58-59)

<sup>3</sup> Why Europe? I often wonder. What made Europe such an alluring place for me? Europe, here, is understood as a concept and a project. Attempts to tether Europe to a set of referents (Christian, master race, and so forth) emerge from specific historical and ideological contexts. Yet, this does not mean that the concept of Europe is an abstract concept. Rather, as a cultural, social, economic and political project, Europe is a way of materialising/"worlding" the world. As Stock (2017) notes, "'Europe' is a set of beliefs or principles that can be used to interpret the world and to define spaces and peoples" (p.25). How we come to define and delimit Europe has proven to be a fertile area of critical engagement. I make reference here to a special issue of *Interventions: Journal of postcolonial Studies*, 18 (2), 2016, entitled *The Point of Europe*, which interrogated Europe as a concept and a project. Ponzanesi (2016, p. 164) summarises these provocations as follows:

...[the] open-ended intervention proposed by this special issue: [is] putting the idea of Europe under erasure, contesting its history of singularity and exceptionalism while opening up to the ideal of Europe as an unfinished project which has still not fulfilled its

potential, as invoked by Bauman. The point of Europe lies in redirecting the course of Europe, finding new pointers and new signposts, as well as acknowledging its continuing dark legacy, the ‘black box’ of Europe that still needs to be decoded.

<sup>4</sup>To ‘burn’ is a desire and tactic. I often hear Moroccans tell me that they have a burning desire to immigrate. A tactic: people burn their identity papers to hide their national identity from border guards. The reference to “burning” here is to be understood within the imaginary of migration among Moroccan youths. Faced with an assemblage of securitising technologies of the European border (Gamal and Swanson, 2018), migration in Morocco is “increasingly understood as the compelling yet often unrealizable project of an illegal crossing to Europe” (Pondolfo, 2007, p.333). The burning (‘*l-harg*’, which derives from the Arabic verb *haraq* ‘to burn’) refers to the “the clandestine departure, hidden in the bottom of a truck, or by hazardous sea passage” across the Mediterranean (p. 333). To burn is to transgress and take the risk. As Pondolfo says:

In the metaphor and the discourse of *l-harg* – clandestine migration, incineration, burning, transgression (in the sense that one also says *hargt l-feu rouge*, I ‘burned’, that is, went through, a red light) – and in the stories of the *harraga* with whom I spoke, there is reference made to a heterogeneous configuration relating to the figure of a ‘burned’ life – a life without name, and without legitimacy; a life of enclosure in physical, genealogical and cultural spaces perceived as uninhabitable; and the search for a horizon in the practices of self-creation and experimentation drawing on an imaginary of the elsewhere and of exile. (Pondolfo, 2007, p. 333)

This “burning” and the risk to one’s life, in the crossing of the Mediterranean is intimately connected “to a theological and moral dimension of departing: the fact of severing familial ties, exiting, choosing exile, or crossing to another world” (Pondolfo, 2007, p. 333). In this context, the concept of *Black Mediterranean* (Di Maio, 2013), invites us to consider the “burning” not as “a moment of exception or as a discrete event in time but, rather, as a late consequence of Europe’s violent encounter with the Global South” (Danewid, 2017, p. 1680). In making the Mediterranean black, what is fractured is the classical notion of the Mediterranean as a unitary sea. Its historical trajectory becomes punctured and scared “by slavery, drowning, brutality, and the wrecked lives of ferocious migration today” (Chambers 2010, p. 681, as cited in Proglia, Hawthorne, Danewid, Saucier, Grimaldi, Pesarini, Raeymaekers, Grechi and Gerrand, 2021, p. 4). Chambers (2020), further illustrates this by arguing that locating the question of (im)mobility between Europe and Africa in a wider historical context serves to highlight border violence and its attendant technologies and

infrastructures that continue to immobilise, restrict and constrain black mobility within “carceral geographies”:

Assembled materially in historical processes and analytical practices, the Mediterranean has been captured within contemporary European culture in a combination of judgments and geographies. Today, it is suspended between its presumed ancient roots now in ruins, and the leisure activities of modern vacations. The recent arrival of ‘illegal’ immigrants, accompanied by the ghosts of thousands of bodies strewn on the sea bed, has dramatically pierced this image of the Mediterranean, breaching the complacent surfaces of its history. Its repressed complexity now resurfaces in all its force. The non-authorized arrival of the modern migrant has reopened that archive, torn the maps that had once confined such strangers in precise locations – elsewhere, on the other side, certainly not in Europe – and has exposed the Mediterranean and modern Europe to a series of unexpected prospects and voices. (p. 142)

<sup>5</sup> I find the emphasis on student mobility within internationalisation discourse problematic because it assumes everyone can move freely between countries. I cannot think of mobility without thinking about people who have been immobilised. Student mobility is deemed to be a crucial aspect of internationalisation. It is also said to enable students to develop a number of ‘skills’ and ‘attributes’, including intercultural understanding. Mobility is assumed to develop and enhance employability in a global market, global citizenship and global mindset (Hammond and Keating, 2017; Bourn, 2018; Brooks and Waters, 2011). What this celebratory view of mobility elides, is discussion of the “contemporaneous pluralities” (Massey, 2005). Discussions of mobility need to attend to the ways in which student mobility is uneven and unequal. These “inequalities are most clearly apparent between individuals, on the one hand, and geographical regions on the other” (Brooks and Waters, 2011, p. 135). Spatially, the flow of international students is overwhelmingly towards countries such as the UK, Australia, and US (there are however exceptions, such as Singapore). Brooks et al. (2011) also note that student’s mobility serves to exacerbate educational inequalities. Accordingly, mobility enables students to gain international credentials “which become valorized to the detriment of locally-acquired qualifications” (Brooks et al., 2011, p. 132).

<sup>6</sup> I found this notion of the “savage slot” very powerful. What really shocks me is that it is used in Morocco as a term of abuse. Often, here, a Moroccan calls another “savage” to refer to that person’s putatively ‘uncouth’ manner. For Michel-Rolph Trouillot (2003), the notion of the “savage slot”, is an ideological frame that references the ways in which the ‘West’ conceives of itself and organises the world. Trouillot tells us that:

in creating the “West,” the European Renaissance shaped a global geography imaginary. That Geography required a “Savage slot,” a space for the inherently “Other”...The West is always a fiction, an exercise in global legitimation. That exercise sometimes takes the form of an explicit project in the hands of intellectual, economic or political leaders. (p. 1)

I am reminded, here, of Glissant (1989, p. 2) when he says “the West is not in the West. It is a project, not a place.”

The notion of ‘standing in front of Europe’ is not to be taken as a gesture of defiance, but rather an embodied encounter in a foreign land. Prior to this, the encounter with Europe was for me mainly conceptual. I encountered the idea of Europe through literature, history, electronic goods, cinema and sport. Through stories my grandmother narrated to me, I encountered another aspect of Europe: the violence, both physical and epistemic, of the Europeans, especially the French during the colonisation of Morocco. Dabashi, eloquently, articulates this embodied image of ‘standing in front of Europe’:

Foreign to its familiarities, a stranger at home, I stand in front of Europe and ask Europe please to introduce itself not with an accusatory finger, or to be sure with an extended hand of false friendship, neither with a raised fist of anticolonial anger, nor indeed with the affected forgiveness of a postcolonial reason. We have all been there and done that. Our time faces a different challenge: the challenge of overcoming Europe, bringing it to the fold of a different world it left in ruins. I stand in front of Europe as a metaphoric mystery— aware of the sustained course of its racist colonial and imperial atrocities, conscious of its false familiarities—basking in the sun of its recognizable shores as a mixed metaphor. (2019, p. 9)

## At the Border

*I watch the foothills of the Pyrenees ascend into a starless night sky as the train thunders on. The hills are of a different colour, scale and composition than the dusky green and brown expanses of the Atlas Mountains, where my Berber relatives still live. These jagged Northern peaks are clothed in dark green, snow-capped even in June. In the darkness, their greenery has a deep purple hue. I lean back against my red rucksack, my eyelids heavy.*

*The train lurches to a halt with a scream of metal. The other passengers and I are shaken violently awake by the sudden stop. Outside, there are men in uniform on the tracks. The view of the distant hills is now enclosed. The men lead dogs on leashes, their hot breath mists in the cold night air.*

*Borders... lines on a map. For many, these borders define us. For others, they constrain and immobilise. They condemn some of us, in the words of the Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish, "to slog over this endless, endless road with nothing to lose but the dust."*

*My companions and I from the carriage are led outside by the porter. We climb down and form a line, next to the train. We are shoulder-to-shoulder, single file. I have my passport, I have my transcript. I should have nothing to fear from the guards, but my legs are shaking, my palms sweating. My eyes remain fixed on a single spot. I hope that I do not look nervous. What have I got to hide? I panic when I remember the small plastic tub in my rucksack. It contains dried mint leaves, for making tea, grown on the roof garden of the house where my mother raised me. Nothing illegal, but who is to say what a guard will think, if he were to see it? I watch the dogs sniff the air, and hope there is nothing in my appearance that warrants more than a glance.*

*The violent slamming of worlds. I see my fellow travellers in similar states of resolute nervousness. Jaws clenched, chins raised, shoulders squared. Waiting for the blow, as a French border guard inspects each of us carefully. He looks each man, woman and child square in the eye. His steely, penetrating gaze goes from picture, to face. From passport, to expression; looking for signs of deviancy, suspicious intent. His burly colleagues stand sentry at his shoulders, hands gripping the leashes of the dogs.*

*At the frontiers, lines collide. Bodies are hemmed in. Identification... the moment where the movement of time stops. Freeze-framed in the flash of a picture, taken unexpectedly. Preserved in history, stained sepia. A vignette.*

*The border guard reaches me, and meticulously examines my newly-issued passport. His face is lined and grizzled, two-day stubble across his jutting chin. He thrusts it in my face, peers closer. I can smell his breath. He glances at me, and back at the passport. What does my picture say? Does it reflect me?*

*He hands my passport back, and motions for me to keep it open in my palm. I comply, and he brings out a large metal ink-stamp. He brings the stamp down hard on the blank page of my open passport. I hold my breath, and wait to see the word REJECTED. But the stamp on my passport says TRANSIT.*

*Transit from the periphery to the metropole. Transit through the liminal. Transit from the barbaric to the civilised.*

\* \* \*

### **Becoming international**

Over the last few decades, internationalisation of higher education has gained in prominence both at institutional and national levels. Framed as a response to a putative uncontrollable process of globalisation (Stier and Börjesson, 2010), internationalisation has been embraced by policy makers. Serving a number of agendas, when heard from dominant institutional perspectives, economically, internationalisation, through activities such as international student recruitment, is said to generate revenues for universities, the communities in which the international students live while abroad, and the country which hosts these students (McCartney and Metcalfe, 2018; Marginson and Wende, 2007). Further, internationalisation is considered to be essential in educating ‘global citizens’. As Yemini (2015, p. 21) suggests, internationalisation is a “process of encouraging integration of multicultural, multilingual, and global dimensions within the education system, with the aim of instilling in learners a sense of global citizenship”. Whilst the dominant approach to internationalisation of higher education has remained largely celebratory, in the sense that it views internationalisation as a neutral activity, a critical corpus of literature has pointed out the “dark side” of internationalisation. This critical current has articulated the ways in which internationalisation activities such as the recruitment of international students, study abroad programmes, export of curricula, are potentially harmful (Stein, 2017; Stein and Andreotti, 2017; Stein and McCartney, 2021; Yao, Mwangi and Brown, 2019).

Whilst internationalisation of higher education is complex, multidimensional and often fragmented process (Frølich and Veiga, 2005), it has generated a vast amount of literature which has tried to grapple with this diversity (George and Yao, 2021; Cross, Mhlanga and Ojo, 2011; Yemini, 2015). In this section of my journey, I offer a review of some of the orientations of this literature. This review is by no means meant to be comprehensive. I focus on some of the key aspects of internationalisation that pose some relevance to the arguments in my thesis. I start by discussing the ways in which research on internationalisation has focussed at the onset on providing a conceptual definition of internationalisation. I introduce the work of Jane Knight (1993) whose definition of internationalisation shaped later discussions, especially concerning the issue of rationales for internationalisation. A second section addresses the ways in which a range of theorists have attempted to provide a conceptual home for the notion of internationalisation. This deals with attempts to further elaborate and unpack the conceptual definition supplied by Knight. Following this, I introduce the work of the Ethical Internationalisation of Higher Education (EIHE) project. I discuss the ways in which the heuristic device developed by the project team allows a mapping of various discursive orientations of internationalisation: neoliberal, liberal and critical. Following this, I take each orientation and provide a critical mapping of the literature on internationalisation by addressing the key research foci and the themes.

*My voice is strained, constrained*

*Choked by a din of policy discourse*

*It exists*

*Only as murmur downed*

*In literature, grey literature.*

### **Defining the field**

Early research on internationalisation has been concerned with the conceptual clarification of internationalisation, notably the question of defining the scope and nature of internationalisation. This research was aimed at practitioners and policy makers (Kehm and Teichler, 2007; Dolby and Rahman, 2008). One of the earliest attempts to grapple with the difficulties involved in defining internationalisation is Arum and Van de Water (1992) who noted that when referring to international education, the following terms are used interchangeably: “international education, international affairs, international studies, international programs, global education, multicultural education, global studies, the

international perspective, and the international dimension' (p 193). In an attempt to provide conceptual clarity, Arum et al. (1992) defined internationalisation as "the multiple activities, programs and services that fall within international studies, international educational exchange and technical cooperation" (cited in Knight, 2004, p. 9). Whilst this definition provided an initial way to define the scope of internationalisation, it is Knight's definition of internationalisation which has set the tone for much of the research to follow. For Knight, internationalisation is an institutional process of "integrating an international/intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution" (1993, p.21). Källemark and van der Wende (1997) widened the context of internationalisation to include "any systematic, sustained efforts aimed at making higher education responsive to the requirements and challenges related to the globalization of societies, economy and labour markets' (p. 19).

Further conceptual elaboration of internationalisation has dealt with the rationales of internationalisation. Accordingly, a number of rationales for internationalisation have been suggested. Chief amongst them is international security, environmental interdependence, the commercialisation of education, economic competitiveness and the increasing diversity of students (Knight, 2004; Knight and de Wit, 1995; de Wit, 2002). Knight (1997) suggests four rationales for internationalisation: political, economic, academic and cultural/social. The political rationale is concerned with foreign policy and a country's position in the world. This includes concerns with security, stability and peace. Education within this context is considered to be "a form of diplomatic investment for future and economic relations" (Knight, 1997, p.9). In terms of the economic rationale, Knight suggests that internationalisation of education aims at securing the economic growth and the competitiveness of a nation in its capacity to attract and generate funds from international students. As for the academic rationale, Knight argues that adding an international dimension to the core function of a university, enhances the 'quality' of teaching, research and services. In terms of the cultural/social rationale for internationalisation, Knight suggests that internationalisation leads to improved 'intercultural understanding and communication' and in preparing students to acquire the 'skills' in intercultural relations and communications.

This initial attempt at delimiting the scope, nature and rationales of internationalisation has provided much of the basis for subsequent research in internationalisation. An initial thrust of this research was directed towards revising these rationales in order to account for the changes in priorities of institutions. Knight provides a revision of her earlier attempt (1997).



In her updated version Knight (2004, p.22) states that a number of overlapping rationales have emerged. For example, the categories of strategic alliances, commercial trade, nation building and social/cultural development cannot “be neatly placed” within the rationales identified in Knight (1997).

### **Research on internationalisation**

There have been a number of attempts to map out the scope of research on internationalisation. I will focus on two such attempts as they encapsulate the main categories with which internationalisation scholars have been concerned. The first strand aims at outlining the themes, topics and trends in internationalisation of higher education. Dolby and Rahman (2008, p. 676) have attempted to historicise research on internationalisation by attending to “the historical context and the global political, economic, social and cultural shifts” that have informed research on internationalisation. Dolby and Rahman noted that since the primary audience for the research on internationalisation has been practitioners and administrators, “the orientation of the research in earlier years was largely practical, applied, and generally unconcerned with the larger context within which the internationalization of education occurs” (Dolby and Rahman, 2008, p.688). This practitioner-oriented research adopted internationalisation uncritically and failed to question “the discourses of ‘economic competitiveness’” (p. 688). There are, however, notable exceptions to this research, which are critical and thoughtful, (see Altbach, 1998 and Marginson, 2002)

Caruana and Spurling (2007) provide another mapping of the research on internationalisation by identifying a range of common themes with which scholars have been concerned. One such theme is the broadening of the scope of internationalisation to encompass linguistic tropes of “internationalisation at Home” (IaH), Global Citizenship (Education) and (Education for) Sustainable Development. A second theme, Caruana et al. (2007) identify is a set tensions that emerge in an attempt to ‘embed’ internationalisation and global perspectives in strategy and curriculum across institutions. A key facet of this tension is the gap between the rhetoric and the reality of the implementation of internationalisation strategies. Further, they note that some of the scholarly literature attended to international students’ experience of learning, notably the question of new curriculum models for the multicultural classroom. However, as Caruana et al. (2006) aver, most of the research on internationalisation lacked theoretical grounding as it was targeted towards administrators who were concerned mainly with devising and implementing internationalisation strategies. Much of this research

conceived of internationalisation as a response to globalisation, seen here either as an external force of “dislocation” or as a homogenising force, the effect of which is to institute uniformity and standardisation as key principles of internationalisation.

Whilst this first strand of research has attempted to provide a conceptual home for internationalisation, it nevertheless conceives of internationalisation as a “neutral” experience: as a response to external imperatives. In contrast to this, the second strand of research on internationalisation in higher education is marked by an increased attention to the ideological assumptions that underpin various definitions and research on internationalisation. A number of approaches and typologies of internationalisation have been developed (Joseph, 2011; Stier, 2010; Hanson, 2010 and Bolsmann and Miller, 2008). Joseph (2012) for instance has noted there are three approaches to the internationalisation of the curriculum. An economic rationalist approach that focusses on “educational capitalism and markets in relation to international students, offshore programs, and branch campuses overseas” (Joseph, 2012, p. 241). Internationalisation here is animated by revenue generation. Coupled with this is an integrative approach that consists of integrating intercultural dimensions into an already existing curriculum (Joseph, 2012, p.241). Lastly, Joseph, discerns a transformative approach that is “aligned with a critical understanding of pedagogical enquiry that includes inclusive education, feminist pedagogies and anti-racist and postcolonial pedagogies” (Joseph, 2012, p.242). Hanson (2010) notes similar rationales animating internationalisation. Here, Hanson refers to a market model, where internationalisation is understood as a means of “increasing the global advantages of academic institutions through strengthened competitive position” (p.72). A liberal model sees internationalisation as a means to achieve ‘intercultural understanding’. A social transformative model shares with the liberal model its emphasis on ‘intercultural understanding’ as a goal of internationalisation, but adds a concern with “critical social analysis and rejects the idea of market supremacy inherent in the ‘market model’” (Hanson, 2010 p.73).

Stier (2010) articulates a similar categorisation. For Stier, internationalisation of education is animated by three dominant ideologies: idealism, instrumentalism and educationalism. According to idealists, Stier argues, the principal task of universities is to develop good, morally-conscious citizens and to ensure intercultural learning and understanding. Instrumentalism as ideology views "higher education as a means to facilitate entrepreneurial and innovative processes and to ensure sustainable development and economic growth, and

increase profit" (Stier, 2010, p. 341). 'Educationalism' is concerned with 'lifelong learning', "beyond organised education, strongly emphasising the value of learning itself and education in a wider sense of the word" (Stier, 2010, p.344).

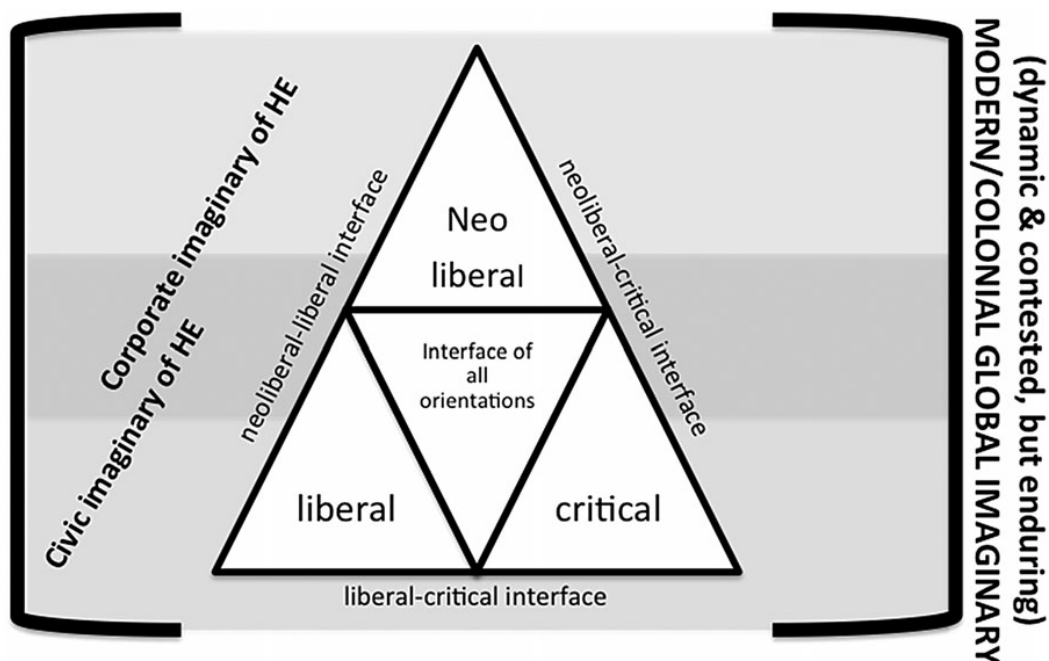
What these various explanations of the ideologies that animate internationalisation have in common is a strong focus on "educational capitalism", which is often adjoined with 'educational' and 'transformative' rationales. Turner and Robson (2007), provide a useful taxonomy to conceive of this attempt to align market-led and transformative conceptions of internationalisation. Turner et al. (2007) distinguish between "symbolic" and "transformative" internationalisation. Symbolic internationalisation is a feature of educational institutions that are "local or national in their orientations but have some international students and some international staff" (Turner et al., 2007, p. 68). This "symbolic" orientation is driven by market values such as competition, global positioning and branding of the institution. These translate into a set of activities aimed at revenue generating, such as student recruitment, transnational projects and partnerships. Contrastingly, "transformative" internationalisation characterises an institution where "an international orientation becomes embedded in routine ways of thinking and doing, in policy and management, staff ...and curriculum" (Turner et al., 2007, p.68). The focus here is on international knowledge sharing, cooperation and engagement. It also acts to install a hidden agenda of enculturation into these norms, hinted at through the coercive use of 'embedded'.

In articulating the various ideologies that frame internationalisation, this strand adds more complexity and nuance to the research on internationalisation. Accordingly, internationalisation is often the site of competing and conflicting claims and purposes. Various attempts to categorise these differing positions tend to treat these ideologies as "fixed, totalized, or idealized representation" (Andreotti, Stein, Pashby and Nicolson, 2016). In other words, these taxonomies have the effect of 'fixing' approaches to internationalisation, rather than unravelling and challenging them. What is missing in these taxonomies is an understanding of the ways in which these ideologies and rationales of internationalisation are used strategically and are selectively deployed in various contexts. In my narrative rendering, I engage with situations in which internationalisation discourses and practices as experienced viscerally and contradictory. Assuming as its core function is to civilize, to help, to solve problems, to generate income and to develop intercultural 'competence' in students. These are some of the ways in which internationalisation is taken up in my institution.

## Social cartography and discourses of internationalisation

To address some of the limitations of these taxonomies, I adopt a mapping of internationalisation developed by The Ethical Internationalisation in Higher Education (EIHE) project. This project was motivated "by shared concerns that financial imperatives were driving unethical internationalization practices and undermining the potential for ethical engagements in higher education" (Andreotti et al., 2016, p.2). To this effect, more than 22 partners from eleven countries and five continents came together "to examine the convergence of internationalization and economic pressures in higher education" (p.2). The EIHE project adopted social cartography (Paulston, 2009) as a methodology in order "to map values, predispositions and perceptions related to various elements of internationalization" (Andreotti et al., 2006, p. 3). It attended to various elements of internationalisation, including "epistemic difference, global citizenship, social accountability and global change" and the changing regimes of (de)funding public education (Andreotti et al., 2006, p.3).

The social cartography deployed in the EIHE project consists of three discursive configurations identified in the literature of higher education: neoliberal, liberal and critical and four interfaces: neoliberal-liberal, liberal-critical, neoliberal-critical, and possible coexistence of all four. However, these orientations are not mutually exclusive as there is a great degree of overlap between them. Nevertheless, these orientations along with cartography as a method seek to highlight the ambiguities, nuances as well as the imaginaries that underpin these various discursive configuration (for a discussion of the imaginaries of the university, see Andreotti et al., 2016).



*Figure 1. Discursive orientations in the corporate/civic imaginary of higher education.  
(Andreotti et al., 2016)*

The neoliberal orientation operates within the context/practices of “academic capitalism” (Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004). Accordingly, the activities of knowledge production and teaching are framed as commodities. By extension, universities are conceived of as “providers of credentials, expert services and commercial innovations” (Andreotti et al., 2016, p.8). Students become, therefore, consumers who are involved in “transactional relationship with instructors” (p.8). Income generation, in this vein, and related marketing activities such as branding and ranking become "cornerstones of institutional survival" (p.8).

A liberal discursive orientation to internationalisation is grounded in a civic imaginary of the university. Internationalisation here is marked by a commitment "to the public good, civic engagement, representative democracy, equality, individual freedoms" (Andreotti et al., 2016, p.8). The purpose of education in this orientation is to produce citizens who are committed “to a singular ideal of progress, conceptualization of humanity and vision of the future" (Andreotti et al., 2016, p.8). This orientation sees internationalisation as a means to bring about equity by increasing the participation of marginalised populations in education.

Finally, the third discursive orientation in internationalisation, critical orientation, addresses issues of inclusion and promotes radical forms of democracy. Located within the civic imaginary of the university, this orientation "seeks to interrupt violent patterns of power and knowledge” (Andreotti et al., 2016, p.8). It highlights a number of sites and modes of oppression such as “capitalist exploitation, processes of racialization and colonialism” (p.8). In contrast to the liberal orientation, which is premised on a "singular and homogeneous narratives of the nation-state", the thrust of which is to redistribute resources and to maximise participation in education (p.8), the critical orientation “aims to transform, pluralize, or replace these narratives through historical and systemic analyses of patterns of oppression and unequal distributions of power, labour and resources" (p.8).

Whilst this cartography brings to the fore the distinctive characteristic of each discursive orientation to internationalisation, it also attends to the ambiguities, ambivalences, tensions, shifting and strategic deployment of these discursive orientations. To account for these, four interfaces were suggested. The neoliberal–liberal interface tends to deploy market logic and economic rationalisation of liberal "civic process and meanings". Whilst the liberal-critical interface acknowledges injustices, it tends to depoliticise these by advocating "for

institutional change based on personal (rather than systemic) choice or transformation" (Andreotti et al., 2016, p.9). The critical-neoliberal interface deploys a critical register in order to "to defend interests framed in economic terms". It frames the economy "as the common good" and champions "the protection of entitlements of 'clients' and stakeholders (ranked by institutional investments and risks) as the promotion of fairness and justice" (p.9). In some cases, as Andreotti et al. (2016) attest, all of these three orientations are mobilised simultaneously in framing internationalisation.

This heuristic allows me to map these various discursive orientations and the various imaginaries that inform and shape them, it is also a performative and pedagogic tool as it enables diverse communities to 'open up meanings, to uncover limits within cultural fields, and to highlight reactionary attempts to seal borders and prohibit translations' (Paulston, 2009, p. 977 as cited in Andreotti et al., 2016, p.2). Whilst I do acknowledge that the heuristic has attended to three dominant discourses of internationalisation and their interfaces, because of the vast amount of literature on internationalisation, I limit myself in this discussion to exploring three dominant discourses of internationalisation only, but reference will be made to the interfaces that pertain to the in-between discourses of internationalisation.

### **Neoliberal discursive orientation**

Underpinning the neoliberal discursive orientation of internationalisation is a set of core assumptions. Firstly, internationalisation is framed in terms of a logic of 'necessitarianism' (Munck, 2003) and secondly, it espouses a celebratory view of internationalisation. In terms of the necessitarianism logic, a key feature of the neoliberal discourse is its tendency to invoke internationalisation as a response to globalisation. Defined as "an inevitable, downward pressing social, economic and political force", globalisation compels universities to internationalise their curricula and mission (Cantwell and Maldonado-Maldonado, 2009, p. 289). The following examples serve to illustrate this understanding of internationalisation as a response to globalisation. Agnew (2012, p.473) notes that that many "institutions of higher education are responding to globalisation by infusing international perspectives into the core functions of teaching, research and service". Jibeen and Khan (2015, p. 196) state that:

All over the world, universities respond to challenges presented by globalization in various ways. One response is the internationalization of the university campuses. In order to get benefit from the global trend, many educational institutions are trying hard to establish agreements and collaborations with regional, international and even intercontinental universities.

Rizvi and Lingard (2010) have challenged the necessitarianism logic that conceives of globalisation as a “kind of juggernaut, which people and nations simply have to come to terms with and negotiate as best as they can” (p. 32-33). For Rizvi et al. (2010) the problem with this view is that it “ontologizes” globalisation as inevitable and in doing so, it seeks to “forge a shared implicit understanding of the problems to which policies [internationalisation] are presented as solutions....” Globalisation, within this logic, is a “deeply ideological” term. It is one that is imbued with “power relations, practices and technologies” (p.33), the effect of which is to shape and discipline our conduct by instituting a neoliberal global imaginary that consists of “a range of norms, values, claims, beliefs and narratives” (p.33).

In terms of the second assumption that underpins the neoliberal conception of internationalisation, a widely shared view is that internationalisation is inherently ‘good’. Within the literature, this ‘inherent goodness’ is seen through the prism of internationalisation’s putative economic benefits. Jibeen et al. (2015, p.197) suggest that internationalisation of higher education enables and sustains the growth of “science and scholarship through dynamic academic exchanges; and building social and economic capacity in developing countries”. Murphy (2007, p.198) conceives of internationalisation as “one way to bridge the gap between developing and developed countries” (p.198). For her, internationalisation would foster “the distribution of the world’s knowledge and technology, the standardization of quality standards, and the transfer of complementary ideas to countries embarking on new political, social and economic projects” (p.198). Whilst this diffusionist, civilisational model is deeply problematic, suffice it to note here that viewing internationalisation as inherently good is infected with a colonial logic, to which I return my ‘theoretical journeying’ called *shoreline thinking*. Here, I discuss further celebratory views of internationalisation in relation to the advantage it bestows on students. The development of “intercultural competence” (similarly, to the problematic term of ‘intercultural understanding’) is conceptualised as the cultivation of “an internationalised mindset” and skillset (Robson, 2011) that is said to enable students to develop ‘competences’ associated with “labour market advantage, such as independence, resilience, autonomy, linguistic ability and inter-cultural skills” (Brookes and Waters, 2011, p. 73).

Taken together, these two assumptions open up a space with which to critically engage in what they bring to the fore and what they elide and silence. In foregrounding a neoliberal social imaginary of internationalisation, they elide the dark side of internationalisation,

especially the colonial logic and the epistemic violence it engenders. Having articulated the key assumptions of the neoliberal discursive orientation to internationalisation, the rest of this section is given to unpacking the neoliberal discursive orientation to internationalisation. I focus, here, on income generation, the recruitment of international students, the economic benefits to the nation, transnational education, the selling of credentials, competition, the securing and increasing national prestige, and building international profile and reputation.

### **Income generation**

Concomitant with the recent changes in higher education institutions - variously referred to as academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), new managerialisms (Lynch, 2015; Deem and Brehoney, 2005), corporate or entrepreneurial universities (Wasser, 1990; Gibb and Hannon, 2006), and the commodification of education (Naidoo and Jamieson, 2005, Naidoo and Williams, 2015) - the neoliberal reframing of education has laid great emphasis on income generation. As Slaughter and Rhodes (2004) suggest, higher education institutions see their core functions, such as knowledge production and teaching, as income generation streams. Research activities, in this vein, are seen as generating knowledge and technologies that could be patented. Similarly, curriculum and teaching materials are copyrighted and marketed. Although some strands in the literature suggest that higher education institutions engage in internationalisation for a range of reasons (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007), income generation and a commercial imperative underpin much of the internationalisation processes and understanding. Two activities are notable in this respect: international student recruitment and, what is referred to, rather problematically, as ‘transnational education’ or TNE.

### **International student recruitment**

The recruitment of international students has occupied a central position in international activities within universities. Accordingly, most partnership agreements with universities and college in other countries are focussed on students’ recruitments as a means to income generation. In this respect, higher education is, as Chan and Dimmock (2008, p.195) aver, is “a business within a vibrant global educational market”, where students as “customers” provide “universities with a major source of income”. For others, revenue generation is the *sine qua non* of internationalisation strategies. Curtis (2103) summarised this aptly when he declares that recruitment of international students is a “bread and butter” issues for all UK universities. He further adds: “put simply, the vast majority of UK universities cannot have a



successful internationalisation strategy without a successful international revenue stream” (p.43).

Income generation is one significant activity of international students recruitment, the economic contribution of international students is another and “goes beyond the immediate fee income” (Bolsmann, et al., 2008, p.80). International students figure in the neoliberal orientation to internationalisation as a valuable economic resource for the host country at large. The economic benefits that accrue to the local economy in terms of international students living and accommodation costs have been documented in the literature (Mellors-Bourne, Humfrey, Kemp; Woodfield, 2013). As postgraduate researchers, international students participate in research that attracts funding and generates income for their universities. By making significant contributions to their universities’ research programmes, international students contribute to the development of “the economic capacity and competitiveness of both corporate and national economies” (Bolsmann, et al., 2008, p. 80).

*I am this ‘thing’ in the shadow of discourse*

*As ‘international student’, an ‘economic benefit’,*

*a neediness, a worth-making exercise,*

*My humanity is folded in, knotted, threaded into a tiny, minuscule ball...*

*... that disappears in my own sight, but gets ‘found again’ by the greyness of a graph,*

*Bouncing along its lines to tally, measure, mark, reflect the movement of a...*

*Generating Income...*

Seen through the prism of knowledge economy and human capital, international students contribute indirect economic benefits. As knowledge workers, international students are located within a global war for talent. Their recruitment is often discussed in various strategies documents which aim at developing and expanding national knowledge economies. Mellors-Bourne, et al. (2013, p.9) outlined some of these indirect economic benefits by noting that international students as skilled migrants contribute to the national economy by providing a skilled force for specific sectors of the labour market (e.g. STEM), thus increasing “the pool of employable graduates for the global knowledge economy”. International students are noted for their contribution to the development of “national and global research and development capacity”, enabling the “establishment of trade and R&D networks between countries and regions (e.g. via alumni links)” and “meeting local skills and employment needs” (Mellors-Bourne, et al., 2013, p.9).

International students are often seen as “resources” to be exploited. As Arthur and Flynn (2011) state, international students, as resources to internationalise curricula and campuses, can help universities brand themselves as international institutions and thus attract more students and market their product, thus generating revenue. The literature is replete with such statements. Arthur and Flynn (2011) note that “international students make substantial contributions to local educational institutions . . . , including resources for internationalization of curriculum” (p.223). Similarly, Urban and Palmer (2013, p. 320) state that international students help “campus communities to institutionalize internationalization while facilitating the development of intercultural competencies”. Within a Scottish policy context, the conception of international students as resources, is articulated in the following terms:

Inevitably Scottish students are likely to gain the most from their international peers. Yet the positive social and cultural impacts reach beyond the university, into local communities, schools and neighborhoods. International students also build a host of links around the world which is to Scotland’s wider cultural benefit. Scotland gains in all of these ways. And is richer for it. (Universities Scotland, 2013, p.18)

Whilst the above pronouncement foregrounds the cultural and social benefits of international students to Scotland, the thinly disguised economic benefits are implied in the ways in which these students enrich communities and neighborhoods in which they live. The above pronouncement draws attention to the international networks international students facilitate and this has the “potential to provide significant political or foreign policy benefits” often referred to as “cultural diplomacy, international relations and/or soft power” (Mellors-Bourne, et al., 2013, p.13). This dimension has been emphasised in a range of publications of the British Council such as *Trusts pays* (2012) and *Culture Means Business: How international cultural relationships contribute to increased trade and competitiveness for the UK* (2013a) and *Influence and Attraction: Culture and the race for soft power in the 21st century* (2013b)

What is significant in this discursive orientation are the identities assembled for both the international student and the host countries. As Sidhu and Dall’Alba (2012) argue, the international student is constructed as a “disembodied” and “choice-exercising economic subject” who is “preoccupied with a desire for positional goods and instrumental learning (p. 415). This disembodiment, they argue, is a political technology which foregrounds “flows” of students and in doing so, it shifts “attention away from the embodied experiences of students” (Sidhu et al., 2012, p. 428). A number of studies have attended to some of the issues international students face, including (neo)racism and marginalisation (Lee and Rice, 2007;

Brown & Steven, 2012; Stein and Andreotti, 2015). This throws into sharp relief the disjuncture between the embodied experience of international students and the “brand identity” promoted by countries in an effort to attract international students. At the same time, disembodiment “effectively frees universities from the moral imperative of engaging international students in educative processes, which might contribute to ‘emancipatory cosmopolitanism’ for global civic responsibility” (Sidhu et al., 2012, p. 428).

### **Transnational education**

Another key revenue generating activity emphasised in the neoliberal discursive orientation is transnational education. Transnational education names situations where “learners are located in a country different to the one where the awarding institution is based” (Wilkins and Huisman, 2012, p. 627). This can take several forms such as distance education, franchised programmes, collaborative ventures and international branch campuses. Despite the fact that some of these international branch campuses has been closed (Hickey & Davies, 2022) and the claim that “opening branch campuses is now the lowest internationalisation priority for European universities” (Havergal, 2015, para .1), this activity remains central in the internationalisation policies and strategies of university worldwide. The British Council, for example, states that “HE sector is regarded as one of the UK’s most important export earners for the UK economy - and internationalisation has become a major priority for all UK universities and the UK Government alike” (British Council, 2016, p.9). This is supported by recent pronouncement by the UK government:

the internationalisation of education is vital. It will support the recovery and growth of this sector as well as help realise the many economic benefits that education exports bring to the UK. The networks created help the UK forge lasting relationships with countries around the world and strengthen our Global Britain agenda. (Department of Education, 2021)

Transnational education in this context is said to help countries “to capitalize on the opportunities afforded by...trade liberalization, thus constituting TNHE not only as a contributor towards capacity building, but also as an important source of revenue for governments” (Caruana, 2016, p. 61).

### **Competition**

In framing education as a “marketable service” (Mazzarol and Soutar, 2002) and the recognition of the importance of “export markets” in increasing national wealth capacity, the

neoliberal discursive orientation has colonised educational and pedagogical discourse. Concepts and theoretical models that originate from marketing discourses are now the lenses through which the neoliberal discursive orientation grasps educational and pedagogical issues.

A key concern of educational institutions is the marketing of their 'products' and services. This has generated a substantial amount of research which claims "to assist education managers in the recruitment of international students" (Asaad, et al., 2015, p. 129). As Lewis (2016, p. 60) suggests, "sound marketing plays a crucial role as a foundation for strong student recruitment". Marketing, here, is understood not only as just promoting a range of services, but a whole host of marketing strategies and concepts are brought to bear on education. These activities intensified both in their frequency and dominance in response to the perceived competitiveness of the global market, especially in the area of student recruitment.

Both nationally and internationally, the recruitment of international students occupies a privileged position in marketing strategies. The literature on internationalisation within a neoliberal orientation reflected this interest. Amongst the issues addressed by the literature is "market segmentation" and "target marketing" as "processes for identifying and dividing groups of people with certain shared characteristics within the broad product/service market" (Chen, 2008, p.7). This would allow the institution to target a particular segment of the population and to devise strategies to explore 'untapped' markets. A key focus here is on notion of "market intelligence" as a strategy to identify marketing opportunities and "threat audits" (Binsardi and Ekwulugo, 2003). Particular attention has been paid, in the literature, to ways in which different groups of students from different countries choose their universities (Chen, 2006a; Mazzarol and Soutar, 2002b). Among the factors which determine the "purchasing intention" identified in the literature are personal reasons, country image, programme evaluation and institutional image (see Cubillo, Sanchez, and Cervino (2006) and Wilkins, Huisman and Balakrishnan (2012) for a review)

## **Branding**

Animating these marketing strategies, is a desire to develop a competitive advantage in a context in which universities are competing nationally and internationally in order to attract international students. The attention paid to branding and brand management by universities and national government has been deemed instrumental in securing the competitive

advantage. As Caruana (2016, p.56) states, internationalisation policy in the UK has shifted “towards the transnational dimension of internationalisation that prioritizes reputation and brand recognition in overseas markets and the global projection of the UK’s ‘soft power’” (Caruana, 2016, p.56).

Universities are embracing branding strategies (Chapleo, 2015), in order to enhance awareness of their existence and the course (products) they offer. In addition to this, to maintain their competitive advantage, universities need to differentiate themselves from their rivals so as to increase their market share. Within a Scottish context, the attention to the issue of brand has been underscored in a range of publications. For example, British Council Scotland (2021) urges Scottish universities to “build a broader international awareness of [their] world class system” and suggests that this needs to be part “of the country’s soft power” (p. 20), given that Scottish universities are “the ‘crown jewel’ in the country’s array of soft power assets” (Kemp and Lawton, 2021, p. 20).

The need to enhance the brand’s reputation is seen as fundamental in the marketing of universities, A crucial issue here is the question of brand architecture and harmonisation, brand standardisation and brand association. Hemsley-Brown and Goodawardana (2007) discuss the need to align the brand identity of faculties with the brand identity of the university and warn that “without brand harmonization, any one School in the University, or the University itself could potentially damage the brand image of the whole, for example, through negative press coverage” (p. 946). The need for the coherence of the brand is equally underscored. Within a Scottish context, for example, for the University of Dundee the question of brand awareness was a cause of concern:

[A] detailed brand perception study carried out for us by Ipsos MORI earlier this year found there was low brand awareness among our key audiences, which we need to address.... The existing brand guidelines have not been applied consistently, and the look and logo are relatively weak...This is not just about a logo ...It is about how we present ourselves to the world and will be an integral component of our wider marketing and communications, supporting our priorities in student recruitment and ultimately improving the University’s standing and financial position. (Tregrove, 2016)

### **World class**

Within the neoliberal discursive orientation, branding has been heavily invested in so as to increase the market share of universities. By creating a specific identity, universities seek to differentiate themselves from each other both nationally and globally. In this, a number of

tropes are used. Some examples of these tropes are “world class University” (Altbach, 2005), “flagship universities” (Bunting, Cloote, Schalkwyk, 2014). There has been a number of attempts to articulate the nature of a “world class university”. For instance, Alden and Lin (2004) suggested that a world class university has a number of characteristics such as having an international reputation for its research and teaching, the ability to attract the most able students and staff, the ability to produce the best graduates and having a sound financial base, to mention just a few. Salmi (2009) defines a world class university as having a high concentration of talent (staff and students), abundance of resources with diversified sources of funds and an appropriate system of governance that includes overall regulatory framework, competitive environment and a high degree of academic and managerial autonomy. Despite these attempts to delineate the nature of world class university, this trope remains problematic. Altbach (2015, p. 5) captures this in the following terms:

Everyone wants a world-class university. No country feels it can do without one. The problem is that no one knows what a world-class university is, and no one has figured out how to get one. Everyone, however, refers to the concept

The following examples will serve to highlight this clamour for world-class status. The University of Glasgow states in its 2015-2020 strategy that it aims to position itself as a world class as well as a world-changing institution. Bath University states, in its *Strategic and Operational Review of 2020/21*, that its mission is to “deliver world class research and teaching, educating .... students to become future leaders and innovators”. The University of Edinburgh states in its *Edinburgh Global portal*, that it aims to “to attract the most able minds to Edinburgh from anywhere in the world, provide students and staff with a world-class experience...”

