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Introduction to JCIHE 15(5) 2023 Issue

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Dear Readers –

I am pleased to share with you the JCIHE 15(5) 2023 issue that includes both Independent Empirical Articles and the Winter 2023 Special Issue *Inhabiting the Otherwise in International Academia: Critiques, Complexities, Struggles, and Re-Existences* with Special Guest editors: Jhuliane Evelyn da Silva (UFOP), Juliana Zeggio Martinez (UFPR), and Roxana Chiappa (Univerity of Tarapacá). This is the first time that JCIHE is offering abstracts in English, Portuguese, Spanish to reach new audiences.

In critical internationalization, the benefits, trajectories, and foci of the field of internationalization of higher education (IHE) are questioned. A decolonial perspective shows that IHE is not always positive as it can perpetuate harmful and unequal contexts that institutionalize colonialism via superiority of the North, whiteness, and the use of English as the language of discourse. The Special Issue advocates for a decolonial lens that positions Global South narratives as unique and informative. A call for action is made to re-frame IHE from the perspectives of those from the Global South. Yet, as the articles in this Special Issue show that even with critical and decolonial intentions, IHE theories, applications, and discourse are still entangled within coloniality that influences frames of reference and practice. The special issue calls for a new framework that acknowledges that colonial patterns exist and for HEI actors to use their resistant and transformative capitals to transform colonial narratives. In addition, the articles in the special issue advocate for spaces to encourage dialogue from diverse perspectives that explore the roots for future transformative change. In so doing, the special issue provides a call to action for a new IHE that is designed for and celebrates the Global South. This results in what da Silva, Martinez and Chiappa refer in this Special Issue to as *Critical Hope*. The Winter Special Issue 2023 includes nine articles with author institutional affiliations in nine countries: Brazil, Canada, Chile, Czech Republic, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Netherlands, United Kingdom, and USA.

The JCIHE 15(5) 2023 issue also includes four Independent Empirical Articles that examine the educational issues of Fulbright Program as foreign policy, intercultural competence as a critical asset for university graduates, face-to-face vs. online teaching in the post-COVID world and international assistant training classes. These issues are explored in three countries: Israel, the Netherlands, and the United States. In this issue is also a book review by Bhavika Sicka of the book: *Neo-nationalism and Universities: Populists, Autocrats, and the Future of Higher Education* by John Aubrey Douglass.

There are three main themes that are found in all of the articles in Issue 15(5).

Decolonial critique

Clarissa Jordão & Nayara Stefanie Mandarino Silva critique the use of English in the Brazilian Languages Without Borders program. Simone M. Costa, Lauro Sérgio M. Pereira, Kléber A. Silva explore the extent to which Brazilian researchers' study the intersection of race, gender, and social class in the context of internationalization of higher education research in Brazil and show a small number of publications that address coloniality of power in language policies. Gian-Louis Hernandez examines racial diversity on university international student office websites in Switzerland and shows both an interdisciplinary understanding of Whiteness that characterizes racialized space within the presence of White bodies and their (partial) absence in terms of diversity applications. Jhuliane Evelyn da Silva, Juliana Zeggio Martinez, and Roxana Chiappa share how there are contradictions, complexities, limits, and potentialities of internationalization of higher education (IHE) from Latin American decolonial perspectives and the traps (trampas) that need to be recognized and avoided.

Decolonial Actions

Maryluz Hoyos Ensuncho examines ways in which scholarship advocates how to disentangle universities from colonial practices in higher education, including pedagogical practices, curriculum changes, and outreach to marginalized communities. Bhavika Sicka & Minghui Hou use a decolonial perspective to unpack internationalization, show how it is embedded in and reproduces neoliberalism, racism, and colonialism, and provides regenerative options for the future. Fabiola Ehlers-Zavala shows how some English language teaching (ELT) professionals are resisting colonialism practices and challenging new options in teaching and outreach. Myrtle Sodhi & Sonia Martin show how the use of the Ethic of Care framework provides a different way of being that redresses coloniality and systemic racism in internationalized contexts. Anne Carr, Gabriela B. Bonilla, Athena Alchazidu, William A. Booth, Kateřina Chudová, Patricia E. Tineo, & Pilar Constanzo detail an action project that aims to enable the voices of and to recognize the silencing of refugees and migration who attend universities in Ecuador, Dominican Republic, Czech Republic, and the United Kingdom. Fabiola Ehlers-Zavala examines the field of English language teaching (ELT) professionals who are complicit with issues that relate to colonialism and imperialism and as such how to challenge and resist such complicities. Marisa Lally & Shadman Islem examine how the Fulbright Program functions as a foreign policy and its enduring power and impact on communities around the world as distributed through student and scholar mobility.

Institutional Practices

Constantina Rokos, Svetlana N. Khapova & Marcus Laumann examine intercultural competence development with a focus on assessments and competencies. Nitza Davidovitch Ariel University & Rivka Wadmany examine institutional changes that need to result in the post-COVID-19 context that requires balancing in-person learning with exclusive online learning. Roger W. Anderson examines institutional offered international teaching assistant training classes and how a centered pedagogy with reflexive activities can prevent misaligning the course with learners' identities, ideologies, and desired capital.

Special Issue Articles

Maryluz Hoyos Ensuncho (*University of Missouri – Columbia, USA*). Decolonial Practices in Higher Education from the Global South: A Systematic Literature Review

This article presents a systematic literature review of Global South scholarship that disentangles universities from colonial practices in higher education. The works reviewed describe a variety of practices from pedagogical practices, curriculum changes, and institutional connections with marginalized communities that make visible knowledges, languages, and perspectives traditionally excluded from universities.

Bhavika Sicka *(Old Dominion University, USA*) & Minghui Hou *(Southern Illinois University Carbondale USA).* Dismantling the Master's House: A Decolonial Blueprint for Internationalization of Higher Education

This article examines internationalization of higher education as a westernization project that centers Eurocentric innovations in research, pedagogy, and instruction. Despite a decade of critical scholarship, only limited research has conceptualized internationalization efforts in the context of the socio-historical particularities of the postcolonial condition. This article takes a decolonial perspective to unpack internationalization and examine how it is embedded in and reproduces neoliberalism, racism, and colonialism. Finally, the article reconceives what it means to be international for a university, a program, and a student or scholar.

Simone M. Costa *(Federal Institute of Maranhão (IFMA), Brazil),* Lauro Sérgio M. Pereira, *(Federal Institute of Northern Minas Gerais (IFNMG), Brazil),* Kléber A. Silva *(University of Brasília (UnB), Brazil).* Intersectionalities in Internationalization Studies: An Overview of Brazilian Research

This systematic review explores the extent to which Brazilian researchers study the intersection of race, gender, and social class in the context of internationalization of higher education (IHE) research in Brazil. The results point to a small number of publications and show the importance of addressing coloniality of power in language policies in IHE.

Clarissa Jordão (*Universidade Federal do Paraná, Brazil*) & Nayara Stefanie Mandarino Silva *(Universidade Federal do Paraná, Brazil).* Languages Without Borders: Reinforcing and Delinking English from Coloniality in a Brazilian Internationalization Program

This article presents an interpretive content analysis of the modifications made within the Language without Borders program that was previously initiated by the Brazilian Federal Government and now is linked to the National Association of Directors of Federal Institutions of Higher Education (Andifes). A decolonial critique is made to examine the program's legislative pieces, focusing particularly on the English courses in the catalog.

Myrtle Sodhi *(York University, Canada)* & Sonia Martin *(York University, Canada).* Considering an Embodied Ethic of Care Framework to Counter Colonial Violence in International Education

This theoretical essay uses the Embodied Ethic of Care Framework (Sodhi, 2022) informed by Black feminist thought and Indigenous African thought to create a different way of being in internationalized educational contexts in Canada. The focus is on languaging and dialoguing of international students. The authors invite readers to consider how an ethic of care framework might inspire a different way of being that could redress coloniality and systemic racism in internationalized contexts in Canada and/or in their own contexts.

Gian-Louis Hernandez, *(University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands).* Racial Dis/Embodiment: A Discourse Theoretical Analysis of University International Offices' Websites

This article shows how visual representations of racial diversity on university international student office websites in Switzerland shows examples of racially embodied and disembodied presence and absence that govern context-specific forms of representation. Findings show an interdisciplinary understanding of Whiteness that characterizes racialized space within the presence of White bodies but also their (partial) absence. Finally, the paper discusses the need for nuanced understandings of diversity representation in education.

Fabiola Ehlers-Zavala (*Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado, USA).* The Role of English Language Teaching (ELT) Professionals in the Internationalization of Higher Education: Current Challenges and Strategies to Resist Complicities with Colonialism

This article examines English language teaching (ELT) professionals who are integral to internationalization and globalization processes in universities around the world. While some of the surveyed ELT professionals perpetuate colonialism in practices, others are challenging existing practices.

Anne Carr, *(University of Azuay, Ecuador),* Gabriela B. Bonilla, *(University of Azuay, Ecuador),* Athena Alchazidu, *(University of Azuay, Ecuador),* William A. Booth, *(University of Azuay, Ecuador),* Kateřina Chudová, *(University of Azuay, Ecuador),* Patricia E. Tineo, *(University of Azuay, Ecuador), &* Pilar Constanzo, *(University of Azuay, Ecuador).* Epistemic (In)justice: Whose Voices Count? Listening to Migrants and Students

This article compares the voices and silences of refugees and migration within a project at four universities located in Ecuador, Dominican Republic, Czech Republic, and the United Kingdom. The action plans was to raise students' awareness about the conditions that make an epistemic injustices that they experience and to create authorized discourse creating spaces for unheard marginalized voices specifically related to (illegal) migration trends.

Jhuliane Evelyn da Silva *(Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto, Brazil),* Juliana Zeggio Martinez *(Universidade Federal do Paraná, Brazil),* and Roxana Chiappa *(Univerity of Tarapacá, Chile).* Um pouco mais de calma: Identifying the Trampas of Decolonizing Internationalization of Higher Education and Academy in the Global South

This article depicts the contradictions, complexities, limits, and potentialities of internationalization of higher education (IHE) from Latin American decolonial perspectives. The authors advocate to recognize decolonial critiques within IHE and to identify options for change. However, the authors warn that initiatives that promise a decolonial exit may be acting as traps, or what we called trampas (in Spanish).

Independent Empirical Articles

The JCIHE Issue 15(5) includes four empirical articles that were submitted through the regular submission process. The Empirical articles are separate from the Special Issue and include author affiliations in three countries: Israel, the Netherlands, and the United States.

Marisa Lally (*Boston College, USA) &* Shadman Islem *(Boston College, USA).* A Critical Analysis of the Fulbright Program from a World Systems Perspective

This article examines how the Fulbright Program functions as a foreign policy effort on behalf of the United States. In examining five years of data available in the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board's Annual Reports of the program, the study finds seven themes present in the written content of the annual report: Human rights, peace and security; access, diversity, and opportunity; collaboration and partnership; mutual financial investment; excellence as a result of Fulbright; program impact; and solving global problems.

Constantina Rokos (*Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands),* Svetlana N. Khapova (*Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands), &* Marcus Laumann (*FH Münster, Germ*any). Encapsulating holistic intercultural competence development in higher education: A literature review on assessments and competencies

This article uses a defined literature review to explore how intercultural competence (IC) becomes a critical asset for university graduates. In a holistic understanding of IC assessment, the article examines how IC assessments work effectively, and their role in IC development.

Nitza Davidovitch (*Ariel University, Israel) &* Rivka Wadmany (*Ariel University, Israel).* Returning to the Academic Campus as the End of the COVID-19 Pandemic: Findings from a Student Survey in Israel

This article examines the transition to flexible models of teaching and learning in the post-COVID context. The focus is on students' perceptions of face-to-face teaching and learning on the academic campus. The findings show that face-to-face learning as in the past needs to be modified as most students expressed a clear and unequivocal preference for exclusive online learning even when expressing that on-campus learning allows for greater interpersonal and social interactions.

Roger W. Anderson (*Central State University, USA),* Mis)aligned Investments: In-Service ITA's Experience Within Their ITA Training Class

This article examines international teaching assistants (ITAs) and their experiences within ITA training classes. There is inconsistency in research on the effectiveness of ITA training classes, with some being positive and others profoundly negativity involved accusations of institutional racism. Findings of this study show distinctions in the experiences of the two participants. Pedagogical implications are to center pedagogy on learners' investments, utilizing reflexive activities to prevent misaligning the course with learners' identities, ideologies, and desired capital.

About JCIHE

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JCIHE is dependent on the volunteer efforts of many scholars in the field of comparative and international higher education. I want to give special thanks to the JCIHE Peer Reviewers for Issue 15(5): Samar Abid; Tessa DeLaquil; Ryan Deuel; Bessie Karras-Lazaris; Morgan Keller; Rachel L. McGee; Sami Mejri; Sarah Schiffecker; and Laura Vaughn. Thank you for the time you give to making sure that the articles are publication ready.

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Introduction to the JCIHE Special Issue

Inhabiting the Otherwise in International Academia: Critiques, Complexities, Struggles, and Re-Existences

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Dear readers,

This special issue emerged from our intention to encourage critical collaboration among scholars interested in reflecting, discussing, and problematizing the complexities of the Internationalization of Higher Education (hereafter IHE). As scholars geographically and epistemically located in the global South, we invited academics and practitioners to contribute to this issue with a view to scrutinizing IHE from decolonial critiques.

In the last decades, an important group of higher education institutions, governments, and supra-national organizations have highlighted the "need" for internationalizing higher education so as to respond to globalization (Altbach & Knight, 2007). Among the actors that promote the strategic relevance of IHE, there is a predominant discourse that portrays its initiatives as if they were intrinsically positive, ahistorical, and apolitical (Martinez, 2017) and presents globalization as an inevitable phenomenon of world economic integration and rapid technological advances (Sparke, 2013).

Within this perspective, the "positive" impacts of internationalization are commonly taken for granted, and its institutional achievements and alternatives are emphasized in order to meet its global demands. Similarly, these discourses allude to globalization as if it had emerged de-linked from colonial histories, expropriation, genocide, and slavery of Black and Indigenous populations in the African, American, Asian, and Oceania continents. Yet, the over-emphasis on the "benefits" of IHE and the ahistorical perspective of globalization is problematic since these narratives contribute to naturalizing and/or hiding power asymmetries and colonial hierarchies among countries, institutions, peoples, languages, and knowledge systems in processes of IHE (Sousa Santos, 2010).

In fact, westernized universities, as modern institutions par excellence, are immersed in racist, sexist, and epistemic structures (Grosfoguel, 2013), in which other modes of producing knowledge and making sense of the world, enacted by othered bodies, have been actively excluded. To the extent these structures are expanded to a global scale, the pervasive modern/colonial structure of being and knowing is projected as desirable, perpetuating coloniality in international and local academic spaces.

In a different direction, IHE can be problematized and scrutinized from decolonial critiques as a historical, political, cultural, educational, and social process that questions its entanglement with modernity/coloniality and hegemonic globalization. In this sense, there is neither genuine globalization nor a single process called globalization: "The dominant discourse on globalization is the history of the winners, told by the winners" (Sousa Santos, 2006, p. 395).

Drawing from decolonial critiques, we understand that higher education institutions have to face their own complicity with colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy. There is planetary urgency in the production of knowledges otherwise, based on diverse onto-epistemologies that are able not only to challenge the status quo, the whiteness, the Eurocentrism, as well as the universalisms that inhabit and constraint higher education, but also to identify, interrogate, and interrupt coloniality (Menezes de Souza, 2019), and respond to relevant and imperative planetary issues in the cultural, social, educational, relational, and ecological domains.

From where we stand, critical analysis of internationalization must seek to break with the generalized consensus of its benefits and begin to address the most difficult and disturbing paradoxes and challenges that arise with the promotion and expansion of internationalization (Stein et al., 2016) mainly due to the historical inequalities among different peoples, languages, cultures, and knowledges (Sousa Santos, 2010). Moreover, as Latin American female scholars, we understand the importance of recognizing and facing our complicity and contradictory locus of enunciation (Diniz de Figueiredo & Martinez, 2021).

On the one hand, within the macro academic geopolitics of knowledge, we see ourselves located in the global South, in institutions projected as having inferior quality when compared with the well-known world universities of the global North. We also see ourselves struggling to endure the 'publish or perish game' as non-native speakers of English and coping with our own colonialities that reinforce the modern/colonial matrix of power in the way we act, research, teach, learn, and relate to our colleagues, students, and local knowledges. On the other hand, within the global South settings, we see ourselves working in prestigious universities in Chile and Brazil that are awkwardly and simultaneously located in the geographic global South and the epistemic global North, i.e., these institutions are, at the same time, informed by Eurocentric epistemologies and modern desires, acting towards promoting affirmative actions to repair historical inequalities resultant from colonialism.

Therefore, the exercise and effort to understand ourselves inhabiting the imaginary yet experienced borders between global South and global North, fighting against the modern/colonial identity that globalized and westernized institutions have imposed on us became our daily basis of academic practices and re-existences. That is why, in this Special Issue, we have welcomed contributions that were willing to act from a difficult position that challenged us all to scrutinize, reflect, and problematize international education. We were particularly interested in engaging with discussions that emerged from othered epistemologies, such as the Epistemologies of the South, Latin American Studies, Indigenous Studies, Decolonization, non-Eurocentric analysis, Racial Studies, Global South praxis, and so on. We intended to focus on projects, policies, and practices that have been enacted in university spaces as a form of resistance and re-existence to modernity/coloniality and that have sought to answer back to the modern/colonial matrix of power (Quijano, 2000).

During the experience of reading, reviewing, engaging with, and guest editing this special issue, we felt tempted to read the others through our own eyes, thus reducing the multiple meanings that the decolonial project may have in a search to police the ahistorical, unproblematic, or even romantic readings of what decoloniality *really* meant—to us. In the very same attempt, however, we noticed how the mere desire to control the meanings

and praxes of coloniality and decoloniality in IHE had emerged from our own colonized socialization in academia and the aspiration of what the Maori philosopher Carl Mika and other scholars epistemically located in the global South call the modern aim of "wording the world" (de Oliveira, 2021; Mika et al., 2020).

In the field of decolonial studies, the discussion of how to undo the effects of coloniality is heterogeneous by nature, because any decolonial attempt is always localized and intrinsically associated with the locus of enunciation of those who engage in these projects. Accordingly, you, dear reader, will see that the articles included in this Special Issue draw from different theoretical approaches and are informed by different types of critiques in the discussion of how to advance toward decolonial projects in IHE.

Likewise, while witnessing and participating in the process of editing a Special Issue, we learned that multiple potentialities can be generated in the rise and spread of the dialogues among Southern epistemologies that contest, disrupt, and fight back against the effects of coloniality in distinct, situated ways and dimensions. Besides the theoretical and experiential differences found among the contributors of this issue, this publication is a powerful way to amplify the voices of scholars who are concerned with the effects of coloniality and how international higher education is linked to it.

Some of the questions that guided, and still guide, our concerns and reflections are:

- *How do decolonial approaches to internationalization challenge mainstream approaches and its founding assumptions?*
- *How can different modes of relating, sensing, existing, and producing knowledge in academia flourish through an internationalization otherwise?*
- *Is it possible to engage in otherwise approaches to internationalization without reproducing the same violences that constitute and allow the university to exist?*
- *To which extent are our efforts to inhabit and act from the cracks contributing to maintaining the modern/colonial structures of the university?*
- *Whose projects do an economy-led IHE narrative serve?*
- *What are some challenges and possibilities to face internationalization from counter-hegemonic perspectives?*
- *What are some of the foreclosures and critical possibilities opened up by decolonial perspectives in IHE?*
- *How have people and HE institutions sought to resist the urges of neoliberal globalization?*
- *How do marginalized knowledges and racialized bodies relate to ongoing legacies of local and global colonialism?*
- *How are scholars of IHE complicit in the coloniality purported by our modern/colonial institutions?*
- *How do the epistemic modern/colonial foundation of higher institutions prevent critical and intercultural relations from emerging?*
- *What principles, values, and worldviews inform internationalization of higher education and how can they be reconceptualized from a decolonial turn?*

The Special Issue brings together nine articles written by scholars who are geographically located in Brazil, Canada, Chile, Ecuador, and the United States, but whose stories and research may differ in terms of geo-onto-epistemologies. These scholars also represent different career stages at institutions with diverse institutional missions. This enriching collection of papers reinforces the importance of dialogues among Southern epistemologies that fight the effects of coloniality, produce critique, and reconceptualize international education otherwise. Again, different intentions were brought together in these articles and the readers will notice that some engage more in critical analysis, while others focus on critical questioning or even offer new possibilities to rethink IHE.

A last but not least important point we want to make is that the complexities of having English as a language of publication of an issue aimed at the global South and otherwise epistemologies were considered. Acknowledging the diversity of loci of enunciation and theoretical affiliations includes acknowledging the plural language/ing practices that constitute each one of us. As such, even if in a small and limited way, we have tried to open space to the heterogeneous and embodied Englishes and writing styles that weaved the texts, and provided them with abstracts in English, Spanish, and Portuguese.

The first article, titled "Decolonial Practices in Higher Education from the Global South: a systematic literature review", was written by Maryluz Hoyos Ensuncho, from the University of Missouri, in the United States, and aimed to find and share a systematic literature review of works from the global South that attempt to disentangle universities from colonial practices in higher education. The author explains that, on the one hand, higher education institutions are complicit with the colonial project as education is rooted in colonialism; on the other hand, she has encountered a variety of practices, curriculum changes, and institutional connections that have contributed to decolonial praxis and should be considered.

The second article, also a literature review, comes from Bhavika Sicka (Old Dominion University) and Minghui Hou (Southern Illinois University Carbondale), in the United States, who collaborated with the paper "Dismantling the Master's House: A Decolonial Blueprint for Internationalization of Higher Education". The authors argue that IHE still functions as a western project that centers on Eurocentric views in research, pedagogy, and instruction. Drawing on an array of critical scholars, they conclude that despite the efforts and critiques, the internationalization of higher education finds its most influential manifestation in neoliberal globalization and reproduces racism and colonialism. Besides, they also offer possibilities for what they call "hopeful and ethical praxis in times of post-pandemic glocal crises", and reinforce the importance of cooperation in academic settings.

The third article focuses on a specific case of a Brazilian policy of internationalization, called Science without Borders. Simone Costa, Lauro Sérgio Pereira, and Kléber Silva, who research and teach in different federal institutions in Brazil, wrote the article "Intersectionalities in Internationalization Studies: An Overview of Brazilian Research". Their literature review delves into doctoral dissertations and Master's theses as well as academic articles within their country, published from 2015 to 2022, that dealt with the intersectionality of gender, race, and class in international higher education. In their critical analysis, the authors problematize the entanglement of such different social markers of inequalities and advance the importance of addressing colonialism in social dynamics and recognizing the coloniality of power in language policies in IHE.

From a different perspective but looking at the evolution of a similar policy of internationalization, Clarissa Jordão and Nayara Mandarino Silva, from the Federal University of Paraná, in Brazil, wrote the article "Languages without Borders: Reinforcing and Delinking English from Coloniality in a Brazilian Internationalization Program". Drawing from decolonial critiques, the authors analyze a nationwide language program and offer a discussion by exposing its complexities and contradictions when fixing English as the language of science in internationalization. Their findings highlight a process permeated both by the reinforcement and delinking from modernity/coloniality. Thus, the paper is an invitation to promote specific 'delinking' and to allow cultural differences to rise in order to enlarge repertories and stimulate collaboration instead of insisting on the colonial difference that classifies and fragments.

Using a reflecting and argumentative perspective, Myrtle Sodhi and Sonia Martin, from York University, in Canada, invite readers to consider how an embodied ethic of care epistemology, based on Black feminist and Indigenous African thought, may inspire different existences to repair the colonial and institutional racism that inhabits internationalized contexts. In their article "Considering an Embodied Ethic of Care Framework to Counter Colonial Violence in International Education", the authors problematize the commodification of international students and the language-based discrimination still present in Canadian post-secondary institutions. Languaging and dialoguing serve as key concepts to the reflections and contributions offered by the authors.

Gian-Louis Hernandez, from the University of Amsterdam, in the Netherlands, discusses the concept of whiteness as a structuring feature in the way knowledges are both constructed and legitimized. In a critical analysis paper, entitled "Racial Dis/Embodiment: A Discourse Theoretical Analysis of University International Offices' Websites", the author scrutinizes visuals collected from the websites of twelve Swiss universities' international student offices. In the study, Hernandez indicates that even alleged countries that have not experienced colonialism directly are not exempt from coloniality within their current contexts. This way, his analysis demonstrates that: (1) the university, as a site of knowledge production, still perpetuates inequalities; (2) the concept of race is still untheorized within the studies of international higher education; and (3) the understanding of diversity in education is still misrepresented.

Another important critique of efforts of internationalization of higher education, now focusing on the experience of English teachers, is the work of Fabiola Ehlers-Zavala, from Colorado State University, in the United States. Her paper "The Role of English Language Teaching (ELT) Professionals in the Internationalization of Higher Education: Current Challenges and Strategies to Resist Complicities with Colonialism" develops a self-critical analysis of diverse experiences and efforts lived in academic settings that were problematized by decolonial concepts and perspectives. The author invites English language professionals to scrutinize how complicit they became with colonialism and imperialism in the realm of internationalization and globalization processes universities undertake. The author also presents strategies to resist such complicities that come from her personal experiences as an English language teacher.

From a different stance, Anne Carr, Gabriela B. Bonilla, Athena Alchazidu, William A. Booth, Kateřina Chudová, Patricia E. Tineo, and Pilar Constanzo, from the University of Azuay, in Ecuador, share the experience of a project that has tried to make visible and question the social stereotypes and epistemic injustices faced by immigrants and refugees in different countries. Their article "Epistemic (In)justice: Whose Voices Count? Listening to Migrants and Students" describes an intercultural participatory project that included higher education students and academics at universities located in Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, the Czech Republic, and the United Kingdom. Their invitation is striking as they offer a new framework by intertwining epistemology and ontology as well as raising awareness of who, when, where, and why constructs knowledge.

Finally, the last article included in this special issue was written by us, Jhuliane Silva, Juliana Martinez, and Roxana Chiappa. Entitled "Um Pouco Mais de Calma: Identifying the Trampas of Decolonizing Internationalization of Higher Education and Academy in the Global South", this text reflects our intention to pause (*um pouco mais de calma*) and make visible the contradictions, complexities, limits, and potentialities that we see in IHE from Latin American decolonial perspectives. As an existential practice and an effort of humility, we argue that even when scholars draw from decolonial critiques and aspirations, the structure of HE is strongly influenced by colonial legacies that make it difficult to be undermined. This way, our paper scrutinizes initiatives that promise a decolonial exit but may end up being a colonial trap.

We genuinely expect that the articles included in this Special Issue contribute to open generative dialogues between those involved in IHE projects and feed the needed stamina to sustain projects that systematically seek to interrupt the violence caused by the reproduction of modernity/coloniality in IHE and higher education in general.

Guest Editors
Juliana Zeggio Martinez, Roxana Chiappa, and Jhuliane Silva

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Decolonial Practices in Higher Education from the Global South: A Systematic Literature Review

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Abstract

Higher education institutions have been complicit with the ongoing coloniality project that reinforces and perpetuates inequities, dismisses interests, knowledges, alternative discourses, and world views different from Western European thought (Bell, 2018; Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Harms-Smith & Rasool, 2020). Education is rooted in colonialism, which raises doubts about the feasibility of universities implementing a decolonial agenda (Dhillon, 2021). To contribute to the conversation about decolonial praxis and the documented efforts in the literature on how to enact a decolonial rehumanizing agenda, this paper presents a systematic literature review of works from the Global South that attempt to disentangle universities from colonial practices in higher education. The works reviewed describe a variety of practices from pedagogical practices, curriculum changes, and institutional connections with marginalized communities that make visible knowledges, languages, and perspectives traditionally excluded from universities.

Keywords: decoloniality, decolonial higher education, decolonial practices, Global South

Resumen

Las instituciones de educación superior han participado activamente en el persistente proyecto de colonialidad, el cual consolida y perpetúa las desigualdades, menospreciando intereses, saberes, discursos alternos y cosmovisiones ajenas al pensamiento europeo occidental (Bell, 2018; Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Harms-Smith & Rasool, 2020). La educación tiene sus raíces en el colonialismo, suscitando interrogantes sobre la posibilidad real de que las universidades adopten una agenda decolonial (Dhillon, 2021). Con el objetivo de enriquecer el diálogo en torno a la praxis decolonial y cuerpos blancos, sino también por su (parcial) ausencia. Además, esta investigación resalta el aspecto poco teorizado de las iniciativas documentadas en la bibliografía sobre cómo abordar una agenda de rehumanización decolonial, el presente artículo ofrece una revisión sistemática de investigaciones provenientes del Sur Global que buscan desligar a las universidades de las dinámicas coloniales presentes en la educación superior. Las investigaciones examinadas detallan una diversidad de enfoques, que van desde prácticas pedagógicas, modificaciones curriculares, hasta vínculos institucionales con comunidades en situación de marginalidad, visibilizando saberes, idiomas y perspectivas

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tradicionalmente marginadas en el ámbito universitario.

Palabras claves: decolonialidad, educación superior decolonial, prácticas decoloniales, Sur Global

Resumo

As instituições de educação superior têm sido cúmplices do projeto de colonialidade em curso que reforça e perpetua desigualdades, bem como ignora interesses, conhecimentos, discursos alternativos e visões de mundo diferentes do pensamento europeu ocidental (Bell, 2018; Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Harms-Smith & Rasol, 2020). A educação tem raízes no colonialismo, o que levanta dúvidas sobre a viabilidade das universidades implementarem uma agenda descolonial (Dhillon, 2021). Para contribuir com a conversa sobre a práxis decolonial e os esforços documentados na literatura sobre como implementar uma agenda reumanizadora decolonial, este artigo apresenta uma revisão sistemática da literatura de trabalhos do Sul Global que tentam desvencilhar as universidades das práticas coloniais no ensino superior. Os trabalhos revisados descrevem uma variedade de práticas desde práticas pedagógicas, mudanças curriculares e conexões institucionais com comunidades marginalizadas que tornam visíveis saberes, linguagens e perspectivas tradicionalmente excluídas das universidades.

Palavras-chave: decolonialidade, educação superior decolonial, práticas descoloniais, Sul Global

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Introduction

Historically, in nations in the Global South, universities were originally established to serve colonial powers, and played a role in molding their elite to consolidate hegemonic structures and reproduce patterns of exclusion and domination (De Carvalho & Flores, 2018; Cortina & de la Garza, 2015; Gnecco-Lizcano, 2016; Hargreaves, 1973). Within this context, universities are part of a larger system of colonial structures to which they are bounded and by which they are permeated (Snaza & Singh, 2021). Mbembe (2016) posited that universities are "*large systems of authoritative control*, standardization, gradation, accountancy, classification, credits and penalties" (p. 30); meaning that universities are complex mechanisms that continue to shape society through institutionalized authority with the potential to perpetuate coloniality's power structures.

In the history of higher education in former colonized countries, a colonial university has been defined as one that operates within frameworks that are foreign in origin and that pays "greater attention to its standing in the eyes of foreigners than the relevance of its activities to the needs of its own country" (Hargreaves, 1973, p. 26). However, universities continue to be colonized by scientific systems and knowledge that assume truth as a privileged device in which Eurocentrism is naturalized; a process that stems from the way they are embedded in geopolitics of knowledge (Restrepo, 2018). In the current context of global agendas in education and the debates around internationalization of education, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2021) has pointed to the tensions between two conflicting agendas, to further the project of modernity which seeks to establish "global universities," and the demand for completing the "incomplete project of decolonization predicated on deracialisation, de-hierarchisation, decorporatisation, and depatriachisation of knowledge and education" (p. 77). This means that coloniality within the realm of higher education institutions perpetuates a system that prioritizes the interests and standards set predominantly from Euro-American-centric modernity. This perpetuation of colonial power structures within universities hinders the development of localized knowledge and inhibits the decolonization process in academia.

Even though decoloniality invites us to not conflate education with formal instruction in institutional spaces, there is a need to study universities as spaces that maintain the legitimacy of knowledge and reproduce colonial patterns of power (Ortíz-Salgado & García-Carmona, 2018). Empirical, theoretical, and historical works have documented the colonial character and history of universities in the Global South (Cubides Sánchez, 2020; Díaz, 2019; Ferreira de Souza & de Oliveira, 2022 Mejía, 2018; Ortiz-Salgado & García-Carmona, 2018; Portillo García, 2019).

Coloniality has been conceptualized as the persistence of unequal colonial power structures and the legacy of domination even after the formal end of colonialism (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). Coloniality in higher education institutions

is evidenced in their complicity with the ongoing coloniality project that reinforces and perpetuates inequities, dismisses interests, knowledges, alternative discourses, and worldviews different from Western European thought (Bell, 2018; Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Harms-Smith & Rasool, 2020). Coloniality has dehumanized people and broken relations not only among human beings, but also between humans and the non-human world (Escobar, 2010).

Calls to decolonize the university are present in the literature, not only in the Global South (Castro-Gómez; 2007; Cobbing, 2021; Fomunyan et al. 2020; Geldres-García, 2020; González Ponciano, 2017; Mbembe, 2016; Restrepo, 2018; Valenzuela-Baeza, 2021), but also in the academy in the North (Dei, 2016; Fellner, 2018; Hendrick & Young, 2018; McNamara & Naepi, 2018; Nakata et al., 2012; Stein, 2021). The literature presents the creation of Intercultural or Indigenous universities in Latin America as a response to demands from Indigenous movements and a radical attempt to decolonize the university by breaking away from Western universities (Contreras Castro, 2014; Cupples & Glynn, 2014; Dietz & Mateos, 2020; Krainer et al., 2017; Martínez Martínez, 2022; Padilla, 2021; Restrepo, 2014). Furthermore, it has been argued that Western universities and their disciplines are not prone to a decolonizing agenda due to the complicity of the neoliberal university in the creation of colonial knowledges and hierarchies (Dhillon, 2021). Despite these tensions, actors and movements attempt to challenge and disrupt coloniality in education within the grounds of higher education institutions.

To contribute to the conversation about “rehearsals in decoloniality” (Bell, 2018, p. 259) and the documented attempts to enact decolonial practices on the grounds of traditional Western universities, this work presents the results of a systematic literature review on strategies and interventions used to unsettle colonial practices in higher education institutions in the Global South. The term “Global South” is frequently used as a geographic term to allude to the countries that are located in the Southern hemisphere, those with common challenges such as poverty, social inequality, political instability and history of experiencing exploitation. However, Global South in this work is not used interchangeably with Third World countries or limited to geographical location, but rather refers to the recognition of a common history of colonialism and marginalization among the marginalized population of the world in order to challenge global power relations (López, 2007; Miraftab & Kudva, 2015).

The following section covers the theoretical underpinnings that guide this work, followed by the methodology, and finally the findings that describe decolonial practices in higher education institutions (HEIs), the challenges, and conditions that have enabled actors to implement them. Through this review, I acknowledge the concerted efforts of practitioners and researchers in subverting and challenging coloniality in higher education. However, this review is constrained to publications written in English and Spanish which ignores works written in other languages and those that use alternative forms of sharing decolonial practices.

Decolonial Theory

For the analysis of decolonial practices in higher education reported in the literature from the Global South, I draw from decolonial theory developed from the stance of Latin American scholars, intellectuals and activists. Coloniality is one of the core concepts proposed by Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano in the 1990s. The concept of coloniality emerged in response to the local histories of countries in the periphery still suffering the effects of colonialism (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p. 112). To better understand decolonial theory, I unpack concepts that are fundamental to its understanding. First, coloniality needs to be distinguished from colonialism. Colonialism is conceived as a process (Vergès, 2021) and a practice of domination (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018) resulting in the triad of modernity/coloniality/decoloniality. Coloniality survives colonialism and reproduces the defeat and inferiorization of the colonized (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). This means that even though colonialism came to an end with the independence of former colonies, the practices of domination and oppression still persist and impact the present.

Decolonial practices have roots with Indigenous People, collectives and movements in Latin America (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018). As a theory, it has been developed by a group of intellectuals, activists and scholars from Latin America who have problematized modernity from the perspective of the subaltern (Restrepo & Rojas, 2010). Other scholars from the Global South have also engaged with epistemic injustice, cultural imperialism, and questioning structures of power and

marginalization of non-Western knowledge systems, but not all of them have used the label de/colonial. For example, Césaire is often associated with decolonial thought, even though he did not use the specific term decoloniality; or Ngugi wa Thiong'o who has criticized the colonial legacy in Africa.

Coloniality, as conceptualized by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) and Maldonado-Torres (2016), revolves around three interrelated dimensions: the coloniality of power, the coloniality of knowledge, and the coloniality of being (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Maldonado-Torres, 2016). The coloniality of power (Quijano, 2000) refers to the structures of power, control and hegemony that persist, and continue to be favored, from the era of colonialism stretching to the present. The coloniality of knowledge (Lander, 2000) speaks of epistemicide or the destruction and displacement of alternative forms of knowledge while appropriating what is useful for “imperial designs” (Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013, p. 110). The coloniality of being (Maldonado-Torres, 2007) refers to the dehumanization, othering, and lack of recognition of the worth of those that were colonized (Cobbing, 2021). Then, decoloniality is the opposition to the coloniality of power, knowledge, and being (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

Decolonization originally meant the undoing of colonialism by means of freeing colonies from the domination of other nation-states (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018). The usage of decolonization has become more common, but current conversations around decolonization need to involve Indigenous Nations and Peoples who also make emphasis on reparations of land, rights of Indigenous people, and their sovereignty (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Mignolo argues that the first waves of decolonization in the Americas, Asia and Africa involved the independence of former colonies, but left the colonial hierarchies intact (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018). In contrast to this political decolonization, decoloniality implies a radical project of reconstruction of structures, experiences and relations beyond the existing colonial hierarchies (Escobar, 2010; Maldonado-Torres, 2017) which offers possibilities for other ways of “being, thinking, knowing, sensing, and living” (Castell et al., 2018, p. 81). In this sense, decoloniality engages not only Indigenous, Black, and racialized individuals, but it underscores coloniality as a wider concern as we all live and experience the colonial matrix of power. Its purpose is to break away from the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018) and to dismantle hierarchies that dehumanize individuals by countering dominant discourses, knowledges, and practices (Maldonado-Torres, 2016).

As a theoretical framework and pedagogical practice, decoloniality can make visible power relations rooted in colonialism (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018), illuminating how we “continue to live in the political, economic, ideological, and emotional aftermath of a world dominated by the principle of Western superiority” (Blanche et al., 2021, p. 370). In this sense, the “praxis of decoloniality”, as Mignolo & Walsh (2018, p. 1) state, does not imply claims of all-encompassing solutions or the proposal of new abstract principles, but refers to the interconnectedness between various local histories, interpretations, and practices in order to create dialogue and collaboration among those perspectives. In a complementary approach to the view of decoloniality as praxis, Menezes de Souza & Duboc (2021) consider critical reflection and rejecting coloniality through strategies that question normative elements and reinforce the importance of localized perspectives. Based on Dussel’s and Kopenawa’s work, these authors reflect on investing in alternatives and de-universalizing decoloniality so as not to fall into the trap of universal fictions of modernity that dismiss local knowledge. They underscore the need to remain aware of attempts to impose normativity in decolonial thought and education, emphasizing the need for context-specific approaches to a decoloniality-oriented educational agenda. Therefore, engaging in decolonial work and praxis involves understanding that it is not a singular, monolithic ideology but a diverse and multifaceted approach to addressing coloniality's consequences.

Method

For this systematic literature review, the initial planning involved defining the topic, setting, and preliminary work. The search terms, in English and Spanish (in which I am fluent), included *decolonial higher education/educación superior decolonial, decoloniality, decolonization/decolonialidad, decolonización, decolonization, decolonizing/decolonizando, decolonize/decolonizar*, AND *higher education/educación superior, university, universities/universidad universidades*. The range for the selected articles was ten years (2012-2022) and limited to higher education, but the selection was intentional in identifying works written by authors who epistemologically and geographically are located in the Global South. This

means that after having identified the first sample of articles on decolonization of higher education, I selected those that were written by authors working in Latin American countries (Argentina, Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Mexico) and Africa (Ghana and South Africa). The search was done in databases such as ERIC, EBSCO, Scopus, GoogleScholar, as well as Dialnet, SciELO, and Redalyc, which gather scientific articles from academic journals from Latin America and the Caribbean.

To select articles, I screened and reviewed titles, abstracts, and keywords. Second, because the geographical location of the decolonial praxis was an element of analysis, only works from the Global South were selected. When this information was not explicitly stated, the affiliation of the author(s) was used to identify where the practice was implemented. Articles that did not describe an implementation were excluded. A total of 16 works out of 84 were identified. The articles selected were mostly available as open-access or otherwise made available publicly, except for three that were requested through the university library. For data analysis, I considered the objectives and contexts of the decolonial practices, the description of their implementation, how they demonstrated decolonial work at higher education institutions, and their implications. The background of the experiences and limitations, if provided, were also examined. I coded and analyzed the articles, and suggested a set of criteria that allowed me to respond to the following two questions: 1) how does the practice of decolonial projects reorient, disrupt, and challenge colonialities of power, knowledge, and being? 2) What challenges were faced, or to what do the authors credit the success of the experiences? This process was not linear-earlier steps were redefined during the process but changes were documented.

Results

The findings suggest that decolonial practices in higher education are reflected in classroom strategies and pedagogies to allow for a plurality of voices, in attempts to decolonize and indigenize the curriculum, and in larger scale projects of Intercultural or Indigenous higher education institutions. Decolonial strategies and pedagogies are varied in their scope and dependent on geographical contexts and realities (Pimentel & Rocha, 2022; Rasool & Harms-Smith, 2021), disciplines (Blanche et al., 2021; Carolissen et al., 2017; García León & García León, 2019; Morreira, 2017), and the individuals involved (De Carvalho & Flórez, 2018; Kessi, 2017). Collectively, these practices challenge coloniality and epistemicide, the privilege of Eurocentric knowledge, and reflect the need to articulate work happening at different levels for meaningful transformation. The implementation of decolonial projects does not happen in a vacuum. Policies, support from leaders, and people committed to them make it possible to conceive and implement decolonial agendas.

However, decolonial practices in higher education face continuous challenges and pitfalls in their implementation even from well-intentioned initiatives. The possibilities offered by decoloniality for practitioners and scholars invested in social justice make it necessary to continue documenting the work to unsettle practices that perpetuate inequities in higher education. Learning from this literature can give us insight into how to shift away from epistemicide to reimagine higher education for a humanizing pedagogy that engages a plurality of voices to counter the dehumanizing of education.

Description of Decolonial Practices in the Literature

Decolonial practices evidenced in the literature are varied in their scope and dependent on geographical context, disciplines, and the individuals involved. Table 1 presents the contexts of those experiences and the spaces for those decolonial practices. The works provide examples of 16 decolonial projects: eight in Latin American countries including Argentina, Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Mexico; six in South Africa; and one in Ghana.

Table 1

Decolonial Practices in Higher Education

Authors and Year	Context	Scope of Decolonial Practice
Barraza García (2014)	Colombia	Community connections
Blanche et al. (2021)	South Africa	Teaching & Curriculum
De Carvalho & Flórez (2018)	Brazil	Community connections
Carolissen et al. (2017)	South Africa	Teaching and Curriculum
García León & García León (2019)	Colombia	Curriculum
Guapacha et al. (2018)	Colombia	Institutional project
Hallberg Adu (2021)	Ghana	Teaching
Ivanoff & Loncon (2016)	Argentina	Community connections
Kessi(2017)	South Africa	Teaching and Institutional project
Knight (2018)	South Africa	Curriculum
Morreira (2017)	South Africa	Curriculum
Pimentel & Rocha (2022)	Brazil	Community connection
Rasool & Harms-Smith (2021)	South Africa	Curriculum
Rodríguez et al. (2018)	Ecuador	Curriculum
Vilarinho et al. (2020)	Brazil	Teaching
Zárate-Moedano (2018)	Mexico	Teaching

These attempts to decolonize the university have a variety of scopes. The classroom is one of the first spaces in which decolonial practices are enacted with attempts at decolonial pedagogies and teaching (Blanche et al, 2021; Hallberg Adu, 2021; Kessi, 2017; Vilarinho et al, 2020; Zárate-Moedano, 2018). Classroom strategies and pedagogies allow for plurality of voices. Second, decolonial practices reported in the literature give account of attempts at curricular experiences founded on the decolonial turn within a variety of disciplines: community psychology (Blanche et al., 2021; Carolissen et al., 2017), literacy (García León & García León, 2019), humanities (Morreira, 2017), geography (Knight, 2018), social work (Rasool & Harms-Smith, 2021), and teacher education (Rodríguez et al., 2018; Vilarinho et al., 2020), and lectures open for all university students (Ivanoff & Loncon, 2016). Finally, in Latin America, institutions created spaces for Indigenous students' identities to be visibilized (Guapacha et al., 2018), and in South Africa, for Black students and faculty to tackle issues and influence institutional change (Kessi, 2017). Decolonial projects within traditional universities open up spaces for alternative forms of knowledge by involving Indigenous and marginalized communities and creating connections between communities and universities (Barraza-García, 2014; De Carvalho & Flores, 2018; Ivanoff & Loncon, 2016; Pimentel & Rocha, 2022).

Disrupting and Challenging Coloniality in the Classroom: Pedagogy and Curriculum

Out of the 16 texts reviewed, five focused on aspects of pedagogy and curriculum (Blanche et al, 2021; Hallberg Adu, 2021; Kessi, 2017; Vilarinho et al, 2020; Zárate-Moedano, 2018). These studies describe classroom interventions in teaching and learning practices with a decolonial approach. Mainly, this literature attempts to reshape and deconstruct

practices that reinforce the coloniality of knowledge, and tangentially, they address the coloniality of power and being. A decolonial attitude inherently challenges epistemic colonization (Maldonado-Torres, 2017), and in the literature, decolonial efforts examined knowledge production, content, existing hierarchies and domination of Euro-centric and Anglo-centric knowledge (Carolissen et al., 2017; Morreira, 2017). They recognized the voices of Indigenous, Black and minoritized students by linking knowledges and alternative forms of communication that have traditionally been dismissed within HEIs (García León & García León, 2019). Even though there might be overlap between the decolonial content and the decolonial processes of teaching and learning, decolonial praxis, as discussed in the texts (Blanche et al., 2021; Carolissen et al., 2017; García León & García León, 2019; Hallberg Adu, 2021; Knight, 2018; Morreira, 2017), distinguished classroom interventions in pedagogy and curriculum. Teaching has reinforced academic norms and practices such as individualizing and authoritarianism (Blanche et al., 2021). In other words, decolonial content through the curriculum incorporates knowledges, perspectives, and non-Western epistemologies, while decolonial processes of teaching and learning involve challenging practices that perpetuate power imbalances. Therefore, decolonial scholars in HEIs need to consider teaching as well as curriculum.

On the one hand, Carolissen et al. (2017) and Rasool and Harms-Smith (2021) use participatory teaching methodologies and flexible learning methods to promote reflexivity and critical connections with disciplinary principles. For Carolissen et al., (2017), these were principles in community psychology and for Rasool and Harms-Smith (2021), these were associated with the discipline of social work. On the other hand, some of the texts show the adoption of assignments that required other forms of expressions, such as poetry, dance, art, and music. These assignments challenged the position of the essay-written style as a privileged form of intellectual expression by contextualizing writing “as a historically specific tool which has been wielded as much for oppressive as for liberatory purposes” (Blanche et al., 2021, p. 376). In Ghana, Hallberg (2021) used Wiki-editing as a form of “writing back to dominant narratives,” (p. 39) to develop students’ research skills, critical thinking, and to contribute to knowledge on Africa for global consumption. In this way, Hallberg (2021) offers a way to decolonize the classroom by challenging texts produced in the Global North and engaging students in knowledge production.

Practices of critical reflection and research in the classroom aimed to engage students in collective social action (Carolissen et al., 2017; Kessi, 2017; Rasool & Harms-Smith, 2021; Zárate-Moedano, 2018). For example, Kessi (2017) created linkages through research by involving Black students at the University of Cape Town in participatory action research (PAR) projects using Photovoice methods, while Zárate-Moedano (2018) used visuals and media for reflection and research on veiled racist attitudes in Mexico.

Kessi’s (2017) study described students’ use of photovoice in which they immersed themselves in their communities’ lives. Two specific photos depicted in this article highlight students’ reframing of poverty as a consequence of historical injustice and of the impact of precarious work conditions on well-being, instead of stigmatizing drug use. Kessi’s (2017) decolonial practice challenged higher education institutions in the Global South to break away from knowledge transmission, and instead, to create space for knowledge production. At the same time, Kessi´s (2017) approach emphasized students’ humanity and that of their communities when they were asked to make visible through photos and stories the assets and needs of their communities.

Similarly, Zárate-Moedano (2018), in Mexico, attempted to increase students’ awareness through reflection on the construction of national identities such as "Indigenous", "Spaniards", "Blacks" and "Mestizos" and the reproduction of privileges and disadvantages through media literacy within universities in their curricular projects. Critical reflexivity is a mechanism with the potential to prompt students to critique the contexts in which they are embedded and facilitate transformative learning. Carolissen et al. (2017) also drew from students’ photographs, drawings, communities and personal experiences to raise awareness and challenge the effects of coloniality in South Africa.

These decolonial pedagogical practices attempted rehumanization of beings and relations. Zárate-Moedano (2018) questioned systems and representations of identities making visible the legitimization and construction of symbolic racialization and inferiorization of others. Decolonial projects for teaching and learning *otherwise* reflected on relationships to engage in dialogue with others (Vilarinho et al., 2020). According to Mignolo and Walsh (2018) decoloniality is “constructed in resistance and opposition, as well as insurgence, affirmation, and re-existence (as rehumanization)” (p. 88).

Teaching and learning with a decolonial approach in mind prompted critique of contexts, awareness of positions and possible complicity with colonial projects. The process of knowledge generation, claims of superiority and hierarchy, and universality of Western knowledge (Lander, 2005; Castro-Gómez, 2007) are challenged through assignments and classroom practices that involve students to decenter knowledge production and develop critical consciousness through inquiry of contextualized local social issues (Hallberg Adu, 2021; Kessi, 2017; Vilarinho et al., 2020; Zárate-Moedano, 2018). The ultimate goal of these teaching and learning decolonial projects is to understand how the world is dominated by the discourse of Western superiority with persistent political, economic, emotional, and ideological effects in the present (Blanche et al., 2021).

Curricula at universities have also been seen as a form of decolonial response. Curriculum is viewed as "a symbolic process that reproduces existing relations of power" (Carolissen et al., 2017, p. 497). Then, a decolonial curriculum is one that attempts to "unearth the power dynamics at play in the curriculum itself, and in the pedagogy that recontextualises knowledge for learners, and begin to consciously shift these if transformation is to take place" (Morreira, 2017, p. 10). The curricular practices in the literature challenged the coloniality of knowledge by resisting dominant ideologies and drawing from local content and knowledges, which also validated their presence within the university. In this way, these practices indirectly resisted and subverted the coloniality of power and being. However, there are marked differences between decolonial curricula proposed from the Global South in South Africa and Latin America. In South Africa, scholars engaged with Africanization and the realities of Blacks in a post-Apartheid South Africa (Blanche et al., 2021; Carolissen et al., 2017; Rasool & Harms-Smith, 2021), while in Latin America, decolonial curricula focused on the recognition of Afro-descendants as well as Indigenous Peoples' epistemologies and worldviews (Barraza García, 2014; García León & García León, 2019; Ivanoff & Loncon, 2016).

In South Africa, the literature about curricula is centered on students, the historical context of their country and the persistent effects of colonialism in their communities. In a case study describing almost two decades of work, Blanche et al. (2021) recounted the phases of transformation of three courses in community psychology. The authors considered ideological pillars according to their global historical contexts, and placed students' personal experiences at the center of learning and engagement with community organizations. In the same context, Carolissen et al. (2017) described four case studies of curricular changes considering reflexivity and the opportunities to explore multiple perspectives and epistemologies. Students were engaged in processes of looking inwards and outwards to create connections between their personal stories, their family, the community and broader historical and political contexts. Besides, some of the revised text shows that content in the curriculum can also serve to respond to and interrupt existing knowledge hierarchies to give more space to multiple forms of knowledge and legitimize their validity in courses (Morreira, 2017). In a similar process of reflexivity and participatory action research, Rasool and Harms-Smith (2021) explained a collective process designed to transform and re-imagine the curriculum in order to empower and raise consciousness in students.