What is significant in the attempt to claim the status of world class university is that this designation signals that university has developed the capacity “to compete in the global tertiary education marketplace through the acquisition, adaptation, and creation of advanced knowledge” (Salmi, 2009, p. 4). In the neoliberal discursive orientation, global standing - and the benefits it accrues to universities (in terms of income generation and prestige), students (attend the best universities they can afford) and nations (return on investment)- becomes, therefore, an important concern for universities.

## **Ranking**

Within the neoliberal discursive orientation, ranking became a reference point for students, universities and policy makers. To universities, the benefits that accrue from securing a higher position in the global ranking system include a high international visibility. This would help in attracting students and staff as well as funds from various sources: government agencies, industry and philanthropists. For students, being affiliated with a high ranking university translates in higher chances of securing employment with high-profile employers (Yudkevich, et al, 2015, p.412). Ranking is seen as a mechanism to help students (consumer) in making a sound purchase decision by providing them with a comparison of various institution in different countries (Shin and Toutkoushian, 2011; Bowman and Bastedo 2009). This rational choice model which underpins ranking equally becomes, a reference point to academics in their choice of universities to join.

A range of ranking systems has been developed in order to position higher education institution at national, regional and global level. Within the UK, national league tables such as *The Times Higher Education* provides a ranking for UK universities as well as an Asian rankings of universities. At a global level, a number of ranking systems have been developed such as *The Times Higher Education World University Rankings (THE)*, the *QS World University Rankings* and the *AWRU of the Shanghai Jiao Tong University, Ranking Web or Webometrics Ranking of World Universities*, the *US News and World Report (USNWR)*, and *European Union's U-Multirank*.

This view of ranking understood by neoliberalism as an objective measure has been contested within the literature (Delgado-Márquez, Hurtado-Torres, and Bondar, 2011; Rust and Kim, 2012). Whilst a critique of the issue of ranking falls outside this review, the following comments indicate the substance of these critiques. For some, ranking systems are not politically neutral, rather they are “politically inspired mode of governance” that are designed “to ensure that universities are regulated and controlled in accordance with market values” (Lynch, 2014, p. 1). For others, ranking suffer from methodological issues in terms of what they seek to measure (Marginson and van der Wende, 2007). Rust and Kim (2012, p. 15) state that ranking reflects “global standards” which “are not global in scope” because they “take on the qualities and aspirations of universities already highly ranked on a global scale and apply them to lesser ranked universities” with the result that “all the universities strive to be the same monolithic institution”. I quote Marginson and van der Wende (2007, p.321) at length for their incisive discussion of the limitations of ranking:

The central limitation of rankings is twofold. First, whether rankings are specifically derived from existing reputation or not, they tend to foster holistic reputational judgments of HEIs that are not strictly mandated by the data used to compile the rankings and the methods used to standardise and weight the data. “League tables” become highly simplistic when they are treated as summative. But this normally is the case. The desire for rank ordering overrules all other considerations. For example, a common problem is that in rankings systems HEIs are rank ordered even where differences in the data are not statistically significant. Second, HEIs have different goals and missions and are internally differentiated. This again suggests that it is invalid to measure and compare individual HEIs as a whole and still less to compare different HEIs in a national system on a holistic basis, let alone to compare HEIs across national and regional borders.

Having established the broad characteristics which distinguish the discursive neoliberal orientation to internationalisation, the following section is given to discussing the key themes which cohere around the liberal discursive orientation.

### **Liberal discursive orientation**

This discussion of the neoliberal orientation has revolved around the ways in which internationalisation has been taken up by institutions of higher education. This has addressed the type of identities assembled for the students, universities and nations. I have also highlighted two areas which articulate the ways in which internationalisation has been taken up. The first one being an emphasis on income generation. Related to this is the issue of reputation and profile building. Whilst both the neoliberal and the liberal discursive orientation frame internationalisation and the missions of Higher Education institutions in different ways, in some cases both registers are used at the same time. This is evident in cases where internationalisation is framed as a civic good but at the same time framed within an institutional voice which is largely managerial and market oriented as it focusses on efficiency and ranking.

The liberal discursive orientation draws on a distinctive repertoire and conceptual apparatuses. Andreotti, et al. (2016, p. 91), note that this orientation derives from a civic university imaginary. This imaginary is rooted in the democratic nation states to which universities are accountable. This orientation is marked by “a commitment to the public good, civic engagement, representative democracy, equality, individual freedoms, a Keynesian orientation to economics, and a strong state role in welfare and re-distribution” (p. 91). Education, here, is said to help fashion a citizenry committed to the ideal of a “singular ideal of progress, conceptualization of humanity and vision of the future” (p. 91). This orientation



promotes “equity, inclusion and access as the extension of membership to marginalized actors in society in established institutions” (p. 91).

In what follows, I will map out the ways in which internationalisation has figured in the liberal discursive orientation. I will focus on two key dimensions. The first relates to internationalisation as concerned with social justice, and in some cases global justice. The second dimension relates to the framing of internationalisation as facilitating intercultural engagement and the production of ‘world mindednesses’.

### **Internationalisation and social justice**

The concept of social justice remains a contested term and its theorisation is replete with tension as to the causes of and solutions to social marginalisation. This section will draw on Fraser’s tri-partite conceptualization of social justice in terms of (re)distribution, recognition and participation (Fraser, 2005). Theorised with the context of a debate between Fraser and Honneth (2003), Fraser (2005) suggests that the explanation of social (in)justice given by Honneth tends to privilege legal and cultural recognition, including equal respect to differences rather than see (in)justice as a matter of redistribution or economic inequities. Fraser argues that, as a corrective, social (in)justice “contains both a political-economic face that brings it within the ambit of redistribution and also a cultural-discursive face that brings it simultaneously within the ambit of recognition” (Fraser, 2007, p.26). Globalisation, she argues, has led to a change in the way justice is discussed as it is no longer played out within the nation state where “arguments about justice were assumed to concern relations among fellow citizens” and redress is sought within the jurisdiction of the nation state (Fraser, 2005, p.59). This perspectival dualist approach of distribution and recognition needs to be supplemented by a third notion of justice: a “political dimension of justice” which “is concerned chiefly with *representation*” (Fraser, 2005, p.75, emphasis in original). This political dimension

...[f]urnishes the stage on which struggles over distribution and recognition are played out. Establishing criteria of social belonging, and thus determining who counts as a member, the political dimension of justice specifies the reach of those other dimensions: it tells us who is included in, and who excluded from, the circle of those entitled to a just distribution and reciprocal recognition...[I]t tells us not only who can make claims for redistribution and recognition, but also how such claims are to be mooted and adjudicated. (Fraser, 2005, p.75)

### **Student support**

One way of operationalising social justice within the liberal discursive orientation to internationalisation is the focus on international students support by way of ensuring an equitable learning experience. What is striking about the literature on support is that international students are viewed as deficient. Key themes which emerge from this literature suggest that international students are insufficiently adjusted to cope with the culture of the host country in general and the academic culture of higher education institution of the host country in particular. This strand has highlighted the barriers and obstacles arising from the experience of displacement and migration of international students, especially the challenges faced in attempting to deal “with novel social and educational organisations, behaviours and expectations” (Zhou, Jindal-Snape, Topping and Todman, 2008, p. 63). Commonly referred to as issues of acculturation stressors, where acculturation is defined as “the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members” (Berry, 2005, p. 698), this process has been the subject of numerous reviews of literature (Andrade, 2006; Chen, 1999; Mori, 2000; Zhang and Goodson, 2011). Smith and Khawaja (2011) discussed the following five acculturative stressors within the international student literature: Language barriers, educational stressors, sociocultural stressors, discrimination and practical problems.

In terms of language barriers, Smith et al. (2011) outlined a range of studies which addressed second language anxiety. Academically, lower level of English proficiency affects assignment writing, understanding of lecturers and inhibits the international students’ participations in classroom discussions. Socially, language barriers affect the international students’ ability to make friends and interact with the local populations. In terms of educational acculturative stressors, Smith et al. (2011) argue that second language anxiety is likely to intensify in the case of international students as they attempt to adjust to a new education environment. A number of studies have documented psychological distress experienced by international students (Misra, Crist, and Burant, 2003; Hashim and Yang, 2003). The mismatch between the academic expectations and the reality of university life is another source of the acculturative stress. Encountering different pedagogies, learning style as well as the centrality given to critical thinking approaches within “western” universities are some of the acculturative stressors documented within the literature (Lieberman 1994; Edgeworth and Eiseman, 2007; Townsend and Poh, 2008).

A common theme within the literature is that sociocultural acculturative stressors such different cultural norms and linguistic barriers have inhibited international students’ ability to

establish friendship with “home” students. This has contributed to feeling of loneliness (Smith et al., p. 703). Townsend and Poh (2008) and Sawir, Marginson, Deumert, Nyland, and Ramia (2008) have examined experiences of loneliness reported by international students in an Australian context. Both studies reported that international students have experienced difficulties in their attempt to relate to local students. Another source of acculturative stress is the experience of discrimination. A number of studies have documented the experience of discrimination faced by international students (Hanassab, 2006; Lee and Rice, 2007; Poyrazli and Lopez, 2007). Students from Asia, India, Latin America, and the Middle East reported significant discrimination “ranging from feelings of inferiority, direct verbal insults, discrimination when seeking employment, and physical attacks (objects thrown)” (Smith et al., p.704). Wadsworth, Hecht and Jung (2008, p. 80) argue that the perceptions of discrimination from the “host” community can “create stress and hinder acculturation processes as well as decrease educational satisfaction”. International students may also face a number of “practical or lifestyle acculturative stressors” (Smith et al., p. 704). A Salient stressor documented within the literature is financial difficulties (Poyrazli, Grahame & Miraj, 2007) as a result of the high tuition fees and the cost of living in the host country. Finally, restrictive immigration rules especially those relating to employment further accentuate these stressors (Chen, 1999; Mori, 2000).

Whilst this corpus of the literature has attended to important issues which affect international students, notably issues of discrimination and restrictive immigration policies, the international student here is, however, conceived of as a hapless victim who is unable to “assimilate” to the host culture. Issues of discrimination were presented as though they are individual problems that lie largely within the inadequacies of the international student rather than the structure in which people act. Consequently, another strand of the literature has articulated a number of “compensatory” needs that ought to be addressed in order to help the international student assimilate to the host culture (for a taxonomy see Bartram (2008, 2009)). For instance, Brown and Holloway (2008) suggest a linear model of support needs that addresses the different stages an international student goes through. This model consists of practical and social needs at the start of the course and then as the students undertake a course of study, the support needs identified are academic and language needs. Pelletier (2003), identifies seven supports needs: practical needs, emotional needs, cultural and integrational needs, language needs, pedagogical needs, curriculum and assessment needs,

and needs associated with performance outcomes. Stier (2002) defines a four-fold classification of academic, social, intellectual and emotional needs.

Undoubtedly, the dominant framing of the support systems and mechanism aims at militating against the problems and challenges international students face. These support systems seek to enact a commitment “to make the student experience”, as Killick (2015) argues, “more inclusive; that is - more appropriate for and more equitable towards/among” international students (p.27). However, these support systems are problematic. Smith (2007) suggests that support systems can be conceived of as a continuum. At one extreme, support is seen “technical solution” and at the other extreme, it is seen as “holistic” approach. By technicist response to student support, Smith means a “mechanistic, depersonalised and ‘off-the-shelf’ support product” (p.688) such as online support offered to international students in various universities’ websites. This, Smith (2007) argues, instead of meeting the needs of students, fails “to address them in a differentiated way “(p.688). In contrast to this, the holistic approach, Smith argues, consists of a “supportive interaction between teacher and student” and that “meaningful, holistic support proceeds from a position that education contains constituent elements of nurturing” (p.688). Underpinning this “mechanistic” and “technicist” view is “neoliberal instrumentality” (Bartram and Terano, 2011) which casts the relationship between student and institutions in a contractual way: “the notion of support becomes understood as a contractual obligation between consumers and service providers” (Bartram, 2009, p.311). The security of students is a good illustration of this. Against the background of crimes against international students and the “reputational damage” to countries and universities this may cause, (see Nyland, Forbes-Mewett and Marginson (2010) for a review) various bodies have been attuned to this danger. For instance, the British Council states that “many of us will be aware that **safety** is now one of the **top 5 concerns** when international students choose a country and place to study” (as cited in The Association of University Chief Security Officers, emphasis in original) and to this effect it has urged universities to use the guide to safety it has produced.

This is not to suggest that the nature of support offered to international student is exclusively instrumental. As Bartram (2009) adds, support is underpinned by a humanist view which is “motivated by holistic concern for the development of the individual” (2009, p. 31). This foregrounds the pastoral role in education which notes that building and maintaining “supportive and individual relationships with students” will support “academic learning and promote personal development” (Bartram, 2009, p. 309). Yet, this mode of support remains

trapped with a therapeutic framework that views people as victims. As Pelletier (2003) argues, the international student is constructed within this orientation as “as a counselling case”:

One is immediately struck by the emphasis on the problems and need for help which international students are perceived to have . . . This emphasis on student problems leads to different constructions in the literature. Firstly, the international student as victim; under-informed, mismanaged by supervisors, poorly adjusted socially and culturally, and unable to address these problems without help. (p. 15, as cited in Bartram, 2009, p.312)

### **Equality and diversity**

The liberal discursive orientation to internationalisation centers the issue of social justice by way of attending to some of the dimensions of the cultural encounter occasioned by the international student. Issues such as equality, inclusion, diversity and tolerance have been articulated as key to social justice. In this section, I draw on Fraser’s (2005) theorisation of social justice in order to frame the ways in which the liberal orientation in internationalisation deploys social justice, inclusion, equality and diversity as discursive strategies.

### **Redistribution**

The redistribution strand within the literature of internationalisation mobilises inclusion as a mechanism to ensure social justice. Inclusion here is justified both as a liberal concern with educational equity and a neoliberal discursive strategy to enable international students and educational institutions to benefit from the economic advantages of having an equitable education system. Another strand of the literature foregrounds the ways in which internationalisation and its practices entrench and actively create social inequities.

The increasing recognition of the “partiality inherent in the curriculum” (Caruana & Polner, 2010, p.12) has led proponents of the internationalisation of the curriculum or the internationalisation at home (IaH) (Beelen & Jones 2015a) to argue that faced with the diversity of the student body, institutions need to design curricula which meet the needs of the diverse student body. Coursing through this liberal and neoliberal-liberal interface is a concern with providing equitable, respectful and inclusive educational practices and spaces which every student has a right to...” (Killick, 2014, p.2).

Within the literature, the concern with equity translates into a concern with the notion of ‘fair play’. According to Haigh (2002, p. 51), the ideal international curriculum “provides equably

for the learning ambitions of all students, irrespective of their national, ethnic, cultural, social class/caste or gender identities”. Higher education institutions are “ethically bound to allow all students equal opportunities to learn” (Haigh, 2008, p.433). In practice, this means creating curricula that are not provincial in focus or curricula that do not attend to other ways of knowing. Haigh argues that equity here entails providing “an inclusive learning environment that grants all equal opportunities to comprehend their personal responsibilities as planetary citizens” (Haigh, 2008, p.433). This liberal concern with equity is heavily infected by neoliberal register because inclusion, here, is said to have the potential to provide a path to social and economic mobility and high earning potential.

Diversity is invoked in the liberal discursive orientation in instrumentalist terms. Brown and Jones (2007, p.2) articulate this widely shared view in their argument that aligning internationalisation within the wider multicultural environment of equity and diversity helps to place international students:

at the heart of the university as a source of cultural capital and intentional diversity, enriching the learning experience both for home students and for one another, expanding staff horizons, building a more powerful learning community and thus deepening the HE experiences as a whole. (Brown & Jones, 2007, p. 2, as cited in Jones and Killick, 2013, p.167)

Similar views of the international student as a source of diversity that enriches both students’ learning and campus life are documented in the literature. Accordingly, international students are said to contribute to the diversity of the student population, and in doing so they add fresh perspective to classroom discussions (Charles-Toussaint and Crowson, 2010; Lee and Rice, 2007). This point is equally underscored by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006). For them diversity of the student cohort in classes and on campus affords opportunities for home students to be exposed to diverse cultural backgrounds and this has the potential to enhance intergroup relations across racial and cultural boundaries. The cultural contact occasioned by the presence of international student is said to help home students to develop a range of cognitive skills, communication skills and intercultural effectiveness (Deardorff, 2006).

The assumption that underpins the contact thesis is problematic. Orfield (2001) has challenged the notion that a diverse classroom makes it academically sound and results in the desired outcome. Others have commented on the fact that the mere presence of international students in classroom and campuses does not promote cross cultural interactions between the international and home students (Leask, 2009). Summers and Volet (2008) state that despite

the fact that campuses provide opportunities to develop home students' intercultural competences and skills through social contact with international students, the "most typical pattern is one of minimal interaction between students from different cultural backgrounds" (p. 357).

A range of attempts to eliminate barriers to access and inclusion have figured in the literature. The notion of (im)mobility has provided a context to anchor the liberal discursive orientation to internationalisation. As Beauchamps, Hoijtink, Leese, Magalhães, Weinblum, and Wittendorp (2017) note, "mobility is never innocent" as the mobility of some simultaneously produce "disconnection, social exclusion and inaudibility" for others (Shelly and Urry, 2006, p.10). A substantial corpus in the literature has been engaged with the unevenness of student mobility and the extent to which mobility and other internationalisation practices entrench and create social inequalities (Waters, 2012, Xinag and Shen, 2009).

Stroud (2010) identifies some of the perceived or real barriers to mobility. These include concerns about credit transfer, lack of campus/faculty support, lack of foreign language knowledge, costs and lack of information. Other strands in the literature have focussed on the low participation rates of black students in study abroad programmes (McLellan, 2007; Salisbury, Paulsen and Pascarella, 2009; Lu, Reddick, Dean, and Pecero (2015) identify a number of key barriers to the mobility of black students. They highlight the following: rigid programme structure, lack of course requirements, length of study, lack of family and community support, fear of the unfamiliar, and anxiety about racism in a foreign country. 'Students of colour' are less informed about study abroad opportunities and less likely to understand the connection between study abroad benefits and career objectives. Despite "substantial efforts ...to increase minority participation in study abroad" as evidenced by increases in funding and financial support for black students, "the homogeneity of study abroad participants remains largely unchanged" (Salisbury et al., 2011, p. 123). This, as Findlay, King, Smith, Geddes and Skeldon (2012, p. 119) state, "leads to questions about how the internationalisation of HE is linked to the reproduction of unevenness in the global market".

### **Recognition**

The emphasis placed on social justice extends to cover the issue of recognition. This is primarily expressed in a shift of register whereby international students are no longer seen through a deficit lens. Instead, international students are valorised and afforded respect. A

key feature of this valorisation is the emphasis placed on the celebration of cultural diversity as a key outcome of internationalisation. This is often expressed in policies and internationalisation strategies as a commitment to the values of cultural diversity, tolerance, intercultural understanding and respect. For example, the University of Stirling's international strategy, states that its vision is "that all staff and students value and embrace the diversity of international experiences, histories and cultures and actively strive to be global citizens". The University of Exeter proclaims in its mission statement that "an inclusive institution should celebrate the diversity of the racial and ethnic composition of the student body" (University of Exeter).

Haig (2002, p. 54) argues that internationalisation means more than "increased knowledge, empathy for and understanding of other social group: it also requires a perceptual and cognitive shift in the personal response to 'otherness'". This is reflected in the literature that affirms cultural awareness as an educational goal for the students. A substantial amount of resources have been developed in order to support lecturers in their attempt to foster in their students an international/intercultural awareness (Jones and Killick, 2007, Turner, 2008, Leask and Bridge, 2013, Killick, 2014, Leask, 2015, Robson, 2015).

The work of Sanderson (2008) seeks "to enhance the potential for individual teachers to internationalize their personal and professional outlooks" (p.276). Sanderson posits "idea of authenticity in teaching in higher education" and "cosmopolitanism" as necessary attributes in this. An ideal teacher "exposes themselves to different cultures and other ways of seeing the world" through international travel and teaching international students (Sanderson, 2011, p.667). To develop academics' positive dispositions towards difference requires "continuous and conscious examination and reconstruction of their own existing assumptions about differences and high expectations for all learners" (Lee and Herner-Patnode, 2010, p.222, as cited in Murray, 2016, p. 169). Yet, developing these dispositions is not simply a matter of professional development and training. Murray argues that this involves fostering in academics the ability of self-reflection by equipping them with "the conceptual tools and opportunities to consider what precepts, presuppositions and predispositions they themselves bring to the classroom and to their student interactions" (Murray, 2016, p. 169). Academics should strive to construct, with the students, an intercultural space that "should affirm and integrate rather than stigmatise and divide" (Murray, 2016, p. 169).



Taken together, these different facets of the liberal discursive orientation to internationalisation have evidenced a commitment to diversity and an increased sensitivity to cultural differences. Embracing respect for the difference and the diversity of the student cohort is often justified in terms of liberal values. Accordingly, the mission of universities is to “help all students become new internationalist learners, workers and citizens” (Sanderson, 2003, p.276). Internationalisation is said to “enable students to tolerate diversity and to embrace alternation and differences without a major threat to their own shared cultural identity” (Otten, 2003, p.13). This uncritical espousal of tolerance is highly problematic. As Brown (2006) argues, tolerance needs to be seen as a practice of governmentality which “produces and positions subjects, orchestrates meanings and practices of identity, marks bodies” (Brown, 2006, p. 4). In this context of internationalisation, to tolerate the other (international student), needs to be understood within a “civilizational discourse that identifies both tolerance and the tolerable with the West, marking nonliberal societies and practices as candidates for an intolerable barbarism” (Brown, 2006, p.6). The liberal discourse of tolerance function “to anoint Western superiority” (Brown, 2006, p.7)

Rizvi and Walsh (1998, p.9) argue that this commitment to diversity emerges from an “economic necessity”. This liberal and neo-liberal interface is best illustrated in the instrumental view of student diversity. As indicated above, a key justificatory procedure for embracing diversity is its putative benefits. These range from developing home students’ intercultural competence to enhancing the cognitive abilities of students. Diversity, here, is seen as an external resource that international students bring to the university (Rizvi and Walsh, 1998). The celebration of diversity is often treated as “no more than an administrative instrument that serves to contain and restrain experiences of differences” (Rizvi and Walsh, 1998, p.9). The emphasis on diversity, tolerance and respect for differences is often used as a marketing tool brand universities and host countries as welcoming and respectful of multiculturalism. This branding dilutes “the negative stereotypes of the United Kingdom as a former imperial power and a society stratified by class and race, like so many others” (Sidhu and Dall’Alba, 2012, p.421). Taken together this instrumental view of diversity glosses over a consideration of the way in which “difference is historically constructed” and the “mechanisms through which difference is identified [and] marked out, the social relations it constitutes and the ways in which it is enacted through curricular practices (Rizvi and Walsh, 1998, p.9)

### **Critical discursive orientation**

As discussed above, both the neoliberal and the liberal discursive orientations to internationalisation operate with a celebratory conception of internationalisation. They see internationalisation as a response to globalisation. To them, internationalised curricula seek to prepare students to live and work in a globalised world by equipping them with a set of skills, including intercultural skills. In contrast to these “overwhelmingly positive and depoliticized approaches to internationalization” (Stein, 2021, p. 1173) the critical orientation has focussed on the potential harms of internationalisation. Internationalisation is seen not as a neutral experience. Rather, it harbours with it unethical practices of international engagement, including unequal relations of power. The critical orientation attends to Eurocentrism and its associated modes of knowledge production, epistemic violence and suppression. Whilst these various critiques of internationalisation denounce the positive and celebratory conception of internationalisation, they do not form a singular body of thought. Rather, critical internationalisation literature is marked by the diversity of its focal points and is replete with tensions and contradictions. I unpack this orientation. A first section addresses the divergent critical perspectives on internationalisation, using Stein’s (2017) mapping. A second section will address the key themes around which this orientation coheres.

Stein (2017) argues that critiques of internationalisation can be mapped according to their underlying assumptions about the nature and purpose of internationalisation and the extent to which they “advocate for reforming the existing social, political, and economic system” (Stein, 2021, p.3). Whilst Stein has articulated a number of ways in which these divergent understandings of critical internationalisation can be mapped (2021), I use the following mapping: soft, critical and liminal approaches to internationalisation (Stein, 2017)

Soft critical approaches to internationalisation are characterised by a focus on “a normative aspiration that a more civic-oriented model of the university should be reclaimed in the Global North and expanded globally” (2017, p.12). This approach highlights the consequences of neoliberalism, especially the inequalities in the global positioning of HE systems it brings about and exacerbates. Soft critique emphasises the role of the Global North in contributing the development of the Global South through educational exchange, scientific and technical knowledge. This approach also underlines the civic role of universities in cultivating in their student’s global citizenship and intercultural capacities.

Research within this area coheres around a number of themes. As Stein (2017) notes, a dominant assumption underpinning soft critique is the role of education in the development of the Global South. Soft critique argues that the Global North should contribute educationally to the Global South. This view of internationalisation includes “education as foreign aid or technical assistance to other (primarily developing) countries”, including activities such as “faculty going overseas to teach foreign nationals, or specialized training programs (at home or abroad) with a focus on the learning of particular information or skills” (Cudmore, 2005, p. 43). Soft critique takes to task the “move from ‘aid to trade’ in international exchange” (Stein, 2017, p. 6) and the consequences of this shift. For instance, Johnstone and Lee (2014) notes that, in the Canadian context, internationalisation policy has moved away from “a pursuit of world peace and social justice to the imperial 'center and periphery' dichotomy that characterizes neo-colonial globalization with monopolies of wealth, knowledge and power" (p. 212, as cited in Stein, 2017, p. 6). Marginson (2006) laments the decline of international aid for higher education in "developing nations", especially given that "higher education and research are integral to nation-building and to modernised national strategies able to secure purchase in the global setting" (p. 36, cited in Stein, 2017, p. 6).

The issue of mobility of students has featured as an important area of this soft critique. A number of authors have raised concerns about the consequence of the movement of the students from southern to northern universities. Commonly referred to “as ‘brain drain’ (the losses suffered by nations who send considerable numbers of students abroad) or ‘brain gain’ (the associated advantages to receiving nations)” (Brooks and Waters, 2011.p. 143), this issue further entrenches historic inequalities between the Global North and the Global South. As Zeleza (2012, p.12) avers, since “international academic mobility, collaborations, and cross-border provision remain decidedly unequal”, other practices exacerbate this inequality. The global “war of talent” (Brown and Tannock, 2009) is such a practice. Premised on the assumption that despite the expansion in higher education system, the shortage of talented employees remains acute. To mitigate the effects of this, it is “necessary to look beyond the borders of the nation-state to find the best brains and the most talented employees” (Brooks and Waters, 2011, p. 142).

Other facets of this soft critical orientation remain largely within the ambit of the uneven global playing field. Because universities located in the ‘West’ command vast resources as well as the support of their government, they emerge as “winners” in the global market. As

Rumbley, Altbach, and Reisberg (2012) note, “well resourced actors will have more options and opportunities when it comes to how (and to what degree) to internationalize” (p. 4). This differential access to resources results in “fundamental differences in the quality and quantity of internationalization activities and outcomes” (Rumbley et al., 2012, p. 4). For example, the quest for world-class university status is often a status achieved by a very small numbers of institutions in the Global North (Altbach, 2004). This quest for world-class status has, as Deem, Mok and Lucas (2008, p.94) note, engendered some of the less “desirable consequences” of internationalisation such as “the tendency for development to be copied slavishly in many countries, without necessarily paying attention to the local contextual factors that may affect implementation” (p.94). Rust and Kim (2012) note that the shift in focus from student enrollment and widening participation to a focus on quality and achievement among students, academic and administrators, has meant that for universities to reach a highly ranked status, they have to adopt quality assurance standard developed in the Global North. Standards for quality assurance standards are universalized. This means that “cosmopolitan powers once again imposing their notions of quality on the rest of the world” (Rust and Kim, 2012, p14). Achieving a high-ranking status remains an impossibility for universities in the Global South. Universities in the “periphery cannot ever reach a highly ranked global status by the inherent nature of the global rankings system that preferences already prestigious institutions” (Rust and Kim, 2012, p15).

A second orientation in critical internationalisation is a radical approach. This approach shares the soft approach’s view that neoliberalism is harmful to internationalisation. It extends this analysis to include the ways in which internationalisation discourse and practices are embedded in a political economy in which “capitalism, imperialism, and liberalism” are seen as “tightly linked systems” (Stein, 2017, p.8). Higher education institutions “not only tacitly reproduce but also actively contribute to the reproduction of global inequality and harm” (Stein, 2017, p.14). Internationalisation of higher education is “often a pretence for extending Western nations’ economic power and/or cultural and political hegemony” (Stein, 2017, p.15). Through a range of epistemic operations: epistemic violence and epistemic suppression, Western knowledge production articulates “colonial politics... which not only devalues non-Western knowledges but also produces colonial representations of the non-West that rationalize Western exceptionalisms and justify Western political and economic interventions abroad” (Stein, 2017, p.15). The radical approach highlights the violence inherent in the formation and the maintenance of nation-states through “the colonization of

Indigenous peoples, including the U.S., Canada, Australia, and Aotearoa/New Zealand” and that these “imperial global relations are only made possible through the continuation of colonialism ‘at home’ ” (Stein, 2017, p.16).

A key theme that has been addressed by exponents of the radical approach is the question of cultural hegemony. The internationalisation of higher education in Asian and Middle eastern countries, for example, is still largely geared towards “importing and exporting English-language products and services from the English-speaking West” (Le Ha, 2013, p. 164). This dominance of the English language in internationalisation practices and strategies, dissemination of knowledge and pedagogies has been problematised. Le Ha (2012) argues that the relationships between “English, the West, colonialism and modernity” have thrown into sharp relief “the unequal ownership of English and the reproduction of colonial dichotomies between *Self* (the coloniser) and the *Other* (the colonised)” (p. 163, emphasis in original). Willinsky (1998) argues, that the teaching of English does not allow “student to gain a critical and historical distance from colonialism’s patronising stance towards teaching English as key to civilization” (p. 193). Coupled with this bifurcation of the self and other, the dominance of English reproduces dependency and Western superiority.

Concomitant with this, is the colonial politics of knowledge production that devalues other modes of knowing. Crucial in this is the role of universities in reproducing and sustaining epistemic violence and suppression. As space of not only the production of knowledge but also the legitimation and validation of what constitutes knowledge, universities are not neutral spaces. The Western university, as Bhabra, Gebrial and Nisancioglu (2018) argue, is a key site

through which colonialism – and colonial knowledge in particular – is produced, consecrated, institutionalised and naturalised. It was in the university that colonial intellectuals developed theories of racism, popularised discourses that bolstered support for colonial endeavours and provided ethical and intellectual grounds for the dispossession, oppression and domination of colonised subjects. In the colonial metropolis, universities provided would-be colonial administrators with knowledge of the peoples they would rule over, as well as lessons in techniques of domination and exploitation. (p. 5)

As infrastructures of the Empire, Western universities furnished and disseminated Eurocentric forms of knowledge, the effect of which is to, at best, institute a hierarchy of knowledges where subaltern form of knowledge are interiorized. At worst, other forms of knowledge are disqualified from the realm of intelligibility and suppressed (Stein and

Andreotti, 2016). In this, the dominant academic model remains inherently Eurocentric, both in the organisation of curricula and the disciplines. Curricula continue to reinforce the superiority of European culture, including Western ways of being and knowing.

Against this background, the issue internationalisation of education raises the question of decolonisation. Since curricula are performative practices in the sense that they constitute political subjectivities, construct and validate ways of knowing and being and exclude other modes of knowing, “the ontology, epistemology and the ethics of undergraduate university curricula should be placed under the magnifying glass” (du Preez, 2018, p.19). Various exponents of the radical orientation to internationalisation link internationalisation with the question of decolonisation. For instance, du Preez (2018) urges curriculum scholar to rethink curriculum studies and what it might mean for internationalised undergraduate university curricula. For him, decolonisation is “a strategic response of higher education institutions to redress past inequalities and injustices, to challenge the dominance of Western knowledge, pedagogy, and research, as well as to question the colonial roots of university practices and curricula” (p. 21). Wimpenny, Beelen, Hindrix, King and Sjoer (2021) advocate that for curriculum transformation to occur, there needs to be a “critical engagement with knowledge” which “offers a renewed understanding of history, culture and language, and a process of ‘forever becoming’” (p.13). For them, building on Sanderson’s view that (2008) the internationalisation of HE requires the internationalisation of the academic self, decolonisation of internationalised curricula necessarily entails the decolonisation of the individual. However, whilst this is a laudable aim, the radical critical orientation, remains trapped within a logic of reform. That is to say, to undo these tyrannical structures of knowledge production and the ensuing epistemic violence and suppression, the project of decolonising the internationalised HE institution consists of two moves: the first seeks to transform and reform curricula, the second consists of individual transformation. Both moves are problematic.

In terms of individual transformation, I share the view that “internationalization of the academic self” involves attending to the “philosophical self-awareness and critical self-reflection” required for an engagement with “whiteness and ‘Otherness’” (Wimpenny et al., p.13). I think the contention that we should start “at the personal level, and then turn[ing] that lens outwards” (Wimpenny et al., p.13) by way of reflecting on broader cultural influences is problematic. Underpinning this, is a binary logic which conceives of the individual as

separate entity which impinged on by a cultural context. A way of out this duality is afforded by the concept of the “implicated subject” (Rothberg, 2019). To be an implicated subject

is to occupy a particular type of subject position in a history of injustice or structure of inequality—a history or structure one may enter, like an immigrant, long after the injustice at issue has been initiated or, like a beneficiary of global capitalism, far from its epicenter of exploitation. (p.48)

The concept of the “implicated subject” helps to bridge the gap between ‘individualising responsibility’ and ‘thinking institutionally’ (Bryan, 2019, p. 338). It enables a deeper understanding of “the myriad ways in which personal, micro-level actions are deeply enmeshed in wider structures of injustice and inequality” that perpetuate Eurocentrism and its attendant violence (Bryan, 2019, p. 338). This concept enables us to move from dualist approaches to decolonising internationalised universities that privileges either personal actions or macro level practices, foregrounding, instead, a deeper understanding of the multiple ways in which individual actions both sustain and are entangled with structural conditions

In terms of transforming and reforming curricula, whilst I share the view that it is important to surface the educational and intellectual legacies of the Empire that have ordered and continue to (dis)order our world, I also share the view that “decolonising the university is part of the broader projects of decolonisation and cannot be understood as separate from those projects for social and economic justice” (Bhambra, et al., 2018, p.10). To acknowledge that internationalisation is implicated in perpetuating an epistemological order that continues to “divide the world” is not enough (Willinsky, 1998, p.1). Even when we interrogate the ways in which we are taught to “discriminate in both the most innocent and fateful ways so that we can appreciate the differences between civilized and primitive, West and East, first and third” (Willinsky, 1998, p.1), we need to attend to the ways in which internationalisation is implicated in colonialism. Bhambra, et al., (2018) urge us to address the ways in which universities “were founded and financed through the spoils of colonial plunder, enslavement and dispossession” (p. 5). In other words, we need to attend simultaneously to the “white possessive logic” (Moreton-Robinson, 2015) as well as the epistemic operations of Eurocentrism. In the words of Gopal (2012), decolonising the university entails:

acknowledging that much of what we take for granted – methodologies, practices, disciplines – in university contexts in the West and beyond are still structured by the imperatives of the European imperial enterprise (also racial capitalism) and its attendant

activities of extraction and ownership. The university was not, and is not, separable from endeavours of 'discovery' and control. (p. 892)

The third critical orientation Stein (2017) identifies is called liminal as it is still emergent and it "barely registers within the internationalization literature" (p.17). This orientation shares much of the theoretical and conceptual framework of the radical orientation: "anti-/post-/de-colonial, feminist, Indigenous, and ethnic studies literatures and social movements" (p.17). There are divergence and parallel between the two orientations. For the liminal orientation, the unequal and exploitative relationship enacted through "partnership" between institutions of the Global North and the Global South, the uneven flow of knowledge, the colonial paternalistic assumptions embedded in mobility programmes, need to be "understood not as exceptional acts but as normalized within the ongoing condition of colonial modernity" (p.17). The potential harm, the exploitative relationship and as well as that historical and "ongoing processes of racial .... colonial violence" and epistemic violence are "not exceptions to or betrayals of the West's purportedly universal modern promises of progress, security, economic growth, and individual autonomy "(p.17). These are "the conditions of possibility for the modern world" (p.17). Further, in common with Edward Said, universities and education in general "naturalize and uncritically expand colonial and capitalist modes of schooling, knowledge production, and social, political, and economic organization" (Stein, 2017, p. 18).

If the radical critique has gestured towards understanding internationalisation as expressing and sustaining Eurocentrism and its attendant epistemic violence and suppression, the liminal orientation underscores the insight from Dabashi that "Europe cannot be Europe without non-Europe" (p. 26, as cited in Gopal, 2021, p. 892). In other words, the epistemic violence as well as processes such as "dispossession, displacement, enslavement, incarceration, exploitation, and resource extraction" (Stein, 2017, p.9) are the very conditions of the possibility of the modern world. Both accounts offer a significant challenge to the soft critical position in its claim that it is "possible and desirable to universally extend the promises of Western liberal democracy to the whole world" (Stein, 2017, p), especially since "the white West's prosperity, power, and stability are understood to largely be a product of subjugation" (p.9). The question, therefore, becomes one of interrogating the conditions that normalise and reproduce these events through everyday practices of internationalisation. In confronting this issue, we also need to consider "how attachments to modern promises [progress and



development] and institutional imperatives continue to frame even our most critical approaches to higher education” (Stein, 2017, p. 11).

Taken together, the three approaches outlined above have problematised the celebratory and depoliticised understanding of internationalisation. They have attended to the potential harm of internationalisation and the practices that normalise and entrench uneven global power relations, the colonial politics of knowledge production and the extractive relations. These divergent critiques of practices of internationalisation necessitate “a deeper, more reflexive engagements with the complexities, challenges, complicities, and contradictions” (Stein, 2021, p. 2) in theorising internationalisation. This involves interrogating the assumptions that underpin each approach, the possibilities it offers and the areas that it forecloses. To this effect, Critical Internationalisation Studies (CIS) provides a space for articulating not only the recent development in critical approaches to internationalisation but also to “identify the limits and edges of existing debates in the field” (p. 2) and to deepen our engagement with “circularities, and difficulties of engaging with the harms of internationalization from a critical lens given that we are also complicit in those harms” (p.3).

Broadly put, recent debates within critical internationalisation studies coalesce around a number of themes. Firstly, much of the critical thrust of this orientation has been directed against “economism” (Stein, 2021, p.6). Economism names the inordinate attention given to, and in some cases the exclusive focus on, revenue generation as the *sine qua non* of internationalisation. social and ecological justice “remain at best secondary and often tokenistic concerns” (Stein, 2012, p.6). For instance, in Canadian context, McCartney and Metcalfe (2018) argue that policy orientation of internationalisation “privileges a consumerist vision of education, and relies on contract and precarious academic labor” (p. 206). They explore this through a discussion of pathway colleges, which are institutions that are either operated by host institutions or privately. These institutions offer alternative routes to a bachelor’s degree for international students who do not meet the entry requirements to Canadian universities. McCartney and Metcalfe (2018) note that the policy environment in which these colleges operate, positions international students “as ‘cash cows’ that present opportunities for financially constrained institutions to generate income through unregulated tuition and fees” (p. 208). At the same time, there is an increased casualisation of academic labour. These two issues are, for McCartney and Metcalfe (2018), “inter-related mechanisms of academic capitalism” (p. 208), where “corporate values come to dominate, including corporate labor relations” (p. 214). Consequently, both students and academics are impacted.

For academics, since the expectation is “to perform not only academic teaching but remedial language instruction”, this means that “their work is perceived as less scholarly” (p. 213). For international students, they are often separated from students who attend the parent institutions, thus reducing opportunities for social or educational contact with domestic students. This may lead to a “worsening feelings of isolation and exclusion in a new country” (p.214).

The second theme that dominates critical internationalisation studies is the question of Eurocentrism. This is not limited to Western universities but extend also to universities located in the Global South, where Western curricula continues to dominate (Stein, 2021). Taking the case of South Africa, Haleta (2021) laments the fact that “internationalisation, as practised in South Africa since 1994”, has contributed to the further entrenchment of “Eurocentric epistemological standardisation” in higher education” (Haleta, 2021). Despite the fact that South African universities are “institutionally and epistemically rooted in colonial conquest, white supremacy and racist oppression, exploitation and erasure”, curricula and institutional models from Britain and the Netherlands are still deployed. Internationalisation in the South African context, Haleta, adds, is about

linking up institutions in the Global North, profiling South African universities abroad in order to attract international students and make money and promoting Eurocentric education for the development of the knowledge and skills necessary to succeed in the ‘global knowledge economy’ and the integration of graduates from the periphery into **the Euro-American ‘game’**. (2021, para. 13, emphasis in original)

Chrystal, Mwangi and Yao (2021) argue that practices of internationalisation of US higher education institutions “continue imperialistic and colonial approaches, yet in a subtler way” (p. 557). Since internationalisation in the USA is supported economically and politically because of the vast resources it can draw on “US HE [higher education] often dominates models for internationalization practice around the world” (p.551). Consequently, internationalising the curriculum, for instance, may “contribute to the promotion of academic imperialism through Minority World/US-based norms and practices” (p.589). Whilst some of the rhetoric on internationalisation policies emphasises research partnerships and collaborations between institutions in the Global North and the Global South, Chrystal et al. (2021) argue that these “partnerships may not truly be equal collaboration, especially when considering the dynamics of the Majority World and the Minority World (p. 576). This translates into unequal power relations where “the leaders of research [are] located in the

major universities in the United States and other Western nations” and the followers are located in the South (Altbach 2016, p. 186, as cited in George et al., 2021, p. 575).

The third main theme around which critical internationalisation studies cohere is the issue of racism. As Blanco, Altbach, and de Wit (2020) argue, “racism and internationalization have been treated in higher education research and policy as two different issues, one national and the other international” (p.4). This bifurcation has meant that the issue of anti-Blackness and racism has been largely ignored in internationalisation literature. There are, however, exceptions such as Lee (2020), Lee and Rice (2007) and Yao et al., (2019). As Bhambra et al., (2018) note, the inextricable link between universities and colonialism of Africa, Asia and Latin America, necessitates posing the question of racism at the heart of the university. In the words of Blanco et al. (2020) anti-Blackness and racism “impact all aspects of our work, from student recruitment to education abroad, the experience we provide to Black international students and scholars, our scholarly work, and our policies” (p.4).