In South America, decolonial curricular projects questioned practices that lead to the oblivion and marginalization of Indigenous Peoples and other forms of knowledge. These projects anchored their curriculum in the recognition of human rights for Indigenous groups to guarantee intercultural practices given the history of genocide and erasure of Indigenous Peoples and other ethnic minorities in HEIs such as Afro-descendants. For example, the *Cátedra Libre de Pueblos Originarios* (Public Lecture on Native Populations) created in 2008 at Universidad Nacional de la Patagonia in Argentina developed activities and syllabi to promote visibility of native populations' experiences and created linkages among classrooms, and within and outside the university with Indigenous communities (Ivanoff & Loncon, 2016). Other experiences in the region similarly opened up classroom spaces to encourage dialogue with other epistemologies and knowledges such as the Intercultural School of Indigenous Diplomacy, a project developed in partnership with various Indigenous organizations in Colombia (Barraza García, 2014). Another curricular change engaged in transforming a literacy curriculum in collaboration with Indigenous and Afro-descendant students to recognize the worth of their literacy practices (García & García, 2019). In these experiences, there are attempts to re-story or reconstruct colonial narratives through subaltern perspectives to offer a reinterpretation of historical events.

Harms-Smith and Rasool (2020) also argue that decoloniality of a curriculum is problematic if it ignores the material realities of ongoing coloniality such as economic exploitation, social inequality, land dispossession, cultural and knowledge

suppression, among other tangible consequences of coloniality that persist even after the formal end of colonization. Therefore, curricular practices should address not only the coloniality of knowledge, but also the coloniality of power. Transformation of higher education is complex and requires challenging paradigms beyond the curriculum (Rasool & Harms-Smith, 2021). The following practices involve communities to transform coloniality within higher education institutions.

Challenging Coloniality by Building Bridges between Universities and Communities

Within institutional decolonial practices, it is noteworthy to highlight that those that occur within traditional universities attempt to delink from coloniality by engaging w*ith* rather than thinking *about* historically marginalized groups (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018). A relevant example from Latin America is *Cabildos Indigenas Universitarios* (roughly translated as Indigenous University Assemblies), which are spaces created by and for Indigenous students to foster community and to address their needs when moving from their territories to study in urban areas (Guapacha et al., 2018). However, *Cabildos* also serve as a platform for cultural recognition and political, social, and academic participation to make visible forms of oppression faced by Indigenous students in HEIs, while promoting resistance against oppressive systems (Guapacha et al., 2018; Muelas Calambas, 2020). In South Africa, a similar initiative was the establishment of the Black Academic Caucus (BAC) at the University of Cape Town (Kessi, 2017), which involved students and academics in order to influence issues of racism and marginalization on campus and in the curriculum. The BAC has engaged in collective action for transformation in different areas, and with networks, alliances, and partnerships, resulting in more visibility and varied decolonial efforts within the campus. Additional approaches to policy-making to address decolonization at institutions incorporate representation from staff, faculty and students (Knight, 2018).

Practices beyond the classroom attempt to disrupt and challenge universities as spaces of colonial conversations. Decolonial experiences have created links and alliances between Indigenous Peoples and traditional universities. Some decolonial experiences, organized by universities along with Indigenous communities, welcome Indigenous *mestres* (masters of knowledge) (De Carvalho & Flórez, 2018). These initiatives are not attempts of assimilation, but seek to recognize their role as knowledge holders, and engaging in dialogue with indigenous and rural communities, elevating their voices (Barraza-García, 2014; Ivanoff & Loncon, 2016; Pimentel & Meneses, 2022). First, the *Encuentro de saberes* (Meeting of Knowledges) embraces Indigenous Peoples within university grounds who teach in different areas within the university, and are recognized on an equal level as other faculty members (De Carvalho & Flórez, 2018).

Similarly, the *Teia dos Povos* (Peoples' Web) at the Federal University of Southern Bahia created networks with Black, Indigenous, and rural communities countering epistemic coloniality. This is achieved through an "ecology of knowledges," a term that the authors draw from the Portuguese sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Pimentel & Meneses, 2022). The mentioned network involved dialogues with Indigenous Peoples in order to articulate an emancipatory project that recognizes a plurality of knowledges within academic spaces (Pimentel & Meneses, 2022). The presence of Indigenous Peoples and communities and their participation within alternative programs in traditional universities evidence a decolonization of academic elitist spaces by entering into relationship with Indigenous Peoples in recognition of their epistemological frameworks, ancestral knowledges, and memory (Barraza García, 2014; Pimentel & Rocha, 2022). It is by working alongside with those peoples, whose knowledges have been invisibilized and distorted, that the coloniality of power and knowledge is transformed, and the ideals of decolonial work can be achieved.

Another important example is the work conducted at the Universidad Nacional de la Patagonia located in Ushuaia-Argentina. This institution, along with Indigenous communities, created actions that included institutional network agreements not only within Argentina, but with universities in Latin America for the defense of Indigenous Peoples' rights, as well as publications around Indigenous issues. They also established research projects, courses, and seminars to train teachers, to develop Indigenous Peoples' capacity to defend their Land rights, for revitalization and appreciation of original languages by teaching the languages *Mapuzungun* and *Guaraní* within university classrooms, as well as through radio programs, and the development of a project for water supply for their own Indigenous communities (Ivanoff & Loncon, 2016). Fostering a collaborative approach with Indigenous Peoples allows communities to continue reclaiming their cultural

identity and knowledges without having to constantly face the obstacles that academia imposes. In recognizing and uplifting Indigenous voices, these practices foster an inclusive and diverse academic environment that challenges colonial power relations.

These practices depict decolonial re-existence through "the sustained effort to reorient our human communal praxis of living" (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p. 106). These initiatives move forward, reorient, and strengthen political and organizational processes by working in alliance with Indigenous communities in nations with deeply-rooted hegemonic practices and histories of marginalization and racism (Barraza-García, 2014; Ivanoff & Loncon, 2016). They articulated epistemic decolonization in the academy with the emancipatory struggle of communities, organizations and Indigenous Peoples (Pimentel & Rocha, 2022).

Likewise, the mentioned practices advocate for decolonization of knowledge (Barraza-García, 2014; Ivanoff & Loncon, 2016), seeking to reconstruct power relations by fostering equal and mutual relations of respect with Indigenous People. By reconfiguring existing hierarchies, these practices strive to remake relationships and aim for cultural recognition with cultural and political conversations that emphasize different perspectives, so that Indigenous People can assert their rightful place in shaping their own futures. As Castro-Gómez (2017) argues, challenging coloniality entails not only embracing cultural differences, but also demands transforming power structures to address the root causes that have historically perpetuated oppression and inequity in the first place. The projects mentioned here that have centered the voices of Indigenous People actively aim to disrupt some of the colonial legacies. Decolonizing higher education, in the end, not only benefits Indigenous People involved in these projects, but also enriches and promotes cultural diversity, mutual understanding, and critical engagement from multiple perspectives.

Motivation and Possibilities to Implement a Decolonial Agenda

Decolonial initiatives within higher education do not occur in isolation, but are part of a larger context that can drive their implementation. For example, motivation to implement decolonial practices can come from social demands. Students' awareness and demands for decolonial programs and universities (Bell, 2018; Blanche et al., 2021; Maldonado-Torres, 2016) force higher education institutions to question their practices and implement changes that respond to student requests. In South Africa, larger social movements like #BlackLivesMatter, or student protests (Rhodes and Fees Must Fall) that questioned disciplinary knowledges and increasing social inequalities have motivated higher education institutions and educators to address issues of systemic racism in academia (Blanche et al, 2021; Carolissen et al, 2017; Rasool & Harms-Smith, 2021). Similarly, in Latin America, Indigenous movements and their demands in the region motivated changes in policies and constitutions to recognize the plural and multiethnic character of countries and, eventually, affected educational systems (Guapacha et al, 2018; Ivanoff & Loncon, 2016).

People committed to decolonial work make it possible to conceive and implement decolonial projects. It is evident in the literature how individuals engage in critical reflection of their practices. For example, Blanche and colleagues (2021) start their journey for a decolonial curriculum in community psychology by questioning and reflecting on how to engage in decolonial work within their nation and global context. Rasool and Harms-Smith (2021) also described their unrest as educators with an "imperative to engage in decoloniality" (p. 60) and their willingness to experience discomfort in the process of recognizing their own participation in reinforcing coloniality. These concerns imply a decolonial attitude involving reflexivity and collective strategies to interrogate and start to transform HEIs. Along with these individual reflections, communities and collectives of individuals exposed to racism and marginalization have gathered to participate actively in decolonial research and institutional projects for transformation (Kessi, 2017; Pimentel & Rocha, 2022). Systems are colonial, but people can engage in meaningful work that seek to decolonize research, practice, and education (Fellner, 2018).

While some encounter challenges in terms of a lack of clarity of how to proceed to enact a decolonial agenda in HEIs (Knight, 2018), scholars have discussed that it is a complex and time-consuming process. This undertaking requires the development of theoretical perspectives, methodologies for implementation, reflexivity (examination of values and assumptions) and critical reflection (analysis and evaluation of experiences) as well as participatory action research

processes (Blanche et al., 2021; García León & García León, 2019; Rasool & Harms-Smith, 2021). Blanche et al. (2021) and Rasool and Harms-Smith (2021) described the long-term process required to prepare, plan, reflect on, and implement a decolonial curriculum within their programs and departments. It is clear that a decolonial agenda cannot be enacted overnight and requires clarification of objectives and guidelines, and constant interrogation of the dimensions of coloniality. Blanche et al. (2021) described a careful consideration of principles and Rasool & Harms-Smith (2021) recounted how in the initial stages, the process required time for collective reflection "to allow educators to clarify and engage with decoloniality and find a common understanding amongst ourselves" (p. 61).

Involving students and their voices as well is necessary for decoloniality to happen (García León & García León, 2019; Rasool & Harms-Smith, 2021). The use of participatory action research to develop decolonial projects served as a methodology to enable a decolonial agenda as it challenged the coloniality of power and being. In this sense, participatory action research opened up spaces to share control, power, and expertise in decision-making for students and others that are usually marginalized in the development of curricula and teaching (García León & García León, 2019; Rasool & Harms-Smith, 2021).

Finally, university authorities appear in the literature as a factor that plays a key role in the conception and support of decolonial pedagogies, curriculum (Blanche et al., 2021; Rasool & Harms-Smith, 2021), and institutional initiatives (Guapacha et al., 2018; Ivanoff & Loncon, 2016). For example, Blanche et al. (2021) specifically point to the support and motivation of university authorities in the revision and innovation of curricula. The awareness of university authorities of decolonial approaches facilitated innovation, decision-making and, ultimately meaningful changes. Acceptance of and openness to decolonial practices from university authorities demonstrate the need to institutionalize actions and strategies, and to develop policy that clearly addresses and encourages decolonial work at different levels (teaching, curriculum, and institutional). Scholars in the literature have been able to create change both individually and through collective processes and movements; however, when there is institutional support, the challenges are alleviated and the focus shifts to raising awareness, fostering reflexivity and implementing change, rather than fighting against the institutions where these decolonial practices emerge.

Challenges to Decolonial Work

The decolonial projects in the literature illustrate forms of resistance from individuals and communities in liminal spaces that disrupt and challenge the system at different levels. Some of the diverse practices described in the literature that attempt to disrupt coloniality expressed facing challenges in their implementation. It is undeniable that the coloniality of power, knowledge and being continue to operate within higher education institutions. The challenges faced by scholars engaged in decolonial practices in higher education institutions in the Global South report the complications in the processes of decolonial pedagogies, curricula, and institutional dynamics with communities.

Resistance and challenges come from different sources and are caused by the persistence of coloniality in higher education institutions, which affects the original intention of these decolonial practices. First, when implementing teaching and curriculum with a decolonial basis, two of the revised studies (Blanche et al., 2021; Carolissen et al., 2017) mention groups of students who were resistant to decolonial curricula, and did not necessarily welcome teaching that deviates from Western norms. The academic legitimacy of decolonial teaching, curriculum and institutions may be questioned. In the study by Blanche et al. (2021), some students responded to decolonial teaching and evaluation of learning with an "anything-goes approach" (p. 376).

The coloniality of knowledge influences not only students' discourses, but also those of professors. Coloniality builds hierarchies, and influences curricula, pedagogical practices, and teaching methodologies (Ferreira de Souza & de Oliveira, 2022). To foster decoloniality in higher education, it is necessary to be aware of how Eurocentric ways of knowing, teaching and learning influence students' and educators' perceptions of the legitimacy of non-western knowledges and practices. Blanche et al. (2021) and Carolissen et al. (2017) argue that some students as well as faculty struggle to recognize multiple epistemologies as valid.

Rasool & Harms-Smith (2021) describe how initial attempts to decolonize the curriculum are affected by lack of commitment from its actors which eventually affects the aims of decoloniality to achieve transformation. On the one hand, decolonial attempts may become superficial with little engagement from stakeholders because of a lack of clarity and direction (Knight, 2018). On the other hand, resistance to decolonial practices can also come from legitimate concerns regarding careless adoption, and scholars warn against trends of romanticizing decoloniality (Carolissen et al., 2017) or adopting top-down approaches that reinforce colonial mindsets (Blanche et al., 2021).

For example, Dhillon (2021) states that leadership at higher education institutions may employ colonial mechanisms in discourses, making decoloniality a currency (Dhillon, 2021). In this sense, the use of decoloniality is problematic when it overlooks its diverse forms and dimensions beyond epistemic decoloniality (curriculum) without acknowledging its material consequences (Harms-Smith and Rasool, 2020), or being followed by any action (Kessi, 2017).

Finally, structural and systemic constraints are evidenced in the lack of material resources and support to make decolonial practices possible. Conservatism within institutions can hinder progress and a lack of reflexivity in teaching and pedagogy in certain disciplines can reproduce Eurocentric models, requiring an articulation of both content and teaching (Morreira, 2017). Projects that connect community and universities are hindered by cuts in funding to programs, research, and scholarship (Pimentel & Rocha, 2022). Decolonial projects within traditional universities face the struggle of neoliberal universities encountering entrenched and ongoing coloniality in educational systems (Rasool & Harms-Smith, 2021). Higher education institutions in the Global South also encounter tensions as they need to negotiate between internationalization standards and demands and a decolonial agenda (Knight, 2018).

Implications and Conclusion

The possibilities offered by decoloniality for practitioners and scholars invested in addressing the economic, political and cultural effects of colonialism, make it necessary to continue the work to unsettle practices that perpetuate inequity in higher education. The decolonial practices discussed in this literature review range from changing classroom practices, curriculum and institutions in order to remake relations with oneself and others by making visible knowledges, languages, and perspectives that are traditionally excluded from universities. The 16 articles included in this systematic literature review evidence how decolonial practices are contextual to geographical and political realities. Collectively, these decolonial practices challenge the privilege of Eurocentric knowledge, epistemicide, and reflect the need to articulate work happening at different levels for meaningful transformation.

A humanizing pedagogy is centered around humans, highly contextualized, relevant and socially driven (Law, 2015). In order to challenge and oppose coloniality, and the dehumanization that comes with it, decoloniality does not only subvert and deconstruct, but invites us to be in alignment with a decolonial attitude. This implies "reaching out to others, communicating, and organizing" (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p. 7). In the long term, the purpose of decoloniality is to imagine and build "a different world" (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p. 88), which involves not only challenging colonial structures and mindsets, but imagining a future where diverse knowledge systems and beings are valued and respected. Decolonial attempts in higher education settings can shed light into the emancipatory potential of teaching and other institutional activities (Rasool & Harms-Smith, 2021), such as how the production of knowledge is challenged in pedagogical approaches, curricula, and institutional practices. For Mignolo & Walsh (2018) "decoloniality is undoing and redoing; it is praxis" (p. 120). This quote highlights the imperative to document the specific forms of disentanglement from coloniality that are taking place within university settings, and how collectives are disrupting colonial paradigms of being, thinking, and doing.

The systematic literature review revealed that the process of enacting a decolonial agenda in higher education needs to be intentional. It is clear that the process of decoloniality is not linear, nor is it homogeneous, and there is not a one size that fits all. Insights for significant transformation of teaching, curricula and institutions can illuminate what decoloniality looks like in different educational contexts. Therefore, it is necessary to continue documenting and making visible practices that are highly relevant and exemplify the different meanings of decoloniality for those who identify as living and working in the Global South. I trust that this and other exercises of analyzing the academic production of decolonial efforts will contribute by shedding light on the opportunities and complexities that decolonial endeavors mean for higher education.

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Dismantling the Master's House: A Decolonial Blueprint for the Internationalization of Higher Education

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Abstract

While critical scholars have attempted to decenter internationalization, limited research has aimed to understand internationalization efforts in the context of the socio-historical particularities of the postcolonial condition. This paper takes a decolonial perspective in the study of internationalization, in light of the Eurocentric tendencies of modernity, whose major manifestation in higher education is neoliberal globalization. We unpack internationalization in the U.S. and examine how it is embedded in and reproduces neoliberalism, racism, and colonialism. Since decolonization is not merely deconstructive but also regenerative, we reconceive what it means to be international and recommend how internationalization can be deployed as a tool of decolonization, considering various possibilities for hopeful and ethical praxis. We identify promising practices to spark ongoing reflection and action about ways to contest coloniality/modernity and rethink mobility. This paper can benefit educators seeking to reclaim internationalization and [re]align it with an ethos of mutuality and practices geared at strengthening cooperation, rather than competition.

Keywords: critical internationalization, decolonial, decolonization, higher education, international education, postcolonial

Resumen

La internacionalización de la educación superior funciona como un proyecto de occidentalización que centra las innovaciones eurocéntricas en investigación, pedagogía e instrucción. Las implicaciones negativas de la internacionalización incluyen su énfasis neoliberal en la comercialización, el imperialismo y capitalismo académico/cognitivo. Algunos académicos críticos han intentado de-centrar la internacionalización y trazar las desiguales esferas de conocimiento y poder que los estudiantes in/migrantes internacionales atraviesan y habitan. A pesar de estos esfuerzos, existen solo unos pocos estudios que aspiran comprender y conceptualizar los esfuerzos de internacionalización en el contexto de las particularidades socio-históricas de la condición poscolonial. Este documento adoptará una perspectiva decolonial en el estudio de la internacionalización, a la luz de las tendencias eurocéntricas de la modernidad, cuya manifestación más influyente en la educación superior es la globalización neoliberal. Así, analizamos en detalle la internacionalización y examinamos cómo ésta reproduce y está intrínsecamente relacionada con el neoliberalismo, el

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racismo y el colonialismo. Dado que la descolonización no es meramente deconstructiva sino también fundamentalmente reconstructiva y regenerativa, redefiniremos lo que significa ser internacional para una universidad, un programa y un estudiante o académico. En este artículo, recomendamos cómo la internacionalización puede ser utilizada como una herramienta de descolonización, considerando varias posibilidades para una praxis esperanzadora y ética en tiempos de crisis globales post-pandémicas. Identificaremos prácticas prometedoras para impulsar la reflexión y acción continuas sobre formas de impugnar la colonialidad/modernidad y de repensar la movilidad. Este documento beneficiará a los educadores que buscan recuperar la internacionalización y [re]alinearla con un ethos de mutua colaboración y prácticas orientadas a fortalecer la cooperación, en lugar de la competencia.

***Palabras claves**: internacionalización crítica, descolonización de la educación superior, descolonización de la educación internacional, estudios decoloniales, internacionalización, educación internacional, estudios poscoloniales.*

Resumo

A internacionalização do ensino superior funciona como um projeto de ocidentalização que centraliza as inovações eurocêntricas em pesquisa, pedagogia e instrução. As implicações negativas da internacionalização incluem sua ênfase neoliberal na comercialização e no capitalismo acadêmico/cognitivo e no imperialismo. Estudiosos críticos à internacionalização neoliberal têm tentado descentralizar a internacionalização e mapear as esferas desiguais de conhecimento e poder que os estudantes internacionais migrantes/imigrantes percorrem e habitam. Apesar desses esforços, poucas pesquisas visaram entender e conceituar os esforços de internacionalização no contexto das particularidades sócio-históricas da condição pós-colonial. Neste contexto, este artigo adotará uma perspectiva decolonial para o estudo da internacionalização à luz das tendências eurocêntricas da modernidade, cuja manifestação mais influente no ensino superior é a globalização neoliberal. É nosso objetivo olhar a internacionalização em sua complexidade e examinar como ela está inserida e reproduz o neoliberalismo, o racismo e o colonialismo. Uma vez que a decolonialidade não é apenas desconstrutiva, mas fundamentalmente reconstrutiva e regenerativa, pretendemos reconceituar o que significa ser internacional para uma universidade, um programa e um estudante ou pesquisador. Apontaremos para como a internacionalização pode ser utilizada como ferramenta de decolonização, considerando várias possibilidades de práxis esperançosa e ética em tempos de crise global pós-pandêmica. Identificaremos práticas promissoras para estimular uma reflexão e ação contínuas sobre formas de contestar a colonialidade/modernidade e repensar a mobilidade acadêmica. Este artigo, assim, tenta responder a educadores que buscam recuperar a internacionalização e [re]alinhá-la com um ethos de mutualidade e práticas voltadas para o fortalecimento da cooperação em vez da competição.

Palavras-chave: decolonização do ensino superior, decolonização da educação internacional, estudos decoloniais, educação internacional, internacionalização, internacionalização crítica.

Introduction

Higher education internationalization projects are tainted by and, to a large extent, replicate the tendencies of the colonizer's model of the world. From a postcolonial perspective, U.S. higher education is entangled with the colonial past and the neoliberal, neocolonial present as an economic actor that dominates global educational markets through internationalization (Suspitsyna, 2021). The internationalization of higher education (IoHE) is a westernization project that privileges Eurocentric innovations, pedagogies, and instruction (Sperduti, 2017), and is pursued through a neoliberal emphasis on marketability, academic and cognitive capitalism, and intellectual imperialism (Gyamera, 2015; Muñoz, 2022; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). These forces uphold global power relations, reinscribe colonial forms of knowledge, and diminish the potential contributions of diverse voices, including Subaltern/ized and Indigenous (Chatterjee & Barber, 2021; George Mwangi & Yao, 2021). While the Global South is not exempt from the epistemic chokehold of the North, the scope of this essay is limited to an analysis of the colonizing tendencies of IoHE in the U.S. context.

Most scholarship surrounding IoHE tends to be status quo-ist and uncritically accepting of dominant neoliberal discourses about the role of higher education as a driver of economic competitiveness (Vavrus & Pekol, 2015). Mainstream approaches to IoHE, further, fail to account for broader historical and sociopolitical forces that recast transnational inequalities and shape opportunities for students and scholars to participate in international programs and policies. Such normative approaches preserve the invisibility of the modern/colonial imaginary (Stein & McCartney, 2021) — the complex system of ideas, beliefs, and narratives that shape the way societies perceive and understand the world — perpetuating what Byrd (2013) referred to as 'colonial agnosia,' a discomfort with unknowing and unlearning. There is dire need for research that actively investigates and makes visible colonial patterns in IoHE that normalize divisions between higher- and lower-status institutions, settler and native, and Global North and South/First and Third World.

As diasporic Asian women scholars from the Global South, in the U.S., we firmly hold that unanchoring from IoHE's Western paradigm is a necessary step toward a future that envisions a more inclusive and equitable citizenship. For us, the Global South refers to "an entire history of colonialism, neo-imperialism, and differential economic and social change through which large inequalities in living standards, life expectancy, and access to resources are maintained" (Dados & Connell, 2012, p. 13). We believe IoHE in its current form is — borrowing from Lorde (1984) — a master's tool wielded by Western/ized architects that buttresses neoliberal agendas and thereby reinforces White supremacy. We begin by providing a literature review of IoHE and its connection to globalization, neoliberalism, and neo/colonialism, with a focus on the U.S., because it is where we currently teach, create, and labor. In the subsequent section, we lay out the value of decolonization to deconstruct IoHE in its present state. We lean into our lived experiences and conclude by discussing future directions and speculating what IoHE might look like beyond its neoliberal and neo/colonial model.

If the mission of IoHE is educating citizens for active and constructive democratic participation, this paper emphasizes IoHE's responsibility to society before individuals. More broadly, this paper signals an urgent need to resist a global market-determined economy that commands that the world has to be gendered, racialized, segregated, and organized for exploitation. Decolonization can enable us to better account for global entanglements that are produced through the continuing legacy of unequal interdependencies, and better consider how these contexts serve as foundational for current IoHE research and strategies. Through a revisitation of IoHE and a rethinking of the world as we know it, new pathways can be constructed and radical frameworks of knowledge imagined. Our collective futures depend on the growth of "credible alternative philosophies whose complementary characteristics would make humanity richer and the philosophic enterprise itself more fascinating" (Okere, 1983, p. 129).

Literature Review

Definition of and Approaches to Internationalization

Knight (2003) defined the phenomenon of IoHE as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education" (p. 2). A common approach to IoHE is for higher education institutions to incorporate a global dimension to their existing teaching, scholarship, and service components (Vavrus & Pekol, 2015), through initiatives such as seminars by guest lecturers of international partner universities, conferences on global topics, and virtual exchange partnerships. However, our understanding of IoHE has evolved to include other (often conflicting) perspectives. Emerging studies on IoHE and the postcolonial condition highlight the dynamic nature of definitions, with varying emphases ranging from normative to inclusive and critical perspectives. IoHE has developed into a broad, unwieldy, and nebulous category encompassing multifarious activities, strategies, concepts, approaches, and meanings.

IoHE reflects the interconnectedness of multiple processes, peoples, practices, communities, and organizations, which led George Mwangi and Yao (2021) to compare IoHE to a thread of fiber composed of multiple interlocking strands. IoHE engages various stakeholders, including governments, institutions, faculty, staff, and students (De Wit, 2002). As a result of its complex and multifaceted nature, there exists conceptual ambiguity surrounding what IoHE actually means. IoHE can be broadly defined as:

> specific policies and initiatives of countries and individual institutions or systems to deal with global trends [including] policies related to recruitment of international students, collaborations with academic institutions or systems of other countries, and the establishment of branch campuses abroad. (Altbach, 2015, p. 6)

IoHE has been associated with the manifestation of neoliberal discourses of globalization (Smith, 1999a), which has led higher education to be viewed as a global marketplace for international students, scholars, and research funds. IoHE efforts are heavily driven by global structures and systems that privilege the needs of the global norm (George Mwangi & Yao, 2021), and are aimed to help students to become more competitive in the global economy, faculty to develop broader perspectives on their disciplines, and universities to have an international presence, which is increasingly deemed necessary to remain financially solvent, prominent, and prestigious (Stromquist, 2007). With transnational corporations moving rapidly up the global value chain, competencies such as career-readiness and proficiency in global collaboration are deemed necessary to self-optimize and achieve corporate competitiveness (Yeravdekar & Tiwari, 2014).

However, common conceptions of IoHE have excluded discussions of global power imbalances and sufficient attention to student heterogeneity beyond visa status (Buckner & Stein, 2019). IoHE has come to encompass a messy entanglement of neoliberal categories and assumptions with other, primarily progressive humanitarian ideals, and this coupling has had the unfortunate effect of normalizing inequalities (Bamberger et al., 2019). The prominence of a marketisation discourse has claimed IoHE's agenda, redefining it narrowly in commercially expedient terms (De Vita & Case, 2010). The social roles of public higher education have been displaced by the economic role of serving corporations' global competitiveness (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2000). IoHE scholars and practitioners seem more preoccupied with myopically reporting student learning outcomes than considering what forces are at work.

Unfortunately, most scholarship surrounding IoHE, as Vavrus and Pekol (2015) noted, tends to accept dominant neoliberal discourses about the role of higher education as a means to ensure economic competitiveness. Despite growing interest in counter-normative approaches to IoHE, there still exists a continued prioritization of financial over ethical and political concerns (Stein & McCartney, 2021). As a result, most IoHE scholarship often uncritically supports the status quo regarding the division between higher-and lower-status institutions in the Global North and South respectively, failing to account for broader historical and sociopolitical forces that shape opportunities for students and faculty to participate in IoHE programs and develop IoHE policies (Vavrus & Pekol, 2015). Even many supposedly critical approaches to IoHE have failed to address modernity/coloniality (Stein & McCartney, 2021).

The Colonial Roots of Western Education

Processes of knowledge production are not exempted from (re)producing colonial legacies, and are not value-free, and knowledge about Global North-South relations is no exception. Cupples (2018) argued that the Western university is "a site where learning and the production, acquisition, and dissemination of knowledge are embedded in Eurocentric epistemologies that are posited as objective, disembodied, and universal" (p. 2). U.S. higher education institutions generally function as exclusionary and elitist spaces that maintain the status quo of hegemony, neoliberalism, and Whiteness as ideologies instead of centering learning and instruction to prepare students to challenge societal inequities and oppressions (De Saxe & Trotter-Simons, 2021). In the Western university, knowledge has been defined, interpreted, and manufactured through Western categorizations, philosophies, and frameworks. The assertion of White dominance reinforces normative behaviors and subjugates Others, often marking the latter as outsiders (Muñoz, 2022; Tachine, 2022).

The history of colonial higher education reveals a complex pattern of hegemonic processes that have characterized its global expansion. Western universities were not set up to benefit the colonized, women, nor working classes (Dear, 2018) but mostly built "by rich White men to benefit rich White men" and "protect a class of social and cultural elites when elite was synonymous with White" (Iorio, 2017, para 7). Western universities "sought to craft a world civilization as an expression of sameness" rather than "acknowledge the plurality of experience and perspective" (Mamdani, 2016, p. 78), functioning as theaters of 're-education' and brainwashing (Dussel, 2003). In the colonial imagination, people of color seldom produced valuable knowledge, although colonizers often stole knowledge from people of color and claimed it as theirs (Xaba, 2018).

A wealth of scholarship exists shedding light on the colonial roots and machinations of Western higher education (Peters, 2017; wa Thiong'o, 1985; Wilder, 2013), a discussion that remains outside this paper's scope. There is also ample research tracing the epistemic heritage of Western higher education as Eurocentric, discriminatory, and intangible traditions of thought, reasoning, and knowledge production that originate in modern Europe and continue to influence, if not dominate, higher education curricula, policies, pedagogies, and practices across the world (Lohaus-Reyes, 2019; Quijano, 2007; Shahjahan, 2005, 2011). For the sake of space, we will not delve into the many consequences of the epistemic violence that was deployed to build empires, but in the context of this paper, it is crucial to keep in mind that all projects of educational institutions, including those associated with IoHE, are tainted with coloniality.

Globalization as a Facet of Coloniality

Although IoHE is associated with many different types of projects, scholars (Finardi & Rojo, 2015; Knight, 2003; Sharipov, 2020) generally perceive it as a product of and response to globalization pressures. Globalization refers to the social processes that constitute the rapid movement of ideas, information, goods, and manpower across the globe, radically transforming relations among people and communities across national borders (Cohen & Kennedy, 2007). Globalization is a multidimensional concept whereby political, sociocultural, technological, and ideological aspects become presumably more homogeneous and driven by free market principles (Maringe, 2010). It has given rise to new forms of transnational interconnectivity, increasingly integrating the local into larger, globe-spanning networks (Rizvi, 2011), driving a global arms race for academic, intellectual, and technoscientific talent (Wildavsky, 2012).

Globalization, however, is a new facet of global coloniality, a neoliberal project of homogenizing the world under the desires of Western civilization (Mignolo, 2019, 2021). The trends of colonial empires, where the colonizer benefited from the exploited labors of the colonized — under the garb of the White man's burden — did not disappear when imperialist governments left their colonies, because their global imperial designs remained deep-set. Political, economic, and educational power shifted to the Occident, and Oriental regions and peoples ended up aligning with global linear thinking (Schmitt, 2006), as Western capitalist civilization carried over to — or rather was *thrust upon* — non-Western and Indigenous peoples. Modern European education models were supplanted in semi-peripheral/peripheral countries through globalization, and also served as transmitters of globalization (Zinkina et al., 2019), often through the neo-colonialist, predatory regimes of the comprador bourgeoisie.

Coloniality refers to the continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonization, produced by colonial cultures and structures in the modern/colonial capitalist patriarchal world system (Grosfoguel, 2002). Global coloniality expresses how the modern world's technologies of subjection underwent a subtle shift from labor and resource extraction facilitated by physical empires, to exploitation and subjugation/subjectivation facilitated by more complex and invisible entanglements of global power (Grosfoguel, 2007). This modern/colonial system "defines the organization and dissemination of epistemic, material, and aesthetic resources in ways that reproduce modernity's imperial project" (Andreotti et al., 2015, p. 23). These hierarchies of global power, which derive from empire, are totalizing, all-encompassing, and seemingly inescapable, and they continue to subject all aspects of human (and non-human) life to a Euro- and androcentric world system.

In the era of globalization and unfettered capitalism, higher education has become discursively configured to meet the needs of modernization from the context of Euro-modernity (Dei, 2012). The flow of information, capital, and people continues to circulate toward the Global North, or the West (Rizvi et al., 2006). Globalization — together with neoliberalism and the knowledge economy, forces functional to each other and part of the same colonial matrix of power — is swaying practices of IoHE in the direction of commodification and pushing higher education toward consumer- and market-orientation, concretizing ideas of capitalist modernity (Edwards & Usher, 2000). Establishing this link between colonization and globalization can aid us to examine how power stratifications established through colonization continue to be fueled through new economic and cultural relations, and how IoHE can both perpetuate and challenge these stratifications depending on how it is approached and implemented.

Role of Neoliberal Ideology

Neoliberalism is a differently-interpreted and contested concept, and can be understood as a political-economic ideology, a set of economic policies, and a mode of governance, and it manifests and re/constructs subjectivities differently across contexts. We borrow Touwen's (2015) definition of neoliberalism as "a policy direction that combines supply-side policy with monetarist views, aimed at stimulating private solutions […] explicitly avoiding an agenda that actively reduces inequality or pursues income redistribution" (p. 13). Neoliberalism has been described as a veiled colonialism (Kotzé, 2019), a creeping kudzu (Staller, 2022), a 'new imperialism' (Harvey, 2003) and White settler model of development that exploits historic inequity along the same geopolitical, gendered, raced, classed, and casted lines as colonialism (Pailey, 2020; Wilson et al., 2018).

Globalization, as a process of increasing interconnectedness and integration of economies and societies worldwide, has been facilitated through neoliberal economic policies, particularly neoliberalism's promotion of 'free' markets, deregulation, and minimal government intervention in the economy. Neoliberalism is "inextricably linked to the current workings of capital on a global basis [and] extends the earlier logics of empire, trade, and political dominion in many parts of the world" (Appadurai, 1999, p. 229). The dominance of English as a global lingua franca has played a significant role in facilitating globalization and neoliberalism, entailing hegemonizing processes that enabled the march of U.S. capital across the world (Phillipson, 2008; Sharma, 2020). A Eurocentric, Anglophonic, capitalistic knowledge economy appears incapable of accounting for the intersecting gendered, raced, and classed power relations of knowledge and labor extraction between and within the Global North and South.

Coinciding with the hegemonic ascendance of neoliberalism, IoHE shifted from aid to trade during and after World War II (Stein, 2021) and started to be considered a market: "a continuation of former imperial and political connections that have evolved into financially beneficial markets and sources of income for Western universities" (Bolsmann & Miller, 2008, p. 80). Neoliberalism advanced globalization, academic entrepreneurialism, and IoHE by promoting trade and student mobility (Shields, 2013), and neoliberalism's emphasis on the economic value of education contributed to an increased focus on recruiting international students and producing graduates with marketable skills to meet the demands of the global market (Marginson, 2012). Conversely, globalization enabled neoliberalism and IoHE by creating a globalized economic and education system where markets transcend nation-states, commodifying collaborative efforts for market-oriented goals (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

Neoliberalism equates a state's success with its ability to nurture and sustain the economy, but unlike liberalism, it is unconcerned with the contradiction between the right to pursue profits in a capitalist economic system and the ideal of equal opportunity in a democratic sense (Mintz, 2021), making neoliberalism at odds with equity. Together, globalization and neoliberalism exert a powerful influence on education systems, to the point where it is often assumed that their effects constitute educational or economic good, while in reality they may not (Patrick, 2013). Institutions are coming under pressure to enter the global space and embrace neoliberal logics that require them to compete in this 'free' market (Matus & Talburt, 2009). University administrators and policy makers are devising policies in response to the proliferation of the Eurocentric knowledge economy in higher education (Bolsmann & Miller, 2008).

Neoliberalism has reconceptualized the purpose and benefits of higher education (Saunders, 2007), redefining higher education in market terms (Gupta, 2015; Shrivastava & Shrivastava, 2014) and reshaping the knowledge that scholars create and disseminate (Dixon, 2006). There is growing concern that if the market logic continues dominating discussions on higher education, then its leaders will feel increasingly driven to prioritize fields linked to growth in revenues (such as STEM), in the process marginalizing fields that resist neoliberal symbolic logics but are central to addressing socio-cultural issues, such as the humanities (Breu, 2018; Kim, 2009). Knowledge with a high exchange value in the market is what counts, while those fields that cannot be quantified are either underfunded or devalued in the masculinized hierarchy of academic knowledge (Carrigan & Bardini, 2021; Giroux, 2002).

Neoliberalism also manifests as the use of corporate practices in higher education governance (Urban, 2016), replacing traditional cultures of learning and intellectual enquiry with a massified knowledge economy emphasizing student

recruitment, strategic planning, performativity, and competition (Olssen & Peters, 2005). Competition and marketization have come to matter more to IoHE than its traditional values, such as cooperation, intellectual exchange, and service to society, which were driving the IoHE agenda in the early 20th century. Scholars, such as Brandenburg and De Wit (2011), who were earlier strong proponents of IoHE, have expressed alarm over the dominance of commercial, utilitarian interests and ideologies in IoHE. Knight (2007), too, denounced the global trend towards the market model of IoHE. As universities transition from a service to market profile, academics fear the depoliticizing, subjectivizing practices of evaluation and loss of control over the means by which they produce and evaluate themselves and their labor (Cannizzo, 2018).

In the creation of a knowledge identified, transnational capitalist class, university rankings receive top priority, students are configured as clients, and academic programs are structured to promote students' economic potential rather than their intellectual growth (Amsler & Bolsmann, 2011; Hertig, 2021; Larsen, 2016). This academic colonization process centers on productivity and skill exchange rather than on meaningful cultural exchange founded on decolonial equal-partnership terms. Neoliberalism, dovetailing with the White capitalist myth of meritocracy, has generated a 'caste system' of 'winners and losers,' 'makers and takers,' and 'the best and the brightest' (Deresiewicz, 2015). Neoliberal forces, furthermore, limit the effectiveness of universities as sites of contestation of the national and global order (Boron, 2008), causing a decline of dissent. Academic capitalism is eroding the underlying principles of IoHE, namely intelligibility, solidarity, and subversion (Khoo et al., 2016).

Internationalization as a Vehicle for Colonial Hierarchies

Normative IoHE functions as a tool of the existing power structure, in that it serves to perpetuate the dominance of Western capitalist and hegemonic knowledge systems within the global education landscape. The colonial roots of modern Western rationality are embedded deep within the foundations of IoHE, which continues Eurocentric knowledge production, exploitation of international students, and inequitable access to resources and opportunities (Hou, 2021; Stein, 2021). While IoHE is increasingly a strategic priority at U.S. higher education institutions, practices such as international student recruitment, education abroad, cross-border partnerships, and uncritical virtual exchanges can engender/maintain Western superiority, elitism, and hegemony. A model of IoHE which prioritizes economic growth tends to be extractive and benefits former colonial powers.

For instance, scholars (Alatas, 2000; Ashcroft, 2001; McMurtry, 1998; Prasad, 2003; Smith, 2006; Young, 2001) have highlighted that trends such as global rankings, research output, and institutional efforts to expand mobility perpetuate the dominance of particular ways of knowing that are foundational to the Western model of higher education. The center imposes itself on the periphery and is seen by all, including the periphery, as the source of knowledge, morals, and culture (Dussel, 2003). In IoHE, Western productions of knowledge are touted as authentic, rational, and correct, whereas Other knowledges are demoted, delegitimized, pathologized, or discarded (Collyer, 2016). Further, the notions and criteria for rankings are defined by Western paradigms, causing the divide between the Global North and South and between universities classified as top world-class and 'Others' to persist (De Wit, 2022). This supposedly meritocratic global race exalts the possibility of a few 'star scholars' to succeed, overlooking the system's embedded inequalities that handicap and hurt the many.

IoHE, moreover, is increasingly dominated by economic imperatives that focus on exporting education and generating income from overseas students (Jiang, 2008). International student recruitment has been a source of income generation for Western universities, emulating elitist colonial power/knowledge structures (Ploner & Nada, 2020). International students are positioned as 'cash cows' (Sanchez-Serra & Marconi, 2018), motivating many governments to charge foreign students higher fees than national students. A student from India, for instance, pays three to four times more to study at an institution in the UK, a country that colonized India for two centuries. Student mobility is situated within larger systems of global domination and geopolitics, and Western countries largely dominate international student mobility. Historically, English-speaking, geopolitically-privileged nations, aligned with Whiteness, have provided most services related to IoHE initiatives and come to control most programs, whereas Asian, African, Latin American, and poorer nations

of the developing world are the buying countries as they are unable to meet growing demand (Altbach & Knight, 2007). Such recruitment trends reproduce colonial hierarchies.

De Wit (2022) pointed out that such elitist approaches to IoHE have contributed to increase inequality and exclusiveness, both nationally and internationally. Only 1-2% of students worldwide have a chance to be mobile for a semester, year, or full degree, and this percentage is lower in the Global South than North (De Wit, 2022). Further, factors such as high tuition fees make U.S. higher education out of reach for aspiring students from lower socioeconomic marginalized Global South communities (Choudaha, 2020). Waters (2012) echoed this sentiment, claiming that IoHE in its current state entrenches (and in some cases, within emerging economies, actively creates) social disparities. Thus, IoHE is paradoxical because, despite its purported aim of providing global access to education to students from various geographical origins, its different practices un/consciously reproduce structural inequality (Gómez, 2019).

The influence of neo/colonialism on IoHE is further reflected in the prevailing discrimination of lower-income social groups which generally, but not exclusively, hail from minority communities with migration and/or colonial background (Ploner & Nada, 2020). For example, Dalits (a group historically exploited and oppressed under the Brahmanical caste system) need affordable access to IoHE more than their upper/caste counterparts. However, members of 'lower' castes from India constitute an almost negligible portion of international students in the U.S.—in 2003, a mere 1.5 percent of Indian immigrants in the U.S. were Dalits or members of lower-ranked castes (Kapur, 2010). This reveals that IoHE perpetuates Savarna hegemony and caste stratification. Foreign language proficiency is also an unequally distributed form of linguistic capital in a transnational economic order (Rössel & Schroedter, 2021), and IoHE largely remains inaccessible to students without foreign language currency.

Another trend exemplifying how IoHE risks reproducing colonial hierarchies is the establishment of satellite campuses in developing countries. The setting up of overseas branch campuses and transnational degree programs by Western universities in the Global South has been critiqued as a form of neo- or re-colonization, since branches send profit back to their main campuses (Clarke, 2021; Ling et al., 2014; Xu, 2021). Branches are characterized by asymmetrical power relations, particularly between the main campus and local administration, which are embedded in different social and societal contexts (Siltaoja et al., 2018). Siltaoja et al. (2018) argued that the neocolonial implication of these branches is enforced through the 'world-class' discourse, which seeks to signal institutions' value in the educational network while simultaneously imposing ideas of who and what count as preferred sources of knowledge. This allows Western universities to flex their academic clout in developing nations through academic colonization (Sulaiman, 2012).

IoHE's neocolonialist tendencies can also be observed in the increasing popularity of U.S. accreditation overseas. Altbach (2003) has cautioned against accreditation and other practices as 'academic hubris,' 'academic muscle,' and 'academic invasion' (p. 5). In general, a power relationship exists between universities in the North and South and between those deemed world-class and 'Other,' in terms of knowledge, capital, access to funding, and access to publications (De Wit, 2022). And while these accreditations are often welcome by developing countries, Chatterjee and Barber (2021) opined that the postcolonial states' desire for Western knowledge and modernity re-casts broader transnational inequities established by colonial practices. In all of these ways, IoHE is widening the gap between socioeconomic classes and thus creating discrimination among developing societies' students (Jaschik, 2012).

Study abroad programs and short-term exchanges are also not immune to neocolonialist tendencies and can perpetuate the neocolonial exploitation and othering of poorer countries. U.S. study abroad programs often exploit orientalist stereotypes in their marketing (Onyenekwu et al., 2017). It is not uncommon for U.S. recipients of 'privilege migration' (Breen, 2012) to display White saviorism and White superiority during study abroad sojourns in developing countries (Hughes & Popoola, 2022), resulting in a reification of consumerist ideologies and an ongoing employment of an objectifying tourist gaze (Sharpe, 2015). Elite immigrants of Global South origin, based in the U.S., can also potentially re-route neo/colonialist discourses and re-orientalize the Orient. Moreover, when programs take place between well-resourced institutions in the Global North and poorer host communities in the South, the provision of global education services creates new forms of work in the neoliberal economy (Collins, 2021), which can allow for neocolonialist exploitation of Third World proletarian labor.

The current model of study abroad, moreover, widens the gap between haves and have-nots in the sending country too, by giving distinction to already privileged students rather than an opportunity for all (Gaalen et al., 2021). The high costs associated with physical travel deter the participation of economically disadvantaged domestic students (Di Pietro, 2020). For example, less than 1% of students who study abroad are Indigenous in the U.S. (Obst et al, 2007), which suggests that a White capitalist model of study abroad disprivileges the disprivileged, at home and abroad. In the case of online virtual partnerships, too, power asymmetries are often obscured by discourses of partnership. Students from developing, Global South countries often lack the semiotic, cultural, digital, and linguistic competencies, the financial resources, and the tools and infrastructures to partner equally with students from developed Western countries, which leads to financial and social selectivity (Lanham & Voskuil, 2022; López-Duarte et al., 2021). This has led DeWinter and Klamer (2021) to advocate for co-equal, decolonized, and Africanized virtual exchange programs.

Decolonization: A Proposed Framework

Since the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house (Lorde, 1984), any genuine transformation of IoHE will require drawing up a new blueprint. Only with new tools and new pedagogies, new paper and new ink, can IoHE practitioners work towards inventing counter-hegemonic praxes to the individualistic and capitalist principles that reign in IoHE. We believe it possible to generate IoHE projects that can embrace IoHE beyond the modern/colonial university model that was birthed in the West and exported elsewhere. However, such reform will require everyone involved in policy, leadership, and practice to reexamine the foundations of their cognitive dependencies on Eurocentric ideologies, deconstruct many of their norms and values, open themselves to knowledges drawn from diverse experiences (Battiste, 2008), and place these knowledges on a horizontal, non-hierarchical relation (Radcliffe, 2017).

Fortunately, the critical engagement with the colonial heritage of higher education has seen a strong utilization of decolonial theories in recent years and has been closely associated with current discourses surrounding dominant neoliberal and neocolonial agendas that characterize IoHE in contemporary times. According to Rizvi (2007), de/postcolonial studies make valuable contributions in exploring how social, political, economic, and cultural practices continue to be located within processes of cultural domination in IoHE. A decolonial framework can un-obfuscate our locations in the colonial present and illuminate tensions between IoHE as conceived in the West and racial/social justice demands in 'post'colonial contexts. It can make visible underlying assumptions of neoliberal IoHE for the research community and those implicated in the resulting inequities. Such an approach involves posing critical questions designed to destabilize and critique IoHE in its current form, unraveling embedded power structures and, heretofore, unquestioned assumptions.

The exact meaning of decolonization is highly contested, because it directly links with specific territories and peoples and manifests differently. We understand decolonization as "the dismantling of relations of power and conceptions of knowledge that foment the reproduction of racial, gender, and geo-political hierarchies that came into being or found new and more powerful forms of expression in the modern/colonial world" (Maldonado-Torres, 2006, p. 117). Decolonization is a radical departure from the dominant social, economic, and political structures built upon the historical foundations of colonialism (Chovanec et al., 2015), and begins with unpacking and understanding the colonial legacies of modern Western imperialism and globalization. It is a move away from "reading from the center" (Connell, 2007, p. 44), an un-anchoring from the Western paradigm, which is the unquestioned, point-zero perspective in relation to which 'Other' particularities are addressed and assessed.

Decolonization begins with the recognition of the constraints placed by global power hierarchies and involves unlearning Whiteness within us (Xaba, 2018), productive undoing (Spivak, 2012), and dismantling systems (and selves) that allow for any reproduction or maintenance of White privilege. Decolonization reflects a changing geopolitics of knowledge where the modern epistemological framework for knowing and understanding the world is no longer interpreted as universal and unbound by geohistorical and biographical contexts (Mignolo, 2011). It implies changes of attitude and mentality in both of those communities once simply defined as 'home' and 'abroad' (Betts, 1998), and by extension, 'domestic' and 'international.' It requires an iterative and ongoing examination – paired with reflective practice – of the

structures, policies and curricula of any setting to impede the inclination of schooling towards the social reproduction of racial and class inequalities (Patel, 2016).

Decolonization, also, is not a metaphor (Tuck & Yang, 2012), and should not be conflated with neoliberal methods of promoting social justice in education, which can serve to reify rather than resist settler-colonial futurity. There exists a worrying trend of 'decolonization' being used as a buzzword in neoliberal universities and IoHE courses to virtue-signal that universities and faculty are against racism, sexism, and other modes of oppression. In truth, universities are largely increasingly investing in neoliberal practices, with the Global North maintaining control of and lead on decolonial initiatives, frameworks, and approaches, and it is likely that universities' aims for decolonization will remain superficial, toothless, self-defeating, and fakely performative unless they are willing to de-invest in neoliberalism, engender radical social change, and un-close alternative futures. Faux, market decolonization efforts end up reproducing colonial circularities through efforts framed as 'decolonial.'

True decolonization is epistemic (in that it disrupts the White gaze/ear and its larger White episteme) but also reparative and restitutive. Decolonization requires redressing racial and spatial regimes of property that resulted from dividing people, their spaces, and their knowledges into 'civilized' and 'savage,' regimes that construct and exploit vulnerabilities (Harris, 2020) through machineries of dispossession and accumulation. For Tuck and Yang (2012), decolonization means the repatriation of land from settlers to Indigenous peoples alongside the affirmation of Indigenous ties to their lands. For Smith (1999b), decolonization entails a process of "bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic, and psychological divesting of colonial power" that is best pursued by centering Indigenous peoples' concerns and perspectives (p. 98). As Fanon (1968) powerfully wrote, "Europe is literally the creation of the Third World. The wealth which smothers her is that of the underdeveloped peoples" (p. 102).

We pause here to stress that decolonization is not merely disruptive and deconstructive but also fundamentally reconstructive, creative, and regenerative. Decolonization is the act of "creating new and pleasurable ways of living" (King, 2015, p. 65), undoing and redoing (Tuck & Yang, 2012), and imagining otherwise in order to act otherwise (Giroux, 2018). Mignolo (2018), who defined decolonial thought and action as delinking from Euro-American thought, described a second stage following decolonization, which he termed as re-existence: "a sustained effort to reorient our human communal praxis of living" (p. 106). If we unmoor from contemporary IoHE, what might re-existence look like? How might we salvage IoHE and remold it anew? What does the future of IoHE hold beyond the empire? For us to imagine a new world, to conceive of new possibilities, we must believe the world can change.

Implications

IoHE, in its current form, cannot be divorced from the intersecting socio-historical forces of coloniality, globalization, institutionalized racism, and capitalism. We recommend that everyone involved in IoHE (from students, faculty, institutional leaders, and governing boards, to donors, policymakers, transnational accrediting bodies, and education consultancies) actively engage in honest discussions of global power imbalances between those aligned with White, capitalist interests (including comprador bourgeois elites in the Global South) and the proletariat/precariat (the invisible foot soldiers of globalization). We must ensure that we do not un/intentionally ignore or naturalize the deep and specific historicity of IoHE. We recommend a nuanced approach to engaging in such conversations, discerning that the Global North and South are not separate, monolithic interest groups, and that the South's elites (including bourgeois international students and intellectuals in the U.S.) run the risk of reinforcing Global North-South asymmetries, particularly in the way knowledge is selected, constructed, validated, recognized, credited, and disseminated.

To address the inequities reproduced by IoHe's neoliberal model, we can start by listening to (not speaking for) the voices of those hitherto erased from dominant discursive spaces and affirming the evolving perspectives of Global South communities, recognizing that the Third World is not a monolithic, static voice and is replete with contradictions and conflicts. Dutta (2014) contended that exploitation is rooted in the denial of the communicative capacity of the margins and in the co-optation of the margins as the subjects of top-down communication directed at the margins by experts. Listening offers an opening for interrogating the inequities in the global landscape of power distribution, by attending to the unvoiced

assumptions and principles underlying the logics of concentration of power in the hands of the transnational elite (Dutta, 2014). Such listening involves partnering and co-authoring with Global South, Indigenous, and Black scholars on equal terms, especially those from lower-caste, poor, subalternized, and/or migrant communities and those who write and speak in non-English languages. Building agency in the research community outside the hegemonic community will create a more symmetrical discussion in IoHE.

We also encourage pedagogies rooted in critical and transformative perspectives, what Zembylas (2021) termed as 'pedagogies of refusal,' that function affectively to challenge colonial futurity and "disrupt the seductive workings of colonial power in its most intimate dimensions" (p. 1). Decolonial pedagogies are "methodologies and processes of struggle, practice, and praxis that are embodied and situated, that push historical, political, ethical and strategic learnings, and that oblige epistemic, political, ethical, strategic ruptures, and displacements" (Walsh, 2018, p. 48). Such pedagogies regard education as a tool for kindling critical consciousness, confronting injustice, and subverting unjust power dynamics. An example of decolonial pedagogies is decentering, which Zeggio and Chiappa (2022) described as a systematic exercise of shifting what, in our surroundings, has appeared to us as the referent or canon. Decentering better positions us to combat neo/colonialism in IoHE, reconceptualize international academic mobility, and chart the uneven terrains of power and knowledge that international students and scholars traverse and inhabit.

As we contemplate and work toward the ongoing imperative of toppling the master's house, we can transition the university toward what Boidin et al. (2012) called the 'pluriversity.' Pluriversities are counter-hegemonic/subversive and community-oriented institutions that foster a pluriverse of onto-epistemes (Blaser & de la Cadena, 2018), reject academic imperialism, resist commodification, promote democratic deliberation, and challenge the hijacking of assessment and evaluation processes to serve neoliberal interests (Hursh & Wall, 2011; Martinez-Vargas, 2020). Pluriversities also destabilize the asymmetric exchanges of labor that underpin academic productivity, thereby centering creativity, care, and collective praxis. According to Gyamera (2015), universities should adopt proactive strategies that promote alternative notions of IoHE in ways that challenge the status quo. IoHE will benefit from conceptualizing approaches to liberatory, emancipatory education in which transformation, liberation, epistemic equity, democracy, and social justice are objectives.

With regards to the internationalization of curricula, we recommend that the desires of faculty and students be centered in determining whose knowledge is worth knowing, as opposed to the desires of bureaucrats invested in capitalism toward personal benefit. Curricular internationalization should foster the creation of transnational, diasporic spaces in which "scholars from different localities collaborate in reframing and decentering their own knowledge traditions and negotiate trust in each other's contributions to their collective work" (Gough, 2003, p. 68). IoHE has the power to move curriculum from the competitive global race to a collective conversation (Berry, 2014), and to elevate scholarly labor from simplistic measures to more meaningful creation. The curriculum can be instrumentalized to superimpose and prioritize White capitalist thinking, but it can also be instrumental in decolonizing and reconstructing subjectivities.

Additionally, it is important to put equity and care at the core of IoHE research, practice, and policy, by reprioritizing IoHE's qualitative, human dimensions, which include building trust, improving research quality, fostering global citizenship development, cultivating intercultural competence, and promoting service to society. Gyamera (2015) argued for a de-emphasis on profit and a move toward community-university design structures. Jones et al. (2021) suggested that universities better connect their service missions (i.e., contributing to the social, economic, and cultural development of communities) with their IoHE agendas, thereby amplifying their contributions to the global common good by strategically enacting global social responsibility through IoHE. These ideas present a paradigm shift, as they reorient IoHE's objectives away from market-driven goals toward the welfare of the communities served.

It is also crucial to recognize that a decolonized education is not the same as a diverse education. The discourse of diversity, or neoliberal multiculturalism, objectifies relations of power and stabilizes them through neoliberal inclusion of figures of difference in ways that make no difference, while simultaneously perpetuating and stabilizing social injustices within the realms of higher education (Thompson & Zablotsky, 2016). Dutta (2020) warned that "the ability of Whiteness to accommodate, colonize, and co-opt is vital to its survival, ironically often carried out in the name of the Global South after having exhumed the Global South of its radical possibilities" (p. 228). Adding Indigenous, Black, and Othered epistemologies to a weak foundation will not address the inequities currently plaguing IoHE. Policymakers and educators

must recognize that "we cannot simply add new floors/structures to the currently crumbling building that is education until we address the cracks in the foundation" (Dei, 2012, p. 108). Decolonization-as-inclusion is a master's tool that seeks to insert diverse peoples into a master's house instead of demolishing the master's house.

Educators should consider conjuring alternative visions of liberation that do not operate within a modernist framework, as the paradigms of the future that we envision should carefully steer away from modern concepts. Socialist anticolonial politics requires naming and dismantling Whiteness as a capitalist project (Dutta, 2020) and taking on the difficult but fulfilling task of creating new educational systems and alternatives that hold the promise of excellence and equity *for all*. Critical scholars should also remain vigilant of neoliberal recuperation, depoliticization, dehistoricization, and misappropriation of decolonization, and make conscious efforts to deflate the myths used to justify neoliberal IoHE policies. Neoliberal educators promote the idea that equal rights for racialized and subalternized Others can occur solely through representation in existing modes of corporate power, thereby co-opting our critique to serve their utilitarian ends. We must repoliticize that which has been depoliticized.

And finally, because decolonization is reparative and restitutive, U.S. universities should critically reexamine their current business models that require the oppression of the Other to be fiscally operable, with this Other taking various forms: the subcontracted food service worker; the student of color crippled by debt; the graduate assistant exchanging high-skilled labor for low to no wages in an increasingly raced, classed, and feminized academy; the adjunct laboring in the lowest rungs of the academic sweatshop; and the international student barred from admission because of their non-access to financial aid or non/citizenship. Stokas (2023) has reminded that, for U.S. universities that are built on stolen land and through enslaved/exploited labor, decolonization will require eliminating student debt, returning land, redistributing institutional ownership to the workers who sustain them, and reformulating boards of trustees to be composed of students, staff, faculty, and community members, instead of capitalists who remain invested in perpetuating racial and class exploitation.

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Intersectionalities in Internationalization Studies: An Overview of Brazilian Research

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Abstract

This systematic review explores the intersection of race, gender, and social class in the context of internationalization of higher education (IHE) research in Brazil. Historically, the development of the Brazilian educational system has responded to the elite's demands and reproduced Western-European values and knowledge. The exponential growth of IHE has led to increased scholarly interest in various interdisciplinary research areas, with a possible move in studies and practices from a neoliberal to a more critical, decolonial, and diverse perspective. This article aims to investigate to what extent Brazilian researchers have investigated the intersectionality of gender, race, and class in IHE. Using two scientific databases, the study provides an overview of recent Brazilian academic Doctoral Dissertations, Master's Theses, and academic articles published between 2015 and 2022. The theoretical framework of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2002; Collins & Bilge, 2021; Akotirene, 2019) is presented to help recognize the interaction of different social markers of inequalities in IHE. The results pointed to a small number of publications related to this theme and continuous interest in the Science without Borders (SwB) mobility program. A particularly privileged profile of participants in academic mobility programs across various higher education institutions (HEI) in Brazil demonstrated the need for planning and actions to understand the social, historical, and political aspects that perpetuate exclusions. Moreover, this review indicates the importance of addressing colonialism in social dynamics and recognizing the coloniality of power in language policies in IHE. It calls for further investigations that explore the intersections of social markers in IHE processes from a more politically engaged perspective.

Keywords: gender, race and socioeconomic class, internationalization of higher education, intersectionality.

Resumen

Esta revisión sistemática explora la intersección de raza, género y clase social en el contexto de la internacionalización de la investigación en educación superior (IES) en Brasil. Históricamente, el desarrollo del sistema educativo brasileño

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ha respondido a las demandas de la élite y ha reproducido los valores y conocimientos de Europa occidental. El crecimiento exponencial de la IES ha llevado a un mayor interés académico en diversas áreas de investigación interdisciplinarias, con un posible desplazamiento en estudios y prácticas de una perspectiva neoliberal a una más crítica, decolonial y diversa. Este artículo tiene como objetivo investigar hasta qué punto los investigadores brasileños han analizado la interseccionalidad de género, raza y clase en la IES. Utilizando dos bases de datos científicas, el estudio proporciona una visión general de las recientes disertaciones doctorales brasileñas, tesis de maestría y artículos académicos publicados entre 2015 y 2022. El marco teórico de interseccionalidad (Crenshaw, 2002; Collins & Bilge, 2021; Akotirene, 2019) se presenta para ayudar a reconocer la interacción de diferentes marcadores sociales de desigualdades en la IES. Los resultados señalaron un pequeño número de publicaciones relacionadas con este tema y un interés continuo en el programa de movilidad Ciencia sin Fronteras (SwB). Un perfil particularmente privilegiado de participantes en programas de movilidad académica en diversas instituciones de educación superior (IES) en Brasil mostró la necesidad de planificación y acciones para comprender los aspectos sociales, históricos y políticos que perpetúan las exclusiones. Además, esta revisión señala la importancia de abordar el colonialismo en las dinámicas sociales y reconocer la colonialidad del poder en las políticas lingüísticas en la IES. Hace un llamado a futuras investigaciones que exploren las intersecciones de marcadores sociales en procesos de IES desde una perspectiva más políticamente comprometida.

Palabras claves: género, raza, clase socioeconómica, internacionalización de la educación superior, interseccionalidad

Resumo

Esta revisão sistemática explora a interseção de raça, gênero e classe social no contexto da pesquisa sobre internacionalização da educação superior (IES) no Brasil. Historicamente, o desenvolvimento do sistema educacional brasileiro tem respondido às demandas da elite e reproduzido valores e conhecimentos europeus/ocidentais. O crescimento exponencial da IES tem levado a um aumento do interesse acadêmico em várias áreas de pesquisa interdisciplinares, com uma possível mudança nos estudos e práticas de uma perspectiva neoliberal para uma perspectiva mais crítica, diversa e decolonial. Este artigo analisa em que medida pesquisadores brasileiros têm investigado a interseccionalidade entre gênero, raça e classe nos processos de IES. Utilizando elementos recuperados de duas bases de dados científicas, o estudo fornece uma visão geral das teses, dissertações e artigos acadêmicos brasileiros recentes publicados entre 2015 e 2022. O arcabouço teórico da interseccionalidade (Crenshaw, 2002; Collins & Bilge, 2021; Akotirene, 2019) é apresentado para auxiliar no reconhecimento da interação de diferentes marcadores sociais de desigualdades na IES. Os resultados apontaram para um pequeno número de publicações relacionadas ao tema, bem como um contínuo interesse pelo programa de mobilidade Ciência sem Fronteiras. Um perfil particularmente privilegiado de participantes em programas de mobilidade acadêmica em diversas instituições de ensino superior no Brasil demonstrou a necessidade de planejamento e ações para compreender os aspectos sociais, históricos e políticos que perpetuam exclusões. Além disso, esta revisão sistemática argumenta a importância de abordar o colonialismo nas dinâmicas sociais e reconhecer a colonialidade do poder nas políticas linguísticas dessas instituições brasileiras. Ao final, o estudo convida novas investigações que explorem as interseções de marcadores sociais nos processos de internacionalização a partir de uma perspectiva mais politicamente engajada.

Palavras-chave: gênero, raça e classe, internacionalização da educação superior, interseccionalidade.

Introduction

In Latin America, Spain established the first universities in the 16th century in Peru, Mexico and the Dominican Republic. Unlike the Spanish colonization of this territory, Portugal, which colonized Brazil, did not allow the creation of universities in Brazilian domain until the royal family's arrival in 1808. Until then, nobles and the high bourgeoisie were educated in Europe, making Brazil the last country in the Americas to formally establish higher education (Mazzetti et al.,

2020). This fact about our colonization is relevant to understand that, since the beginning, the development of a Brazilian educational system was not a priority and, historically, it has been designed to respond to the demands of the elite, systematically reproducing the superiority of Western-European values and knowledge.

Scholars from the Global South have tried to reflect on how the economic, social, and cultural orders imposed during the colonial administration have been maintained throughout the centuries in our modern society, often hidden behind promises of democracy and progress (Quijano, 2005; Sousa Santos, 2010). Globalization has introduced a new perceptual framework for time and space, wherein distances appear diminished and temporal velocity amplified. This phenomenon held the potential to expand the spectrum of knowledge-seeking; however, it ultimately reinforced the interdependent relationships between coloniality and modernity (Quijano, 2005), leaving little room to question the definitions of academic excellence shaped by the European empires and the expansion of the English language in the scientific world.

Considering that Brazilian higher education cannot be disconnected from hierarchical power asymmetries, women, LGBTQIA+ people, Black people, Indigenous people, and students from underprivileged backgrounds have continuously struggled and resisted to inhabit university spaces. However, as contended by Mazzetti et al. (2020), such presence has slowly been ensured through public affirmative action policies such as the Brazilian Quota Law nº 12.711 from 2012.

In recent decades, the exponential growth of projects seeking Internationalization of Higher Education (IHE) has attracted scholarly interest in various interdisciplinary research areas. Our objective in writing this paper comes from the observation that, in Brazil, there has been an increasing number of voices that are challenging the neoliberal approach to IHE to search for a more complex, diverse, and critical view of this process and its rationales, as proposed by Leal and Moraes (2018), Stein (2019), and Stein and Silva (2020), among others. Based on this assumption, we aim to investigate the central question: To what extent have Brazilian researchers explored the intersections of IHE and race, gender, and social class issues?

We believe that outlining ongoing discussions on this topic could encourage a shift to more ethical, critical, and equitable practices and help identify gaps and silences that still need to be voiced. Therefore, this article provides an overview of recent Brazilian academic doctoral dissertations, Master's theses, and scientific articles published from 2015 to 2022 in two databases, in order to explore how the IHE research has included perspectives that recognize the intersectionalities of race, gender, and social class (Akotirene, 2019; Collins & Bilge, 2021; Crenshaw, 2002).

Here, the term 'intersectionality', initially connected to feminist studies in the 1960s and 70s, is broadly investigated as the social-historical-political-cultural impacts of asymmetries in our educational context that can only be analyzed by considering the entangled constitution of a multitude of factors in contemporary society. The Black Women's Manifesto was presented at the 1975 Women's Congress during the United Nations Decade for Women in Brazil. This manifesto brought to light the intersectional impact of gender, race, and sexuality on the experiences of Black women in work, family, and the economy. Despite indifference or inaction from most white feminists, Black activists, such as Lélia Gonzalez and Sueli Carneiro, advocated for Black women's rights, even during Brazil's military regime (1964-1985). They were ahead of their time and anticipated the seeds for the current understanding of intersectionality (Collins & Bilge, 2021).

After this brief introduction, this study will relate the constructs of 'intersectionality' and 'IHE' and present the research methodology, findings, and proposed discussion. Ultimately, some final remarks will be drawn.

Theoretical Framework

Intersectionality is a framework that examines how different social markers of inequalities, such as sexism, racism, and capitalism, intersect and interact (Crenshaw, 2002). This study aimed to explore this concept in the context of the internationalization of Brazilian higher education and its impacts on these markers.

As Brazilian professor Carla Akotirene (2019) articulated, intersectionality serves as an epistemological and political strategy introduced by African-American intellectual Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, first related to discussions on the intersection of gender and racism in Law. To Collins and Bilge (2021), it is an expression increasingly used by scholars, policymakers, activists, and leaders from various interdisciplinary fields. All of these current social actors, in turn, apply a variety of uses to their understanding of intersectionality. However, the feminist movement had worked long before with similar perspectives. According to Vigoya (2016), personalities such as Olympia de Gouges in France compared colonial

with patriarchal domination and established analogies between women and enslaved people in the Declaration of the Rights of Woman in September 1971.

Intersectionality highlights the interrelated nature of power structures and the simultaneous interaction of identities. It helps to shed light on the fundamental inequalities within modern societies due to oppressive systems, such as the status of languages, racism, patriarchy, and class oppression. Besides that, "identifying categorical differences can enhance the potential to build coalitions between movements by acknowledging differences while promoting commonalities. This can lead to mutual acknowledgment of how structures of oppression are related and, therefore, how struggles are linked" (Carbado, et al., 2013, p. 4).

Nonetheless, there are other points of view regarding intersectionality. For Argentine philosopher María Lugones, this notion stabilizes social relations and fragments them into homogeneous separable categories of oppression that, when they interbreed and affect each other, create fixed positions and divide social movements instead of fostering coalitions between them. Lugones (2005) states that the intersection shows a void, an absence, where, for example, the Black woman should be because neither the category "woman" nor the category "Black" include her. She proposes creating circles of resistance to exploitation from within and forming coalitions of identities through complex dialogues.

Collins and Bilge (2021) express concerns about weakening the critical character of certain concepts after they become more widely used. For them, there is a need to differentiate between approaches that use gender, race, and other related categories as markers of difference (only based on identities) and those that mobilize them as markers of social inequalities, in which intersectionality seeks to draw attention and overcome social injustices.

Mara Viveiros Vigoya (2016), Colombian philosopher, summarizes the effort to situate intersectionality using Purtschert and Meyer's (2009) words,

> it is not enough to ask if it is a theory, a method, a perspective, an analytical category, or simply a legal one; it is required to formulate questions based on the objects of study. The challenge is not to find the most appropriate metaphor to express the relationships between different categories of domination and guide the resulting political alliances; the challenge is to preserve 'the principle of openness to differences as a condition and not as a limit of intersectionality'. (p. 15)

Thus, intersectionality recognizes that these social markers are not mutually exclusive but interact and shape one another in complex ways. It is important to note that this framework does not posit a hierarchy of oppression; instead, it encourages the examination of the structural conditions that intersect bodies and contribute to shaping the meanings and positionalities of these bodies. Intersectionality also acknowledges the possibility of individuals for being both oppressed and complicit in oppressive structures, as highlighted by Collins and Bilge (2021).

The victory of far-right candidate Jair Bolsonaro in the 2018 Brazilian presidential elections is a poignant example of the complexities of social analysis when power structures are in dispute. Despite research institutes, such as *Inteligência em Pesquisa e Consultoria* (IPEC), indicated that much of left-wing voters would consist of Black people, underprivileged working-class individuals, women, and LGBTQIA+ supporters (Mortani, 2022), as well as Bolsonaro's constant hatred speeches towards these groups, many of them ultimately chose to support him. In a way, several overlapping social dimensions might have aligned with far-right propaganda in a multifaceted movement that led him to win with 53% of the total votes.

In order to address the complexities involved when discussing intersectionality, we chose to dedicate a distinct segment of this theoretical framework to demonstrate its correlation with higher education and the internalization process, as delineated below.

Intersectionality as a Theoretical Framework for Higher Education and Internationalization Studies

Nichols and Stahl (2019) indicate that from the earliest adoption of the intersectional lens within higher education research, it has been driven by an ethical view of higher education's purpose "as serving the formation of equitable societies and thus requiring that inequities be actively challenged." (p. 2). The authors also point out that mainstream investigations often adopt an instrumentalist position that focuses on strategies to improve outcomes, in which the university experience is reduced to metrics such as retention and grade point average, thus many times concealing ongoing discriminatory practices

(Nichols & Stahl, 2019). Contrastively, it is crucial to further look at any data analysis to recognize that knowledge is also generated, produced, and distributed based on social, sexual, and racial divisions in scientific and academic contexts.

In that sense, Collins and Bilge (2021) emphasize that "the divisions resulting from power relations of class, race, gender, ethnicity, citizenship, sexual orientation, and ability are more evident in higher education" (p. 18). Colleges and universities are nowadays home to a more significant number of students who, in the past, were unable to pay, historically had to deal with barriers to enrollment, or faced different forms of discrimination on campuses. As a result, these learners bring diverse experiences and needs that confront higher education's old ways. Intersectionality as an analytical tool may help develop planning and actions to identify the modern/colonial global system demands on Brazilian higher education institutions (HEI), such as internationalization, by unpacking how social structures act, constrain, and oppress, that is, how power is organized and operates in the Global South.

In Brazil, Beltrão and Teixeira (2004) studied university careers based on sex and race variables using data from the 1960 to 2000 Brazilian Censuses. The investigation found that Black and mixed-race people enroll later in school and are less likely to succeed in completing their studies due to the structural issues they face. Consequently, the K-12 education gap between white and Black students challenges these populations in higher education. The study concluded that women are the majority of undergraduate students, however, both women and Black men and women tend to migrate to areas of lesser prestige and easier entry (such as Education and Nursing), reducing the possibilities of better salaries later on in their career paths. As a result, certain groups are kept in the margins of the society within an inescapable cycle of deleterious consequences.

That is why intersectionality studies related to post-secondary education also require a geopolitical orientation as the South experiences the Eurocentric imposition of scientific standards, theories, and values claiming to be neutral and universal. Neoliberal globalization has induced Latin American educational policies and institutions into accepting North-South asymmetric models of internationalization that ultimately move away from local agendas (Oregioni, 2021), such as transforming the reality demonstrated by 40-year records of Beltrão and Teixeira's work (2004).

Despite the increasing popularity of internationalization at both practical and theoretical levels, there is no real consensus on its definition, nor is there clarity on a framework from a Global South standpoint. Instead, Oregioni (2021) invites us to think about IHE from a historical and contextual perspective, where the functions of the university have specific characteristics, considering the power relations that exist in the international arena, the position that Latin America has historically assumed, and the particularity and diversity of the university scene in the region.

Although internationalization is not limited to matters of student mobility, this has often been the primary focus of institutions and researchers. Nonetheless, it is essential to consider other dimensions of internationalization, e.g., internationalization of the curriculum for teaching, collaborative projects, and joint publications for research. IHE should be perceived as a means to an end, not the end itself, for the goal is to eventually improve the quality, relevance, and pertinence of teaching, research, and outreach projects (Leal & Moraes, 2018).

While many researchers emphasize the virtues of internationalization, an emerging field of critical studies in IHE problematizes overwhelmingly positive and often depoliticized nature of conventional approaches. As Stein (2019) discusses, exploitative practices rooted in a profit-maximization model; systemic exclusion from participation; uneven circulation of resources; personal and social disruption; (neo)colonization between HEI and academics in wealthier and poorer nations; an over-representation of Western knowledge systems in both teaching and research; and unidirectional flows of international students are some of the challenges that demonstrate the dynamics of the modern/colonial global system that significantly shape IHE today.

Within this perspective, Stein and Silva (2020) outline two approaches to IHE that pull away from mainstream models: system transformation and system hospicing. The first provokes toward removing economic barriers to access, centering other voices and knowledge, and challenging the dominant modern/colonial systems. The second questions the meaning and purposes of internationalization in HEI, inviting ongoing reflectivity and considering alternative possibilities for the future. Both approaches, in our view, propose identifying and interrupting colonial entanglements in the IHE processes, accepting responsibility for harm, understanding the relationship between different struggles, and disinvesting from existing false promises. The praxeology of these approaches is not simple but reflecting on them is a necessary decolonial effort.

For Collins et al. (2021), cultivating a dialogue between intersectionality and decoloniality as broad critical projects has the potential to deepen understanding of oppressions as well as their interconnections. A decolonial epistemic perspective also allows the intersection between the axis of inequality to identify and describe European colonialism's living legacy and practices in contemporary societies that impose political and social hierarchical orders. The concept of coloniality of power (Quijano, 2005) takes form in systems of hierarchies, knowledge, and culture, all of which understand race—a supposedly different biological structure that placed some in a natural situation of inferiority to others—as a center point to justify unfair labor division, hegemony in knowledge production and validity, and a sense of familiarity and modernity towards European cultures and languages brought by the neoliberal system of capitalism and globalization.

Collins et al. (2021) recognize that decoloniality as an economic, political, and cultural process can be accommodated within intersectionality perspectives. Intersectionality focuses more on the connections among particular power systems, whereas decoloniality focuses on the mechanisms by which contemporary neocolonial relationships might be resisted and replaced. Therefore, we understand that decoloniality serves as a means of confrontation to the Eurocentric project of modernity, and intersectionality helps provide a method of epistemic disobedience (Mignolo, 2007) for studies aimed at understanding IHE, its dichotomies, and hierarchies. Where intersectionality and IHE studies meet, inclusion, diversity, and equity can be promoted in research, projects, policies, and educational values.

Research Method

A 'systematic literature review' consists of an exploratory investigation that focuses on a well-defined question, which aims to identify, select, evaluate, and synthesize the relevant evidence that has already been published (Ramos, et al., 2014).

This article intended to reconstruct the general landscape of Master's theses, doctoral dissertations, and scientific articles that centered on the intersectional analysis of IHE processes, gender, race, and social classes available from 2015 to 2022 in two Brazilian online databases:

a) CAPES (Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel) Catalog of Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations (https://catalogodeteses.capes.gov.br/catalogo-teses/#!/), which gathers and provides access to final works from all stricto sensu postgraduate programs in Brazilian HEI; and
b) SciELO (Scientific Electronic Library Online) (https://www.scielo.org/), a well-respected open-access Brazilian database, developed as a program of the Sao Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP), which indexes more than 350 journals from 15 countries. More than 50% of the articles published by SciELO Brazil are written in Portuguese. Nevertheless, today, SciELO operates through networks in 15 countries (12 from Latin America, Portugal, Spain, and South Africa), reaching up to 1,000 journals, according to their site. Search engines like Google Scholar pull all of SciELO's content, and about 45% of all journals are indexed in Scopus or Web of Science.

Both portals are relevant and popular sources of information to help identify the most recent Brazilian academic scenario in many fields of knowledge. All data collection was conducted in December 2022. For the search, we used the following compound terms in Portuguese and English: 'internationalization of higher education' and 'intersectionality'; 'internationalization of higher education' and 'race'; 'internationalization of higher education' and 'gender'; and 'internationalization of higher education' and 'social class'. The search did not exclude any area of knowledge.

The data collection pointed to 12 results: 3 master´s theses (in the CAPES database) and 9 scientific articles (in the SciELO database). At first, titles, abstracts, and keywords were screened. In case of doubt, the introductions were also read. We discarded texts that had concentrated their examination on one of the issues of race, gender, or class in 'isolation', i.e., they did not interrelate these markers with each other in the existing power structure of our society. Some other studies that came up in the search concentrated on teaching Portuguese to immigrants or another theme out of the scope of this investigation.

As a result, seven publications (two master's theses and five scientific articles) were considered eligible. From our point of view, they could highlight one or more of the social markers (gender, race, and class) without disregarding the others in their analysis, even when not mentioning the construct 'intersectionality' *per se.* We read and analyzed the seven

selected texts bearing in mind the research question, "To what extent have Brazilian researchers been exploring the intersections of IHE and race, gender, and social class issues?" and presented the results as follows.

Results

In the CAPES Catalog of Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations, we have identified two theses related to the intended research topic. Both productions analyzed students' experiences in the Brazilian Science without Borders (SwB) mobility program, as shown in Table 1.

The SwB program was a federal government initiative that promoted the growth, expansion, and internationalization of science, technology, innovation, and competitiveness through the mobility of approximately 101,000 students and researchers, mainly undergraduates, between 2012 and 2016. The program emphasized Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics (STEM), as well as natural sciences. It sent participants to over 35 countries, leading to several international cooperation agreements between Brazilian and foreign HEI, investments in international relations offices and personnel, language programs, and courses to support students' language needs throughout Brazil (Almeida, 2016).

Chaves and Rocha Neto (2022) also used the CAPES database in a survey that reported that the SwB program was examined in 77 master's theses and 22 dissertations from various areas of study, including education, language studies, public policy, engineering, economics, psychology, tourism, and sociology, between 2012 and 2021. Most of this SwB research occurred in HEI in the Midwest and Southeast of Brazil, where most of the program's participation occurred.

Chaves and Rocha Neto (2022)'s list of academic work indicated the same two studies relating to SwB and intersectionality that we found in our search. Table 1 below displays these results and their respective titles, authors, HEI, years of publication, and macro areas of investigation.

Table 1: Master´s theses from CAPES Database

Title	Author	Year / Research Institution	Area of Research
The intersectionality of gender, race, and class in the Program Science without Borders: A study of Brazilian students traveling to the USA	Rovênia Amorim Borges	2015/ University of Brasilia (UnB)	Education
Beyond what is possible: Participation of low-income UFV students in the Program Science without Borders.	Ana Paula Pessoa Veloso Santana	2021/ Federal University of Ouro Preto (UFOP)	Education

Note: We have translated the titles. They were originally written in Portuguese.

Five scientific articles were recovered from SciELO platform. As indicated in the previously mentioned master's theses, the SwB program is thematized in four of them. Other topics linked to internationalization were also brought to light, specifically academic mobility to Portugal and the United States, two of the leading destinations for Brazilian higher education scholars. Table 2 shows the titles of these articles, their authors, and the affiliated HEI during the year of publication.

More recently, we noticed that there was a slight increase in publications related to the theme, particularly between 2021 and 2022. Eight authors presented in Tables 1 and 2 are affiliated with universities in Brazil's Midwest and Southeast regions, and one is from *Universidade do Minho* in Portugal. Rovenia Borges has been publishing on international experiences through intersectionality lenses the longest (2015, 2021, and 2022), with three texts, while Rebeca Feltrin and Lea Velho wrote two papers (2016 and 2021) with collaborators. Therefore, the number of authors discussing internalization and intersectionality seems even more reduced because some publications came from the same researchers and their previous work.

Table 2: Scientific Articles from SciELO Database

Title	Authors	Year / Research Institution
Women without borders? An analysis of women's participation in the Program Science without Borders at Unicamp: Motivations, challenges, and impacts on the professional trajectory	Rebeca Buzzo Feltrin, Janaina Oliveira da Costa and Léa Velho	2016 / State University of Campinas (UNICAMP)
The role of the Program Science without Borders for social inclusion: An intersectional analysis of the profile of program participants at Unicamp	Rebeca Buzzo Feltrin, Diego Ferreira dos Santos, and Lea Velho	2021 / State University of Campinas (UNICAMP) and Federal Institute of São Paulo (IFSP)
Towards a postcolonial/decolonial critique of social relations in an academic context: Voices of Brazilian female students	Rovênia Amorim Borges and Almerindo Janela Afonso	2021 / University of Brasília (UnB) and University of Minho - Portugal
The mobility of university students that come from public high schools: Experiences with the Program Science without Borders	Wivian Weller and Jéssica Reis	2022 / University of Brasília (UnB)
Linguistic (de)coloniality and interculturality in two main routes of Brazilian student mobility	Rovênia Amorim Borges	2022 / University of Brasília (UnB)

Note: We have translated the titles. They were originally written in Portuguese.

Despite their differences, all studies seemed to share a concern with the examination of the intersections of race, gender, and class regarding Brazilian participants in academic mobility programs across various HEI. They also tried to demonstrate a consistent privileged profile of participants. To do so, the studies presented quantitative information indicated by official documents and questionnaires applied to the research participants. They also used interviews and focus groups to collect and qualitatively analyze data.

Moreover, the selected texts used a diverse array of theoretical backgrounds and frameworks, including dialectical historical Marxism (Borges, 2015); the intersectionality approach put forth by Crenshaw, in 2002 and McCall, in 2005 (Feltrin et al., 2016; 2021); Latin American perspectives on decoloniality (Borges & Afonso, 2021; Borges, 2022); Bourdieu's sociological interpretation analysis (Santana, 2021); and the Documentary Method established by sociologists Mannheim (1971) and Bonsack (1981) (Weller & Reis, 2022).

The following section summarizes the key findings and debates arising from these studies.

Intersectional Discussions

We identified that few publications and authors used intersectionality perspectives to investigate international mobility projects, especially the SwB program, through sociological and educational lenses. On that note, four essential issues have been compiled here. All of them are interconnected and interchangeably organized.

a) Quantitative research approaches were mostly used to identify a particularly privileged profile of participants in academic mobility programs across various HEI in Brazil

Borges (2015), Feltrin, et al. (2016, 2021), Santana (2021), and Weller and Reis (2022) used online questionnaires to collect and analyze data from university students participating in the SwB mobility program as well as official reports

and records from the Brazilian government and multilateral organizations. The researchers observed a similar profile regarding the majority of scholarship holders: male, white, previous attendees of private high schools who did not receive any entrance benefits at university (guaranteed by Quota Law no. 12.711/2012 or others) and had no disabilities.

Government reports showed a small number of female undergraduates enrolled in 'hard' sciences (STEM-related programs) in Brazilian HEI (INEP, 2020). Since these are the priority areas for the SwB scholarships, Feltrin, et al. (2016) expected the participation of women to be reduced. Surprisingly, female mobility students still represented 43.5% of the total until 2016, which reflected a slightly smaller number than men. In a later investigation, Feltrin, et al. (2021) proposed to connect different dimensions for understanding the international students' Intersectional Profile through AIP (Intersectional Profile Analysis, or *Análise Interseccional de Perfil*), a software run in Portuguese. They were meant to find out not only the number of women participating in the program but also which women were included or excluded from the program. The authors concluded that female participants were also white, previous attendees of private high schools; they did not receive any entrance benefits, and had no disabilities. Thus, privileged white students (male and female) compose more than 60% of the mobility participants. Moreover, Feltrin et al. (2021) suggested that this has historically been the most frequent student profile in all the other traditional institutional international mobility programs maintained by the State University of Campinas for years.

The intersection of students' social markers demonstrated that the continuous increment of international activities in Brazilian HEI lacks diversity, equity, and inclusion. The indicated profile of mobility participants should represent numbers closer to the variety of the population in the country, a group that contains differences rather than a group characterized by similarity or conformity. The commitment to reduce discrepancies is crucial in how tertiary education, resources, and opportunities are developed and offered to a broader academic body. For this, intersectionality becomes analytically fundamental in accounting for the diverse racial, class, and gendered experiences in international mobility. Otherwise, IHE programs may perpetuate the status quo, dominated by a white, male, economically privileged majority from the country's wealthiest metropolis.

b) Social and economic markers seemed connected to motivation to engage in international mobility projects

Feltrin, et al. (2016), Santana (2021), and Weller and Reis (2022) demonstrated that social and economic background and school capital could hinder or prevent students from less privileged economic classes from accessing international mobility programs, affecting life experiences and career expectations. Weller and Reis's (2022) study indicated that the primary incentives for participating in the SwB program came from friends and professors, not family. Mainly, male students reported that their parents, particularly fathers who did not attend higher education, expected them to finish university quickly. They saw SwB as a luxury, meaninglessly delaying graduation and job hunting. Only 34.5% of the survey participants reported that both parents supported their participation in the program (Weller & Reis, 2022). Feltrin et al. (2016) pointed out that low-income students did not intend to participate in international mobility programs before learning about SwB, suggesting that the program was a determining factor. In addition, individual efforts to further engage in academic life through extracurricular activities, internship programs, and scientific projects improved interest in international experiences (Santana, 2021).

Sometimes the implications of the colonial relations of power leave profound marks not only in the areas of authority, sexuality, knowledge, and the economy but also on the general understanding of oneself. According to Sousa Santos (2010), modernity can be characterized by an abyssal line that divides those who live above it and those who live below it. This metaphorical line demarks the zones where codes of law are recognized among European empires and the lawless zones where conflicts of class, gender, and sexuality are articulated simultaneously with racial oppression through violent methods and constant appropriation/dispossession. This abyssal line may be felt by students as impervious if exclusion experiences in educational journeys have been naturalized as merit and personal conquest of a few. Thus, international mobility costs, administrative bureaucracy, language barriers, and cultural misconceptions may seem like impediments to participating in internalization projects.

c) Access to university does not guarantee democratization of IHE

The expansion of Brazilian HEI and implementation of affirmative action policies, primarily after the year 2000, contributed to the representation of a slightly more diverse social segment in SwB, according to Borges (2015) and Feltrin et al. (2021). The program provided funding for significant expenses of the experience abroad (e.g., transportation fees, scholarship, monthly stipends) and facilitated underprivileged students' participation. Still, policies allowing access to public universities by the "new" student profiles alone (Black, Indigenous, economically deprived, with disabilities, among others) neither guarantee students to overcome social inequalities nor build equal opportunities for all. Researchers observed that differences in race and socioeconomic classes persist in multiple dimensions of the internalization process, such as motivation to participate in such programs and additional language barriers.

In that regard, the social structure organized by the colonial process promises opportunities to improve social status and position as a reward for hard work and productivity. It naturalizes the unequal distribution of resources and transfers responsibilities to individual levels. Society and institutions tell students to get a college degree and be global citizens as promises of certainty and security in the future, ignoring a multitude of conditions that have to be in place to make that happen. However, as Stein and Silva (2020) advance, decolonial critiques understand "colonial violence as the 'condition of possibility' for the modern global system. This means that colonization cannot be interrupted by including previously excluded populations into mainstream institutions" (p. 549). It is necessary to unsettle the concept of exclusion and understand that their struggles and demands may differ from the supposedly universal promises, acknowledging other ways of knowing and being and the fact that these modern institutions were built at the expense of violence against those excluded populations.

d) Language is not something we have but rather what we are in the world

Borges and Afonso (2021) and Borges (2022) applied a decolonial approach to the intersectional analysis of race, gender, language, and nationality in questionnaires, interviews, and statistical data to study social and academic interactions, seeking to identify the lasting effects of colonialism on the experiences of students who traveled to Portugal and the United States.

Borges and Afonso (2021) found that over half of the participants reported having experienced discrimination, with a higher frequency among Black women (56.1%) in comparison to white women, and Black men (43.5%) related to white men, confirming the intersection of ethnicity-race and gender. White female students from higher social and economic classes also reported experiences that increased their awareness of their Brazilian identity and the daily subaltern legacy imposed upon them in Portuguese HEI, particularly regarding the perceived superiority of the European Portuguese language. This outcome again corroborates the relevance of intersectionality studies because it shows that women enjoying class and color privileges had not perceived or experienced discrimination as others did before, challenging the idea of 'women' as universal. This way, the researched participants reported that "the coloniality that discriminates and subordinates the language variations of those who live in countries with a colonial legacy is very vivid here" (Borges, 2022, p. 192, our translation).

Quijano (2005) stated that the division of race, a key element of capitalism in modern society, justified domination and exploitation. The domination is not always evident and thus requires a critical perspective and dedication to emancipatory practices. According to Borges (2022), Brazilians' experiences in Portugal demonstrated the importance of the decolonial awakening to the latent and intertwined manifestations of coloniality of power in social dynamics as a crucial part of a critical internationalization journey. In her words,

> In that regard, student mobility in its intercultural dimension carries a force of denunciation, transformation, and liberation that contributes to the decoloniality of both, a) minds and b) practices and policies in the field of education that are promoters and reproducers of inequalities and discrimination. (p.104, our translation)

In the context of Portuguese being the national language of Brazil, it is relevant to consider the historical violence inflicted upon multilingual Indigenous peoples and Black communities to reflect on policies that could embrace the plural intersections of language and race more fully. Lélia Gonzalez coined the term *pretuguês* (*preto* + *português*, as in Black +

Portuguese) to talk about the original form of the Brazilian Portuguese, with all its roots, history, and linguistic structures. It is the language of those with less formal education, influenced by Bantu and other African languages (Gonzalez et al., 2020). *Pretuguês*, as a social and political movement, could be an alternative to empower Brazilian Portuguese, fight discriminatory practices against former colonies, and empower Black learners inside Brazilian schools.

Unfortunately, Borges (2022) states that language policies in Brazil have always marginalized Black people. The author points out that English language instruction (or any additional language) in K-12 public schools has been reduced to one or two hours a week with an instrumental focus on reading skills while the competitive market led private institutions to offer a more comprehensive bilingual education. As a result, Borges (2015) overlapped undergraduate English proficiency test results with social markers of race and class, revealing that Black students from public high schools presented lower English proficiency levels. These findings reflect that language proficiency tests, participation on publications or projects, and international mobility destination choice might be limited to students whose English learning was neglected by language policies throughout the years.

An analogy can be made at this point with Collins and Bilge's (2021) intersectional and analytical examination of the cultural dominance of power in the World Cup. They argue that the fair play narrative posits that everyone has equal access to opportunities in social institutions is merely a myth. Sports events, beauty contests, reality shows, and other competitions perpetuate the notion that competition between individuals or teams is fair, regardless of their background, and that the results are just. However, whether in these events or the seven publications investigated, the application of intersectionality as an analytical tool reveals a complex array of entrenched inequalities that position individuals differently, highlighting the vulnerability and exclusion of certain groups within international mobility programs in Brazil.

In the bigger picture, what emerges from the papers in this cohort is the necessity to foster more diversity, equity, student's agency and inclusion in the IHE landscape by broadening scholarship and financial aid opportunities to support students from varied backgrounds, challenging colonial legacies, and promoting decolonial practices that empower marginalized groups and break away from historical language learning barriers.

Implications and Conclusion

Considering the current demands of internationalization on HEI, this systematic review aimed to analyze the extent to which Brazilian researchers have explored the intersections of IHE with issues of race, gender, and social class. The review used two scientific online database platforms (CAPES and SciELO), which yielded seven relevant publications. This paper resulted from an effort to understand intersectionality as critical research and praxis (Collins & Bilge, 2021), identifying its possible entanglements with decolonial and critical internationalization studies.

The investigated studies suggested that intersectionality as an analytical perspective could contribute to debates about inequalities in IHE. This broader and more sensitive perception allows researchers to notice some of the complexities of IHE and can influence future public policies and institutional decision-making. However, it is relevant to point out that the analyzed current scenario of the Brazilian publications shows the need for research that is engaged in deeper qualitative reflections and strictly considers the theoretical background and political construct of the term 'intersectionality'.

Intersectionality critiques call attention to the risk of overusing or overgeneralizing the term in a depoliticized manner that could lose connection with social movements. It is also relevant to acknowledge that intersectionality is being theorized in different contexts (Latin America, North America, and Africa, for example) and should be understood considering local perceptions.

Finally, this literature review can be considered a limited analysis due to the small number of publications written in Portuguese. The results could have been different if other foreign databases or languages were considered. Nevertheless, it represents a valid initial effort for future studies exploring the intersections of relevant social markers and their impact on the IHE policies and participants' profiles. As stated by Carbado et al. (2014, p. 11), "conceptualizing intersectionality in terms of what agents mobilize it to do, invites us to look for places in which intersectionality is doing work as a starting point for understanding the work that the theory potentially can-but has not yet been mobilized to-do." We continue to believe that a decolonial, contra-hegemonic, more democratic shift will happen in IHE inquiry and praxis in the future. We hope this change will soon be more evident in publications.

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Languages without Borders: Reinforcing and delinking English from coloniality in a Brazilian internationalization program

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Abstract

Language without Borders was initiated by the Brazilian Federal Government and has undergone a series of modifications until its discontinuation as a government-sponsored program, when it was taken up by the academic community as a free enterprise. Currently, it is linked to Andifes (National Association of Directors of Federal Institutions of Higher Education). One of the main actions of Language without Borders is to offer the academic community tuition-free language courses. This article presents an interpretive content analysis of one of Language without Borders´s popular features: the catalog with information about the courses offered by the program. We engage with decolonial critiques in the process of exploring Language without Borders legislative pieces, focusing particularly on the English courses in the catalog. Our analysis looks into the uphold of English after the program became an Andifes enterprise to reflect on how the language is approached, given its discursive construction as the language of science in internationalization. Throughout the analysis, we visualize complexities and contradictions in a process permeated both by the reinforcement and delinking from modernity/coloniality.

Keywords: Brazil, decoloniality, English language, internationalization, languages without borders

Resumen

El programa 'Idiomas sin Fronteras' fue iniciado por el Gobierno Federal de Brasil y ha sufrido una serie de modificaciones hasta su discontinuación como un programa patrocinado por el gobierno. Posteriormente, fue adoptado por la comunidad académica como una iniciativa libre. Actualmente, está vinculado a Asociación Nacional de Directores de Instituciones Federales de Educación Superior (Andifes). Una de las principales acciones de 'Idiomas sin Fronteras' es ofrecer cursos de idiomas gratuitos a la comunidad académica. Este artículo presenta un análisis de contenido interpretativo de una de las características populares del 'Idiomas sin Fronteras': el catálogo con información sobre los cursos ofrecidos por el programa. Nos involucramos con críticas decoloniales en el proceso de exploración de los textos legislativos del 'Idiomas sin Fronteras', enfocándonos particularmente en los cursos de inglés en el catálogo. Nuestro análisis examina el sostenimiento del inglés

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después de que el programa se convirtiera en una iniciativa de Andifes, para reflexionar sobre cómo se aborda el idioma, dada su construcción discursiva como el lenguaje de la ciencia en la internacionalización. A lo largo del análisis, visualizamos complejidades y contradicciones en un proceso permeado tanto por el refuerzo como por la desvinculación de la modernidad/colonialidad.

Palabras claves: decolonialidad, inglés, internacionalización, Idiomas sin Fronteras, Brasil

Resumo

O Idiomas sem Fronteiras foi um programa elaborado e financiado pelo Governo Federal brasileiro e passou por uma série de modificações até sua descontinuidade enquanto um programa governamental, quando foi adotado pela comunidade acadêmica como uma iniciativa independente. Atualmente, encontra-se vinculado à Associação Nacional dos Dirigentes das Instituições Federais de Ensino Superior (Andifes). Uma das principais ações do Idiomas sem Fronteiras é oferecer à comunidade acadêmica cursos de idiomas sem custos. Este artigo apresenta uma análise interpretativa do conteúdo de um dos recursos populares do Idioma sem Fronteiras: o catálogo com informações sobre os cursos oferecidos pelo programa. Fundamentadas em críticas decoloniais, buscamos investigar as peças legislativas do Idiomas sem Fronteiras, focando particularmente nos cursos de inglês do catálogo. Nossa análise se debruça sobre a manutenção do inglês após sua vinculação à Andifes, a fim de refletir sobre como o idioma é abordado, dada a sua construção discursiva como língua da ciência nos processos de internacionalização. Ao longo da análise, visualizamos complexidades e contradições em um processo permeado tanto pelo reforço quanto pelo desvinculamento da modernidade/colonialidade.

Palavras-chave: decolonialidade, língua inglesa, internacionalização, Idiomas sem Fronteiras, Brasil

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Introduction

Internationalization of education has been defined in different ways: as a process, an activity, a competency, or an organizational approach. Each related to diverse agents and levels (Knight, 1999). The most cited definition, however, is Knight's (1993 cited in Knight, 1994, p. 3), which she later redefines (Knight, 2003, p. 2) as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education". The researcher's changes concern her worries in relation to making the concept clear, more comprehensive, and "generic enough to apply to many different countries, cultures, and education systems" (Knight, 2004, p. 11). This desire for general/universal application can be linked to the modern/colonial concept of knowledge production, given that in such view theories are considered more important and sophisticated (more developed, one could say) than practices. This "generic" and "universal" knowledge, however, is usually produced in the global north, which is associated to progress. In this scenario, the global south is conceived as a space for the application of theories developed in the global north (Castro-Gómes, 2007; Grosfoguel, 2016). In this sense, the global north defines what is to be recognized as internationalization. Consequently, countries like Brazil struggle with 'global' demands that very often differ from local practices.In Brazil, the discourse to internationalize is also connected to the ideal of progress and quality of education. Mignolo (2011) explains that our notion of time has been colonized, as it started to be used as an epistemic tool to mark and create hierarchized differences. In other words, the modern/colonial idea of time, that of linearity and progress, became the only one. This logic holds that there is a past, when subaltern individuals still are, and a future, where development will take place. Therefore, being in the past means being behind, underdeveloped. This idea of time is closely linked to space, as Europe defined itself as the point of departure (where innovation is produced and from which it is imported) and of arrival (the model of development others should aspire to become). Such reasoning promotes the feeling that, by not internationalizing, universities stay in the past. Additionally, English is hegemonic in the process, often portrayed as *the* language of science. It becomes a means to achieve goals, being frequently disembodied and commodified (Jordão & Martinez, 2021). Fabricius et al. (2016, p. 584) contend that "internationalization often leads to linguistic uniformity, simply because English comes to be seen as a one-size-fits-all lingua franca." In this sense, English and internationalization get entangled in the academic imaginary.This complex

scenario is the backdrop for the creation of Languages without Borders, a Brazilian national language program that emerged in 2012, initially focused on English language teaching. This program has been having a great impact in the internationalization of Brazilian higher education as far as languages are concerned, if not because of its monolingual privileging of the English language, certainly because of the institutionalized offer of tuition-free language courses to the academic community. Since its beginning, it has undergone a series of reformulations and is currently the Andifes-Language without Borders network (Resolution no. 01, 2019), opening up to the heavy criticism it received for privileging only one language as *the* language internationalization. This text presents an analysis of one of Language without Borders´s popular features, which has been kept since the program's beginning: the courses catalog, a booklet containing information about the courses offered by the participating universities and specialists. We engage with decolonial critiques in the process of exploring the legislative pieces of Language without Borders and discussing the development of the catalog. Our analysis focuses on how English was upheld after the program became Language without Borders to reflect on the approach to English given its discursive construction as the language of science (Jordão & Martinez, 2021). Through an interpretive content analysis, we look into the legislative pieces and the course catalogue available nationally.

Before going any further, it is important that we explain who and where we are in terms of academic background, so readers can have a better idea of why we read and write the way we do, and why we reach the conclusions we do. We are both Brazilian scholars whose careers have been developed in public institutions. By 'public' we mean tuition-free and, for most Human Sciences, completely sponsored by the government. That has allowed us to grow academically amidst strikes, activism, political (and financial) struggles. We believe that it is one of the reasons why we fight for social and cognitive justice (Sousa Santos, 2007), why we side with the silenced and invisibilized, and why the decolonial option (Mignolo, 2011) is so appealing to us.

We speak from decoloniality as devised by the Modernity/Coloniality group of Latin-American scholars such as Quijano, Mignolo, Walsh, and as situated by fellow Brazilian scholars like Menezes de Souza, Duboc, and Martinez, to name but a few. We believe, with Guerrero-Nieto, Jordão, and Veronelli (2022), that decoloniality has three main tenets: visibilization, embodiment, and localization. These are our guidelines hereinafter.

In the next pages, we will examine how and why the concept of "English" and the idea of internationalization of higher education need to be decolonized; next we will go through the legislation that institutionalized the focus of our analysis, Language without Borders. Then we will discuss how we perceive the catalog as on the one hand reinforcing coloniality and on the other delinking from it. Finally, we will present tentative suggestions towards alternative futures for English and internationalization in Brazil.

Decoloniality, English and Internationalization

Decoloniality is more than mere intellectual fashion: it is an option (Mignolo, 2011) that can help us deal with the silencing cast upon whatever was considered different from (and challenging to) the modern/colonial world. As a lingering effect of such silencing, many of us still function under the shadows of colonial difference (Quijano, 2005), that is, the classification and hierarchization of the world's population promoted by the European colonizers. According to Mignolo (2009),

> The colonial difference operates by converting differences into values and establishing a hierarchy of human beings ontologically and epistemically. Ontologically, it is assumed that there are inferior human beings. Epistemically, it is assumed that inferior human beings are rational and aesthetically deficient (p. 46).

Such ranking still lingers on and maintains what Sousa Santos (2007) has called an *abyssal line*, an imaginary and powerful line that creates two sides to the distinctions it promotes. One side constructs the other as inferior and irrelevant; such separation produces abyssal *thinking*, whose fundamental characteristic is the "impossibility of the copresence of the two sides of the line" (p. 45). This kind of thinking underlies many of our perspectives on the world today, ranking ontoepistemologies, projecting difference as inferiority.

Therefore, modernity/coloniality has silenced cultures, knowledges, and peoples, placing 'western men' at the center of all that matters, dehumanizing those who do not operate from such assumption and therefore projecting them to

the other side of the abyssal line (i.e. to immaturity, infancy). This 'western man' has occupied a central position as far as the English language is concerned. The dissemination of English throughout the world has projected the local ontoepistemology of modernity/coloniality as universal, unmarking the epistemic racism it carries along, the native-speaker construct being one of its violent traits.

The desire to render such ontoepistemologies visible can lead to privileging the pluriversal quality of the world, where simultaneity, heterogeneity, and conflict are positively marked and opportunities to constantly learn with and from alterity become imperative. We need to delink English from the violence made possible by the modern/colonial desire to universality and its *hybris del punto cero (or zero point hubris)*–that is, the notion that there is a point outside space and time from which a researcher can observe (Castro-Gómez, 2007)–that have disembodied knowledge and created the illusion that Western knowledge is the only way to access reality/truth, and to teach-learn English.