Bolumole and Barone (2020) state that study abroad programmes have been proclaimed in institutional and national internationalisation strategies as enabling the students to develop a range of attributes such as tolerance, understanding and a world-mindedness. Study abroad programmes would foster in students a commitment to “antiracism, justice, and respect for all regardless of color, creed, or nationality” (p.4). These study abroad programme reflect the social and racial injustice which permeates the US higher education system. To Bolumole et al. (2020), this is a continuation of the “unwillingness to acknowledge and address long-standing and deep-seated issues of race” (p. 5) and the “wilful neglect of people of color within institutions” (p.5). For them,

the experiences of students of color who do study abroad challenge the very claim that students become more understanding, empathetic, and less inclined to racial stereotyping through study abroad. When Black students study abroad, they report that a significant amount of racism that they experience when away is perpetuated by their white peers, who represent 70 percent of all US study abroad participants. (p.5)

The pervasive absence of race as an ordering power that structures internationalisation discourse and practices has been thrown into sharp relief by recent discussion in critical internationalisation. Shahjahan and Edwards (2021) use the concept of ‘Whiteness as futurity’ (p. 747) to foreground the ways in which Whiteness “colonizes (or orients) global subjects’ (nation-states’, policy makers’, institutions’, and individuals’) imaginaries and reinforces the asymmetrical movements, networks, and untethered economies underpinning

global HE” (p. 747). By ‘Whiteness as futurity’, Shahjahan and Edwards mean the globalisation of Whiteness, where Whiteness is understood as a set of “narratives structural positions, rhetorical tropes and habits of perception” (Dyer, 1997, p. 12, as cited in Shahjahan and Edwards, 2021, p. 748) standing for the normal. As a state of knowing and being in the world, Whiteness creates “superstructure that privileges White people, institutions, and cultural norms and *orients* social and political environments towards the benefit and protection of White life” (Shahjahan and Edwards, 2021, p. 748, emphasis in original). In terms of futurity, Shahjahan et al., (2021, p. 748) draw attention to three ways in which the globalisation of Whiteness through practices of internationalisation operates. I will limit myself to just two as they are immediately relevant to my discussion. The first aspect relates to how Whiteness shapes future aspirations. Study abroad programmes are said to potentially enable students from the Global South to acquire a “global subjectivity”, and in so doing they “pursue aspirations that normalizes Whiteness” (p.750). The case of English language learning “exemplifies normalized White aspirations shaped by global asymmetries” (p.750). Similarly, internationalisation of higher education in its various practices such as export of curricula and quality assurance standards tend to frame these educational projects as “evolutionary superior and the desirable educational futures” (p. 750). In doing so non-White ways of knowing are delegitimized. Shahjahan et al., (2021) note: “White nations’ manipulation of global educational structures positions them as the future for which the rest of the world must aspire” (p. 751).

The second way in which Whiteness governs the future is through the issue of investment. Shahjahan et al., (2021) argue that for Whiteness to retain its value, “non-White subjects must be compelled to invest” (p. 751). This means that students in the global South invest in curricula and academic qualifications that translate into a “global currency”. Conversely, local knowledge and curricula are shunned for their putative provincial character which impedes mobility. As Shahjahan et al., (2021) argue, “Global subjects (and aspirants) imagine and calculate their potential value based on educational parameters set by dominant actors” (p.751). What makes this investment possible is that access to Whiteness, must “appear accessible in some form, albeit costly” (Shahjahan et al., 2021, p. 752). One way Whiteness becomes accessible is through the deployment of racial capital in service to white institutions:

part of Whiteness’s maintenance is found in how countries and groups constructed as “not White” have reproduced the system by *buying into* [emphasis added] Whiteness... Because Whiteness since modernity discursively represents status, desirability,

development, and global power, these are characteristics that countries and groups can attempt to capture. (Christian, 2019, p. 179, as cited in Shahjahan et al., 2021 p. 752).

So far, I have framed internationalisation using the heuristic developed by the EIHE project members. I have adapted this heuristic by focusing on the three key discursive orientations to internationalisation. Whilst this discussion is by no means exhaustive because of the vast number literature relating to internationalisation, it affords a possible way of mapping the key orientations of internationalisation. In the section on the neoliberal discursive orientation, I have highlighted the ways in which internationalisation was conceived of solely as a revenue generation activity. I have focussed on some of the attendant dimensions of the marketisation of education such as branding, ranking and revenue generation. The liberal orientation frames internationalisation as an extension of the civic role of universities. Fraser's tri-partite conceptualization of social justice (2005) has been used to structure my discussion of liberalism. In this, I have addressed issues of distribution, recognition and participation. This has been discussed in relation to the status of international students as key participants in internationalisation activities. However, as I have discussed, this orientation tends to frame international students in two significant ways. Firstly, they are seen as cultural resources to be exploited in order to help domestic students acquire intercultural skills. Secondly, international students are seen as deficient and need to be assimilated into the host culture.

Whilst these two orientations see internationalisation as a neutral activity and a response to globalisation, the third discursive orientation challenges this celebratory view of internationalisation. The critical discursive orientation to internationalisation attends to the potential harms inherent in the practices and discourse of internationalisation. It sees internationalisation as entangled with colonialism and the attendant modes of extraction, exploitation and epistemic violence. Finally, I have provided a discussion of some of the main concerns of critical internationalisation studies (CIS) by way of exploring some of the key areas that the critical orientation to internationalisation has focussed on, notably the issues of economism, eurocentrism and racism.

\* \* \*

*In all of my crossings and all of my travels, when I dreamed, I saw the man upon the shore. I have watched him sift the wreckage. I have watched him rage and cry and appeal to God, and collapse when none answers. I have seen the chimeric structure he raises, each morning, from the wreckage, the sand, and the sea.*



## **At the Shore**

### **Shoreline thinking**

*Today I am the drowned man, I am the left-at-sea. I am the passenger of boats pushed back, boats overturned and punctured and capsized and sunk. I am the landed, the survivor - not saved, but damned.*

*I stand on the shore. I am bereft of any spatial and temporal coordinates. Somehow, in the chaos of the storm, I have kept hold of the map, the document that has guided me so far; if only into danger and distress. Its contours are crumpled, it is crisscrossed with creases from the many ways and times I have folded it, trying to make sense of the territory it describes, or at least claims to. The map is sodden and wet from the sea. Its colours run together, they fade and trickle away until the map is just paper, and lines.*

*I gaze out to sea. I know this place. I know the contours of each piece of the wreckage. I have seen the prow of this ship sink beneath the waves a hundred times, watched as the survivor tore his hair out, stood helpless upon the shore. Now, it is I who surveys the wreckage of coloniality. This shipwreck is mine to interpret, mine to describe; the memory of its shape and weight upon the sea; the many pieces of its ruin and end.*

*I do not need to escape the island. I need to think of new ways to extricate myself from the enduring structural, spiritual, cultural and political hold of coloniality. It is not enough to survive the wreck, I must find what comes after - what can emerge from it.*

*I do something different, something I have never seen the survivor do. In all the times I have seen this played out, he picks from whatever elements wash ashore. I will not wait. I gather my breath and dive once more into the waves. I will enumerate the wreckage. I will number and name its fragments.*

*Elimination of the native, naturalisation of the settlers, annexation of indigenous lands, genocide of Indigenous people, destruction of habitats, traditions, lives.*

*I swim among these broken shards, and the waves wash over me. I feel salt water invade my mouth, my lungs. I feel that it might wash away my memory, my language, all of the impossibilities inflicted on those who came before me, those who could not even cling to wreckage because they were tide-locked, bound for a destination; their fates constrained by history.*

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What follows brings together two different traditions of theorising: a postcolonial lens and a decolonial lens. This approach of ‘bringing together’ seeks to highlight the contribution of these two traditions to my understanding of the experience of internationalisation. As is the case with an attempt to synthesise by bringing together various strands of literature, this attempt might run the danger of emphasising certain themes and overlooking others. This ‘theoretical journeying’, therefore, is highly selective in the sense that it articulates some of the themes shared by these two traditions. In terms of postcolonialism, I move beyond Anglo-postcolonial theory to include other traditions of postcolonial theorising, such as Francophone postcolonial thought.

Broadly speaking, both postcolonial and decolonial theorising can be seen as ethico-political (Fagan, 2013) and as epistemic projects that have exposed and denounced the material, epistemic legacies and violences of colonialism. Both traditions have sought to counter a Eurocentric configuring of the world, which has instituted a range of hierarchies - political, economic, cultural, epistemic and racial - and sustained its legitimacy and dominance. Both bodies of literature are underpinned by envisioning an “ethic of encounter” (Campbell and Shapiro, 1999, p. xi) as a corrective to “a lethal set of attempts to deny the existence of the other as essential to one’s own” (Cavell, 2005, p. 12). Both post/decolonial theorising furnish me with a set of concepts to *think with* in my encounter with internationalisation.

In critiquing and denouncing the violent epistemic and material legacies of colonialism, both postcolonialism and decolonial theorising have sought to offer “the possibility of a new geopolitics of knowledge” (Bhabra, 2014, p.120). This entails addressing the “locus of enunciation” (Mignolo, 1993) as the “disciplinary, geocultural, and ideological space from which discourses of power and resistance are elaborated” (Morana, Dussel and Jauregui, 2008, p.3). By attending to the relationship between knowledge production and politics, the relationship between location, subject position, and power, as well as the various classificatory schemes and hierarchising logic inherent to the exercise of domination (Ribeiro, 2011, p.285), both postcolonialism and decolonial theorising have opened up new horizons for analysing colonial legacies. These are legacies that shaped and continue to shape internationalisation discourses and practices that I have experienced.

### **Postcolonial theory**



Postcolonialism remains a contested concept. For some, postcolonialism is “both a political and broader ethical philosophy” (Hiddleston, 2009, p.4) that seeks to theorise and elucidate “the mechanics of colonial power, the economic exploitation it brought within, and a form of both cultural and ethical critique or questioning”. This often entails a discussion of the inherent myriad forms of violence, material, “representational” (Shapiro, 1998), and symbolic (Spivak, 1988; Bourdieu, 1992), to name just a few forms that colonialism and its aftermath have engendered. For others, postcolonialism is a theoretically and politically ambiguous project (Shohat, 1992). As Shohat suggests, postcolonialism, in critique of it, remains an “a-historical”, “universalising” and “depoliticizing” project (1992, p. 99), which “mystifies both politically and ideologically a situation that represents not the abolition but the reconfiguration of earlier forms of domination” (Dirlik, 1994, p. 331). As “an ideational derivative of ...neoliberal globalization” (Krishna, 2009, p. 92), postcolonialism, for theorists such as Arif Dirlik, Aijaz Ahmad, Neil Lazarus, Benita Parry, Ella Shohat, Anne McClintock, Timothy Brennan, Sumit Sarkar, and Keya Ganguly, is complicit in consolidating the hegemony of global capitalism by diverting “attention from contemporary problems of social, political and cultural domination” (Dirlik, 1994, p.331). For others, especially decolonial theorists, postcolonialism is a necessary but insufficient project as its critique of colonialism has been conducted from a Eurocentric perspective – shaped by the work of Michel Foucault, Jacques Lacan, and Jacques Derrida (Mignolo 2007), thus ignoring “critical discourses elaborated from peripheral societies which have often been ignored” (Moraña, et al., 2008, p.13).

As I understand it, postcolonialism is “a multiple political, economic, cultural and philosophical response to colonialism, from its inception to the present day” (Hiddleston, 2009, p. 4). This response “names the analysis of colonial power, the economic exploitation it brought with it and forms of both cultural and ethical critique or questioning. It is both a political and a broader ethical philosophy” (Hiddleston, p. 4). This interpretation allows me to attend to two dimensions: The first relates to the ways in which internationalisation discourses and practices are implicated in “global ethnocentric hegemonies that reproduce and maintain global inequalities in the distribution of wealth, power and labour in the world” (Andreotti, 2011, p.2). The second dimension brings to the fore the symbolic and epistemic violence enacted in internationalisation discourses and practices as a consequence of this hegemony. My narrative rendering of the encounters with internationalisation engages with these tensions, contradictions and the ethical dilemmas that ensue.

Postcolonialism is not limited to simply highlighting the experience of colonialism and the cultural practices that sustain and legitimise it. It also involves questioning assumptions that undergird colonialism and its legacies. To this effect, the following discussion articulates the different ways in which Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, Valentin-Yves Mudimbe, Achille Mbembe, Edouard Glissant, Dipesh Chakrabarty and Boaventura de Sousa Santos have exposed some of the key assumptions of colonialism, especially the universalist pretensions that have defined the Western conceptual, institutional, cultural and legal framework as the telos to which others should aspire. Thus, the main thrust of these named theorists is “to provincialize” (Chakrabarty, 2000) and to interrogate the assumptions that underpin European humanism. Mbembe, succinctly summarises this critical move by arguing that postcolonialism:

exposes both the violence inherent in a particular concept of reason, and the gulf separating European moral philosophy from its practical, political and symbolic outcomes. How indeed can the much-trumpeted faith in man be reconciled with the way in which colonized people’s life, labour and world of signifiers got sacrificed so unthinkingly? (2008, para. 6)

Judith Butler asks, “what is it to offer a critique?” (Butler 2003: 304). Is postcolonialism, as understood here, simply a “critique of some instituted practice, discourse, episteme, institution?” that “loses its character the moment in which it is abstracted from its operation” (Butler 2003, p. 304, emphasis in original). The perspectives I embrace in this thesis articulate a conception of postcolonialism, not just as a necessary critique of the material and symbolic violence of colonialism and its aftermath, but as an affirmative gesture. In other words, postcolonialism is conceived of as holding out “the possibility of theorizing a non-coercive relationship with the excluded Other of Western humanism” (Ghandi, 1998, p. 39, in Andreotti, 2011, p. 14). A necessary step in this approach is to interrogate critically these modes of violence and regimes of representation through which the other has been categorised and pathologised, which has resulted in devastating consequences.

As Lazarus (2005) asks:

Who speaks? Of and for whom? How, where, and to what ends? In which languages? Through means of which concepts and categories? On the basis of which problematic and epistemological assumptions? (2005, p. 81)

Building on these questions, the perspectives I offer here deploy the question of representation to explore the contributions of a range of postcolonial theorists. I am concerned here with articulating three central insights of selected postcolonial thinking. The first one will deal with the strategies of representation, including the deficit theorisation of the other as explored by Said and Bhabha. The second aspect addresses the ways in which postcolonial theorising has advanced an ethical critique of the violence of representation. This is discussed in relation to Gayatri Spivak, Valentin-Yves Mudimbe, Achille Mbembe and Edouard Glissant. The third aspect articulates a critique of “the locus of enunciation” (Walter Mingolo, 2011). It takes as its central focus a critique of Eurocentrism as developed in the work of Dipesh Chakrabarty and Boaventura de Sousa Santos.

Collectively, these theorists offer me a powerful set of concepts that give meaning to my narrative experiences. In thinking *with* these concepts, I am interested in what they do and how they orient my thought. Above all, it is their affective force that I find compelling. As I read them, I move through an intellectual landscape that charts colonial violence and the condition of hope.

### **Strategies of representation: fixity and ambivalence.**

Postcolonial theorising starts from the assumption that the self and the other are constructed within a complex interplay of discursive practices and power. The construction of the ‘West’ as rational, civilised and modern has relied on general discursive strategies of inferiorisation of the other. Both Said and Bhabha articulate the ways in which colonial discursive formations and cultural practices are sustained by the conceptual and epistemological assumptions that underpin knowledge-production about the other and its domination. At the same time, Bhabha affords a sense of agency for the colonised in their capacity to resist and subvert these strategies of inferiorisation that has sought to fix the identity of the colonised.

### **Edward Said**

In *Orientalism*, Said (1978) highlights the connection between Western knowledge and Western material interests. Through different sites of knowledge-production, such as history, religion, philology, literature, linguistics and philosophy, Said articulates the notion that scholarship is not a neutral activity that is animated by “search for truth”. Said conceives of Orientalism “as a Western style of dominating and having authority over the Orient” (Said, 1978, p.11). This is achieved through a range of practices such as “making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it settling it, ruling over it...” (Said,

1978, p.11). In my understanding, this dimension of Orientalism foregrounds the issue of representation in its intimate link to power and domination. Through a range of pathologising (re)presentations, the Oriental is conceived of as inhabiting a moral, temporal and spatial order marked by degeneracy and backwardness. Morally, the Oriental is conceived of as inherently licentious, “uncivilized and retarded” (Said, 1978, p.207) and in this the Oriental joins other “lamentably alien” subjectivities within Western society (delinquents, the insane, women, the poor) (Said, 1978, p.207) - categories of ‘failed citizens’ to be disciplined, regulated and confined. In some of their iterations, internationalisation discourses and practices give currency to these descriptions.

Underpinning this representational economy is a strategy of “flexible positional superiority” (Said, 1978, p.15), that places “...the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand” (Said, 1978, p.15). In this sense, this hierarchising logic that portrays the ‘West’ as advanced and the ‘East’ as backward, has legitimised Western domination and conquest. The Orientalist, as Said argues, believes “himself to be a hero rescuing the Orient from obscurity, alienation and strangeness which he himself had properly distinguished” (Said, 1979, p. 121). In my narrative rendering, I engage with the putative superiority and its devastating consequences on other ways of knowing and learning. I engage with internationalisation discourse as necessarily involved in perpetuating hierarchical structures of knowledge.

Whilst Said’s theorising has inaugurated postcolonialism’s “ethical awareness of the intractability of the marginalized other, and the movement’s call for openness and responsibility towards the other’s difference” (Hiddleston, 2009, p.77), *Orientalism* is not without its critics. One such critique is that it has operated with an essentialised ‘East’ and ‘West,’ thus creating “a single discourse, undifferentiated in space and time and across political, and intellectual identities” (Rochar, 1993, p.215, cited in Clarke, 2003, p.9). Relatedly, according to this critique, Said has “muted” the colonised whose voice he sought to recover and represent. In not affording the colonised a sense of agency, Said does not allow a space for resisting and contesting voices to emerge. Said nevertheless has addressed some of these critique in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993). For instance, he argues that “contrapuntal reading” (1994, p.78) “must take into account...both processes, that of imperialism and that of resistance to it”. His “contrapuntal consciousness”, by which he means that one should centre the intertwined and entangled histories between the coloniser

and the colonised. Writing a text of entangled and intertwined histories of the colonised and the coloniser, remains central to my narrative rendering.

### **Homi Bhabha**

Whilst, postcolonial critique, in the case of Said, articulates a number of representational strategies, Bhabha's work adds a further dimension to this critique. At the same time, Bhabha also addresses some of the limitations of Said. Of immediate relevance here is the notion of resistance to and ambivalence of colonial discourse that Bhabha articulates by way of escaping the binary logic that marks Said's bifurcation of the colonial experience into two distinct and fixed poles (coloniser and colonised) and the resulting charge of essentialism. In this, both Said and Bhabha, as Andreotti (2111) avers, are similar in their engagement with colonial discourse as they are both concerned with examining the "processes that divide, categorize, and dominate the world" (p.25).

For Said, the colonial archive, in its construction of the Orient as its other, operates through a range of strategies, namely the stereotype as a "kind of *cataloguing* that helps the imperialist to create a monolithic construction of the Orient that should be dominated and ruled" (Chakrabarti, 2012, p. 10). The task, therefore, as Said saw it is to "to deconstruct the myths created around" the Orient by opposing the processes of othering/Orientalising the colonial subject. For Said, that which is "commonly circulated by...cultural discourses and exchanges.... is not 'truth' but representations" (Said, 1979, p.29). Whilst Bhabha shares some of these concerns, especially the issue of fixity as the trope through which colonial discourse operates, his main contribution to this debate consists of theorising the ways in which "colonialism operates within discourse itself and to draw attention to the delusions of modes of thinking that claim to know and assimilate the other" (Hinddleston, 2009, p114). Bhabha proposes three interrelated concepts (stereotype, mimicry and hybridity) in order to theorise the ways in which colonised people resist the totalising power of the colonised as well as disturb these binary oppositions. In what follows, I focus only on Bhabha's theorisation of the stereotype and hybridity.

As a strategy of representation, the 'stereotype' operates through the "mechanism of fixity in the ideological construction of Otherness" (Bhabha, 1994, p.66). Fixity seeks to create "a space for a 'subject people' through the production of knowledges in terms of which surveillance is exercised and a complex form of pleasure/unpleasure is incited" (Bhabha, 1994, p.70). In terms of the discourses and practices of internationalisation, the deficit

theorising of the international student depends for its coherence on a range of stereotypes. Bhabha, in common with Said, argues that the colonial archive of Western academic texts, literary novels and artworks, and I would add internationalisation, has author(ed)ised a fantastical cartography in which the ‘West’ is valorised and the ‘East’ is seen as degenerate. Bhabha adds that this colonial archive is invested with a libidinal economy that seeks to fix the colonised population as “degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction (Bhabha, 1994, p. 70). Unlike Said, Bhabha asserts that the stereotype, remains a deeply paradoxical element of colonial discourse, for it connotes both rigidity and repetition. That is to say, whilst the stereotype in colonial discourse claims that it has locked its “address” in a set of signifying practices, the fact that the stereotype relies for its operation on repetition, threatens this fixity and stability.

Bhabha illustrates his view of the stereotype as a form of knowledge and identification:

The black is both savage (cannibal) and yet the most obedient and dignified of servants (the bearer of food); he is the embodiment of rampant sexuality and yet innocent as a child; he is mystical, primitive, simple-minded and yet the most worldly and accomplished liar, and manipulator of social forces. In each case what is being dramatized is a separation— between races, cultures, histories within histories— a separation between before and after that repeats obsessively the mythical moment of disjunction. (Bhabha, 1994, p. 82)

Bhabha argues that whilst these mechanisms of knowledge production about the other are asymmetrical and imbued with relations of power to the extent that the coloniser remains the object of knowledge and the coloniser both, at once, the producer of knowledge and the “civilising” agent, the boundaries between the coloniser and colonised need to be rethought. Bhabha argues that “the construction of colonial subject in discourse, and the exercise of colonial power through discourse, demands an articulation of forms of difference” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 67). In this context, Bhabha puts forward the concept of hybridity in order “to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences” (Bhabha, 1994, pp. 1-2). This has the effect of dislodging the claims that animate colonial discourse in its thinking of the colonised as belonging to an inferior race and culture whilst the coloniser belongs to a superior race. This is because these claims view cultures as distinct and pure, a view that Bhabha sees as an essentialist narrative of culture and belonging that is inherently exclusionary and grounded in structures of violence:

[...] the very idea of a pure, 'ethnically cleansed' national identity can only be achieved through the death, literal and figurative, of the complex interweavings of history, and the culturally contingent borderlines of modern nationhood. (Bhabha, 1994, p. 7)

Consequently, fixity, purity and distinctiveness as features of colonial hegemonic discourse, which seek to maintain assiduous cultural boundaries and distinctions as well as to homogenise cultural formations, are undermined by “cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation.” (Bhabha 1994, p.2). In my narrative rendering, I grapple with lived dilemmatic moments when I am simultaneously interpellated as an ‘insider’ and an ‘outsider’.

Bhabha’s concept of hybridity has been singled out for a range of critiques (for a discussion, see Moor-Gilbert, 1997; Parry, 2004). Hybridity, according to these critiques, tends to homogenise “the hybrid agent” (Loomba, 1998, p. 178). The resistance Bhabha envisions is confined to challenging the operations of discourses. Following Foucault here, it is discourse, rather than any concrete historical actor that “desires, dreams, and does the work of colonialism while also ensuring its demise” (McClintock, 1995, p. 64, cited in Mizutani, 2013, p.43). Despite these limitations, Bhabha’s contribution to postcolonial theorisation articulates an ethico-political set of concepts and analytical tools in order to “upset the discourse of imperialism that would otherwise remain ‘unmixed,’ uninfluenced by anything other than itself” (Mizutani, 2013, p. 29). This ethical dimension is, perhaps, better illustrated with reference to the work of Spivak, Mbembe and Mudinbe.

### **An ethical critique of the violence of representation**

I consider the ways in which Gayatri Spivak, Valentin Mudimbe and Achille Mbembe have framed postcolonial critique as a strategy to denounce the “tyrannical forms and structures of representations working on postcolonial societies in diverse ways” (Hiddleston, 2009, p.176). Internationalisation in all its modalities (export of courses, recruitment of international students and internationalisation at Home) is deeply entangled in these structures. In considering some of the work of these three scholars, I foreground the ways in which they reorient my thinking of internationalisation from a neutral and benign activity to a potentially harmful mode of engaging with the other.

### **Gayatri Spivak**

As Zeiny (2019) alerts us, through the concept of “epistemic violence” (1998), Spivak theorises some of the ways in which “power and desire appropriate and condition the

production of knowledge" (p, 4). To illustrate this epistemic violence, Spivak conceives of the colonial archive as well as literature as sites for the construction of the colonial subject as an epistemic other. In her highly critiqued essay, *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (1998), Spivak locates the subaltern women (the widow within the context of Sati "widow burning") between two discourses: A colonial discourse that conceives of the widow as an object: passive and a victim in need of saving. This is summarised in Spivak's phrase as: "White men are saving brown women from brown men" (Spivak, 1998, p. 92). The second one is a Hindu discourse that constitutes the widow as a self-knowing subject who is willing to participate in this ritual. These two discourses as Spivak argues, "go a long way to legitimize each other" (Spivak, 1998, p. 93) and, in an act of epistemic violence and appropriation of the other, silence the possibility of the subaltern's epistemic enunciation. In both discourses, what is at play here is the politics of representation that serves to stage or code the subaltern at the same time as it erases "the role the British play when staging her representation" (Kapoor, 2004, p. 628). As the example of Sati illustrates, Spivak contends that two senses of representation are concurrently advanced: A political meaning of representation in the sense of *speaking for* the widow and a second sense of representation as "*re-presentation*", as in art or philosophy (Spivak, 1998, p. 70). These two senses are brought together in the colonial discourse that represents the practice of Sati as "revolting to the feeling of human nature" and as an act "of atrocity, which is shocking to the Hindoos themselves" (Spivak, 1998, p. 97). In denouncing and inviting the Hindu to share this "affective economy" of disgust (Ahmed, 2004a), colonial discourse not only constructs the widow as a victim in need of salvation but perhaps more importantly, it has silenced her and relegated her knowledge to what Foucault called "subjugated knowledge" (Foucault, 1980).

Foucault's notion of "subjugated knowledge" provides, for Spivak, the context that frames the encounter between the imperial and the colonial self. This context is mobilised in two interrelated arenas: The first seeks to subjugate, generate and construct knowledge about the subaltern's epistemic capacity. In this, the subaltern's knowledge is deemed a "naive knowledge[s] located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity" (Foucault, 1980, p.82). Secondly, this epistemic violence that subjugates and disqualifies the subaltern's knowledge manifests itself not only in silencing and appropriating the others, but also in self-consolidating. This resonates with some of my experiences of how internationalisation has been taken up in the institution I work for. In my narratives, I grapple with the question of whose knowledge is being advocated as a valid knowledge and whose



knowledge has been suppressed. Spivak argues, through a range of texts, archives and practices in philosophy, literature, history and culture, Europe has constituted its colonies as “Others”. Through this Othering process, Europe “had consolidated itself as sovereign subject” by constructing its colonies “into programmed near-images of that very sovereign self.” (Spivak, 1985, p. 247).

This itinerary of “the consolidation of the European subject” (Spivak, 1985, p. 247) is perhaps better illustrated through the concept of “worlding” the world, a process of ordering/othering whereby people and geographical territories are defined in Eurocentric ways and thus presided over and constructed as inferior cultural, historical and geographical formations. As Spivak argues, through a range of cultural production such as literature, history and philosophy as well an apparatus of domination and hegemony, the imperial project assumes that “the earth that it territorialized was in fact previously un-inscribed...” (Spivak, 1990, p.1). This “worlding actually is texting, textualizing, a making into art, a making into an object to be understood” (Spivak, 1990, p.1). This “worlding” of the world, “violently and effectively”, as Spivak argues, “generates the force to make the ‘native’ see himself as ‘other’” (Spivak, 1985, p.254). A further consequence of the “worlding” of the world is that “The Third World”, emerges as a “discursive field” (Spivak, 1985, p. 247) positioned as a set of “distant cultures, exploited but with rich intact heritages waiting to be recovered, interpreted, and curricularized in English translation” (Spivak, 1985, p. 247).

Against this background, Spivak’s writings foreground the “ethical attention to the violence of imperialist forms of representation and silencing” (Hiddleston, 2009, p. 160). Attending to the imperialist and neo-imperialist structures of domination and silencing necessitates addressing a number of questions, as Kapoor articulates for us, in engaging with Spivak’s work:

What are the ethico-political implications of our representations for the Third World, and especially for the subaltern groups that preoccupy a good part of our work? To what extent do our depictions and actions marginalize or silence these groups and mask our own complicities? What social and institutional power relationships do these representations, even those aimed at ‘empowerment’, set up or neglect? And to what extent can we attenuate these pitfalls?” (Kapoor, 2004, p.628)

In attending to these questions, Spivak’s contributions to postcolonial theorising hold the promise of not only surfacing the silenced and “subjugated knowledge”, but also interrogating the unequal power/knowledge configuration and exposing its violences:

epistemic and material. At the same time, her critical discourse “invites one to look at one's own context, positioning and complicities, to unlearn one's privilege, to establish an ethical relationship to difference and to learn to learn from below” (Andreotti, 2007, p. 69). This foregrounds the ethics of representation and the need to remain ““hyper-self-reflexive” about our complicity in this epistemic violence by acknowledging that our “personal and institutional desires are unavoidably written into our representations” (Kapoor, 2006, p. 641). I narrativise an incident, here, where attempts to internationalise the curriculum tend to foreclose questions of complicity and the possible ethical relationship with the Other.

Whilst the work of Spivak has provided a powerful account of the “itinerary of silence and silencing” (Moore-Gilbert, 1997) as well as the conditions necessary to establish an ethical relationality with the Other, her contributions are not immune to criticism. Moore-Gilbert (1997), for example, argues that Spivak’s conception of subalternity is “sometimes disablingly nonrelational or even essentialized” (p.463). Under this critique, Spivak pays little attention to how the contemporary subaltern might ‘come to voice’ despite the “abundant historical evidence of the effective resistance of even the subaltern female” (Moore-Gilbert, 1997, p.463). Spivak has been at pains to explain that she does not claim that the subaltern does not have a voice, but rather as Kapoor argues, Spivak’s main argument is that “elite or hegemonic discourses are deaf to the subaltern, even when s/he does speak or resist” (Kapoor, 2006, p. 639). I explore the notion of silence through the theorisation of Swanson (2004). I also engage with the notion of self-silencing as volitional act of resistance to the institutional mandate of internationalisation. In one of my narrative renderings, I engage critically and reflexively with the silence of my colleagues during a presentation that presented international students as deficient.

### **Achille Mbembe**

With respect to the concerns with the ethical critique of the violence of representation, the work of Achille Mbembe and Valentin-Yves Mudimbe is similar to Spivak’s. Mbembe centres “the logic of enclosure” as a facet of colonial violence. This logic is enacted through “dividing and organizing a multiplicity, of fixing and distributing it according to a hierarchy, of allocating it to more or less impermeable spaces” (Mbembe, 2017, p.35). In the words of Gerber (2018, p.6), this logic of enclosure “constitutes the Western worldview ... as the closed totality for the colonised, thereby not permitting or acknowledging the existence of anything that may contradict this totality”. In my understanding, Mbembe’s contribution to

postcolonial theorising consists, in part, of articulating the ethical and political consequences of this (dis)enclosure.

Mbembe discusses this enclosure in relation to the ontological status of the “African other”, the exclusionary practices that frame and constitute this alterity as well as in relation to Africa. In a similar move to Said’s *Orientalism*, Mbembe addresses the ways in which Africa has been framed, indeed distorted. To Mbembe, “Africa still constitutes one of the metaphors through which the ‘West’ represents the origin of its own norms, develops a self-image, and integrates this image into the set of signifiers asserting what it supposes to be its identity” (2001, p.2). A dominant trope in this framing is what Adesanmi (2004) calls a homogenised “postcolonial space as one uniform site of dysfunctionality” (p. 227). By framing the African postcolony “within a largely unproblematised sign of negativity” (Adesanmi, 2004, p.227), Africa has been:

condemned to appear in social theory only as the sign of a lack, while the discourse of political science and development economics has become that of a quest for the causes of that lack. On the basis of a grotesque dramatization, what political imagination is in Africa is held incomprehensible, pathological, and abnormal. War is seen as all-pervasive. The continent, a great, soft, fantastic body, is seen as powerless, engaged in rampant self-destruction. Human action there is seen as stupid and mad, always proceeding from anything but rational calculation. (Mbembe, 2001, p.8)

Coupled with this “polite violence” of Western discourse on Africa (Weate, 2003a, p. 28), Mbembe articulates the ways in which the African subject has been ontologised.

Commenting on the work of Mbembe, Weate (2003b, p.3) states that contemporary European thinking continues to frame Africa “as the repository for the bestial and the negative, via the trope of the animal”. This description resonates with me, and has orientated my thinking to exploring this notion of animality. I began to ponder why the category of international student (is made to) ‘lend(s)’ itself easily to animality. I engage with this notion in one of my narratives. Germaine to this notion of the “bestial” is a related construction of the African subject as an “empty figure” (Mbembe, 2017). As Mbembe argues, Africa is:

the word through which the modern age seeks to designate two things. First, it identifies a certain litigious figure of the human as an emptiness of being, walled within absolute precariousness. Second, it points to the general question of the inextricability of humans, animals, and nature, of life and death, of the presence of one in the other, of the death that lives in life and gives it the rigidity of a corpse. (p.49)

The African subject, as the “the sign of the strange and the monstrous” (Mbembe, 2001, p.1), stands in sharp contrast to the rational subject. By implication, the trope of the beast constitutes the African subject as threat: “a menacing object from which one must be protected or escape, or which must simply be destroyed if it cannot be subdued” (Mbembe, 2017, p.10). In this version, what is played out is the “the violence of Western epistemologies and the dehumanizing impulses at the heart of their definition of the human” (Mbembe, 2007, para.9). This violence is further amplified by reducing the African subject to a status of “non-being”. As Mbembe argues, “Africa thus stands out as the supreme receptacle of the West’s obsession with, and circular discourse about, the facts of ‘absence,’ ‘lack,’ and ‘non-being,’ of identity and difference, of negativeness—in short, of nothingness” (2001 p.4). In this vein, the African subject is conceived of as nothing:

in the colonial principle of rationality.... there is a clear difference between being and existing. Only the human exists, since the human alone can represent the self as existent, and have a consciousness of what is so represented. From the standpoint of colonialism, the colonized does not truly exist, as person or as subject (Mbembe 2001, p. 187)

Mbembe’s postcolonial theorising has put to task the domination and the enclosure of Western metaphysics by highlighting the epistemic violence that has and continues to mark the ways in which Africa and the African subjects have been ontologised. Mbembe’s attempt also gestures toward an ethics of “dis-enclosure” (Nancy, 2008). As Syrotinski (2012) notes, “dis-enclosure” refers to the act of “opening up something that is not only closed, but also enclosed, such as an enclosure” (p. 416). Here, “dis-enclosure”, as understood by Mbembe, is a “profoundly transformative action, that is at the same time a coming into being...literally...a...hatching” (Syrotinski, 2012, p. 416). In Mbembe’s account, dis-enclosure as an “eruption, or advent of something new, of an opening” (2010, p.68) calls for a “rethinking the ontological status of the self in relation to the other (Gerber, 2018, p.7). This insight afforded by the concept of ‘dis-enclosure’ calls for thinking and doing internationalisation otherwise by interrogating its colonial logic and rationality. As a (North) African, I read Mbembe’s description of how the African and Africa have been made to signify, I am reminded of Butler when she says that “certain human lives are more grievable than others” (2010, p.30). Who counts as human and who does not?

**Valentin-Yves Mudimbe**

I turn to Mudimbe for his interrogation of “the modalities, significance, or strategies” (1998, p.9) of a range of discourses on African societies, cultures and people. Equally, he is concerned with articulating the epistemic violence that ensues from attempts at transposing and applying “theories produced by an order in a completely different context where they become dogmas and absolute Truths” (Mudimbe 1973a, p. 151, cited in Fraiture, 2014, p.325). This failure, as Jules-Rosette (1991, p.592), tells us, forms “part of an epistemological orientation that positions African subjects as voiceless ‘others,’ whose contributions to knowledge and culture have not been recognized in the official European canon”.

As Fraiture (2013) suggests, Mudimbe’s chief concern is to attend to the “unequal modes of ‘production’ in the field of knowledge”, to explore the “colonial archive and neo-colonial representations” (p.7). In this endeavour, Mudimbe’s theorising resonates with Said’s notion of Orientalism. Mudimbe takes to task the discourse of Africanism by way of articulating and “unthinking” the unethical modes of representation of the colonial other. For Mudimbe, Africanism is a cluster of disciplines and a “colonial library” that is an “immense body of texts and systems of representation that has over the centuries collectively invented, and continues to invent Africa as a paradigm of difference and alterity” (Wai, 2012, p. 37). Mudimbe notes that the colonial library contains three complimentary discourses that have contributed to the invention of a “primitive” Africa: “the exotic text on savages, represented by travelers' reports”, “the philosophical interpretations about a hierarchy of civilizations”, and “the anthropological search for primitiveness” (1988, p.69). The epistemic power of the colonial library is pervasive as attempts to escape its grasp by resignifying Africa in different terms risk “the contaminating violence ...of the epistemic and colonizing gaze of Western modernity” (Iñiguez de Heredia and Wai, 2018, p.10). As Mudimbe reminds us, African discourses “which correct, critically reread, reinterpret, or challenge the colonial library... are possible and thinkable only insofar as they actualize themselves within those same intellectual fields” authorised by and constitutive of the library (2018, p. 8).

Mudimbe singles out the discipline of anthropology for its contributions to the colonial library, especially its constitutions of Africa as a “primitive” and pathological entity. For Mudimbe, anthropology, as a discourse, has supported and has been sustained by a set of “crushing models” in which the “West has created the ‘pagan’ in order to ‘christianize’, ‘underdevelopment’ in order to ‘develop’, the ‘primitive’ in order to engage in ‘anthropology’ and ‘civilize’” (Mudimbe 1997, p. 169). Anthropology, in this vein, has

furnished colonial structures with a set of dichotomies, where Africa is figured as a lesser entity:

traditional versus modern; oral versus written and printed; agrarian and customary communities versus urban and industrialized civilization; subsistence economies versus highly productive economies (Mudimbe, 1988, p. 4).

Taken together, these modalities and colonial structures have placed Africa in what Michel Trouillot (2003) has called “the savage slot”. As Fabian (2002) argues, the ethnographic encounter is structured by an evolutionist epistemology that conceptualises the Other (non-West) through a spatiotemporal distancing. That is to say, the Other is not contemporaneous with the ‘West’. Fabian refers to this spatial and temporal distancing as “allochronism” and the “denial of coevalness”. This lack of coevalness is “*a persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse*” (2002, p. 31, emphasis in original). In other words, “evolutionary time” is placed between the “‘savage’ as the rejected Other of the rational European thinking subject” (Wai, 2015, p.272). As Fabian argues, this institutes a “*chronopolitics*” (Fabian, 2002), the effects of which are not just to institute a temporalisation of the Other, but also furnish ideological foundations to Geopolitics (Fabian, 2002). That is to say, “the slicing up of the globe into various blocks of space” (Klinke, 2012, p.677) is often underpinned by a chronopolitics, which provides a justification for colonial interventions such as the modernising project, the civilising mission, and development. In one of my narratives, I take up this notion of the “denial of coevalness” and trace how it seeps through the fabric of internationalisation discourse and practices. In my narrative rendering, Mudimbe’s theorisation of the colonial library and its “crushing models” give meaning to how I experience internationalisation, especially its claims to modernise and bring the other slowly out of the “waiting room of history” (Chakrabarty, 2000).

The concept of ‘the colonial library’, I argue, suffers from a few shortcomings. One such a pitfall is that Mudimbe, paradoxically, provides a totalising system of thought “from which there seems to be no escape” (Wai, 2015, p.277). As Mbembe similarly opines, the notion of Africa that sustains Mudimbe’s thesis:

exists only on the basis of a pre-existing library, one that intervenes and insinuates itself everywhere, even in the discourse that claims to refute it – to the point that with regard to African identity and tradition, it is now impossible to distinguish the ‘original’ from a copy. The same can be said of any project aimed at disentangling Africa from the West. (Mbembe, 2002, p. 257, in Wai, 2015, p.276-277)

Mudimbe, as is the case with Spivakian silencing of the subaltern, does not offer the possibility for the African subject to “speak on his/her own terms” and escape the pervasive structuring of the “library”. As Spivak reminds us, one cannot approach the ‘Third World’ without any colonial baggage, and it is in excavating these discourses that the epistemic violence is brought into sharp relief. Mudimbe’s insight that “chronopolitics” is a pervasive modality through which the other is ‘grasped’ resonates with my narrative rendering of internationalisation discourses and practices in their ‘civilising mission’.

### **Edouard Glissant**

The work of Edouard Glissant further enriches the discussion of the ethical critique of violence by providing a constellation of concepts such as ‘Relation’ (Glissant capitalises this term), opacity, diversity and an archipelagic image of thought. I focus on the concept of ‘Relation’ and opacity because they are immediately relevant to my discussion. In my understanding of his theorising, Glissant enacts a double gesture that attunes us to the violence of the appropriation of the Other, and, at the same time, he provides a set of corrective frames to the dangers of subsuming the Other under one’s frame of understanding.

Internationalisation discourse and practices are undergirded by a set of binary oppositions, where the self is constructed as the opposite of the other: ‘Us’ and ‘them’, ‘developed’ and ‘underdeveloped’, and ‘superior’ and ‘inferior’, to name a few. I experienced these ontological distinctions and denial of relationality as a lecturer involved in internationalisation of the curriculum. The work of Glissant offers me a powerful set of insights into this denial of relationality. As Britton suggests (1999), underpinning the theorisation of Glissant is the concept of *Relation* in which “each and every identity is extended through a relationship with the other” (Glissant, 1997, p.11). This encounter with the Other is cast in terms of an ethical relationship where “thought of the Other is sterile without the other Of Thought... Thought of the Other is the moral generosity disposing me to accept the principle of alterity” (Glissant, 1997, p.154). Epistemologically, for Glissant, to grasp the Other “has fearsome repressive meaning” (Glissant, 1997, p.26) as this gesture requires “fixing” the other by reducing it to a set of essential attributes. For Glissant, to enter into Relation with the other is to enact a set of “non-hierarchical and non reductive” (Britton, 1999, p.11) encounters with the other.

Glissant problematises the notion of transparency. He takes ethnography to task for its desire to “unveil”, to understand, to reduce the Other to “categorical systems of thoughts ...by

making it transparent” (Crowley, 2006, p. 106). Murdoch (2013, p.833) avers that the conceptual history of transparency “by which the Europeans [sic] colonizers sought to make the opaque Other transparent to its Self” is an inherently violent practice. This is because, transparency is “linked to colonialist and universalist practices that literally absorbed and transformed the other through sanctioned acts of appropriation and assimilation” (Murdoch, 2013, p.833). In summarising the world as “something obvious...claiming for it one presupposed sense and one destiny” (Glissant, 1997, p.20), the edict of transparency is a form of “totalitarianism” (Glissant, 1997, p.20) in which the Other is assimilated or annihilated (Glissant, 1997, p.20).