Menezes de Souza and Duboc (2021) present three movements to a decolonial pedagogy aiming at a pluriversal world: *bring the body back, mark the unmarked,* and *reconceptualize language (and communication)*. These strategies are part of the wider decolonial pedagogy brought forward by Menezes de Souza, involving *identifying – interrogating – interrupting* the coloniality that constitutes us. Such pedagogy is crucial to our understanding of how (and why) English has been disseminated around the world (Jalal, 2020) and the effects of this movement not only in the language itself but also on its users worldwide. That is why this section explores these strategies more deeply, for they help us devise the entanglements of English with (de)coloniality and internationalization. Such entanglement is the very focus of our analysis of the Language Without Borders catalog.

Bringing the body back refers to the need to localize and situate knowledge and knowers, delinking from universality. Menezes de Souza (Menezes de Souza & Duboc, 2021) explains:

> According to Grosfoguel (2013), the historic colonial ego conquiro differs from the modern colonial ego cogito by concealing the body that produces knowledge, thus separating what is said from the enunciating subject. This separation allows for the illusion of universality and unmarked-ness to the extent that what is enunciated, unanchored from a particular, situated location, appears to have universal value and meaning. The proposed decolonial strategy of bringing the body back involves identifying the producing subject (collective or individual) of a particular piece of knowledge (p. 879).

As far as internationalization and English are concerned, bringing the body back suggests, for example, paying attention to the bodies of the actors who benefit from the dissemination of English and from the narrative that it is *the* language of access to science – are they mostly male, white, middle-class, Anglo-saxon bodies (Cameron, 2006)? It also means looking at who is projected to the margins, what knowledges (including languagings) are valued as scientific, which people can be considered part of the game and which cannot. When we stress the need to *bring the body back* we are operating within the realm of visibility and affect, assuming we are not only minds that reason or hearts that feel, but both indissociably, for reason and emotions are inextricably intertwined (Maturana, 2002).

The second strategy, closely related to the first one, is *marking the unmarked*, since it alludes to making present (marked) that which has been made absent, invisible (unmarked). However, here we are closer to enunciation and languaging, stressing the authorial marks that situate every single narrative or world view. When thinking about internationalization, this means we cannot conceive of curricula (or any educational practice) as disembodied, neutral or universal: processes such as selection and arrangement of knowledges are localized in time and space, moved by affect and presence.

Thinking communication otherwise seems to flow almost naturally from the two previous strategies. In terms of English, this strategy refers to the crucial movement of conceptualizing language as *languaging*, a word that implies open-ended processes of *becoming* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). *Languaging* is a concept of language that conceptualizes it as a verb, as practice, as something we do rather than an object we can dispose of. As a practice, language becomes alive and belongs to no one or to everyone, which is actually the same: ownership becomes a non-issue here. The focus is on languaging practices in communication, and not on discrete language items or grammatical norms; each situation of enunciation is unique (Bakhtin, 2016) and communication is multidimensional, multimodal. As Pennycook (2012) claims, we should be ready to "unexpect the expected" in (dialogical) contact.

Needless to say, such pedagogy and its strategies are crucial to a more democratic process of internationalization, both in terms of how we negotiate concepts, aims, and modes of internationalizing our practices, and in terms of how such practices are idealized and materialized in the named languages we choose to design education. That is why it has been taken as our analytical orientation in this article.

Walking Through Legislation

Science without Borders

We begin this section by discussing Science without Borders (SwB). Even though it is not our focus here, it has played an important role in both Languages without Borders's underpinning constructs and creation, in addition to being one of the largest international scholarship programs funded by a Latin American government.

SwB was decreed in December 2011 and sought to send Brazilian students to institutions considered excellent, based on international rankings, and to attract highly qualified foreigner scholars. According to the Decree of its creation (no. 7642, 2011), this program would contribute to "quality, entrepreneurship, competitiveness, and innovation in priority and strategic areas to Brazil". Mobility, therefore, was linked to neoliberalism, so the country could be more globally competitive. The reasoning was that meeting this goal would lead to national development–that is, the modern/colonial point of arrival.

In this sense, SwB reflects the dominant modern/colonial imaginary in higher education. Menezes de Souza (2018), however, refers to the program as strategically complicit because, despite aligning with neoliberal goals, SwB was part of a movement of social redistribution, allowing students from the lower classes to study abroad.

During SwB's implementation, several candidates were unable to reach the proficiency levels their aimed institutions required. This can be explained by the historical process of language learning in Brazil, for the private sector was often considered the only option, which excluded a large part of society that could not pay to learn languages (Paiva, 2003).

The inequality of access and the pursuit for qualifications (and the commodification of education) are modernity/coloniality symptoms. Their identification as problems frequently leads to solution seeking *within the system*. As Stein (2019) explains, in such cases there might be a simplification of the problem (with no acknowledgment of its colonial roots or complexity) and, therefore, proposed solutions will not solve it.

English Without Borders (Decree no. 1466): The Beginning

In SwB, upon identifying the proficiency issue, the solution proposed regarded teaching English so students would score as required. One of the ideas was to hire private English teaching institutions; however, the International Relations Department from the National Association of Directors of Federal Institutions of Higher Education (Andifes) counterproposed that public universities themselves should teach English to the program participants. As a result, English without Borders was created through Decree no. 1466, 2012 with the aim of preparing students for the proficiency exams anglophone universities required. However, in this text, we decided to uniformize the term used to refer to the program, considering that we discuss its trajectory that involves changes, including its name. Therefore, Languages without Borders is utilized, even though the initial version of the program focused only on English.

Language without Borders reflects a broader scenario. It emerged as a quick solution to a complex issue. While it reproduced neoliberalism, its creation avoided a bigger presence of the private sector and it did amplify, even if minimally, students' access to English. Silva and Silva (2019) explore the sociopolitical role of Languages without Borders: for them, it dealt with the reality of universities receiving students who had not had satisfactory access to English, especially those who entered universities through the implementation of affirmative actions (quota system for public school, black, and indigenous students). As Segato (2021) explains, affirmative actions allowed new groups of students to enter public universities; however, these institutions remained structurally and academically unchanged. Given the dominance of neoliberal discourses and meritocracy, students were supposed to adapt on their own; if they sought to engage with academic mobility, their proficiency was their 'individual' responsibility. Languages without Borders was a way to deal with inequality in this scenario, providing students with free English courses.

As a national program, Languages without Borders advanced different kinds of initiatives, all of which free of costs to the target public: a) face-to-face language courses to academic communities; b) an online language course (My English Online - MEO); c) proficiency exams (TOEFL ITP).

The face-to-face courses worked on internationalization-related matters. Each teacher, alongside a Languages without Borders coordinator, would plan what/how to teach. Nonetheless, courses to be offered would have to be selected from a national catalog–which we will discuss further in the following section. MEO, on the other hand, was an online course in five progressive levels to which the government bought a number of passwords for the academic community.

Languages without Borders face-to-face courses were offered to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) levels A2, B1, and B2. Occasionally there were courses to more beginner levels (A1, A2) and more advanced ones (C1). The issue with CEFR is that it considers language as a norm system and aims to measure the "mastery" learners have over it (Jordão & Martinez, 2021). Additionally, it assumes that learning a language is a linear process, moving from simple to complex structures. That is linked to the colonization of time, excluding the possibility of multiple timelines or relationships with time (Mignolo, 2011). Finally, CEFR emphasizes prestigious varieties (the so-called American and

British English), which are referenced as the 'right' way to use the language, and assumes that communication is transparent, and people can understand one another if they master a common language structure (Canagarajah, 2013).

Regarding the application of TOEFL ITP, the idea was to provide access to an international certification free of charge to academic communities. This initiative, on the one hand, refers to the need for proficiency exams for academic mobility – SwB's aim. On the other hand, many students could not afford such expensive tests on their own, so Languages without Borders came to diminish this inequality. According to Sarmento et al. (2016), the issue was also geographical: not enough places proctored the tests and most application centers were away from small towns, which again would hinder access.

We highlight. however, that international language proficiency exams are an industry permeated by interests–often neoliberal–that involve different agendas. They affect language teaching-learning, policies, beliefs, and sometimes present a retroactive effect (Kobayashi, 2016, Spolsky, 2004). Kobayashi (2016), who studied the practices in the program through interviews and class observation, noticed that although courses were not designed with the exams in mind, students did use them as references, aiming to engage in academic mobility. Therefore, despite not embracing the logic of the exams, the program did not oppose it either.

Languages Without Borders (Decree no 973): First Modification

All three initiatives (courses, MEO, and TOEFL ITP applications) continue to be part of the program as it has undergone modifications. The first big shift took place in 2014, when English without Borders became part of a recently created Languages without Borders. The Decree no. 973 (2014) creating Language without Borders included more languages, such as German, Japanese, French, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese for Foreigners, which would be taught to academic communities and language teachers from basic education.

Nonetheless, the Ministry of Education (MEC), responsible for funding the program, did not treat languages equally. Only those involved with the English language within the program received payment for their work. The other languages were to have volunteers or seek local support from universities; in the rare situations when there was a budget for such languages, payment was considerably lower than to teachers of English. This scenario reflects a broader reality: modern/colonial thinking is based on a totality "that negates, excludes, occludes the difference and the possibilities of other totalities" (Mignolo, 2007, p. 451). In this process, several languages are subalternized and invisibilized in favor of others.

English, specifically, has been placed as the language of science under the modern/colonial perspective (Menezes de Souza & Monte Mór, 2018). Consequently, the production of 'valid' knowledge is associated with this language, along with some myths: that it will foster contributions with and get the validation of the global north (Segato, 2021); that more people will have access to 'quality' knowledge; that there is only one 'worthwhile' English. Moreover, language becomes a means to achieve a goal: to engage in mobility; to get a job; the means to access and produce valid knowledge that can help national development. Funds, therefore, are directed towards English teaching-learning in the hope that these promises are fulfilled.

Languages Without Borders (Decree no. 30): The Amplification

Despite unequal funding, Language without Borders fosters the offer of courses in other languages and paves the way for their growing presence in Brazilian higher education institutions. As the program becomes more independent from SwB (which was discontinued in 2017), its goals are enlarged. Nonetheless, a few underlying notions remain, such as the connection of language learning with 'useful' ends for the country and the association of language, academic mobility, and qualification. All of them appear in Decree no. 30, 2016, which amplifies the scope of participant institutions and works towards the development of a national language policy.

The Andifes-Languages Without Borders Network (Resolution no. 01)

In 2019, MEC withdrew financial support. As an alternative, Language without Borders became part of Andifes. In its new configuration, Language without Borders is a network, working mostly with volunteer work by registered professors. Its main aim slightly changed to the promotion of language teacher education (which only appears as a secondary objective in Decree no. 30, 2016), along with the previous goals of language teaching for academic communities and the development of a national language policy (Resolution no. 01, 2019).

To deal with the inequality that favors English, the Language without Borders network, differently from its previous version (when it was a MEC program), assigns no privileges to those who work with English, seeking to treat all languages equally. Thus, no differentiation is made in terms of resources distributed and weight on decision-making. Nonetheless, deciding to treat languages equally does not erase the colonial difference: English continues to be more present in university

courses, as a sort of continuation of the logics and legislation that makes such language the only mandatory language in Brazilian public schools; consequently, there are more English specialists, teachers and students in Language without Borders. Additionally, most universities prefer to invest resources in this language, given its privileged position, despite Language without Borders's attempts to equalize the scenario. Identifying such coloniality is an important step to interrupt it, in line with the aforementioned Menezes de Souza and Duboc's (2021) strategies for decolonial praxis.

From program to network, one Language without Borders initiative has remained: the offer of language courses to academic communities. Courses are chosen from a national catalog, which we address in the following section.

The National Catalog For English

During the existence of Language without Borders (and of English without Borders before), several language courses from the national catalog have been offered. The booklet lists options that include a title and a course description with pieces of information such as course objectives, total duration, level, and bibliographical references. They are guides that delimit the scope of each course, as well as topics to be covered. However, throughout the existence of the program, teachers are free to develop the course as they see fit, to choose whether they will use a textbook or not, for example, but decisions are to be made under the supervision of a Language without Borders coordinator (or specialist, as they are referred to in the network). This means that language concepts, understandings of internationalization and teaching-learning languages change depending on who is in charge of each course, although the course comes from the national catalog.

We highlight that there is room for agency in this process because agents are free to teach according to their perspectives (Johnson & Johnson, 2015), even when these differ from those suggested in the course plan or Language without Borders's documents themselves. Additionally, considering that meaning is not transparent, people will interpret and, consequently, approach the cataloged courses differently (Bakhtin, 2016). In this sense, our analysis does not intend to tackle on every single perspective existing within the program; besides, we are not studying the practices of those involved in the program/network, but presenting our particular perceptions of ideologies that inform Language without Borders.

In the first editions of the program, coordinators would submit their course proposals to the national management team, mostly via an online platform, to be examined and approved/rejected by a board of specialists selected by the management team. There was, therefore, an expectation of controlling the design and content of the courses to be offered nationwide. As per Braga et al. (2021),

> Since the establishment of this process, 1,785 courses were approved, appearing in a database of the Management Team (MT) of Language without Borders. Given the number of proposed courses and the MT's perception of the use of different nomenclatures for similar (when not equivalent) courses, and also in order to demarcate the scope of Language without Borders to the use of language for academic purposes – as opposed to of a more general nature – work was done to unify and delimit the 1,785 proposals in the Program's database (p. 124).

The board removed duplicates and checked if courses were in line with the program. The process involved five steps: data gathering and posterior grouping in macro-categories; division of courses based on course load; identification of themes within the macro-categories; selection of the most suitable course plans; and adjustments/suggestions to the course titles and plans (Braga et al., 2021). This board no longer exists in the Language without Borders network; however, many of the courses they selected are part of the current catalog.

The first thing to highlight is the focus on *academic* courses. Language without Borders seeks to amplify access to language learning; however, its focus is specific: language is linked to its immediate academic "usefulness", since Language without Borders's objectives center on integrating students into the internationalization process (Decree no. 1466, 2012, Decree no. 973, 2014, Decree no. 30, 2016).

Another point of interest to our analysis is the categorization of courses. The first evaluation process on the courses to be offered nationwide resulted in a total of 178 approved courses. The macro-categories created by the evaluation board were, from the most to the least numerous: internationalization (23 types), exams (16), English for specific purposes (11), and culture (7). According to Braga et al. (2021), the *internationalization* macro-category comprises courses that aim to prepare people linguistically to engage in internationalization contexts and opportunities. In turn, the courses focused on *exams* seek to prepare test takers to get better results so they can participate in internationalization initiatives. As for the group *English for specific purposes*, courses address specific demands from various areas of knowledge so academics can be prepared to use the language within their areas of knowledge. Finally, the courses concerned with *culture* aim to enable students to deal with cultural matters, based on critical reflections. According to Braga et al. (2021), the purpose was

> to empower the target audience for the demand for cultural knowledge that would guide interactions with peers from other higher education institutions, both in the case of international mobility and in the case of welcoming professors, students, and technicians from other countries (p. 136).

As we can see, although there are four macro-categories for the courses, they all relate to "immediate academic 'usefulness'" as we mentioned above, that is, to internationalization practices.

Table 1

Course Examples per Category

Macro-categories	Courses
Internationalization	Oral Production: academic interactions and communications
	Everyday Interactions in English
	Text Genres and Creative Writing
Exams	Proficiency exams: familiarization
	IELTS: Preparatory
	TOEFL iBT: Simulations
English for specific purposes	English for specific purposes: Artistic Area
	English for the job market: topics from the corporate world
	English for specific purposes: Health
Culture	Intercultural Communication
	Cultural differences
	English language varieties

In the Language without Borders network specialists can still submit course proposals; however, that is done by sending the plan to their national coordinator or by presenting it in one of the network meetings. Moreover, the categorization remained the same in the latest edition of the catalog (2023), only with a few changes in numbers. There are currently a total of 110 courses of 52 types grouped as follows: internationalization (29 types), exams (11), English for specific purposes (8), culture (4). To exemplify, we list below three courses from each macro-category from the 2023 catalog. Such courses were chosen as examples of the diversity of courses within the macro-categories.

The catalog seems to operate within the modern/colonial logic of separability (Castro-Goméz, 2007), most visible in the classification of courses into categories. But it goes deeper into such logic by focusing on language use and linguistic abilities (such as speaking or writing), as we can see in the category *internationalization* above. This kind of logic can be noticed in our universities and schools in general: that is how we usually deal with knowledge, as if it could be isolated into parts and desiccated. In this sense, the catalog reiterates the coloniality of knowledge. The decolonial exercise we propose to counter such logic is to consider Sousa Santos' *ecology of knowledges* (2007), that is, to envisage languaging (or *language as practice* as suggested in section 2) as localized multi-dimensional and emergent practices in which knowledges are multiple and co-existent.

On the other hand, the catalog delinks from the modern/colonial linearity, according to which there is only one way to experience time (Mignolo, 2011). Courses are independent yet connected; students can construct their learning trajectories by choosing courses that make more sense to them. There is no linear progression among the courses. Nonetheless, linearity is reinforced in terms of proficiency levels, as candidates only have access to courses in their given level. After the end of the program linked to MEC and, consequently, the termination of TOEFL exams available and of the use of MEO, the Language without Borders network has been trying to find ways to certify students' proficiency: online placement tests, self-evaluation, analysis of written and/or spoken texts by a selection committee, among others. While those alternatives decenter the position of international proficiency exams, they still operate within the modern/colonial notion that everything can and needs to be measured. The desire to quantify is linked to a pursuit for homogeneity, that is, by making sure students are on 'the same level', they would be able to understand the same topics, engage in the same activities–all coming from a common basis of knowledge and language.

Another underlying modern/colonial discourse both in the Language without Borders legislation and the catalog is that of predictability and certainty (even if partial). As per Menezes de Souza and Monte Mór (2018, p. 448), "rationality and science, and the desire to rationally explain the universe led to the connection between knowledge and totality: science came to signify total organized knowledge." The desire for predictability is linked to a belief in knowledge totality, excluding everything that does not follow 'scientific' rules or the very modern/colonial reasoning that traditionally defines Science. This 'true' knowledge, considered to be transcendental and as such beyond questioning, would only be achieved by impersonal subjects that research from a neutral perspective. The idea is that the mind would be able to explain everything from a logical rationality, facilitating control through certainty and predictability (Castro-Goméz, 2007, Grosfoguel, 2007). This is to say that Cartesian binaries (mind/body, subject/object) would provide the grounds to a modern/colonial promise according to which "a single, universally relevant knowledge system [...] offers certainty, predictability, consensus (universality)" (Stein & Silva, 2020, p. 552). The coloniality in this promise is its promotion and enabling of epistemicide: all (and everybody) that does not comply with such logics is dismissed as primitive, false, unscientific.

The desire to predict and control teaching and learning is thus connected to how we experience knowledge (and languaging). Learning, in this case, consists of being prepared for future situations, of solving foreseen problems, that is, learning should provide the basis upon which an individual can predict and respond, with reason, to given challenges. This logic underpins the justification for the existence of the courses in Language without Borders: to prepare academics linguistically, predicting which language items they will need to engage in internationalization initiatives, disregarding the uncertainty and instability of encounters involved in contacts with alterity and difference, in interculturality.

Delinking from this desire to control the world around us is an uncomfortable process that causes anxiety, which frequently makes us circularly seek for security and predictability again. As Stein (2019, p. 1778) argues, a decolonial approach requires "that we stay with uncomfortable feelings of uncertainty, insecurity, and equivocal authority, and it will require that we not only do things differently, or even just think about them differently, but that we actually learn to be differently." The process is not easy and provides no guarantees; rather, it is a learning process in which we make mistakes in a self-implicated manner.

Further Considerations

Our understanding of the Language without Borders catalog is no different than the way we see education in Brazil. Overall, it is a process tinted by modernity/coloniality and difficult (perhaps impossible) to completely turn into a decolonial endeavor. Some reasons for such difficulty may be, first, that education is done by, to, with and for human beings–students, professors, society, all moved by affect (which does not eliminate reason, but comprises it as one of our emotions, as Maturana (2002) insisted on), constantly involved in a process of becoming (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), in endless transformations that do away with certainty and/or predictability. Education thus constantly presents us with unexpected circumstances, in unrepeated events, with people in-the-making and praxes that will never be finished.

How can we prepare for that? As we have seen, some of our suggestions related to internationalization of higher education are that we consider to promote specific 'delinkings': from the modern/colonial desires to rank-order knowledges and knowers; from our eagerness to find stability in predictability, security in certainty, and instead that we open up to the beauty and learning inherent in our encounters with difference: not colonial difference, that classifies and fragments, but *cultural* difference that enlarges repertoires, arises curiosity, and stimulates collaborative learning. Cultural difference does so by directing our gaze to violent practices, to silencing and invisibilizing, to the importance of Menezes de Souza's (Menezes de Souza & Duboc, 2021) three strategies of decolonial pedagogy. In the realm of internationalization and the role of English in this undertaking, such pedagogy demands the plurality and simultaneity that Sousa Santos (2007) sees in the perspective he calls "ecology of knowledges" (and knowers, we would add). It also demands that we see language as practice, as activity rather than as an object to be sold and bought. As action, language is what we do in communication, i.e., *languaging*. The implications of such view to English in processes of internationalization are huge: it places teaching-learning this language, or any other, we dare say, into collaborative (and dialogical) encounters with cultural difference and constant opportunities for learning and opening up our repertoires.

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Considering an Embodied Ethic of Care Framework to Counter Colonial Violence in International Education

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Abstract

This collaborative theoretical essay considers how an Embodied Ethic of Care Framework (Sodhi, 2022), which is informed by Black feminist thought and Indigenous African thought, offers a different way of being in international education. We describe international education in Canada, which focuses on the economy and leads to "conditional hospitality" (Ahmed, 2012) and the commodification of international students (Guo & Guo, 2017). We juxtapose the five elements of the framework to instances of international education in Canada. We demonstrate how current connections with international students are transactional—which replicates harmful historical relationships between people of colour, capitalism, and colonialism. The Embodied Ethic of Care Framework is an antidote for this colonial violence because it places relationship building at the center. We invite readers to consider how an ethic of care might inspire a different way of being that could redress coloniality and systemic racism in their own internationalized contexts.

Keywords: anti-colonial, ethics of care, international education, translanguaging, Black feminist thought

Resumen

Este ensayo teórico colaborativo considera cómo un Marco de Ética del Cuidado Encarnado (Sodhi, 2022) podría ofrecer una manera diferente de ser en contextos educativos internacionalizados en Canadá. Comenzamos describiendo la educación internacional en el contexto canadiense. Explicamos cómo una estrategia federal de educación internacional que se centra en impulsar la economía conduce a una "hospitalidad condicional" (Ahmed, 2012) y la mercantilización de los estudiantes internacionales (Guo & Guo, 2017). Luego, presentamos el Marco de Ética del Cuidado Encarnado, que está informado por el pensamiento feminista negro e indígena

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africano (Sodhi, 2022). El marco reconoce la energía colectiva de la comunidad (Sodhi, 2022). Se entretejen los cinco elementos de nuestro "marco" a instancias de educación internacional en Canadá. Dado que la discriminación basada en el lenguaje sigue siendo una práctica comúnmente aceptada en las instituciones postsecundarias canadienses (Martin, 2022), nuestras descripciones de contextos internacionalizados en Canadá atienden al lenguaje y al diálogo. Demostramos cómo las conexiones actuales con los estudiantes internacionales son transaccionales, lo que replica las dañinas relaciones históricas entre personas de color, el capitalismo y el colonialismo. El Marco de Ética del Cuidado Encarnado es un antídoto contra esta forma de violencia colonial porque coloca la construcción de relaciones al centro de la experiencia de internacionalización. A través de la ecolocalización (Gumbs, 2020), invitamos a los lectores a considerar cómo un marco de ética del cuidado podría inspirar una manera diferente de ser que podría corregir la colonialidad y el racismo sistémico en contextos internacionalizados en Canadá y también en sus propios contextos.

Palabras Claves: anti-colonial, ética del cuidado, educación internacional, translinguaje, pensamiento feminista negro

Resumo

Este ensaio teórico colaborativo considera como uma Ética do Cuidado Corporificado (Sodhi, 2022) pode oferecer uma maneira diferente de ser em contextos educacionais internacionalizados no Canadá. Começamos descrevendo a educação internacional no contexto canadense. Explicamos como uma estratégia federal de educação internacional focada na economia e não na educação leva à "hospitalidade condicional" (Ahmed, 2012) e à mercantilização de estudantes internacionais (Guo & Guo, 2017). Em seguida, apresentamos a Ética do Cuidado Corporificado, que é informado pelo pensamento feminista negro e pelo pensamento indígena africano (Sodhi, 2022). Este reconhece a energia coletiva da comunidade (Sodhi, 2022). Contrastamos os cinco elementos do referido quadro com exemplos de educação internacional no Canadá. Como a discriminação com base na língua ainda é uma prática comumente aceita nas instituições de ensino superior canadenses (Martin, 2022), nossas descrições de contextos internacionalizados no Canadá levam em consideração a linguagem e o diálogo. Demonstramos como as conexões atuais com estudantes internacionais são transacionais – o que reproduz relações históricas violentas entre pessoas de cor, capitalismo e colonialismo. A Ética do Cuidado Corporificado coloca-se como um antídoto para essa forma de violência colonial, porque coloca a construção de relacionamentos no centro. Por meio da ecolocalização (Gumbs, 2020), convidamos os leitores a considerar como um quadro de referência de uma ética de cuidado pode inspirar uma maneira diferente de ser que possa reparar a colonialidade e o racismo sistêmico em contextos internacionalizados no Canadá e/ou em seus contextos específicos.

Palavras-chave: anticolonial, ética do cuidado, educação internacional, translinguagem, pensamento feminista negro

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Introduction

In January 2023, we presented many of the ideas in this paper at the IAFOR International Conference on Education. At the end of our presentation, we received questions about praxis. *What can practitioners do? How do we inform policy makers?* Such questions are common during any discussion that critiques the status quo, but there is no such thing as a prescriptive solution. Prescriptivism is a colonial tool. Stein (2021) states that "to

address the coloniality of internationalization will require that we stay with the uncomfortable feelings of uncertainty, insecurity, and equivocal authority, and it will require that we not only *do* things differently, or even just *think* about them differently, but that we actually learn to *be* differently" (p. 1777). Rather than offering methodological or epistemological solutions, in this article, we respond to the relatively few conversations on ethics in international education (e.g. Stein et al., 2019; Brunner, 2022). Discussions on ethics provide openings for ontological shifts. Ontology requires multiplicity; that is, any way of being cannot be understood in isolation without the perspective of other ways of being. Thus, our discussion here relies on echolocation, described by Gumbs (2020) as being about receptive language and presencing. The term presencing relates to a sonic practice that involves continually offering our presence to others as a way to signal our ongoing participation in community. We use Gumbs's questions as a way of guiding our examination differently, keeping Black feminist values of reciprocity and interconnectedness close. In her own words, "What could it mean to be present with each other across time and space and difference? Presence is interpersonal" (p. 67). Echolocation is about the way we use our collective voice in ways that speak to self and community integration. Each voice is heard in its unique expression and met with the unique expression of each community member. Therefore, there is recognition and respect for the "individual expression" (Collins, 2022) of each community member; it is about a way of speaking and being heard in our own voices. In honoring the practice of echolocation and presencing, we want to emphasize that we are not presenting our ideas *to* you but rather hope that our ideas resonate with you and invite your own.

We, the authors of this article, found each other through echolocation when we were both students in a graduate course about race, culture, and schooling. Within this course, our conversations crossed disciplines and we found in common ways of being that connected our joint interests. Sodhi is an Afro-Caribbean artist and educator with over 20 years of experience working in the education sector and collaborating with community members. Martin is the descendent of White European settlers to Canada. She is an applied linguist with 20 years of experience working in the English language teaching industry in Canada, the Middle East, and Europe. We resonated with each other's unique expression which we maintain even as we write collectively. This article, then, is the result of interpersonal, intercultural, interdisciplinary collaboration. We begin by detailing the context of Martin's (2022) research with international students at a Canadian university. We then describe Sodhi's (2022) Embodied Ethic of Care Framework which is informed by Black feminist and Indigenous African thought. We consider how an ethic of care could offer a different way to *be* in internationalized contexts in Canada. We conclude by inviting you, the reader, to consider how an ethic of care relates to your context and join the conversation about *being*.

Context

Before we describe the context of international education in Canada, we would like to offer a brief explanation of some of the terminology we employ. As an Afro-Caribbean scholar, Sodhi uses the term *African* to speak to common threads of values and practices that the African diasporic community recognizes and employs without dismissing the numerous nations with distinct thought traditions that are rooted in this continent. Sodhi mainly speaks to West African thought traditions as those are linked directly to her ancestry and area of study and employs the terminology such as African and Afrocentric in the way Eurocentric ways of knowing and being can be named without being contested as a valid way to describe the essence of certain ways of being and knowing. These traditions include but are not limited to Yoruba, Bantu-Kongo and Dagara ways of being and knowing. The terms Afrocentric/African are often asked to be defined while the term Eurocentric is not. Europe is recognized as a continent with numerous distinct practices, nations, and languages without scholars having to name it as such. Yet the term African struggles to be recognized within the same lens of complexity. Similarly, the authors recognize that the term *international students* does not refer to a homogenous group. There is immense

diversity among international students regarding language, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status, nationality, gender, age, race, visa status, etc. We invite readers to consider these terms and others in this paper through the lens of complexity. In addition to terminology, as both authors are currently situated in Canada, we provide an overview of international education in Canada, although we recognize that this overview may apply to other contexts outside of Canada. We invite readers to consider their immediate contexts while engaging with this paper.

The federal government of Canada has developed an international education strategy, which is unusual because education falls under the purview of each province and territory. The federal strategy is introduced by the Minister of International Trade Diversification, the Minister of Employment, Workforce Development and Labor, and the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship. The titles of these officials indicate that the goal of international education is more about nation building than about education. Indeed, the strategy documents state that "educational expenditures by international students have a greater impact on Canada's economy than exports of auto parts, lumber or aircraft" (Government of Canada, 2019, p. 2), reducing international students to sources of revenue. In 2022, Canada sourced approximately 80% of international students from Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE), 2022). Consequently, in addition to collecting revenue, post-secondary institutions in Canada benefit from increased diversity, checking off the D box in their equity, diversity, and inclusion initiatives (Tamtik & Guenter, 2019). Ahmed (2012) explains that "people of color are welcomed on condition they return that hospitality by integrating into a common organizational culture, or by 'being' diverse, and allowing institutions to celebrate their diversity" (p. 43). This conditional hospitality (Derrida as cited in Ahmed, 2012) is reflected in international students' experiences of marginalization, which is well documented in Canadian-context academic literature (Ge & Durst, 2022; Guo & Guo, 2017; Houshmand et al., 2014; Hutcheson, 2020; Power et al., 2021; Tavares, 2021).

A ubiquitous result of conditional hospitality is language-based discrimination (Martin, 2022). (While Canada has two official languages, English and French, we focus on English contexts because our experience and research is in English-dominant institutions. However, we invite readers to consider language power dynamics in their own contexts.) Canadian educational institutions insist on linguistic homogenization, which has little to do with effective communication. Even though international students must demonstrate advanced English proficiency to be admitted to post-secondary institutions, and despite equity and inclusion initiatives, universities and colleges nation-wide offer remedial programs and resources to "improve" international students' language skills. International students report being othered, humiliated, derided, and excluded when they speak and write (Martin, 2022). The idea that everyone should speak and write to a particular standard is a legacy of Canada's European colonial history whereby "white settler ways of speaking English remain elevated over other(ed) Englishes, particularly those Englishes connected to non-white bodies" (Sterzuk, 2015, p. 56). Devaluing international students' Englishes reinforces the colonial racial hierarchy (Sterzuk, 2015). Martin (2022) interviewed international students about their experiences with language-based discrimination. One interviewee asked, "If you are in a class and trying to talk, and people look at you weird, would you have the courage to talk?" Ultimately, international students pay exorbitant tuition for the privilege of joining Canadian institutions, (Universities Canada, n.d.) on the condition that they attempt to assimilate, risking their unique expression and ability to fully participate in echolocation.

Embodied Ethic of Care Framework for International Education

Sodhi's (2022) Embodied Ethic of Care Framework (Figure 1) supports re-envisioning work that can address the wide range of harm international students experience while providing all community members with another way to *be* with the issue of international education. The framework is not fixed. Rather it continues to

evolve and adapt to the areas that require a reorientation towards care. It is not meant to provide a hard and fast approach with rules regarding international education programs. The Embodied Ethic of Care Framework is based on Black feminist work on ethics of care. The framework relies heavily on the work of Collins (2022), a Black feminist scholar. Collins (2022) explains that Black feminist thought is born out of a response to the intersection of racial and gendered oppression that was not addressed by the women's movement of the 1960s and 70s. Sodhi's (2022) framework also draws on Indigenous African thought (Adefarakan, 2018; Somé, 1999). The proceeding sections explain the five components of the Embodied Ethic of Care Framework, which are built on Black feminist values of interconnectedness and relationship and therefore weave in and out of each other.

Collins (2022) herself identifies three components of "ethics of caring". They include individual uniqueness, appropriateness of emotions in dialogue, and development of the capacity for empathy. In describing these components, Collins (2022) explores the theme of dialogue as a discourse mode found in Black churches and rooted in African ways of knowing. "In such services both the minister and the congregation routinely use voice rhythm and vocal inflection to convey meaning. The sound of what is being said is just as important as the words themselves in what is, in a sense, a dialogue of reason and emotion" (Collins, 2022, p. 264). Dialogue as discourse, emotions and empathy are representative of the practices of echolocation and presencing. The exchange between the leader and the congregation, for instance, not only validates emotions but it underscores the belief that emotions are a form of knowledge (Collins, 2022). Thus, emotions play a central role in African (and diasporic African) knowledge systems (Collins, 2022). Employing an African world view requires that we rely on non-Euro/Western ways of knowing and being. Therefore, in the same way that Collins (2022) brings knowing and care together, we seek to bring care and international education together.

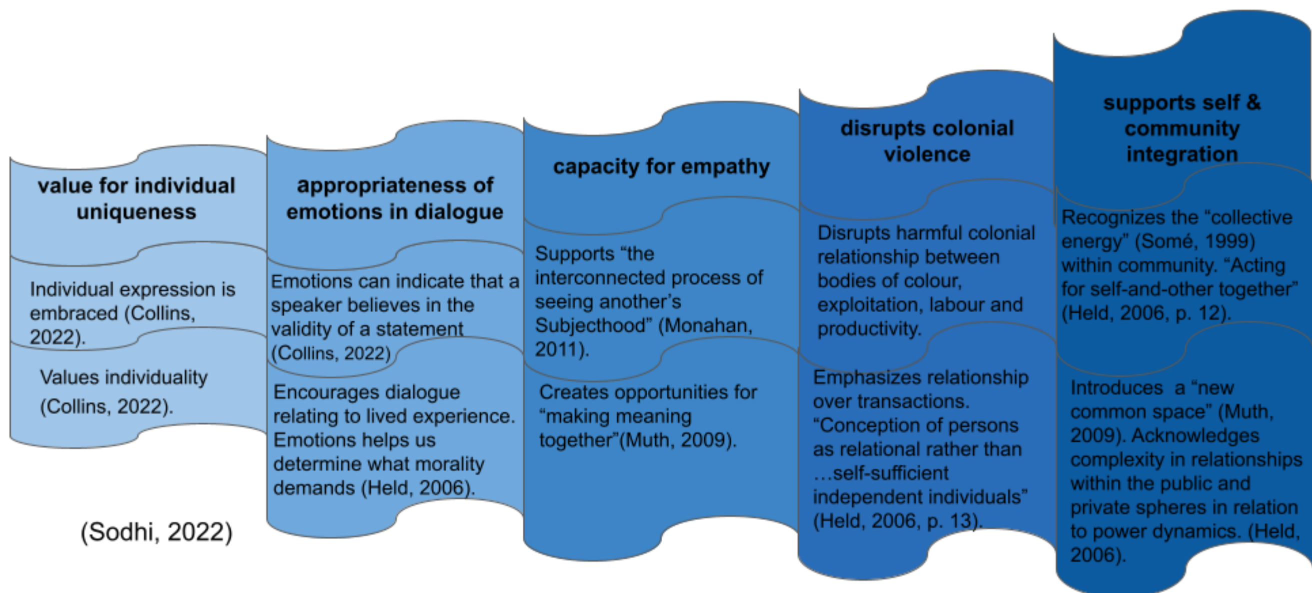

Figure 1 *Embodied Ethic of Care Framework*

Five Components of the Embodied Ethic of Care Framework

Value for Individual Uniqueness

Within Sodhi's (2022) Embodied Ethic of Care Framework, the individual is valued as a unique member of a collective. Following Collins (2022), "each individual is thought to be a unique expression of a common spirit, power, or energy inherent in all life" (p. 334). Jazz, a specifically Black sound and musical approach, demonstrates this worldview beautifully. In each composition listeners bear witness to the values of the individual and the collective simultaneously. Each player is featured for the unique voice they bring to the piece. The musician must find a way to connect their true "voice" to the overall sound and rhythm of the rest of the group. This type of improvisation with sound is so closely mirrored to the way of *being* in the practice of echolocation and presencing. In relation to international education, the focus on Standard English diminishes the value of each international student's unique form of expression that they bring to the larger educational community.

Value for Individual Uniqueness can be seen in the act of translanguaging, a naturally occurring, jazz-like linguistic practice and way of being. Wei (2018) explains:

> Human beings have a natural Translanguaging Instinct, an innate capacity to draw on as many different cognitive and semiotic resources as available to them to interpret meaning intentions and to design actions accordingly. This innate capacity drives humans to go beyond narrowly defined linguistic cues and transcend the culturally defined language boundaries to achieve effective communication. (p. 24)

Because no two humans have the same linguistic/semiotic repertoire, translanguaging always results in unique individualized expression. Within community, translanguaging refuses the socially-constructed borders between languages and the idea that any one language is superior to another. Internationally, researchers have documented successful translanguaging in primary (e.g. Prasad & Lory, 2019; Yilmaz, 2021), secondary (e.g. Lin & He, 2017; Seltzer et al., 2016), and post-secondary educational institutions (e.g. Burton & Rajendram, 2018; Galante, 2020; Kimball, 2015; Rafi & Morgan, 2022). While translanguaging is a natural occurrence, it is not considered an appropriate form of communication in academia, particularly for racialized students (García et al., 2021; Flores & Rosa, 2019). Standard English is upheld as the best way to communicate and transmit knowledge.

The rejection of any type of languaging that breaks down barriers is related to European imperialism. In what is now called Canada, White settler colonizers employed, and continue to employ, White supremacist ideologies to build a nation. This racial hierarchy is reproduced by "the powerfully assimilatory practices of institutions such as schools, courts, law enforcement and universities" (Sterzuk, 2015, p. 53; see also Henry & Tator, 2009). Standard English is a tool for maintaining the White supremacist racial order. White native-English speakers are considered the "legitimate owner[s] of English" (Sterzuk, 2015, p. 61). Thus, according to Flores and Rosa (2015), the linguistic practices of racialized people can be stigmatized even when they are undiscernible from so-called Standard English norms. Furthermore, within these institutions of "higher knowledge," language and knowledge become conflated, so any varieties of English that are not representative of Whiteness are seen as indicators of lack of knowledge. According to Sterzuk (2015), the internationalization of education "must also 'internationalise' communication through deliberate planning and policy. This challenge to the authority of the white settler native speaker must include policies and practices that incorporate an understanding of the historical and colonial link between language, race and education in settler societies." (Sterzuk, 2015, pp. 63-64). Interlocutors who inhabit and express institutionalized power "through structures of white supremacy [and] through modes of perceiving and apprehending language" (García et al., 2021), like insisting on Standard English norms, can learn to abandon their "white listening subject" (Flores & Rosa, 2015) position. Such abandonment requires an acceptance of each community member as an equal contributor to the community's languaging practices, just as each jazz musician is an equal contributor to the band.

Appropriateness of Emotions in Dialogue

Black feminist thought holds that emotion in dialogue is a valid process for knowledge construction once emotions speak to the validity of what is expressed in dialogue (Collins, 2022). The fragmentation of emotion from knowledge construction and validation has roots in the Enlightenment in the 1600s. During this period, reason was valued above all else because it was believed to be sufficient for meaning making and knowledge construction (Sodhi in conversation with Dr. Sarah Barrett, 2022). Emotions were considered illegitimate sources of knowledge and reason was seen as the only valid source of truth. Consequently, emotion was deemed an invalid way of knowing and a hierarchical system of knowledge was developed that led to the separation of emotion from knowing (Sodhi in conversation with Dr. Sarah Barret, 2022). Fragmentation is a key feature of colonial practice because it allows for the transactional rather than the relational. It is no coincidence that colonization and the transatlantic slave trade thrived during this era. Black feminist thought holds that emotions validate experience because emotions can be a type of barometer of truth (Collins, 2022). Reestablishing the connection between reason and emotion speaks to processes of knowing that displace objectivists notions of truth.

Black feminist thought counters these colonial practices and values by returning emotion to its rightful place within knowledge construction and meaning making. An ethics of care rooted in Black feminist thought and Black life sees this separation as violence (Collins, 2022) and more importantly sees its return as restorative. From the blues to religious practices, Collins (2022) asserts that "personal expressiveness heals this binary that separates emotion from intellect" (p. 334). It is this "personal expressiveness" that is lacking in dialogue relating to and with international students. The restoration of reason and emotion as partners in knowledge building and meaning making is important in the discussion of international education and the impact the current system has on students. The transactional design of international education replicates the fragmentation of reason and emotion. The program is designed in a way to place greater emphasis on the ability to extract from students with little consideration for the toll this takes on their mental health and wellbeing. The emotions of the students are of little importance and represent a disruption in the ability to engage in mutual meaning and knowledge building that could inform practices that validate international students' experiences.

A lack of attention to emotion in dialogue leads to undue hardship. In Canada, international students pay up to six times the tuition as domestic students (Universities Canada, n.d.), but, until recently, they have only been allowed to work 20 hours per week. This situation leads to a range of issues such as employment, housing, and food precarity (Calder, et al., 2016; Hune-Brown, 2021; Power et al., 2021). In Ontario where Sodhi and Martin work, there is a disproportionate suicide rate among international students (Bascaramurty et al., 2021; Clark, 2022). Sometimes, students would write about their hardships in their assignments in Martin's English language classes, but in the academic culture of the institutions, Martin was not adequately positioned to support the emotions of the students. Martin's supervisors advised her to refer students to the institutions' counselling services. Although counselling is an important service to provide necessary tools for managing stress, it cannot fix the commodification of international students. Referring students to counselling can be beneficial, but it also risks pathologizing the students rather than the nation builders and institutions that created situations of undue hardship. As of November 2022 until December 2023, the Canadian government is allowing international students to work more than 20 hours per week "to assist in temporarily filling Canada's labor market needs and help sustain Canada's economic growth" (Government of Canada, 2022, para. 4). It remains to be seen how this temporary policy change will impact international students. However, given that policy shift is still driven by the economy and nation building rather than by a dialogue that centers students' emotions/experiences, it is unlikely to positively affect international students' well-being.

Even if this policy change does relieve some financial stress for international students, it will not address the harmful structure of post-secondary institutions. Canadian universities were born out of colonial power systems that promote Eurocentric knowledge to the exclusion of other epistemologies and ontologies. "The University has nothing whatsoever against diversity, as long as it doesn't interfere with the white masculine status

quo. Or, to put it an-other way, the University has nothing against multiculturalism, as long as it remains peripheral to monoculturalism" (Relke as cited in Henry and Tator, 2009, p. 16). International students who are not White, European males (i.e. almost all international students in Canada) are thus alienated from the dominant norm, and this can affect their ability to participate fully. For example, Liu (2017) interviewed Chinese international students in British Columbia. One engineering student explained the challenges he faced when instructors neglected to draw on knowledge systems outside of North America. This exclusive pedagogy was not conducive to his learning. He states that "there is no connection between my life experiences and the reading materials. I had tough times to understand them. Sometimes I won't understand them at all. This affects my assignments such as writing paper or team presentations". (Participant cited in Liu, 2017, p. 249)

The hidden curriculum of Eurocentric Whiteness places international students in a deficit position, even though they must demonstrate advanced academic and linguistic proficiency to enter post-secondary institutions. Participating in this system creates negative conditions whereby international students report feeling helpless (Okuda & Anderson, 2018), uncared for (Liu, 2017), unworthy (Kang, 2020), and humiliated (Martin, 2022), for example. Emotions are not part of the dominant discourse around international education, yet, according to a Black feminist framework, these emotions validate lived experience as forms of knowledge.

Sharing experiences, or what Delgado (1989) calls *naming your reality*, is a powerful tool that institutions of education can employ to support students by validating their emotions while also helping them counter the harmful messaging they deal with. Subsequently, naming your reality, a practice employed in critical race theory (Delgado, 1989; Ladson-Billings, 1998), creates a meeting space where, in the case of international education, the student's experiences are validated, and institutions get an opportunity to recognize their oppressive actions. When international students shared their experiences with Martin in their essays, for example, they were naming their reality. When the institutional response is *only* to refer students to counseling, the onus to solve the problem is placed on the individual. This neoliberal tendency toward individualism relegates the issue to the unseen or invisible, which means that it cannot be addressed on broader scales. Considering an Embodied Ethic of Care might open spaces for discussions of these realities on many scales, for example in classrooms, in student and teacher lounges, in board rooms, at political tables. Sitting together with these problems opens the possibility for collective engagement that validates emotions.

Capacity for Empathy

Sullivan (2013) proposes that mutual meaning making requires both a value of individuality and respect for people's subjective experience. These values can support practices that create a "new realm" (Sullivan, 2013). It is in this new realm where empathy can be cultivated. Empathy requires an interconnected process of seeing another's "subjecthood" (Monahan, 2011). Seeing the person, their complexities, their experiences, and the way we see our liberation intricately connected to their liberation is truly an empathetic experience. The word empathy in this context is not being applied in a way that speaks to paternalism or Salvationism. Rather we are using it in a way that values liberatory power where people are able to act for themselves in ways that are meaningful and impactful to them. The Embodied Ethic of Care Framework recognizes that empathy is an experience between and *in* between bodies (Gordon as cited in Sullivan, 2013). What this means is that empathy requires both a space that people share and a space that exists *in* between people. The in between space, the space between person to person, is just as important as the space that we share. Soja (2008), a post-colonial theorist, uses a similar concept called the third space, this is a space that is founded on the relational dimension that supports capacity for empathy. The third space is the realm where hybridity and fluidity exist within the collective (Soja, 2008). That is why the third space is often characterized by Soja as the space of both the known and the unknown. As a space between subjecthoods it is a generative space for empathy. Thus, this is the space in international education that can

generate empathy. These spaces are fluid, are in movement and overlap with each other. In respect to the application of a third space concept for international education and the importance of this type of space in generating empathy, it is important to understand that international education presents itself as a third space.

However, international education in Canada attempts to homogenize international students and does not maintain space to account for people's subjective experiences. For example, Ramjattan (2019) describes the often-invisible aesthetic labor of International Teaching Assistants (ITAs) in Canada. "Evaluations of a foreign accent are dynamic in nature, [and] these evaluations are rarely, if ever, objective" (Ramjattan, 2019, p. 26). Regardless, within the monolingual/standard English culture of post-secondary institutions, the onus is on the people who are deemed to have a foreign accent to ensure effective communication. By "working *on"* and "working *around"* accent, ITAs "carry the extra burden of making sure that their voices do not interfere with knowledge provision to student-customers" (Ramjattan, 2019, p. 258). With regards to the diversity of the effects of aesthetic labor on individuals, Ramjattan (2019) emphasizes that, while some may feel exploited, other ITAs may enjoy doing this accent work. Whether the ITAs dislike or take pride in working on or around their accent, this aesthetic labor is still part of the commodification and homogenization of ITAs as "workers first" (Ramjattan, 2019, p. 258). It also reinforces the notion that those who speak with a "Canadian accent" are not required to participate in mutual meaning making. While post-secondary institutions across Canada offer courses for ITAs and international students to modify their accents or "improve" their English skills, the authors are unaware of any post-secondary programs "that require native speakers of English to achieve proficiency in communicating with people whose English differs from theirs while avoiding discriminatory behavior toward them" (Martin, 2022, p. 30).

It is worth considering, though, whether adding more language requirements would encourage a different way to be. Alternatively, Prasad and Lory (2019) have fostered mutual meaning making through linguistic and cultural collaboration (LCC) with multi-lingual youth in schools. LCC is a pedagogical and research method that cultivates linguistic and cultural equity. All participants, which includes students of diverse language and cultural backgrounds, their family members, their teachers, and other school community members, learn to open to different ways of communicating and learning together. LCC encourages students to become change agents, collaborating in multilingual activities and working to deconstruct the monolingual ideology of the school and surrounding community. For example, grades four and five students collaborated to create multilingual history brochures and successfully advocated for the local history museum to publish and display them (Prasad & Lory, 2019). LCC interventions are deliberate instructional choices that focus on collaboration, restoration, and the notion of vivre ensemble, "a dynamic living together" (Prasad & Lory, 2019, p. 800), between dominant and minoritized language users. While this example comes from an elementary school context, readers are invited to consider what mutual meaning making could look like in their contexts.

Potential to Disrupt Colonial Violence

The Western state invites the international student in as a way of generating revenue without consideration for relation building. Current connections with international students are transactional—which replicates a historical pattern with how Western nations engage with people of color. The transatlantic slave trade, indentured servitude, and migrant labor practices are just some ways we witness this emphasis on transactions. Ethics of care disrupts what Sullivan (2013) calls I-it connection and stresses I-you connection. I-it connections are not concerned with relationships where I-you connections value the relational (Sullivan, 2013). The Embodied Ethic of Care Framework values non-extractive relationships over transactional relationships to disrupt this colonial violence. The emphasis on transaction stresses a relationship that could expose international students to exploitation and practices of extraction. Alternatively, centering relationships sees each person's subjecthood as being interconnected. In this regard, Tronto (1994) states that "care is both a practice and a disposition" (p. 104);

it is both a value we orient towards and an embodied experience. When care is applied to international education, we are oriented towards a practice that disrupts colonial violence in embodied ways.

Colonialism is largely about fragmentation of the self (body, mind, and spirit) and space. This fragmentation is visible in the way the world is bordered, and the way language takes on a colonizing, bordered, and de/legitimatizing characteristic. A way to disrupt colonial violence in international education is to disrupt these bordering practices of language, self, and community. Borrowing from Muth's (2011) conceptualization of a "new common space" we want to propose that the Embodied Ethic of Care Framework is about new world or new space building that occurs *in* between bodies. When I and you come together, a new space is created that can support genuine dialogue, joint meaning making, and consequently new world making—new world making that is *unbordering* and decolonizing in nature. International students and Canadian educational institutions have an opportunity to view their coming together in this light, a space where the integrated self enables community/world integration.

Walia (2021), a migrant justice activist, states that "borders are an ordering regime" (p. 2). Borders are not just lines on a map; they result from processes that categorize and divide people. One border governance strategy that Walia (2021) describes is *discursive control*, a form of manipulation by the creation of labels and distinctions. In Canada, the Official Languages Act (1988) proclaims English and French to be "official" languages. The descriptor "official" demarcates French and English as having "approval or authorization" (Oxford Languages, n.d.). Since only French and English can be official by Canadian law, any other language becomes unofficial, thereby lacking approval or authorization. This leads to the creation of a problematic bilingual/monolingual binary. In Canada, a person who speaks French and English is "officially" bilingual and holds superior status over a person who speaks English and Mandarin, who is officially monolingual (Galante, 2021). This legitimizing of two languages conversely delegitimizes all other languages. It is internationally and commonly accepted that Canada is a bilingual country, despite the reality that Canada is a multilingual country. "In addition to the two official languages, 60 Indigenous languages and more than 140 immigrant languages are woven into the Canadian landscape" (Galante, 2021, para. 2). The legitimizing border makes language-based discrimination acceptable. For example, an international student Martin (2022) interviewed described a situation in which English speaking students did not want to partner with him. While it hurt his feelings, he explained that not wanting to partner with someone whose language skills are not the same as the dominant group "makes sense," and he would do the same in his country, but he would be more polite about it. Whether rude or polite, judging the legitimacy of someone's language reinforces the I-it connection and forecloses possibilities for relationship building.

Support for Self & Community Integration

In the West African Indigenous sense, community integration is about supporting the integration of each part of our physical and spiritual worlds with each member of the community (Adefarakan, 2018; Somé, 1999). The individual's unique expression serves as a vital contributor to an integrated community. The individual's unique expression is also maintained through a fully integrated self. Embedding a care-ethic requires that the connection between body, mind and spirit is acknowledged. The need to center the physical body while drawing away from spirit is a colonial practice that is reliant on fragmentation of the self. The self is fragmented in colonial systems because the body can be extracted for labor and financial gain. When we move towards spirit as part of the integrated self, this supports general wellbeing that resists exploitative practices. Values based on care and integration create the conditions necessary for people to be regarded in all their humanity. It is in this space that international students can be valued beyond their financial contributions. As contributors in dynamic ways, they are also able to join a space that calls them to "do with" rather than engage in relationships that are bound by an

emphasis to "do for" (Tronto, 1994). They are able to come together in a truly integrated community where they each find their path as equal participants in new world building. This change in positioning places international students as collaborators with their educators and peers.

Community integration requires reciprocity, yet, in Canada, internationalization is uni-directional, not a reciprocal exchange or collaboration between people. As noted in the Context section, the large majority of international students in Canada are from Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE), 2022). Meanwhile, Canadians continue to prioritize Eurocentric Western knowledge (Deckers, 2020) which places all other epistemologies in an inferior position. This prioritization is evidenced by Canadian students' preferred study abroad locations. When Canadians want to learn from other cultures, they mostly go to Europe. France is the number one destination, the United Kingdom is in second place, and the United States is in third place, followed by Germany. Spain and Australia are tied for fourth, and Switzerland, Sweden, Italy, and China are in fifth place. China hosts only 3% of Canadian international students (CBIE, 2016a). This prioritization of European knowledge sends a message that Canadians do not value the knowledge systems and thus the knowledge building potential that international students offer. Consequently, the value international students present is more connected to their financial contributions rather than to what they offer as integrated beings.

One way this Eurocentrism shows up in the classroom is the practice of giving international students English names. In Martin's experience, it is not uncommon in language classes in Canada, even in university English programs, for adult international students to be assigned or choose English names. Similarly, some international students arrive with English names that they have had since their first experiences in English classrooms as early as kindergarten, and many students identify with and appreciate their English names. This practice is multifaceted with positive and negative layers. Zhang and Noels (2022) surveyed Chinese international students at a university in western Canada. Of the 211 participants, 180 had adopted English names. Zhang and Noels (2022) found that English names support "cross-cultural communication, social recognition and connectedness to the host society. English names may also bear personal significance, especially when the students selected the name themselves" (p. 12). While Zhang and Noels (2022) highlight international students' agency in choosing to use English names, they also indicate that the main reasons English names are helpful in Canada are "communication convenience for English speakers" (p. 8) and "facilitating host adaptation" (p. 8). These two reasons suggest that life with an English name is easier for international students because it reduces difficulties for English speaking Canadians. Participants from the study offer explanations such as "'They will remember your name easily than my heritage name'" (p. 9) and "'When people want to say my [English] name. [It's a] lot ... easier for them. So I think they might [be] more likely to talk with me'" (p. 9). Under these circumstances, the onus of communication and learning is placed on the international student. English speaking Canadians do not have to participate in a reciprocal exchange. Martin recalls a time when she had a large class size and had difficulty memorizing the names of her students, all of whom were international. One day after class, a student who did not use an English name approached Martin to share the story of her name. The student offered why her parents chose her name and what it meant to her. This student was deliberately asserting her identity, and in so doing, created space for reciprocity in which Martin engaged. We are not advocating that all international students must stop choosing English names or that it is up to the students to create space for the teachers or that students must share personal information to create such space. Rather, we notice that the exchange between Martin and the student presented an opportunity for shared meaning making. Martin was presented with an opportunity to learn and understand, and the student created an opportunity to locate herself, through her name, to her cultural identity and her current community at the same time. In this case, names have the power to both localize and transport. The student chose to do both, entering into a practice of community integration. Community integration is both about making sure everyone can participate in creating community as well as recognizing the individual within community.

Conclusion

The Embodied Ethic of Care Framework recognizes that liberation is experienced through the integrated self. The integrated self in the Yoruba world view is centered on recognizing and enacting practices that value all the parts of the self: mind, body, and spirit (Adefarakan, 2018). In this application to international education, the Embodied Ethic of Care Framework calls for a re-orientation of international education policies and practices whereby international students are valued beyond a relationship of transaction—which is very body-focused. Establishing relationships that attend to the whole self means that emotions and the varied lived experiences of international students are included in the discourse of international education. This process creates the conditions for a relationship that is focused on "learning with" international students where common space building and meaningful knowledge creation can occur.

Before ending this text, it is important to remember that Sodhi's (2022) Embodied Ethic of Care Framework does not prescribe processes. As Stein (2021) cautions:

> while decolonial, post-colonial, abolitionist and Indigenous critiques and practices are understood to be useful for recognizing enduring colonial patterns, asking difficult questions, and gesturing toward other possibilities, to seek within these theories a prescriptive (re)solution would be to route them back into the same set of colonial entitlements that they challenge. (p. 1779)

Rather than provide a solution, we invite you, the reader, to consider how the Embodied Ethic of Care Framework could *gesture toward* new world building.

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Racial Dis/Embodiment: A Discourse Theoretical Analysis of University International Offices' Websites

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Abstract

This paper explores the relationship between embodiment and visual representations of racial diversity on university campuses. The study analyzes the visuals found on the websites of international student offices at all twelve Swiss universities. Using a discourse theoretical approach as a basis for qualitative document analysis, the paper identifies examples of racially embodied and disembodied presence and absence that govern context-specific forms of representation (Hook, 2008; Lentin, 2019). These findings suggest a novel interdisciplinary understanding of Whiteness in Switzerland that characterizes racialized space as not only characterized by the presence of White bodies but also their (partial) absence. Furthermore, this research brings the undertheorized aspect of race to the fore within studies of international higher education, particularly in the underrepresented topic of visual discourses in Europe. Finally, the paper discusses the need for nuanced understandings of diversity representation in education.

Keywords: embodiment, race, representation, visual discourse, whiteness

Resumen

Este artículo explora la relación entre la encarnación y las representaciones visuales de la diversidad racial en los campus universitarios. El estudio analiza las imágenes encontradas en los sitios web de las oficinas de estudiantes internacionales en las doce universidades suizas. Utilizando un enfoque teórico del discurso como base para el análisis cualitativo de documentos, el artículo identifica ejemplos de presencia y ausencia racialmente encarnada y desencarnada que gobiernan formas de representación específicas del contexto (Hook, 2008; Lentin, 2019). Estos hallazgos sugieren una novedosa comprensión interdisciplinaria de la blancura en Suiza que caracteriza el espacio racializado no solo por la presencia de cuerpos blancos, sino también por su (parcial) ausencia. Además, esta investigación resalta el aspecto poco teorizado de la raza en los estudios de educación superior internacional, particularmente en el tema poco representado de los discursos visuales en Europa. Finalmente, el artículo discute la necesidad de comprensiones matizadas de la representación de la diversidad en la educación.

Palabras clave: blancura, discurso visual, encarnación, raza, representación

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Resumo

Este artigo explora a relação entre corporificação e representações visuais da diversidade racial em campi universitários. O estudo analisa imagens encontradas nos websites dos escritórios de estudantes internacionais em doze universidades suíças. Usando uma abordagem teórica do discurso como base para a análise qualitativa de documentos, o artigo identifica exemplos de presença e ausência racialmente corporificadas e descorporificadas que governam formas de representação específicas do contexto (Hook, 2008; Lentin, 2019). Essas descobertas sugerem uma nova compreensão interdisciplinar da branquitude na Suíça, que caracteriza o espaço racializado não apenas pela presença de corpos brancos, mas também por sua ausência (parcial). Além disso, esta pesquisa traz à tona a raça como aspecto pouco estudado nos estudos de educação superior internacional, sobretudo no que diz respeito ao tópico sub-representado dos discursos visuais na Europa. Finalmente, o artigo discute a necessidade de entendimentos diferenciados da representação da diversidade na educação.

Palavras-chave: branquitude, corporificação, discurso visual, raça, representação

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Introduction

The relationship between institutional discourses and diversity remains fraught. Few scholars would discount the importance of diverse, intercultural collectives to enrich social contexts. Diversity discourses in universities indicate deeper ideological investments in hierarchies shaped by differences such as race, gender, nationality, dis/ability, class, etc. International exchange programs are a prime example of dynamic interplays between varied concepts of diversity. This paper addresses the representation of racial diversity on university websites by exploring how representations of race construct imaginaries of inclusion and exclusion, which shape admission decisions (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002), classroom interactions (Wadsworth et al., 2008), and how students form social relationships during their studies (Houshmand et al., 2014). The research presented here answers the call for more research on university websites. The analysis identifies visual discursive markers using Discourse Theoretical Analysis (hereafter DTA) in representations of students, campuses, and university life on international office websites to highlight specific forms of inclusion and exclusion (Estera & Shahjahan, 2019; Miller-Idriss et al., 2019).

While some scholarship has argued for the importance of institutional diversity discourses (Haapakoski & Pashby, 2017), a relative lack of research on embodied differences in visual representation has resulted in an underdeveloped understanding of visual dimensions of difference and its impact on power relations both during and beyond university study. Vertovec (1996) noted that representation is a "politics of presence" because any representation necessarily shows some forms of presence but not others (p. 2). The question of representation of institutions (i.e., through promotional materials, websites, and all forms of spoken, written, and visual discourse) is a question of vision: should representation be accurate or aspirational? Should universities accurately represent their facilities and student body as they are, or should they show what they could potentially be? These questions guide the debate around the role of institutional will to diversify and characterize the tension between international and local efforts to include manifestations of diversity (Ahmed, 2012).

This paper is conceptually and methodologically undergirded by an "otherwise approach" that emphasizes that "race and colonialism are embedded in modern systems of knowledge production, governance, and capital accumulation" (Andreotti et al., 2018, p. 11). This approach makes visible how the past reproduces itself in the present, exposing the power relations that created and sustain current hierarchies. Coloniality, the "continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administrations, [which] produced colonial cultures and structures in the modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world-system." (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 219), is an undergirding part of the theoretical framework. Thinking through the colonial influences of race in the field of education is a step to be completed before combating forms of inequality (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Thus, race emerges as a salient factor in structuring relations through representation.

Engaging with embodied notions of Whiteness in Switzerland is crucial in the liberatory politics of race critical theory, pedagogy, and practice (Boulila, 2019). This paper identifies racial hierarchies in a context where White European

self-conception is accepted as the norm, rendering anybody outside of that epistemically and ontologically Other (Stein & Andreotti, 2018). Identifying nuances in the representation of Whiteness in an under-researched context opens the floor for a critical engagement with race in Switzerland. In the education context, discourses of racial differences are subsumed into nationality, rendering the concept of race unspeakable and, thus, disallowing critical discussions of representation at institutional and national levels (Hernandez, 2021). The unspeakability of race in Europe stems from an affective investment in current power hierarchies, preventing the development and use of language around topics of racial inequity. Identifying discursive structures in the public setting of university websites is a key step in calling into question hegemonic notions of monoracial Switzerland (Ossipow et al., 2019).

For present purposes, this paper identifies imaginaries as discursive assemblages that allow some common-sense understandings of possible social contexts and phenomena as well as foreclose others (Kamola, 2014). This paper fills the gap produced by a lack of critical treatment of visuality in IHE research by addressing representations of race and nationality in IHE. The analysis traces the often-violent foreclosures of visual representations that result in the exclusion of marginalized people.

The first section contextualizes diversity and representation and outlines the need for more complex understandings of difference in cultural studies of education by presenting DTA as a useful tool for understanding macro-contextual cultural politics. Then, race and nationality are presented as dominant yet undertheorized forms of difference in IHE research. The following section further outlines Whiteness as a key defining factor of visual representation and demonstrates the uniqueness of the Swiss case. The paper also provides a description of the Swiss university system in this section. Then, the notion of racial dis/embodiment is presented relying on a discourse theoretical analysis of visual representations from all twelve Swiss universities. The article concludes with a discussion of the implications, limitations, and future research.

Cultural Discourse in International Higher Education

International higher education (hereafter IHE) provides a rich context to explore how representations of race, ethnicity, and nationality are reflected, refracted, and distorted within discourse across various contexts. Website visuals contribute to constructing social categories, centering visuality in the construction of whom and what is deemed legitimate, envisionable components of the future of higher education. Websites are integral communication platforms for globally communicating university identity (Bae et al., 2021; Estera & Shahjahan, 2019; Saichaie & Morphew, 2014). Furthermore, websites provide insight not only into "what it means to be a university student" (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2018) but also how student bodies and students' bodies are constructed discursively through visual discourses. Particularly in a lesser-explored context, like Western Europe, analyses of how university representations shape and are shaped by cultural discourse shed light on emerging dynamics of difference.

Diversity representation in European universities has been characterized by colonial influences that shape discourses of inclusivity, admission rates, curricula, and policy practices (Kottmann et al., 2019). Analyses of university websites are a specific aspect of interrogating race discourses in Europe concerned with constructing the cultural Other (Hall, 1991). This race discourse establishes the "elaborate metaphor" of a racially homogeneous European population within societal imaginations (Hall, 1991, p. 18). Bearing in mind that universities can be considered drivers of societal change, representation in university contexts points out the contradictions of the exclusionary atmosphere within universities as colonial institutions (Unangst & Martínez Alemán, 2021).

The presence of individuals of diverse origins is a normative premise of academic mobility. Yet, scholars' inattention to the embodied aspects of diversity in IHE research results in similarly homogenized analyses of difference. This article nuances studies of higher education in Western Europe by expanding on the argument that representations of diversity play an integral role in the discursive construction of reality (Miller-Idriss et al., 2019; Pieterse, 1993). Therefore, a unique theoretical perspective on the role of discourse is necessary.

The understanding that nothing meaningful can exist outside of discourse (Hall, 1992) is a deviation from contemporary conceptualizations of discourse in education. In contrast with other approaches to discourse analysis, DTA is an analytical and theoretical framework that is explicitly poststructuralist in its agenda (Howarth, 2000). Key here is the contrast between Critical Discourse Analysis' approach to discourse-as-language and DTA's approach to discourse-as-representation (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). DTA is particularly useful for analyses that seek to deconstruct the complicated interrelations

between and amongst representations, practices, and identifications and how those interrelations contribute to the generation of meaning (Carpentier & Cleen, 2007). This poststructural approach to discourse cannot be extricated from the theories and methods that undergird the present paper. Hence, this approach to discourse theory proves a valuable methodological guiding point for selecting tools from the Foucauldian "toolbox" that allows for an exploration of specific identities in relation to macro-level discourses, particularly about race and nation (Foucault, 1980).

Race and Nationality

Race is a geopolitically specific term "taken historically as (or in terms of) identifying people geomorphically by their supposed phenotypes in terms of their imputed or implied geographic origins and the cultural characteristics considered to be associated with those geographic identifications, those landscapes and their associated characteristics" (Goldberg, 2009, p. 7). For the present paper, race is conceptualized as a discrete visual marker of difference in the analysis of visual representation (Alcoff, 2005). This theoretical consideration brings the conversation back to a visually referential ontology of race (Saldanha, 2006) and illuminates visual conceptual indicators of race, contrasting the concept's 'taboo' nature (Maneri, 2021).

Race is specific to geopolitical region, necessitating European-specific theorization (Goldberg, 2006). The current discursive landscape of Europe purports a "post-racial" society, in which explicit mentions of racial issues are taboo (Tate, 2016). Contemporary debates on this so-called post-racial society confirm an ongoing trend of rendering race "unspeakable" (Hernandez, 2021). This trend is reflected in, for example, discourses in countries like Germany and the UK, where issues of race are glossed over in an aspirational push to move "beyond" race that nevertheless upholds racial hierarchies (Clarke, 2021; Juang et al., 2021). This desire for a post-racial society deems any mention of race an antiquated attempt to bring up "old" grievances. These discourses reflect a deeper-seated privilege of "neutrality," in which historical colonial violences and the resulting contemporary inequalities are erased.

In Switzerland, dominant discourses obscure the presence of non-White Swiss people and their experiences of racism, largely due to colonial amnesia regarding national history, particularly vis-à-vis its geographic neighbors (Purtschert et al., 2016). Switzerland is one of the few countries in Western Europe that rejects its colonial history due to its lack of formal colonies. However, race is visible due to the proliferation of images of non-White people in public media, which are often used to legitimize exclusionary strategies in discourses regarding immigration policy and social inclusion (Richardson & Wodak, 2009). Public media discourses in Switzerland frequently objectify non-White people, reflecting the marginalization of minority groups (Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011). Additionally, a "regime of raceless racism" (Michel, 2015, p. 411) renders speaking of racial issues (i.e., public debates, activism, etc.) more difficult due to race's unmentionable nature. Because these discourses spotlight non-White individuals, Whiteness emerges as an unmarked, yet critical category (Gallagher & Twine, 2017).

Whiteness

Whiteness is an invisible 'center' that remains a powerful yet uncommented discursive construct that exerts its power in everyday life (Nakayama & Krizek, 1995). In popular media discourses in Europe, Whiteness becomes a cipher for national belonging; non-White individuals are presented as a culturally incompatible threat to the nation (Hervik, 2019). This supposed cultural incompatibility manifests in visual representations of immigrants as non-White interlopers in White European countries (Picozza, 2021). The White/non-White dichotomy is necessary to maintain racial hierarchies that govern media and popular and political discourses in Europe (Beaman, 2018). However, Whiteness is a malleable category that structures hierarchies in ideological, symbolic, and material relations, including and beyond physical visual differences. The link between Whiteness and coloniality through the ongoing presence of historical legacies of inequity must be made here. The coloniality of Whiteness works to valorize Western/European forms of knowledge and embodiment (Hesse, 2007). While the analysis here focuses predominantly on the material and discursive nature of Whiteness, the construct's ontological and epistemological realities form a backdrop for a deeper theoretical engagement with coloniality in international higher education (Takayama et al., 2017).

The current study shows the link between Swissness and Whiteness by highlighting contemporary manifestations of Switzerland's construction of Whiteness on university websites. This belief is perpetuated through a historical consciousness that, despite the explicit Swiss colonial activities in European colonies in the past, nevertheless relies on Whiteness and Swissness to create exclusionary racial hierarchies (Cretton, 2018). It further demonstrates the link between visuality and materiality by asserting that it is not merely through the presence of White bodies that physical spaces as affective landscapes become racialized. For example, Ahmed (2006) stresses that "we need to examine not only how bodies become white, or fail to do so, but also how spaces can take on the very "qualities" that are given to such bodies" (p. 129). Taking representation as a focal point builds upon studies that assert Whiteness as an embodied influence on the racialization of space.

Switzerland is a unique conglomeration of three main ethnolinguistic regions: German-speaking, French-speaking, and Italian-speaking. The Swiss case demonstrates how linguistic differences function within a national container; it allows for more specificity in the cultural domain as variations in nationality are held constant while linguistic, religious, and sociocultural dynamics change based on region. Furthermore, forms of Whiteness differ in Switzerland, as "some people are deemed more Swiss (and therefore more White) than others" (Hernandez, forthcoming). In this particular case, Italophones (i.e., Swiss-Italians, some Corsicans, residents of South Tyrol, etc.) and Italians are conflated and this group is viewed geographically and culturally closer to the physical and conceptual Global South, as it was historically the case in many waves of Italian migration in the United States (Guglielmo & Salerno, 2003) and elsewhere (Ann Martin, 2021). This racialization process results in Swiss-Italians' positioning adjacent to non-Whiteness. The tensions between the various ethnolinguistic groups often conflated as "racism" (typically leveraged at italophones) is one key point that demonstrates the uniqueness of the study (Giuliani, 2019; Stella & Franzina, 2002). Swissness is manifested through a nested form of Whiteness, in which some members of a predominantly White nation-state use their co-nationals to bolster their racial identity. Therefore, examining racial representation in Swiss IHE illuminates taken-for-granted notions of divisions between national and racial identity.

The present study addresses visual Whiteness as an ever-present force by expanding upon Alana Lentin's helpful characterization of David Hook's "racializing embodiment" (2008). Her paper argues that White people are afforded a "disembodied presence" in which Whiteness is invisibilized while impacting the social context (Lentin, 2019, p. 12). Additionally, non-White people are featured in the form of "embodied absence" that renders them visually present in ways that highlight their absence and marginalization (Lentin 2019, p. 12). Disembodied Whiteness can exist as a constant presence *regardless* of the physical presence of White/non-White bodies. This assertion of the ever-present nature of Whiteness develops findings of studies that conceptualize "racialized space" as solely embodied. For instance, in the education context, Walton asserts that classrooms take on a racialized quality due to the physical presence of White bodies that affectively constrain how students of color learn, interact, and participate (Walton, 2018). Notions of present and absent embodiment require a method capable of addressing the dense nuances of visual representation.

Methods

Switzerland represents an attractive case in terms of uniqueness and feasibility, due to the size and quality of its higher education system. The country's size allowed for data collection completeness; there are ten universities and two university-level federal research institutions. While there are other types of higher education institutions (i.e., vocational universities and other, more specialized programs), these institutions were outside of the scope of this research as the main international focus of Switzerland falls on the nationally-funded universities. Swiss higher education institutions are uniquely positioned in that they are regularly placed in the "top ten" universities globally according to multiple university ranking systems and are the only universities outside of the US and the UK to do so (*QS World University Rankings 2021: Top Global Universities | Top Universities*, 2021; *World University Rankings*, 2021). The unequal nature of university ranking systems notwithstanding (Shahjahan et al., 2017), this positioning of Switzerland's universities highlights their desirability, as international students often consult such ranking lists when making university decisions (Thakur, 2007).

The data for this study was collected from the websites of every Swiss university. While the "international student office website" may be an established medium for conveying information at many universities, Swiss university websites vary considerably. Therefore, the parameters for selecting data sources included entire websites or sections of main

university websites geared towards international students, for example, in English, with relevant information for international students, such as logistical information or how to study abroad at the host Swiss university.

The data were collected by accessing the websites, downloading individual pages, and converting them to a 2,938-page PDF document. The smallest university website comprised approximately seventeen pages, and the largest comprised 619, with an average of about 245 pages per university. Unsurprisingly, the larger, more prestigious federal research institutes located in the largest cities in the country, had the largest websites. The author collected the data for this paper during the latter half of 2019. The analysis was reviewed by a second, more senior researcher to bolster validity and underwent several revisions before arriving at the final categories. Ultimately, concepts adapted from DTA emerged as an insightful tool to analyze the collected data.

Imaginary tools

In Laclau and Mouffe's conceptualization of discourse theory, imaginaries are horizons that limit the discursive field of possibilities (Waetjen et al., 1997). The edges of these horizons are marked by "imaginary signifiers" (Laclau, 1990, p. 36). The term "imaginary" is not an adjective but denotes that these are signifiers *of* the imaginary. Signifiers are structural points that fortify the boundary of the imaginary within which meaning-making practices attempt to fix meaning and establish social, political, and ideological contexts (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). Therefore, signifiers fix the borders of the imaginary between what is and what is not visible, thinkable, and possible. This study demonstrates how visual signifiers of race serve as nodal points that seek to fix meaning within imaginaries of inclusion/exclusion (Trivundža, 2015).

The analysis proceeded through reading the documents and identifying visual and discursive elements, following standardized steps of qualitative media analysis (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). Photos were coded depending on the prevalence of signifiers of the embodied presence of Whiteness. For example, visual indicators of phenotypical Whiteness (i.e., fair skin, straight hair, light-colored eyes, etc.) were noted within images as signifiers. The signifiers corresponded to codes used in the next step of the analysis. Codes such as "White," "non-White," "male," "female," "student," administrator," etc., showed both the quality and quantity of the occurrences of representations of predominantly race and gender as visual categories. The semiotic process of racial categorizing according to visuals is a heuristic that must consider race as a "sociopolitical category, and nothing more," which nevertheless impacts the lived realities of people of color globally (Gates, 1992). The space between external identification with racial categories and personal racial identity is an open and contested site that allows multiple meanings and interpretations. The analytical process was informed by careful considerations of Whiteness and race more generally as a socially constructed category (Lawrence & Hylton, 2022).

Additionally, the analysis is shaped by the researcher's positionality as a queer, Latinx/Black cisgender male (Brown, 2016). The researcher incorporated his firsthand experience of studying abroad in five different countries, where his racialized and gendered identities interacted with the majority population in different ways. The analysis is a product both of his embodied experience and analytical insight into the construction of racial dynamics in university spaces. For example, as a student studying abroad in a nearby Western European country, the researcher was approached multiple times to be photographed for university promotion and explicitly told it was due to his physical appearance. This experience led to the foregrounding of the visual analysis, and identification of the discursive dimensions presented in the findings.

The categories formed from grouping the heuristic codes identified alternative ideological underpinnings to how visual racial dynamics structure imaginaries produced by the website images, predominantly concerned with material colonial relations (Parameswaran, 2002). The nature of the research necessarily foregrounded race as a structural factor in shaping international students' representations, confirmed in the analysis through the unequal ratio of White/non-White students. While other visual representations of difference emerged (ability status, gender, age, etc.), this paper primarily addresses how visual racialization shapes imaginaries of inclusion and exclusion. The main conceptual categories of disembodiment/embodiment and absence/presence are key binaries that structure the visual diversity discourses in universities.

Findings

The analysis revealed interdependent signifiers that act as imaginary signifiers: Whiteness and non-Whiteness. Within the visual imagery, Whiteness functioned as an empty signifier filled with inclusive meanings, showing what is possible for White bodies within Swiss universities. The analysis revealed disembodied presence as a theme associated with Whiteness, as well as the embodied absence of bodies of color. This shows a further iteration of the malleability of Whiteness in different contexts illuminating how it functions to unite concepts of Swiss university identity in visual, material, and discursive ways. An important note: the images presented as figures representing a theme found in the data were all selected from a large dataset of images from the twelve Swiss universities collected by the author in 2019. For ethical reasons, specific universities are not mentioned. Rather, each image is presented as an illustrative example of themes found through the analysis.

Disembodied presence

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

Almost every university website featured at least one prominent example of disembodied hands. These examples included hands performing experiments, indicating choices, and engaging in tasks related to practicing agency in the university. Here, the key concept of agency is a matter of representation, defined as "consisting of the attribution of power and the formation and maintenance of subjectivity (Ci, 2005, p. 250). The attribution of power through representation (i.e. images of who can do what) suggests through subtle, ideologically-driven discursive moves that only those who are represented have agency. These images, therefore, facilitate the interpretation of agentic representation at the university. For example:

Figure 1.

These images typically featured "masculine" hands, often accentuated with masculine clothing, although feminine hands also appeared infrequently. These hands are not only a symbol of agency; they demonstrate, as the text in the above example says, who the "key players" are on campus. The articulation of Whiteness and masculinity as a dominant factor in representation is a common trend throughout much of the Global North (Shome, 2011). Representations of Whiteness and masculinity demonstrate a gendered and intersecting imaginary of inclusion/exclusion: Women and men of color are excluded from the narrative of success and agency communicated by the symbolism of White male hands. This is mutually constitutive with the ongoing colonial dynamics of inequity that characterize much of academia, and indeed, ongoing colonial relationships between raced and gendered people of various intersectional identities (Lugones, 2007). In the academy as a colonial space, the constant reinscribing of people of color as Other reifies the hegemonic position of White men (Ahmed, 2012). This dynamic results in continuous exclusions of those deemed ontologically and epistemologically outside of the university in material and discursive terms.

Another type of disembodied presence is images of blurred approximations and long-exposure shots of White individuals taken to give a general impression of a person without providing specific physical characteristics other than

vague senses of color and shape. These blurred representations of people appeared frequently to indicate masses of people 'on the go' in ways that indicate agency and direction. These representations showed this 'on the go' blur in the foreground and the background. For instance:

Figure 2.

The above examples demonstrate the form: these images represent people stripped of all but the barest physical characteristics. The long-exposure technique that creates transparent wisps of individuals transforms the subjects of the photos: the individuals go from humans to ephemeral whisps. One can only ascertain the size, shape, and color of the person's clothing, hair, and skin. Other characteristics are left open to interpretation, but the physical features leave little room for the imagination: these figures are White, disembodied through their blurry outline, but nevertheless present. The repeated usage of after-image effects becomes hauntological; the people are there though they are no longer there (Derrida, 1994). The semi-translucent representations of White bodies become an effervescent reminder of the presence of Whiteness. Through this reminder, the presence of Whiteness attempts temporarily to fix the meaning of Whiteness as belonging and being included.

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

The owners of these White hands are never shown, yet the viewer can safely interpret them as belonging in the Swiss context; owners of White hands are not racially excluded in predominantly White environments. Thus, the hands and their Whiteness signify common practices and who performs them at the university. An "otherwise" critique of this phenomenon draws attention to the references to White agency, signaling an ongoing relationship of coloniality with the institutional space in which these references are made (Shahjahan & Morgan, 2016).

This trend is consistent with the other research in that it marks Whiteness as institutional belonging (Osei-Kofi et al., 2013; Picower, 2009; Shahjahan & Edwards, 2021) but it differs from other forms of Whiteness noted in the literature in that Whiteness is represented in partial bodily forms. Additionally, the bodies of Whiteness represented here are ambiguous in their representation of Swiss identity: do the disembodied hands belong to Swiss-German, Swiss-French, or Swiss-Italian people? This ambiguity highlights a tension between representations of Whiteness as unifying Swiss national identity, contrasted with ethnolinguistic divisions in the national ethos (Mottier, 2000; Zimmer, 1998).

Embodied presence

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

Figure 3.

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

The tendency to represent White people in this way is particularly noticeable in light of the numerical absence of students of color on campus and the overt representation of students of color on university websites. While there are no official racial statistics on campuses, several campuses provide statistics on the national origin of their students. This varies drastically from campus to campus; some campuses provide numbers of only foreign compared to domestic students, some provide numbers by continent, and some do not provide any information but assure the viewer of the website of the internationality of the campus through images. Nevertheless, for the websites that provide information, the number of students from countries with non-White majority populations remains minuscule, much less than the overall representation of non-White students within images.

The number of people of color represented on these university websites does not align with the few reported statistics of national origin for each university. The relative absence of non-White subjects, coupled with simplistic representations when they appear, demonstrates an underlying tension between aspirational and accurate representations of on-campus diversity. In contrast to research performed in contexts where racial demographics are known (Osei-Kofi et al., 2013), representation in Switzerland is sorely limited by this tension between aspiration and accuracy.

Embodied absence

One benefit of DTA is its capacity to trace hidden meanings. In the data set, specific symbolic violence is practiced through the erasure of meaningful representations of people of color that is "imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels." (Bourdieu, 2001 quoted in Carpentier, 2017, p. 162). Compared to the disembodied presence, there are no instances of hands of color nor Black or Brown faces moving quickly through the scene. In a binary fashion, the disembodied presence of White individuals necessitates an embodied absence of non-White individuals. Embodied absence refers to "souls evacuated of psychological presence with the 'psycho-materiality' of objects animated by racist beliefs." (Hook, 2008, p. 148). Images of people of color often present them engaging in a reduced range of activities, limiting them from the fullness of behaviors depicted for their White counterparts. The "evacuation of psychological presence" refers to an objectification present in, for example, the only images of groups of people of color representing them as token objects of study. One image from the dataset provides an example of this trend, which was taken from a general international office website highlighting study programs:

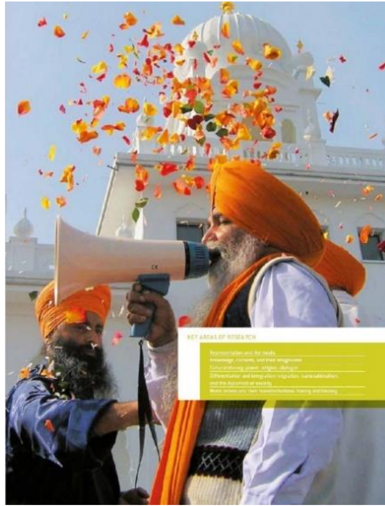

Figure 4.

Within this trend, non-White people are the colorful, attractive objects to highlight diversity without a sense of agency. The absence of any groups of students of color speaks volumes about the representation of social configurations on the university campus; while there were occasional groups consisting of a mixture of White and non-White people, the absence of larger collectives of non-White people is remarkable. An "otherwise" approach is interested in the underlying epistemologies for this kind of representation: how do colonial relations inform the selection of these images? Following the otherwise approach, the image of these bodies matters far more than their actual presence on campus. Tokenism as objectification means people of color are represented as not contributing to the social context of the university (Maguire & Britten, 2018).

The embodied absence is also constructed through the absence of names and titles in the images of people of color. On nine out of twelve university websites, disembodied heads with names and phone numbers for various White administrators were represented, demonstrating White individuals' widespread availability and accessibility as sources of knowledge. However, there was only one instance of an administrator of color and one of a professor of color. The tokenistic representations of people of color fix meanings of limited inclusion through embodied absence. The absence of meaningful representations of embodied individuals of color in which individuals are agentic, individual, and belonging highlights a lack of full presence at the university. To quote Alana Lentin (2019): "They are there, but not there" (p. 13).

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

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

The ambiguity of including representation of people of color throughout the data in which they are only partially included exposes an imaginary of inclusion/exclusion. Within this imaginary, non-White subjects are depicted to signal a particular stance toward diversity, flattening it and rendering it consumable (Owens & Beistle, 2006), in line with the analysis of diversity representation by Sara Ahmed that evokes bell hooks' evocative title "eating the other" (Ahmed, 2012; hooks, 1992).

Those who are visually different from the status quo (i.e., racialized differently) are depicted as an embodied absence within the Swiss context. The dichotomy of inclusion and exclusion is no less present in representations of non-majority

students, leaving the dynamic of representation up to the reader's interpretation. For example, non-White students are represented visually in online discourse and not marked in other ways that signify belonging to the Swiss context, even in national identification. While representation of people of color in the Swiss and larger European contexts has been gaining prevalence in the public sphere, the images analyzed for this study demonstrate continuing exclusion (Campt, 2017).

Discussion

This paper identified explicit and implicit themes within representation of race in Swiss universities, highlighting complexity in the notion of Whiteness as a present absence (Lentin, 2019). While Whiteness in this framework is taken largely as a representational visual category (Kallio-Tavin & Tavin, 2018), one cannot extricate the onto-epistemological position of Whiteness as a structuring factor in the construction of knowledges and the institutions that legitimize knowledge. This study provides concrete examples of the exclusions at a discursive and material level, opening up discussions for how universities approach diversity representation from a decolonial perspective. The representation of Whiteness in its embodied form also exemplifies notions of racialized modernity (Hesse, 2007), in which White institutional agents are viewed as superior to their non-White counterparts.

The visuals served to include White collectives and exclude non-White people through a binary manifested in representations of embodied absence and disembodied presence as signifiers of the modern/colonial global imaginary (Stein & Andreotti, 2017). These signifiers mark horizons that delimit what is and is not possible within the discursive and visual field (Torfing, 1999). For example, the discursive possibility of non-White people in positions of power or represented as the norm was non-existent despite the aspirational representation exhibited by the images. Thus, we return to the tension between aspirational and accurate representation. As Sara Ahmed (2012) has noted, diversity "involves the aesthetic realm of appearance, as well as the moral realm of value." (p. 59). An analysis of the discursive and material underpinnings of university websites reveals the contours of a visual grammar that allows for a direct constraint on the aesthetics and morals of the university. These images are simultaneously inaccurate in that they do not represent the material reality of embodied diversity on campus and unaspirational in that they preclude the possibility of change moving forward.

In most cases, White people were represented performing a broader range of activities and in various social positions. This included agentic representations of White people making decisions, in positions of power, and as innocuous background figures. This representation suggests the disembodied presence of Whiteness as a key structuring force of imaginaries of inclusion/exclusion. Visual Whiteness is a signifier of inclusion, belonging, and normalcy within the imaginary of the Swiss university, which recenters the visual/material aspect of Critical Whiteness in discussions of inequality in internationalization, particularly outside of the United States (Bae et al., 2021).

Furthermore, the infrequent inclusion of non-White bodies demonstrated a lack of diverse representations for people of color. The absence of agency was signified through the objectification of non-White bodies as symbols of diversity that expressed meanings of exclusion and non-belonging. Moreover, this embodied absence of people of color exposed a lack of collective relationships with their White and non-White peers. Representation of this nature exposes tokenism isolating and symbolically violent nature within the Swiss university landscape (Gist-Mackey, 2020).

As with all research, this study possessed some limitations. The data collection and analysis were conducted by one researcher whose positionality resonated with specific aspects of discourse (i.e. race, ethnicity, sexuality, diversity) within his academic training. He was also assisted by only one senior researcher, rather than a larger team to mitigate bias. Furthermore, Switzerland is still a relatively small country, despite its position as a global hub of international higher education. However, the critical/interpretive nature of analyzing discourse is less concerned with positivist notions of replicability and generalizability and, indeed, more concerned with uncovering the possibilities obfuscated by imaginaries that foreclose alternative interpretations of social phenomena. Additionally, discourse analysis as an approach foregrounds discursive representation, as was the case in this study. However, future research can and should more deeply engage with the material realities of racial dis/embodiment at the university and beyond. One way to do this would be to empirically trace the impact of these representations on the physical presence of differently racialized bodies within the student population in Switzerland. While the unspeakable nature of race in Switzerland and Western Europe may present a challenge to this (Hernandez, 2019), DTA has begun to provide an analytical approach that can theoretically account for the interweaving of the discursive/representational and the material/physical (De Cleen et al., 2021).

The otherwise approach acknowledges the limits of critique and engages in self-reflection on how best to practice international higher education (da Silva, 2013). Nevertheless, the analysis demonstrates the relationship between epistemological, discursive representations and ontological, material exclusions. In resonance with previous research, Switzerland's alleged lack of formal colonies does not preclude relationships of coloniality within the current national context (Purtschert & Fischer-Tiné, 2015). An analysis of the visuals of university representation pushes this argument further by demonstrating that the university, as a site of knowledge production, is similarly positioned in perpetuating ongoing inequalities.

Conclusion

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

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The Role of English Language Teaching (ELT) Professionals in the Internationalization of Higher Education: Current Challenges and Strategies to Resist Complicities with Colonialism

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Abstract

English language teaching (ELT) professionals are integral to internationalization and globalization processes universities around the world are pursuing. In doing so, ELT professionals have become complicit with issues that relate to colonialism and imperialism. These issues continue to have a detrimental effect on our societies, keeping the world from becoming a more socially just world. This contribution highlights and discusses some of the complicities of the field of applied linguistics and the ELT profession. It discusses challenges and presents strategies to resist such complicities.

Keywords: colonialism, decolonization, English language teaching (ELT), globalization, internationalization

Resumen

Los profesionales en la enseñanza del idioma inglés (EII) son esenciales para los procesos de internacionalización y globalización que las universidades de todo el mundo están llevando a cabo. Al hacerlo, los profesionales de EII se han vuelto cómplices de problemas relacionados con el colonialismo y el imperialismo. Estos problemas continúan teniendo un efecto perjudicial en nuestras sociedades, impidiendo que el mundo se convierta en un lugar más socialmente justo. Esta contribución destaca y discute algunas de las complicidades del campo de la lingüística aplicada y la profesión de EII. Aborda desafíos y presenta estrategias para resistir dichas complicidades.

Palabras claves: colonialismo, descolonización, enseñanza del idioma inglés (EII), globalización, internacionalización

Resumo

Profissionais do ensino de língua inglesa (ELT) desempenham papel fundamental nos processos de internacionalização e globalização buscados por universidades de todo o mundo. Deste modo, esses profissionais de ELT tornaram-se cúmplices de questões relacionadas ao colonialismo e ao imperialismo. Essas questões continuam a ter um efeito prejudicial em nossas sociedades, impedindo que o mundo se torne um lugar mais justo socialmente . Este artigo discute algumas das cumplicidades no campo da linguística aplicada e na profissão ELT, bem como explora desafios e apresenta estratégias para resistir às cumplicidades com o império.

Palavras-chave: colonialismo, decolonização, império, ensino de língua inglesa (ELT), globalização, internacionalização

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Introduction

As someone who learned English as a foreign language (EFL) in Chile and earned the credentials to teach it over thirty years ago, followed by successful completion of my graduate education in the US, I can both painfully and confidently say that the English language teaching (ELT) profession offers one of the clearest examples of the perpetuation of colonialism, as others have noted (Meighan, 2020; Meighan, 2023a, 2023b), "a particular realization of the imperial imagination" (Smith, 2012, p. 24), at institutions of higher education (IHEs). English, the object of teaching and learning, has been a "crucial part of the colonial enterprise, and […] English has been a major language in which colonialism has been written (Pennycook, 1998, p. 9). In US higher education, as Marginson (2022) stated, English represents the main vehicle for promoting White Supremacy and is perceived as the tool that opens the door to access the benefits of the professional way of life that many desire. Whether this is true for all who develop command of the English language, that is another question.

In this contribution, shaped by my lived experiences, different from what Castañeda-Londoño (2021) did as she discussed her perspective on ELT preparation, I will be using the pronoun *we* to challenge the individualistic and neoliberal use of the pronoun *I* that is pervasive in the Global North scholarship and epistemology, as well as in the practices of scholars in the Global South who have yet to question their complicities with colonialism as they try to gain access into the club created by Global North scholars. Just like Pennycook and Makoni (2020) noted when describing their understanding of the Global North and the Global South, I use these two terms to describe and/or refer to "people, places, and ideas" that have been *included and/or legitimized* (i.e., those from Global North) or l*eft out, excluded, and disenfranchised* (i.e., those from Global South) in the grand narrative of modernity, which signals what counts in knowledge making (i.e., privileging the Eurocentric ways of knowing from the Global North).

By using the pronoun *we*, I intend to signal who I am in terms of my positionality (race, ethnicity, gender, class, and so forth), and engage in an act of linguistic disobedience to challenge the oppressive logic of coloniality that asks us to voice our thoughts as individuals first and foremost (Domínguez, 2021). Since my first semester of graduate studies in the US, I was forced to give up the use of *we* in my works by one of my professors (to comply with the expected styles of the academy). Now, when recalling it after more than three decades, such demand continues to feel as a personal violation, because, having grown up in Chile, I learned the value of working together for the betterment of society or for el buen vivir, as described by Salazar (2015) – a decolonial stance. Such imposition was hard to accept, and no alternatives were allowed in the new context I found myself as an international student if I wanted to succeed. In using *we*, I exercise my right to use a language in a way that fits my needs, intended to enlist others to be part of the collective action to challenge and change the dominant paradigms. Thus, I call on this group, the ELT collective, to join forces in dismantling the oppressive forces under which we have been operating for so long. This task is not easy. It is complex and, at times, contradictory, but such challenges should not deter us. They should only compel us to find more creative and socially just solutions.

The ELT field, and education in its broadest sense, is by no means apolitical. ELT professionals hold diverse ideologies, which, at times, can be located on opposites of a continuum. My position is informed by ontoepistemologies that aim at contributing to the realization of the democratic ideal in an anti-neoliberal sense. I work to enact a social justice agenda for diversity, equity, inclusion, and access (DEIA) as part of my professional pursuits – one that considers the voices of those who have been historically disenfranchised. I advocate for what individuals can do, recognizing the complexities and contradictions involved. I am motivated by my own positionality and the intersection of my multiple identities: a first-generation bisexual cisgender female who grew up in low socio-economic conditions and believed in the value of education to transform the lives of individuals and societies. Growing up in the hills of Valparaiso, Chile, I became both intrinsically and extrinsically motivated to learn English to overcome my own social condition and to help those around me. Having done so, as an ELT professional, living and working in the geographical Global North, I also recognize my privileges. With a critical mindset resulting from my education, professional development, and lived experiences both in the Global North and in the Global South, my intellectual position is influenced by scholars in critical pedagogy (e.g., Freire, Giroux, Kincheloe) and critical applied linguistics (e.g., Canagarajah, Pennycook, Kubota). I have a strong sense for social responsibility even though such realization is loaded with much cognitive and emotional dissonance as I find myself dealing with the challenge of what it means to live, to a considerable extent, in contradiction. I find myself trying to dismantle the forces and impositions of the colonizer with the colonizer's own tools on colonized lands. I accept that I have been colonized,

but I also challenge the fact that it is a permanent state of being. I do not believe it is. I believe that such struggle can result in a positive transformation of the self and of our contexts.

Like me, I believe that many ELT professionals also find themselves living in contradiction while working to enhance the field of applied linguistics with the goal of achieving a more socially just society. The contradictions are multiple when taking a decolonial stance. They emerge in response to efforts intended to navigate the realities of highly complex contexts that interact in multiple ways (i.e., personal, professional, local, and global) and are informed by coloniality. For instance, the ELT profession has been at the center of internationalization efforts in the US and around the world. As we know, successful international students in English dominant countries or in universities where English is the medium of instruction (EMI) are expected to master English for academic purposes, as well as develop cultural competency (Kubota, 2009a) to earn their academic credentials from top ranking institutions.

The goal of ensuring effective English language mastery is, by definition, the main duty and responsibility of ELT professionals. Hence, ELT professionals have become essential players, as social agents, in the successful internationalization efforts at IHEs in the English-speaking world or in EMI contexts. For this reason, we, ELT educators, have a social and moral responsibility for ensuring that we prepare ELT professionals who can contribute to overcome the colonial complicities that we have, unintentionally, helped perpetuate through centuries within our instructional/institutional contexts in higher education. By *colonial complicities*, as a way of some key examples, I am referring to our (a) contributions to furthering the expansion of colonialism, prioritizing the teaching of English around the world at the expense of other languages (local/heritage/indigenous languages or even World languages, such as Spanish); (b) focus on teaching the standard variety of English in the ESL/EFL (English as Second/Foreign Language) classroom; (c) inability to consistently challenge the idealization of the English native speaker who speaks the privileged variety of English (see Kubota, 2009b); (d) inconsistent attention to, or incorporation of, other World Englishes in the English language class; and (e) prioritization of Western epistemologies in academia that ignore or devalue other ways of knowing or producing knowledge that may follow Indigenous methodologies that value community-based and relational knowledge making (Meighan, 2020).

We, tenured ELT professionals and leaders situated in public higher education in the US, are in a position of privilege. We can challenge the predominant status quo by understanding ourselves in relation to the current challenges in our field, by critically examining our own pedagogy to guide others, and by addressing questions such as those raised by Castañeda-Londoño (2021) regarding ELT knowledge. Those of us in ELT education need to ensure that the ELT professionals that we educate also learn how to engage in difficult conversations around the historical complicities of ELT profession and the field of applied linguistics at large. I do, however, acknowledge that not all ELT professionals (in the US and around the globe) may have job protection, as not everyone is part of the tenure system that offers job protection and academic freedom. My primary concern here is with those ELT professionals, such as myself, who do enjoy these privileges and protections. We have both a duty and a responsibility to shape our field for the betterment of our local and global communities.

Current Challenges of the ELT Profession

The challenges of the ELT profession are many. In this section, I will focus on two primary areas that deserve attention: (a) our complicity with maintaining a narrow approach to the work that happens in the field of applied linguistics as it currently stands; and (b) our complicit roles with colonialism and linguistic hegemony of the language we chose to learn and teach. The context I seek to address is public higher education where academic freedom is valued and protections under tenure exist.

ELT Professionals' Complicity with a Narrow View of Applied Linguistics

The field of applied linguistics has been criticized for its limited scope (Shuy, 2015) and division (Cook, 2015) as well as for the illusion held by many who believe in its objectivity (Motha, 2020). As Flores (2016) noted, that illusion can lead some people to think that there can be "race-neutrality" and, therefore, "Whiteness becomes protected by being framed as neutral" (p. 128). At times, the field of applied linguistics has been criticized for being reticent to cross disciplinary

boundaries (May, 2019). Also, it has been criticized for yielding evidence of being racist at various levels: (1) individual (Kubota, 2019); (2) institutional (Kubota, 2019); and epistemological (Diniz De Figueiredo & Martinez, 2021; Kubota, 2019). Such reality has prompted many scholars of color, or of minoritized backgrounds, to "become complicit with the white Euro-American hegemonic knowledge" as it has become evident in the citation practices observed in our field (Kubota, 2019). Mendoza (2020) commented on the clear hegemony of scholarly activity as well as disciplinary elitism to achieve prestige when one wishes to affiliate with the practices of the Global North. Even professional organizations, such as the American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL) and TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) International, which I identify as my primary professional associations, have been at the forefront of the criticism on the part of its members and its leadership (see Bhattacharya et al., 2020).

Many of us, ELT professionals, knowingly or not, have contributed to perpetuating the narrowness of applied linguistics, as we may have joined it from an uncritical stance. Some of us in international academia have chosen to stay in it for a variety of reasons. Many individuals want to learn English to be prepared and participate in global enterprises in the era of globalization (Kubota, 2009a); therefore, when possible, some pursue opportunities to study English in English speaking countries. In fact, many of us have not only witnessed, but also experienced the transformational power of mastering the English language and of living in an English-speaking society. Those of us, situated in the US, and who have reached this personal, academic, and/or professional goal, are oftentimes seen as evidence of having achieved the so-called American dream. After all, as Di Pietro (2022) noted, there "is a strong consensus among academics and policymakers that spending some time abroad during university studies is highly beneficial to students" (p. 4). The benefits are multiple in the modern and capitalist paradigm. Those who study abroad benefit from it as well as those who host them. To some extent, some of us who at some point in our personal/professional journey were part of a majority (my own example coming from Chile to the US) realize that, when in countries like the US, we become part of a minority group and we experience the process of becoming minoritized. This awareness process takes time, but eventually, it happens. In that process, some of us realize that we were successfully indoctrinated into the rhetoric of modernity and globalization with a tendency for valuing Whiteness, which fuels the authority of Western universities in the US and UK. That is, as Marginson (2022) noted, "non-White students invest in international higher education to secure what they can of a 'White future'" (p. 510). The journey becomes not only physical, but also cognitive.

For some of us, it is later in our careers, when we become fully cognizant that, both unintentionally and unknowingly, as part of the process of academic mobility, we have benefited from international experiences at the expense of the original stewards of the lands we occupy in the Global North. As an English professor, I live and work in the lands of the Arapahoe, Cheyenne and Ute Nations and peoples who were the first nations of these lands and who became displaced because of colonialism and imperial expansionism. In fact, in recent years, particularly, but not exclusively, in the US, those of us situated on university campuses have observed and participated in the increased recognition on the part of institutions of higher education (IHEs) that their founding and establishment occurred on the ancestral lands of many native peoples. ELT professionals, at our universities in the Global North and in our professional organizations (such as the American Association for Applied Linguistics), acknowledge that many societies have been displaced because of colonial practices, and/or other historical events (e.g., President Lincoln's 1862 Morrill Land Grant Act). In contemporary times, these complex issues (e.g., the displacement of native peoples) have been increasingly exacerbated by the influence of neoliberal practices associated with globalization practices (Miao & Yang, 2023). In many instances, these colonial practices are directly connected to internationalization efforts on the part of IHEs, as they "have intensively promoted globalization and internationalization" (Im, 2020, p. 81).

Fortunately, the terms *internationalization* and *globalization* have been problematized, as they may not have a single and unique definition or understanding. Brooks and Waters (2022) problematized these terms and acknowledged their deconstructions, indicating that the term *internationalization* can be understood from a narrow perspective (just geographical) to one that is informed by multiple and diverse perspectives (when it emanates from diverse sources).

The greatest and most robust push for internationalization has been what has come to be known as *comprehensive internationalization* (CE) (see ACE, n.d.). ACE has significantly promoted student mobility to also encompass the internationalization of the curriculum and the shaping of most, if not all, of the educational practices of an institution to

ensure that graduates are prepared to face and meet the demands of a global society (Hudzik, 2015; Banks et al., 2016; Leask, 2015). This work, however, has been advanced to address multiple pressing institutional needs associated with less public/state funding for public higher education and the need to compete in the global scene, which demands graduates to be prepared to function successfully in an increasingly global market economy. Kubota (2009a) had already noted the paradox some of us have directly witnessed in IHEs. She basically argued that internationalization practices that are motivated and supported by a market-driven economy, which in turn is influenced by neoliberal and neocolonial practices, underscore the dominant/hegemonic role of English.