Glissant advocates the notion of opacity in order to expose “the limits of schema of visibility, representation, and identity that prevent sufficient understanding of multiple perspectives of the world and its people” (Blas, 2016, p. 149). For Glissant, opacity is that “which protects the Diverse” (Glissant, 1997, p. 62). Glissant adds:

Acclaiming the right to opacity, turning it into another humanism, nevertheless means that we give up the attempt to bring all truths.... Together into a single transparency, which would be mine, which I'd impose... The opacity that is created between the other and myself in mutual consent (it is not apartheid), enhances his freedom, and confirms my free choice, in a relation of pure sharing where exchange, discovering and respect are infinite, and *go without saying*... Because you have the right to be obscure, above all to yourself. (Glissant, 1997, p. 69-70, emphasis in original, in Bojsen, 2013, p. 1006)

Opacity is an “ethical proposition” (Blas, 2016) and a project which entails both a form of resistance (Simek, 2015) and an ontological condition (Blas, 2016). As a form of resistance, opacity seeks to challenge and the Enlightenment project of knowledge production that is based on universal categories. This project operates “through a process of understanding or comprehending (in the strong sense of seizing or grasping) that relied on reducing and hierarchizing” (Simek, 2015, p.366). Glissant adds:

I claim the right to *opacity* for everyone, which is not a withdrawal . . . I do not have to ‘understand’ anyone, an individual, a community, a people, to ‘take them with me’ at the price of stifling them, of losing them in an amorphous totality. (1997, p. 29, cited in Murdoch, 2003, p.886)

Germane to this epistemological mode of resistance to “the light of (Western)” understanding (Murdoch, 2013, p.886) is a concern to preserve “diversity and advance exchanges based not upon hierarchy but upon networks that abolish the primacy of any one center of understanding” (Crowley, 2006, 107). In displacing the tyranny of the centre,



Glissant advances an understanding of opacity as a form of ontological resistance. Opacity is an ontological relationality where “one exists, or agrees to exist, with and among Others” (Glissant, 1997, p. 114). Opacity here is framed as what motivates “entanglement, rather than respectful but distanced separation” (Simek, 2015, p.369). I narrativise moments where the other is exposed bare, locked in a signifying practice that is heavily overdetermined by their geographical and cultural origin/heritage. Internationalisation at Home offers the promise of inculcating in our students a sense of ontological relationality and an understanding of how their lives are implicated in the lives of the other. Its practices and discourses demand that the other presents themselves as a transparent entity. An example of this is the use of the English language as a means of communication. I remember being affronted by a sign in some classrooms that declare the following: *Only English Is Spoken Here*. To speak another language, to utter phonemes that are “unintelligible” to others is seen as an example of the other’s “stubborn shadows” (Simek, 2105) that must be illuminated.

### **The critique of Eurocentrism**

My theoretical journeying has so far attended to two key themes: strategies of representation and the ethical critique of the violence of representation. I also outline a number of postcolonial concepts and how they reorient my thinking of internationalisation. What these two themes throw into sharp relief is the locus from which these enunciations (representations) are enacted. This locus has been variously articulated in the literature as “West” (Said), the Global North (de Sousa Santos), Europe (Bhambra). This locus of enunciation is not understood as geographical referent but as cultural project. The postcolonial critical thrust is directed at the assumption that ‘West’ “lies at the centre of all things in the world” (Hobson, 2007, p.93), and through autopoiesis (Varela and Maturana, 1975) it projects itself “outwards through a one-way diffusionism so as to remake the world in its own image” (Hobson, 2007p.93). Internationalisation discourses and practices operate with this logic. Course export and the recruitment of international students, conceive of ‘Western’ education and knowledge as superior ‘products’. I discuss the ways in which the work of Chakrabarty and de Sousa Santos challenge Eurocentrism.

### **Dipesh Chakrabarty**

In my understanding, Chakrabarty’s postcolonial critique of Eurocentrism consists of a number of aspects. The first is a critique of spatial and temporal distancing that the notion of the linear historical trajectory enacts between the ‘West’ and the rest of the world. The

second aspect deals with the privileging of a conceptual apparatus, developed within a context that accords European thought a superior status.

In *Provincializing Europe* (2000), Chakrabarty seeks to unearth the Eurocentric assumptions that underpin narratives of progress. He singles out historicism as a key aspect of his critique. Historicism, as a mode of thinking, means that to understand any entity in world, we need to approach it as “an individual and unique whole” that “develops over time” (p.23). The problem with historicism, according to Chakrabarty, is that it enacts a spatial and a temporal distancing between the ‘West’ and non-West. By conceiving of modernity as “originating in one place (Europe) and then spreading outside it” (2000, p.6), historicism has normalised the “completely internalist histories of Europe in which Europe was described as the site of the first occurrence of capitalism, modernity, or Enlightenment” (2000, p.7). This “endogenous” development that is claimed to be located in Europe, throws into sharp relief “the civilizational apartheid” (Hund, p.54) inherent in this spatial distancing.

The non-West is located in a “waiting room” of history (Chakrabarty, 2000, p.9). The teleological logic of historicism means that that we are “all headed for the same destination...but some people were to arrive earlier than others” (p.9). The ‘West’ is seen as the only sovereign subject of history, modernity, and universal reason. The temporal ordering of the other as “not yet European” has enabled “European domination of the world in the nineteenth century” (2000, p.7). The notion of the “waiting room of history” forms the basis of a narrative rendering that deals with the ways in which selling courses to other countries, especially in the Global South, is underpinned by Chakrabarty’s critique of historicism.

Chakrabarty’s critique of Eurocentrism extends to concepts such citizenship, the state, civil society, human rights, equality before the law, the individual, distinctions between public and private, democracy, social justice and scientific rationality. He argues that these concepts “go deep into the intellectual and even theological traditions of Europe.” (Chakrabarty, 2000 p.4). They do not “transcend the European history from which they originate” (Seth, 2014, p. 316). Chakrabarty calls for the provincialisation of Europe:

To provincialise Europe was precisely to find out how and in what sense European ideas that were universal were also, at one and the same time, drawn from very particular intellectual and historical traditions that could not claim any universal validity. It was to ask a question about how thought was related to place. Can thought transcend places of origin? Or do places leave their imprint on thought in such a way as to call into question the idea of purely abstract categories? (2000, p. xiii)

Chakrabarty does not call for jettisoning the conceptual apparatuses and the categories of thoughts developed within historicist tendencies of European. For him, “European thought is at once *indispensable* and *inadequate* in helping us to think through the experiences of political modernity in non-western nations...” (2000, p.16). The task is to explore how this system of “thought - which is now everybody’s heritage and which affect us all - may be renewed from and for the margins” (2000, p.16). This, of course, does not mean the “continuation of European thought” (Skaria, p.53), but an “extensive transformation of European thought through a focus not only on what that thought must marginalise but also on how it has been translated into other traditions of the world” (Skaria, p.53). This involves a rethinking of the conceptual apparatus through which Europe as a project has declared itself as exceptional and universal. This project has to “attempt an alternative thinking of equality, democracy, citizenship or human rights” by questioning the “Enlightenment categories *in the very spirit and even name of these categories*” (Skaria, 2009, p.53, emphasis in original).

Chakrabarty conceives of European thought as a relatively fixed and unchanging system, which is premised on Enlightenment reason. This ignores the ways in which European thinkers such as Derrida, for example, have been very critical of Eurocentrism. Despite this charge of the ahistorical depiction of Europe, Chakrabarty’s merit lies in highlighting the “routine Eurocentricity found in the writing of much history” (Hardiman, 2002, p.66). In this, he joins a range of theorists Derrida (1992), Bhabra (2016) and Balibar (2016) who have contested the history of Europe, its exceptionalism and called for Europe to alter its trajectory by recognising “the differences that have always been within: Europe becoming decentralized, provincialized and diffracted” (Ponzanesi, 2016, p.160).

### **Boaventura de Sousa Santos**

de Sousa Santos’s critique of Eurocentrism aims at deligitimising its claims to universality that have suppressed and marginalised other epistemologies. If Chakrabarty aims at “renewing the European project from the margin” rather than discarding it (2000, p.16), de Sousa Santos seeks to create “distance in relation to the Eurocentric tradition” (2014, p. 44) so as to open “analytical spaces” for realities that have been “ignored or made invisible, that is, deemed nonexistent by the Eurocentric critical tradition” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p.44). I unpack the key contributions of de Sousa Santos to the postcolonial critique of the locus of enunciation. I focus on his notion of the abyssal line, epistemologies of the South and ecologies of knowledge. These notions inform my understanding of internationalisation and

the ways it has been taken up by the institution within which I am employed. I engage with the invidiousness the cartography of the abyssal line enacts.

de Sousa Santos characterises theoretical thinking developed in the Global North as ‘abyssal thinking’. This cartography consists of an invisible line that divides social reality into two sides: the realm of “this side of the line” and the realm of “the other side of the line” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p. 118). This line of demarcation instantiates a rigid hierarchising of these two realms. “This side of the line” is endowed with presence, visibility and relevance, “the other side of the line” vanishes “as reality, becomes nonexistent, and is indeed produced as nonexistent” (p.118). This classificatory scheme is exclusionary since the failure to exist “in any relevant or comprehensible way of being” (p.118), the “other side of the line” is “radically excluded because it lies beyond the realm of what the accepted conception of inclusion considers to be its other” (p.118). de Sousa Santos argues that the abyssal thinking is characterised by “the impossibility of the copresence of the two sides of the line” (p.118). Only “nonexistence, invisibility, nondialectical absence” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p.118) lies beyond this side of the line.

This abyssal cartography has a number of epistemological and theoretical consequences, the effects of which, it can be argued, is to further entrench Eurocentrism. As Barreto (2017, p. 559) states, “abyssal thinking pervades the production of knowledge in modernity by creating a distinction between knowledge elaborated in the North and that created in the South”. The former, is valorised as universal, objective and valid. The latter is devalued as a “local knowledge, subjective opinion and false or knowledge unworthy of philosophical consideration” (Barreto, 2017, p. 559). At the same time as “the other side of the line” is seen as the realm of “a vast set of discarded experiences” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p. 120), this abyssal cartography also engenders an ontological hierarchisation of humanity that is as true today as in the colonial period (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p.124). Through its practices and knowledges, “this side of the line” is conceived of as the realm of the “human”, while the other side of the line is the “realm of the incomprehensible magical or idolatrous practices” of the “subhuman” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p. 121).

To counter this abyssal cartography, de Sousa Santos advocates a post-abyssal mode of thinking. He summarises this “as learning from the South through an epistemology of the South” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p. 134). The South here does not index a geographical location, rather it is a metaphor “for the human suffering caused by capitalism and

colonialism on the global level, as well as for the resistance to overcoming or minimising such suffering” (de Sousa Santos, 2016, p. 19). It also includes the “geographic North” (Europe and America), and the alterities that have been excluded, marginalised, silenced or subjected to violence. de Sousa Santos refers here to “undocumented immigrants, the unemployed, ethnic or religious minorities, and victims of sexism, homophobia, racism and islamophobia” (de Sousa Santos, 2016, p.19). In my narrative renderings, this notion of the South figures as a way to unsettle the dichotomy of the Global North and the South. My first narrative takes as its destination ‘the North’ (internationalisation from a ‘Western’ perspective) and in my closing narrative, the metaphorical return to ‘the South’ is a decolonial and postcolonial engagement with internationalisation.

This epistemology of the South does not entail supplanting other modes of knowing. Rather, it means thinking of epistemology in terms of “ecologies of knowledge” (de Sousa Santos, 2014). This concept of ecologies of knowledge enacts a move beyond the binary opposition characteristic of the abyssal thinking that differentiates between modern knowledge as the realm of the universal, and traditional knowledge as the realm of the local. This does not mean a rejection of scientific/modern knowledge, but rather a way of confronting it by “identifying other knowledges and criteria of rigor and validity that operate credibly in social practices pronounced nonexistent by metonymic reason” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p.188). This also entails placing modern scientific knowledge within a “broader context of dialogue with other knowledges” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p.189). This gesture does not only signal the interdependence of knowledges produced by both sides of the line, but also highlights that “all knowledges have internal and external limits” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p. 208). The internal limits “concern restrictions regarding the kinds of intervention in the world they render possible” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p.189) and the external limits relate to “interventions in social reality that are only possible on the basis of other kinds of knowledge” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p. 207). Acknowledging the incompleteness of all knowledges (2014, p. 189) means all knowledges are partial and shaped by a particular social and political context. This acknowledgement is “a precondition for achieving cognitive justice” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p. 212). Viewing internationalisation through the lens of the ‘ecologies of knowledge’ offers the possibilities of rethinking it otherwise. The diffusionist logic that justifies internationalisation is rendered problematic as all knowledges are partial. The epistemology of the South runs the risks of essentialising the South. Despite the fact that de Sousa Santos understands the South not as geographical location, but as a site of suffering

and resistance, he reinstates the binaries of South and North. In claiming that the Global South has the right to have its own view of the Global North, the culture of the South is essentialised in the same way that Orientalism has essentialised the other. To determine a “Southern” world view, “it needs to be anchored in an essence (a core identity of race, ethnicity or geography)” (Go, p. 2016).

The contribution of de Sousa Santos to postcolonial theorising consists in his critical strategy that denounced Northern epistemologies and modes of knowledge productions that, to use Glissant’s insight, refuses to enter in relation with other knowledge systems. de Sousa Santos articulates the epistemological dimension of global social justice, and the “epistemicide” southern modes of knowledge are facing. At the same time, de Sousa Santos highlights, through the logic of appropriation and violence, the systematically produced absence and “the ignorance and silencing effect produced by modern science” (de Sousa Santos, 2014, p. 67). de Sousa Santos answers a demand articulated by a range of theorists (Mills, 1997; Sullivan and Tuana, 2007) who have explored “ignorance” not as lack of knowledge, but as a set of epistemic, political practices geared towards maintaining privilege and domination over others. I grapple with these issues by way of attending to the concept of silence and self-silencing (Swanson, 2004) in my narrative rendering.

The postcolonial journeying presented above has provided me with a range of concepts to think with. In viewing internationalisation of education from a postcolonial theorising, issues of epistemic justice, epistemic violence and suppression and as well as the ethical critiques of these practices are centered.

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*As I continue sifting through the wreckage, the sharp, jagged edges of the shards swirl around me. I fix my gaze intensely on the gaps that appear and disappear, grow wider and close.*

*Epistemic violence. Epistemic suppression. Epistemic racism. The enduring coloniality.*

### **Decolonial theory**

Decolonial theory indexes a Latin American body of thought commonly referred to as Modernity/Coloniality and Decoloniality. Its genealogy can be traced to the work of scholars ranging from dependency theory (Immanuel Wallerstein), liberation theology (Enrique Dussel) to post-development thinking (Arturo Escobar). The concept of

Modernity/Coloniality refers to the inextricable link between modernity and colonialism. To understand modernity, we need to attend to its dark and constitutive side: coloniality (Mignolo, 2007, 2017). Modernity has furnished the epistemological logic of colonialism. Whilst the concept of Modernity/Coloniality was first used by Annabel Quijano, Walter Mignolo develops this concept further.

The concept of “coloniality” is different from colonialism. As Walsh (2007) argues, “while colonialism ended with independence, coloniality is a model of power that continues” (p.229). Colonialism names juridical-political control, domination and administration in which the “sovereignty of a nation or a people rests on the power of another nation”, coloniality denotes the continuity of colonial forms of domination (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243). Coloniality emerged in the fifteenth century in the context of the ‘discovery’ and colonisation of the Americas but has extended far beyond America. As a planetary (global) phenomena, coloniality has produced knowledge and classificatory schemes in a range of domains. Quijano (2007, p. 171) argues, that coloniality is premised on an ethnic and classificatory scheme that established a “‘racial’ social classification of the world population under Eurocentered world power” (Quijano, 2007).

As an analytical tool, the concept of coloniality opens a way of analyzing global relation in the production of knowledge. It brings to the fore “the symbolic, invisible and indelible traces of the colonial experience [and] threads of power” that are still at work. Maldonado-Torres (2007, p.243) argues:

[...] coloniality survives colonialism. It is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and every day.

In my discussion of the three discursive orientations to internationalisation, I discussed the ways in which coloniality is embedded in ‘internationalised curricula’. I provide a narrative rendering of the ways in which coloniality is further entrenched by internationalisation. Having articulated the conceptual difference between coloniality and colonialism, the next sections unpack the conceptual pillars of coloniality. I deal with the coloniality of power, knowledge and being respectively. In focussing on these aspects, I want to position internationalisation within an intricate engagement with history, geopolitics of knowledge (Mignolo, 2002) and discourses/practices that have colluded together and produced hierarchisation of humanity. We need a reckoning.

## **The coloniality of power**

Internationalisation, with the exception of the critical orientation, has been largely understood and operationalised as an innocent activity. The general mood is one of celebration. Yet whose knowledge are we advocating for in internationalisation? Whose worldview frames and dominates our very understanding of what it means to know? In my narrative rendering, I engage with these questions. Not just cerebrally, not just epistemologically, but these questions are felt at the level of the body. As I narrativise, I encounter practices and discourse of internationalisation that are saturated by power. A very strange type of power: that which names you, seduces you and dehumanises you. Yet, at all the times, it offers you the possibility of redemption and the possibility of flourishing.

The coloniality of power gestures towards an analysis which names the structure of power and domination established within the context of the ‘discovery’ and conquest of the Americas. Much of the conceptual formulation of coloniality derives from the work Quijano (2000) in his theorisation of the impact of the hierarchical classification of the population established in the fifteenth century following the conquest of the Americas. As Grosfoguel (2011, p. 9) states, the arrival of “A European/

capitalist/military/Christian/patriarchal/white/heterosexual/male” in the Americas, inaugurated a power structure that established a set of global hierarchies: racial/ethnic, epistemic and linguistic. This can be seen to have the effect of privileging European modes of knowing and being and subalternising non-Europeans forms.

Quijano argues that coloniality cannot be exhausted in the ‘racist’ social relations established through the conquest and domination of the Americas. An analysis of colonial power needs to be extended to cover a “colonial power matrix”: a network of technologies of domination and relations of exploitation that affects all dimensions of social existence such as sexuality, authority, knowledge/subjectivity and labour (Quijano, 2000). This model of power places each dimension of social life under the control and hegemony of a particular institution constructed within the same model of power (Quijano, 2000). Mignolo and Tlostanova (2009) argue that the colonial matrix of power involves the “the imposition of a particular lifestyle, moral, economy, structure of authority ...[and] the overcoming, destruction, marginalization of the existing precolonial order” (p.135).

What is significant in Quijano’s theorisation is the attention he pays to the epistemic dimension of coloniality, and in doing so, he articulates a critique of the epistemic nucleus of



the coloniality of power. As Castro-Gomez (2008, p.281) states, this matrix of power did not establish its hegemony over all aspects of life solely through coercion and force as colonialism entails. Coloniality of power seeks to naturalise “the European cultural imaginary as the only way of relating to nature, to the social world, and their [indigenous people] own subjectivity” (Castro-Gomez, 2008, p.281). The colonisation of the imaginary involved the repression of the dominated modes of “of knowing, producing knowledge, producing perspectives, images and systems of images, symbols, modes of signification” (Quijano, 1992a, p.438, in Castro-Gomez, 2008, p.281). The coloniality of power operates through the refashioning and disciplining of desires and aspiration of the colonised. Quijano (1992a, p.439) states that seduction is the main instrument of power:

European culture become a seduction; it gave access to power. After all, besides repression, seduction is the main instrument of all power. Cultural Europeanization turned into an aspiration. It was a means of participating in colonial power. (Quijano, 2007, p. 169)

I narrativise this sense of seduction in my opening narrative. Seduced by Europe, I was enthralled by the promise it offers. How it constructed itself through media, literature and music was key for me. Yet, its dark side elided my young imagination, or at least I did not want to know. I also note here that because of the racial ordering Quijano discusses, Whiteness emerges as a colonial construct that produces and forecloses aspirations (Shahjahan and Edwards 2021). Translated into internationalisation practices, Whiteness as a “futurity” is a subtext and marketing tool that normalises White aspiration. As Shahjahan and Edwards states, “White nations’ manipulation of global educational structures positions them as the future for which the rest of the world must aspire” (2021, p. 751). This comes across in the phrase ‘21<sup>st</sup> century skills’ that is bandied about liberally in policy and university vision statements and promotion of internationalisation in HE in the UK and at the global university (Swanson and Pashby, 2016).

Quijano articulates the contours of the coloniality of power by elucidating the structure of power and hegemony that emerged during the ‘discovery’ and conquest of America. Other thinkers such as Walter D. Mignolo, Sylvia Wynter, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, Ramón Grosfoguel and María Lugones have developed the concept of coloniality and broadened its scope to include the coloniality of knowledge, the coloniality of being and the coloniality of gender. Their theorising represents attempts to bring to light the darker side of modernity as “the hidden agenda of modernity [that is] constantly...disguised under the

rhetoric of salvation, civilization, progress, development, market economy, and just wars” (Lee, Hongling and Mignolo, 2015, p.187). I unpack below the coloniality of knowledge and the coloniality of being.

### **The Coloniality of knowledge**

Coloniality of knowledge names a set of epistemic relations that involves the hierarchisation of ways of knowing as well epistemic suppression and epistemic violence. Coloniality of knowledge aims at radically changing the cognitive horizon of the dominated (Castro-Gomez, 2008, p.281). Quijano argues that in the colonial encounters the “repression fell, above all, over the modes of knowing, of producing knowledge, of producing perspectives, images and systems of images, symbols, modes of signification, over the resources, patterns, and instruments of formalized and objectivised expression, intellectual or visual” (Quijano, 2008, p. 169). Castro-Gomez (2007) argues, epistemic plurality has been displaced and supplanted by a “single way of knowing the world, the scientific-technical rationality of the Occident” (p. 428). This has the effect relegating other ways of knowing “to the sphere of doxa, as if they were a part of modern science’s past, and are even considered an ‘epistemological obstacle’ to attaining the certainty of knowledge” (Castro-Gomez, 2007, p.428). Other ways of knowing and modes of producing knowledge are not only rendered invisible and intelligible but also can only figure as “objects of knowledge or/and of domination practices” (Quijano, 2007, p.174). That is to say, “the relation between European culture and the other cultures was established and has been maintained, as a relation between ‘subject’ and ‘object’” (Quijano, 2007, p.174).

What sustains the coloniality of knowledge, is the claim to universality. Non-Western ways of knowing are considered to be “particularistic” and bounded to a particular locale. In contrast to this, ‘Western’ ways of knowing are capable of achieving a “universal consciousness” (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 214). This claim is buttressed by a range of strategies. Grosfoguel (2007) notes that a key strategy is that coloniality operates with the myth of the “non-situated ‘Ego’” (p.213). ‘Western’ systems of knowledge production actively conceal “who is speaking as well as the geo-political and body-political [Ethnic/racial/gender/sexual] epistemic location” of the speaker (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 213). By hiding the subject of the enunciation, these systems entrench “the myth of Truthful universal knowledge” (Grosfoguel, 2007, p.123) and also construct a range of epistemic and racial hierarchies. Some knowledges are seen as universal and thus superior while other forms of thought are localised “as at best

folkloric” (Walsh, 2007, p. 225). At the same time, this also has the effect of omitting “any reference to any other ‘subject’ [producer of knowledge] outside the European context” (Quijano, 2007, p.173). This “absent” other subject is constituted as “pre-historic” (or outside history), barbaric, uncivilized savage[s] who should look to Europe for religion, work ethic, language, technology, and knowledge” (Weiner, 2018, p.3). Grosfeguel (2007, p.214) captures the effect of universality and coloniality in the following terms:

We went from the sixteenth century characterization of ‘people without writing’ to the eighteenth and nineteenth century characterization of ‘people without history’, to the twentieth century characterization of ‘people without development’ and more recently, to the early twenty-first century of ‘people without democracy’.

The myth of the Eurocentric modernity’s capacity to produce a knowledge that is universal is buttressed by the “invisibilisation of a particular place of enunciation” (Castro-Gomez, 2008, p. 279). Consequently, it is only by unmooring statements from the ethnic center (deemed prescientific and bounded to a specific locality that a “[T]ruly scientific and ‘objective’ representation” and “universal point of view” can emerge (Castro-Gomez, 2008, p.278). Finally, in both strategies (the concealment of the subject and the concealment of the place of enunciation), the coloniality of knowledge plays out as an “tendency to convert local history into global design runs parallel to the process of establishing that particular place as a center of geopolitical power” (Castro-Gomez, 2008, p. 279). Coursing through my narratives is this notion of the coloniality of knowledge. I engage with this in my narrative rendering (*Waiting room of history*). I attend to moments where this coloniality is no longer an abstract and decontextualised theoretical position. Experienced as an embodied and affective violence, coloniality of knowledge dispels the myth that internationalisation is a neutral activity.

### **The coloniality of being**

Coloniality affects the ways in which people experiences themselves as beings. I draw on the work of Maldonado-Torres and Sylvia Wynter to unpack this notion of coloniality of being. This concept reorients my understanding of internationalisation discourses and practices. I become attuned to their generative powers, to what they help shape and bring into being. Internationalisation author(rises) a version of what it means to be human. I encounter internationalisation as a hierarchising discourse, where I am allocated a particular space. My narrative of the *Tiger who come to tea* engages with this coloniality of being.

Maldonado-Torres takes to task the ways in which Western philosophical discourses (Descartes and Heidegger) have theorised and subsequently established a hegemonic notion

of human existence. Drawing on the theorisation of Levinas, Dussel and Fanon, Maldonado-Torres highlights not only the blind spots of the West's philosophical discussion of existence, but also the ways in which it legitimises and sustains the colonial discussion of being. If the coloniality of power, as theorized by Quijano (2000), establishes a hierarchisation based on race that placed the colonised "in a natural situation of inferiority to the other" (Quijano, 2000, p.533), Maldonado-Torres argues that philosophical discourses have provided the conditions for the emergence of a particular notion of European identity. Placed against it, the international student emerges as inferior image of this identity in internationalisation discourses.

For Maldonado-Torres, Descartes's notion of the *ego cogito* has been made possible by "an unquestioned ideal of self expressed in the notion of the *ego conquiro*" (2007, p.245). Both these modalities of being share a "scepticism regarding the humanity of the enslaved" (2007, p.245). This "misanthropic scepticism" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p.246) remained largely unquestioned in the case of Heidegger. His focus is on attending to the neglected dimension of Being in Western philosophy, however, he neglects the role of the colonial experience in the formation of his universal structure of existence (Being). Maldonado-Torres argues that the Cartesian formulation needs to be rethought in order to surface the role of colonial experience glossed over by Heidegger's theorisation of Being. Instead of the "I think, therefore I am", Maldonado-Torres argues that a more nuanced and historically accurate expression would read as follows: 'I think (others do not think, or do not think properly), therefore I am (others are-not, lack being, should not exist or are dispensable)' (2007, p. 252).

The "misanthropic scepticism" and the ontological erasure it entails, institutes a "sub-ontological difference" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p.254) that is an "ontological excess" (Escobar, 2007, p.185), that lies "beyond being" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 257). Maldonado-Torres explains that this the sub-ontological or ontological colonial difference is a "difference between Being and what lies below Being or that which is negatively marked as dispensable..." (2007, p. 257). The coloniality of being refers to "the violation of the meaning of human alterity to the point where the alter-ego becomes a sub-alter" (p. 257).

How the coloniality of being unfolds is further developed by Sylvia Wynter through her historicisation of the ways in which a Eurocentric judicial-political orders have (re)produced the figure of the "White European 'Man' as a rational, masterful, civilized being...as it were the human itself" (Odyseos, 2017, p.454). For Wynter the concept of the Human is already

an effect of coloniality. Her decolonial project consists in calling into question the epistemic foundations and histories that value a particular conception of being human. Commenting on the work of Wynter, Tsantsoulas (2018) states that “being human” is “culturally and historically situated *praxis* and not a static ontological condition” (p.167, emphasis in original). The task therefore is to unsettle the “West’s concept of the human” which “continues to be both discursively and institutionally constructed...” and articulated as “universally applicable ‘descriptive statement’ of the human” (Wynter, 2003, p.310). The model of the human internationalisation discourses and practices operates with remains the yard stick against which international students are measured. This is seen in the deficit view of the international students (rote learning, difficulties in adjusting to cultural norms and academic culture).

Wynter traces the development and the subsequent dominance of the “Western” understanding of what it means to be human to a range of discourses. Christian theology, Renaissance humanism and Western science have not only supplied the conceptual underpinnings of this notion of the human but also consolidate and sustain this figure of the human:

[The]...humanists had invented Man and its Human Others in the reoccupied place of the Christian genre of the human and its pagan/idolator/Enemies-of-Christ/Christ killer/infidel Others. Nevertheless, while these lay humanist intellectuals had ... secularized human existence... they had done so only by opening the pathway that would eventually lead, with Darwin, to a new descriptive statement, itself reanchored in the...agency of Evolution, thereby reducing the human within the terms of a biocentric 'human sciences' paradigm to being a 'mere mechanism'...(Wynter 2003, p.330)

Sustaining this ontological order, as McKittrick (2015) states, is the “architecture of colonial juridical-economic power” (p.93) which operates through as an assemblage of narratives, epistemes as well as military means. Odysseos (2017) gives a succinct summary of these operations:

... how colonial and neo-colonial narrations have described and prescribed the negation of our ‘co-humanity’ in evolving myths of origin: Christian justifications of colonial expropriations of native but ‘empty’ lands *propter nos<sup>i</sup>* –‘for the sake of us’; later, secular narrations of the less-than-rational-natives contrasted to a ‘ratio-centric’ ‘Man’ (1); and today, a bio-centric ‘(neo)Liberal-humanist Man (2) -as-homo-economicus conception. (2017, p.455)

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<sup>i</sup> This means ‘for-the-sake-of’

The accumulative effect of the colonality of being is not only the “disavowal” of the Other and its “systematic devaluation and minimalization in representation” (Odysseos, 2017, p. 455) but also the instituting of a coding for “the norms of humanization and dehumanization” (Tsantsoulas, 2018, p.165).

Decoloniality has been subjected to a number of critiques from a range of positions. Ortega argues that decolonial theorizing reinscribes a dichotomy of dark and light within the category of otherness itself (2017, p. 506). Despite the avowed aim of decolonial theorists to expose the strategies of invisibilisation, these theorists reenact the colonality of power by erasing, omitting, and minimizing the theoretical contribution of ‘black’ women in the USA. Lugones (2007) criticises decolonial theorists for their gendered lacuna. Decolonial theorists emphasise race as the organizing principle in colonality but underplay gender as a marker of colonality. Cusicanqui (2012) argues that decolonial theorising is an epistemic discourse formulated within North American academic institutions “paralyzes ... the indigenous and African- descended people with whom these academics believe they are in dialogue” (p.102). They also “neutralizes the practices of decolonization by enthrone within the academy a limited and illusory discussion regarding modernity and decolonization...” (p.105).

Notwithstanding these critiques, decolonial thought opens up a space to confront, articulate and challenge the rhetoric of modernity and its hidden logic. As Wynter, Mignolo, Quijano, Maldonado-Torres and Dussel have shown, the rhetoric of modernity (salvation, progress, the notion of the human) seeks to naturalise the cultural and epistemological superiority of the ‘West’. My narrative rendering reflexively and critically engages with this rhetoric of modernity. It also engages with the effect of a range of epistemic operations (suppression and violence). Taken together, the contribution of decolonial theorising as Odysseos argues has meant that

Becoming aware of colonality – first of power (Quijano), then of Being (Mignolo, Maldonado-Torres-Torres) and, importantly with Wynter, the composite and inextricably constituted ‘Being/Power/Truth/Freedom’ – demands that we acknowledge and analyse the sublimated workings of colonialism in all fields of life in the present. (2017, p. 453)

A key site to contest colonality is internationalisation. By reentagling it with the Empire we seek to unearth the dehumanizing, extractive and exploitative current within internationalisation.

In this theoretical journeying I am aware that I try to bring these two strands together. I have arrived at places, at times, I found difficult to articulate. Swept by powerful currents, losing bearings and slowly gaining control. Pulled in different directions by two discourses. A decontextualised analytical discourse that speaks to me and I have to honour it in order to sustain academic credentials. The space of academia with its norms and sanctions remains a place of temporary, yet necessary abode. Another discourse, more of an affective and embodied orientation to the world reminds me of the hopefulness and the need to seek shelter elsewhere. There are tensions between these two currents. From a decolonial lens, postcolonial theorising suffers from a number of ideological and philosophical blindspots. Postcolonial theorisation emerges from the geopolitical nexus of the Enlightenment and colonialism within the context of Africa, Asia and the Middle East. It is unable to respond to the specificities of the colonial experience of Latin America (Klor de Alva 1992). Coronil (2008) argues that postcolonial theorising has ignored many Latin Americanist such as Enrique Dussel, Anibal Quijano and Walter D Mignolo, who have “have produced monumental critique of colonialism during the same period as Said, Bhabha and Spivak” (p.404). A further tension is evidenced in the relationship between colonialism and modernity as conceived by postcolonialism and decoloniality. For postcolonial theory, European modernity as a process originating from the Enlightenment, has enabled colonial, political domination and economic exploitation. This temporal ordering ignores the experience of colonisation of Latin America and erases the “violence” experienced by Latin America. Modernity, as Escobar (2007, p.184) states, is initiated by the conquest of America in 1492 and that colonialism is constitutive of modernity.

Whilst, I acknowledge the validity of some of these critiques, it is equally important to acknowledge that some of this critique tends to oversimplify the analytical thrust of postcolonialism. Consequently, these critiques foreclose the possibility of a dialogue between postcolonialism and decolonial thinking. I want to acknowledge that, following Coronil (2008), postcolonialism is “a fluid and polysemic category, whose power derives in part from its ability to condense multiple meanings to refer to different locations” (p. 416). In my theoretical journeying through the landscape(s) of postcolonial theory, I have drawn on South East Asian, African, Lusophone and Caribbean contexts. In doing so, postcolonialism in my account emerges as “an expanding field for struggles against colonial and other forms of subjection” (Coronil, 2008, p. 416). Finally, I follow Bhabha’s view that both traditions of

thought are concerned with challenging the notion of modernity as universal European model:

Postcolonial and decolonial arguments have been most successful in their challenge to the insularity of historical narratives and historiographical traditions emanating from Europe. This has been particularly so in the context of demonstrating the parochial character of arguments about the endogenous European origins of modernity in favour of arguments that suggest the necessity of considering the emergence of the modern world in the broader histories of colonialism, empire, and enslavement. (Bhambra, 2014, p. 115)

The conceptual apparatus developed within these traditions (coloniality, opacity, abyssal thinking, epistemic violence and the colonial library, to name just a few) not only enables me to interrogate these modes of violence but also opens up space for a re-turning to the Fanonian question: “How do we extricate ourselves?” from these tyrannical structures and violence of the enduring condition of coloniality (Fanon, 1986, p.3).

As I dwell on this question, I can no longer see internationalisation as a response to global challenges. I can no longer see it as the innocent activity my institution’s strategy tells me. Its stories of intercultural understanding, enabling our students to develop a cosmopolitan outlook ring hollow.

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*It takes every ounce of strength I can muster but I break the surface. The tide is coming in. I let the waves carry me back to shore. Pieces of the wreck drift past me in the foam and fleck. I laugh, because I am alive. I laugh, because I know that in the morning, I will be on my knees. I will try to build something from the broken pieces; try to put roots in sand. I will sift through the wreck of coloniality, and salvage the possibilities for living otherwise.*



## At the Shelter

### Roots in the sand

As I continue on my journey, I stop for a moment to think, narratively, about ‘methodology’ and ‘method’. I stand contemplatively, contingently, and temporarily and gesture towards a methodological exploration by introducing ‘Critical Rhizomatic Narrative’ (CRN) (Swanson, 2004; 2008), and I offer the idea that it is an emergent and open methodology, a resting place for my own research travels here as ethico-onto-epistemological explorations. I use the metaphor of roots in the sand to offer a sense of the methodology as an emergent orientation to inquiry. Just as deep roots cannot remain rooted in the sand, CRN resists being ossified as a fixed method. CRN is a method that comes into being through an interaction with various theoretical positions and contexts, ranging from racism, poverty, gender, domestic violence, and ecological injustices (Swanson, 2004) and geographical locations (first developed in the context of South Africa, but invitational to other (glocal or local) contexts in contingent, situated, and open ways). Its ethical and political promise cannot be seen along teleological lines as it does not “offer recommendations, reducible containable solutions to complex, dilemmatic situations” (Swanson, 2004, p.63). Rather it gestures towards a futurity that remains to be thought and renewed collectively. In short, its promise is an endless movement and openness to “a justice to come” (Derrida, 1992a, p. 27)

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*Not all travellers may reach the shore as easily as I.*

*An exhausted figure sits amid the wreckage of a ship, broken on the rocks of a barren shore.  
He searches the shattered vessel for anything he can use to live in this desolate, alien land.  
He needs tools to rebuild. Weapons to hunt. Cloth to shelter him from the elements.*

*All he has left, all that survived the wreck of his ship, are fragments. He cannot return to the sea, because return is impossible. There is no ship, no vessel he can build from these fragments, these remains.*

*The ship is coloniality. It is the last vessel, the last gasp of Empire. If anything is to be built from them, it must be built upon these sands.*

*The fragments he has to work with are themselves fractured. Any structure he may build is temporary, it is itself fragmented. He cannot dwell in this structure for too long. The waves beat the shore without mercy, and erode the foundations of whatever he constructs.*

*He hauls an ancient tree stump down to the shore and fixes its gnarled roots within the foundations, to try and gain some purchase. With flotsam and jetsam coughed up by the choleric tide, each morning he rebuilds, and the labour is never done. The construction must be unending.*

*His construction is hybrid. This home is a continuous state of becoming, it is the idea of a home to come. It is a project that is never finished, a destination that never truly arrives. Roots do not take hold in sand. I know this from the desert sands of Morocco. This structure is emergent, and its form is contingent on its constant reconstitution.*

\* \* \*

I engage and dialogue with, as well as situate-as-I-travel my own narrative explorations with/in Critical Rhizomatic Narrative (CRN) (Swanson, 2004) as an (re)orientation to inquiry. Carrying CRN with me on my journey, I offer narrative renderings of some of the philosophical and ethical complexities of internationalisation within both a Scottish Further and Higher Education context. CRN is inextricably embedded in a broader context and seeks to resist perpetuating “hierarchised, linear or scientific approaches to research” (Swanson, 2004, p. ii). This broader context is a:

symbolic and political act of resistance to the decontextualized, abstract, dispassionate modes of discourse embraced and reified by scientific rationalism and the movement which produced positivist methodologies of academic research. (Swanson, 2004, p.36).

In what follows, I will articulate some of what might be contingently understood as the ‘nature’ of CRN. I first flesh out the ways, as I see them, in which CRN reorients thinking and opens inquiry to new possibilities. Its political and ethical promise lays not only in the way it links internationalisation with colonial structures and histories, but also in its re-posing of the Fanonian question: “How do we extricate ourselves?” from these tyrannical structures and violence of the enduring condition of coloniality” (Fanon, 1986, p.3). I follow by stopping again, to rest, on my journey and to open the bag of CRN I carry with me, to take stock of the food and survival items it offers by way of some of its features, or offerings. I attempt to bring to the fore some of the offerings in my own contextualisation and engagement with CRN, and its potential for seeking deeper, reflexive, lived understandings

of internationalisation. A preliminary remark is perhaps needed, here, in order to distinguish CRN from narrative inquiry (Connelly and Cladinin, 1990). While both methodologies emphasise the storied nature of our experience and this involves attending to the ways we tell and retell stories, CRN diverges from narrative inquiry. CRN uses narrative rendering as a method to both critically and *reflexively* engage with certain aspects of our lived reality. It seeks to articulate the complexity of particular narrative moments by grappling with the dilemma, controversies and the ethical conundrums that are played out in human experiences. In common with artsbased research, CRN “embraces creative textual forms that produce pluralized meanings that breathe life and feeling into storied human experiences” (Swanson, 2004, p. 36). CRN shares with artsbased research the emphasis on the “promotion of (at least, momentary) disequilibrium” (Barone and Eisner, 2012, p. 16) by adopting an “interrogative disposition that...promotes a level of dislocation, disturbance, [and] disruptiveness” (p.16). The concept of “moments of articulation” (Swanson, 2004, 2008) is a key offering of CRN. Swanson defines these as “utterances and somatic performances embedded with narrative contexts and their attending discourses” that “instigate investigations and deliberations” (Swanson, 2008, p 89). These moments engender dilemma and contradictions and often call for attentiveness to the ethical dimension and lived context within which they are (re)enacted. In attending to these “moments of articulation” and the embodied, ethical dilemmas they engage with, we open up a space for increasing the dimensionality of research. These “moments of articulations” offer us the opportunity to delve deeply and rhizomatically (Swanson, 2004) as they enable multiple conversations and a plurality of perspectives. This allows for an attentiveness to the way in which, through moments of articulation and embodied contradiction, the dimensionality of the lived narrative is opened up, increasing the verticality of narratives (Swanson, 2004) and moving these beyond the undulating landscape of story, in-and-of-itself. This, in turns, affords us the opportunity to theorise and analyse everyday experiences, through reflection, reflexivity, and a contemplative disposition, and connect these to the personal, the social, the political and the ethical dimensions of these experience. In her narrative and contextual use of ‘moments of articulation’, Swanson describes these in the following terms:

Here, *moments of articulation* within fieldwork define utterances and somatic performances embedded within narrative contexts and their attending discourses, and instigate investigation, deliberation, and engagement in analyzing the multiple ways in which disadvantage takes root/route. These moments often occurred during fieldwork experiences that were invested in ambiguity and dilemma, so that my very body in that

context often became a site of struggle between competing discourses. These narrative moments permitted me to stop and linger on the narratizability of the textual moment. These moments of articulation gave rise to rhizomatic engagement in narrative writing of the text that sought to be deeply reflective, reflexive, and robustly democratic. (2008, p. 89, emphasis in original)

CRN is inherently political in two related senses: It relocates inquiry and (re)search within the realm of the local, personal and everyday places. It also attends to events and the ways in which these are expressed, as well as the effects of power relations embedded in hegemonic structures. In narrativising the “moments of articulation”, it seeks to not only surface the affective and embodied encounter with the focus of inquiry, ‘internationalisation’ in my uses of it, but also to interrogate the deeply entrenched power relations, inequities, injustices articulated in these moments and the histories they invoke. The political orientation of CRN is not separate from its ethical dimension as “the ethical is always already political” (Fagan, 2013, p.69). To interrogate and critically engage with the larger, institutional and hegemonic discourses that perpetuate injustice necessarily entails surfacing a critical engagement with ontological and epistemological forms of relationality that sustain these inequities.

In the second related sense of CRN’s inherent politicality, it serves to enact a decolonising praxis. In this sense, CRN seeks to decolonise methodologies and other research practices. In capturing the complexity, nuances and contradictions that arise out of “moment of articulation”, CRN stands in sharp contrast to a “monolithic and overwhelmingly conventionalized cannon of ideas that govern research writing” (Banks, 2008, p. 157). This cannon, in the main, postulates the tenets of the scientific method as latent to ‘good’ social science, and as the yardstick of research that “assumes the possibility and the desirability of objectivity”, “prescribes textual uniformity” and “positions scholarly writing as a distinctive non-literary mode of expression” (Banks, 2008, p. 157). In contrast to this, in mood, character, and (political/ethical/literary) promise, CRN offers the opportunity to engage with the tensions, ambiguities and “the ethically fraught and dilemmatic” dimensions of our experience in their complex and pluralistic webs (Swanson, 2004, p. 266).