While, as Jones (2018) noted, there may be "compelling drivers for university leaders to adopt an integrated rather than a unidimensional approach to internationalization" (p. xvii), I would argue that we, ELT professionals, have both a moral (as individuals) and an ethical (as members of a profession and field) responsibility to ensure that such work is undertaken from a socially just perspective in today's world. We need to work towards internationalization and globalization in a way that is socially just (not just for a privileged few). A socially just perspective is inclusive. Inclusive work entails working towards internationalization efforts that are not exclusively geared towards those who can afford these learning opportunities as Brooks and Waters (2022) reminded us. A socially just perspective is also plural and multidirectional, and can be supported by critical pedagogy, as articulated by Giroux (2020). Internationalization that is truly global should not just prioritize international student mobility from East to West and remain heavily circumscribed to this westward direction which has been the predominant one in the history of international student mobility (ISM). A socially just perspective to internationalization should offer students the opportunity to move in every possible direction (e.g., West to East, North to South, and any combination of the previous). Internationalization should also be promoted with the advocacy for learning other languages, not just English, and it should honor Indigenous languages and communities (Meighan, 2023b). ELT professionals who, in many cases, are multilingual individuals can assist in this process by challenging the dominance of English that has resulted in the displacement of other languages that were, at some point in history, recognized as scientific languages. As ELT professionals, we do have some level of agency. We can choose to welcome multilingual perspectives in our language classrooms. We can advocate for multilingualism. A socially just perspective will enact a multilingual ELT (see Raza et al., 2023, for examples on how this can be done). Translingual pedagogies that are decolonial offer an opportunity for teachers to validate all languages and knowledge systems (Meighan, 2023b). White English, described as Global English, has enjoyed both linguistic and cultural hegemony while other manifestations or English variations are not welcome in what is considered acceptable scientific discourse (Marginson, 2022). Learning English should not be at the cost of learning other languages. Learning other languages can contribute to work towards developing a global mindset on the part of individuals who seek to develop global competencies.

At the turn of the century, Pakir (1999) anticipated that "the dominant themes of the first century of the next millennium [were] almost certainly going to be internationalization, global interdependence, and interconnectivity" (p. 103). Such a prediction has unfolded as predicted. Further, just as Kubota (2009a) noted, "globalization is associated with Americanization" (p. 614). Therefore, one can also argue that learning English has come to be understood almost as a synonym with the internationalization of higher education—a direction that has become exacerbated by "the universal trends of commodification and marketization of university education" (Choi, 2010, p. 234). With the internationalization efforts of university campuses, namely in the West, we have witnessed "the visible increase in students from overseas" (Ching-Ching, 2020, p. 1), which has only been challenged and slowed down by the COVID-19 pandemic. Nevertheless, even in the best of times, comprehensive internationalization has not lived up to its fullest potential in truly addressing matters of diversity, equity, and inclusion for social justice. As Doiz et al. (2011) reiterated in citing Martin (2010):

> HEIs in English-speaking countries are for the most part monolingual, and multilingual and multicultural students are expected to adopt the language and literacy practices of a certain kind. Hence, the varieties of English spoken by these students are taken as problematic and multilingual students are all too often frequently required to go through a "remedial ESL identity" and to abandon their native languages. (p. 346)

We know that such is the case because, as others have noted: "these principles are universal in theory but complex in practice" (ACE, 2022, p. 5). Rather, internationalization in US higher education has represented a missed opportunity to truly diversify our campuses and therefore accomplish the goal that many aspire to reach along the way: that our graduates

have an opportunity (through study abroad experiences or in bound mobility) to develop a global mindset to participate in a world that is more interconnected than ever with a socially just perspective. For many of our domestic students, a study abroad experience is not feasible. Thus, bringing international students to our campuses where they can be fully integrated in our community can serve to provide richer educational experiences for all. In the end, those of us close to the operation see that any positive results from any internationalization are likely by-product outcomes. Internationalization for diversity purposes is not always the driving force at the center of institutional endeavors to achieve the goal of graduating students to function in a global world on the part of institutions that desire to identify themselves as global universities.

ELT Professionals' Complicit Roles with Colonialism: Linguistic Hegemony

Graddol (2006) predicted that English would be a tool to structure inequality. ELT's complicities with colonialism are claims that have been at the center of discussions among applied linguists for quite some time now (Meighan, 2023a; Meighan, 2023b). What is taught in the preparation of ELT professionals is primarily conceived from a Global North perspective (Castañeda-Londoño, 2021). Most recently, Mackey et al. (2022) reminded us that calls "for mobilizing linguistics research toward social justice are not new" (p. 1). We can easily agree with their statement, as others have raised issues with English dominance. Searle (1983), for instance, stated the following:

> Let us be clear that the English language has been a monumental force and institution of oppression and rabid exploitation throughout 400 years of imperialist history. It attacked the black person with its racist images and imperialist message, it battered the worker who toiled as its words expressed the parameters of his misery and the subjection of entire peoples in all the continents of the world. It was made to scorn the languages it sought to replace, and told the colonised peoples that mimicry of its primacy among languages was a necessary badge of their social mobility as well as their continued humiliation and subjection. Thus, when we talk of 'mastery' of the Standard language, we must be conscious of the terrible irony of the word, that the English language itself was the language of the master, the carrier of his arrogance and brutality. (p. 68)

Overcoming our ELT/Applied Linguistics With Searle's words under consideration, one cannot but wonder why many of us have, to a significant extent, failed at both productively challenging and changing the hegemonic role of English in higher education. When English is privileged, it is often at the expense of celebrating and incorporating the multilingual assets of English learners. Even in contexts with academic privilege, some ELT professionals may still find it difficult to challenge the status quo of the English language. Are we failing to identify the root causes behind the continued perpetuation of the complicities? Under what conditions can these challenges be overcome? How can we once and for all begin the kind of work that is needed to no longer be part of the problem? Can we carve a solid path towards a solution? These questions need to be addressed in our ELT preparation courses to avoid perpetuating the status quo. It is in the English classroom, through the leadership of the ELT professional, where education for the good of all should begin. Searle (1983) saw it too. He noted that our task as teachers is "to contribute to that transformation of our common language" (p. 68). This work however is a political act, and one can only begin to engage in this transformative act upon its acceptance. The time has come to ask ourselves: "Where have we come from and where are we going"? (Knight & de Wit, 2018, p. 20).

English has been at the center of linguistic imperialism and hegemony discussions, exponentially exacerbated by the imbalance of geopolitical and economic forces that shape our existence. Though this discussion started a while back, progress to reach a better place in conversation about internationalization, globalization, and global education have been slow. Consider the case of England and Japan, for example, as highlighted by Block and Cameron (2002). Both countries have adopted simplistic and simplified versions of bilingualism and of internationalization by focusing on the West and underscoring the notion of language for improving economic conditions, ignoring their own culturally and linguistically-rich contexts. This simplistic idea (at least partially) is not consistent with what initially motivated many of us to learn other languages, such as English. Some of us were attracted to it because it was something different. Many of us embraced bilingualism as a strong asset only to discover upon traveling and living in places like the US, however, that such a view is not a commonly held belief. Being English/Spanish bilingual in the US is not always met with enthusiasm. In fact, many of

us have discovered a mixed rhetoric about bilingualism/biculturalism. Such a difference affects individuals differently, and it is dependent on who is working to become bilingual (English/Spanish). For an immigrant child, for instance, born to Spanish speaking parents in a context where resources are scarce, being a Spanish speaker and a learner of English is not always a welcome mix. Yet for a US born child who grows up in a family of generations of college graduates, learning Spanish (or any other language) is an asset – a sign of prestige. This paradox becomes a shocking reality for many teachers, and others, who witness it. Further, when it comes to our own international students in our ELT courses, we quickly learn that much of the motivation to join our programs stems from their desire to be immersed in the so-called American culture, oftentimes, narrowly understood as White America.

Complicity

As ELT professionals, we have a significant challenge to address. We have allowed our profession and field of study (applied linguistics) to become part of the problem of colonization and coloniality. Many of us know (e.g., Motha, 2014; 2020) what got us here: both *colonialism* and the desire for the expansion of both the empire (with lowercase *e* to denote territorial expansion), and the *Empire* (with uppercase *E* to refer to more complex relationships of power in present times, influenced more by economic rather than governmental initiatives or mandates) (Motha, 2014). Many of us also know that coloniality is an essential element of modernity, and, therefore, our goal should be to bring modernity to an end (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018) and stop having to engage in decoloniality, "born in responses to the promises of modernity and the realities of coloniality" (p. 4). As ELT professionals, we can develop empathy for anyone who has come to terms with these complicities. Therefore, what is next? How can we emerge from these challenges with pride? Below, yet recognizing the complexities involved as articulated by many scholars in the literature regarding global higher education (Marginson, 2022) as well as decolonization (Motha, 2014), I offer suggestions for engaging in decolonizing practices in ELT to positively impact internationalization practices for achieving a global and socially just society. I do so at the risk of coming across as a professional who is reproducing the logic used to describe colonial practices: universality (Shahjahan et al., 2022). In this paper, I only offer a potential path for starting to engage with what Shahjahan et al. (2022) called *disciplinary reflexivity.* That is, the inquiry-type of work that prompts us to ask ourselves whose knowledge and practices count in our own disciplines. These suggestions are intended to guide all of us in how to begin this journey in which the current practices in ELT are examined critically and challenged.

Learn about Colonization and Decolonization

Learning about the harms of colonization (see Mignolo & Walsh, 2018; Quijano & Ennis, 2000 for in depth descriptions of these terms and accounts), and what decolonization (as an alternative) offers can be a good starting point. Throughout this learning process, it is important that we keep in mind that decolonization is an epistemic framework that needs to be fully understood before work can be undertaken towards implementation. Maitra and Guo (2019) cite Smith (2019) to argue that there are four purposes entailed in decolonization when understood as an epistemic framework:

> First, it would help to engage with the concepts of imperialism and colonialism to unravel the coloniality of knowledge production and dissemination. Second, it would facilitate the process of challenging the hegemony of western knowledge systems and take intercultural and postcolonial approaches to argue for plural systems of knowledge. Third, decolonization would need planning and designing lifelong learning curricula and pedagogy from non-western diverse perspectives. Finally, decolonization as a framework emphasizes the need 'to decolonize our minds as lifelong learners, practitioners, and policymakers in order to challenge the passivity, colonization, and marginalization of learners both in classrooms and workplaces. (Smith, 2019 in Maitra & Guo, 2019, p. 15)

The decolonization of our curricular and pedagogical practices is not a minor undertaking, and it is receiving greater attention (Shahjahan et al., 2022). Our own professional conferences have welcomed an increasing number of presentations that address the decolonization of our own field. This work matters because it is in our classrooms where we validate (or not) colonial practices and marginalize (or not) our learners. It is in our classroom where we can choose to become colonizers

or where we work towards decolonizing our own selves and model what this entails to our learners. ELT professionals can/should engage in professional reflexivity. Together, we can discuss how to challenge the dominant discourses of colonization and imagine different alternatives that can serve everyone in teaching and learning well. Present times may offer a great opportunity to start doing so given the critical discussion unfolding among our peers and within some of our professional organizations.

Get Comfortable with the Uncomfortable

None of this decolonization work is easy, as it requires educational transformation, as discussed by Salinas Gaona and Méndez Reyes (2021). Following the teachings of Krishnamurti, as described by Mukherjee and Agrawal (2021), we must be comfortable with learning, unlearning, and relearning. We need to be willing to free ourselves from our past experiences and prepare to reframe our pedagogical praxis and approaches to ELT. We need to understand that this process of personal/professional resetting will lead to moments of tension with our own identities. This tension, according to Yazan et al. (2023), is productive. Just like I did in describing my own experience at the beginning of this article, Yazan et al. (2023) relate their own. Through collaborative autoethnography, they describe their own negotiations between who they are and their professional identities as TESOL practitioners in the US. In this process, we need to also understand how we got to where we are. We need to learn about the historical evolution of our field and be ready to challenge the hegemony of Western European knowledge that still prevails in the Global North and the Global South, making space for other sources of knowledge. We need to be clear on what contributes to the marginalization of learners, teachers, and anyone who is expected to conform to Western thinking. In this regard, indigenous education may offer much for consideration as it encourages self-determination and invites diversity of methods and contents. After all, indigenous education is relational, community and values-based (Johnson & Nelson-Barber, 2018).

Begin the Process of Decolonizing Oneself

Reflecting upon our identities and positionalities, acknowledging our conscious and unconscious biases and privileges, is also a starting point. Understanding our own global position matters, as the speed at which we may or may not easily influence the decolonization of the ELT profession will be mediated by the local context. For instance, I may be able to have an immediate impact on pre-service and in-service teachers in the courses I teach, and students may demonstrate tacit and procedural knowledge, embracing an ecological approach to the multiple ways of knowing and knowledge production, as described by Castañeda-Londoño (2021). Yet how much influence future teachers can have on their own classrooms will be shaped by contextual factors that may include restrictive policies and/or educational mandates. Nevertheless, they may still serve as agents of change that can incorporate alternative views in their teaching that can show to students that the global landscape may be quite rich in other ways of viewing the world, as in the case of indigenous ways of knowing.

The process of decolonizing oneself continues with taking an active advocacy role in decolonizing the ELT profession. In doing so, we need to address fundamental questions such as: how do we go about educating future ELT professionals in decolonial ways? What are some of the challenges we, ELT professionals, may face, as opportunities may be limited by local contexts to a significant extent? When limitations are in place, are there ways in which barriers to decolonizing the ELT curriculum can be overcome? By participating in our professional networks and finding allies in professional organizations that align with our values, progress can be made. For a recent, yet long-overdue change, see the resolution approved by the members of the American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL, 2023) on the Language of Submission at the Annual Conference. We need to be able to engage pre- and in-service teachers in a process of reflection to critically analyze our own position in this world.

When it comes to ELT preparation, Castañeda-Londoño (2021), for example, privileges the question of “how” versus “what” when it comes to teacher’s knowledge. How do teachers enact their praxis? Presumably, the how is informed by the what. While I agree with this examination, and do not disregard it as a potential starting point, in ELT pre-service

and in-service training, starting with the *what* that teachers know may still be a reasonable and appropriate course of action. At least, in my own praxis, I work to develop reflective practitioners, so even before exposing teachers in training to the selected content prepared for them, I ask them to reflect on their own experiences to become aware of where they stand. Then, we (altogether) embark on a journey of what merits pursuit. For example, in the graduate 'Literacy course for multilingual learners' that I teach, I will, first and foremost, ask in-service or pre-service teachers to reflect on their journeys in learning to read and/or write in their dominant or multiple languages they have experienced. Then, after building a safe space for critical discussions, disruption gradually begins to decolonize our thinking and praxis.

An approach that I piloted with my graduate students in my own special topics course in the MA in English was to introduce my students to the current conversations on decolonization. I started by introducing them to the concept of positionality as defined by one of the leading contemporary Latin American philosophers, Linda Alcoff (1988). According to Thompson (2012), Alcoff "argued for a positional definition of woman, one that sees important aspects of women's identity as markers of relational positions rather than essential qualities. These identities exist in a shifting context that is a network of elements involving other people, economic conditions, and cultural and political institutions and ideologies" (p. 1675). I then led the first example with my own account of my positionality, which included the description of the intersection of my identities (race/ethnicity, linguistic/cultural background, exceptionality, sexual preference, age, etc.). I discussed how I could be potentially biased with strategies to overcome unconscious bias in my life and work. This modeling on my part helped build trust and understanding of where I was coming from, and why I was interested in teaching this elective course. This was a great starting point for launching the course, which involved a nice mix of international (from the Middle East and Central America) and local students (from across the US, including students of indigenous ancestry). The description of their respective positionality gave testimony to many aspects that relate to diversity they contributed to enrich the course experience. These differences became evident as everyone shared their own positionality in the trusting and respectful environment that we established and nurtured from the beginning. As the semester unfolded and the students embarked into their individual and/or collective projects for decolonizing TESOL/applied linguistics and composition studies, they acknowledged their positionalities as teacher and/or researchers, and addressed how their experiences may have shaped their work.

Identify and Account for Personal Biases

Still concerning positionality, as we explore our identities, we become quickly acquainted with our own biases, and how they may influence our actions and perspectives. This is the first step in potentially developing ways to combat our own unconscious biases. I too involved my students in this practice. Very quickly, as they delved into the literature for the course, they started noticing the practices of other researchers who would describe their positionalities and acknowledged their biases. By the end of the semester, as they presented their plans for decolonizing ELT and beyond, they also explicitly acknowledged their potential biases. They had learned how their identities and overall positionality shaped their views, and they sought to interrogate them as a first step to overcome their complicities with a colonial ELT.

Transcend the Existing Epistemologies in Academia

With the goal of transcending the existing/prevailing epistemologies in the modern colonial world that we inhabit, if not done already, we need to free ourselves. We need to remember that the "real aim of colonialism was to control the people's wealth: what they produced, how they produced it, and how it was distributed; to control, in other words, the entire realm of the language of real life" (wa Thiong'o, 1986, p. 16). This outcome is what we observe in today's neoliberal practices that lead to the social inequities and inequalities we observe in this world.

Embrace a Translingual Praxis in ELT from a Decolonial Alternative

The debate on the topics of translingual pedagogies and translingualism in the language classroom has increased recently within applied linguistics. Canagarajah (2013) described a translingual pedagogy as the kind of praxis that celebrates the richness of language. This pedagogy has grown in acceptance and consideration as a potential response to the call for decolonizing practices in applied linguistics and TESOL. As he noted: "communication can start from heterogenous language norms [and it] is not an esoteric concept" (Canagarajah, 2022, p. 13). He brought to our attention how communities in the Global South effectively engage in communication exchanges when levels of proficiency are not high (according to the hegemonic standards). His accounts illustrate how individuals can communicate without being subjected to strict norms. Translingualism is simply a natural occurrence, and those accounts ought to help ELT professionals to feel comfortable with multilingualism being used in English language classrooms as students communicate and negotiate meaning. Some have welcome work in this area with great enthusiasm (Li, 2018). Others, however, have looked at it with skepticism as it could lead to still a colonial challenge (see Meighan, 2023a). But many of us, in the ELT community, believe that "[f]ostering translingual and transcultural competence is an integral part of the academic and social/cultural dimensions of internationalization" (Kubota, 2009, p. 615). Applied linguists have also turned their attention to translanguaging as "a descriptive label for a specific language practice" which has in time become "an effective pedagogical practice in a variety of educational contexts where the school language or the language-of-instruction is different from the language of the learners" (Li, 2018, p. 15). Translanguaging, ultimately, has been defined as "an emerging concept that refers to the process where speakers draw on their full linguistic and semiotic resources to make meaning" (Li, 2018, cited in Tai and Dai, 2023, p. 2) to allow and encourage "the mobilization of various multilingual and multimodal resources for transcending socially constructed language systems and structures to facilitate meaning-making processes" (Tai & Dai, 2023, p. 2).

Enact Decolonizing Methodologies in our Research

Patel (2016) denounced contemporary educational research as a site of coloniality. She noted that "educational research is often complicit in a system that normalizes the achievement and wealth of some while pathologizing and marginalizing others" (p. 26). This argument is easy to understand, as many of us, while rising above our social condition, have experienced it in our own professional advancement. Yet, having secured professional success, and from a position of privilege, we can advance the decolonial project and decolonization of the self through both embracing and enacting other research epistemologies that, in turn, entail different concepts of science and knowledge making. We can contribute to decolonizing educational research through our scholarly praxis in international academia. We can do so by exploring how diverse communities, such as indigenous communities in the Global South, have done it. Smith (2012), for example, motivated by her own indigenous upbringing and writing from the standpoint of someone who acknowledges being colonized, offered a detailed and powerful account of both why and what to consider in decolonizing methodologies. She reminds us of the worst offenses that have been perpetrated on indigenous peoples, such as those from New Zealand, in the name of science and scientific research. Her account, as she introduces her work, cannot be ignored. It constitutes a painful reminder to all of us that we are complicit in the colonial project. Again, as noted in my own acknowledgements, while we may not be able to undo past wrong doings, we do have options in how we move forward, in how we engage in ELT and the methodologies that we choose to enact in the field of applied linguistics. Given that our work is fully turned to globalization and internationalization, we too can shape and go after a decolonial alternative when it comes to internationalization. As we inhabit the *Otherwise in International Academia*, we can choose to embrace other ways of knowledge production. In other words, how we do what we do in ELT matters.

Engage in Transdisciplinarity and Interdisciplinarity in Decolonial Ways

As ELT educators, we need to consider what it means to engage in and be part of decolonial transdisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches to the education of ELT professionals, particularly, in higher education, and in the context of

campus internationalization effort. If approached from a decolonial perspective, forging interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary alliances on our university campuses can contribute to move away from hegemonic English practices that perpetuate colonialism and the dominance of the Empire/colonialism. A decolonial approach is one that is both embodied and situated. It acknowledges, respects, celebrates, and considers multiple ways of knowledge production. It is one that is consistent with multiple ways of existing in our ecosystem. A decolonial approach to a transdisciplinary and interdisciplinary ELT that positively contributes to the internationalization and globalization of higher education has a greater probability of achieving global cognitive (validating the knowledge from those who have been historically oppressed), linguistic, and social justice (both intended to affirm the identities of minoritized individuals and groups in challenged contexts) (see Santos, 2007, 2014, 2018; Baker-Bell, 2020 for in-depth discussions of these terms).

Final Remarks

Up to this date, in my own ELT preparation classrooms, many students who enroll in TESOL programs are motivated by their own romantic views (e.g., a desire to travel, see the world, and make friends across cultures) or instrumental motivation (e.g., a desire for a better life). Regardless of the personal reasons for pursuing the ELT profession, throughout my teaching, I have observed that there are some issues of concern that have prevailed in time: many pre-service and/or in-service language teachers often lack awareness of the critical role they play in ELT and in the perpetuation of colonization, despite societal challenges observed and denounced by social movements (e.g., such as Black Lives Matter in the US). Others (e.g., international students who are speakers of languages other than English) join our programs displaying an initial sense of inferiority as they have bought into the myth of the *native speaker* – a term (a construct) that fully captures the domination of Western hegemony prevalent in the epistemologies of the North, which entails a notion of deficit prevalent in the (neo) racist ideology that informs it (Dewaele et al., 2023). I have directly witnessed how our international students who are speakers of languages other than English, at first, instantiate an apologetic narrative for not being "native speakers of English." This fact is puzzling and painful because they are indicative of an inferiority complex that is disempowering. Therefore, as language educators, we must prioritize the challenging of this type of thinking to help these learners move from a space and rhetoric of deficit to one of asset so that they can inhabit any spaces feeling proud for their bilingual/multilingual and cultural assets. Consequently, what is clear to me as an ELT educator who values multilingualism/multiculturalism is the following: our ELT preparation classrooms offer a tremendous opportunity to challenge and resist these premises. As noted by Bonilla-Medina and Finardi (2022), this work is not easy as it typically unfolds in contexts where colonial institutional practices prevail.

In the end, the question we need to ask ourselves as ELT professionals is: what is at stake if we fail to act? From my perspective, everything is at stake. Working towards a decolonial ELT in connection to internationalization and globalization from a decolonial perspective offers an opportunity for ensuring a better tomorrow. The time has come to pave a positive future for the generations to come. Humanity needs all of us to achieve a sustainable future for all. There is no justification for perpetuating inequities and inequalities in this world through our areas of study and work. We, ELT professionals, share a tremendous educational and social responsibility, and many of us are in a privileged position to address the challenges by first coming to terms with them. We cannot afford to maintain the neutrality of discourse that has prevailed in our ELT profession and that has also reverberated across internationalization and globalization processes and practices at our IHEs. What we do and how we do it matters. Are we willing to do it? *That is the question*.

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Epistemic (In)justice: Whose Voices Count? Listening to Migrants and Students

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Abstract

In this study, we present the results of a project, which involved students enrolled at four universities located in Ecuador, Dominican Republic, Czech Republic, and the United Kingdom. The main goal of the project was to raise students' awareness about the conditions that cause epistemic injustice for migrants and refugees. Epistemic injustice is a concept that sheds light on the ethical dimensions of our epistemic practices. It recognizes that individuals can be wronged specifically in their capacity as knowers, a capacity essential to human value (Fricker, 2007). The project material included a set of interviews with migrants and refugees as well as desk research about the status of their national migratory contexts. Students exchanged their testimonies via extended sessions that took place between October and November of 2022. An ethics of listening was cultivated to disrupt conventions of authorized discourse about migrants. Through understanding that labels such as illegal, undocumented and unauthorized are not neutral descriptors but carry implicit association and value judgments that frame and influence debate, students were invited to engage in a form of communication and consciousness to create spaces for unheard, marginalized voices of migration trends (Lipari, 2010.) Our international research with students and migrants was influenced by Arjun Appadurai (2006) who invites us to question established paradigms and critically reflect on contemporary global dynamics of migration contributing to Sousa Santos 'ecology of knowledges' across continents and cultures (2015).

Keywords: epistemic (in)justice, human rights, knowledge production, testimony

Resumen

En este estudio, presentamos los resultados de un proyecto que involucra a estudiantes de cuatro universidades ubicadas en Ecuador, la República Dominicana, la República Checa y el Reino Unido. El objetivo principal de este proyecto es concientizar a los estudiantes sobre las condiciones que conducen a la injusticia epistémica experimentada por personas migrantes y refugiadas. La injusticia epistémica es un concepto que destaca los aspectos éticos de nuestras prácticas

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basadas en el conocimiento, reconociendo que las personas pueden ser perjudicadas en su capacidad como seres que conocen; una capacidad esencial para la dignidad humana (Fricker, 2007). Los materiales utilizados en el proyecto incluyeron una serie de entrevistas con migrantes y refugiados, junto con investigaciones documentales sobre los contextos migratorios predominantes en sus respectivos países. Los estudiantes compartieron sus testimonios en extensas sesiones que se llevaron a cabo entre octubre y noviembre de 2022. A lo largo de este proceso, cultivamos una ética de la escucha, interrumpiendo los discursos autorizados convencionales sobre los migrantes. En efecto, el proyecto fomentó la comprensión de que términos como "ilegal", "indocumentado" y "no autorizado" no son descripciones neutrales, sino que llevan asociaciones implícitas y juicios de valor que moldean e influyen en el discurso. Así, se alentó a los estudiantes a participar en una forma distinta de comunicación y conciencia que buscaba crear espacios para las voces a menudo pasadas por alto y marginadas en las tendencias de migración (Lipari, 2010). Nuestra investigación internacional con estudiantes y migrantes fue influenciada por Arjun Appadurai (2006), quien nos invita a cuestionar los paradigmas establecidos y reflexionar críticamente sobre la dinámica global contemporánea de la migración que contribuye a la "ecología de conocimientos"de Sousa Santos (2015) en todos los continentes y culturas.

Palabras clave: derechos humanos, (in)justicia epistémica, producción de conocimiento, testimonio.

Resumo

Neste estudo, apresentamos os resultados de um projeto envolvendo estudantes de quatro universidades localizadas no Equador, na República Dominicana, na República Tcheca e no Reino Unido. O objetivo deste projeto foi conscientizar os estudantes sobre as condições que levam à injustiça epistêmica vivida por migrantes e refugiados. A injustiça epistêmica é um conceito que destaca os aspectos éticos de nossas práticas baseadas no conhecimento, reconhecendo que as pessoas podem ser injustiçadas em sua capacidade enquanto conhecedoras, uma capacidade essencial para a dignidade humana (Fricker, 2007). Os materiais do projeto incluíram uma série de entrevistas com migrantes e refugiados e uma pesquisa secundária (desk research) sobre os contextos migratórios de seus respectivos países. Os estudantes compartilharam seus depoimentos em sessões extensas que ocorreram entre outubro e novembro de 2022. Ao longo desse processo, cultivamos uma ética de escuta, interrompendo todo e qualquer discurso autorizado convencional sobre migrantes. Ao promover a compreensão de que termos como "ilegal", "não documentado" e "não autorizado" não são descritores neutros, mas carregam associações implícitas e julgamentos de valor que moldam e influenciam o discurso, os estudantes foram encorajados a participar de uma forma distinta de comunicação e consciência que tinha como objetivo criar espaços para as vozes muitas vezes negligenciadas e marginalizadas nas tendências migratórias (Lipari, 2010). Nossa pesquisa internacional, envolvendo tanto estudantes quanto migrantes, foi influenciada por Arjun Appadurai (2006), que nos instiga a desafiar paradigmas estabelecidos e refletir criticamente sobre as dinâmicas globais contemporâneas da migração, contribuindo com o conceito de "ecologia de saberes" entre continentes e culturas de Sousa Santos (2015).

Palavras-chave: direitos humanos, (in)justiça epistêmica, narrativa, produção de conhecimento.

In 1941, migrant philosopher, Hannah Arendt, exiled from her native Germany, made her way to the United States via Portugal. In "The Decline of the Nation-State and the Ends of the Rights of Man" she wrote that European migrants, refugees, and stateless people were "the most symptomatic group in contemporary politics" (Arendt, 1951, p. 277). Throughout the 1990s, civil wars and severe ethnic discrimination in Yugoslavia (1990-2001), Rwanda (1994), Iraq (1991) and Somalia (1993) forced hundreds of thousands of people to flee their homes seeking safety and protection; by 2017, more than 700,000 Rohingyas joined the approximately 300,000 who were already living in refugee camps in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh (UN News, 2018). Gloria Anzaldúa, a Chicana cultural theorist born in the United States, was exiled for her political views. In her 1987 poem, To Live in The Borderlands, she summarizes that exile, that is to live in the Borderlands, you must live sin fronteras, or without borders. You must be a crossroad in order to survive.

Since 1990, according to a report by the Pew Research Center (2018), the number of international migrants around the world increased significantly. In 1990, there were approximately 153 million international migrants, which accounted for 2.9% of the world's population. By 2017, the number of international migrants had increased to 258 million, or 3.4% of the world's population. In 2018, the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (GCSORM) intergovernmental agreement was formally adopted to address migration "in all its dimensions" and as a "roadmap to

prevent suffering and chaos" (UN News, 2018). The GCSORM rests on the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights to establish a non-legally binding cooperative framework while upholding states' sovereignty over border control.

The contemporary age of migration shows no signs of decreasing with unprecedented challenges for the vulnerable and millions of people on the move facing uncertain and precarious futures. By mid-2022, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated that global forced displacement had reached more than 117 million of which more than 53 million were internally displaced, 4.9 million were asylum seekers, 32.5 million were refugees, and 5.3 million needed international protection. There were at least 4.3 million stateless people in the world as of 2022, according to United Nations General Assembly.

Migrants and refugees are at a greater risk of statelessness, the consequence of which, conceived in human rights terms, result in discrimination such as rights to health care, work, and education and potential vulnerability to other violations like being trafficked. People escaping conflict may lose or not be able to bring citizenship documents with them. Their children are also at risk of statelessness if they cannot prove their nationality. The language of human rights is that of contested entitlement claims based on the dominant Western idea of humanity and the understanding of colonialism as a legacy of class, sexual, gender, spiritual, linguistic, geographical, and racial hierarchies of the modern world system.

The economic and health impact of the COVID-19 pandemic continues to be felt in countries and communities across Latin America and the Caribbean where refugees and migrants remain some of the most vulnerable populations–especially those without documentation. More than twenty years ago, Walter Mignolo (2000), following Chicano(a) thinkers such as Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) and José David Saldévar (1997), described "critical border thinking" as a redefinition of humanity, of citizenship, of democracy of human rights, and economic relations beyond the narrow definitions imposed by Western modernity. Critical border thinking aimed to disrupt mainstream national and international discourses and cultivate spaces for marginalized voices.

For example, Ecuador, with an estimated 500,000 Venezuelans, is hosting the third-largest refugee and migrant population worldwide. While the majority of these half-million people were undocumented, in June 2022, the government of Ecuador decided to provide them with legal protection, social stability, and training opportunities delivered by universities. One of the primary ways that universities can deconstruct and disrupt historical and contemporary power structures impacting marginalized populations, such as migrants and refugees, is through highlighting their relationship to geopolitics (Mignolo, 2003).

Wimmer (2007) offers the notion of "dilemma of culturality" from an information ethics perspective. "Dilemma of culturality" can be seen as an alternative to Eurocentrism. It speaks to the separatism of ethno-philosophy, no longer merely comparative or dialogical, but rather polylogical with questions concerning the fundamental structures of reality and the validity of norms being discussed in such a way that a solution is not propagated unless a polylogue, between as many and as different traditions as possible, has taken place. Wimmer's inter-epistemic dialogues, or "polylogues," provide a framework in which students can explore their collective, decolonial listening and thinking. Polylogues can function as a space for a rhetoric of "knowledging" or transcultural overlapping of concepts and theories. This notion aligns with the research of Miranda Fricker (2013) who argued that it is probable that well-founded theories of epistemic injustice have developed in more than one cultural tradition. In *Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing* (2007), she defines epistemic injustice as the wrongs that are committed against someone in their capacity as a knower, which is essential to human value. Fricker identifies two forms of epistemic injustice: testimonial injustice and hermeneutical injustice. Testimonial injustice occurs when a speaker is not given the credibility they deserve due to prejudice or stereotypes. Hermeneutic injustice occurs when a person's social experiences are not understood or are misunderstood due to a lack of shared interpretive resources. Fricker (2007) argues that epistemic injustice is a potent yet largely silent dimension.

A polylogue differs from Bakhtin's notion of the dialogic process as it shows that meaning is derived from interactions among an author, the work, and the reader or listener, all of which are affected by the social and political contexts in which they are placed. Wimmer (2007) emphasizes the role of the web of ontologies at play in any interaction. He states,

> the imagination of meta-intercultural ontologies is to realize a complete multilateral influence supporting epistemological polylogues (A ⇒⇐ B and A ⇒⇐ C and A ⇒⇐ D and B ⇒⇐ C and B ⇒⇐ D and C ⇒⇐ D) with cross-influences from all sides to all sides equally while practicing internationalization (p. 87).

This approach can foreground what we know, how knowledge is constructed, and what is considered legitimate. In treating epistemology as having both intellectual and ethical dimensions, identity and power systems that silence and delegitimize knowers and ways of knowing can be identified.

In this study, we recognize how the web of different types of relationships shape our reality of global migration across continents and cultures by highlighting the significance of teachers and students. Together, these concepts of relationships and reality underscore the capability approach, a normative approach to human welfare that has practical relevance for assessment and policy design (UN HDR). Social philosopher, Miranda Fricker (2007) defines epistemic contribution capability as (students) receiving information and making interpretations to contribute to knowledge, understanding and practical deliberation.

As we explain in the following pages, we developed an intercultural participatory-emancipatory (Cresswell, 2014) research project that involved undergraduate students and faculty from universities in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Western and Central Europe. In this paper, we sought to analyze how our community of learners might prepare to ethically engage across differences in research practices that can contribute to valuing diverse ways of knowing and forms of expression (Fricker, 2007).

Literature Review

The literature review includes stories of projects using a participatory-emancipatory action research method and elements of the immigration crisis.

Participatory-Emancipatory Action Projects

Participatory-emancipatory action research differs from classical methodologies by its commitment to transform the social reality that is being researched. In education, this approach is relatively common. For example, in 2019, a methodological approach to disrupting epistemic injustice was implemented in a university setting in South Africa. With a focus on epistemic capability of all project participants, Walker et al. (2020) designed an inclusive process of knowledge-making through a photo-voice project. It involved students as trainee researchers adopting a methodology that recognized them as legitimate producers of knowledge, utilizing university resources of different kinds that are "converted" into achievements shaped in enabling or constraining ways by social and personal "conversion factors" (Robeyns, 2017).

From a slightly different perspective, Boni and Velasco (2019) explored the epistemic injustice and capabilities nexus via two empirical cases. The first one was an experience developed in Lagos, Nigeria which demonstrated how participatory action-research methodologies promoted epistemic capabilities amongst both students and local citizens. The project generated interpretive materials to speak about the political realities of slum housing and forced eviction.

In Colombia, Boni and Velasco (2019) included student participants in mixed-profile, interdisciplinary teams composed of communities and local government in the Tolima Region Peace Construction Program to develop an action plan built around dialogic spaces. Various collective reflections via video and documentation were made by teachers and students about the actions they had performed; epistemic capability was realized not only for students, but also teachers and various other community participants in both projects according to the authors. Students remarked that in this project they were the ones deciding what to photograph and which photographs to choose; they were given opportunities "to think of something new, think of something creative," to talk, to interact, to present, to improvise, and to think critically, attending to relations of power and preparing "people to take part appropriately, fairly and justly in knowledge exchange" (Kotzee, 2017, p. 329). The authors describe their identification of "epistemic contributor functioning," which they perceive as crucial for concrete change in epistemic justice at the individual and collective levels.

The Importance of Raising Awareness about the Global Migration Crisis

In every epoch, refugee lives are marked by loss of their homes and entire social texture. Arendt describes this texture as the fabric or structure of social life and intricate web of relationships, interactions and institutions that shape the collective existence into which they were born and established a distinct place in the world (Arendt, 1958). In her book *The Human Condition* Arendt argued that the modern world was increasingly characterized by "world alienation"—a disconnection from the public sphere and a focus on private concerns. Arendt's work challenges us to reevaluate our roles in society, emphasizing the need for active participation, dialogue, and collective responsibility.

However, United Nations human rights declarations in the twentieth century, which promulgated a larger number of inalienable human rights in the 1940s and 1950s in response to the devastating effects of totalitarianism, were later denounced as another form of cultural imperialism in the 1960s and 1970s, especially in the context of African and Asian authoritarianism. Over a decade ago, in their call for a more consistent application of human rights, Mignolo (2009) and Damrosch and Spivak (2011) noted that decolonial humanities were often found outside of universities in social, artistic, and intellectual movements rather than in the modern colonial design of university knowledge. To provide some examples of this phenomenon, we will highlight some of the reflections provided by the students who participated in our project to amplify their capability, which is the opportunity aspect of freedom and agency expansion, which is the process action of freedom.

One Ecuadorian student who participated in the project reviewed the text "Four Epistemic Injustices in University Curriculum" written by the Colombian scholar Laura Bernal-Rios (2022). This student noted how the generation of marginalizing terms, intrinsic to systemic injustice, unconsciously perpetuate unjust and violent acts toward groups in society by framing them in a certain etymology; the etymology comes from a discriminatory ontology of systems embedded with social structures, relations, and practices. These terms may be intrinsically problematic, or they may be distressing only insofar as they interact with other structures in the system to produce injustice, often unknowingly, in ways that African American author Ta-Nehisi Coates stated in *Between the World and Me* (2015). He scrutinizes the significance of lived experience of race and race relations at the corporeal level: "You must always remember that the sociology, the history, the economics, the graphs, the charts, the regressions all land, with great violence, upon the body" (p. 57).

Similarly, a second Ecuadorian student wrote that, rather than thinking of epistemic injustices in daily life, he remembered the work of the Colombian philosopher Alicia Natali Chamorro (2022) who describes how politicians use arguments to take advantage of the ignorance of certain groups to build a world that excludes other sections of society. Excluded groups, such as migrants and refugees, are not only victims of the perfidy of politicians, but they are also systematically exposed to social injustices.

Following this argument, one of the primary conditions at the macro level of national governments for migrants and refugees to obtain asylum, is the requirement to demonstrate sufficient need. By 2022, it was estimated that more than 26 million people refugees were seeking asylum in foreign countries (Govindarajan, 2022). To obtain this status, they must be able to demonstrate that they reasonably fear being persecuted in their homeland, which can make them vulnerable to testimonial, that is, unfairness related to trusting someone's word and hermeneutic forms of discrimination referring to the situation where someone's social experience is not understood due to prejudicial flaws in shared resources for social interpretation. This can lead to a significant area of someone's social experience being obscured from understanding (Govindarajan, 2022).

Forms of silencing or epistemic misjudgment of refugee applications occur in the use of insufficiently intersectional conceptions of social identity that receive unduly deflated levels of credibility. For example, being a refugee from an upper middle social class can render an applicant less needy or having a non-binary gender orientation could make an asylum seeker look more suspicious. In addition, algorithmic and automation bias and the opacity of automated artificial intelligence systems of migrant management exacerbate the vulnerability of asylum seekers to epistemic injustice, including exclusion and silencing.

In this dysfunctional, dialogic environment, asylum seekers are at risk of being unfairly penalized and immigration officials are impaired in their capacity to exercise epistemically responsible agency. Refugees are often forced to speak, narrate, and persuade in a foreign language unfamiliar to them and in which they lack proficiency. Yet, the ability to give their testimony as displaced people is a chance to re-establish a social bond. Viet Nguyen (2018) reminds us that if we are

aware of what we cannot hear and capable of listening, we will hear the people—refugees and asylum seekers--described as voiceless. Similarly, in *Refugee Tales*, authors Herd and Pincus (2016) identify that refugee stories are important for addressing their collective situations. Such situations may unsettle state legitimacy where credibility may be distributed unevenly in "credibility economies" (Fricker, 2007, p. 30)

In addition to testimonial injustice, refugees and migrants also face physical violence at the hands of border officials. According to Davies et al. (2023), border violence known as "epistemic borderwork" is regularly used by state authorities to stifle the capacity of refugees to draw attention to their mistreatment.

Theoretical Framework

The key concepts of this study are inspired by Wimmer's (2007) inter-epistemic dialogues, or polylogues, Lotman's complexity theory, and Fricker's (2007) epistemic injustice. Learning from each other through interaction helps change values and develop new ones and maintain accountability for collective choices. Perhaps this form of democratic reasoning should not be exclusively associated with or imposed by the Western world but may exist across different civilizations and times (Sen, 2009). Wimmer emphasizes the role of the web of ontologies that are at play in any interaction that can cross-influence all participants equally through epistemological polylogues that have both intellectual and ethical dimensions. Polylogues can be used to identify power systems that silence and delegitimate knowers and foreground what we know, how we know it, and how knowledge is constructed.

However, while polylogues offer the opportunity to deconstruct and to unsettle historical and contemporary power structures, R'boul (2022) identifies English as a necessity to participate in global knowledge networks, including international conferences and journals. Identifying the use of English-only narratives and practices that serve the colonial epistemic structure in the dissemination of Global South epistemologies within their local context, Rosa and Flores (2021) consider how applied linguistics tends to focus on modestly supporting affirmation and inclusion of marginalized populations rather than on fundamental institutional changes to eradicate the forces that produce marginalization. They suggest that social justice is "an existential horizon that necessitates a fundamental re-imagination of communication's role in narrating and creating decolonial worlds that sustain collective well-being" (Rosa & Flores, 2021, p. 1167). Building systemic social change involves decentering the individual researcher's interests and instead foregrounding processes of collective solidarity, thereby demonstrating how justice is relational and aspirational (Martinez et al., 2021). Learning from and with the epistemic Global South suggests an ecology of knowledges based on intercultural and inter-political translation (Sousa Santos, 2015).

Similarly, an Ecuadorian student who participated in the extended Spanish readings for our project noted the research of political scientist Moira Perez (2019), which includes concepts such as the violence of othering, testimonial injustice, and hermeneutic injustice. This latter form of injustice occurs when a gap in collective, interpretive resources puts someone at an unfair disadvantage with regard to making sense of their social experiences, and determining whether epistemic violence or injustice brought upon them is intentional. There are different situations through which our seemingly imperceptible actions can be interpreted by another individual as contributing to their marginalization; many times, we may categorize the subjects without even knowing them, recreating previous prejudices and even cultural issues. For example, in "Refuge and Refuse: Migrant Knowledge and Environmental Education in Germany," Jacobs (2019) notes that discussions about the large influx of refugees to Germany and other European countries in 2015 focused on what migrants did not know, such their lack of understanding of the host country's bureaucracy and deficit of language skills and cultural sensitivity, Jacobs noted that, although migrants' perspectives and testimonies can draw attention to flaws in the (German immigration) system and be crucial to improving it, it is difficult for migrant voices to be heard and for their knowledge to be seriously considered.

Thinking of the complexity and intertwined systems of injustices that underlie any research endeavor about refugees and migrants, it is worth amplifying the words of Merit Rickberg, who made a dedication to the Russian-Jewish founder of the Tartu School, Juri Lotman, in the Eurozine review of the Tartu journal *Akadeemia*. She writes:

> Complexity-thinking as a separate approach to research and practice in education has arisen as a response to the growing need to understand how learning systems, such as individual students, schools and whole societies, can become more flexible in light of accelerated change (Rickberg, 2022, p. 2).

Lotman's focus on dialogue for cultural evolution comes from the relationship and exchange with different spaces and temporalities. The idea of the border is pivotal with cultural identities defining their own boundaries, but precisely on the lines of separation is where maximum exchange occurs. In his posthumous work, Lotman acknowledges the predictability of historical situations, but introduces the category of "explosion" as a moment of unexpected acceleration of historical-cultural dynamism in ways that may transgress learning as a controlled linear process with predictable outcomes (Mosquera, 2009).

Returning to the concept of epistemic injustice and considerations of intentionality, social philosopher Miranda Fricker (2017) writes in "Evolving Concepts of Epistemic Justice" that it is necessary to examine the interpersonal level of one's lived experience to understand how beliefs and social interpretations are received, even by well-meaning others.

Working between theories of value and knowledge, Fricker (2007) argues that knowledge is not for its own sake alone, but for the purpose of morally awakening a knowing subject and influencing collective social and political change. She problematizes identity power related to race, gender, and socioeconomic class, which she believes is a form of social practice inevitably producing an unjust epistemic disadvantage that is "most fundamentally, a wrong done to someone specifically in their capacity as a knower" (p. 1).

Who is afforded credibility and authority as knowers is a pervasive feature of universities (Allen, 2017). Homogenization and normalization of the content of knowledge, its centralization around core axioms, and the hierarchization of different forms of knowledge production can be seen as a form of testimonial injustice. In fact, Fricker (2012) questioned if research groups in universities, among other organizations ever function as genuine group testifiers as opposed to mere sources of information. She reiterates Craig's (1990) concern that the distinctiveness of testimony is somebody being a good informant and not merely functioning as a source of information. By attending to relations of power, we can prepare people to take part appropriately, fairly, and justly in knowledge exchange, rather than as objects from which true belief can be extracted.

To be fully engaged, students need opportunities to develop what Fricker describes as their epistemic contribution capability of receiving information and making interpretations to contribute to knowledge, understanding, and practical deliberations. This requires epistemic reciprocity by expanding students' capabilities of knowing and being a knower. Through participating in our project, they were able to enhance these capabilities and recognize how, migrants and refugees can be disenfranchised as knowers. Our project also prompted students to critically reflect on how knowers with power may enact injustices, even without their knowing. Sen (2003) notes that, although capabilities are used for different purposes, they cannot be independent of social/interpersonal actions; whatever the "given social conditions, public discussion and reasoning can lead to a better understanding of the role, reach, and the significance of particular capabilities" (p. 79).

Methodology

In this study, we used a participatory-emancipatory approach (Creswell, 2014) to encourage students to develop awareness about systems of injustices and then deeply examine the processes of power that create these inequities through critical reflection. Similarly, a participatory emancipatory approach incorporates capability action, setting goals, maintaining processes and monitoring outcome aims to identify and avoid modern extractivist methodologies. In other words, the way to share implementing research with those who might be interested or with those who might also benefit.

As researchers, we must be committed to producing new knowledge that recovers lived experiences and help create spaces for the voices of the silenced to be expressed and heard. Likewise, we expect that this project challenges racism, colonialism, and oppression by re-positioning those who have been objects of research into "questioners, critics, theorists, knowers, and communicators" of this process (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018, p. 1).

Participants

The participants in this study were faculty members and students from the fields of Education, International Relations, Latin American Studies, Law, Linguistics, and Tourism. They were affiliated with four universities located in Latin America, the Caribbean, Western Europe, and Central Europe. Students from the Czech Republic (5 students), the Dominican Republic (5 students), the United Kingdom (10 students), and Ecuador (10 students) participated in weekly

online sessions. These 75-minute sessions, conducted on the Zoom platform, were held at 11:00 a.m. Ecuadorian local time over a five-week period in November and December of 2022. Our research project brought together participants from diverse geographical, political, economic, and social backgrounds, and was built upon faculty relationships established in previous projects and shared interests in epistemic injustice and global migration.

The University of Azuay (UDA) in Ecuador hosted both the first and last sessions, while University College London (UCL) in the United Kingdom led the second. The third session was managed by Pontificia Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra (PUCMM) in the Dominican Republic, and the fourth was a collaborative effort between the Universities of Brno and Masaryk (MUNI) in the Czech Republic.

Each session began with a brief welcome from the hosting faculty. This was followed by a ten-minute, student-led presentation, which was primarily based on data from interviews, surveys, and other research methods. The presentation then transitioned to a 45-minute breakout session that incorporated students from all four participating countries. During this time, the faculty members seized a valuable chance to further discuss both the procedure and the content presented.

At the end of each session, students from the host university provided a summary of the discussions held. These breakout sessions were recorded. Additionally, students from UDA in Ecuador maintained a record of every breakout session they took part in, using a shared Google document. At the end of the course, all participants were required to complete a semi-structured survey that enabled a mix of qualitative and quantitative data to be collected.

English was used as the main language of communication during the five sessions. This was a second language for most students, including four out of the ten students studying at UCL. Some students in London also spoke additional languages such as Brazilian Portuguese and Hindi. We followed Appadurai's (2006) argument that research is a generalized capacity "to make disciplined inquiries" and "expand the horizons of knowledge" for participants contributing to what Santos calls an 'ecology of knowledges' (p. 49).

Preparatory discussions among faculty resulted in a participatory approach that included numerous methods to involve migrant and refugee interviewees and students for collaborative work on the research project. Participatory-emancipatory approaches can be especially useful when the project goal is to achieve epistemic and behavioral change or increase the utility of a particular knowledge.

We believed that students requesting time to listen to the narratives of migrants and refugees would promote critical and collective dialogue and intercultural exchange through the Zoom meeting sessions. In an attempt to re-position those (refugee-migrants) who may have been objects of research, students would gain access to the refugee-migrant testimonial experience and the opportunity to identify and name their own hidden capabilities and ethical responsibilities as well as misunderstandings for a "more inclusive and democratic approach that is epistemically just in its processes and impact" (Boni & Velasco, 2019, p. 9). Real opportunities for students to freely share the stories they witnessed might build hermeneutic justice, that is reflective discovery, as well as interpretive justice that emphasizes ongoing dialogue and contextual exploration. In addition, students participated in the selection of contemporary articles as well as content analysis of the breakout sessions. The testimonials that were collected are central to the analysis and discussion sections of this article. The group of refugees and migrants who agreed to participate consisted of staff from local restaurants that faculty and students had previously encountered, as well as young migrants–some of whom were undocumented–who were transiting through Ecuador in route to another destination. These young migrants had been met by students in various social settings.

Results

The completion of this project showed three main findings: the first finding is about the structure and process; the second is about the potential of polyloguing and use of the English language; and the final one relates to the state of students' epistemic capabilities.

In the following section, we discuss our findings about the changes in students' epistemic capabilities through intercultural participation by examining their students' voices. For the sake of brevity, we have included a detailed description of how the organizational structure and process content was conducted in Appendix A.

Students' Voices

Fricker (2007) prompts us to ask this important question related to our research: *Can the voices of diverse knowers, such as migrants and refugees, contribute to a broader and deeper social understanding of the human intercultural experience?*

In this section we discuss findings relative to literature from Latin American and European epistemological realities. Our intention is to share these findings as a transformative strategy to unveil and unsettle the discourse of historically rooted inequalities through highlighting their relationship to geopolitical issues.

Geographical borders are pivotal for cultural identities but are also, literally, and metaphorically, where there can be maximum cultural exchange. Forced global migration may be our moment of Lotman's "explosion," an unexpected accounting of historical-cultural dynamism that defies learning as linear and predictable and pushes us to a more complex type of thinking. How can research and practice become more flexible in light of this accelerated change?

In a recent university action research project in Ecuador, we took advantage of the complexity of online teaching to perform new research (Carr et al., 2021). As teachers began to exercise reflexivity in the action research project, certain dialogic characteristics emerged. They demonstrated epistemological and pedagogical transformation as they tried out new roles and modes of interaction with each other and students. This drew our attention to the extent to which teachers and students, as digital citizens, might step outside of backgrounds, roles, jobs, politics, and beliefs forged by the power differentials of the online economy.

In a mixed methods, sequential, explanatory study (Carr et al., 2023), we investigated the expectations of a convenience sample of undergraduate students and their teachers from courses in International Studies regarding the possibilities of distance learning and remote classes during the COVID-19 pandemic. We found significant differences between teachers and students' preferences for academic learning through social media interaction. While digital technology has simplified the communication process and expanded potential, interactive, communication opportunities, participation is structurally different from interaction. Interaction remains an important condition of participation, but it cannot be equated to participation.

Interaction has no political meaning because, contrary to participation, it does not entail power dynamics. Zoom sessions require active student participation where critically attending to power relations means improvising to take part fairly and justly in knowledge exchange. This concept relates to the epistemological dimension reclaimed by Habermas (2006) in the notion of the public sphere as a large body of people who have a common interest in the consequences of social transactions.

This notion raises the question of a shared language and how we might prepare to ethically engage across concomitant, epistemological differences. Wimmer's inter-epistemic polylogues that act as a rhetoric of transcultural overlapping of concepts and theories related to global migration sets the challenge for the role of language, specifically English.

The following student voices illustrate the emancipatory aspects of the intercultural experience. Through discussion of the validity of the norms of many different traditions, we initiate collective decolonial listening, which can disrupt the coloniality of injustice that marginalized populations suffer.

In the first example, participating in the testimonial experience helped an Ecuadorian student identify her ethical responsibilities, hidden capabilities, and prejudices. When she heard that a mother was ashamed that she and her daughter, who had made the long journey from Venezuela to Ecuador, had slept in the town square and asked for food in the street, the student described how she sympathized with the mother because of the political and economic difficulties they had left behind and felt that refugees should be given due process. The student continued that, if a case such as that of the Ukraine in which millions of refugees were forced to leave due to the war were to occur in Latin America, it could be more difficult as many of the countries in this region have several problems, such as poor education systems and high levels of social inequalities, that could present complications and delays in refugee and migrant immigration processing. While implicitly questioning how just societies are governed, how social membership is defined, and who benefits from being included, the student gains awareness of the web of different types of relationships that shape her reality.

For example, she commented that Venezuelan migrants and refugees are able to benefit from an International Organization for Migration initiative with legal protection, social stability, and training opportunities for which Ecuadorian citizens are not eligible, and therefore, less competitive in job placements.

In the following example, we hear the voice of a student from China who was studying in London who disrupts accepted discourse as she reflexively examines how gender identity-based epistemic traditional processes of power create intentional injustice:

> We do not hear the word 'epistemic injustice' a lot in my own country, China, partly because China is not an immigrant country. The topic most related to 'injustice' in our country is the gender issue. And the epistemic injustice towards females is the most-discussed and most common [type of injustice] to see in real life. For instance, the general social perception is that women should be housebound, more conservative, and not too ambitious compared to their male counterparts. On average, women are paid less than their male colleagues, and they have to pay more to improve themselves to compete with men over the same resources. The concept of 'epistemic injustice' in terms of race and nationalities appears in my mind after I came to London. I heard that one of my friends, a Chinese boy, was asked by a passer-by 'Do you know where is COVID?' And he replied nothing. I think the worst thing about epistemic injustice is that people who are treated with injustice usually have little voice in the public stage. They are mostly underrepresented in the public's view, and that's why we say 'silence does no better than the bully.'

Interestingly, according to Bing AI when we utilized this digital tool on August 18, 2023, "silence does no better than the bully" may be a contemporary adaptation of an early Chinese proverb. From this perspective, silence may be intentionally adopted, carefully crafted, and publicly performed to communicate, remonstrate, criticize, reveal, and target certain ideas. This concept of silence gives potential insight into Fricker's acknowledgement of the development of well-founded theories of epistemic injustice in more than one cultural tradition.

However, it appears that the student is using "those with little voice on the public stage" as a pejorative term, intrinsic to systemic injustice, and thereby unconsciously perpetuating acts of marginalization and violence toward particular social groups by framing them in a certain etymology; this etymology comes from a discriminatory ontology of social systems that embeds accounts of social structures, relations, and practices. She seems to be in a process of reflexivity questioning a fundamental structure and its knowability and coming to the realization that the ability to give testimony is the chance for the voiceless to re-establish a social bond.

A second Ecuadorian student alludes below to what he describes as the modern colonial world system that rules all social relationships to exemplify what Fricker (2007) describes as the "credibility economy," which defines stereotypes as reliable or unreliable, widely held associations of an attribute(s) and a social group(s). Fricker argues, as the student appears to be describing in the following quotation, that stereotypes are an essential, but prejudicial, heuristic in the making of credibility judgments during testimonial exchanges when individuals are undermined in their capacity as givers of knowledge:

> In theory, this production and distribution of knowledge should be equitable for all who seek education or engage in teaching. However, there are variables that affect the experience of learners, teachers, educational staff, researchers, theorists and other members of the academic community. Hermeneutic injustice (group exclusion and silencing) is the problem of passive racism in universities and workspaces when certain stories do not belong to or match those of the dominant group, the minority group is encouraged to code-switch to fit in.

Code-switching, a term well-known in applied linguistics originally proposed by Gumperz (1977), is the practice of shifting from one linguistic code (a language or dialect) to another, depending on the social context or conversational setting. It is a phenomenon particularly used by members of minority ethnic groups to shape and maintain a sense of identity and belonging within a larger community

In participating in our project, a Czech student of Roma ethnicity recovered her knowledge of subjectivities. Described by Sigl (2019) as how changing conditions are actually translated into a transformation of research processes as well as the role of researchers as active agents in this transformation, the student investigated how we can study subjectification as a locus of change in research to create spaces for silenced voices. She challenged coloniality and repositioned herself vis-à-vis those who have been made into objects, demonstrating that it is possible to escape the situated and personal class, sexual, gender, spiritual, linguistic, geographical, and racial hierarchies of the credibility economy. She

engaged in building systemic change by foregrounding processes of collective solidarity to demonstrate how justice is relational and aspirational (Martinez, 2021). Underscoring this concept, the student recounts:

> When I was in elementary school, other kids told me I was Roma, even though I wasn't. The background is that in my hometown we have a big problem with Romani people… We are trying to help them as much as we can—there are several organizations in our town that are dedicated to helping Romani people. They try to integrate them into society, but the problem is that they don't want to... So when someone told me I was Roma, I was ashamed. Now I am glad I have darker skin, it looks nice, and I am proud of it. But when I was a little girl, it marked me.

The following testimony of a student from London exemplifies the role that the critical and decolonial quest for intercultural epistemologies and discourses play in academic activities. Moreover, it also illuminates potential cooperation within society to build an ecology of knowledge that can bring about bottom-up, glocal (local and global) collaborations by emphasizing structure, process, language, identity and technology (Walsh, 2012). The student reflects:

> …the atmosphere of the group discussions allowed me to open my heart to communicate with everyone and to speak my mind. As for the most touching part, it would be the commonality, rather than the difference, in the views of students from different countries. I found that despite the very different social realities we were exposed to, when it came to issues of principles and the morality of immigration, there was a consistent tendency to oppose all forms of discrimination and to encourage ordinary people to speak out for the disadvantaged groups.

Another participant in the project, a student from the Dominican Republic, described how knowers with power may enact injustices that pervade cultures around the world:

> In many ways, because I got to hear many different points of view, and got me thinking more about epistemic injustice. Knowing different points of view, from countries similar to ours and others totally opposite, from the first world, from different cultures, helped me understand that discrimination problems exist in all parts of the world, and are even more frequent in those countries where we think that education is a priority.

The following testimonial from a Czech student questions human rights in all its complexity as entangled with modernity and coloniality, and how historical forces like global migration generate dramatic social upheaval. This_notion exemplifies Wimmer's (2007) description of meta-cultural ontologies as a multilateral influence supporting epistemological polylogues. The student comments:

> The breakout discussions helped me realize the magnitude of the problem. Unless one knows the world, one remains only in one's own little shell with one's own problems and does not care about other people and their problems. Especially here in the Czech Republic, we are used to solving our own problems and not helping others. Unfortunately, this is a consequence of communism, when people did not have much and were afraid of losing what little they had. They protected their property, their close people and did not care about others. Exchanging our narratives about refugees and migrants with students in other countries helped me to realize that there are countries that deal with much worse problems than we do in the Czech Republic. And that they encounter these problems on a daily basis.

The final three testimonials demonstrate the development of intercultural awareness. Maldonado-Torres (2017) notes that a fundamental problem of the continuing and unfinished project of decolonization is to identify the lack of full humanity of the colonized. In treating epistemology as having both intellectual and ethical dimensions, identity and power systems that silence and delegitimize knowers and ways of knowing can be identified. The following Dominican Student studying at PUCMM testimonials highlight these concepts:

> By being able to talk with students from other parts of the world, I was able to understand how many times the situations that we live daily are transferred to other contexts and have similar shareholders. We do not see them in the same way, that is, we think that what happens in our country is the worst, or that in other places they handle these issues better, but the reality is not like that.

Another student from India studying at UCL noted:

> The discussion with students from the Dominican Republic regarding the situation in Haiti was particularly eye-opening. This is because it is a situation which has very profound effects on Haitian and Dominican people, yet there is very little information about it in Europe. This is an interesting example of a global epistemic injustice in which knowledge about a certain part of the world is minimized and reduced, meaning that their voices are not heard.

Finally, an Ecuadorian Student at UDA said:

> The breakout session that had the greatest impact on me was the Dominican Republic meeting. This country is very close to Ecuador, indeed it can be said that it has a similar culture, as Latinos we understand that proximity to Central American countries, however, during the talk I could understand that we are not really united and in turn we are not informed of the situations that happen to them, despite being very close. For a long time, I knew about the problem of Haiti, affected by the earthquake and the poverty in that country, but I did not even know what it caused in the other part of the island. In fact, it was shocking when the student from the Dominican Republic asked us what we knew about her country, and beyond its capital and the important tourist center it represents, we had no more knowledge about its culture or way of life or government.

From the following findings about the organizational process, we highlight how the students interacted.

Structure and Process

As explained above, from experiences in two separate and different types of research projects, we learned about the significance of creating space for reflection and epistemological change in relationships between faculty and students through digital academic learning (see Carr et al., 2023).

Participation in weekly Zoom sessions enabled the opportunity for interviews between students and migrants. The students' engagement also allowed them to critically consider power relations while being cognizant of participating fairly and justly in knowledge exchange. During the Zoom sessions, students spent a significant amount of time in mixed breakout rooms where each week they prepared discussion questions and organized their approach to the sessions. After the first session led by Ecuadorian students, it became clear to them that they, in fact, could enhance the quality of the breakout discussions by utilizing epistemic listening skills, such as extending and/or clarifying a question or response and not inadvertently silencing others with words or gestures. Recording the sessions and utilizing Google's shared documenting tools proved invaluable for summarizing each class.

Polyloguing and the Use of the English Language

Although they are very experienced with social media interaction, it was evident that the students' participation skills in Zoom sessions with foreign peers who were also speaking English as a second language required more support and strategizing than initially believed. Social etiquette and skills, especially greetings, initiating discussions, and staying on topic, required their focus to the extent that conflicts and differences of opinion with their peers were largely avoided.

Each week, students presented a PowerPoint presentation and sometimes also edited videos. The presentations were extremely different from each other, which may be attributed to cultural, individual, and collective preferences, including those regarding relationality and directness. For example, Ecuadorian students prioritized interpersonal relationship aspects of their global cohort experience, while the students located in London and the Czech Republic were more focused on the details of laws, rights, politics, and agencies for supporting migrants and refugees. The presentation by the students based in the Dominican Republic demonstrated a mix of their foreign peers' themes by including aspects of the significance of relationships within the project, but also survey data.

State of Student Emancipation

An important question we sought to address in the participatory- emancipatory design of the study remains: *Did polylogues really raise the raise the emancipatory research levels of students?*

Through their intercultural voices, we can hear a fundamental reexamination of the role of communication in narrating and creating decolonial worlds. During our five-week research project, we focused on activities at the interpersonal level of the lived experience refugees and migrants, and how their beliefs and social interpretations are developed, which required epistemic reciprocity on the part of participants. Students' epistemic capabilities of receiving information and making interpretations to contribute to knowledge, understanding, and practical deliberations were significantly expanded as evidenced through their culminating reflections.

Implications and Conclusion

Did pluralizing our research methodologies enable students and faculty to better capture the experience of marginalized populations?

Focusing on and expanding our collective capacity to hold space for difficult conversations about global migration, without feeling immobilized or demanding immediate quick fixes, higher education students from the Global South and Global North utilized virtual engagement to navigate multiple perspectives of volatility, unpredictability and complexity in our interrelated world. Through beginning to recognize that how we articulate the social reality we know can scaffold how we reconfigure and invent revised judgement about the limits of possibilities about our thinking and action, students are becoming what Mignolo (2011) describes as "epistemically disobedient." This term means to be ready to ask questions about who is constructing knowledge in a pluriversal world that is critically responding to dominant and subordinate ideologies.

Feedback from students and subsequent conversations suggest that these processes of capability action, which include setting goals, exerting influence, and monitoring outcomes, were effectively executed. Savransky (2017) proposes that the epistemological problem of "who, when, why is constructing knowledge" can be complemented by the ethno-ecological question of "who/what, when and how inhabits what world," which he calls an "ontopolitics of knowledge" affirming the ontological plurality that makes this world both one and many.

Whose voices were still missing during this research project? In our next series of intercultural Zoom sessions, we are curious what the inclusion of students and migrant families in their mutually shared contexts across continents and cultures will teach us. As trainee researchers and legitimate producers of knowledge, can the students introduce us to possibilities that we could have never before imagined? By collaborating with and listening to the stories of "the investigated, who might normally be considered objects of the research," will they strive for methods that are ethical, open, respectful, and alert to power dynamics in which participants' voices, values, and insights are central (Korala-Azad & Fuentes, 2009, p. 1)? Might we all come "to a critical form of thinking about our world" (Freire, 1972, p. 104)?

As we begin a new phase of our intercultural, participatory-emancipatory project, "Epistemologies of Inclusion," with eight participating countries across continents and cultures in 2023, we remind ourselves of the Arendtian quote at the beginning of this paper that migrants, refugees and stateless people are the most symptomatic group in contemporary politics. While Arendt's comments were related to the European social and political context of her time, we welcome a suggestion from Ferguson (2020) about Arendt's concept of "thinking" as a hermeneutical virtue that is self-critical in guarding against an overly rigid approach to hermeneutic justice that can itself generate situations of injustice.

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Appendix A - Zoom Structure

First zoom session, led by Ecuador students (UDA)

Students from Cuenca, Ecuador inaugurated the series of online discussions. Their 15-minute PowerPoint presentation highlighted clips from video-recorded interviews with migrants discussing the everyday injustices they faced. The students took a relational approach, concentrating on the experiences of migrant mothers. The presentation included the testimonies of two mothers, who expressed the violence suffered by not being heard.

> "My daughter suffered bullying at school from teachers and classmates. She had to change schools four times. At the beginning, everything was normal but when she mentioned she was Cuban, the treatment changed."
> (Mother A from a long-term migrant Cuban family to Ecuador)
>
> "I had many doubts. I was wondering if I would be listened to and if I would get help with some of my needs".
> (Mother B from a migrant Venezuelan family that had recently arrived in Ecuador)

After watching the video, students developed the following questions to discuss with their peers who were located in the Czech Republic, the United Kingdom, and Dominican Republic:

- Would it be difficult to speak up if friends discriminated against someone you knew?
- If you had to leave your country immediately, what would you pack?
- Can we identify some of the adaptation issues that might be experienced by migrants even if the language of their new country was the same as the country they had left?
- Identify some of the adaptation issues that might be experienced even if the language of your new country was the same as the country you had left.

Second zoom session, led by students enrolled at UCL

In the second session, students enrolled at UCL, who were originally from the United Kingdom, China, Brazil, and India, delivered a 15-minute presentation discussing the U.K.'s involvement in the refugee crises. They highlighted the contemporary conditions faced by immigrants arriving in the U.K. and recounted the story of the Windrush, the vessel that transported the first group of African Caribbean immigrants who helped to rebuild the U.K. post-World War II. The students voiced criticisms regarding the U.K. government's political stance and the legal obstacles refugees confront in British society.

Questions to provoke discussion in the breakout were the following ones:

- To what extent do legacies of colonialism underpin epistemic injustices regarding immigrants?
- In what ways do migrants influence the culture of their new country?
- Would the world be a better place without borders?

Third Zoom session, held by Czech Republic students (MUNI)

Czech students developed a presentation to share how new laws in their country and in Europe were helping the influx of Ukrainian refugees. They focused on national aid processes for refugees in their city, Brno. Students showed some of the available resources provided for Ukrainian refugees, such as the "Ukrainians fleeing war" website, National

Assistance Centre and the "Smart Migration" app, free accommodation, translators, and free public transport. They also highlighted the epistemic injustices of Ukraine's history with Russia and the impacts on the Romani people.

Their questions for breakout discussion were very practical:

- What is the most difficult part of being a refugee host?
- Has the war impacted students' mental health?
- What is the future going to look like for host countries and refugee/asylum seekers/migrants?

Fourth Zoom session, held by Dominican Republic students (PUCMM)

In the fourth session, Dominican Republic students provided a general context of the situation of Haitian migrants in their country. It is estimated there are 500,000 Haitians, representing 5% of the total population, residing without residence permits.

Participants were asked if they had been treated unfairly, both testimonially as individuals and hermeneutically as a group, due to their Haitian nationality since arrival in the Dominican Republic. Sixty-six percent of the respondents said no. Students asked the 34% of the respondents who said they had been treated unfairly about the situations where they had felt mistreated. Some of the testimonies reported by the interviewees were the following ones:

- "When I don't speak well the words, they look at me strangely."
- "When talking and noticing that I am Haitian they look at me differently and make me feel uncomfortable."
- "I was mugged by five Dominicans on the way to church and nobody helped me."
- "Fewer options. It's just that I'm legal and when they say to pick up Haitians they take us all, they pick us up like animals thrown in a van in the back and those cops or Immigration don't have any respect."

Considering this evidence, Dominican students prepared the following questions for breakout discussion:

- Is hostility towards Haitian immigrants xenophobic?
- What is the evidence that Haitians are causing illegal drug issues?

Final zoom session

For the final Zoom session, both students and faculty from UDA (Ecuador) crafted a presentation that analyzed the celebrations of the Qatar World Soccer event, framing their observations using Byskov's (2020) criteria for epistemic injustice:

i) **Epistemic Condition**: This pertains to the denial of knowledge where knowers, despite possessing relevant knowledge, are excluded from decisions related to that knowledge. For instance, the obscured process of deciding the World Cup location.

ii) **Prejudice Condition**: This situation arises when there's a judgment about an individual's or group's epistemic capacity —where knowers face discrimination stemming from the speaker's prejudices. A case in point is the repression of the LGBTQ community.

iii) **Social Justice Condition**: This relates to unjustifiable discrimination. Here, knowers are exposed to unjustifiable discrimination while concurrently facing other societal injustices. An example is the repression of women.

iv) **Stakeholder Condition**: This is observed when knowers' rights as stakeholders are dismissed, meaning they are impacted by decisions that they have no influence over. For instance, the inhumane treatment of migrant workers.

v) **Unfair Outcome Condition**: This is where knowers experience both epistemic and socioeconomic (or ecological) disadvantages resulting from the discrimination they face. An illustration is the construction of environmentally unfriendly stadiums.

Questions for the 45-minutes group discussion were the following ones:

- How are Qatar rules about sexual orientation related to global norms?
- Is culture an excuse for epistemological problems occurring in Qatar?
- What are the benefits and disadvantages of global sports competitions?

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Um Pouco Mais de Calma: Identifying the *Trampas* of Decolonizing Internationalization of Higher Education and Academy in the Global South

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Abstract

In this article, we analyze contradictions, complexities, limits, and potentialities of internationalization of higher education (IHE) from Latin American decolonial perspectives. We argue that even when scholars may be holding decolonial critiques and aspirations towards IHE, the structures of universities are heavily influenced by colonial legacies, undermining the potentialities of decolonization. We pay special attention to those initiatives that apparently promise a decolonial exit, because they may be acting as traps, or what we called trampas (in Spanish). In this article, we particularly analyze the initiatives that are frequently seen as projects that deviated from the hegemonic discourses of internationalization: i) South-South international higher education cooperation projects, ii) policies and projects that seek to address colonial legacies, and iii) teaching and researching committed with decolonial intentions. In the end, we invite readers, practitioners and scholars alike, to welcome the contradictions we face in such work and not to lose sight of the ongoing, relational, and hyperreflective character of any project that aims to be an alternative to coloniality.

Keywords: complexities, decolonial projects, global south, modernity/coloniality, *trampas.*

Resumen

En este artículo, analizamos las contradicciones, complejidades, límites y potencialidades de la internacionalización de la educación superior (IES) desde perspectivas decoloniales latinoamericanas. Sostenemos que incluso cuando los académicos pueden sostener críticas decoloniales y aspiraciones hacia la IES, las estructuras de las universidades están fuertemente influenciadas por legados coloniales, socavando las potencialidades de la decolonización. Prestamos especial atención a aquellas iniciativas que aparentemente prometen una salida decolonial, porque podrían estar actuando como trampas, o lo que llamamos "trampas". En este artículo, analizamos en particular las iniciativas que a menudo se perciben como proyectos que se apartaron de los discursos hegemónicos de la internacionalización: i) proyectos de cooperación internacional en la educación superior Sur-Sur, ii) políticas y proyectos que buscan abordar legados coloniales, y iii) la enseñanza y la investigación comprometidas con intenciones decoloniales. Al final, invitamos a los lectores, practicantes y académicos por igual, a acoger las contradicciones que enfrentamos en dicho trabajo y a no perder de vista el carácter continuo, relacional e hiperreflexivo de cualquier proyecto que aspire a ser una alternativa a la colonialidad.

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Palabras clave: complejidades, modernidad/colonialidad, proyectos decoloniales, Sur global, trampas.

Resumo

Neste artigo, analisamos contradições, complexidades, limites e potencialidades da internacionalização da educação superior (IES) a partir de perspectivas decoloniais latino-americanas. Argumentamos que mesmo diante das críticas e aspirações decoloniais adotadas por estudiosos com relação à IES, as estruturas das universidades são fortemente influenciadas por legados coloniais, minando as potencialidades da decolonização. Damos especial atenção àquelas iniciativas que aparentemente prometem uma saída decolonial, porque podem estar funcionando como armadilhas (trampas, em espanhol). Neste artigo, analisamos particularmente as iniciativas que são frequentemente vistas como projetos que se desviam dos discursos hegemônicos de internacionalização: i) projetos de cooperação internacional Sul-Sul em educação superior, ii) políticas e projetos que buscam abordar legados coloniais, e iii) ensino e pesquisa comprometidos com intenções decoloniais. Ao final do artigo, convidamos os leitores, profissionais e estudiosos a acolherem as contradições enfrentadas neste trabalho e a não perder de vista o caráter contínuo, relacional e hiperreflexivo de qualquer projeto que pretenda ser uma alternativa à colonialidade.

Palavras-chave: complexidades, modernidade/colonialidade, projetos decoloniais, sul global, trampas.

Introduction

Mesmo quando tudo pede
Um pouco mais de calma
Até quando o corpo pede
Um pouco mais de alma
A vida não para

Enquanto o tempo
Acelera e pede pressa
Eu me recuso, faço hora
Vou na valsa
A vida é tão rara

Enquanto todo mundo
Espera a cura do mal
E a loucura finge
Que isso tudo é normal
Eu finjo ter paciência
[...]
(Paciência, 1999, a song by Lenine, a Brazilian musician)

The epigraph that introduces our text is a song by Brazilian musician Lenine. It points to the ephemerality and rarity of life amidst a world that does not stop and is always quickly moving. Despite this, the lyrical subject resists following the alienating dominant path and chooses to feel and act differently toward this temporality and way of life. Similarly, the present text attempts to hold some space to deal with the difficulties and accountabilities when advancing decolonial work to resist top-down neoliberal projects in international education. It is an invitation to reflect upon the different contexts and demands we experience and to attentively respond to them, especially when we work under *another* understanding of space, time, and educational work.

That said, while projects for internationalization of higher education (IHE) continue gaining traction across higher education institutions, the hegemonic model for internationalizing higher education has been more and more challenged due to the market-driven logic that sustains it and the revenue-generating purposes it serves (Amsler, 2011; Jones & de Wit, 2014; Rizvi & Lingard, 2020; Stein & Andreotti, 2016). Among the criticism emerging from diverse loci of enunciation, we highlight three explicitly and at different levels engaged with constructing more socially just futures.

Leading scholars in the field of IHE, such as Philip Altbach (2004), Uwe Brandenburg & Hans de Wit (2011), and Jane Knight (2011), among others, largely based in institutions in the global North, have argued that the current state of internationalization has deviated from its original purpose of enhancing academic and research quality (Brandenburg & de Wit, 2011), thus "losing its meaning and direction" (Knight, 2011, p. 10). Such an argument seems to refer to an arguable golden past of international education (Stein & Andreotti, 2016) when the predominant discourses of government agencies and higher education institutions almost exclusively highlighted the intrinsic goodness of IHE for processes of knowledge exchange, academic quality enhancement, intercultural understanding, and the expansion of the global economy.

Drawing on decolonial and critical frameworks, scholars who identify with critical IHE studies, including Vanessa Andreotti et al. (2015), Sharon Stein et al. (2019), and Sharon Stein (2021), work to reimagine "dominant patterns of relationship, representation, and resource distribution in the internationalization of education" (CISN, 2023), which also involves troubling the naturalized mainstream positive view of IHE and acknowledging its constitutive relationship with coloniality. They have explicitly argued for the need to recognize how IHE strategies and international projects are not exempted from participating in harmful behaviors that reinforce colonial hierarchies, such as the superiority of the North (Chiappa & Finardi, 2021; Martinez, 2017; Stein & Silva, 2020), whiteness (Shahjahan & Edwards, 2021; Mwangi et al., 2018; Yao et al., 2019), and English as the language for academic exchange (Jordão & Martinez, 2021; Martinez, 2017).

Assuming a similar critical argument but based geographically and epistemically in the global South, Fernanda Leal, Kyria Finardi, & Julieta Abba (2022) question the very meanings of IHE projects and argue that "to a large extent, the critique of IHE is a Eurocentric critique of modernity" (p. 247). Therefore, the authors advance a project for decolonizing and creating an IHE otherwise, a project that should emerge "from and for the Global South", capable of recognizing our constitutive epistemic blindness (Sousa Santos, 2007) and gesturing towards the creation of pluriversal worlds (Leal et al., 2022).

Despite posing questions to the mainstream model of IHE, the criticisms and praxis purported by the distinct groups of authors mentioned above come from equally different contexts and attend to diverse purposes, engaging in altering the modern/colonial structure that sustains IHE in a lesser (even nonexistent) or higher degree. In other words, even theories and projects with critical and decolonial intentions (Chiappa & Martinez, 2021) are impure and cannot be seen outside their entanglements of modernity/coloniality. With this in mind, we would like to offer an analysis of how IHE projects engaged in decoloniality, whether more or less explicitly, can become a trap (henceforth *trampa*, in Spanish) if they do not acknowledge the complexities, contradictions, and complicities we, as individual academics, and our institutions experience in the geographic and epistemic global South. As scholars living and working in countries geographically localized in the South hemisphere (Brazil and Chile) and frequently identified as global South scholars, we often find ourselves trying to conduct IHE projects that embrace the resisting and decolonizing nature of the South. Yet, while we do this, we notice the limits of building an IHE otherwise from and with the South and the importance of recognizing its multiple meanings.

In doing this analysis, we draw from decolonial critiques as they allow us to offer a situated analysis on IHE as well as demand from us a compromise towards creating *another praxis* of living capable of building different worlds (Chiappa & Finardi, 2021; Grosfoguel, 2016; Leal et al, 2022; Martinez, 2017; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2019, Stein et al, 2020; Stein & Silva, 2020). Not to fall into the trap of seeing decoloniality as another salvationist and universal critique, and drawing from the words of Argentinian scholar Walter Mignolo and Ecuadorian scholar Catherine Walsh, we understand it as a local "form of struggle and survival, an epistemic and existence-based response and practice - most especially by colonized and racialized subjects - *against* the colonial matrix of power in all of its dimensions, and *for* the possibilities of an otherwise" (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p. 17, emphasis on the original). As all theories and practices offer possibilities and limitations when dealing with a specific body of knowledge, we engage with decolonial critiques to widen our ontoepistemic horizons and navigate through the complexities and layers involved in transforming the university education and the world as we see it.

In methodological terms, this paper is an argumentative essay written collectively through several dialogues among the authors. The empirical data drew from what some colleagues have called autoethnography (Ellis et al., 2011; Poulos, 2021). Autoethnography is considered a qualitative type of research in which the researcher uses individual experience to make relationships and understand meanings about themselves and larger social, cultural, and political issues. In this case, each of us—the authors—engaged in a self-reflective exercise of how our individual experience as an academic was confronted and permeated by colonial legacies (e.g. the pressure of publishing in high-impact journals points us out to write mainly in English as opposed to doing work with communities outside of the University and/or learning other languages). We wrote notes about it and met periodically to discuss the projects that we perceived as a "promise" toward a decolonial exit. We have not adopted a fixed structure to have these conversations, but, typically, one of us would start sharing her

reflections, and the other two would listen carefully, adding comments or raising questions. We held around 15 conversations between May 2022 and February 2023 of 90 minutes each approximately.

On that note, it is important to acknowledge that one of the main tenets of autoethnography and decolonial critiques recognizes how the positionality of the researchers, or "loci of enunciation", influences their research (Castro-Gómez, 2005; Diniz de Figueiredo & Martinez, 2019; Grosfoguel, 2007; Menezes de Souza et al., 2019; Quijano, 2007). Therefore, we identify ourselves as scholars whose bodies are at the same time *marked* differently according to the color of our skin, gender, ethnicity, beliefs, geography, and social class. Silva is a non-white early-career scholar and the co-chair of the Critical Internationalization Studies Network. She works as a professor in language teacher education in a public-funded federal university in a small city in Southeast Brazil. Martinez is a white woman, who has been researching the internationalization of Higher Education in the global South in the past few years and works as a professor in language teacher education in a federal university in the South of Brazil, a conservative and prestigious institution challenged by a diverse student body. Chiappa is a mestiza woman formerly trained as a journalist and higher education researcher. She has taught in the USA and South African universities and currently works as an assistant professor at a regional university in the North of Chile. Despite these nuances, we see ourselves inhabiting a border space in our respective countries while maintaining strong connections to universities and colleagues working in the global North.

In the following pages, our text is organized into three sections. Firstly, we share some reflections upon the global South, as we see it as a relational geo-onto-epistemic concept and a space for multiple and potential implications and contradictions. Secondly, we emphasize how coloniality crosses our existence in academia and why it is crucial for our critical discussion on IHE. Our main goal is to scrutinize how global trends condition IHE decolonial projects, therefore, the importance of recognizing our entanglement and complicity within modernity/coloniality. Lastly, we dedicate our reflection to the *trampas* we recognize both in terms of relying on global South as a natural space for transformation and regarding the limits and constraints we see on the inseparability between global South and North. We pay special attention to southern IHE projects, practices, and perspectives that may become a *trampa* due to liberal discourses, desires, and intentions as they end up trapped by their own blindness. For this reason, it is about the contradictions, or *trampas,* and the complexities, problems, possibilities, limits, and potentialities they may hold that this text is about.

Global South as a Relational Geo-onto-epistemic Concept

In this epistemic terrain, the global South has been reclaimed as a potential geo-onto-epistemic space where different bodies and pieces of knowledge can fight for their existence, against their invisibility, and demand the end of colonial acts of violence. For instance, Portuguese scholar Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2018) claims the *Epistemologies of the South*, pointing out how they involve other modes of being, knowing, surviving, and existing that were erased by the North but have always existed. Similarly, Argentinian scholar Enrique Dussel (2012) theorizes the necessity of considering *transmodernity* as a possibility for an epistemic turn by situating history through another locus of enunciation that has not entirely ended after five centuries of colonialism and coloniality. Those searches for alternatives require a profound understanding of what the global South means.

From our perspective, global South, understood as a concept that includes, but also transcends the geographic dimension, is a geo-onto-epistemic location that allows the bodies, knowledges, and existences thrown to what Sousa Santos (2007) called the abyssal line to exist in their own right. Such an abyssal line was created by colonization processes and metaphorically divides the world into two sides. This side, the North, refers to metropolitan societies and modes of existing/knowing/being (Sousa Santos, 2018) that project their "single story" as universal; there, hegemonic/Eurocentric ways of existence and knowing are legitimized and accepted. The other side, the South, is a space marked by colonial difference, whose ways of existence/being/knowing are not fully seen nor recognized. In the epistemic South, at the same time capitalism, patriarchy, and colonialism are continually fought and resisted, they are also desired and pursued (Sousa Santos, 2007, 2018; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018).

Such relational character of the meaning of South shows that within the South, the mechanism of operation, logics, and desires of the North also exist. For instance, let us imagine a female Latina professor working in a South African research-intensive university. The institutional structure of a research university allows the female academic to have access to good infrastructure, reputation, and likely better salaries than her colleagues working in less-intensive research universities. At the same time, the position of this female full professor has been conditioned by the patriarchal and sexist structure of Chilean academia, limiting her possibilities of realization. This example shows that the position of the South is not fixed, but relational, leading us to inhabit a much more complex institutional space without a determined and

circumscribed identity in the global South or in the North. As such, the assumption that the South has a greater capacity to address and enact decolonial IHE projects can turn into a simplified discourse or simply a *trampa*.

As put forward by Brazilian scholars Leal et al. (2022) in their argument on how coloniality gets reproduced in IHE projects, any effort to decolonize IHE with, to and from the global South requires recognizing the limits embedded in the notion of "university as an institution historically managed by actors susceptible to Western beliefs and the effects of the totality of knowledge" (p. 246). In order to do so, we build on their argument to consider how coloniality crosses our existence inside our institutions even when we attempt to advance decolonial projects. This means we intend to look at some *trampas* in their individual, disciplinary, and institutional dimensions, thus correlating the concepts of coloniality of being, coloniality of knowledge, and coloniality of power as theorized by decolonial critiques.

Coloniality Crosses our Existence in Academia

One of the first actions to unpack the traps in IHE projects with decolonial aspirations involves recognizing the grammar of modernity. Using Mignolo's (2000) metaphor, modernity and coloniality are the two sides of the same coin. While modernity sheds light on the bright side of the coin, translated into positive attributes of "modern" life, such as development, progress, technology, material wealth, rights, humanism, democracy, and nation-state, coloniality points to the dark side of modernity, alluding to the legacies of the colonization processes in all social realms, starting from the superiority of whiteness that justified the genocide, slavery, and marginalization of Indigenous groups and an extractive relationship with nature. Seen as the asymmetrical relations of power that control—based on race, gender, access to resources, and knowledge—our modes of existing in the world, oriented towards development (Mignolo, 2000), coloniality cannot be said to be an effect of modernity; instead it constitutes it.

In the words of Puerto Rican scholar Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2007), "coloniality refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations. [...] It is maintained in books, *in the [competitive, hierarchical] 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" (p. 243, our emphasis). Coloniality begins with the European invasion of the Americas, Africa, and Oceania. It continues to take place until our days through its Western (USA-European) rationality (Eurocentrism, universal reason, Christianity, Humanism) and temporalities (modernity, progress, linear time, West as developed versus the rest as backwards).

In this way, coloniality, as a set of intertwined processes happening in different realms, imposes Western views on what can be validated as true knowledge and who can be considered a full human (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018). In other words, the ways we, colonizer/colonized beings, learn, socialize, teach, research, and construct knowledge are crossed by coloniality; our very existence is founded in a modern/colonial world which dictates what is good, normal, and ideal. Therefore, the concepts that govern us and our projects cannot be seen outside of coloniality.

This is also likely true when one considers the development and history of the educational endeavor, both in terms of schools, higher education, and scientific institutions. For instance, according to Colombian scholar Santiago Castro-Gómez (2007), the underlying logic and mechanisms that justify science´s monolithic/universal character hide the basic fact that every knowledge is local to some place and people. Thus, as thoroughly discussed by Puerto Rican scholar Ramón Grosfoguel (2013) and American scholar Rosalind Raby (2009), the notion of universal knowledge or history is in itself an imposition that has been instrumental to maintaining hierarchies of knowledge and ways of being that disproportionately favor the European/Western/Anglo-Saxon knowledges, mostly represented by white middle-upper class men in academia. In this sense, it is crucial to acknowledge that the mainstream authors in a given discipline and the languages spoken, the imaginary about ideal students, and the expected roles higher education institutions are supposed to serve in a globalized world are not neutral, but crossed by the entanglement of coloniality/modernity.

In fact, the idea of university itself was built on a colonial structure, which encompasses power hierarchies (*coloniality of power*), the modes of knowledge production (*coloniality of knowledge*), and the creation of subjectivities (*coloniality of being*) (Castro-Gómez, 2007). In other terms, the Western university emerges from and for a privileged political and economic elite of thinkers (Grosfoguel, 2013) who determines a scientific method to dictate universal truths and measure the world against its own ruler, thus forming appropriate subjectivities, also positioned in this power structure according to their geographical, social-historical, and onto-epistemological location (Maldonado-Torres, 2018).

The universities created in the territories identified as global South do not make an exception to the rule. They have followed the European modern values and education model, operating within the same modern/colonial matrix of power. The difference is that the institutions in the global North have long been granted many privileges and accumulated material

and symbolic capital through centuries of colonial relations. Up to now, the North has been the recipient of the modern promises, without paying the costs necessary to make it function (Stein & Silva, 2020; Stein, 2022). As a consequence of these long-standing patterns of harmful ways of sensing, being, relating, and existing, it is not surprising that institutions and individuals in the South can still aspire for the North, its logics and promises.

To give this thought further consideration, we argue that globalization, neoliberalism, capitalism, and IHE are not only closely entangled: they constitute the very grammar of modernity. Similarly to the critiques we have pointed out towards internationalization, globalization is also informed by celebratory discourses, its benefits, and positive consequences. The way we see it, globalization presents itself in a hegemonic narrative based on the vantage point of those who benefit from it. According to this narrative, globalization reinforces the idea that the world is interconnected, people have become closer, equality is more present, distances have shortened due to communication technologies. It seems that anyone can participate and benefit from the global scenario. According to Brazilian scholar Juliana Martinez (2017) and Sousa Santos (2002), this is certainly a narrative that hides any form of inequality in terms of opportunities, wealth, and knowledge, told by voices that occupy privileged positions.

Globalization, therefore, is defined in a naturalized way, as inevitable, a neutral description of our realities. As Martinez (2017) argues:

> Nunca é demais enfatizar que os processos dinâmicos e plurais da globalização, em suas formas de livre mercado, fluxos, mobilidades, contatos, não alteraram as hierarquias sedimentadas ao longo da história entre países, povos, nações, línguas, culturas. Pelo contrário, a lacuna em termos de redistribuição de recursos e de oportunidades está exponencialmente ampliada. (p. 88)
>
> [We can never emphasize too much that the dynamic and plural processes of globalization—through free market, fluxes, mobilities, and contacts—have never altered the hierarchies between nations, peoples, languages and cultures sedimented throughout history. In fact, the lack in terms of resource and opportunity distribution is exponentially amplified].

One of the most prominent examples to illustrate such entanglement and the complexities it involves is the mainstream discourse on IHE. According to Indian scholar Fazal Rizvi and Australian scholar Bob Lingard (2020), IHE in its current market-logic phase (1980s-) has been centered around a neoliberal rationality that focuses on trade and revenue generation. As such, it can be considered both as an expression of globalization and as a response to it, especially when it is widely believed that an international approach to education is fundamental to instrumentalizing students with proper (Western) knowledge to adapt to the ever-changing global market. However, corroborating Brazilian scholars Clarissa Jordão & Juliana Martinez (2021), and Stein et al. (2020), one barely asks what counts as internationalization, if and why it is necessary, who benefits from and who loses with this process, and whose knowledge and bodies value, to put some. These questions are important for their possibility of pluralizing and complexifying the hegemonic naturalized discourses around IHE, as they problematize the unavoidability and always-beneficial character of IHE and bring to the fore what was thrown to the other side of the abyssal line along with its costs.

To dig deeper into these tensions and complexities, we describe two important IHE dimensions (academic mobility and qualified publication) and analyze how they tend to perpetuate, instead of dismantling, coloniality.

Academic Mobility

According to OECD (2020), the flows of international students and scholars predominantly go in one direction[1], from epistemic global South to epistemic global North. The USA, the UK and Australia, for instance, maintain their leadership worldwide in attracting more than half of the international students, who mostly come from what they call "developing" countries, especially from China and India, or "underdeveloped" countries (OECD, 2020) to pursue degrees in science, technology, engineering and mathematics programs (which accounts for 31% of enrollments) (OECD, 2023). A not so different flow is noticed in Latin American and African countries as well. Students from smaller and less industrialized countries tend to flee to places that are projected to be hierarchically superior, with better job and academic opportunities, such as the case of Brazil receiving international students from Venezuela, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guatemala, and so on.

Although the predominant discourse on IHE has highlighted the benefits of international academic mobility to prepare people to work in an international environment and enhance their intercultural awareness, more and more scholars have been challenging this notion.

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[1] To learn about the unintended consequences of IHE projects and policies, including the creation of regional hubs as a result of these unidirectional flows, see Kamyab & Raby (2023).

In the case of Australia, higher education has become the third largest export industry, making up almost 35% of its student population (Rizvi & Lingard, 2020). Rather than pointing to international cooperation and intercultural awareness, these students in Australia and elsewhere have been seen in their capacity to bring and generate revenue (Amsler, 2011; Rizvi & Lingard, 2020). In fact, diverse studies show that international students in Australia may be facing high levels of discrimination (Dovichin, 2020; Jamieson, 2018; Robertson, 2011). Broadly covered by the media, the suicide of the Chinese student Zhikai Lui, from the University of Melboune, in 2019, brought attention to the undiagnosed mental health issues that international students were experiencing due to the pressures and discrimination actions toward them. In 2021, the Victorian coroner's report showed that 47 international students had committed suicide from 2010 to 2019. Dochivin (2020), drawing from ethnographic interviews with international students in Australia, argues that one of the main forms of discrimination against international students happens in terms of linguistic racism. Students are discriminated against by the way they speak and how they are valued and seen, which would increase their levels of low self-confidence and sense of non-belonging.

Similarly, in the USA, a country that receives the largest flow of international students worldwide, several scholars demonstrate that international students of color are not exempted from experiencing racism on campuses (Lee & Rice, 2007; Yao, 2018; Yao, Briscoe & Rutt, 2021). Chinese international students, for example, are frequently exposed to racism behaviors inside and outside campus, something that grew worse during the COVID-19 pandemic (Yao & Mwangi, 2022). Such examples are not hard to be found in Brazil. In a case study, a researcher has shown how a black Haitian student has faced similar experiences in the academic space that ends up reproducing racism, colonial difference, exclusion, and silencing (Rodrigues, 2021).

This evidence demonstrates that both academic mobility and international research partnerships in general point to the already mentioned uneven distribution of resources between global North and global South institutions and nations (Martinez, 2017; Menezes de Souza, 2021), reflecting the colonial North/South division. In addition, while international academic mobility may have potential for generating greater intercultural awareness among students and academics who represent different racial, linguistic and cultural identities, such intercultural awareness may still happen in a hierarchical logic, producing or reproducing the position of domination and subalternity between the domestic and international students. Unfortunately, this type of intercultural experience reflects what Walsh (2010) defined as *functional interculturality,* without any space to scrutinize racial relations and colonial differences.

Furthermore, academic mobility, as we argue, cannot be seen apart from the modern/colonial structures that allow it to exist. As American scholar Stein and Brazilian scholar Silva (2020) suggest, the modern promises of scientific and technological progress, development and social mobility through wealth accumulation that inform the discourse of mobility have been built over the colonial processes of racialized expropriation of human and other-than-human beings, epistemicides, and production of inequalities, especially through the overrepresentation of Western knowledge systems, active erasure of heterogeneous forms of knowing, being and existing, and extractivist modes of producing knowledge.

Qualified Publications

In regard to the pressing demand for publishing in IHE circles, or the "publish or perish" discourse, we understand it to go beyond a natural course of events inside an international policy within higher education. For us, it is a symptom of knowledge production according to a capitalist/neoliberal logic, which exacerbates the idea that people are merely productive agents/consumers and their worth is dependent upon their capacity for productivity (Stein & Silva, 2020). Once the responsibility of fundraising, revenue generation, and institutional/professional growth has been put onto the students, researcher and scholars, the process of knowledge construction loses its communal sense, confirming the market-oriented logic that has informed universities for the last decades. In addition, it helps camouflage the modern/colonial harmful habits of being nowadays increasingly connected to the growing surge of mental health crises and anxieties.

Similar concerns have been raised by Colombian anthropologist Eduardo Restrepo and Argentine-Brazilian scholar Rita Segato. Restrepo (2018) argues against this business model that has oriented discourses of productivity, quality of education, internationalization, as well as the establishment of academic practices and research based on the hyper value of publishing—mainly in index journals and in English. According to him, the consequences of this logic is that it sustains academic rentability, transforms students into clients, and does not solve the insecurity and precarious positions of many independent scholars. Furthermore, this system imposes new forms of control and the academic research practices strongly become much more framed. In this terrain, internationalization turns into an aggressive educational policy that normalizes a neoliberal and Western pattern of academic and educational practices (open access journals being an exception to the rule

in terms of democratizing knowledge and access, however still strongly attached to Western modes of producing and validating knowledge).

Segato (2021) criticizes the current international academic evaluation and indexation logic that she names as a 'suicidal' practice. According to her, this quantitative and productivist evaluation system is suicidal because there is no room for genuine learning, questioning, writing through a creative impulse, and research curiosity. All of those principles have lost the possibility of existence due to the index system and the never-ending search for qualified and prestigious publishing. The critiques she raises against this productivist agenda are not only based on its business model traversing the educational and research realm, it foremost focuses on the authoritarian regime that has been formed towards critical thinking and the world of ideas, as well as how it has turned the academics into docile bodies. In her perspective, this logic represents a *trampa* as it sustains the global North as the main academic knowledge market and does not propel any fundamental structural or institutional change; on the contrary, it reproduces the coloniality tripod of being, knowing, and doing as the North.

In addition, Segato (2021) highlights, we, academics from/in the global South, live by the 'fiction of reciprocity', believing that the citation system allows visibility in/by the North while, in fact, it is based on the illusion of interchange as it has never been an inclusive system nor created for knowledge exchange. One of the serious consequences in aspiring such false reciprocity is the fact that it breaks up our real interlocutors, from our communities, in our local languages, in our own ways of producing knowledge. Even if we consider that the access to information technology and the internet have increased, knowledge continues to be legitimized by the categories of the North. We seem trapped because we still consume theories, concepts, and forms of knowledge production resulting from modernity/coloniality. In this scenario, global North continues to be the provider, and the global South, the consumer or the object to be researched. Thus, the academic market nurtures and reproduces the inequalities of unequal knowledge production and permanent borders between South and North.

Given the complexities highlighted in the examples, we now turn to the *trampas* (traps) we see when, acknowledging the colonial habit of being that informs our existence in academia, we engage with projects advanced by individuals, institutions, and groups in the global South. As mentioned in the second part of this text, the exercise of sitting with the contradictions and complexities of our alternatives is a powerful way to keep (re)imagining and acting toward the construction of other possible worlds.

Shedding Light to the *Trampas* Found in Decolonial Educational Projects

The inspiration to reflect upon the idea of *trampas* in IHE projects that explicitly aim to interrupt colonial legacies comes from the work of Rita Segato. In her scholarship, Segato (2021) draws on different dominant academic practices, policies, and discourses as to observe how coloniality of power, knowledge, and being are intertwined and reproduced in daily academic practices. For us, the idea of *trampa* is pertinent to our analysis because it holds a contradictory meaning. We explain: at the same time it points to something negative, it also reminds us to keep pursuing wiser and more creative alternatives, despite our constitutive coloniality of being/knowing/relating.

When engaging with actions that aim to decolonize IHE, we identify a knot of contradictions, where at the same time that institutional and/or individual actors launch agendas that seek to decolonize IHE, these initiatives are constrained by the entanglements of coloniality of power, being and knowledge, configuring discursive decolonial *trampas*. In this section, we will refer specifically to three common initiatives: i) South-South IHE cooperation projects; ii) Policies and projects that intentionally seek to address and question colonial legacies; iii) Teaching and researching committed with decolonial intentions. With some nuances, these initiatives tend to be characterized by discourses that seek to undo colonial legacies in processes of internationalizing higher education and in educational processes at large. Yet, such initiatives operate as decolonial *trampas* as they do not always recognize or deal with the entanglements of modernity/coloniality. After presenting the three *trampas*, we reflect upon how they are entangled in the individual, disciplinary, and institutional dimensions regarding the coloniality of being, knowledge, and power.

The Trampas in South-South IHE Projects

The agenda of South-South cooperation dates back to the Cold War period, when it emerged as a political movement of solidarity among developing countries in times where the biggest geopolitical players of the world-order were disputing their role of leadership (see Gray & Gills, 2016 for the Bandung conference and PABA, 1978 for the Buenos Aires Plan of Action). For some authors, the South-South cooperation configured an identity of "global South", characterized by a discourse to subvert the modern/colonial matrix of power. As far as international higher education is

concerned, a growing number of multinational institutions, including multilateral ones such as UNESCO, OECD, WB, and EBRD, highlight the importance of establishing agreements and programs among partners located in the global South.

Yet, the potentialities of South-South cooperation as an alternative way of IHE often face the contradictions between the aspirations of actors, mainly institutions, that want to enhance their visibility and leadership in the international higher education space and intentions to repair the consequences of the modern/colonial matrix of power. These initiatives often fall into two common *trampas*. First, South-South cooperation projects tend to consider the notion of global South as if it were a fixed attribute that meant a geographic location, despite the theorizations otherwise. Nonetheless, among the so-called "developing" countries located in the Southern hemisphere, one can find actors (universities, academics, and government agencies) differently positioned in the modern/colonial matrix of power. Holding more or less power, these actors nurture aspirations of leadership and prestige in the South-South cooperation projects.

The Chilean agency for international cooperation, for instance, offers postgraduate fellowships to individuals who come from African, Latin American, and Caribbean countries. The discourse around this initiative highlights the cooperative nature of the fellowship to contribute to the professional development of public servants from less developed countries. Yet, this program is also informed by Chile's aspiration of becoming an international hub for international students from Latin American countries and enhancing its international reputation and ranking, an unintended consequence of IHE in the words of Kamyab & Raby (2023).

In turn, the Brazilian Ministry of Education and of the Foreign Affairs offer higher education opportunities to citizens of developing countries (mainly African, Latin American, and Caribbean countries) with which Brazil maintains educational and cultural agreements. Despite the fact that this initiative may promote academic, social, cultural, and political ties, it is rooted in colonial difference and legacy with the aim of promoting *aid* and *charity* to those countries. Consequently, the foreign students who apply for the program tend to be projected on the other side of the abyssal line, labeled as not having enough background knowledge to attend a public university in Brazil (Jordão & Martinez, 2021). Stein and Andreotti (2016) found a similar pattern when analyzing the main purposes of internationalization initiatives in the USA and Canada. According to them, the intensification of international student recruitment is directly related to these students' personal experiences with racism, a phenomenon explained by the dominant imaginary of Western supremacy.

Related to the prior *trampa*, a second understanding is that South-South cooperation initiatives *naturally* assume a position of subalternity and resistance toward the existing hierarchical logic that neglects the pluridiversity of knowledge. Nonetheless, several projects of this nature have emerged as a way of creating scientific and academic capacity to compete in an international scenario, in which the questioning of the status quo is not a priority. This is the case of the recently created Association for Fostering Internationalization of Higher Education in Latin America (INILAT), composed by six associations of national universities. In October 2022, INILAT launched a report that recommended Latin American countries articulate initiatives that call into question the hegemonic IHE model based on competition and revenue generation (Castiello-Gutiérrez et al., 2022). The report specifically asks Latin American universities to pay attention to the demands for decolonizing higher education and push an IHE agenda that contributes to that purpose. Yet, INILAT's main intention is to stimulate internationalization among Latin American actors to strengthen their competitiveness in the international space. Besides focusing on market-driven logics, it is a kind of initiative that exempts the global North from any responsibility towards the modern/colonial legacy and implicates the global South as the only agent to promote decolonial practices and policies in higher education.

These two *trampas* create the illusion that the sole inclusion of partners from the global South in IHE projects is able to interrupt the hegemonic model of IHE, when what they actually do is to keep the same modern/colonial structures and violences on which this model is based. Without changing the terms of the conversation (colonial structure of IHE initiatives), the content (international cooperation) will remain the same.

Policies and Projects that Intentionally Seek to Address and Question Colonial Legacies

To address projects/policies that are created with an explicit intention to question and interrupt modernity/coloniality, we now shed light on one of the affirmative action policies Brazilian higher education institutions have promoted since 2012, which is the system of quotas. Segato (2021), one of the educators responsible for advancing the project and making it an institutional right, claims that there are four reasons to fight for social inclusion in academic spaces. First, she explains, it represents the desire for a more equitable world. Second, it seems to be a social reparative function with the intention of giving back the access, resources, and opportunities of communities that have suffered historical violences and are in need of repair. Third, there is a demand to pluralize the market and consumerism, so an expansion of diversity in higher education represents inclusion for economic reasons as well. Lastly, there is the pluralist reason, which

Segato highlights as the most important one in her opinion. She explains that pluralism is usually understood when colored people have the chance to enter in the higher education system, resignifying the previous elite space as well as creating an imaginary that their own presence is able to transform the university into a plural space.