CRN draws on post/de/colonial thought amongst other categories of thought, but is not ‘steeped’ in them. In this sense, it offers the opportunity to voice and narrativise rhizomatically its own unique theoretical and philosophical underpinnings and filamental explorations. CRN could be said to draw on postcolonialism, especially in its capacity to attune us to the violences (symbolic and otherwise) of colonialism and intertwined oppressions. As a decolonising orientation to inquiry, CRN draws on decolonial theorising

that articulates the enduring coloniality of knowledge and power. This ontologising of CRN is not to be seen as a “practice of negativity” that is materialised solely in its figuration as destroying “existent positivities” through the practice of critique (Noys, 2012, p.17). This negativity is not “intended to function as a replacement ontological principle to affirmation” (Noys, 2012, p.17). CRN, instead, has sought to enact and embody concepts “to think with” by way of engaging with/as part of diverse “socio-political, economic, cultural and pedagogic contexts” (Swanson, 2004, p. ii).

In my understanding, by honouring indigenous ways of thinking and being, CRN offers “the possibility of flagrantly resisting formulation, and concerns itself with the human condition as lived and (re)imagined as its primary focus” (Swanson, 2004, p. 36). In some aspects, CRN draws on poststructuralism, yet it is not ‘steeped’ in it, especially in the refusal of essentialism and the notion of the singular, autonomous and bounded liberal subject. This is a key feature of CRN. Instead, CRN conceives of subjectivity as inherently relational and “‘vibrating’ through multiple ‘realities’” (Swanson, 2004, p. 249). It is these features that I am drawn to in narrating my own work on internationalisation. Other ‘traditions’ of thoughts understand subjectivity in a similar way. For example, Braidotti (2013) sees the subject as relational, “constituted in and by multiplicity... a subject that works across differences and is also internally differentiated, but still grounded and accountable” (p. 49). Braidotti refers to this non-unitary subject as “a nomadic, dispersed, fragmented vision, which is nonetheless functional, coherent and accountable, mostly because it is embedded and embodied” (2006, p. 4).

In reconfiguring the notion of the subject, Braidotti offers me a powerful antidote to the humanist conception of the liberal subject. At the same time, I am deeply troubled by the conceptual baggage that accompanies the notion of ‘the nomad’ in Braidotti’s work. The work of Deleuze and Guattari (1988) is a reference point for theorising nomadic subjectivity. For me, the concept of ‘the nomad’ carries with it a conceptual baggage that “serve[s] to order, manage, sediment, sift, correct, and discipline” others who are seen as inferior (Lentin, 2020, p. 63). I argue that the concept of ‘the nomad’ is haunted by an effort to maintain and determine “the boundaries of humanity as a tool of colonial domination” (Lentin, 2020, p.67). This is because, as Bignall and Rigney (2019) argue, Deleuze’s notion of the nomad is conceptually linked to “figures of indigeneity, such as Indians ‘without ancestry’ or ‘with subtlety of perception’; or the ‘primitive rural communities’” (2019, p.172). Bignall et al., add:

When Deleuze and Guattari link a concept of nomadic subjectivity to a concept of indigeneity without law or land and as radically exterior to a sovereign space, to notions of existential imperceptibility as qualitative being ‘without number’, and to a preconceptual (primitive) or nonconceptual (disordered or irrational) state of flux that resists, contests and disrupts organised thought, then we end up with a ‘definition’ of indigeneity that connotes non sovereignty void of territory and law, invisibility and marginality, irrationality, and a permanent situation of oppositionality within the system. These are *conceptual* linkages that Indigenous peoples have long resisted in their struggles against settler colonialism and its ideologies. And yet, for Deleuze and Guattari, indigeneity conceived as a pure exteriority, an imperceptibility, a placelessness or formlessness, operates as a crucial element within their conceptual assemblage of nomadic thought: it is something the sedentary, despotic, imperial (European) thinker relies upon in the creative process of becoming-nomad: ‘[The thinker] becomes Indian and never stops becoming—perhaps so that the Indian who is himself Indian becomes something else. (pp. 175-176)

The concept of nomadic thought as a complex assemblage of elemental ideas is “multiple and shifting” (Bignall et al., 2019, p. 176). Braidotti has contributed significantly to the reconfiguring of the concept of nomadic subjectivity “as a nonhumanist, feminist framework for conceiving processual embodiment and ethical processes of co-relational becoming” (Bignall et al., 2019, p.176). Yet, against the background of “border imperialism” (Walia, 2021, p. 2) as an assemblage of processes, practices, discourses and technologies by which “the violences and precarities of displacement and migration are structurally created as well as maintained” (Walia, 2020, p.2), I feel that the concept of the nomad needs to be rethought. As Tamboukou (2020) argues “the nomads of the real world and their torturing wandering today have irrevocably challenged the romance of unregulated movement and force us to radically rethink the very concept of nomadism itself” (p. 1). The figure of the nomad as a subject position in Braidotti’s account carries with it “important features of the unmarked western ‘universal subject’, thereby reproducing important aspects of the colonizing discourses” (Wuthnow, 2002, p. 188). The notion of “abstract mobility” (Tamboukou, 2020, p. 11) and the notion of an “all-transcending-and-unlocatable-subject” (Yountae, 2014, p.292) do not reflect the practices of “carceral geography” (Gilmore, 2022) and the attendant policy of destitution, the forced migration, the violence of the borders and the effort to restrict the mobility of others based on their class and ethnicity (Gamal and Swanson, 2018). Without grounding the concept of nomadic thought in the current historical and geopolitical context, we are unable to honour the ethical responsibility and accountability for surfacing the “abyssal and totalitarian character of coloniality imprinted in the cry of the damne” (Yountae, 2014, p.286). As Tamboukou (2020) avers, the concept of nomadism has become

“irreparably infected with the unbearable heaviness” of people who are immobilised, uprooted and forced to take “nomadic paths as the only feasible way of going on living” (p.2).

In addition to the political thrust of CRN I have been discussing here, CRN also advances a number of other concepts. It interrogates the concept of silence. While silences are commonly understood as the opposite of voice, Swanson

interrogates the many slippery forms and interpretations of silence while simultaneously acknowledging its agency in selecting the very interpretation that would, by definition, maintain its illusiveness and indeterminateness while establishing its power. (2004, pp. 9-10)

This is especially important since silence can be “its own mask of the simplistic and essential, which hides its complexity and nuanced power with a cloak of many colours” (Swanson, 2004, p. 10). Swanson adds that the need to attend to silence sensitises us to attending to the ways in which silence “simultaneously *evades* accountability and definition” (Swanson, 2004, p. 10, emphasis in original). At the same time, silence is generative as it “permits fertile moments to foster new thought” (p. 10). By being “continuously caught off guard”, we are “neither able to contest or embrace it” (Swanson, 2004, p.10). To try to pin its ontological status to a set of defined characteristics and to challenge the ways in which silence is implicated in the construction of disadvantage, remains a difficult task. Silence “shifts position, morphs into something else, and redefines the boundaries of discourse and barriers to meaning so as to escape detection and conviction” (Swanson, 2004, p. 10).

This does not mean that listening to silence remains an impossible task. Silence seeps through the fabric of social relationships, traverses and structures multiple sites of interactions and discourse. Listening to it involves seeking its “*hiding places*...within and between discourse...and becoming attuned to its multiple mode of operation” (Swanson, 2004, pp. 10-11). This involves a reflexive engagement with “its recursive nature in the production of narratives on reality as encountered in the fieldwork/research writing process” (p.10).

Swanson argues that even attempts that seek to understand silence in terms of voice, tend to equate silence with voicelessness. Silence, here, is “made to speak of positions that visually look like, or sound like, speaking or non-speaking” human entities (Swanson, 2004, p. 11). Voice, in these terms, “corresponds with ‘human units’ . . . ., where the body is merely an empty or abstract entity representative of the voice” (p.11). Swanson takes to task the proponent of this narrow conception of voice that leaves “the debate in these superficial

‘equity of representation’ terms” and “do[es] not engage with it sufficiently critically” (p.12). Similarly, Swanson questions the notion of authenticity. She asks: “how do we know that we are hearing a ‘black voice’, for example? Is it because it corresponds with an apparently gendered ‘blackbody’ of the speaker...?” (p. 13).

Related to this is the notion of self-silencing. As Swanson argues:

To engage with the issues of silence and its manifestation in voice, I believe that critical theorists and others need to interrogate the discursive mechanisms of self-silencing before we can make assertions about ‘transcendence’ or ‘liberation’. In this sense, we need to be attuned to the silences within that which is purported to be ‘pedagogies of democracy’”. (2004, p, 14)

Taken together, Swanson’s theorisation of voice and silence offers a powerful antidote to recent theorisations of voice that call for abandoning the notion of ‘voice’ as the property of an individual. Voice is not simply “spoken words emanating from a conscious subject” (Mazzei and Jackson, 2017, p. 1090) but rather, a posthumanist account of voice places it “within the material and discursive knots and intensities of the assemblage” (p. 1090). In other words, we can no longer “think of doers (agents) behind deeds or actions giving ‘voice’ to an experience” (Mazzei et al., 2017, p. 3), but rather, voice “emerges from relations among objects, spaces, affects, bodies, discourses, texts, and theory, in dynamically shifting arrangements and re-arrangements” (Mayes, 2019, p.1192). Mayes summarises the posthumanist view of voice in the following terms, although this might have resonance beyond posthumanism:

Utterances become spoken from collective assemblages of enunciation; and voice becomes one element in assemblages (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987); voice “is produced in the intra-action of things – bodies, words, histories – that, as an assemblage, act with a force” (Mazzei & Jackson, 2017, p. 1090, 1092). Voice has been reconceptualized as rhizomatic (Jackson, 2003), as without a subject (Mazzei, 2016), as inextricable from silence (Mazzei, 2003), as entangled with bodies (MacLure, 2011), as rethought with music (Riddle, 2017), and as thoroughly material (de Freitas & Curinga, 2015). Since meaning and mattering cannot be separated, the question becomes, not what voice is, but “how voice functions” in excess of the humanist subject. (2019, p. 1192-93)

I ask myself what are the ethico-political implications of this theorising? When, as Mazzei et al. (2017) argue, voice is conceived of “as *one* element in agentic assemblage instead of being spoken by *a* subject” (2017, p.1094, emphasis in original) and that “voices are no longer the property of speaking subjects, but rather shift and change with the assemblage”



(Mazzie et al., 2017, p. 1201), we are then left with a conception of voice as a free floating signifier. Utterances, therefore, can then be made to be re-assembled by the researcher's authorial voice. Reading this through postcolonial and decolonial theories, I join Mazzie et al. (2017) and Bhattacharya (2021) in underscoring the persisting colonial knowledge practices in research, in this instance, in the assumptive ways in which voice is operationalised. These manifest in an epistemic suppression where "the researcher appropriates utterances, transmutes them into a research text, and is the one to benefit from the resulting research product" (Mazzie et al., 2017, p.1201). For Bhattacharya (2021), this notion masks powers of relations and privileges of powerful white academics. While these theorists, notably Lather, troubles "the voice with which we could reclaim spaces erased, [and] disappeared knowledge", they do not trouble "their own authority and voice to make such claims" (Bhattacharya, 2021, p.181). Bhattacharya asks us to consider the following:

What are the implications of a powerful, white academic questioning the authenticity of voices, when so many voices are always already erased from the histories of the world? For some communities and civilizations, there is not a constant need to speak in deferred truths, with an unreliable narrator voice. Fierce truth telling with clarity is also a necessity even when we want to exceed the bounds of essentialism and empiricism. Some of these communities have verifiable histories (and patterns), for example, of colonization, patriarchy, xenophobia, classism, ableism, homophobia, Islamophobia, transphobia, and many more. (Bhattacharya, 2021, p.181)

Having discussed some of the key conceptual assumptions that underpin CRN, I consider in the following section some of its key features or offerings. I address, here, the ways in which CRN is a reflexive, critical, affective, embodied and relational methodology, and that its openness offers a way of interpreting, engaging and situating such offerings variously across contexts of research and praxis.

### **Reflexivity**

Reflexivity in CRN is not as a research strategy or a methodological tool to ensure validity. Rather, CRN is inherently reflexive and relational. The centrality given to reflexivity in qualitative research has been evidenced by a proliferation of attempts to provide taxonomies and classifications of its key features (see for example: Finlay and Gough, 2003; Pillow, 2003; Dean, 2017). As a contested term, the meaning, scope and the nature of reflexivity varies according to "the aims and functions of the exercise at stake and the theoretical or methodological traditions embraced" (Finlay et al., 2003, p.16). Being "reflexive, is often claimed as a methodological virtue and a source of superior insights, perspicacity or

awareness” (Lynch, 2000, p. 26). Pillow (2003) identified four common trends in the uses of reflexivity as a methodological tool: reflexivity as recognition of self by providing a confessional tale, reflexivity as recognition of other by accounting for “how well we come to ‘capture the essence’ of the other(s)”, reflexivity as truth which is concerned with the extent to which techniques for capturing the truth of accounts have been “soundly and methodologically carried out”. The last trend Pillow discusses is reflexivity as transcendence. Reflexivity here is concerned with “the idea that the researcher, through reflexivity, can transcend her own subjectivity and own cultural context in a way that releases her/him from the weight of (mis)representations” (p. 186). Taken together, reflexivity here has served as a methodological tool to “to reinforce the ‘accuracy’ or ‘authenticity’ of analysis” through a range of strategies: confessional tale, knowing and the other and accurately depicting the ‘real’.

There are a number of problems with this view of reflexivity as “a confessional account of methodology” that allows us to examine “our own personal, possibly unconscious, reactions” (Finlay et al., 2003, p.16). Pillow (2003) provides a detailed discussion of some of the problematic aspects of this view of reflexivity. Of immediate relevance to my discussion is her view that this conception of reflexivity is premised on a clear demarcation between a self (a researcher) and the other (researched) who is immediately present to the researcher. Even in attempts that tend to blur the demarcation line between the researcher and the researched, Pillow avers, this view of reflexivity results in a facile telling of a confessional tale that “invokes the Cartesian belief in a unified, essential self that is capable of being reflected on and is knowable” (2003, p.181).

CRN does not adopt reflexivity in an instrumental sense. It frames reflexivity differently by avoiding a “ghostly ‘positivist’ account that seeks origins in scientific warrants” (Stronach, Garratt, Pearce and Piper, 2007, p.179). In doing so, it sees reflexivity as way to critically engage with the contradictions and dilemmas. It aims at “potentially” reducing “the coercive and exploitative nature” of these (Swanson, 2004, p. 186). In addition, a reflexive account “can... hopefully, address (although not resolve) the ambiguities in terms of the complexities they inform with respect to social relations of power, and consequently advocate...towards social agendas” (Swanson, 2004, p. 186). CRN avoids, what Macbeth (2001, p. 37 in Stronach, et al., 2007, p.180), calls “positional reflexivity” wherein attempts are made—often confessionally—to align “methodological rigor with a critically disciplined subjectivity”. Swanson argues that:

I ...do not naively believe that greater validation is achieved through a “confessionalist” approach, as much as I am aware that it cannot be claimed through the means of a traditional, objective one. Reflexivity might be more honest, and narrative may make constructed reality appear more profound and palpable, but neither necessarily achieve greater truth. (Swanson, 2004, p. 16)

Reading Gemignani (2017) understanding of reflexivity through CRN is generative.

Gemignani (2017) conceives of reflexivity as a discursive, performative, relational and genealogical practice. For him, one of the problems with traditional views of reflexivity is that the researcher tends to adopt a “realist position” that assumes that “research processes and positions function as entities that preexist the relational act and context of researching” (p.185). The realist position takes the contents of reflexivity such as “assumptions, preconceptions, personal histories, social positions and subjectivities” as independent of “the processes, discourses, contexts, and experiences of inquiry and reflection” (p. 186).

Gemignani argues that the realist position is limited to identifying, describing and analysing these ontologically stable processes. In short, reflexivity here means that “the researcher’s values, positions, and subjectivities appear as issuances to be controlled” (p. 187) and declared at the outset of the research. Gemignani (2017) argues, the realist account of reflexivity elides “a reflection on the genealogical processes that guided the awareness and identification of specific biases, experiences, assumptions, or positions as being worth reflecting, problematizing, and reporting by the researcher” (p. 191).

Following Foucault’s notion that discourses are “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, 1972, p.54), the contents of reflexivity are a discursive construction that are mediated by a range of historical, political and affective conditions. The contents of reflexivity are seen as “fluid and localised” processes rather than fixed and stable entities (Gemignani, 2017, p. 187). This has the analytical advantage of opening up a space for exploring the conditions that made the contents of reflexivity “real and present to the researcher” (Gemignani, 2017, p. 188). This entails exploring “the games of truth and disciplinary power” as well as surfacing “what those particular constructions allowed for in the specific historical, scientific (or disciplinary), and power based contexts of the inquiry” (p.188). Gemignani argues for a relational approach in which the “content and practice of reflexivity become inseparable from the inquiry itself” (2017, p.192).

CRN underscores this critical, relational approach to reflexivity. CRN reimagines reflexivity away from a concern with “rules and accuracy of representations to the genealogical process through which some specific contents have been constructed or become visible and

problematized” (Gemignani, 2017, p.192). This also entails attending to the consequences of the “discursive practices that underscore, narrate and re-present” the contents of reflexivity (Gemignani, 2017, p. 194). The view of reflexivity advocated here is performative in the sense that it is not simply a question of specifying our positionality and accounting for the extent to which this positionality has impinged upon our research, but that our reflexivity is itself generative of ontologies, “the construction of others, problematizations,...actions...and constitutive narratives”( Gemignani, 2017, p. 196). Reflexivity, therefore, becomes a question of ethics. This ethic, Gemignani states, is not “simply a personal” one. Rather, researchers “are not subjects who reflect on themselves through a process of externalization”. The context of inquiry materialises through an assemblage of “disciplinary and institutional discourses and forms of knowledge” that makes “the content of a reflexive analysis appears as an external reality, which researchers can observe, analyze, and represent” (p.195). In foregrounding the generative powers of reflexivity as well as the contextual and discursive aspects of the process of inquiry, reflexivity, as Gemignani (2017) avers, “is not a strategy, a tool, or a criterion; it is inquiry in itself” (p.196). Reflexivity entails “an engagement with the quotidian and taken-for-granted” which is occasioned:

through personal immersion in the lives of the people of the communities ...researched. Commitment to this reflexive engagement is achieved via self-inscription through the descriptive, representational writing process and attending to the prevailing relations of power within shifting social context. (Swanson, 2004, p. 25)

Reflexivity and the inquiry become the “ongoing exercises of critical awareness about the genealogy of knowledge and method as well as the partial, situated, and performative constructions that are fundamental properties of inquiries and methodologies” (Gemignani 2017, p. 196).

### **Critical orientation**

This “critical awareness” and the conceptual baggage it mobilises are contested. Of late, there have been a number of calls to decentre critique. Amongst these are Latour (2004, 2010) and Felski (2015). Latour takes to task critical thinking as exercise of “hermeneutics of suspicion” (Ricoeur, 1972) which seeks to look beyond the obvious and unmask the hidden meanings and operations of ideologies. Latour called for a critical attitude that creates and develops ideas rather debunk them:

The critic is not the one who debunks, but the one who assembles. The critic is not the one who lifts the rugs from under the feet of the naïve believers, but the one who offers

the participants arenas in which to gather. The critic is not the one who alternates haphazardly between antifetishism and positivism like the drunk iconoclast drawn by Goya, but the one for whom, if something is constructed, then it means it is fragile and thus in great need of care and caution. (Latour, 2004, p. 246)

Felski (2011, 2015) has unpacked some of the key assumptions that underpin the notion of the dominant conception of critique within literary and cultural studies. She characterises critique as “a spirit of skeptical questioning or outright condemnation” (2015, p.3) in which critics are “so quick off the mark to interrogate, unmask, expose, subvert, unravel, demystify, destabilize, take issue, and take umbrage” (2015, p.5). As an “unusually powerful, flexible and charismatic idea” that is “widely seen as synonymous with intellectual rigor, theoretical sophistication, and intransigent opposition to the status quo” (Felski, 2011, para. 5), critique, exhibits a number of characteristics (negativity, secondaryness, intellectualism, marginality and intolerance). I focus on the following:

*Critique is negative* and to engage in critique “is to grapple with the oversights, omissions, contradictions, insufficiencies, or evasions in the object one is analyzing (Felski, 2011, para. 7). *Critique is secondary* in that it not a self-sufficient position which stands alone, rather, “a critique is always a critique *of* something, a commentary on another argument, idea, or object...It could not function without something to critique, without another entity to which it reacts (Felski, 2011, para. 9, emphasis in original).

*Critique does not tolerate rivals.* Critique, here, sees itself as:

uniquely equipped to diagnose the perils and pitfalls of representation, critique often chafes at the presence of other forms of thought. Ruling out the possibility of peaceful co-existence or even mutual indifference, it insists that those who do not embrace its tenets must be denying or disavowing them. (Felski, 2011, para. 16, emphasis in original)

Felski’s task is not to offer a “polemic against critique” (2015, p.5), but rather to redescribe it by interrogating its status as “a charismatic mode of thought” that makes it hard for us “to get outside its orbit” (2015, p.3). This begs the question of what “intellectual and imaginative alternatives does it [critique] overshadow, obscure, or overrule? And what are the costs of such ubiquitous criticality?” (Felski, 2015, p. 5). One such overshadowed intellectual tradition is the notion of critique as an affirmative practice. While a review of this tradition is outside the scope of this section, I will limit myself to articulating some of the key assumptions of this orientation (see Rebughini, 2018 and Noys, 2012, for review and a critique of affirmation).

Affirmative critique is concerned with the “emergence of the possible” (Rebughini, 2018, p.9). It is a practice conducted not from a position of “exteriority and superiority” where “an intentional and critical human subject viewing the work of others from a distance, knowing better and being entitled to scrutinize and interrogate the work of others” (Murriss and Bozalek, 2019, p.879). Affirmative critique entails “producing possible alternatives by transforming critique into a set of embodied practices, in material and situated dimensions, for changing the world” (Rebughini, 2018, p.4). Affirmative critique becomes an ethical practice. Nevertheless, we are confronted with a dilemma here. As Bargués-Pedreny (2019, p.8) asks: “what kinds of affirmative approaches are articulated? How can affirmation and critique work hand in hand so that affirmation reinvigorates and redirects critique? Can there be affirmation alongside critique?”

A tentative answer to these questions would acknowledge that “affirmation is not the opposite of negation” (Bunz, Kaiser and Thiele, 2017, p. 25). As Noyes, argues, affirmationist theory, especially Derrida, Badiou, Latour and Deleuze, is characterised by an “anguished negotiation with negativity that allows us to begin to grasp the rudiments of new political practice of negativity” (2012, p.15). The “persistence of negative” (Noyes, 2012), shifts the register of critique. The negative, as understood by Latour and Felski, is no longer the opposite of affirmation. Affirmation, as a “critical tool” (Bunz et al., 2017, p. 25), reinvests critique with the notion of “critical engagement”. As Bunz et al. argue:

Affirmative critique, therefore, is for sure about diagnosing precisely ‘what is,’ with an eye schooled in detecting inequalities, asymmetries, and the never innocent differentiations we live in. And yet, it also always needs to do the **work** of envisioning **transformation** and change. (2017, p. 26, emphasis in original)

It is in this sense that I conceive of CRN as a critical tool. In contrast to the understanding of critique as a disembodied exercise which seeks to unmake and undermine its object, CRN embraces a notion of critique as “embodied” praxis of “intellectual and **worldly** intervention” that “affects the material, habitual, everyday and minute dimension of living” (Bunz et al., 2017, p.9, emphasis in original). CRN genuflects to a notion of critique “as an always situated, generative, and world-making intervention, which can never claim (conceptual) innocence” (Thiele, Kaiser and O’Leary, 2021, p. 7). In my understanding, critique engenders an ethical dimension. Bunz et al. (2017, p.9) argue that critique as intervention needs to consider in whose interests interventions are made. Critique is articulated as an “ethics of care”, not in the sense of “normative moral obligations” (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017, p.6), but

rather “a thick, impure, involvement in the world where the question of how to care needs to be posed” (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017, p.9). This entails that “thinking *in* the world” by engaging in critique (p. 10, emphasis in original), “involves acknowledging our own involvements in perpetuating dominant values rather than retreating to the sheltered position of an enlightened outsider who knows better” (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017, p.10).

Of immediate relevance, here, is accounting for the ways in which critique has so far been framed. In my discussion, the conceptual and theoretical discussion of critique has been derived from an exclusively European context. Whilst I have tried to broaden the theoretical space of critique by drawing on a range of postcolonial and decolonial theorists such as Wynter, Mbembe and Glissant to name a few, I nevertheless share Thiele’s et al. (2021) call to affirmatively strive “to revision and re-turn (to) critique otherwise and to reexamine critical thinking under the ever more complex conditions of the twenty-first century” (p.9).

As they state:

So, if critique as a mode of (institutional) knowledge production, as an (ethico-political) attitude, and as a (praxis-based) methodology . . . ., how can we . . . *keep* this tool (in light of shrinking institutional space for criticality and an increasing demand of the applicability of scholarship); *and yet*, how must we also transform or rethink our intellectual habitats (in light of their Eurocentric legacy and colonial entanglements)? (p.9, emphasis in original)

### **Affective dimension**

Commenting on an episode in which two schoolgirls were disciplined by a principal, Swanson (2004) says that witnessing this has affected a shift in her “senses”:

[a] move from ‘looking on’ to ‘listening to’ would include a ‘feeling for’ as well. This ‘process’ would also parallel the discursive and intellectual act of ‘sense making’, where the ‘senses’ are now attuned to the multiple-perspectives, multiple voices (said and unsaid) and ‘sensory ways’ of viewing the research context, so that the position of the self is situated in the centre of the sense-making process with all the concomitant emotional and spiritual interconnections with the context that this necessitates. (p.199)

What this episode throws into sharp relief is the affective dimension of CRN. In locating inquiry within the intimate textures of everyday encounters with internationalisation, CRN invites an embodied and affective engagement with the world. In this figuration, CRN attends to affect and embodiment as modes of critical inquiry and knowledge production. In what follow, I will unpack the ways in which the affective and embodied dimension of CRN centers particular affective encounters and the ensuing epistemic violence and other modes of

“injurious interpellations” (Butler, 1997, p, 49) that structure and mediate these affective encounters. While the literature on ‘the affective turn’ is vast (for a review see Hardt, Clough, and Halley, 2007) I focus here on work of Sara Ahmed (2004a, 2004b), especially the concept of “affective economies”.

As Anderson (2014) notes, affects such as anger, pain, hatred, love “are constantly infusing embodied practices, resonating with discourses, coalescing around images, becoming parts of institutions [and] animating political violence” (2014, p.6). To attend to affective life, entails surfacing the political and ethical dimensions and well as the “differentiated capacities to affect and be affected” (Anderson, 2014, p.11). Affect emerges as constitutive of certain relation, and at the same time, it emerges from specific arrangements marked by power. Taken together, these two movements gesture towards an understanding of affect not as residing inside the individual: i.e, a psychological disposition located within a subject, but rather understanding affect as what “mediate[s] the relationship between the psychic and the social, and between the individual and the collective” (Ahmed, 2004a, p. 119). As Anderson states, the key question is not to delimit the nature of affect but to rethink affects in terms of “what the terms allow us to do: What do they attune to? What do they show up? What do they sensitise thought and research to?” (2014, p.12).

To address the point that affects, understood as emotions, are not autonomous intensities residing inside an individual, the work of Ahmed (2004a) is instrumental here, especially in the ways it accentuates the political and cultural politics of affect. Ahmed’s project in *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004a) is concerned with the ways in which emotions, language, bodies, race, gender, class and nation coalesce together. Affects (which she refers to as emotions) are performative in that they are generative of their object (for example, asylum seekers). Affects also enable a reopening of “past histories of naming” (Ahmed, 2004a, p. 131) and associations, thus invoking histories of colonialism, the hierarchising and violent grammar and practices of racism. Emotions, therefore, in Ahmed’s understanding, bring into play a relational reconfiguring of the individual and the social. Accordingly, “emotions are not ‘in’ either the individual or the social, but produce the very surfaces and boundaries that allow the individual and the social to be delineated as if they are objects” (Ahmed, 2004a, p.10).

Crucial in economies of emotion are the affective encounters which delimit boundaries. Emotions do their work, as Ahmed avers, by “aligning some subjects with some others and



against other others...” (2004b, p.118). The encounter with the others, Ahmed gives the example of the asylum seeker, is invested by an intensity of attachments that interpellate and “align individuals with communities—or bodily space with social space” (2004b, p. 119). To borrow Hall’s notion of ‘suture’ (2011), emotions in Ahmed’s account suture “figures together (adherence), a sticking that creates the very effect of a collective (coherence)” (2004b, p. 119). As Hall (2011, p. 6) argues, an “effective suturing of the subject to the subject-position requires, not only that the subject is ‘hailed’, but the subject invests in the position”. This means that “suturing has to be thought of as an articulation, rather than a one-sided process” (Hall, 2011, p. 6). It is in this simultaneous act of investment in particular discourses and suturing subjects to particular positions that the cultural politics of emotions becomes generative. Ahmed states, “it is through emotions, or how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made: the ‘I’ and the ‘we’ are shaped by, and even take the shape of, contact with others” (2004a, p. 10).

What is significant in this account of affective encounter is that this is not an even process. Certain bodies are perpetually invested with an irredeemable sense of threat. Ahmed discusses this in reference to the figuration of the asylum seekers in racist discourse. These political categories “come to embody the threat of loss: lost jobs, lost money, lost land. They signify the danger of impurity, or the mixing or taking of blood. They threaten to violate the pure bodies” (2004b, p.118). These figures “accumulate affective value, precisely because they do not have a fixed referent” (2004b, p.123). In other words, the force of emotions in the affective encounter is such that it renders certain bodies not only the object of hate but perhaps more importantly, these bodies designated as others, become empty signifiers that “await for others who have not yet arrived” (2004b, p. 123). That is to say, “any incoming bodies could be bogus, such that their “endless” arrival is anticipated as the scene of “our injury” (2004b, p.123).

It is this dimension of the affective encounter that is immediately relevant to CRN as a mode of inquiry. I adopt Ahmed’s theorisation of emotions not as abstract responses residing the inside individual, but rather emotions as affective performances that circulate between bodies, draw boundaries and materialise realities in different ways. By addressing a range of affective encounters, CRN attends to the ways in which affective life is mediated and structured. In the narrative rendering of my encounters with internationalisation, I attend to the some of the ways in which “affective life comes to be...organised in relation to social, political” and racial frames and processes (Anderson, 2014, p.4). Read through a

post/decolonial orientation, these affective encounters articulate some of the ways in which “affective life is simultaneously mediated in the sense that it reflects and expresses relations and mediating in that affects, structures of feelings and atmospheres are always imbricated with other processes” (Anderson, 2014, p.165). I narratively render three encounters. A first narrative rendering attends to the ways in which affect “*circulates in an economic sense, working to differentiate some others from other others, a differentiation that is never “over,” as it awaits for others who have not yet arrived.*” (Ahmed, 2004b, p. 123, emphasis in original). In this case, the figure of “the international student” (*the other who has not arrived*) gets displaced from a neoliberal register of the consumer to a register of “abject *human animality*” (Jackson, 2020, p.48). A second narrative attends to the epistemic suppression and violence that structure my encounters with internationalisation. A third narrative deals with a number of encounters within the context of “internationalisation at home”.

In a similar fashion to Swanson’s encounter outlined earlier, in my encounter with internationalisation, I (am)situate(d) in “the centre of the sense-making process with all the concomitant emotional and spiritual interconnections with the context that this necessitates” (Swanson, 2004, p.199). In this instance, I ask myself: What instigated this inquiry? Deleuze (1988) states that “one never commences; one never has a tabula rasa; one slips in, enters in the middle; one takes up or lays down rhythms” (p. 123). When I was an undergraduate student, Edward Said’s *Orientalism* exercised a hold on me. I became enmeshed in an arbitrary cartography that has delineated the Orient as the Other of the Occident. I was gripped by the ways in which figures such as Massignon, Burton, Aeschylus, Shakespeare, Austin, Flaubert, Kipling and Conrad have shaped the ways in which the Orient has been imagined. Growing up in Morocco, the notion of Europe “shakes us to the core of our being” (Khatibi, 2019, p. 1). Yet, this observation, as Khatibi (2019, p. 1) reminds us, is an “interrogation..., an inevitable event, which is neither a disaster nor a blessing, but the condition of a responsibility that remains to be taken, beyond resentment and unhappy consciousness”. For me, CRN and the attendant concepts explored so far are a response to this invitation. That is to say, as Mazzei (2016, p. 159) states:

Instead of beginning with questions, which...prompt answers that foreclose thought, researchers might begin with those things that present problems in the sense that they take hold and would not let go, that which Barthes (1980/2010) described as acting with a force that wounds.

In responding to these invitational calls to respond to injustices, I cannot do so from the perspective of a detached observer: a “spectator subject” (Roseik, 2018, p.1152). Rather, as Butler (2005, p.8) says, I have “no story of my own that is not only the story of a relation – or a set of relations” and to respond to Khatibi’s call is to acknowledge this relationality. CRN as a reflexive, critical, affective and embodied methodology holds this promise for me.

## Unhomely lives

### In the waiting room of history <sup>1</sup>

Take up the White Man's burden-  
Send forth the best ye breed-  
Go, bind your sons to exile  
To serve your captives' need;  
To wait, in heavy harness,  
On fluttered folk and wild-  
Your new-caught sullen peoples,  
Half devil and half child.

‘The White Man's Burden’, Rudyard Kipling

It is a rare, hot June day in 2013, the worst kind of day to be stuck in a windowless conference room. Fate, and the board of the college where I work, have other ideas. We are gathered in the cafeteria of a featureless conference centre. The space slowly begins to fill with people. Lecturers fan themselves with course notes and handouts, trying to generate a breeze. This will be a long day of workshops and discussions, no doubt involving a hefty dose of Powerpoint presentations. I skip the cafeteria queue and opt for a small polystyrene cup of coffee from the machine. At a table nearby, some of my colleagues discuss the programme for the day with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

A lecturer, whom I will call John, teaches the SWAP<sup>i</sup> Access cohort of students. He is of the view that staff development days - and what is generally referred to as CPD or ‘Continuing Professional Development’ - are of no value to him. John<sup>ii</sup> is an academic, currently completing a PhD in history while teaching at the college. A few other colleagues, particularly the engineers, agree they would rather spend the time undertaking core activities: teaching and assessing students.

Laura on the other hand, who lectures in psychology, feels that staff development days are valuable. She likes that they offer colleagues the opportunity to meet and exchange ideas about teaching and learning. I nod and listen, taking in all of their points of view, and wonder

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<sup>i</sup> This stands for the Scottish Wider Access Programme which is designed to prepare adult students for higher education.

<sup>ii</sup> I have used pseudonyms to refer to lecturers. Also, all the characters are composite. I have also altered the names of the courses these lecturers teach.

what they might assume about my own opinions on CPD. I keep my counsel, sipping the bitter, slightly burnt-tasting machine coffee.

I turn to the programme and pull out my highlighter. There are three mandatory sessions, four are optional. I highlight the mandatory ones, and make an attempt to navigate the forest of opt-in sessions. I try to pick the ones that seem least likely to feature a SMART board and a slideshow. It is too hot to stay awake for that. The one I have my eye on is on ‘internationalisation’. As a lecturer originally from outside of the UK education system, I feel this could generate a good discussion. I ponder about the positionalities such a term ‘internationalisation’ evokes, especially when considering the ‘gaze’ from which each participant comes to understand this term within a Further Education college context.

I navigate the scrums of people trying to figure out which room is which, and find myself in a large marquee. Around three hundred of us are seated in plastic-backed chairs. The air soon becomes hot and stuffy. I begin to regret not bunking off for the first session. The host is in the category of ‘motivational speaker’. His Hallmark-card homilies are punctuated by the pops and clicks of a failing PA system. Many of the lecturers grow restless and agitated. Distracted, I watch sweat bead on foreheads and the backs of necks. I pull the sticky fabric of my shirt away from my chest, and reflect that as relatively ‘comfortable’ as my job is, there surely must be easier ways to earn a living.

The next two mandatory sessions are held in a large gym hall, which is at least airy and full of light. The hall is divided into sections. One contains a poster exhibition of examples of ‘innovative practices’, teaching strategies and curriculum design. The other section contains a range of ‘new technologies’, applications and gadgets. A few lecturers share the opinion that this is an example of a session that does not really address the needs of all educators. The focus is on those same old neoliberal, economic-utilitarian, pseudo-educational tropes, buzzwords like ‘outcomes’, ‘employability’, ‘technology’, and ‘innovation’. It is strangely apt for the re-purposed, modernised gym hall. I think of all the games played here over the years, the squeak of rubber-soled trainers on the scuffed gym floor, and of all the shouting, yelling, pushing teenagers, overseen by red-faced gym coaches with gleaming silver whistles. Win or lose, succeed or fail.

After lunch, I attend the first of the optional sessions I have selected. It is aimed at ‘raising the profile’ of the international office, and the range of activities this office engages in. This room is different. It is a conference suite with all the trappings of the corporate world. A large

plasma screen, wall-mounted, dominates the front of the room. Large circular tables are arranged in supplication before the screen. I feel as though I have crossed to ‘the other side’, some managerial liminal zone of worship, where men in grey suits make tough calls and shady deals, all firm handshakes and shark-toothed smiles, fixed on their faces forever.

I spot John, my colleague from the cafeteria. He raises his eyebrows wordlessly. We take a seat together at the table nearest the back of the room. Without speaking, we share the sense that we are in ‘colonised territory’. The educational ivory tower has been captured by knights in shiny corporate armour. We sit at their round tables and await the dispensation of the new, business-forward logic. We are both aware that this semantic drift from educational establishment to education provider - the same shift that makes students our customers - is as easy to oppose as the Divine Right of Kings.

The International Manager of our college introduces himself and the aims of the session. The plasma screen behind him flickers along, each point unfurling like a scroll in Sans Serif text. As dry as his presentation is, I am eager to hear about the college’s internationalisation strategy; I have a lot of questions. How does the college understand internationalisation? How will internationalisation of the curriculum impact on my practice as a lecturer, and on my faculty and the students?

It does not take me long to figure out the way my institution understands internationalisation, and the internationalisation of the curriculum. The International Manager’s presentation consists of a list of activities and projects the college is involved in. The horizon of their ambitions is first to divide the world into markets, in order to recruit international students, and establish campuses abroad. Internationalisation has no meaning for them beyond a dimly-outlined franchise opportunity. It is to be a purely commercial activity, geared towards increasing the college’s revenues, in order to make up for a shortfall in funding. It is a market opportunity - an untapped demographic for our product. My wish to engage with the session begins to wane, and gives way to a feeling of unease.

What does it mean to internationalise an institution? Is it really as simple as engaging with new educational markets? Is the act of opening a campus abroad a way to project the college internationally by having a presence on a global stage, or is it to sell a service, a product, a brand – a proudly Scottish brand? Is internationalisation simply the answer to the question, ‘How do we attract more international students?’ What do we mean when we say ‘international’, even before we consider that territory as a market?

Above all, I am deeply uncomfortable with the idea that the internationalisation of the institution is to be a narrow, solely economic activity. Earlier in the year, the college had launched its internationalisation strategy. Not much fanfare accompanied this launch, but it was communicated to a handful of people, especially senior managers and the international working group, of which I was a member. Most of us sat here, listening to the International Manager. Not for the first time since joining this group, I find myself silent.

I was deeply suspicious of joining the working group in the first place, but I volunteered because I was hoping my contribution might ‘make a difference’, to use this rather hackneyed phrase, in some meaningful way. I had seen the clamour for internationalisation in other institutions, and kept pace with the articles and the back-channel gossip. Everybody wants to internationalise their institutions, but as the International Manager reminds me, this is widely understood to mean taking advantage of a growing market of international students, and generating income.

I joined the working group because I understand internationalisation differently. I want to ‘embed’<sup>iii</sup> international issues in the curricula. I want to ‘help’ our students to develop an empathetic understanding of the ‘other’. I am deeply aware of the work that needs to be done and the challenges that must be faced in order to enable our students to develop a truly international or indeed ‘global’ outlook. Yet, in all the meetings of the international working group I attended, I listened with a deep-seated feeling of aversion to various proposals, which included dealing with countries with appalling human rights records.

This is my dilemma - to stay silent, and listen with growing horror to the corporate and ethical drift of the institution where I work, or to speak, and hence risk being unable to contribute even my objections to the working group. To raise my objections would signal that I do not share the aims and objectives of the committee. I know that if I speak out, I will be asked to leave. My silence is borne of a deep awareness of institutional power. I know that I need to navigate this ambivalent space with care and some degree of trepidation, so I remain silent.

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<sup>iii</sup> I am uncomfortable with this term because it is very instrumentalist and neoliberal/corporatist. It has an element of coerciveness about it, like mud in which we try to trap our students. In retaining this term, I am trying to draw attention to its pervasive use in policy discourse. In contrast to this, I see education as a reciprocal, cumulative and extended dialogue between students, lecturers and the curriculum. I also feel uncomfortable with the term “help” as it suggests a benevolent attitude towards students.

Despite the difficulty I face in my silence, I feel that there are shafts of light - there is a little crack, a space for me to hold on by my fingernails to the idea that I might still influence this institution, through my teaching. That I might be able to bring into the classroom and to my colleagues the idea that internationalisation means working towards futurities of hope, and beginning to understand one's place in the sun;<sup>iv</sup> that this place should not be occupied at the expense of the other.

That does not stop my discomfort, or help scratch the itchy, unclean feeling I have as I keep my thoughts to myself, and listen to the International Manager. Armed with critical postcolonial and decolonial theory, I am being jostled into a space I neither wish to occupy, nor linger in. But I remain on the threshold, holding on to the detritus of my principles, trying to find an anchor, a place of mooring, something that would enable me to express my indignation without threatening my position. How do I reconcile this need to be an insider, by taking on the institutional definition of internationalisation, with my position as an eternal outsider who cannot accept this institutional definition? Can internationalisation accommodate both framings?

This internal questioning stops when I spot the word 'Casablanca' on the plasma screen. 'The Casablanca Project', the manager goes on to explain, is one project the college is considering in its international strategy to carve the world into a series of regions and markets.<sup>2</sup> In Morocco, they will build a new 'hub' to deliver educational and training programmes, specifically Higher National courses aimed at filling roles in the hospitality sector.

I was surprised at this suggestion, given the fact that Morocco does have a number of famous specialist hospitality institutions known as 'Ecoles Hotelieres'. Morocco has a long tradition of investing in the hospitality sector in terms of infrastructure and training. The manager continued his presentation, going off-script to reveal the logic behind this project. On a recent visit to Casablanca, he had stayed in a hotel, but the standard of service he received during his stay was poor, he says. The personnel of the hotel did not 'speak good English'. This was the seed of his idea to bring 'skills and expertise' to a market that, in his very brief research, looked wide open.

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<sup>iv</sup> In *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence* (1974), Levinas quotes Pascal's *Pensées* as an epigraph: ' "That is my place in the sun" That is how the usurpation of the whole world began.' Levinas uses this to illustrate the violence inherent in ontology and to foreground the primacy of the obligation to the Other.



My feeling of uneasiness and discomfort keeps growing. I wonder which hotel he stayed in... Perhaps a budget hotel? What about the language? Why is it that the expectation is for others to speak English? What does it mean to speak 'good' English?<sup>3</sup> Is the manager aware of the historical, socio-political and economic assumptions that frame his notion of 'good' English? I wrestle with the idea of interrupting him and asking him this question, but the institutional norms dictate that it is rude to interrupt speakers, or to question their fundamental assumptions. One has to wait till the end, raise a hand, and wait to be granted permission to speak. After all this is just a presentation! It is a public relations exercise aimed at getting the college staff to think of their institution as a player on a world stage, and consider their roles in helping to foster the institution's 'ambition'. This is a briefing session, not a debate, nor is it a discussion. I tell myself that learning which battles to fight is not the same as defeat. I remain silent.

"Besides," the manager says. A glib smile spreads from his teeth to the corners of his mouth. "Generally speaking, the system of education in Morocco is not good." He laughs. "It produces a lot of crap."

A chuckle ripples through the audience of lecturers, and my head turns as though a whip has been cracked, trying to chase the laughter. I cannot tell who has co-signed his comment. There is nothing, not a flicker, on a single face that I can see. I look for signs of indignation, but to no avail.

I turn back to John, whose facial expression indicates disbelief. He simply shakes his head imperceptibly. Other colleagues - people I teach with, laugh with, cover classes for, tell jokes with - nod vigorously in agreement with what they have just heard, or sit silent as though it was something banal, something widely agreed upon. An objection struggles to climb my throat, but dies before it reaches my lips. There are things worse than silence. To be alone, in a room full of people... I am trapped. I remain quiet.

By uttering that short sentence, the presenter answered my question. He left me without any doubt as to what he means by internationalisation. Its uncritical reception by the audience of my colleagues and peers confirms what I suspect.

I have always felt that internationalisation should further an agenda of global justice. Beyond a vague understanding of global justice as recognition of historical injustice, and the injustice that continues to be done to the Other, I do not yet have the translatable language and the conceptual vocabulary

within managerialist lingo to articulate this aim to the group.

Later, after I encountered the work of the Ethical Internationalisation of Higher Education group in 2015 in Budapest, I began to question the concepts bequeathed to me by my schooling, my work at the international working group, and my practice as a lecturer. These concepts assume that to internationalise the curriculum is to ‘embed’ international issues in the curriculum, and that to be a ‘global citizen’ is to be well travelled, benevolent to ‘disadvantaged’ others, and able to understand other people from different parts of the world. Yet, in this encounter in Budapest, I had ‘no wall to lean on’,<sup>4</sup> I was undone.

What does it mean to be a ‘global citizen’? How is my institution connected to the wider world, as well as to the local issues affecting Scotland? Here is an institution I work for, with its internationalisation strategy that declares that:

*Our overarching priority is to develop students as global citizens by enhancing our international presence and developing an international curriculum. We are a distinctly Scottish College, based in [location deleted] but with international aspirations and reach. Our students come from over 26 different countries and we operate on an international stage which must be reflected in all areas of College life and curriculum. Our staff, our collaborations, our curriculum development must all feature within the context of global citizenship and it is in this context that we measure our success and progress.*

The cognitive dissonance between my research, my beliefs and my understanding of internationalisation and that of my institution is not just semantic, academic, or even ethical. I also experience it as real pain. As I listen to the manager tell my colleagues that “the Moroccan system of education produces a lot of crap” this just compounds my sense of disbelief. I could easily dismiss his project as mere neoliberal claptrap. I acknowledge that I have little power to oppose or even modify this project - he is ultimately in charge of revenue generation for the college, that is the remit of his job. I could also just dismiss his claims as an instance of bigoted views of the other. Perhaps his shocking statement was a mere catchphrase, a slogan in order to sell the idea to the audience. Certainly, all of these explanations are somehow true, especially given the neoliberal, managerialist and dehumanising context in which colleges and universities now operate. But, I cannot settle for these explanations, because to do so would somehow decontextualise the manager’s statement, rendering his words as a minor mishap, a “throwaway” comment - a little bit of locker room banter...

I cannot let go of it though. The statement haunts me, it shakes me to the core. In this public relations act, it is no longer a question of the pursuit of a neoliberal internationalisation agenda that consists in the commodification and export of educational “goods”. What the International Manager is

articulating and inscribing here is something far more insidious.

I mull over this, trying to avoid the feeling that perhaps my interpretation of the meaning of this statement is tenuous, overdetermined. Perhaps I am, to paraphrase Sedgwick,<sup>v</sup> so paranoid that I think his comments are about me. Am I suffering from imposter syndrome? As a Moroccan who gained employment in an educational institution based in the Global North, am I suitably qualified to perform my duties? I thought, after all, that a feature of internationalisation is that institutions have staff from different countries? What did he mean by his simple statement? Perhaps a better question would be, what did he *do* with this simple statement - what world did he help to bring into being?

My colleagues in the room begin to sense the end of the presentation. There are some fidgeting sounds and clicking joints as they ready their bodies to leave the room, waiting for the right moment. If there was a time to raise an objection, it has passed. I wonder if perhaps the International Manager's comment passed them by because they simply do not care about anything that was discussed. Perhaps they feel that internationalisation does not affect their work. Perhaps they think it is just another meaningless buzzword. Perhaps they are right. Internationalisation happens 'over there', internationalisation happens to the distant other. The Other is that which is framed as "deficient", that which needs to be "civilised". So, what does internationalisation do?

What the International Manager has articulated and inscribed here, with his throwaway comment, are the conditions of the relation of exchange.<sup>5</sup> His words are a talisman, they clearly order our world and our places in it, and bring them discursively into being, with material effect. For his arrangements to work, he needs first of all to position Morocco and its educational system as deficient, underdeveloped and in need of modernisation. What other word better than "crap" could have made his task easier? This word works as a shortcut to condemn an entire educational system. One does not need to consider the conditions of a postcolonial educational system caught up in the maelstrom of educational and social inequalities, exacerbated by rampant neoliberalism. One simply has to see the other as a "pathological" aberration, one whose epistemologies are archaic and irrelevant. Enter the saviour, with a will to modernise, to civilise, to induct into "scientific" ways! Enter the superior European. Now the stage is set for our talisman...

I understand from him that my education, the cultural roots/routes and the journeys that I have shared with others and which have formed me, are always going to be deficient and illegitimate. These

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<sup>v</sup> Sedgwick, E. (2020). "Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading; or, You're So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Introduction is About You", in E Sedgwick (ed.), *Novel gazing: queer readings in fiction*, Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, pp 1-38. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780822382478-002>

journeys, academic experiences and cultural roots/routes were allocated to a geographical location, a “pathological” region in the periphery. I understand from him that I belong to ‘the other side’.<sup>6</sup>

For the talisman’s world to materialise, I had to be placed on the other side. I cannot share the same time plane with the talisman. I have to lag behind. Breathing heavily, running against a strong wind, caught up in this vertiginous journey, I can barely see them, I cannot share their time, I am denied “co-presence”.<sup>7</sup> Lodged firmly in the past, the only way for the Moroccan education system to become ‘modern’ - to be considered acceptable, to cross to the other side - is to emulate Europe. The template is already provided: Europe as a cultural, political, moral, economic, and crucially a superior project.

To get to the other side, I have to travel light; the Moroccan system of education needs to travel light. We have to shed the unbearable heavy burden and the inescapable weight of different ways of knowing and being, accumulated over the centuries. The talisman stands at the gate. To pass to the other side you need to leave everything behind.

These are terms of the exchange relation: *Moroccan ways of knowing and being, as epitomised in their system of education, are marked by failure, lack and deficiency and that the principles that underpin this system need to be displaced so as to make way for the “new”, “modern” and “superior” forms of European rationality, technologies and modes of organisation. In short, this amounts to epistemic suppression<sup>8</sup> of Moroccan ways of knowing, indeed a form of epistemicide.*

What becomes of the Other in this relationship? Can the Other contribute to this exchange? Can the Other maintain its singularity? Or does the Other have to disappear into an amorphous totality and emerge as a version of the Same? The Same in its veneer of universality, its Eurocentric and salvationist pretensions, standing there in front of me, triumphantly declaring for Himself<sup>vi</sup> that He and He alone is the epistemic subject who can map the world on behalf of humanity. He alone supplies the criteria to judge, define, exclude and articulate what is rational and what is not.<sup>9</sup> Nothing escapes His commanding gaze.

I try to blink, to momentarily block the piercing rays of the enlightened speaker, but to no avail. Epistemologically superior, he ordains for himself, and the Other becomes a mere shadow. Compared to him, the Other is ontologically inferior.<sup>10</sup> Yet, in contrast to how the other figures in

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<sup>vi</sup> I have used the gendered pronoun instead of a neutral one here, because this highlights the masculine paradigm within which ‘The Same’ becomes operationalised, just as with modernist, colonialist capitalism as a system conceives of itself as an orthodoxy,

internationalisation discourses, in their rhetoric of ‘equal partners in an equal exchange’, and in their avowed claim to attend to the Other and advance intercultural understanding, the Other nonetheless emerges as the lesser being, and its capacity for produce-worthy knowledge is denied. The Other is nevertheless useful, even necessary, as an object of the exchange by which it is justified and the exchange resourced, but only insofar as the other may be exploited and consumed in this exchange.

A brief squall of clapping signals the end of the meeting. Feet start to shuffle, people gather their belongings. I hesitate for a moment, still trying to bring my question up. The speaker calls time. I have to deal with the fact that I remained silent, despite the manager’s statement, and all that it entailed. I had an ethical obligation to respond, to right a wrong I suppose, or to simply point out to the manager that his statement was factually incorrect, and that I found it hurtful... And yet, still, I remained silent. The others remained silent, too. Why did they remain silent?<sup>11</sup>

Are they silent because they have been/become silenced? Have I? Perhaps other people feel the same way, but are unable to resist or voice their objections within this internationalisation discourse - aware, like I am, of the totality of its corporate capture.

I have questions about their silence, just as I have questions about my own. I cannot stop asking these questions, and silence can speak volumes. Their silence is a form of deafness to the violence inflicted on the “Other” that the internationalisation strategy articulated. Their silence could be evidence of a wilful ignorance of the other. It could articulate their complicity with a colonial discourse that has constructed the “Other” as barbaric, uncivilised, in need of domestication, to be cultivated into the realms of the civilised and thus made ‘worthy’, even human. Perhaps their silence is an articulation of the “coloniality of Being”<sup>vii</sup> where all the subjects who are deemed inferior and, thus, incapable of producing “knowledge” are deemed not worthy of existence. Is their silence a wall, a tacit agreement that the Moroccans cannot initiate any meaningful global interventions? Their epistemic capacity is suspect, therefore so is their humanity. They occupy a zone of “non-being”.

Silence can indicate blindness, wilful amnesia, or ignorance towards the hostility to difference that is entrenched in Enlightenment humanism. Perhaps nowhere is this hostility to difference more evident than in the hierarchical, pseudo-scientific ordering of “races” and the

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<sup>vii</sup> Maldonado-Torres (2007) and Wynter (2003)

way in which race is mobilised in the context of colonial invasions, and (b)ordering practices, including internationalisation strategies targeting international students.

Silence is also a practice of forgetting. To not speak of these things is to attempt to forget the ways in which colonialism, through its various dimensions - psycho-cultural, educational and philosophico-epistemological – is still the lived reality, in its intensity, of the others. Silence can be complicity, and an acceptance of modalities of colonial relationships, which internationalisation, within the context of my institution, encourages us to entertain. These new forms of relationality are certainly ‘deformative’ - insofar as they have assured the supremacy of European languages, and the inferiority of other epistemic locations. Perhaps their silence is merely an instance of the uncritical acceptance that to “think” is to do so solely from the canon of Western epistemology. Their silence reproduces a predictable, prosaic epistemic ethnocentrism - one which most likely is completely imperceptible to its silent, complicit host.

At the heart of this silence, of this not-knowing, not remembering, is a refusal of the possibility to enter in a non-coercive relationship with the Other; an inability to engage dialogically with the alterity of the “Other”<sup>viii</sup> and a refusal to entertain an ethical position where the Other can co-exist with and among them.

I, too, remained silent. Why was I silent? Was I silent because I have been silenced? What prevented me from speaking back to the internationalisation narrative played out in front of me? Was my silence imposed on me by an academic context that regulated the norms for speaking? Was this a revelation to me - that the academic context in which spaces for challenging institutional strategies, or critically engaging with internationalisation discourse are foreclosed? Was my silence the result of an enculturation that encourages, indeed enforces, the correct behaviour and where ‘cases’ are disciplined when norms are broken? Was my silence a response to the realisation that it is futile to speak back to these deeply ingrained beliefs? Was my silence the result of the realisation that internationalisation discourses, with their neo-colonial and Eurocentric assumptions, are so normalised as to be accepted as truths?

The truth is that I chose to remain silent. My silence was a volitional exercise of power<sup>12</sup> and an act of violent negation. In this self-silencing, my rage manifested itself precisely in the

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<sup>viii</sup> I develop this argument further in Gamal & Swanson (2018).

withdrawal of my participation in this discourse of internationalisation. In doing so, I differentiated myself from this dominant community. I proclaimed to myself my right to exit. My silence serves here to destabilise this power dynamic. I no longer wish to assimilate to the norms of this community.

After the end of the presentation, I joined John outside as he smoked a cigarette. I quit a few years back. I did not like the feeling that I was under something's yoke, at the beck and call of nicotine and unable to shake its power over me, quietly learning to accept the hacking cough, the stained fingernails, the smell of it on my clothes. As John exhaled I breathed in a little second-hand smoke. It didn't smell good; in fact, it was unpleasant. Still, some small part of me twitched.

John expressed to me his sense of shock at what he had heard. "Why didn't you speak up? You're Moroccan, after all."

I explained to him that I refuse to be the "authentic" insider, the native informer.<sup>13</sup> I explained that to be the insider carries with its own risks, its own enclosures. It carries within it the double gesture of invocation, interpellation, and the summoning up of someone to tell a story. At the same time, I am barred from taking up the role of the narrator, the author(ising) position. Perhaps this is the definition of the 'freedom to speak' - it cannot be compelled. It must be taken, on its own terms. My silence contains an affirmation.

## Rhizomatic conversations

<sup>1</sup> I am troubled by the concept of development because it is used to name a set of positive processes that took place in some parts of the world and not in others. It also suggests that those parts that are not developed are lagging behind. In *Provincializing Europe* (2000), Chakrabarty takes John Stuart Mill to task for his claim that self-rule, as the highest form of government, cannot be attained by Indians and Africans because they have not attained a sufficiently ‘civilised state’ enough to warrant self-rule. Chakrabarty argues:

Some historical time of development and civilization (colonial rule and education, to be precise) had to elapse before they could be considered prepared for such a task. Mill’s historicist argument thus consigned Indians, Africans, and other “rude” nations to an imaginary waiting room of history. In doing so, it converted history itself into a version of this waiting room. We were all headed for the same destination, Mill averred, but some people were to arrive earlier than others...Acquiring a historical consciousness, acquiring the public spirit that Mill thought absolutely necessary for the art of self-government, was also to learn this art of waiting. This waiting was the realization of the “not yet” of historicism. (2000, p. 8)

In internationalisation discourses and practices, this evolutionary logic is evidenced by the importing of and exporting of English language products and services from the English speaking ‘West’ (Altbach and Knight, 2007). Here, internationalisation is seen as “modernisation” (Mok, 2006). This one-way transfer of educational “goods”, including quality assurance standards, is a form of “teleological Westernisation” (Bilgin, 2008) that positions Western nations as “the ultimate measure of progress below which other nations are placed ... developing nations are expected to ‘catch-up’ with western nations by generally replicating western political, economic and social models” (Naidoo, 2007, p. 250, cited in Singh 2011, p. 358).

As Blaut (1993) and Nandy (1987) argue, colonial discourse has operated with a set of tropes that conceive of the non-European as childlike. This infantilisation of the other, has been used to justify colonialism by transforming it into a moral discourse of paternalism and trusteeship. That is to say, it is the ‘white man's burden’ to discipline and enlighten the infantile Other and to bring this other to adulthood, to rationality and to modernity through education.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult for me not to see internationalisation as replicating some of the strategies colonialism. What I find troubling is how administrators have arrogated to themselves the power to sit around a table, look at a map and declare their dominion by deciding that certain parts of the world should be targeted as lucrative markets for course export, student



recruitment or establishing campuses. The notion of carving the world is intimately linked to the cartographic representation of the world. As various geographers have noted, maps “are expressions of power and desire” (Specht, 2020, p.35). Cartography is not simply a representation of the world, but rather through its practices and discourses, it constitutes the world. Space here is not a “container or stage within which the world proceeds” but rather, it is “undergoing continual construction” (Specht, 2020, p.18). This generative power of the map, is to be understood within a colonial context. As Spivak comments, in the *Rani of Sirmur*, on the activity of Captain Geoffrey Birch (an assistant agent of the Governor), who was riding about in the Hills in India, Birch is:

actually engaged in consolidating the self of Europe by obliging the native to cathect the space of the Other on his home ground. He is worlding their own world, which is far from mere uninscribed earth, anew, by obliging them to domesticate the alien as Master. (1985, p. 253)

As (Bellone, Mauro, Fiermonte, Armano & Quiquívix) add, cartography retains:

for the most part, an overwhelmingly Eurocentric understanding of the world ... In mapping regions and continents, the main point of view represented continues to be that of colonial powers; they continue to hold control over countries they once formally ruled over directly, with present- day political boundaries testifying to this continued order. (2020, p. 31)

I find Castro-Gomez’s (2008) comments on some of the practices of cartographers really insightful. For him, colonial practices of cartography often obscure the place from which mapping is made. He refers to this as “hubris of zero degrees” (p.278). Akin to Haraway’s notion of the “god-trick” (1988) or a view from nowhere, Castro-Gómez’s notion refers to the ways in which the practice of cartography is intimately linked to colonisation. Castro-Gómez argued that prior to the sixteenth century, in European cartographers there existed a correspondence between “the ethnic and geometric centers of observation” (Castro-Gómez, 2008, p. 278). In Christian maps in the Middle Ages “the world appears to be laid out around the city of Jerusalem” (Castro-Gómez, p.278). With the conquest of America and the subsequent need to “represent with precision the new territories under the imperative of the colonizers’ control and delimitation” (p.278), cartographers adopted the “mathematics of perspective”: a fixed point of view which allows one to see but not be seen. In concealing the point of observation, Castro-Gómez argues that the practice of cartography has sustained the colonial gaze to observe, to know, dominate not only space but also its inhabitants, without being seen.

<sup>3</sup> Towona Sithole's (2014) poem *Good English* resonates with my experience of being complemented on how good my English is and how I speak it without accent. I find it very moving and powerful when I listen to it (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uo8kiSwZGs0>). I often play it to my students in order to problematise the notion that English is simply a lingua franca. Sithole's speaks to the issues I raise here. I quote the following for its powerful impact:

*Once in a while I hear the comment  
you speak good English  
in my school days it was a compliment  
but at some point it got a bit complicated.....  
some of my peers got a little fierce  
in the determination to  
speak good English  
I wish this good English  
was good enough  
to translate the shock of hearing  
people mispronouncing their own names  
in order to sound more English  
and where was that trusty student's  
companion to detect silent letters and other  
landmines  
just waiting to burst into laughter  
humiliation nicknames and other  
dramatic grammatic shrapnel  
embedded in so many innocent  
victims.....*

There are a number of concerns Sithole raises. In the words of Dervin and Holmes (2016), these relate to the ways in which “historical, political, economic and organisational structures can assert and/or require preference for one language, or language form, over others” (p.3).

The norms regulating “good English”, including a “correct English accent” are perpetuated by an assemblage of institutions and testing regimes. For Dervin et al. (2016), these include:

state and private language regimes such as language schools; language testing systems such as IELTS that require a certain level of English for study in English-language universities or schools; opportunities for study abroad to acquire ‘native-like’ proficiency (again, usually determined by economic status); state and regional educational policies (e.g. the Common European Framework of Reference which delineates ‘levels’ of competent language knowledge and use); and examination systems that favour grammatical proficiency and linguistic knowledge. (p.3)

Similarly, as Willinsky (1998, p. 197) argues, “the linguistic chauvinism embodied in this notion of native speaker” entrenches and sustains:

a colonizing division of the world that ultimately makes countries where English is the mother tongue less welcoming for those from other lands and languages who seek new life there. We also need to think back to how native speakers first brought English lessons to the colonies, investing the language with a sense of cultural mission.

Willinsky draws on Thomas Paikeday’s (1985) book *The Native- Speaker is Dead!* to argue that the notion of the native speakers entails the assumption that they “alone are presumed to have the right to contribute to the growth of the language, to open its metaphorical spaces, create new diction” and to preserve “the language and culture that stands behind it” (Willinsky, 1998, p.196). Native speakers may “assume it their duty to maintain standards for a language of which they are the sole protectors, but they will be standards that continue to coincide with their maintenance of privileges by nation, race, gender, and class” (Willinsky, 1998, p.196).

<sup>4</sup> I have first encountered the work of the Ethical Internationalisation in Higher Education (EIHE) in my first year as a doctoral student. Dalene Swanson was the Scottish PI for the project. As a member of the group, I was invited to Budapest to attend a project meeting organised by the project team. At the same time, Keleti station (Budapest, Hungary) was the scene of what was framed in the media and policy discourses as a “refugee crisis”. Thousands of people, including children, fled the brutal suppression of the Syrian people during what is problematically referred to as the “Arab spring”. These refugees were prevented from boarding trains in Keleti station, consequently this station was turned into a refugee camp. On my arrival to Budapest, I visited the camp as my two young daughters gave me their ‘kitty money’ and asked me to buy some food and give it to some Syrian children. I spent about three hours there, playing a game of volleyball with some children, trying to provide some

momentary relief from the conditions of the camp. I felt drawn to these people, after all, as fellow Arabs, with a shared history and culture, I want to show my support and ‘solidarity’ (Khoo, 2015) with them. Weary faces surrounded me, fixing me with a desperate gaze. Perhaps the nights and days spent on the adjacent underground pass and small plaza have taken their toll on them. The conditions were atrocious: masses of bodies, hungry, exhausted, deprived of sleep due the din of traffic, the sirens of the police and ambulance vehicle, the loudspeakers announcing to ‘foreign’ people in a ‘foreign’ land that the trains services are suspended.

Caught in the virulent xenophobic rhetoric of Viktor Orban’s who insisted that he was defending European Christianity against a Muslim ‘influx’, the Syrian refugees were prevented from boarding trains and buses to travel to other countries, because they did not have travel documents. Once Austria opened its border briefly, hundreds managed to board trains but when the border was closed, hundreds of people set off to Austria on foot, in a journey of 125 mile.

Back in the comfort of the hotel I was staying in, these shocking scenes stayed with me. The following morning in the EIHE project meeting, I started to think about what it means to be a global citizen and what does internationalisation mean? The scene at Keleti station, was for me not an “immigration crisis” but a “crisis of protection”, as Almustafa (2021), explains:

.... refugees, who escape wars and cannot find sufficient protection in their home regions, are pushed to think of journeying elsewhere to secure their safety and rights. But, since that route is blocked, they see no safe or legal pathway to their intended destinations. To avoid confrontations with control, many risk their lives through often-precarious journeys that may sometimes end in death at the global frontiers. This crisis continues even for those who survive the journey as they transform into illegal migrants who challenge the structures of control presented by borders and yet need to be ‘securitized.’ Many experience illegality and rejection at the borders and also on arrival at their final destinations due to the shrinking asylum spaces and states’ reluctance to honour their international commitments to protect refugees. (p. 3)

Writing in this context, Swanson (2016) recounts the following story in her blog entry entitled *No Wall to lean on*:

Occasionally, there is something in a narrative related to us that holds our attention, even as it appears so insignificant. This was the case of a narrative shared by one of my Turkish colleagues at the *Politics of Loss* research workshop. She told us about her interview with an old Syrian man in a Turkish refugee camp. She expressed her surprise at the simplicity of his answer when she asked him: “what do you miss the most about

your home back in Syria?” His answer was not a dramatic response as might have been expected under the circumstances. It was not reflective of severe trauma or extreme suffering. It was a *simple suffering*, borne from a long-endured tiredness: “Because we are housed in tents”, he related in his own words, “I miss being able to sit and lean against a wall”.

<sup>5</sup> During a conversation with her, Dalene Swanson introduced me to the idea of the “relations of exchange”. Swanson (2013) discusses this notion in the context of the ways in which neoliberalism and neocolonialism have reconfigured internationalisation. Consequently, Swanson argues that practices of internationalisation often assume the “goodness” of “global interconnections and distributions of knowledge through international educational organizations and structures worldwide” (p.333). In addition to the unethical modes of operating, Swanson argues that these practices entail establishing partnership between “an ‘all-knowing North’” and “a ‘helpless South’” (p.333), thus further entrenching an “ahistorical and apolitical benevolence agendas of prominent Northern universities” (p. 338). Swanson illustrates this in relation to the case of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries:

The conjoining of internationalization and marketization of universities with an ongoing neoliberal and neocolonial agenda is marked. This is particularly visible in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries where oil wealth has funded a proliferation of higher education institution campuses mostly imported from the US and United Kingdom (see Romanowski and Nasser, 2010). Concomitantly, international university partnerships have been competitively established as relations of exchange that are lucrative for the well-branded partnering universities in the ‘West’ whose research budgets have diminished as a result of rationalizations, austerity measures and other economic cuts and downsizing through implementation of national economic policies as a consequence of the current global economic crisis. In return, GCC countries attempt to buy the privileges and advantages of Western ‘advancements’ via the populist neoliberal discourse on ‘the Knowledge Economy’, and consume the rhetoric and ill-conceived modernist myth of rhetoric and ill-conceived modernist myth of ‘knowledge transfer. (p.338)

<sup>6</sup> The abyss as a line that delineates, demarcates and divides two sides, with no possibility of bridging this gap, is for me a powerful lens with which to see internationalisation. de Sousa Santos (2007) articulates this positioning in terms of “the abyssal thinking”. Accordingly, “abyssal thinking”, is a system that consists of visible and invisible distinctions, the invisible ones being the foundation of the visible ones. The invisible distinctions are established through radical lines that divide social reality into two realms, the realm of “this side of the line” and the realm of “the other side of the line” (p. 1). In this context, “The Moroccan system of education produces a lot of crap”,

an enunciation grounded in the logic of abyssal thinking, has the effect of positioning the institution I work for as being on “this side of the line” (i.e., the civilised), which is associated with knowledge and the ability to produce a superior culture and working practices. In contrast to this, the “other side of the line”, Morocco, is a spatio-temporal dimension that is inferior, backward and the site of appropriation and violence by the “this side of the line”.

<sup>7</sup> When I listen to the International Manager, I was made to feel that he is ‘in time’ and I am in the Moroccan ‘local time’. The deficit construction of the Moroccan system of education is precisely what he is articulating for this exchange relation to work and this is premised on a powerful exercise of the “denial of co-presence” of these two sides. As de Sousa Santos (2007, p. 2) states:

What most fundamentally characterizes abyssal thinking is thus the impossibility of the co-presence of the two sides of the line. To the extent that it prevails, this side of the line only prevails by exhausting the field of relevant reality. Beyond it, there is only non-existence, invisibility, non-dialectical absence.

This “denial of co-presence” draws on a wider discourse: a Eurocentric imaginary as a foundation myth that suggests that Western Europeans “imagine themselves to be the culmination of a civilizing trajectory from a state of nature” (Quijano, 2000, p. 542); and this leads them to think of themselves as “the moderns of humanity and its history, that is, as the new and at the same time, the most advanced of the species” (Quijano, 2000, p. 542). In this account, the “other side of the line” is deemed “a category by nature inferior and consequently anterior, belonging to the past in the progress of the species” (Quijano, 2000, p. 542).

<sup>8</sup> I am troubled by the rhetoric of partnership between institutions of education in the Global North and Global South. Very often this is presented as a partnership of equals. In reality, one partner is dominant in this exchange. The deficient theorisation of the Moroccan system of education and the condition of dependency it engenders is mediated and made possible by the unequal and coercive relationship between the two parties as a condition for this exchange. In other words, for this exchange to happen, this relationship needs to be conducted in a monological mode where a “monotopic global design” (economic, political, cultural and social) of the ‘West’ (Grosfoguel, 2011, p. 25) is impervious to the epistemologies of the non-European. It also relates to them from a position of ascribed superiority. Viewed ontologically as a failure, deficient and underdeveloped, the Other and its epistemologies and cosmologies need to be “excluded, omitted, silenced and/or ignored” (Grosfoguel, 2011, p. 24). The “other side of the line” has to simply vanish and its:

reality becomes nonexistent, and is indeed produced as non-existent. Nonexistent means not existing in any relevant or comprehensible way of being. Whatever is produced as nonexistent is

radically excluded because it lies beyond the realm of what the accepted conception of inclusion considers to be its other (de Sousa Santos, 2007, p. 2).

In excluding, silencing and/or rendering “the other side of the line” invisible, this exchange relation produces what Khatibi (1983) referred to as “silenced societies”. These societies, along with their form of knowledge production, social, political, normal and aesthetic imaginaries, are not “heard in the planetary production of knowledge managed from the local histories and local languages of the ‘silencing’ (e.g. developed) societies” (Mignolo, 2000, p. 71).

This epistemic suppression and the expected acquiescence to the West’s hegemony and control of culture and the production of knowledge and subjectivity, as conditions for this exchange relation, are rendered invisible through an appeal to a developmentalist/evolutionist discourse. According to this discourse, Europe achieves its superiority over others through exceptional internal qualities such as scientific rationality (Dussel, 2001). Therefore, Europe’s epistemic, moral and political capacities represent a model to be emulated. In other words, what the International Manager is offering is a “colonial recipe on how to become like the West” (Grosfoguel, 2011, p. 23).

<sup>9</sup> The hubris of the International Manager is very palpable here. In proposing to create an educational hub in Morocco to deliver Higher National Certificates, the International Manager is involved in imposing a self-acclaimed “best practice” from “this side of the line” on “the other side of the line”. The epistemic violence consists of imposing a model of learning that is likely to subalternise the ontological, epistemological, moral and spiritual dimension of the Other. This exchange relation masks attempts to dominate, delegitimise and eliminate the other’s forms of knowledge and replace them with more “efficient”, “rational” and “civilised” forms of knowing. It does so by claiming neutrality and universality. That is to say, this is couched in developmental terms: we are here to help Morocco to develop, and in return we are generating some funds.

I would argue that this claim to neutrality, as a foundational myth, obfuscates the contingency, the historicity as well as the “geopolitics of knowledge” production (Mignolo, 2002). It also reproduces the cultural hegemony of Western modes of knowing and being. Here, “Westernisation” is inherently supremacist. To accept the assumptions made by the International Manager is to acquiesce to this colonial discourse, to self-other oneself, and to accept the subordinating operation implied. At the heart of this exchange relation is the need pay homage to this ascribed superiority of the ‘West’, and the normalisation of the view that the European imaginary is the culmination of a neutral endeavour that is the result of an advanced epistemology and ‘civilization’ and which has “an obligation to civilize, uplift the lesser (barbarian) cultures” (Andreotti, 2011, p. 62).

<sup>10</sup> I find the normalisation of the superiority of the West's ways of knowing troubling here, because it is based on the unstated assumption of the ontological superiority of the 'West'. The normalisation of the epistemic privilege of the 'West' in defining social reality, subjectivity and rationality entails the suppression, silencing and exclusion of other local histories and epistemologies. This presumed ontological superiority of the 'West' emerged from political/scientific classificatory schemes during the sixteenth century. One aspect of this classificatory scheme is the logic of racialisation that classified "races" as ontologically superior or inferior. Linked to this is an epistemic dimension that ranked modes of thinking and languages as inferior or superior. As Mignolo (2011, p. 227) suggests, "you are inferior epistemologically and therefore ontologically". Consequently, in devaluing the epistemic capacity of the Moroccan people, the International Manager is drawing here on a Eurocentric discourse that perceives the 'West' as the only legitimate source of knowledge, while other modes of knowing and are not considered or legitimated:

pre-European and at the same time displaced on a certain historical chain from the primitive to the civilized, from the rational to the irrational, from the traditional to the modern, from the magic-mythic to the scientific. In other words, from the non-European/pre-European to something that in time will be Europeanized or modernized.... (Quijano, 2000, p. 556)

<sup>11</sup> I draw on Swanson's (2004) theorisation of silence and self-silencing here. Swanson (2004, p.11) says that "to begin to understand silence in more symbolic terms beyond a simplistic interpretation of it as 'the absence of sound', one needs to appreciate silence.... in terms of voice." My silence and the silence of the audience during the presentation can be understood in two related ways. The first is that "'silence can, according to circumstances speak' and, since it possesses profound agency, it can speak of many things...." (Swanson, 2004, p. 9). This notion of silence as "speaking articulately ....of what it does not say" (Swanson, 2004, p.9) can explain the silence of the audience. Their silence can be interpreted as a form of complicity with internationalisation discourses. Secondly, silence is understood here as invading "sites of struggle and disjunctures in discourses of power" (Swanson, 2004, p. 10) and that "to engage with issues of silence and its manifestations in voice", we "need to interrogate the discursive mechanisms of self-silencing" (Swanson, 2004, p. 14).

<sup>12</sup> I am reminded, here, of a phrase that I heard my grandmother say often when I was young. I did not understand what she meant by it. I think I understand it now. When asked about something she does not approve of, especially in a patriarchal society, her response would be: 'my response is in my silence'. As Montoya, (2000, p. 890) avers, self-silencing, as a form of self-policing, can act as a "self-conscious...calculated...exercise of power" (Montoya, 2000, p. 890). Silence could also be



seen as “donning a mask” (Montoya, 2009). That is silence as an “integral strategy for survival”, as “the inherited legacy of submission and simply not showing one’s feelings... has historically served as a means of self-protection” (Rodriguez, 2011, p. 113). Rodriguez says this in relation to the silence of black students in white spaces:

Many of the mechanisms that students of color develop in predominantly white spaces do not always involve outward confrontation... These internal coping mechanisms served as internal survival strategies.... Developing internal coping mechanisms, people of color adjust their own views or attitudes in order to shield themselves from some of the psychological and physical damage of recurring racism. This occurs, especially when people of color believe it is futile to try and change the minds of whites. Frustrated and often feeling like white students “wouldn’t understand anyway,” some students of color chose to remain silent during conversations about race. (Rodriguez, 2011 p, 124)

<sup>13</sup> I find it troubling that I am expected to be the native informant when people discuss anything Moroccan, Arab, Middle Eastern and African. I found Spivak’s discussion of the native informant in *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (1999) very insightful. She tells us that, in ethnography, the native informant is conceived of as:

blank, though generative of a text of a cultural identity that only the West...could inscribe. The practice of some benevolent cultural nativists today can be compared to this, although the cover story there is of a fully self-present voice-consciousness. Increasingly there is the self-marginalizing or self-consolidating migrant or postcolonial masquerading as a ‘native informant’”. (p.6)

Her project in this work is to extricate the native informer from the above blank state and to generate a commitment “not only to narrative and counter-narrative but also to rendering (im)possible of (an)other narrative” (p.6).

This sums up why I find the notion of the native informant problematic, because people assume that, as a native, you are pure, untainted, and that what you are going to tell/narrate is not mediated by cultural, political and social contexts. It also hides a burden of representation, which carries undue responsibility to speak on behalf of a group. What you then say is mediated by the assumption of an essentialising discourse: that what you say only becomes comprehensible if it genuflects to a stereotype, if it can present a picture as singular in its entirety of that conception of the other, or of the other’s culture, land, languages, ways of knowing, ways of being. It needs to be appropriated, indeed consumed in this way, swallowed whole.

## The tiger who came to tea

April 2015

It is April, which in Scotland means gun-metal grey cloud cover. A thin ‘haar’<sup>i</sup> is drifting in from the coast; a persistent, misty rain that seems to envelop everything. It starts to dissipate a little as the bus passes through Holyrood Park, and the sun peeks out from behind the elephantine curve of Arthur’s Seat. The ride to City University’s<sup>ii</sup> campus takes over an hour, but I am in no hurry. I read the paper for a while, then pull out a flyer sent to me by a colleague earlier in the week. It describes the contents of today’s lecture, which is once again on the topic of internationalisation.

I am immediately struck by the opening paragraphs:

*‘Internationalisation’ is a pervasive and often contested term. A ‘foe’, an intruder, an unwanted guest and an ‘invasion’ of our space by ‘the other’. We are suspicious of ‘internationalisation’ used as a proxy for globalisation ideology or a cover up for increased international recruitment to the detriment of home students. Discussion in the literature suggests a multi-dimensional perspective on internationalisation on a continuum from Symbolic to Transformative internationalisation, stressing that an increased international ‘traffic’ does not necessarily mean increased inclusivity (Robson and Turner, 2008). Emerging, sustainable approaches to internationalisation push for a change in the discourse to ‘cultural diversity’, inclusive curriculum design, underpinned by cultural reciprocity (Yang, 2002) and a dialogue about our own values, beliefs and norms (Sanderson, 2008). But are these strategies enough to accommodate the ‘unwanted guest’ and turn the diversity of the experience into benefits for all?*

*In this lecture, we argue that, if we are well prepared to take full advantage of the benefits it offers, internationalisation can become our ‘friend’ and can enrich the experience for us all. The key questions are: How do we learn from past mistakes and stay ‘ahead of the game’? How do we ensure that we fill our ‘larder’ with all necessary tools and use them well to accommodate the new experience before the ‘guest’, our students, has to leave? Examples of practices which embrace the benefits of cultural diversity are explored, including involving students as co-creators in enabling international student transitions and ways forward for an internationalised curriculum design.*

The abstract opens with what today’s presenter clearly thinks is a common understanding of the term ‘internationalisation’. What strikes me most is the use of the language of war to

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<sup>i</sup> A haar is a type of cold mist or fog from the North Sea which frequently occurs along the East coast of Scotland.

<sup>ii</sup> I have used a pseudonym to refer to the university in which this narrative is set.

describe it here. The international subject is apprehended as a “foe”,<sup>1</sup> her actions as an “invasion” of “our space” by an “other”. This bellicose register stands in sharp contrast to the language in which internationalisation is usually framed. Very often we encounter, in university websites and brochures, not alarmist descriptions of invasion by threatening foes, but warm invitations to join global ‘families’ and ‘communities’. This is the welcome that seems to await international students... or so declare the university websites.

Absorbed in the abstract, I have missed the rest of the journey. The bus pulls into the campus, and travels along an avenue with tall poles on each side. The poles display banners and posters that advertise the university, especially in terms of its offer to international students. An array of smiling faces greet the bus as it turns towards the glass-fronted lobby of the campus headquarters - cherry-picked ambassadors for diversity and inclusion.

The university wants visitors and prospective students to know that there is a large international presence undertaking study here, and that they constitute a global community. The global opportunities and links this creates for home students, and the international campuses the university has set up abroad, are all proudly claimed as evidence of positive, even ‘inclusive’ internationalism. It is a pronounced contrast to the language of the abstract I have been reading on the bus - this media welcomes the ‘other’, celebrates her, but more secretively, she is viewed as a menace, a threat, or at least a bother.

*Yet, who is this “unnamed other”?*

*This figure*

*This empty receptacle*

*This empty signifier whose arrival in immanent,*

*haunts us*

*surrounds us*

*and threatens to engulf us.*

This stranger, by their unanticipated arrival, exposes our vulnerabilities. Yet, at the same time, in drawing apart from them, *we* are drawing together, declaring *our* boundaries and the illusion of collective belonging.

Who is included in this ‘we’? Who is excluded from this ‘we’? Who has the right to legislate who is included, and who is not, within this ‘we’? What does this imagined collective, this

‘we’, bring forth? What is the extent to which this ‘we’ continues discriminatory and exclusionary practice?

I feel already that I am being drawn here, interpellated into this imagined ‘we’, asked to occupy a position, to retreat to the bunker and guard against the invasion of our space - to defend a community.<sup>2</sup>

Outside the lecture theatre a crowd is beginning to gather. A large group of international students stand next to me. I gather from their accented English that they are from a Nordic country, perhaps Sweden. I wonder how this community - this imagined ‘we’ - apprehends them. They are accompanied by a couple of lecturers. I find out later that they are participating in an exchange programme with City University. Are they ‘us’, or ‘them’? Friend or foe? I muse over their status; wonder if perhaps they are considering mine. Absent-mindedly, I run a finger through my tightly-curled hair.

The crowd grows larger. When the door opens, I make my way to the front of the lecture theatre. A colleague of mine arrives - Julia,<sup>iii</sup> a linguist. She sits next to me and we discuss the large picture of a tiger projected on the presenter’s screen. The picture is from a popular children’s picture book - *The Tiger Who Came To Tea*, by Judith Kerr. I must admit I am rather fond of this story. I read it to my daughters when they were very young. To my daughters, the story is about a little girl called Sophie who sits down with her mother to enjoy afternoon tea and cake. Their tea is interrupted by a large tiger who comes in uninvited, eats all the food, drinks all the tea and water, and leaves the house in a mess.

Neither Julie nor I can figure out exactly what the tiger has to do with internationalisation, so we exchange a few stories about our kids instead. Her wee boys are fans of the book too, along with the usual stuff - Transformers, Minecraft, Star Wars and Lego. My girls are a bit older now, far more interested in their mobile phones, or too busy studying for exams to read picture books anymore. We exchange small talk, but my eye is drawn back to the tiger. It looks self-satisfied, almost arrogant. I do not remember the drawing looking quite so hostile when I read the book as a bedtime story.

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<sup>iii</sup> All the names used here to refer to colleagues are pseudonyms.

The lights dim, and the image of the tiger gets sharper. In the half-light, my eye plays tricks. Was that a flicker of a white tooth within its smug grin? Its head is cocked at an inquisitive angle, large front paws together, like a housecat in a sunbeam.

A senior lecturer from City University walks on stage and begins a brief introduction. He gives us an outline of the speaker's research profile and work within the institution. The speaker thanks him as she takes to the stage. She is a young woman, dressed smartly; her fashion choices lean a little closer to office manager than a university lecturer. She adjusts the buttons on a smart blazer as she introduces her argument in defence of internationalisation.

To the speaker, the term 'internationalisation' describes the recruitment and assimilation of international students into academic culture, and Scotland. Internationalisation is understood here as a revenue generation activity. An ancillary concern is wellbeing - we must ensure that international students are looked after, because the reputation of the university shapes future recruitment activity. The banners and the messages that welcome me to this university now make sense. The relevance of the picture of the tiger has not yet become clear.

To illustrate her argument, the speaker begins to narrate the story of the *Tiger Who Came To Tea*. At the end, she directly compares the international students to the tiger. In this schema, international students are the "uninvited guest".

There is a tiger in the room.

"So, you are now Sophie," says the speaker. "What are you going to do in order to be best prepared when the international students arrive at your house?"

The speaker's voice is amplified, it issues from speakers mounted on the walls. As she speaks, the words momentarily turn to white noise. My vision drains of colour, and in place of her words, my ears zero in on the sound of feet shuffling, a throat being cleared. The sound of pens scratching in notebooks and papers being shuffled. My brain searches in the silence around the speaker's words for something, anything else to focus on, if even for a second.

I start to come back to myself, and the anger rises in me. I want to hold on to the comforting image of the tiger in the story I have read to my daughters; the enchanted world it has created for them every night before they go to sleep. I do not want this reading, this subjective interpretation, this metaphorical abuse to taint something that they love. I do not want to see

the smiling tiger, and hear the speaker's words. If I do, I will never again see the tiger in the same way.

The audience, composed of academics, administrators and students, seem to readily accept the invitation to occupy the subject position of 'Sophie' - the fragile, innocent, well-mannered, good natured and hospitable child. In doing so, they equally accept the invitation to participate in rituals of degradation, by distancing themselves from the tiger and all he represents. They are not asked to identify with the barbaric, uncivilised and uninvited guest who consumes all the resources, and leaves only disorder in his wake.

I search their faces for some sign of resistance, or even reluctance to accept this interpellation, but to no avail. There are no dissenting voices. I can detect no uneasiness in their facial expressions. Once again, I am silent. I am searching for a sign of recognition in a room full of the seemingly ignorant. Is that ignorance willing? Complicit? Unacknowledged? If I were to question it, would I be believed?

It seems as though I alone feel pain, discomfort, indignation, all building towards this silent rage. To experience this alone is to experience a kind of pre-emptive gaslighting. My silence is predicated on the assumption that nobody would believe my reading - not here anyway, not in this room.

Why is no-one else questioning this narrative? It is not just the matter of the infantilising invitation to occupy Sophie's position that I find troubling. Far more insidious than this, is what it implies. As I am invited to see myself through Sophie's eyes, I am simultaneously barred from occupying such a position.

I am the tiger.

This realisation hits like a ton of bricks. I am staggered by the violence it does to me, to the essence of how I and people like me are represented. This is what 'othering' looks like in practice. The process of othering places me in an invidious position. I feel out of place, because I am being forced to identify with a subjectivity that contradicts my personal views and other hybrid selves. I am simultaneously compelled to occupy the position of an insider (Sophie) and an outsider (the tiger).

Am I the "outsider within"?<sup>3</sup> I am unable to extricate myself from this situation by simply listening and observing with indifference. I would like to ignore it, to let it wash over me. Let

me be another animal, and not the tiger. Let this be water off a duck's back. Let it be. It is for the birds. Let me be an ostrich, my head in the sand; or even better, a gull, soaring aloft and carefree above tidal updrafts. Anything but the tiger, anything but this.

I want to let it go. I know that this would be a sensible response. But I am compelled to wrestle with this tension, to feel it as it pulls me apart in different directions. I can never be a complete insider, or outsider. Through my experiences, I am thrust into an ambivalent space that simultaneously puts me at odds with my sense of self, my cultural identities, and the public and professional persona that I have to don as a lecturer who is made to be a proponent of internationalisation. These are stark contrasts, fundamental contradictions. Yet, by tarrying in this space, I do not dismiss these generative tensions. I embody them in my encounters with internationalisation.

In the fluid space occupied by the contested term itself, I am positioned as both a fixed 'British' insider, as an employee of an institution of education. Simultaneously, I am constituted as an "Other", an outsider to the internationalisation discourse, and thus an object of its gaze. This is codified by my belonging to a country that is perceived as lacking the attributes of the Global North, attributes that are spoken of as a mythologising exercise, but do not reflect the reality they ascribe. My stripes betray me; I can be nothing but a tiger - a contradiction that offers a "fearful symmetry".<sup>iv</sup>

The contradiction also presents an ethical conundrum. The institutional expectation of me - what is required of me as an employee - is to embrace an 'internationalisation agenda'. This cannot avoid making me a proponent of its discourses, even and especially where they reproduce neocolonial relations of power. These discourses work systemically within the institution to essentialise, appropriate and distribute knowledge about the Other as a form of ongoing 'symbolic violence'.<sup>v</sup>

As an outsider, I am interpellated into joining those who have been forcibly homogenised and marginalised, those who are deemed deficient and uncivilised; the many tigers who prowl within the enclosures of our campuses. Those who pace the length of our classrooms, our libraries, our refectories and halls of residences, whether they perceive the bars or not. Their smiling and happy faces often adorn the websites of our colleges and our universities. We are

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<sup>iv</sup> Blake, W. (1794). *The Tyger*. London: Spoon Print Press

<sup>v</sup> Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

the tigers, and these images speak of our taming, our ‘domestication’ to Scotland’s educational and socio-political culture.

This multiple and contradictory position is an embodied recognition of “double consciousness” (Du Bois, 1879). In this lecture hall, I feel “two-ness, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings”<sup>4</sup> that I must embrace, or face the consequences. I am a Moroccan scholar, inherently the object of internationalisation. But now I am also positioned subjectively as requiring to act as a proponent of it.

The speaker has moved on, and is now exhorting the virtues of having international students within our campuses. She waxes lyrical about how wonderful it is to have a diverse student population on campus, how international students have brought with them different cultures and different ways of being. This is something to be celebrated. Diversity is wonderful, she says. It makes her feel proud of her institution, where she sees people from different countries wearing their traditional costumes and telling the home students about their cultures. She does not use the word exotic, but that is what is going through my mind. That was what I felt; that was the word I sensed her savour, without speaking it aloud. I was transported momentarily to a different world: a fixed, immovable feast, a ceremony that must be found.<sup>5</sup>

The speaker makes no reference to the narrow and cold economic rationale that drives internationalisation, where international students are treated as valuable commodities: ‘cash cows’, ‘dehumanised assets’, or worse, ‘brain drain’. These descriptors evaporate, remain hidden under the sheen and the gloss of how wonderful it is to see international students in our campus. There is no mention of the high costs these students must pay, not just financially but emotionally, socially and educationally, in order to exoticise the campus culture and aesthetic.

As the borders close in, it is difficult to disentangle the university’s multiplicity of meanings. It is seen as a public good, a place for learning, a place to experience teaching from world-class academic staff, as websites of many universities state. This is inseparable, however, from border and immigration control processes. Universities are caught in the web of “everyday bordering” and “the hostile environment”<sup>6</sup> (maybe the “compliant environment” softens the intention here). Unavoidably, the international student joins the Other in being included in dis(in)criminatory statistics. In their everyday lives, international students join the over-policed, monitored and “suspect” communities of the UK. Their immigration status is



routinely scrutinised in their contact with administrators and banks, hospitals, landlords and landladies, who are the new immigration officers.

The image of the tiger still occupies centre stage, while slide after slide rolls by on the screen. The message is clear, internationalisation is sanitised. Yet, I am still disturbed by the shallow, celebratory discourse of ‘the international student’. This stranger who is in our midst; who is embraced for her positive contributions to our communities.

“We welcome diversity, diversity benefits us all.” A slide announces this casually, a dictum not meant to be challenged. A rhetorical flourish. I exchange looks of amusement with Laura. Like two little schoolchildren, we are anxious not to be noticed by the lecturer.

I want to whisper to her, to ask if she thinks this lecturer understands that differences in culture, colour and nationality continue to have profound consequences. I want to ask her what she thinks it feels like, being a black African or Asian student, for example? Tormented by racist slurs, homogenised, discriminated against in the labour market, heavily monitored by immigration and bordering practices.<sup>7</sup> Has any part of the speaker considered the reality of these conditions?

The speaker continues with yet more talk about how wonderful it is to see international students on campus. She speaks on, safe in the confines of the lecture theatre, cocooned in the warmth generated by the valorisation of the international student. After all, this “unwanted guest” can help us reconfigure our curriculum; she will guide us to a more inclusive and educationally rich experience. For fear of appearing dismissive of these contradictory claims, I furtively glance at Laura again, trying to express my growing unease with this talk.

No references here are made of the ways in which policy, academic and media discourses “endlessly speak” international students into being.<sup>8</sup> The enduring power of the colonial discourse of the ‘West’ as producer of superior knowledge, rebranded as world-class, is elided. Instead, this discourse, through sophisticated advertising campaigns, speaks international students into imagined futurities in which they are promised that they will become cosmopolitan global citizens and experts. These are attributes that equate with being educated in the ‘West’. At the same time, it entrenches the view that international students are educationally and culturally inferior.

There is no mention of the ways in which academic discourses frame international students as deficient. Yet, one can detect a set of unspoken assumptions that periodically threaten to

erupt onto the surface and disturb the neat rendering of the understanding of internationalisation presented to us.

There is no mention of the ways in which international students are framed as “passive learners”, “unable to engage critically” with theories, or the idea that these students have led to a dilution of and in some cases abandonment of academic standards.<sup>9</sup> There are no references to how international students are vilified in the media, often portrayed as socially undesirable, posing a “foreign threat” and prone to use fraudulent documents to obtain a visa. Caught up in the web of the “hostile environment”, the international student becomes the very sign of the shadowy figure - a bogus student.

A silent rage now completely engulfs me. Critical, ethical, postcolonial and poststructuralist voices start to swirl inside my head as I sense the end of the speaker’s presentation. The rage begins to dissipate, theory rushes in to fill the gap. At last, I can escape this symbolic violence and the invidious situation I find myself in.

I am the object of the gaze of internationalisation discourses and practices, a cold and indifferent calculus that incessantly positions me as deficient; and at the same time, I am the valued other. Valued in terms of my status as a resource, both financially and educationally. Valued for my capacity to internationalise the campus, to bring a different perspective to classroom discussions; preferably to tell students of distant lands, ‘alien’ customs. Valued because I enchant and enthrall. I am exotic. At the same time, I am held at arm length.

I take one last look at that tiger. His eyes bore into me..... I am pulled apart. I am torn between the wanted and the unwanted, between being a member of the student community, being a temporary guest, and my ceaseless movement between these positions. I will return to the institution I work in, and I am expected to be a proponent of this. I am supposed to champion this reading, and never acknowledge my stripes. They are to remain occluded, in the forests of the night.<sup>vi</sup> No eye will frame them.

Briefly, I wonder if I should ask a question at the end of the lecture. I am apprehensive. If I remain silent, I acquiesce and capitulate to a set of discourses that mandate the erasure of my hybrid identity. If I don an institutional identity that conceives of the other as inferior and deficient, I betray that identity again. If I advocate and validate coercive ways of relating to

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<sup>vi</sup> Blake, W. (1794). *The Tyger*. London: Spoon Print Press

the Other - practices that seek to silence, exploit and deficit theorise the Other - does this change my position? If I object to this representation of the Other, by attempting to interrupt the many colonial and modernist assumptions that underpin the statements, tropes and enunciations of the speaker, will I be seen as speaking out of turn?

In a context that is marked by lack of democracy and dialogue and attacks on academic freedom, is it possible to offer alternative “truths” and resistance narratives to the managerial discourses of internationalisation? If I speak back to the construction of the international student as deficient, will I not evidence the view that, indeed, I *am* an example of the tiger: I turn up to a lecture and then disrupt a ‘civilised’ discussion about how one should internationalise (read: how to best be prepared for the influx of an uncivilised hoard).

I muster enough courage to ask a question about the ethics of internationalisation. I want to know what the speaker thinks in relation to the ethical and philosophical complexities involved in internationalisation. In specific terms, I want to open up a discussion about how otherness is conceived of and related to *within internationalisation*. The speaker does not really address the nub of the issue - the question of the deficit of theorisation of the Other that internationalisation, as a process, institutes. These issues are sidestepped. An ethical approach can be sustained, according to the speaker, by adopting an intercultural approach to teaching, and fostering diversity on the campus.

I remain unconvinced. A managerial discourse that is impervious to criticism and that operates largely through the mechanism of silencing cannot think the complexities of internationalisation - it cannot understand the language of tigers. It is this unproblematic embrace of internationalisation and the practices of othering which are opaque to those involved in these practices, in their roles as managers and administrators charged with promoting internationalisation. It is this complicity that my question was meant to explore and challenge. The opportunity is denied, and the discussion moves on.

Through what political manoeuvres can I make sense of this multiple and contradictory positioning? What hegemonic discourses of internationalisation created the necessary conditions for this lecture to appear? As I am leaving, Laura and I talk briefly about the lecture. Both of us are doctoral students writing on critical internationalisation, and we both feel that the lecture was in defence of an institutional definition of internationalisation. I wonder whether our opinions matter very much; I wonder what shape they would take at the bottom of a balance sheet.

I walk past the fluttering banners that adorn the main building of the campus on my way back to the bus. The tiger follows me home. Why does the international student lend herself so easily to the image of a tiger, in the imaginary of the people who attended the lecture? What does that ease betoken? In her 'othered' identity, do they see a diminished, even a denied humanity? An abject human animality?<sup>10</sup> Something exotic; something strange. Something to fear... and of course, potential profit. Always a profit. Perhaps this is an invitation to ethicality?

When I get home, I go to my youngest daughter's room, and find the book. The tiger looks back at me from the cover with the same smug satisfaction. I toss it in the bin before the girls get back from school.

## Rhizomatic conversations

<sup>1</sup>I am puzzled by this reference to friend and foe in the context of internationalisation.

Perhaps it provides a neat, if somehow simplistic, characterisation of internationalisation, or perhaps it is a way to signal that internationalisation is not all that benign. Schmitt posits the distinction between friend and enemy at the heart of his definition of the political. Although these are contingent and unstable categories as an enemy can become a friend and a friend can become an enemy, Schmitt defines the enemy as that which, through concrete actions, poses an immediate and existential threat to the community:

the friend and enemy concepts are to be understood in their concrete and existential sense, not as metaphors or symbols, not mixed and weakened by economic, moral, and other conceptions, least of all in a private-individualistic sense as a psychological expression of private emotions and tendencies. (1996, pp. 27–28)

What is interesting in this distinction here is that the enemy is the one who is perceived to be a threat, regardless of whether or not they actually pose a threat. In other words, the values by which a particular community understands itself and its worldview, create the interpretative frames by which others are classified as friends or enemies. As Rae (2016, p. 262) avers:

...the designation of the other's action is dependent on the perception of the political community, which is defined by the values it has chosen to define itself by. It is for this reason that the political is linked to the chosen spiritual values of the community.

<sup>2</sup> I wonder about the interpretative frames through which the international student is constructed as a “foreign threat”. It is troubling to see that what is being invoked here is the notion of community as threatened by an “unnamed other”. From my position, I feel this needs to be seen within a wider discourse in which ‘the community’ has been configured. Popular, media discourses and the rise of the far right, nationalist populism (Gamal & Swanson, 2017) and pro-Brexit ideologies, have mobilised a notion of the community as besieged by ‘threatening others’ as a purposeful double entendre – both as verb and noun. The other is perceived as threatening, but the threatening comes from the subjugator of the other being threatening. The victim and abuser become inverted. Within a British context, coursing through political and media discourses is a nostalgic mourning for the loss of community, tied very closely to a notion of Britishness (Gamal and Swanson, 2018; Swanson and Gamal, 2021). This nostalgia is expressed in the belief that what were once peaceful homogeneous communities, steeped in democratic and liberal values, now are threatened by cultural and ethnic diversity. Immigration, radicalisation and terrorism are seen as threats to

social cohesion, democracy (immigrants do not share our democratic values), and social solidarity (perceived abuse of the welfare system). Yet, what these discourses conceal is a broader desire for a homogeneous community. Such a desire is articulated through a xenophobic affective economy, a register that shifted from the far-right periphery to the centre of UK politics and is marked by its hostility to, what De Genova (2013) calls, “obscene others”: the refugee, the asylum seeker, the deportee and the ‘illegal’ immigrant. Whilst, as Young (1990, p. 300) argues, this desire for community is “an understandable dream, expressing a desire for selves that are transparent to one another, relationships of mutual identification, social closeness and comfort”, the concept of community in the way it is deployed here is inherently exclusionary and, indeed, even totalitarian. This completely upends our previous sense of safety, belonging, and communal ‘warmth’ associated with what can be referenced as a dangerous romanticism.

The work of Jean-Luc Nancy is crucial in understanding this violence. In *The Inoperative Community* (1991), Nancy offers a rethinking of the notion of community, one which avoids any recourse to communal ‘essences’, an essentialising “we”. Nancy sees the political community not as “a project of fusion” (Nancy, 1991, p.15), where individual identities are fused into one single being. Schwarzmantel (2007), writing on Nancy’s thought, asserts that “political community is something always sought after, rather than fully achieved” (p.462). Further, for Nancy, the nostalgic desire to regain and reconstitute a “lost community” that was “woven of tight, harmonious, and infrangible bonds and in which ...it played back to itself, through its institutions ...[and] rituals” (Nancy, 1991, p.9) is a form of totalitarianism that occludes the relational (being-in-common). In other words, Nancy shifts the question of community away from one invested in the notion of identity and belonging (being-in) to an idea of the community that ceaselessly works to produce more democratic, open and fluid relationships with others to foster a sense of "being with." (Nancy, 1991, p. 33). Thus, what is produced in such a reconstitution of the community, of what Nancy calls a "community without community" (Nancy, 1991, p. 71), is a network of relations, which is concerned not with what race, class, gender, sexuality, and/or culture community it is premised upon, but rather, it is a community that is concerned with the relations being formed across these categories. Community, in this vein, is no longer a fixed ‘essence’, but rather an active idea marked by a ceaseless resistance or refusal to collectively be conceived of in terms of identity and belonging. The notion of community being resisted is one that is distinguished by an appeal to singularising and unifying traditions, histories and myths.

<sup>3</sup> The issue of outsider-insider has been problematised within qualitative research (Acker, 2000; Kerr and Sturm, 2019), especially in anthropology and feminist qualitative research. Patricia Hill conceives of “the outsider within” (1986) as a way out of this duality. The key question this duality raises is the extent to which researchers can be considered insiders or outsiders. Insider status here suggests that the researcher belongs to the group s/he is researching and thus has a lot of insights into the group’s views and practices. Outsider status refers to a situation where the researcher is a stranger. This binary understanding of the researchers’ membership roles has been deemed simplistic. As Dwyer and Buckle (2009), note “to present these concepts in a dualistic manner is overly simplistic. It is restrictive to lock into a notion that emphasises either/or, one or the other, you are in or you are out” (p.60). Ted Aoki’s (1996) theorising of the hyphen in relation to his identity, as Japanese-Canadian curriculum theorist who has experienced prejudice in wartime and struggling to identify his own ‘place’ in Canada as a Japanese-Canadian, is instrumental here. Aoki dwells on the hyphen: the space between Japanese and Canadian. This, Aoki calls, is the “conjunctive space”. As Pinar (2005) notes,

To bridge East and West, Aoki moves away from a focus on the separate identities of the binary and into the spaces between them. As he puts it, he is “trying to undo the instrumental sense of ‘bridge’.” Such a nuanced sense of “bridge” is implied by the conjunction “and” in the binary. By focusing on the conjunctive space between “East and West,” and by understanding “and” as “both ‘and’ and ‘not-and’,” Aoki proposes a bridging space of “both conjunction and disjunction.” This is, Aoki explains, a space of tension, both “and/not-and,” a space “of conjoining and disrupting, indeed, a generative space of possibilities, a space wherein tensioned ambiguity newness emerges.” (p.9)

Aoki’s invocation of the hyphen as space to inhabit offers a way out of the duality of insider-outsider. In other words, this hyphen acts as a “third space, a space between, a space of paradox, ambiguity, and ambivalence, as well as conjunction and disjunction” (As Dwyer et al., 2009, p.60).

<sup>4</sup> My thoughts wander and move to the work of Gilroy and Du Bois. As Gilroy (1993) states, Du Bois used the concept of ‘double consciousness’ in order to convey the special difficulties arising from a black internalisation of an American identity. In the words of Du Bois, “one ever feels his twoness, —an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder” (Du Bois, 2004, p. 5). Further, as Gilroy argues, the concept of double consciousness “emerges from the unhappy symbiosis between three modes of thinking,

being, and seeing. The first is racially particularistic, the second nationalist in that it derives from the nation state in which the ex-slaves but not-yet-citizens find themselves, rather than from their aspiration towards a nation state of their own. The third is diasporic, hemispheric, sometime global and occasionally universalist” (1993, p. 127). I find this quotation deeply moving and resonates with my own experience. Originating from ‘another North’ (so-called North Africa), which is a South of a kind within the geopolitical sphere, according to ‘global rules-based order’, but not Southern or Northern enough, I now reside, work and live in the UK.

<sup>5</sup>I am confronted with a paradox, one that is embodied for me. I refer here, by way of contrast, to the work of Victor Segalen, namely *Essay on Exoticism* (1955/2002).

Commenting on Segalen’s work, Harootunian notes that Segalen conceives of exoticism as antidote to “the relentless banality wrought by the transformation of capitalism into mass-society imperialism and colonialism” (Harootunian, 2002, p. vii). Accordingly, Segalen has provided “a critique of conventional exoticism and an attempt to get beyond colonizing attitudes by positing a mechanism for appreciating difference and recognizing difference as an aesthetic value—for being capable...of ‘conceiving otherwise.’ (p.1). As Segalen (2002) states:

begin with the sensation of Exoticism, at once a solid and elusive ground. Brusquely remove all that is banal from this sensation—coconut trees, camels—and move on to its gorgeous flavor. Do not try to describe it but rather to suggest it to those who are capable of savoring it with rapture....

Then take up what follows... in a series of well-defined Essays. Few quotations. This is not literary criticism.

Then, little by little, extend the notion of Exoticism, like the notion of Bovaryism to include

—the other sex. Animals (but not madmen in whom we discover ourselves so well!);

—history. Past or Future. The frantic passing of the Petty Present;

—Everything. Universal Exoticism. The ability to conceive otherwise.

Contrast this with the flavor of Individualism. Turn it into a great moving force. A source of nourishment. A vision of beauty.” (p.15-16)

I also refer here to John Peale Bishop’s poem *Speaking of poetry* (as cited in Wynter, 1984, p. 19) for its capacity to invoke this notion of the exotic that was alluded to in the lecture on internationalisation:



The ceremony must be found  
that will wed Desdemona to the huge Moor...  
O, it is not enough  
that they should meet, naked, at dead of night  
in a small inn on a dark canal...

The ceremony must be found  
Traditional, with all its symbols  
ancient as the metaphors in dreams;  
strange, with never before heard music; continuous  
until the torches deaden at the bedroom door.

<sup>6</sup> As I contemplate borders, I think of borders as constituted within my being, my very body, but also the experiences of others that are bordered and bound(ed) by everyday occurrences of bordering minds and bodies and souls. ‘Everyday bordering’ names a concept that articulates the ways in which state bordering practices have stretched beyond territorial borders, to within societies themselves. Whilst the literature on the stretching of the bordering practice is large, I will limit my discussion here to the work of Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy (2017a, 2017b). Taking Britain as a case study, for Yuval-Davis et al., (2017a) the practices of:

de- and re-bordering processes involve the territorial displacement and relocation of borders and border controls that are, in principle, being carried out by anyone anywhere – government agencies, private companies and individual citizens.

Instituted within a legislative framework, especially The UK 2014 and 2016 Immigration Acts, these bordering practices have expanded to include criminalising “failures in border-guarding as well as unsanctioned border-crossing” (p.230). What is significant in this framing is that:

borderings are thereby conceptualised as practices that are situated and constituted in the specificity of political negotiations as well as the everyday life performance of them, being shifting and contested between individuals, groupings and states as well as in the constructions of individual subjectivities” (p. 230).

At the heart of this contestation is the question of belonging, identity and citizenship. As Yuval -Davis et al. (2017b) argue, the issue of belonging is fashioned within various political projects that delimit the boundaries between “the collective self and other” (p. 1049). Through an assemblage of bordering practices, these boundaries are maintained and legitimised. Ranging from macro-social and state policies to micro-practices and interactions, these bordering practices do not just have as their target those who are constituted as

“unwanted”, rather they also affect “social interactions involving immigrants, non-immigrant members of minority groups, and other members of society” (Slaven, 2021, p. 4).

Accordingly, a large section of society is involved in either experiencing or enacting these boundary markings. As Yuval-Davis et al. (2019, p. 17) note, everyday bordering practices create “untrained and unpaid border guards”. This means that everyday interaction is permeated with bordering practices. The domain of employment, housing, social services, for instance, are infused with bordering practices: status of workers, patients, people seeking to rent accommodation, are checked to ensure “compliance” with immigration rules, to name just a few.

<sup>7</sup> I find the nomenclature ‘international student’ problematic not just because it lumps these students together under one category, but also it strips them of their embodied experience. In other words, it de-race them. As Zewolde (2021) says, despite the racialised nature of higher education in the UK, racial discrimination rarely appears in the literature dealing with the experience of international students. As I have given voice to in both the narrative rendering and the literature review, the dominant perception of international student is that of a deficit. Accordingly, international students are said to be culturally deficient and this is evidenced by unsatisfactory language competence which hinders their academic achievement. However, as Madriaga and McCaig (2022) argue, this perception of “international students, particularly those who are racialised as people of colour, is linked to how whiteness is performed and reproduced in English higher education” (p.84).

Understood as a social construct that “excludes to include, dividing ‘us’ from ‘them’”, Whiteness is a “marker of ethnic differentiation based on white supremacy, derived from a specific historical circumstance – English colonialism of North America in the 1600s” (p. 85). Further, Whiteness, as Gillborn (2005) reminds us, is performative, as it structures daily lives, especially in educational settings. That is to say, Whiteness is privileged in and reproduced in educational settings. Within the context of the UK, Madriaga and McCaig (2022) argue that Whiteness is assumed to be the norm and this is evidenced by the fact that the experience of black international students is “discounted in key performance indicators of racial inequalities such as access into universities and achievement outcomes” (p. 84), despite these students identify themselves with the crude category of BAME. Since only UK-domiciled, ‘home’ students are included in the official achievement gap data, the issue of race inequality and the racism faced by international students is not acknowledged specifically. Against this background, Zewolde (2021, p. 4) calls for foregrounding ‘race’ and racism in

the research on internationalisation, as this will not only “show that racism and Othering pervade all aspects of black international students’ lived experiences,” but also lead to problematise the dominant celebratory notion of internationalisation (as with ‘multiculturalism’) and its claims to value diversity.

<sup>8</sup>The link between education and colonialism has always been something that I have thought about, given my background. Being schooled in Morocco, it became a matter of common sense to equate education with the knowledge from the ‘West’. When I started my doctoral studies, students led campaigns such as *Rhodes Must Fall* in South Africa and *Decolonising our minds* (SOAS) and *Why is my curriculum white?* (UCL) have joined conversations and academic debates about the colonial relations of power which continue to structure the world. I see my work as contributing to this discussion. Hayes (2019) provides a discussion of the coloniality of education. Although largely conducted in relation to the role of the Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF) in England (not present in Scotland) in creating conditions for the exclusion and marginalisation of international students. Hayes articulates the ways in which imperial and colonial assumptions structure governmental policy discourse and, consequently, it positions international students as “inferiors”. Further, as Koehne (2006) demonstrates, academic and media discourse have the power to “speak students” into being. Building on poststructuralist theorisation of identity, Koehne attended to the ways in which discourse structures identity as well allowing us to negotiate, resist and transform these identities. What is immediately relevant to my argument here is the power of discourse to construct certain identities. In particular, the notion of discourses as ‘speaking subjects into being’, is particularly concerning. Koehne draws on Hall’s notion of “endlessly speaking” to discuss the ways in which the “West” is inviting and seducing international students to see that valuable knowledge only exist in the “West”. Hall asserts:

where Africa was a case of the unspoken, Europe was a case of that which is endlessly speaking - and endlessly speaking us . . . [a speaking] about exclusion, imposition and expropriation...(Hall, 1990, p.233)

In the context of internationalisation discourse, as Koehne relates to us, colonial discourses are “endlessly speaking us” and “endlessly speaking to us”. In relation to the USA, UK and Australian education systems, “colonial discourses are ‘endlessly speaking’ to international students as the systems with status, power and valuable knowledge, especially English language competence” (Koehne, 2006, p.244). Concomitantly, the ways in which these discourses are “endlessly speaking us” in relation to international students, “would then be as

those in need of this valuable knowledge” (Koehne, 2006, p.244). In addition to the colonial discourses that “speak students into being” (Koehne, 2006, p.242), Koehne notes the effect of other powerful discourses, such as academic and media discourses. International students have been positioned in academic discourses “as people who need to have ‘deficiencies’ corrected, people who need pastoral care, ‘Confucian culture passive rote learners’” (Koehne, 2006, p.245). Further, Koehne argues that these discourses are taken up by others who speak to and speak international students. She draws attention to the pervasive representation of international students in the media such as “‘brainy Asians’, and... prone to ‘cheat’, even ... possible criminals” (Koehne, 2006, p.246). Similarly, as Anderson (2020) informs us, news media in Canada (but it is prevalent in other state jurisdictions too) frames international students as a “foreigner threat”. Accordingly, the international student is constituted as “impinging upon or threatening ‘local’ Canadian citizens (and students) and their social, cultural, educational, and economic rights and livelihoods” (p. 64).

Another trope that dominates the reporting on international students in the media is the question of legitimacy. As Anderson points out, this has been connected with the “pejorative framing of international students as academically and linguistically undeserving participants in Canadian PSIs [postsecondary school system], linked closely to the positioning of foreign “others” as threats to Canadian ways, systems, and citizens.” (2020, p. 68). That is to say, international students are considered to be “less qualified than domestic students, stole spots from (more deserving) Canadian student applicants, had rudimentary language skills, and had “bought” their enrolments due to their ability to pay high tuition fees” (p. 68). While this research refers to the Canadian context, it could be speaking just as much to the UK, and other ‘Northern’/ ‘Western’, or considered sufficiently ‘Northern’ / ‘Western’, international higher education contexts internationally. Caught in contradictory and injurious context, as a former international student, I feel valued and demonised at the same time.

<sup>9</sup>I often hear in Diversity and Equality workshops held at my institution that lecturers are frustrated with the great amount of language support and study skills they need to provide to international students. I always maintain that we should consider what these students have: linguistic abilities and a range of cultural backgrounds. But I think the dominant framing is that these students are deficient. Devos (2003) has explored the ways in which international students have been represented in the discourses of academic standards in Australian higher education. This debate was prompted by the publication of the findings of the think tank, Australia Institute. The report explored social science academics’ perceptions of the impact

of the commercialisation of higher education in Australia on academic freedom. One of the findings stated that “the emphasis on fee-based courses, in particular for domestic and international students, was thought to undermine teaching standards” (Australia Institute, 2001, p. 38, as cited in Devos, 2003, p. 155). The report also stated “that ‘approximately’ 5% of respondents mentioned that they had experienced pressures to admit and to pass full fee-paying students” (Devos, 2003, p.155). Referred to as “soft marking”, this was taken up in public debate to name situations where students who do not meet the criteria have been awarded a pass. Drawing on Foucault, Devos underscored the ways in which the media uncritically link international students to declining academic standards. Further, in constituting the international student through a nexus of power and knowledge, Devos argues that this is an example of the Western “will to power” over others, which is a key characteristic of colonialism. That is to say, the international student is constructed as the inferior other, which is simultaneously needed for the construction of the Australian academic. As Devos (2003, p. 165) notes:

In contrast to the corrupting international student, the Australian academic was constituted as the victim through his or her role as guardian of academic standards. The discourse of othering is actively at work here with “the other”—the international student—rendered inferior to the “not-other”—the Australian academic.

<sup>10</sup> The notion of denied humanity has figured in colonial discourse as a key technology that has undergirded the classification and the enslavement of people considered “savage”, “inferior” and less than human. To illustrate this casting the “human” and the “animal” as polar opposites, where “human humanizes himself of his animality” (Jackson, 2013, p. 674), I quote Mbembe (2001) at length here, for his insightful description of this discourse of “animality” in the context of how Africa and the African are spoken about:

First, the African human experience constantly appears in the discourse of our times as an experience that can only be understood through a *negative interpretation*. Africa is never seen as possessing things and attributes properly part of “human nature.” Or, when it is, its things and attributes are generally of lesser value, little importance, and poor quality. It is this elementariness and primitiveness that makes Africa the world par excellence of all that is incomplete, mutilated, and unfinished, its history reduced to a series of setbacks of nature in its quest for humankind.

At another level, discourse on Africa is almost always deployed in the framework (or on the fringes) of a meta-text about the *animal*—to be exact, about the *beast*: its experience, its world, and its spectacle....” (p.1, emphasis in original).

“Although the African possesses a self-referring structure that makes him or her close to “being human,” he or she belongs, up to a point, to a world we cannot penetrate. At bottom, he/she is familiar to us. We can give an account of him/her in the same way we can understand the psychic life of the *beast*. We can even, through a process of domestication and training, bring the African to where he or she can enjoy a fully human life. In this perspective, Africa is essentially, for us, an object of experimentation” (p.2, emphasis in original).

Whilst, Mbembe’s insights highlight the hierarchisation of humanity, which is at the heart of coloniality of power and being (Quijano, 2000, Maldonado-Torres, 2007), it nevertheless operates with a duality: human/animal. In *Becoming Human: Matter and Meaning in an Antiblack World*, Jackson (2021) provides a relational account of humanity and animality. As she argues, “too often, our conception of antiblackness is defined by the spectre of ‘denied humanity,’ ‘dehumanization,’ or ‘exclusion,’” (p.46).

Building on Saidiya Hartman’s *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (1997), especially the view that “the process of making the slave relied on the abjection and criminalization of the enslaved’s humanity rather than merely on the denial of it” (Jackson, 2021, p. 64), Jackson argues that that “humanization is not an antidote to slavery’s violence; rather, slavery is a technology for producing a *kind* of human” (p.64). That is to say:

animalization and humanization of the slave’s personhood are not mutually exclusive but mutually constitutive. In other words, the slave’s humanity (the heart, the mind, the soul, and the body) is not denied or excluded but manipulated and prefigured as animal whereby black(ened) humanity is understood, paradigmatically, as a state of abject *human* animality. (Jackson, 2021, p. 64, emphasis in original.)

In my understanding, the inferiorisation of the international student does not result in denying this category the attributes of humanity. Rather, it highlights the ways in which the category of international student is malleable and figures in a different, and in some cases contradictory, manner in the representational grammar of policy, academic and popular discourses. As I watch the presentation on internationalisation, I can see the ‘tiger’, not just as deficient but capable of being corrected; not as threat but amenable to being tamed, but as a haunting figure - the supplement that must forever remain locked in the polyvocality of becoming. An empty signifier waiting to be filled.

## Taking a bullet

It is late May in 2018, and the staff workroom is abuzz with activity. The second semester is coming to a close, and all of the students and lecturers have left their marking, their admin or their entire sense of what is happening to the last minute. Everyone is scrambling to dot the final 'I' and cross the final 'T' before the external moderator deadline arrives. Harried, frenzied lecturers clutch bulging paper files; they pace back and forth as if hunting big game, trying to track down the correct pigeonhole or envelope.

The open-plan office is an ant-heap. Students come and go, flipping their emo fringes and rushing through excuses. Many assignments have been eaten by a variety of dogs. The overheated old photocopier in the corner coughs and wheezes its last, to the agonised groans of a flock of creative writing students who are huddled around it like feeding birds. The air is punctuated with the staccato clicks and clacks of staple guns and the shriek of wooden chair legs as they grind against linoleum floor tiles.

This kind of administrative chaos is the product of exhaustion, burnout and frustration, and only the summer break can offer momentary relief from it. Through the chaos, a sense of hope is palpable in the air. This is the last hurdle, and we are all collectively racing, inching towards an illusionary finish line. The finish line is more real for the students than for the lecturers. Once their papers are handed in, and the bell rings, they are free - at least for a while, or at least until their qualifications spit them out into whatever field they have trained for. We lecturers are bound for a different fate.

We can see the finish line, or so we think, but then a slew of emails invades our screens. If you listen, you can hear the keyboard taps, the mouse clicks, and then all together, a simultaneous sigh. Reminders, mandatory training, register for this, sign up for that. These emails, a daily stream that seems to gather force into a torrent at the end of each term, ratchet up the tension in the room. These emails are the sharp edge of the internal contradictions which are pulling us apart. They are the *logos* and sigil, the talisman, of the intolerable expectations placed on us as educators. They ask us - in their collective, invidious questioning - to see this thriving human culture as a set of statistics. The end product of this glorious end of term riot is a spreadsheet, a graph, a tally.

Which agenda to serve? Widening participation? Yes, but look at your PIs, drill down. The spreadsheet is laid in front of you, the red colour bleeds into all of its cells and columns until

the green colour is squeezed out of the frame. Your performance is poor. You have not managed to retain your students. Named, shamed and framed on a podium of performance<sup>1</sup> you descend, head bowed. “Will I keep my job?” you ask yourself as you walk away; as you work on yourself in order to exorcise this shame. And so, when another Agenda comes along, of course you jump at the opportunity to be involved. Perhaps this is a chance to demonstrate that you have improved:

*Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will*

*To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.*<sup>2</sup>

‘We must internationalise our college.’ This is the new mantra. Armed with a camera from the communications department, we must scour the college for brown and black students. A member of staff will photograph these students. Corridors will be adorned by their outsized pictures. College brochures will now include images of black and brown students in various departments and settings. Once the stage is set, we will obtain some flags. Cheap replica flags, made of nylon and polyester, that will represent not just the diversity of the people we teach, but the notion that they come from bordered lands - places far beyond these halls.

I close the computer, shut my eyes, and listen to the noise instead. Despite all these pressures, despite my groaning, screaming inbox, I will try to allow myself to enjoy the last few days of term. I cannot deny that it is a rewarding time. As a lecturer, I see the progress my students make. After two semesters of hard work, they have developed in their thinking, they have learned new critical and analytical skills. I allow myself to feel some joy and excitement at the thought that I was able to contribute to their personal and professional development.

There is also pride, to see that the vast majority of these students have the power to overcome trying circumstances. I have come to admire them for their ability to combine attending college with working a night shift in the local supermarket, or delivering packages for Amazon. I feel proud that I ‘helped’ these students to acquire an international mindset, to develop an understanding of people from a different nationality and cultural heritage.

I spent a great deal of time during the two semesters introducing my students to different cultures, different ways and modes of being. I talked to them about inequality, injustice and oppression. I have tried to have complicated conversations<sup>3</sup> with them; to get them to think of what we are doing in class as wrestling with all of the historical, political and ethical



implications of how we define ourselves, how we are defined, and how others are defined by us.

I am thinking about this ‘progress’, and allowing myself to accept some small measure of satisfaction - it even lets me enjoy the cacophony of noise, people, and machines in the stuffy, overcrowded room. Emma,<sup>i</sup> a fellow lecturer, approaches me. She wants to show me a piece of work from one of her students. She asks if we can go somewhere a bit quieter, so we walk a short distance to an unused classroom. It is large, but often unoccupied - a place I come for a bit of peace and quiet, or to think. I often eat lunch here, or do some marking, safe in the knowledge that it is rarely booked out at certain times of the day.

Emma hands me a student’s script. “This is a piece of creative writing submitted by Billy,” Emma says. “I asked the students to write a monologue from three points of view. You know, we’re trying to implement the new strategy, I mean the international strategy which the principal circulated the other day? The one about making sure that what we teach has an international flavour.”<sup>4</sup> She frowns a little. “I asked the student to write about an international issue. I think that some of the submissions were OK, I mean they were fine... but the one that stood out for me was this one. Have a look at it and tell me what you think?”

The title of the essay is ‘Taking a bullet’. I am a little taken aback by this. Many creative writing students tend to write to express emotions, and a lot of the student submissions I have read in the past for this class were about traumas, bereavement, or betrayals. Many students write about the births of their sons and daughters. But very rarely is their writing about any subject that is not to do with their background, their experiences, or their immediate environment. I wondered where the author of ‘Taking a bullet’ was headed, and began to read.

*Lying in the searing heat somewhere in the badlands of Afghanistan, sweat trickling down my forehead, feeling the heat burning my neck. When will this rag tag mob of terrorists called the Taliban come past so that I can take this cat out. Waiting for this so called freedom fighter to come past looking down my binoculars trained on the dirt road looking for a red moped.*

*Intelligence has told us that he drives this road all the time. Also the intelligence gathers know he is personally responsible for maiming many of my comrades with his IEDs. Looking down the sight of my rifle, scanning the landscape for this stone cold killer, with his radical beliefs on how the world should operate. Not on my watch Sherlock. This cat*

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<sup>i</sup> All names used in this narrative are pseudonyms.

*will kill no more. I hear a mechanical noise in the distance, seeing a rag head about 100 metre away. Cocking the hammer, adjust my sight taking in the wind direction and the moving target, three deep breaths tuning into my muscle memory...*

*Allah the potholes on this dirt track are doing my piles no justice. When will Abdullah the tribal leader in this region fix this track? Saying that, I have put more holes in this road in the name of Allah with my bag of tricks since the Infidel come to the motherland. I am doing my part in this holy war, they will never catch me. And if they do I will be rewarded in heaven. I have been good Muslim. How have I come off my bike? What is this blood? Blood? Shit where are my virgins?*

*Primed ready to go, I am the last thing my target will feel. These suckers think that they get rewarded in heaven. Let me tell you, once I have penetrated you, the only reward you get is you don't live in a shit hole no more. Oops he's fired, I am going quicker than the speed of sound. There he is. On his moped. Going a body shot.. Good shout ma man bigger target to hit. Screaming through the air aiming straight for the heart. 50 metres, 30 metres, 30 metres, 15 meters..."*

At the bottom of the page, the lecturer wrote, in a green pen, the following comments

*This is a very good attempt, Billy. You have evidenced a clear understanding of the monologue format. The genre is evident, the points of view clearly established and characterisation is believable.*

I can see that Emma liked the monologue. She sees it as evidence of good teaching; of the students progressing and mastering the literary techniques she has taught them in her 'Introduction to literature' class.

"This is brilliant, isn't it?" she asks, eagerly anticipating my response. "Look at the transition between the points of view, aren't they smooth? They really convey a sense of continuity in the narrative."

I cannot bring myself to tell her that this is evidence of a student's progress. To agree, to countersign her reading, would be the easiest thing to do, professionally speaking. But I cannot separate myself from the content, and praise the technique - not here, not with this. I am still reeling from a racist and xenophobic incident I encountered in one of my classes a few days ago. My reaction to the essay should be to further dialogue, to open discussion - but my tongue locks up, and I am silent once more.

I cannot tell her that all this essay is evidence of is that we as individuals, as members of a professional community and an academic institution, are happy to reinscribe stereotypes and essentialist assumptions about the Other. That we are happy to let them pass, not just without

comment, but with praise. I cannot tell her this, because I have not told anyone about the racist incident I witnessed.

I taught an 'Introduction to social psychology' unit to an 'Entry to further education' cohort earlier in the year. The 'Entry' students are mainly made up of those who decided to return to education after a break. Some have left school without any qualifications, others may have had disrupted schooling, or never finished for one reason or another. This is often one of my favourite courses to teach. In the past, I have always found that students engage with the course material, and tend to contribute to class discussions. They draw upon their lived experience, their contributions are always meaningful and insightful.

Over time, teaching this course became a way for me to disrupt educational practices which sustain social injustice. As I saw it, teaching this cohort of 'marginalised' students was an opportunity to learn together about issues to do with degrees of belonging, (non)membership, and the multiple identities that are experienced in a world beset with crises; from forced migration to ecological degradation, threats to democracy, issues of gender inequality and violence, and increasing global inequality. Unlike other units whose content is specified by the Scottish Qualification Authority, the 'Introduction to social psychology' unit is a college-designed unit - this means that the lecturer can decide on the learning outcomes. I had decided, that year, to structure the unit around the issue of contact and conflict. What happens when people from different backgrounds find themselves together? Can people from different cultural backgrounds share a space in a non-conflictual way? These were some of the questions that I wanted my students to think about.

On the first day of the course, as I was opening up these issues for discussion, I heard a student mutter under her breath: "I hate the Arabs."

I kept reading from my notes, but I was taken aback, and did not know how to respond. My gaze did not waver, I do not think. I looked at the student and met her eyes. I was not sure whether I was projecting, or was the recipient, of a hurtful look. For a moment my voice shook, and I coughed to cover it. Time seemed to slow down to a crawl.

I was trying to find a way out of this situation. I was at loss. How could someone say such a thing? This student knows that I am Arab. I hesitated for a few seconds, in order to muster enough courage and regain my composure, but also to disguise my fury. I have to handle this

situation ‘professionally’ and use this as an opportunity to engage critically with this student, even if ultimately to correct her assertion.

“Why do you feel this way?”, I asked, in a manner carefully calculated to not embarrass her, despite the fact that I was seething with anger and hurt.

“Because they wear a towel on their head,” she said simply. A roar of laughter accompanied this answer.

I knew that we had entered very dangerous territory. This is not what I had expected to hear. I was caught off guard. If I handled the next moment the wrong way, I would lose all credibility with the students. How could I teach a course on contact and conflict if the students could not take me seriously? How could I teach this group when my presence in the classroom was being challenged, and when I was deliberately being made to feel out of place?

“Doesn’t it matter to you that I am an Arab?” I knew that I had to regain control of the class, and that I would not win the struggle through direct confrontation.

“Yes, but you’re alright,” she said. The majority of the students in the class nodded their approval. I was “alright” - the students considered me one of them. I was still from the desert of the intolerable - still a ‘raghead’, still an Arab. But I was like them, or enough like them, to be tolerated. The exception that proves the rule. The good immigrant - one who had adapted, changed, become like them. Not enough to be considered equal, perhaps. But enough to be kept at the table, useful for certain purposes. An Arab, yes - but one of the ‘alright’ ones. De-towelled.<sup>5</sup>

I do not tell Emma about this incident. Perhaps, if I had told her, she would have come to see the student’s use of ‘raghead’ in a different light. She would have probably realised the ways in which the adjective ‘raghead’ harbours, maintains and entrenches rampant Islamophobia. Perhaps her comment to the student should have alerted her to the fact that Islamophobia has become normalised and accepted in educational institutions. Or perhaps she too would be unable to see, even if shown, the way in which the presence of that adjective within the narrative completely dominated the rest of the material. Perhaps she too would miss that the student’s admirable adoption of the techniques and approaches she had taught had come with this component, pre-installed - the notion that it is unimportant what you call the ‘other’ as long as it is not the same as ‘self’.

A tattered nylon flag flutters silently on a pole at the entrance to the college. The flags are rotated each week, a different flag announcing and reinforcing the college's commitment to internationalisation. The grinning photos of brown and black students provide an honour guard, a processional corridor through which students and staff, perhaps indifferently, walk each morning. The presence of international academic staff in the college reinforces the college's commitment to internationalisation, as declared in its strategy. Yet amidst all this flattery, even the glossy portraits begin to look shabby and fake, like the cheap flags.

A rampant Islamophobia, conflated with Arabophobia, jostles with internationalisation wherever it is attempted, or is in evidence. Internationalisation here is conceived as the silver bullet, the panacea to all these ills. After all, internationalisation at home is meant to develop, in our students, the capacity to understand the other - as well as inculcating world-mindedness. Knowing the other can, it is proclaimed, help reduce prejudice. This knowing will translate the opacity of the other into a clear statement which precludes the density, the stubbornness of untranslatable specificities, and divest the other of its strangeness.<sup>6</sup> At another level, internationalisation - in the context of real-life, grounded encounters with the Other - oscillates between welcome and hostility to difference. As I inhabit these spaces, my task as a lecturer is to equip my students with 'competencies' to navigate and engage difference. At the same time, I need to be attuned to, and cope with, the unpredictable inconsistencies in experiences of (and responses to) difference itself. How do I explain this to Emma?

I hesitate for a while. I pretend that I am re-reading parts of the student's script. I am trying to buy some time, so that I can prepare a response that subtly indicates to Emma that she has become a participant in a space that has the potential to generate ethical connections with the Other. I want her to see that the point is not to challenge the student for their ignorance, but to open up and facilitate a space for their learning. That by praising the student, and glossing over 'raghead', she has missed that opportunity, has failed to open that space. How can I translate this into an invitation? How do I ask her to commit to the unpredictable interdependence of ethical relationality without it seeming like a command or injunction? As a participant in an internationalisation drive, I wanted Emma to realise, articulate and explore the surprises and the tensions, the contradictions and the messy implications that moments like this entail.

I want to tell Emma that I have read the student's script "contrapuntally".<sup>7</sup> That this 'raghead', in its construction as a set of tropes, images, symbols and metonymies, is the receptacle for her students' (and readers') fears and prejudices. I want to tell her that what made these statements, images and ideas possible was not the imagination of that student, or the creative talent involved in thinking up ideas. What made this statement possible was our hostility to difference. The 'raghead' here is no longer just the Taliban figure. Rather it stands for a diffuse "threatening otherness": the oriental, the degenerate; barbaric, backward and sexually licentious. I want to tell Emma all of this but I cannot.

I linger for a moment, I look again at the comments on the script. "*Characterisation is believable...*" Believable to whom, I wonder? I keep thinking about my embodied space, my encounters, the projections and the denial, the silences and the elisions. I fail to see the plausibility of the character of the 'raghead' beyond his similarity to racist television and movie tropes. To me, all plausibility grinds to a halt when the ontological constitution of the 'raghead' is read alongside the historical conditions which shaped his narrative. I wonder if Emma realises that, by letting this essay pass without comment, she assures her implication in the lives of the distant others who are violently summoned up within the nomenclature of the 'raghead'.

Despite all of these misgivings, I do not doubt Emma's intentions. She believes that by being engaged in 'internationalisation of the curriculum' she is attempting to bring an international dimension to the college, and to her students. I actually admire her for her understanding of 'being-in-the-world'. She has tried to affect a shift in her students' understanding of their place in the world too. But at what expense? How has the other figured in her student's work? How she engaged with the other in her students' being?

Her comments on this piece of writing show that the experience of being with the Other is less than benign.<sup>8</sup> Her student's text, along with her comments, open a space that is not blank (Stronach, 2002), but already over-written by hostility to alterity. Her comments and the student's text both mobilise meanings, and signifying practices, which over-determine marginalised histories and experiences.

And yet, I can hear the Other's voice in internationalisation policy and practice, that which has been violently summoned in internationalisation discourse. I hear its strained, stuttering voice, pleading: "All I wanted... I wanted to come lithe and young into a world that was ours and to help to build it together" (Fanon, 1986, p. 112).<sup>9</sup>

I look at Emma, worried in case my facial expression betrays my anger. With great difficulty, I nod, as if to signal that I agree with her comments, and that this is indeed a good attempt at writing a monologue.

“This has definitely dealt with an issue, the issue of terrorism,” I say, trying to cling on to something positive. I muster my courage. “I think the student should be given credit for his understanding of the genre.”

I can see that she is pleased that I have validated her views on the monologue. In my mind’s eye I see the ‘raghead’ perched atop his spluttering moped. I feel the crosshairs, as if on the back of my own neck. I consider what else I could say to Emma, but I stop there. I take the bullet.

To be seen to internationalise our curricula, what must we disregard, what must we push to the margin? What are the costs of adhering to the internationalisation mantra within our college? What happened to our ability, as lecturers, to collectively engage our students in a critical reflection on the power of certain public discourses to name, frame and limit the ways in which the other can be thought of and related to? As our identities and subjectivities are being refashioned in the newly internationalised college, do we speak from a position of marginality?

Paradoxically, we do not. We still have the epistemic power to name or to refuse to name. The ‘raghead’ and the ‘badlands’ are recognised as metonyms for all that is alien, strange and threatening, and they are now to be maintained, extended and entrenched. They are both named and denied the ability to signify. In being named, they stand as reminders of the ritual of degradation that is played out in their assumed neutrality and innocence. Named as that which is already defined and signified in ‘our’ literature, our screens, in media, in news reports and in our classroom. Yet, denied the ability to signify otherwise: to refuse to be contained within the colonial fantasy. It becomes instead just the subtext for creative writing, for the monologue this student wrote.

I wonder why Emma did not comment on the ‘raghead’, the ‘badlands’, when showing this to me. Is this a way to test me, to see how I react? I do not think so. Emma would not do such a thing. I have known her for a long time, and I do value her and respect her as a colleague. This is why I feel such a powerful need to question her silence - because on some level, her silence surprises me.

Why can't our conversation consider that these two words are heavily inflected with a racist, colonialist xenophobia? Is it the case that, at least in the context of teaching, we should consider all creative writing to be 'neutral'? Is what we write about, narrate and construct less important than the techniques we use? Should pedagogy, within the context of internationalisation, be a de-historicised and apolitical practice of knowledge and skills transmission? Why can't what we write about, what we teach our students, be an ethical stance shaped by an obligation to and accountability to the Other? Does internationalisation of the curriculum become a site where the Other is presented to us as irredeemably flawed?

I do not say any of this to Emma, although all of it is on my mind. I simply look for the easiest and fastest way out of the uncomfortable situation. On some level, I know that when I look back, I will regret my silence. I know I should voice my concerns, but it seems futile. In my head, I can hear Emma argue that the story is fictional, and that what really matters, in the context of the class, is that the student is able to write in response to a brief.

Ever since this (non-)confrontation with my colleague Emma, I have become painfully aware of the ways in which the take up of internationalisation in my institution works against the avowed aim of educating global citizens. Instead of fostering a world-mindedness, it actually works to reinforce stereotypes about the Other. But I am hopeful that I can contribute to debunking some of these myths by giving my students the opportunity to undertake work that will bring them in contact with students from different parts of the world.

Shaken by the racist and xenophobic incident I encountered in my teaching, I wanted to explore the ways in which a British Council's project called 'Connecting Classrooms' could help my students develop intercultural skills. The project consisted of pairing classrooms from the Global South with classrooms from the Global North. I got involved, and chose an Iraqi school as a partner. I see this project as a valuable opportunity to enable my students to develop an international perspective, especially given the fact that some of my students do not know much about other cultures. To my mind, the xenophobic tendencies (both overt and subtle) which I encounter in my students are due to their lack of knowledge of the Other. Perhaps it is the fact that their knowledge of the Other is based on erroneous representation. The question, therefore, becomes merely epistemological - not about a particular orientation in the world.

I wanted to give my students the opportunity to question their modes of knowing about the Other, and construct a knowledge of the Other which draws on a different set of discourses. I



envisaged that in doing so, the Other would no longer be seen as backward, degenerate and ‘uncivilised’. I also wanted my students to see the ways in which they are implicated in constructing and validating the notion of the Other as a problem to be confined, policed, disciplined; and in some cases, to be the subject of a military-industrial complex set of practices.

I called the project ‘Growing up in Scotland and Iraq’. The aim of this project is to encourage young people from both countries to reflect on their experience of growing up in their respective countries, and consider the historical, social, political and cultural forces which have shaped both their sense of self and their understanding of the Other. At the end of the project, students from both countries will produce a short film reflecting on their experience and understanding of the Other.

The project has already generated a lot of documents and emails. I was particularly struck by an exchange which happened early on. Potentially, it could have stopped the project in its entirety. I struggled with it, and I did actually question the whole purpose of the undertaking. What was I thinking when I set out to “force” my students to become global citizens? I reproduce this exchange below, which consists of two letters - the first one is from the Iraqi students, the second one is the Scottish students’ response.

## Letter from Iraq

*We are group of students from Baghdad the capital of Iraq. We are in second stage of intermediate education, In Iraq We have three stages of educations (primary ,intermediate , secondary )then move to the university. we are five students from (Name of school deleted) Intermediate school for boys only . Our names are (Names deleted)*

*Our age between 13 -15 years old . When Mrs. (name deleted) our teacher in English*

*language ordered us to write one page out our information about Scotland we discuss together and we write all our ideas about it.*



*First of all we know it belong to united kingdom ( U.K ) . It is very big and most of it's land green covered with grass .*

*It is famous in agriculture . we like too much its uniform ( skirt with hat ....ect ) and the shiny colors as well as the dancing . we think it is very nice . most of its students work as farmers and in breeding sheep, fishing . so the popular food is meat . one day one from us saw a very interesting film of Scotland but he couldn't remember its title , but he said one of the historical famous leaders was William Wallas but in really we don't sure . this leader is the first who called to liberation of Scotland . Its weather is very cold in winter with much of rain sometimes a compound with snow .*

*But in Summer the weather very nice and we thing it is the best season at all . the education in it very interesting without homework everything done in school .when the students go back home have free time to do anything they like*

*That's all we have we hope you enjoyment with us*

*Write soon*

*Thanks alot*

## Letter from Scotland

*Dear Iraq's*

*Thank you for your letter we thought it was very kind of you to take the time to talk to us.*

*In your letter you described Scottish people as working in farms and fishing .However some people in Scotland do work as farmers and fisherman and the rest get quite common jobs such as mechanics or in finance.*

*In your letter you also mentioned skirts these are actually called kilts and are only worn in traditional dances and weddings.*



*This picture was taken at the Edinburgh military tattoo, held every year at the end of the infamous Edinburgh festival an event were explosions are fun.*

*We have an invention over here called electricity have you heard of it?*

*Is there a bright side of war, like not having to go to school?*

*Have you been personally effected by the ongoing situation in Iraq? (sorry to hear about that by the way...) If so how?*

*Yours faithfully*

*(Names deleted)*

*Ps. get well soon*

I did not anticipate this response from my students, and I was at loss about what to do. An exercise initially designed to reduce prejudice and stereotypes has actually reinforced and entrenched these prejudices. Learning about the other did not, as I intended, provide my students with the opportunity to understand the other.

Maybe I should have prepared my students for this encounter. Perhaps I should have provided my students with the opportunity to reflect on their assumptions about the Iraqi population. In images and assumptions gleaned from the media, especially news reports and cinematic dramatisations of the invasion of Iraq by America and its allies, the Iraqi people were collectivised as a menacing “they”. Cast against a background of sand, a barren land devoid of institutions and organised life, the Iraqis were framed in an orientalist discourse as illiterate, violent and backward. The need to tame them, civilise them, to bring them into the fold, becomes urgent. The saviours were already at hand. The Arabs are still “[...] brave and brutal primitives, noble savages badly in need of Western guidance and tutelage”, as T.E. Lawrence declared.

What does it mean to internationalise the curriculum in this context? Can the Iraqis be abstracted out of the cultural, historical and political backgrounds that have and continue to structure these encounters? As I mulled over this question, turning it in my head, tormented by it, I felt like giving up the project altogether. Maybe pick another topic. Maybe a topic closer to home; maybe a safe topic that will allow me to show that my teaching aligns with the college strategy. Perhaps I should have chosen a topic that inspired pity in my students to help others. A topic where the Other is silenced, a victim. Someone who does not talk back.

I refused to alter course. Was this hubris? Did I really think that I could change my students’ views of other people? Is this what education is all about? Surely this is an act of violence, if I force my students to think differently? Is this indoctrination? What should be the purpose of education? Is it an instrument to bring about a transformation? If so, in whose image are we transformed? The project has stirred up as many contradictions, complications and problematics as the essay Emma’s student had written, despite my intentions to clarify and unpack the signs and signifiers for my students.

Feeling defeated, deflated and exhausted after a two hour class, I seek refuge in the classroom where Emma and I had talked a few days back. As I open the door, the light switch reminds me of the question my students asked the Iraqis: “*We have an invention over here called electricity have you heard of it?*”

I am trying to think of the next step. I look at the session plans for the next six weeks of the project. Everything seems to be in order. I highlight the key milestones. Slowly, a feeling of dread creeps over me. What if my students write another terrible response? I do not feel comfortable with the idea of checking their responses before sending them to the Iraqi students. I want them to be able to express their views freely. But how should I evidence their learning? Will I have to discard letters I feel are offensive? Will I have to hide them from the internal and external verifiers? What evidence do I show to demonstrate that we are internationalising our curricula?

I flick through the nicely organised folder for the project, prefaced with an extract from the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence statement on global citizenship. I look at the statement again, trying to decipher what went wrong. Have I misunderstood its intent?

*The 21st century has presented us with new opportunities and challenges and requires a different approach to education. In our fast-changing world, it is necessary for children and young people to acquire the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes to adapt and to thrive. Their education should prepare them for living and working in a global society. The big issues affecting our planet, such as climate change and global poverty, require an innovative generation that knows how to find solutions. Our democratic societies need creative people who recognise the importance and value of participation and making their voices heard. The injustice and inequalities in society require people who care about human rights and who recognise that our lives are linked together in our increasingly interdependent and globalised world. (Scottish Government, 2011, p.8)*

I slump in my chair. The words seem to fly apart, disperse and join together in a disorderly and disjointed way. Injustice, democratic societies, creative people, human rights, interdependent, globalised world. Each of these words carries with it lofty aims. They carry the charge of a promise - justice to come, hopes and dreams to be cherished and nurtured.

My train of thought is interrupted by my colleague John. He joins me in the room, and takes a seat on one of the desks. He is sipping coffee from a plastic cup. "Are you winning?" he asks, as always. It is a sort of shorthand way of asking if everything is fine. He is about to get an answer he does not expect.

I gently push the folder aside and try to explain to him what has happened. It pours out of me - the letters, the essay, the 'raghead', the glossy brochure language of the curriculum statement. I try to articulate for him this sense that the internationalisation of the curriculum is having a harmful effect. John looks at me as if there is something that he wanted to say to

me a long time ago, but did not dare. Something he had perhaps imagined me saying; and wondered at my silence.

John says: “There’s this parochial idea where we are very much inward-focussing, but on the other hand we are aware of the international market, and so we are caught between a rock and a hard place. You have Scottish students who know almost nothing about Scottish culture, and that is a gap that needs to be filled. On the other hand, you have got students who do not know anything about any other culture either, and you are trying to prepare them for that. You have eighteen weeks. Two hours per week to plug that gap. It is a difficult task.” He finishes his coffee and tosses the cup into the wastebasket.

“You need to go back further than simply Further Education. You need to take this back to the beginning of their schooling and you have to deal with these issues across primary and secondary into FE, so they have got years to work on this - not just 36 hours. How can you teach somebody the culture of Africa, Asia, North America, Australia and Europe in 36 hours? It’s not possible.”

Maybe he is right. How can you do all of this in eighteen weeks?

A few weeks later, I mention my Iraqi schools project to a colleague, someone who has been at the institution for a very long time. I try to explain that my project is about sharing and exploring difference by understanding what we share, and what we value as our own, and unique. I tell her about the aims, the outcomes and the intentions of the project - to connect the experiences of learners growing up in Scotland, and in other places, other cultures; those viewed through the distorting lens of ‘otherness’.

“What do you know about growing up in Scotland?” she asks me. “You’re not from here.”<sup>10</sup>

## Rhizomatic conversations

<sup>1</sup>Some of my colleagues use colour coded spreadsheets to record and monitor students' progress. I do not think of these as neutral records, but practices of naming and shaming. Brøgger (2016), sums up this nicely when she says that these practices are about making us feel “the fear of shame and the thrill of fame” (p.87). She talks about this in relation to the multicoloured scorecards that are developed as follow-up mechanisms of the Bologna process <sup>ii</sup>to evaluate the performance of nation states. She states that:

Through the multicoloured scorecards of the stocktaking reports, the naming–shaming–faming mechanisms are refined. The colour coding spans from reddish to green shades. Red, yellow and orange are the undesirable colours that represent the bottom of the scale: these are the colours associated with shame and the embarrassment of not performing well. Dark-green and light-green colours, on the other hand, are associated with success and excellent (or almost excellent) performance. (2016, p. 82)

<sup>2</sup> I am particularly fond of this poem, *Ulysses*, by Lord Alfred Tennyson. I invoke it here in an ironic way to give a sense of the determination to face the future. In a sense, this reflects the heroic failure that awaits us as lecturers. In a complex, often contradictory and fast-changing policy context, we are expected to ‘adapt’ to these changes. We need to be ‘flexible’ and ‘agile’, the latest neoliberal managerialist parlance, ready to morph and transform ourselves for our organisations at any time of day or, indeed, night. I am often left with the feeling that these policies are almost designed to fail from the start or yield unintended consequences, like – in political science discourses - the colonial strategy of creating ‘failed states’ in order to justify privatised/militarised interventions. What matters is the fact that these policies are translated into operational plans that will be abandoned when the next policy comes along, or when the next restructuring of the management structure is felt to be necessary, keeping the lecturer constantly in a state of malleability and insecurity, always on the back foot.

<sup>3</sup> I was introduced to the work of Pinar by Dalene Swanson. In the course of a supervisory conversation, Dalene referred to the reconceptualist take on curriculum and, indeed, education. As the conversation moved on, Dalene added that for the reconceptualist, research is both an academic and a political concern, something of a double-edged sword, a Derridean

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<sup>ii</sup> The Bologna process is a set of reforms a to harmonise the architecture of European Higher Education institutions. (See Amaral, A. et al., 2009. *European Integration and the Governance of Higher Education and Research*. Dordrecht: Springer., for a review)

pharmakon (Derrida,1993), it can be both a poison and cure, research as a complicated conversation can “liberate” or “suppress”, indeed “oppress”, not only the participants in the research, but also the inquirer. To me, this is a powerful insight because it enables me to see that I cannot do the type of research I am interested in through the deployment of a traditional/conventional qualitative research (positivist or post-positivist). I become very interested in the notion of “currere” which Pinar (2004) defines in the following terms:

The method of currere reconceptualized curriculum from the course objectives to complicated conversations with oneself (as a “private” intellectual), an ongoing project of self-understanding in which one becomes mobilized for engaged pedagogical action— as a private-and-public intellectual— with others in the social reconstruction of the public sphere”. (p. 37)

To have a complicated conversation with oneself! I liked this notion. I understand it to be not some sort of naval gazing but as way of really moving beyond the notion that what I am doing with my student is “delivering” a thing called “curriculum”. Pinar taught me that curriculum is a complicated conversation, which means that it is a lived and embodied expression of human interaction and learning, not a document describing content to ‘cover’ nor a set of teaching and learning outcomes and standards to follow. Curriculum is embodied in space and time, it is where the three of us meet: a Moroccan working in a further education institution, my students and the unit specifications. We are all entangled and involved in producing ourselves, the others and cultural, historical and political context. Pinar shows me that:

instead of employing school knowledge to complicate our understanding of ourselves and the society in which we live, teachers are forced to "instruct" students to mime others' (i.e., textbook authors') conversations, ensuring that countless classrooms are filled with forms of ventriloquism rather than intellectual exploration, wonder, and awe. (p. 186)

<sup>4</sup> This idea of ‘flavour’ reminds me of situations where educational institutions organise a ‘diversity event’ to evidence that they appreciate diversity and multiculturalism (‘flavour’ harkening to a ‘food and festivals’ orientation to multiculturalism). The problem with this superficial understanding is summarised aptly by Modood and May (2001):

the welcoming of people of other cultures by encouraging their cultural practices, usually in superficial ways (later lampooned as a multiculturalism of the three “S’s:” saris, samosas, and steelbands). (p.306)



Teaching a curriculum that has ‘embedded’ an ‘international flavour’ is, what is in my understanding, referred to in the literature as Internationalisation at Home (IaH). This is defined as:

the purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students within domestic learning environments. (Beelen and Jones, 2015b, p.69)

I cannot help but see “integration” as adding something to an existing state. It does not change the state, it merely adds to it. The problem here is that the excess, that which is added, does not have the power to change the pre-existing order; it cannot resist the status quo. This raises a few questions such as whose knowledge remains dominant? Who decides what international aspects to add? And whose interests are being served here?

<sup>5</sup> When my students tell me that “Yes, but you are alright”, I understood by this that I am accepted in their midst. One way of looking at this, is to see belonging not as the antithesis of not-belonging, but rather as continuum. Some of us totally belong, some of us are allowed a degree of belonging, a contingent belonging, and some are denied this altogether. In my case, I am accepted into this group so long as I am unmarked by any signs that indicate “strangeness”. But, after this incident, I began to really doubt that my students actually have accepted me as one of them. In my mind, I could never be. I am reminded here of a passage from Dostoevsky’s novel *Memoirs from the House of the Dead*, which chronicles his incarceration in Siberia, as it conveys this realisation of not belonging:

... now for the first time a certain idea, which has been obscurely stirring in me and haunting me for a long time, become finally clear to me and I suddenly understood what I had until then only vaguely divined. I understood that I should never be received into their company... in his question: ‘how can you be a comrade?’ there sounded such a feigned innocence, such a simple-hearted perplexity. I wondered whether there was not in those words some tinge of irony, of bitterness, of mockery. There was nothing. I was simply not a comrade, and that was all there is to it. You go your own way and let us go ours; you have your own affairs, we have ours. (Dostoevsky, 2008, p.322)

<sup>6</sup> What I am advocating here is that to know the Other does not mean to see the other as similar to oneself. I often encounter well-meaning people who would say that we are all the same. The problem with this statement is that we strip others from their uniqueness and we start to see them as versions of ourselves. Treanor (2006) asks us to consider “what it means for something or someone to be other than the self” (p. 3). Encountering otherness can be unsettling because its “strangeness” cannot be subsumed under one’s cognitive and

theoretical horizon. At the same time, the question of otherness “confronts us with a unique ethical challenge” of how “should we *respond* to the arrival of the other” (p.3, emphasis in original). Fagan (2013) joins Treanor (2006) in stating that when confronted with otherness, Western systems of knowledge production, especially philosophy, have systematically sought to “analyze the foreign phenomenon in order to learn something—indeed ultimately everything—about it” (Treanor, p. 2), an attempt to conquer the Other through coming ‘to know’ them. This entails “comprehending otherness” and “being able to have knowledge and understanding of it” by placing it “into a frame of understanding in which the same and the Other could be approached as terms in a relationship or as examples within a common genus” (Fagan, 2013, p.47). From Emmanuel Levinas, I have learned that to grasp and essentialise the Other, is to eliminate the Other:

Knowledge is a relation of the Same with the Other in which the Other is reduced to the Same and divested of its strangeness, in which thinking relates itself to the other but the other is no longer other as such; the other is already appropriated...already mine.  
(Levinas, 1996, p. 151)

Levinas provides a radically different relation to otherness that avoids the violence inherent in the ontological and “thematic exposition of being through knowledge” which “is central to Western philosophical tradition” (Fagan, 2013, p. 47). For Levinas, ethics is a “first philosophy” (Levinas, 1969, p.304) and by this he means that our approach to otherness should be outside the realms of knowledge, understanding and recognition. The starting point for Levinas in our relation to the Other is an ethical structure not a question of knowledge. As he argues, “[t]hematization and conceptualization...are not peace with the Other but suppression or possession of the Other” (Levinas, 1969, p. 46). Levinas advocates a non-totalising ethical relationship with the Other, this he calls a responsibility to the Other as an overarching ethic of care for the Other, from the moment of encounter:

It is only in approaching the Other that I attend to myself. ... [I]n discourse I expose myself to the questioning of the Other, and this urgency of the response - acuteness of the present - engenders me for responsibility; as responsible I am brought to my final reality... When I seek my final reality, I find that my existence as a 'thing in itself begins with the presence in me of the idea of Infinity. (Levinas, 1969, p. 79)

This is not a question of voluntarily choosing to be responsible for the Other, rather, the alterity of the Other holds one hostage. Levinas explains this in the following terms:

To be oneself, otherwise than being, to be dis-interested, or to bear the wretchedness and bankruptcy of the other, and even the responsibility that the other can have for me. To be

oneself, the state of being a hostage, is always to have one degree of responsibility more, the responsibility of the other. (p. 117)

At the heart of this unconditional and asymmetrical responsibility, Levinas adds, is the realisation one is already implicated in displacing the Other. Levinas asks the following question: “is not my place in being.... already a usurpation, already a violence in respect of the other?” (Levinas 2001, p. 225). This realisation resonates with me. I found it a powerful antidote the nativist and xenophobic discourses and practices that perpetuate this violence. To realise that one is ‘always already’ implicated in displacing the Other, and to be in the world involves “taking a place”, commands one to be accountable to the Other:

[T]he putting into question of the self is precisely a welcome to the absolutely other. The other does not show itself to the I as a theme. The epiphany of the Absolutely Other is a face by which the Other challenges and commands me through his nakedness, his destitution. He challenges me from his humility and from his height. And the putting into question of the Same by the Other is a summons to respond. The I is not simply conscious of this necessity to respond, as if it were a matter of obligation or duty about which a decision could be made; rather the I is, by its very position, responsibility through and through. (Levinas, 1996, p. 12)

<sup>7</sup> The work of Edward Said has profoundly shaped my thinking. I first encountered Said’s work as an undergraduate student in Marrakech. My understanding of his work came at a later stage. It is through his work that I discovered Gramsci and Foucault. Reading *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) while studying English literature as an undergraduate has given me not only a set of conceptual tools to see the ways in which Empire is both invoked and elided in the English novel, but perhaps more importantly, it has accentuated a tension (a duality) inherent in my positionality. As a Moroccan, whose native language is Arabic, I was schooled in Arabic, French and English. It is during English literature classes that this duality became pronounced. A Shakespearean sonnet read by an English lecturer, meets a call to prayer emanating from the multiple mosques adjacent to the university, in a polyrhythmic arrangement, such a duality finds sonic form and realisation. In his essay *Reflections on Exile* (1984, p. 398), Said gave me a concept to interpret this experience:

most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; exiles are aware of at least two, and this plurality of vision gives an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, an awareness that—to borrow a phrase from music, is contrapuntal.

In *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Said develops the notion of ‘contrapuntal reading’, as a way to look at British, French and American literature as an exile. For him, culture has

played an important part in expanding Empire, but this dimension has been foreclosed in literary criticism. As he writes:

One of imperialism's achievements was to bring the world closer together, and although in the process the separation between Europeans and natives was an insidious and fundamentally unjust one, most of us would now regard the historical experience of empire as a common one. (Said, 1993, p. 12)

These connections resulting from the colonial and imperial entanglement are, for Said, seldomly reflected on by literary critics or writers who are writing against the background of the Empire. Said reads a number of novels and urges readers to seek the connection between the narrative, the concepts, the ideas and the experiences that makes it possible. For example, in the case of the novel *Mansfield Park*, by Jane Austen, reading contrapunctually requires connecting the wealth of Fanny Price to political, social, and economic relationships between the British Empire and its colonies. This is because, as Said adds:

we must be able to think through and interpret together experiences that are discrepant, each with its particular agenda and pace of development, its own internal formations, its internal coherence and system of external relationships, all of them coexisting and interacting with others. (Said 1993, 32)

Contrapuntal awareness, is for me, a way of grasping the entangled and intertwined histories of the colonised and the coloniser.

<sup>8</sup> I am reminded, here, of Glissant when he says that “one exists, or agrees to exist, with and among Others” (Glissant, 1997, p. 114). I understand this to mean that being with other people entails a state of entanglement with no privileged centre. In other words, being with other people is the very condition of our subjectivity. The work of Jean-Luc Nancy provides me with a range of insights into this condition of relationality. Central to Nancy's ethics is his notion of ‘Being’- that is what it means to be a human being. Nancy frames this discussion in relation to Heidegger's notion of Being. For Heidegger the human being (Dasein) is not an isolated, autonomous subject that exists independently of an external world. Rather, to be human is to be entangled in a complex and interrelated set of social, cultural and political practices. As Heidegger explains:

Being-in is not a ‘property’ which Dasein sometimes has and sometimes does not have, and *without* which it could *be* just as well as it could be with it. It is not the case that man ‘is’ and then has, by way of an extra, a relationship-of-Being towards the ‘world’— a world with which he provides himself occasionally. (1962, p. 84, emphasis in original)

Nancy draws on another Heideggerian concept: Being-with (Mitsein). For Heidegger, as an existential structure, Being-in-the world (Dasein) entails Being with others (Mitsein). That is to say, if Dasein entails that there is no subject without a world, Mitsein suggests that there is never an isolated “I” without others:

“[...] the world is always the one that I share with Others. The world of Dasein ... Being-in is Being-with others”. (Heidegger, 1962 p.155)

Nancy draws on this insight in both *Being Singular Plural* (2000) and the *Inoperative Community* (1991). In these two works, Nancy articulates the idea that Being is “co-existence”. This does not mean that Nancy starts from two pre-existing, independent entities (a self and other coexisting). Nancy explains that:

[F]rom the very beginning, then, "we" are with one another, not as points gathered together, or as a togetherness that is divided up, but as a being-with-one-another. Being-with is exactly this: that Being, or rather that to be neither gathers itself as a resultant commune of beings nor shares itself out as their common substance. (2000, p. 96)

Nancy conceives of the “with” (relation) as primary. By this, Nancy seeks to reverse “the order of philosophical exposition, for which it has been a matter of course that the "with"-and the other that goes along with it-always comes second” (2000, p.30). In refusing to “start with the opposition of same and other, arguing instead for a primacy of relation, the ‘in-common’ and the ‘with’” (Watkin, 2007, p.50), Nancy reframes the Self as inextricably entangled with the Other to the extent that the Self can only be experienced as co-existing/being-with others. Being, therefore, is shorn of any “single...substantial essence” (Nancy, 2000, p.29), and that “the essence of Being is...coessence” (Nancy 2000, p.30). This entails that ontologically we are both singular and plural. I think this is a powerful insight as it disrupts the attempt to restage the fantasy of purity we often encounter in nativist, xenophobic and racist discourses. Secomb (2000) interprets Nancy to mean that “the human existence is a singularity that is from the outset an inclining towards others and a sharing with and exposure to others” (p.140). This interpretation does actually get to the nub of Nancy’s notion of the ‘singular-plural’. Singularities, for Nancy, are marked by exposure and openness that thrusts them into relations with others. I found the following passage an apt description of this exposure:

We can never simply be ‘the we,’ understood as a unique subject, or understood as an indistinct ‘we’ that is like a diffuse generality. ‘We’ always expresses a plurality, expresses ‘our’ being divided and entangled: ‘one’ is not ‘with’ in some general sort of way, but each time according to determined modes that are themselves multiple and simultaneous (people, culture, language, lineage, network, couple, band and so on).

What is presented in this way, each time, is a stage on which several [people] can say 'I,' each on his own account, each in turn. But a 'we' is not the adding together or juxtaposition of these 'I's'. A 'we', even one that is not articulated, is the condition for the possibility of each 'I'. No 'I' can designate itself without there being a space-time of 'self-referentiality.' (Nancy, 2000, p. 65)

<sup>9</sup> I often hear this plea when I hear stories of my students experiencing discrimination because of their educational careers. They tell me that they often have to justify, when applying to certain courses at college, why they did not do well in school. This plea also resonates with my own experience when sometimes I feel that I am overdetermined by a cultural and geographical origin. I am expected to be a point of reference about all things Arab in my teaching and in my relationships with friends and colleagues. Yancy (2012), brilliantly describes this in relation to being a black person: "as black, I am possessed by an essence that always precedes me. I am always "known" in advance. Please welcome the "person" who needs no introduction: the black." (2012, p.35)

<sup>10</sup> Although said in a jocular manner, I was taken back by this statement. I can understand my colleague's reasons for thinking that I am not best placed to do a project about growing up in Scotland because I did not grow up in Scotland. But somehow, I am still left with the feeling that her response may be seen as form of ethnic exclusivity that tries to fuse together culture with nation, citizenship and 'experience'. But I think that living, working and raising two daughters in Scotland might give an insight into what it is like to grow up in Scotland in a particular historical moment/timespan. I came to Scotland in the mid-eighties and have seen how Scotland has changed politically, culturally and socially. Dougie MacLean's *Caledonia*, resonates with me when I am in Morocco. I tell stories and sing songs "that make me think about where I come from" but at the same time, Scotland for me is the time of the "gathering", which Homi Bhabha in a poignant passage recounts:

I have lived that moment of the scattering of the people that in other times and other places, in the nations of others, becomes a time of gathering. Gathering of exiles and émigrés and refugees, gathering on the edge of a 'foreign' culture; gathering at the frontiers; gatherings in the ghettos or cafes of city centres; gathering in the half-life, half-light of foreign tongues, or in the uncanny fluency of another's language; gathering the signs of approval and acceptance, degrees, discourses, disciplines; gathering the memories of underdevelopment, of other worlds lived retroactively; gathering of the past in a ritual of revival; gathering the present. Also, the gathering of people in the diaspora: indentured, migrant, interned; the gathering of incriminatory statistics, educational performance, legal statues, immigration status - the genealogy of that lonely figure that John Burger named the seventh man. The gathering of clouds from which the Palestinian

poet Mahmoud Darwish asks ‘where should the birds fly after the last sky?’ (Bhabha, 1994, p. 139)

## Season of migration to the South

I have returned to the South many times since gaining admittance to the national, legal, cultural, theoretical and practical realities of life in the North; life, in some senses, as a representative of the North, and one of its citizens. Now, when I cross the border, it is to go home to the South, but the South will perhaps never be my home again.

More than once, I have found myself standing at the terminal in Glasgow airport with my family, clutching our passports, ready to pass through the antiseptic white gates and along anonymous corridors to the plane that will take us to Morocco. It strikes me how different it is to cross this border now, with this passport, and with my wife and children.

I carry the South with me. Even as a citizen of the North, with roots and family there, I carry its perspectives and its voices; its specific ways to think about a problem, or analyse a situation, for better or worse. What is more, the South is no longer a place, a delimited and defined region or regions, ... if it ever was.

The South is present wherever there is suffering. To live in the South is to be excluded from the North. The South is present in satellite schemes and inner-city 'trouble spots' where police use stop-and-search with impunity. It is in the South side of Glasgow: in Kenmure Street, in Dungavel House Removal Centre<sup>iii</sup>. It is in council houses and high rises dressed up in flammable cladding. In a banlieue or a housing project, at the door of a food bank or a homeless shelter, the South exists.

Armed with this understanding, I return to the South wiser, and in some ways, full of hope. My own journey, which I have narrated here in theory, in relational storying, and in personal reflection, serves as an example of the many crossings and interactions between North and South that such a journey entails. Each journey weaves a new thread in a great tapestry, extending between the (N)north and (S)south. It is woven together in tension, entangled like distant atoms. With each crossing we interlink, we interpellate. The tapestry grows richer, more colourful.

As I look back at my journey, and I interlocute with the ghosts of others that have travelled alongside me, I ask myself a number of questions: Why do these things matter? What

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<sup>iii</sup> This refers to the resistance of residents of Kenmure Street and activists halted an immigration raid. Resistance to immigration raid in Scotland goes back decades. The case of the Glasgow girls, is an example of this. This refers the campaign led by pupils from Drumchapel high school to prevent the deportation of their friend.



contribution does this thesis make? What have I achieved here? In attempting to answer these questions, I believe that I have offered a meaningful contribution to the praxis and application of *critical rhizomatic narrative*, contextualising it on this occasion in internationalisation discourses. I have told relational, rhizomatic and lived stories about my encounters with internationalisation. I have reclaimed these experiences, but the force of my narratives do not consist in presenting a ‘truth’ that proclaims itself an accurate depiction of reality.

Experiences like mine, and their narrativising, can enable us to see that to be with others is the very condition of who we are. Our own position does not fix us to the ground. Our personal experiences, unique as they can be, enable collective political action because dominant discursive modes centre the ways in which certain strands of internationalisation operate politically in the lives of people – by restricting, oppressing, and impoverishing their experiences.

Yet, not all internationalisation is managerialist, oppressive and dehumanising. We have to recognise that there has been much work on critical internationalisation, crossing boundaries, pushing normative modes of engagement back, resisting the status quo. These ways of being otherwise, thinking otherwise and knowing otherwise have collectively gestured towards decolonising internationalisation. These people, this group of like-minded people, offered me an intellectual place I could call home. A homely place. I joined their conversation.

Intoxicated by the promise of decoloniality, my weary body was too heavy to abandon in this cerebral conversation. This is where I parted company. As I wave my hand to say goodbye, my body moves and staggers. I cannot forsake feeling and breathing internationalisation. I perform internationalisation otherwise. As an experience of living, enacting, inquiring and rhizomatically writing, this journey is not simply a detached critique of internationalisation. I speak to internationalisation from a position of hope. I speak to internationalisation from a position where decolonial and postcolonial theorising can come together to take it outside of its normal discourses, its habitual modes of living, in order to gesture towards something different.

I now occupy a liminal space, between North and South. I am fully a part of neither, and in some senses, I still live in both. The airport is a strangely accurate metaphor. It is at once a no-place, a place of transition, but one that holds the promise of what all that travel - and in particular, a return to the homeland, with family - can offer. As boring as the baggage queue might be, the beach beckons. Soon, we will be in Essaouira, listening to the sounds of the sea as the sunlight wanes. My wife and I will read books and drink mint tea as the children splash

and play. In the distance, the sound of gnawa<sup>iv</sup> musicians tuning up their instruments will drift down to us from Moulay Hassan Square, as the night beckons.

There is peace here. I turn to Roseik (2021). I stand with him at the threshold of a range of theoretical positions that enables and forecloses many ethical, ontological and political ways of being. This is not without its problems: I share the scepticism about the possibility of an unproblematic retrieval of an authentic (and muted) voice. I carry the whispers of those muted voices with me as I linger in this threshold. I remain enthralled by the intensity of some of its concepts.

Essentialism, attempting to speak and represent others, alerts me to the trap of “the god trick of seeing everything from nowhere” (Haraway, 1988, p. 581). Lather’s pronouncement looms large, when she says that “no matter how much we think we are reading voice, we are reading a text. Acts of transcription have taken place. Editorial decisions have been made. The text is never free of the contamination of language” (Lather, 2000, p.155). It is a reminder that testimonies should not be seen as (re)presenting events in their “immediacy ... recounted as real, spoken faithfully, an authentic narrative told by a reliable witness who summons truth in order to set straight the historical record” (Lather, 2000, p.155). Faced by this “loss of innocence” (Lather, 2001), I am confronted with the question:

How do we keep telling stories, knowing ...that truth can no longer be narrated because no event any longer comes to us without already being shot through with explanation?  
(Benjamin, 1963, p.85)

At the same time, I feel a deep sense of unease not to attend to the testimony, the clamour of these muted voices. Roseik states that it is “very hard to deny that some parts of human experience are routinely overlooked and that ideological silence is part of the many devastating power dynamics” (2018, p.1157). This does not entail exiting the theoretical threshold I have just articulated, and remaining trapped within the confines of a mimetic logic whose aim is to reveal a hidden reality. Rather, attending to the muted voices entails “developing a practice of committing to specific onto-ethical entanglements” (Roseik, 2021, p. 242). This is risky, insofar as it involves “a commitment to representations without the tricky hubris of pretending to be god” (Roseik, 2021, p. 242). This commitment is inherently

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<sup>iv</sup> The term *Gnawa* refers to black people from West Africa as well as their religious and musical style. Moroccan Gnawa were originally black enslaved people who were forcefully transported across the Sahara and sold in different parts of Morocco (see Hamel, C. (2008). Constructing a diasporic identity: tracing the origins of the Gnawa spiritual group in Morocco. *The Journal of African History*, 49(2), 241-260.)

collective and relational, and involves a great degree of humility. What it offers is not a set of authentic claims, but rather “invitations to futurities worth having”, for as Roseik says:

... the project of providing a more comprehensive, complex, or intimately authentic representation would need to be reconsidered. In its place, modes of representation that include performative elements.... Its persuasive force would need to rely as much, if not more, on the desirability of the futurity toward which it tends—the possibilities promised by its particular entanglement—than on claims to being more representationally accurate. (Roseik, 2018, p. 1157)

*Critical rhizomatic narrative* shares this view, and conceives of the nature of inquiry not as the retrieval of silenced and muted voices, but rather in (re)presenting these voices, *critical rhizomatic narrative* seeks to occasion a range of ontological entanglements by drawing “readers into particular subject relations to their environment and communities” (Roseik, 2018, p.1159).

I gesture towards this promise. In my engagement, I reach a deeper understanding of the contradictions inherent in the discourses and practices of internationalisation. I undertake this project not to criticise the nature of internationalisation as a project, but to tell its stories: counter-stories, stories that in the telling story also the body and the soul. Internationalisation can be a narrative told with a collective voice, but only if it cannot be reduced to a narrow definition that precludes learning from the other, being accountable to the other... simply being with the other.

Later, above the clouds, I watch my daughters as they sleep. The youngest leans her head on the shoulder of her big sister, and a golden light plays across their faces. Way down below, I can see the coast of Africa, and the Spanish shore. From up here, the distance between them seems negligible.

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