According to Segato (2021), this never-ending search for social justice finds itself in a *trampa* as its existence takes place in the contradiction between what the university means in the western realm and the pluralist reason in decolonial studies. This way, both affirmative actions—for example, programs aimed at receiving students from distinctive social and economic backgrounds, refugee students, and students from developing countries—and discourses of inclusion may reproduce the hegemonic forms of knowledge production. For the author, a pluri-university (or a pluriversity) should be the place where various and diverse knowledges are not only produced but requested. Therefore, a social transformation must guarantee ways of a black body, for instance, truly exist and be able to inhabit social spaces such as the university, which par excellence has been the place where the elites reproduce themselves.

Another *trampa* in this type of project is the lack of understanding and discussion in regard to the reasons affirmative actions and social justice are being reclaimed in academic spaces. Unfortunately, Segato (2021) explains, affirmative actions turned into another *trampa* as they push transformation up to an individual level and not to the community and structural domain. As a result, both students who have and those who do not have accessed the university through quotas usually do not express a deep understanding towards the significance of affirmative actions and the historical repair they intend to. Up to a certain point, social justice becomes an apolitical and a-historical fight in the academic realm.

Teaching and Researching Committed to Decolonial Intentions

Many academics, including us, utilize research, teaching, and learning spaces to unpack the legacies of colonial hierarchies in higher education. This happens because as individual and social subjects, we live in a given space and time and are constituted by our diverse encounters with the world (dimension of *being*). Besides, we are also constituted by the positions we, as political and cultural beings, occupy inside a larger economic and social structure (dimension of *power*). Thus informed, we are able to position ourselves in terms of what we consider valid knowledge, who can produce it and what can and cannot be considered true (dimension of *knowledge*) (Maldonado-Torres, 2018). This means that coloniality manifests in different dimensions of our lives; therefore, as scholars who inhabit prestigious spaces inside the structure of the university, we welcome the contradictions and the potentialities we find in this educational institution and inhabit the possibilities of confronting modernity/coloniality from inside this structure. To exemplify how the entanglement of these kinds of coloniality operate, we will briefly draw from our own experiences of teaching and conducting research in our local institutional contexts.

Let us consider our position as professors in public universities in Brazil. These institutions are based on three deeply interrelated and fundamental pillars: teaching, research, and outreach activities, which means that our roles demand a full commitment to our institutions, students, and society in general. As language teachers, we can choose the authors that compose our syllabi, the concepts we find important to discuss with our students, the critical approaches we assume toward language teaching, and even the criteria we are going to use when assessing our students. In our research, we find space to engage in discussions that converge or critique the hegemonic paradigms under which we act and produce knowledge. As educators, we are given the responsibility of both sharing scientific knowledge inside and outside the university, and learning from and with our students and the communities of which we participate as citizens. This happens through all kinds of activity, including projects, conferences, programs, workshops, artistic events, and talks.

These functions, however, coexist with all the pressing demands we are called to serve in academia: demands for productivity, so that our courses are qualified and granted funds to keep functioning; demands for recognition, so that our research and practices are validated both in the global South and in the global North, and we are granted adequate payment; demands for internationalization and for rankings, which for us also means a high volume of publication (in English) in qualified journals and ongoing involvement with projects that help our institutions booster their recognition abroad, especially in the global North, among others.

The *trampas* and contradictions are constitutive of our positions. We are inside the rigid walls of the university and use our privileged spaces to advance a critique against this institution and the violent modes of knowing and relating it purports. We use our positions as scholars to question modernity/coloniality in IHE, but are paid and recognized for the critical work we develop. We identify as decolonial scholars, and sometimes see this perspective as a new critical theory to be consumed or a praxis that is going to make us more just, more intelligent, more pure, better people. We aspire to other ways of knowing and being, but are not always willing to give up the privileges acquired at the cost of our complicities in colonial harm.

Deep in our guts, we have named our academic performance and daily-lives at the university such as a 'schizophrenic' experience by realizing how we and our colleagues are sickening due to aspirations, desires, acknowledgement, pressure, outcomes, deadlines, bureaucracies that push us to a kind of deep hole. This is the contradiction we see ourselves delved into internally and institutionally that takes place between the cognitive critique we are able to produce against the modern/colonial academic system (capitalist, male logic, globalized, business-driven) and our own hidden aspirations, at the same time, to decolonize higher education and to join an academia that presents itself as shiny, promising, rewarding, reliable, just. As academics, we could then ask ourselves why we keep playing a game that converts itself in apolitical social justice, false reciprocity, control of critical thinking, suicidal practices, illness, docile bodies, the lack of intercultural dialogue, and the impediment of existing in our own terms.

This answer has proven to be more difficult than it appears in a first moment. That is why we understand that decolonizing ourselves, higher education, and its internationalization is not that simple and deserves care. From our view, the coloniality of power, knowledge, and being are profoundly rooted in the kinds of trampas we live in our individual, disciplinary, and institutional academic domains. And this is exactly our invitation here: to shed light on those three domains that intrinsically manifest our own coloniality. It is an exercise to scrutinize the contradictory elements that inhabit us and in which we find emerging decolonial intentions and expectations that the global South could provide alternatives to the matrix of colonial power operating for centuries in the realm of higher education and our whole existence.

On the Complexities of Decolonizing IHE in the Global South

As already mentioned, the global South is understood here in geo-onto-epistemic terms and that is why we recognize ourselves in complicity and contradictory positions and identities. Despite working in different cities and universities in Brazil and Chile, in our individual domain, we see ourselves simultaneously operating as South and North depending on the relationships we face and partnerships we establish. On the one hand, for instance, in our academic associations and research projects with partners who geographically are located in the North, we constantly struggle to join spaces, conversations, and opportunities as we are the ones who need to adapt, to use the dominant language (mostly English), to reference the mainstream theories and concepts (mostly Western), to move towards the North (high ranked institutions), and so on.

In such circumstances, we realize with ease what Gabriel Menares (2014, p. 201) highlights: "la sociedad dominante parece hacer todo lo posible por imponer, pero poco por aprender" [the dominant society seems to do everything possible to impose, but almost nothing to learn]. In his effort to discuss how to decolonize knowledge from a Mapuche perspective, Menares explains that it has always been the Indigenous people who need to integrate the western and global society. All the strategies used by the State, educational policies, and the schooling system are forms of neocolonialism and the relationship between Western and Indigenous communities is based on a process of assimilation to the dominant community.

On the other hand, in our own local institutions, we are oftentimes projected and see ourselves as the North due to the status our background education grants, the positions we hold in our careers, the demands our institutions require us to meet, as well as the professional aspirations we also carry to reach proper academic recognition, legitimacy, and achievement. The way we understand it, there is never purity in our identities in the epistemic or geographical global South: it is always relational and informed by the colonial difference.

Drawing on the relational aspect of our identity allows us to consider the complexity that lies in both directions—being projected to the same degree as South and North, we may face a *trampa* of coloniality. In both cases, colonial modes of existence, feelings, and aspirations still play an important role in our academic practices, decisions, and choices. Even when we put forward an action that we claim to be decolonial, it will not be possible to remove the colonial identity that also constitutes us. Our scholarly agency exists at the same in complicity, contradiction, limit, and potentiality. Not being able to exist outside modernity/coloniality, the only way to provoke change and transformation is by assuming our own constraints.

All in all, after looking at the *trampas* we brought throughout the discussion, we recognize the assumption that the global South will generate decolonial projects and solutions may be an understanding that disregards the complexity of relational identities and the multiplicity of possibilities to define the global South. In addition, such an assumption reinforces the separability between North and South, translated as the disconnection between modernity and coloniality, and points to the possibility of the North withdrawing from its responsibility and compromises in this modern/colonial order.

Final Remarks

After considering the geo-onto-epistemic terrain of global South, how coloniality crosses our existence in academia, and the *trampas* we highlighted, one may be thinking what could be the alternatives to interrupt the modern/colonial matrix of power that governs and dominates international higher education. In fact, this is our ultimate concern and some of the burning questions that guided us through our discussions were: Are there alternatives? Should we provide answers? Should we find solutions? Should we desire for replacements or closure? Should we resist? What does it mean to identify, interrogate, and interrupt coloniality? How to move on after identifying ourselves as scholars who adhere to decolonial aspirations, constrained by our own colonial socialization and frequently faced with decolonial *trampas*? How to imagine *otherwise* when minds and bodies are marked by traumas and historical violences? How to *delink* from the modern/colonial matrix of power and our own Cartesian existence?

These are some of the questions that we often raise in order to exercise our imagination of whether or not it is possible to live academia otherwise, from and with the South, when everyone around us may be talking about decolonial intentions and when policies, discourses, and practices frequently engage and hit with colonial institutions, hierarchies, and violences. As we previously stated, we see ourselves in conflicting positions, as we often find ourselves in situations in which our institutions and/or our desires aspire to reach the logics of the North, particularly in respect to the geopolitical domains of our countries, institutions, social status, languages, as well as when we consider the student population that our institutions serve.

Throughout this text, we emphasized the concept of coloniality and how its different dimensions are entangled with our lives as decolonial scholars who work in Westernized universities informed by modernity/coloniality. Our main goal was to offer an analysis of how IHE projects with decolonial intentions can turn into *trampas* if not followed by the acknowledgement of our complicities and a strong compromise towards change. Therefore, our argument was rooted in the invitation to welcome the contradictions our positions present us, so as not to lose sight of the ongoing, relational, and hyperreflective character of any project that aims to be an alternative to modernity/coloniality.

In doing this exercise, we relearned that this process requires us to slow down or, what Brazilian musician Lenine sings in his song, go with "*um pouco mais de calma*". If we consider that decolonial intentions, initiatives, and alternatives could interrupt modernity/coloniality, our task will also involve slowing down. This means fighting against our own Cartesian way of being/relating/exiting, unlearning the linear experience of time and space, embodying ourselves in different dimensions.

We understand, however, that identifying the entanglements, complexities, and contradictions involved in the projects we advance is already a long and important part of decolonial projects, especially in the area of IHE. Such projects are plural, diverse, difficult, and collective; they are experienced in concrete bodies with equally concrete desires, needs, and limitations. Embracing the *trampas* we find in our decolonial endeavors, both those known and unknown, seems to be a way of holding space for other modes of inhabiting academia in the global South.

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A Critical Analysis of the Fulbright Program from a World Systems Perspective

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Abstract

The Fulbright Program is the United States' flagship educational exchange program. Since 1946, the program has been heralded as a program that promotes mutual understanding across cultures. However, the Fulbright Program's role as a U.S. Department of State initiative warrants further examination of how this educational exchange program functions as a foreign policy effort on behalf of the United States. This mixed methods study uses data presented in five years of data available in the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board's Annual Reports of the program. The study finds seven themes present in the written content of the annual report: Human rights, peace and security; access, diversity, and opportunity; collaboration and partnership; mutual financial investment; excellence as a result of Fulbright; program impact; and solving global problems.

Keywords: educational diplomacy, Fulbright Program, higher education, student mobility

Introduction

The Fulbright Program is the United States' flagship educational exchange program. Since 1946, the program has been heralded as "a beacon of cooperative internationalism" (Lebovic, 2013, p. 281) in its effort to promote mutual understanding across cultures. However, given the significant financial investment by the US and by nations around the world, and the role it plays in funding the exchange of thousands of students and scholars per year, the Fulbright Program's role as a US Department of State initiative warrants further examination. Mutually beneficial exchange programs rely on an equitable distribution of resources, accounting for the needs of both the sending and receiving communities. The United States, as a global superpower, has historically played a hegemonic role in international higher education by shaping research agendas and positioning itself as a premier destination at the expense of others (Lee, 2021). Scholars argue that the United States enforces normative standards in research and exchange with regard to measures such as rankings, quality, and competence (Blanco, 2021; Glass, 2021; Lee, 2021). However, little research has explored the program's enduring power or investigated its impacts in communities around the world. This mixed-method study examines the flow of resources between countries in the Fulbright Program alongside the language presented in five years of annual reports.

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Using the Fulbright Program's annual reports from 2013 through 2017, we applied world systems theory by first quantitatively analyzing the flow of students (and scholars) to America from different regions of the world and vice-versa. Treating Fulbright awards as individual allocations of resources helps visualize the core-periphery relationship between America, the rest of the Global North, and the Global South. Our definitions of Global North and Global South align with the "Brandt Line", with the Global North consisting of America, Canada, Europe (including Russia), South Korea, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand (STWR, 2006). The Global South thus defines all other countries in the world. China's position within the Global South is also important to note, as an important partner of the Fulbright Program and the richest Global South country and second richest economy in the world (World Bank, 2021).

Literature Review

This literature review aims to demonstrate how scholars conceptualize the power and impact of the Fulbright Program. First, we provide historical context of the creation and development of the Fulbright Program to underscore the asymmetric power dynamics at play. Then, we present research regarding the impact of short-term student mobility programs.

US Power and the Fulbright Program

Senator Fulbright first introduced what came to be known as The Fulbright Act as an amendment to the Surplus Property Act of 1944 (Garner & Kirkby, 2019). The act allowed wartime allies to repay war debt in their own currency rather than in U.S. dollars, in the form of a fund to be spent on travel costs to the United States for academics, graduate students, and teachers who were citizens of the partner nation (Garner & Kirkby, 2019; Xu, 2019). The U.S. government and partner governments created binational agreements under this act, in which the U.S. government negotiated the right to place U.S. academics, students, and teachers in higher education institutions in the partner nations (Garner & Kirkby, 2019).

Some historians have referred to the post-World War II era (1945-1960) as a "golden era" for cultural diplomacy, as it ushered in the United States' formalized international education strategy (Trilokekar, 2021). The global focus of this program, as opposed to its strictly binational antecedents, set the Fulbright Program apart as an educational exchange program at its inception; however, its global reach was limited to nations with U.S. war surplus property (Lebovic, 2013). In fact, Lebovic (2022) argues that the Fulbright Program became the world's primary international educational infrastructure postwar instead of UNESCO, which had plans for an infrastructure that would focus on the redistribution of resources across its member countries but could not afford to put them into motion at the time.

Although most historical research on the Fulbright Program is presented from the United States' perspective, recent critical archival research from partner nations' demonstrates some power dynamics at play; for example, works on Fulbright in Australia (Garner & Kirkby, 2019), Portugal (Rodrigues, 2018), sub-Saharan Africa (Higgin, 2019), and China (Xu, 2019) have all been published within the past five years (2017-2022). The aforementioned analyses do not include research published in non-English languages, which may expand the body of work from partner nations' perspectives.

In these contexts, scholars recognize that the establishment of the Fulbright binational agreement came at a time of asymmetry in the power relationship between the U.S. and the partner nation (Garner & Kirkby, 2019; Rodrigues, 2018). Furthermore, their findings complicate the idea that the establishment of these programs was a golden era because their partnerships with the United States were somewhat coercive in the sense that they came during a time when they were particularly vulnerable to U.S. influence (Garner & Kirby, 2019; Higgin, 2019; Rodrigues, 2018). Higgin (2019) notes that the program increased exchange with the nations in sub-Saharan Africa to assert soft power following "The Year of Africa," in which seventeen African nations achieved independence. This observation demonstrates one of many examples in which the Fulbright Program was strategically employed to benefit the United States' foreign policy aims. This study contributes to this body of research because it provides a recent snapshot of the program's work beyond its establishment.

Impacts of Short-term Mobility Programs

While international student mobility has been well-documented in the literature, research on short-term exchange programs (as opposed to scholarships for degree-granting programs) has been comparatively limited. Although some Fulbright Programs fund students for a full degree period, most of its sponsored programs are short-term. In their systematic review, Roy et al. (2019) found that out of over 4800 articles published related to mobility, only 75 studies focused on short-term programs such as those focused on service learning, project-based work, cultural immersion programs, and scholarly exchange for one to two semesters. The review focused on participant outcomes— the authors synthesized that short-term

programs are good for building cultural awareness, cultural intelligence, language skills, and a slew of other sociocultural skills. However, this highlights that evaluations of student-focused programs and their impacts on the host community are comparatively limited

The need to critically evaluate short-term mobility programs is supported by the work of scholars such as Hartman et al. (2020), Shahjahan and Kezar (2013), and Moreno (2021). These scholars argue that the current literature on study abroad reinforces methodological nationalism, or the idea that the nation-state is a natural unit of analysis (Shahjahan & Kezar, 2013). For example, Hartman et al. (2020) suggest that scholars should reject the common notion that there is a "typical student" from any given nation-state when researching student mobility programs. Furthermore, Moreno's (2021) systematic review finds that study abroad research often adopts neoliberal and neocolonial ideologies and suggests that student mobility educators should challenge these ideologies by guiding students through the critical self-reflection process.

Theoretical Framework

World-Systems Theory

World-systems theory is an economic dependence theory that theorizes the asymmetric relationships between "core" and "peripheral" nation-states (Wallerstein, 1974). Wallerstein's world-systems theory posits that nations in the core stays within their positions of power through the hoarding of surplus capital. By leaving the periphery in a position in which they will never be able to produce at competitive levels on their own, these nations enter a state of dependency in which their economy is fueled by the export of resources. Altbach (2016) extends world-systems theory to institutions of higher education, arguing that universities in core countries facilitate an unequal distribution of research and knowledge production due to their surplus of resources, in which scholars from peripheral nations are drawn to them rather than staying within their home country. For scholars whose homes are in the periphery, their research productivity is dependent on partnerships with countries in the core. Institutions in the periphery serve in more of a teaching capacity, as the lack of funds inhibits the ability to build out research facilities. Through globalization and the modern emphasis on the knowledge economy, these peripheral institutions subsequently suffer from lower perceptions of academic excellence. Naidoo (2008) describes this as the result of the "erosion of boundaries between higher education and society" (p. 88), in which neoliberal policies have commodified the value of higher education. Thus, despite the focus on teaching at these institutions, the core-periphery relationship is exacerbated by an increasing number of students seeking out undergraduate and graduate degrees abroad as well, jeopardizing the peripheral institution's potential for generating academic capital.

Methods

This study uses data presented in five years of data available in the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board's Annual Reports of the program. The study first examines how student and scholar mobility is distributed across world regions as defined by the US Department of State. It then illustrates the defining themes presented in the written content of the annual reports. To that end, our research questions are as follows:

1. How are Fulbright awards distributed by regions of the world (as defined by the US Department of State)?
2. How does the Fulbright Program represent its values and impacts through the written content of the annual reports from 2013 to 2017?
3. Through a world systems lens, how does the thematic analysis reflect the concentrations of power between world regions?

Data Source and Sampling

For this study, we took a look at five years of Fulbright grant data and the accompanying annual reports published by the program. The annual reports are published at the conclusion of each year's program— the 2013 annual report, for example, was written in response to (and accompanies the grants awarded for) the 2012-2013 academic year. Thus, while grant data might say "2012", for example, that reflects the year it was awarded, and the report titled "2013 Annual Report" corresponds with the same grants. We started with the 2013 annual report and concluded with the 2017 annual report, reflecting grants from 2012 through 2016. This time frame was chosen as it was the most recent data available— at the time of the study, the U.S. Department of State had not published any of the reports from the Trump administration. We acknowledge that these reports have since been published, and a follow-up study analyzing differences between Obama-era and Trump-era reports is warranted. Five years was also reasonable for this scope of the study given the rigorous coding nature associated with thematic analysis, though this study is still couched within a larger project that aims to also evaluate annual reports and grant data published prior to 2013.

The grants data published by the Fulbright program reflects awards for grantees that are visiting the U.S. and U.S. applicants who apply for grants elsewhere. The regions of the world are exclusive of the United States, and are defined by the Fulbright Program as the Western Hemisphere (reflecting Canada, Mexico, Caribbean, and Central and South America), Europe, and Eurasia (the two Eurasian countries being Turkey and Russia), the Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, South and Central Asia (the northernmost country being Kazakhstan and southernmost being Sri Lanka), and East Asia-Pacific (consisting of Eastern Asia, Southeastern Asia, and Oceania). The grant data was separated by those awarded to foreign nationals and those awarded to U.S. citizens. Our data analysis first investigated these separately and then compared them to see if there were differences in the distribution of grants by region (as in, whether the region was the "host", or the "sender").

Mixed Methods Design

This analysis uses a convergent mixed methods approach (Creswell & Creswell, 2018), in which statistical analysis and thematic analysis were conducted simultaneously and the results were merged and compared. We use a side-by-side comparison (Creswell & Creswell, 2018) to compare the results in the discussion section of this paper. The purpose of applying these two methods is to merge and compare the themes presented in the Fulbright Annual Reports with the Fulbright's student mobility data over time.

One-Way Repeated Measures ANOVA

We started with a descriptive statistical analysis of the scholarship data provided with each report, including the distribution of Fulbright grants by region and country. In order to compare the distribution of grants by region between years, we started with a one-way repeated measures ANOVA, followed by another one-way repeated measures ANOVA comparing the distribution of grants by year between regions (Girden, 1992). This was done to answer our first research question, "How are Fulbright awards distributed by regions of the world?". The null hypotheses of these tests are that there would be no significant relationship between regions or years, indicating an equal distribution of grants (Girden, 1992). Because ANOVA is an omnibus test that does not indicate where significance lies, any ANOVA tests that indicated significance were followed by post-hoc pairwise t-tests with a Bonferroni correction to see what the significant relationships were (Maxwell, 1980). This analysis was conducted for both awards given to scholars from other regions to visit America (measuring the flow of scholars into America), and vice versa. All analysis was done in the R programming language.

Our a priori assumption with these tests is that the distribution for the awards would not be equal. There is historical basis to expect that more awards would be given to Europe and the Global North due to the Fulbright program's original purpose in fostering relationships with wartime allies (Garner & Kirkby, 2019; Xu, 2019). However, there is the case to be made that an equity-centered modern approach to the Fulbright program would assign more awards to the Global South in order to smoothen out an uneven global market, though scholars have been skeptical of this possibility (e.g. Naidoo, 2003; Naidoo, 2008). Regardless of the theoretical basis for expectations around the distribution of awards, our statistical tests were used to illuminate if there were any relationships to begin with, followed by examining what those relationships were. In order to account for the possibility that differences in grant distribution would be due to varying degrees of tertiary enrollment in different regions of the world, we also conducted chi-square goodness of fit tests on the distribution of grants to foreign scholars (Cochran, 1952). The expected number of awards in this scenario was calculated from tertiary enrollment numbers by region according to the World Bank, with each region's total tertiary enrollment divided by global tertiary enrollment. We acknowledge the limitations of this formula, as not every country in the World Bank's tertiary education data has an active Fulbright program, nor are each country's Fulbright programs active every year. However, this serves as an adequate approximation for expected awarded grants as the countries with the highest level of tertiary enrollment in each region do generally have active Fulbright programs.

Thematic Analysis

We conducted a thematic analysis, which is a data analysis strategy that allowed the researcher to derive salient themes from the data (Ritchie et al., 2014; Terry & Hayfield, 2021). We used NVivo software to code and organize the written text in the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board's (FFSB) Annual Reports from 2013 to 2017 into salient themes regarding Fulbright's role in cultural transmission and the globalization of higher education. Thematic analysis allowed us to analyze the content that the FFSB chose to emphasize over the course of a five-year period. For the purposes of this analysis, we excluded any visual components of the reports such as graphic design elements or photographs. We followed Terry & Hayfield's (2021) six-phase strategy of thematic analysis: (a) familiarization, (b) coding, (c) initial theme

generation, (d) developing and reviewing themes, (e) defining and naming themes, and (f) writing the report. The creation of the themes was an iterative process in which both researchers read and coded all of the data and came to a consensus on the themes.

Trustworthiness

A critical element of thematic analysis is ensuring that the data and analytic procedures are trustworthy (Nowell et al., 2017). In terms of analytic trustworthiness, our inductive coding process (Ritchie et al., 2014) ensured that our findings were derived from the data and connected to the Fulbright program's own words. Each author took half of the annual reports for the initial code generation, at which point we met to discuss the codes and establish a consistent codebook. We then read the other's half of the reports and continued coding, such that each report had multiple read throughs. The themes were agreed upon in a collaborative manner after codes were condensed into descriptive categories.

We also acknowledge that the data in this study exclusively represents the Fulbright Program's perspective presented in their annual reports rather than using data triangulation to represent a fuller picture. Independent reviews of the Fulbright program are scant in the literature, and the desire to tackle that was the genesis of this study. Our inclusion of a quantitative evaluation of award data is the first check on the trustworthiness of the qualitative data— to see if the distribution of awards was consistent with the message of the texts.

Positionality Statement

Marisa Lally is a former Fulbright English Teaching Assistant in Colombia. Her interest in studying the Fulbright Program stems from her experience as a Fulbright grantee, especially during Fulbright-sponsored training and seminars. Shadman Islem's interest in researching the Fulbright Program is based on an interest in federal policy analysis. We acknowledge that we are affiliated with an institution that receives multiple Fulbright grantees per year and that these scholars embark on this endeavor to make meaningful contributions to our institution and to their home communities. To mitigate bias, the two researchers iteratively analyzed the data and came to a consensus on all analytical decisions in the qualitative portion of the study.

Results

The following section outlines a side-by-side presentation of our mixed-methods results; first, we present the results of the chi-square and one-way ANOVA statistical tests. Then, we describe the findings of the thematic analyses.

Statistical Results

Our chi-square tests found that actual awards varied significantly from expected awards according to tertiary enrollment across all years. Knowing that award totals were not tied to tertiary enrollment, in order to investigate further we conducted a one-way repeated measures ANOVA with an alpha value of .05, for both scholars originating from foreign regions and visiting the US, as well as for US citizens visiting foreign regions. Our analysis of foreign scholars visiting America found a significant difference between regions, $F(5, 20) = 151.535$ and $p < 0.001$. This test indicates that awards are not equally distributed across regions. The post-hoc tests, used to compare regional variations in award numbers, found a significant difference between 10 of the 15 pairs (see Table 1). In order to understand the practical significance of these results, we will group regions largely across Global North and Global South lines. Europe, Eastern Asia, and the Western Hemisphere comprise Group 1. Group 2 is the Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, and South and Central Asia. All Group 1 regions were statistically significant from Group 2 regions at a level of at least $p<0.05$, indicating that the distribution of awards is not equal between Global North and Global South countries. Further, there was no statistical significance between Group 2 regions, indicating that awards are distributed equally throughout the Global South.

Our analysis of U.S. students and scholars visiting other regions also found statistical significance, $F(5, 20) = 787.17$, $p < 0.001$. Post-hoc tests found statistical significance between every region of the world except between South and Central Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa (see Table 2). Given the means of each group (Tables 3 and 4), this shows that U.S. are consistently given more awards to Group 1 regions compared to Group 2 regions, with Europe once again accounting for the highest number of awards.

Table 1

Post-Hoc Pairwise t-tests, Effect of Region on Fulbright Award Allocation (Foreign Scholars Visiting United States)

Region 1	Region 2	t-statistic	*df*	*p*	Adjusted *p*	Adjusted *p* significance
East Asia-Pacific	Europe-Eurasia	-12.24	4	< 0.00	< 0.00	**
East Asia-Pacific	Middle East and North Africa	9.70	4	< 0.00	0.01	**
East Asia-Pacific	South and Central Asia	8.06	4	< 0.00	0.02	*
East Asia-Pacific	Sub-Saharan Africa	16.24	4	< 0.00	< 0.00	**
East Asia-Pacific	Western Hemisphere	-3.61	4	0.02	0.34	ns
Europe-Eurasia	Middle East and North Africa	35.28	4	< 0.00	< 0.00	****
Europe-Eurasia	South and Central Asia	14.30	4	< 0.00	< 0.00	**
Europe-Eurasia	Sub-Saharan Africa	108.57	4	< 0.00	< 0.00	****
Europe-Eurasia	Western Hemisphere	4.65	4	0.01	0.14	ns
Middle East and North Africa	South and Central Asia	-3.81	4	0.02	0.28	ns
Middle East and North Africa	Sub-Saharan Africa	4.18	4	0.01	0.21	ns
Middle East and North Africa	Western Hemisphere	-9.14	4	< 0.00	0.01	*
South and Central Asia	Sub-Saharan Africa	6.94	4	< 0.00	0.03	*
South and Central Asia	Western Hemisphere	-8.48	4	< 0.00	0.02	*
Sub-Saharan Africa	Western Hemisphere	-15.25	4	0.00	< 0.00	**

Note. * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001, **** p<.0001, ns p>.05

Given that there is a difference in awards between regions, it is also important to determine whether there is a difference in awards between years. Our repeated-measures ANOVA between years found no statistical significance for both scholars visiting the United States ($F(4, 20) = .663$, $p = 0.625$) and US students and scholars visiting other regions ($F(1.56, 7.82) = 1.228$, $p = 0.33$). This indicates that the distribution of awards between regions (in both directions) is consistent on a year-to-year basis. As the distribution of awards does not change between the Global North and Global South , and the total number of awards does not significantly change between years, this brings into question Fulbright's claim that awards are based solely on merit to those across the globe. Investigating the possibility that awards are distributed according to tertiary enrollment in the different regions of the world, we conducted chi-square goodness of fits tests on each year's incoming scholar (visiting United States) data. Each chi-square test was found statistically significant, with p-values near zero—indicating that the observed frequency of awards did not meet the expected frequency of awards, if awards were to be determined by the proportion of global tertiary enrollment. Thus, we conclude that the mechanism (or formula) by which the Fulbright program awards grants to scholars is not done equally across the world's regions. Regardless, there is certainly a stronger relationship between America and Europe as shown by the data, followed by Eastern Asia and the Western Hemisphere. South and Central Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa receive less of an opportunity to participate in the Fulbright program, both from the perspective of sending scholars to the United States and from having U.S. scholars visit these regions.

Table 2

Post-Hoc Pairwise t-tests, Effect of Region on Fulbright Award Allocation (Foreign Scholars Visiting United States)

Region 1	Region 2	t- statistic	*df*	*p*	Adjusted *p*	Adjusted *p* significance
East Asia-Pacific	Europe-Eurasia	-12.24	4	< 0.00	< 0.00	**
East Asia-Pacific	Middle East and North Africa	9.70	4	< 0.00	0.01	**
East Asia-Pacific	South and Central Asia	8.06	4	< 0.00	0.02	*
East Asia-Pacific	Sub-Saharan Africa	16.24	4	< 0.00	< 0.00	**
East Asia-Pacific	Western Hemisphere	-3.61	4	0.02	0.34	ns
Europe-Eurasia	Middle East and North Africa	35.28	4	< 0.00	< 0.00	****
Europe-Eurasia	South and Central Asia	14.30	4	< 0.00	< 0.00	**
Europe-Eurasia	Sub-Saharan Africa	108.57	4	< 0.00	< 0.00	****
Europe-Eurasia	Western Hemisphere	4.65	4	0.01	0.14	ns
Middle East and North Africa	South and Central Asia	-3.81	4	0.02	0.28	ns
Middle East and North Africa	Sub-Saharan Africa	4.18	4	0.01	0.21	ns
Middle East and North Africa	Western Hemisphere	-9.14	4	< 0.00	0.01	*
South and Central Asia	Sub-Saharan Africa	6.94	4	< 0.00	0.03	*
South and Central Asia	Western Hemisphere	-8.48	4	< 0.00	0.02	*
Sub-Saharan Africa	Western Hemisphere	-15.25	4	< 0.00	< 0.00	**

Note. * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001, **** p<.0001, ns p>.05

Table 3

Average Awards By Region (Foreign Scholars Visiting United States)

Region	Mean # of Awards	Standard Deviation
East Asia-Pacific	829.20	39.83
Europe-Eurasia	1,206.60	42.94
Middle East and North Africa	377.60	81.00
South and Central Asia	573.00	80.76
Sub-Saharan Africa	279.20	43.74
Western Hemisphere	976.40	75.75
East Asia-Pacific	829.20	39.83
Europe-Eurasia	1,206.60	42.94
Middle East and North Africa	377.60	81.00

Table 4

Average Awards By Region (US grantees visiting other regions)

Region	Mean # of Awards	Standard Deviation
East Asia-Pacific	734.00	30.57
Europe-Eurasia	1,302.40	34.90
Middle East and North Africa	126.20	8.32
South and Central Asia	260.40	15.79
Sub-Saharan Africa	198.40	16.98
Western Hemisphere	544.20	70.86

Thematic Analysis Findings

The following section outlines the findings from the thematic analysis of the written content of the five Fulbright Program Annual Reports (2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, and 2017). As expressed in Table 5, the analysis yielded seven themes, one of which had two sub-themes. Each theme represents an idea that was commonly present across all five of the annual reports.

Table 5
Thematic Analysis of Fulbright Annual Reports 2013-2017

Theme	Definition	Example
Human rights, peace, and security	References to the Fulbright program as a vehicle for peace as opposed to militarization, and the establishment of human rights in partner regions	"In this anniversary issue of the annual report, we honor 70 years of the Fulbright Program's remarkable impact on fueling economic prosperity, generating scientific innovation and entrepreneurship, driving diversity and inclusion in international exchange, and building a safer, more peaceful, and equitable world" (Fulbright, 2015, p. 5).
Access, diversity, and opportunity	References to the Fulbright program's efforts to improve access to education for underserved communities, and provide opportunities to scholars from diverse backgrounds	"To promote diversity among the 2016 cohort of Mexican Graduate Student Grantees and conscious of the challenge that many excellent Mexican students face regarding English language proficiency, the United States-Mexico Commission for Educational and Cultural Exchange (COMEXUS) organized several STEM-focused summer research programs at various U.S. universities for underprivileged Mexican undergraduate students with the aim to attract future applicants to the Fulbright Program" (Fulbright, 2014, p. 8)
Collaboration and partnership	References to bilateral initiatives and programs in regions that were facilitated by Fulbright grantees	"After 71 years, Fulbright represents and reaffirms America's long-term, commitment with other sovereign nations. Historically, America has built its strength not only on wealth and military power, but also on keeping its word and respecting the rule of law. This helps deepen our relationships around the world" (Fulbright, 2017, p. 2)
Mutual financial investment	References to Fulbright as a cost-effective program that leverages eager contributions from partner nations	"Tangible proof that the Fulbright brand is an internationally recognized vehicle to achieve this goal are the direct financial contributions, tuition waivers and other forms of financial and in-kind support made by partner governments, academic institutions and other private and public organizations in the United States and abroad that leverage the U.S. government's annual investment in the Fulbright Program" (Fulbright, 2013, p. 6).
Excellence as a result of Fulbright	References to the accomplishments and accolades received by Fulbright grantees, framed as a result of their participation in the program	"Among the ranks of Fulbright alumni are 54 Nobel Prize recipients, 29 MacArthur Foundation Fellows, 82 Pulitzer Prize winners, and 33 current or former heads of state or government" (Fulbright, 2015, p. 3).
Program Impact	References to the establishment of long-lasting effects within communities as a result of the program	"Today, the Fulbright Program stands as a testament to the power of a good idea. Through partnerships with 180 countries around the globe, Fulbright has launched a network of over 370,000 distinguished alumni who have profoundly enhanced our mutual prosperity, security, understanding, and opportunities as people" (Fulbright, 2016, p. 3).

Solving global problems	References to the role of Fulbright in helping scholars perform research in globally significant markets such as science, technology, and healthcare	"Professor Cecilia Bitz (2013 Fulbright U.S. Scholar to New Zealand) researched sea ice physics and mechanisms for Antarctic sea ice expansion at the University of Otago. Here she holds a sea ice core extracted from the snow-covered sea ice that she is standing on. Mt Erebus is directly behind the core" (Fulbright, 2014, p. 28).
	References to the role of Fulbright in establishing programs within communities that address day-to-day issues of poverty, public health, and sustainability	"As a part of his project, Dr. Joshua Apte (2009 Fulbright-Nehru U.S. Student to India) traveled around New Delhi in an auto rickshaw with pollution monitors and a laptop to measure the pollution levels of the city. According to his research, average pollution levels were 50 percent to eight times higher on the road than those found in urban background readings." (Fulbright, 2014, p. 30).

Human Rights, Peace, and Security

"Human rights, peace, and security" was coded 55 times and made up 12.7% of the total coded passages. We defined this theme as when statements in the written text in the annual report referred to the Fulbright Program as a vehicle for peace as opposed to militarization, and to the establishment of human rights efforts in partner nations. Throughout the reports, quotes from Senator Fulbright appeared that described education as critical to peacebuilding efforts and in maintaining a "rational and civilized world order" (Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board (Fulbright), 2015, p. 74). In the 2017 report, he is quoted as saying that the program "increase[s] the chance that nations will learn as last to live in peace and friendship" (Fulbright, 2017, p. 20). These values were also reflected in the messages from the chair and throughout the reports' celebrations of grantee accomplishments.

For example, the 2016 report featured a story from a U.S. Army veteran who said, "After having it broken by war, Fulbright did nothing short of rekindle my faith in the world" (Fulbright, 2016, p. 15). The same report described U.S. Fulbright recipients' relationships in countries around the world as having "profound implications for U.S. national security and economic prosperity" (Fulbright, 2016, p. 4). As an example of how The Fulbright Program places itself in opposition to militarization, Secretary of Defense James Mattis is quoted in the 2017 report, stating "If you don't fully fund the State Department, then I need to buy more ammunition" (p. 2) and then describing how binational Fulbright agreements "have helped normalize relations with former adversaries" (p. 2) in a way that is less costly than conflict. These examples demonstrate how the Fulbright Program describes itself in its annual reports as having significant impacts on human rights, peace, and security in a way that opposes militarization.

Access, Diversity, and Opportunity

"Access, diversity, and opportunity" was coded 46 times and made up 10.6% of the total coded passages. We defined this theme as references to the Fulbright Program's efforts to improve access to education for underserved communities and provide opportunities to scholars from diverse backgrounds. The 2015 annual report touted the program's orientation to improving diversity in the following statement: "In support of the premise that international education is for everyone, Fulbright outreach and recruitment efforts seek to reach underserved communities, including minority-serving institutions, community colleges, and people with disabilities, to ensure that all applicants have equal access to this merit-based program" (p. 9). The reports also often highlighted the work of specific country programs as well as scholar-led initiatives to increase access, diversity, and opportunity in certain communities.

For example, the 2015 report described a Fulbright seminar that aimed to "explore and celebrate disability inclusion" and invited key figures in the disability rights movement to engage with Fulbright grantees. The same report also described a collaboration between Mexico and the US to provide summer research programs at US research institutions for underprivileged Mexican undergraduate students that would also serve as a recruiting strategy for future Fulbright applicants (Fulbright, 2015).

The 2013 report describes the European region as a "model for promoting diversity" (p. 10) and that Fulbright English Teaching Assistants in the Europe region are "most often are placed outside capital cities to reach underserved and diverse populations who may have had few opportunities to interact with Americans" (p. 10) The reports also highlighted recipients' engagement with community organizations, such as a scholar from Myanmar's service experience post-Hurricane Irma in Tampa, Florida and U.S. scholars' tutoring work with North Korean defectors (Fulbright, 2015). These examples illustrate the Fulbright Program's description of a commitment to improving access, diversity, and inclusion both within the program and in communities around the world.

Collaboration and Partnership

"Collaboration and partnership" was coded 94 times and made up 21.7% of the total coded passages. This theme describes references in the Fulbright annual reports to bilateral initiatives and programs in regions that were facilitated by Fulbright grantees. The annual reports include discussions of collaboration and partnerships in all of the world regions of partnership/ For example, the 2013 report states that the program's growth in the East Asia-Pacific region "increased investment and commitment from partner governments in EAP to support Fulbright exchanges in order to develop a prosperous, globalized and secure East-Asia Pacific region" (p. 9) and that "establishing a peaceful and secure South and Central Asia region is a strategic priority for governments in the region as well as for the United States" (p. 12). The reports also provide specific examples of partnerships between nations, whether it is through research collaborations, seminars, or person-to-person partnerships.

The annual reports often described collaboration and partnership as the primary purpose of the program. For example, they assert foreign governments' position toward the program: "Many governments view the Fulbright Program as a long-standing, mutual partnership with the United States" (Fulbright, 2014, p. 11). They also illustrate the role that individual grantees have in partnership and collaboration, arguing that their participation in the program has lifelong impacts: "Upon returning to their home countries, institutions, and classrooms, Fulbright grantees share their knowledge and experiences and often engage in follow-on projects or continue the work they started abroad, creating a multiplier effect and leading to lifelong collaborations" (Fulbright, 2015, p. 4). These examples demonstrate the Fulbright Program's commitment to demonstrating the program's purpose as mutually beneficial to nations around the world.

Mutual Financial Investment

"Mutual financial investment" was coded 28 times and made up 6.4% of the total coded passages. We define this theme as references in the Fulbright annual reports to Fulbright as a cost-effective program that leverages eager contributions from partner nations. For example, in the 2016 report, the Chair of the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board Dr. Trombley writes, "Fulbright is a highly leveraged program, with every $2 in U.S. government spending matched by over $1 in foreign government and private sector support. More than 100 governments provide cost share totaling more than $100 million, and more than 30 governments provide funding that equals or exceeds funding from the U.S. government" (Fulbright, 2016, p. 4).

The annual reports often mention the cost-effectiveness of the program given its returns, including a quote from Senator Fulbright stating that the cost of a modern submarine would fund the Fulbright Program for ten years. The claim for cost-effectiveness is also often paired with the demonstration of partner nations' contributions to the program: "Foreign governments and private organizations are contributing to the program more than ever before, with over a third of the program's funds supplied by partner governments or private organizations" (Fulbright, 2014, p. 11).

The reports highlight the contributions of the program as a way to demonstrate how low-cost the program is to the U.S. government, even as a possible detriment to US foreign relations: "The bilateral spirit of the Fulbright program comes under pressure when longstanding partners contribute twice, three times - even as much as seven times - what the U.S. contributes. The Board foresees this as a foreign policy challenge that will need considerable thought and attention" (Fulbright, 2014, p. 12). These examples illustrate the Fulbright Program's commitment to communicating that the program is a low-cost option for maintaining positive foreign relations with other nations.

Excellence as a Result of Fulbright

"Excellence as a result of Fulbright" was coded 48 times and made up 10.7% of the total coded passages. We define this theme as references to the accomplishments and accolades received by Fulbright grantees, framed as a result of their participation in the program. All of the annual reports herald the number of Nobel Prizes, Pulitzer Prizes, US Presidential Medals of Freedom, and heads of state. Alongside the invocation of these accolades, the reports also invoke the Fulbright Program's prestige, writing that it has "developed into one of the world's largest, best known, and most prestigious educational exchange programs, and has been widely hailed as one of the most far-reaching achievements of Congress" (Fulbright, 2014, p 14). In some cases, the reports explicitly claim that the Fulbright Program has an influence on the later achievements of Fulbright scholars: "Fulbright alumni reach new heights and achieve recognition every year. We believe the Fulbright Program had a part in their successes" (Fulbright, 2016, p. 24). Much of the annual reports' written content is dedicated to highlighting grantees' elite accomplishments post-grant period.

Program Impact

"Program Impact" was coded 75 times and made up 17.2% of the total coded passages. We coded instances in which the annual reports described long-lasting widespread effects of the Fulbright Program in both general and specific terms. Generally, the annual reports describe a large number of alumni throughout the world, general peacekeeping benefits, and economic prosperity. For example, the 2015 report states that the program "stands as a testament to the power of a good idea. Through partnerships with 180 countries around the globe, Fulbright has launched a network of over 370,000 distinguished alumni who have profoundly enhanced our mutual prosperity, security, understanding, and opportunities as people" (Fulbright, 2016, p. 5).

The reports also highlight the program's positive impact on U.S. national interests, always juxtaposed with the global: "The Program addresses national and global priorities… Fulbright grantees make substantive positive contributions to humanity as they address critical 21st-century priorities while building relationships, knowledge, and leadership in support of the long-term interests of the United States and the world" (Fulbright, 2015, p. 9).

Solving Global Problems

"Solving Global Problems" was coded 92 times and made up 20.7% of the total coded passages. Generally speaking, these were instances in which the Fulbright program made direct reference to tackling a "global" issue, indicating that the project or scholarly visit would either have an impact beyond the region in which it was occurring or that the issue was prevalent in multiple regions of the world. "Global problems", in this sense, are topics that are of concern to multiple countries, regions, or parties, rather than topics isolated to just one area. In the words of the Fulbright program, Fulbright "consistently attracts some of the greatest minds and talents in the world to address the challenges that affect humanity" (Fulbright, 2014, p. 12), and we sought to understand what these challenges were. While analyzing the passages that were coded under "Solving Global Problems," we found that there were two major sub-themes that make up the theme at large. These subthemes are "Breakthroughs in Science, Technology, and Healthcare" and "Infrastructure Developments in Communities."

Breakthroughs in Science, Technology in Healthcare. Passages within this sub-theme reflect references to the role of the Fulbright Program in helping scholars perform research in globally significant markets such as science, technology, and healthcare. The program places great importance on helping researchers achieve their scholarly goals, and devoted a significant number of vignettes to the scientific breakthroughs that scholars made while on a Fulbright grant. For example, the 2015 report highlighted a U.S. scholar visiting Switzerland in order to research "optical nanolithography in order to construct three-dimensional tissue-engineering scaffolds", explaining that this could be used to grow healthy brain cells for persons with Alzheimer's disease (Fulbright, 2015, p. 40). This scholar's research was framed as globally significant as Alzheimer's is a disease that occurs throughout the world, though the research was occurring at a European university by

an U.S. scholar. This can be similarly seen in another example from the 2015 report, in which a scholar from Canada was highlighted for their work on angina (Fulbright, 2015, p. 35).

Other breakthroughs from the same report that were highlighted include the development of an invisibility cloak and the invention of a transparent, stronger version of wood (Fulbright, 2015, p. 3), signifying that the Fulbright Program values scholarly achievements in academic contexts, relying on their potential for global usage even when it is not explicitly stated they will be deployed on such a scale. It should be noted that the majority of these references took place in a European or Eastern Asian context, or otherwise involved a foreign scholar visiting America, rather than occurring in regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa or the Middle East.

Infrastructure Developments in Communities. In contrast to the university-centered and laboratory-focused setting of the previous sub-theme, "Infrastructure Developments in Communities" reflect instances in which Fulbright grantees developed a project or solution designed to tackle a global issue located within their host community. These references mostly addressed day-to-day issues of poverty, public health, and sustainability, and were overwhelmingly located in the Global South. The Fulbright program views these projects as significant indicators of the "Fulbright effect"—the ability of Fulbrighters to benefit the public good and enact change within communities and solve problems that communities are unable to address on their own.

Examples of such projects include the development of an app to call for emergency medical services in Bangladesh (Fulbright, 2015, p. 41), the construction of HIV Counseling and Treatment centers in South Africa (Fulbright, 2013, p. 27), and the distribution of solar lanterns and water filters in areas of rural India that did not have reliable access to electricity or clean water (Fulbright, 2014, p. 18). It should be noted that while these examples were in reference to U.S.s visiting foreign regions, there were also examples of Fulbright grantees coming to America to learn how to tackle issues in their home community, such as the story of an Indian professor learning techniques during his visit to Arizona State University to help market the wastewater and sanitation management devices that he had invented (Fulbright, 2013, p. 38).

Discussion and Implications

Our findings suggest that the Fulbright program engages global communities across a wide variety of contexts. There is a collaborative relationship, on both the program level (between governments) and the individual level (between grantees and the communities they visit, both in the U.S. and globally). Scholars have worked to build peace-centered relationships, provided scientific and technological services to solve issues related to public health, sustainability, and infrastructure, taught in underserved communities, and generally seek to contribute to the global common good. Fulbrighters themselves feel empowered by their experiences and reflect on their time in the program as transformative for their lives as well as for the lives of others.

On the systemic level, there is an imbalance of grants awarded between regions and the differences in program scope across countries, which is consistent with a priori assumptions. These findings demonstrate how power structures between the Global North and Global South are potentially replicated through the Fulbright program. For example, in accordance with the theme of Human Rights, Peace, and Security, there were strong narratives of Fulbright scholars in Europe working with migrant and refugee communities to provide goods and services. It was also notable that the vignettes capturing "Breakthroughs in Science, Technology in Healthcare" were much more prevalent among scholars in the U.S., European, and East Asia-Pacific regions. As discussed in Altbach (2016), this reflects the fact that premier research universities with the facilities to conduct academic research are concentrated in the Global North. It would make natural sense that these are the regions in which scholars would go for their research endeavors.

However, as argued in Naidoo (2008), continuing to focus policy efforts regarding massification and the expansion of access to higher education in these regions only serves to widen the gap between core and periphery nations. Therefore, the findings comport with a priori assumptions. The Fulbright program fits within this power dynamic by focusing on research projects in these areas, and by sending Global South scholars to America. It would be more equitable on a global scale if the grants related to scientific research at universities and laboratories were instead redirected to Global South regions, in an effort to build their research capacity. In contrast, the grants related to "Solving Global Issues" in terms of science and technology for regions in the Global South were more focused on hands-on projects related to public health,

infrastructure, and sustainability. While these projects most likely had positive effects in the short term in these areas, we argue that there needs to be a long-term evaluation of these efforts— not only by other scholars but preferably by the Fulbright program itself. Core-periphery relationships and the gap in capital between regions will not be solved if these projects and initiatives diminish once the scholar finishes the terms of their Fulbright grant.

Moreover, the sentiment that there is a mutual financial investment between countries deserves a closer look. The Fulbright program boasts that this is a low-cost effort from the U.S. government, with supporting examples highlighting that over 30 governments provide funding equal to or more than what the U.S. contributes (Fulbright, 2016) and that some countries contribute double, triple, or even seven times as much as the U.S. (Fulbright, 2014). It is also reinforced that scholars from foreign nations must visit U.S. universities in order to learn what is best for success, and the norms and pedagogical standards of U.S. education are imparted by U.S. scholars visiting other countries. While the scope of this project did not investigate each country's financial contributions to the Fulbright program, further research should delve further into this aspect. This project illuminated a number of further research questions— is it the European and other Global North countries that are contributing the lion's share of foreign financial investment into the program? And if so, is that why the majority of awards are awarded between Global North nations? What is the mechanism or funding formula in which America awards Fulbright grants? If this is a situation in which more contributions simply result in more grants, then it is another example of inequitable distribution of power and opportunity between countries in a supposedly united endeavor to solve global issues.

From a world-systems perspective, the analyses offer several implications for research and practice. The thematic analysis shows that the Fulbright Program has demonstrated a commitment over a five-year period to concentrating resources with some world regions (Europe and East Asia & Pacific) far more than others (Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Western Hemisphere, and South and Central Asia) for financial and foreign policy reasons. When applying world systems theory, there are differences in engagement with these world regions, both through the concentration of resources (i.e. the flow of grant funds through the student and scholar mobility data) and the types of activities that are represented in the reports. Further research can consider the financial data that are provided in the annual reports, which include contributions from foreign governments, international organizations, and private donors. This analysis would contribute to our current understanding of how power is created and distributed through the program through the material impacts of money. A critical discourse analysis that expands beyond the thematic approach in this study could provide additional historical context and could consider the full catalog of annual reports that begin in 1976.

Conclusion

The Fulbright Program has endured over seventy-five years of major change in global higher education as one of the world's premier educational exchange programs. However, little research has explored the program's enduring power, nor investigated its impacts in communities around the world. This study aims to offer an exploration of how power is distributed through student and scholar mobility and how the Fulbright Program represents itself thematically in its annual reports. As a program whose scholars live, work and study in university communities throughout the world, these questions will continue to be important in discussions of educational exchange.

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Encapsulating holistic intercultural competence development in higher education: A literature review on assessments and competencies

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Abstract

Intercultural competence (IC) has been shown to be a critical asset for university graduates to appropriately and effectively perform in work- related settings that have become increasingly more diverse and intercultural. Therefore, it is fundamental to understand what constitutes effective IC development in higher education (HE). Within IC development, a more holistic understanding of IC assessment is needed. Thus, it is essential to comprehend how IC assessments work effectively, and their role in IC development. By reviewing empirical studies on IC development between 2000 and 2022, the particularities of IC assessments concerning administration, methods, and assessed competencies have been examined. Based on 31 papers, this literature review reveals the inconsistency of IC assessments in HE and proposes a holistic approach to IC assessments to bring more clarity to research and practice.

Keywords: assessment, competencies, higher education, intercultural competence, literature review

Introduction

Intercultural Competence is a vital competence for actors in culturally diverse spaces and has frequently been introduced in guiding principles for higher education institutions (HEI) that aim at more internationalization in learning (Castiello-Gutiérrez, 2020) to produce employable graduates (Zhang & Zhou, 2019). Globalization has caused cultural and political changes and is therefore a driver of interculturality (Griffith et al., 2016). Interculturality, referring to the formation of relationships among different social and ethnic groups by exchange and exposure (Medina-López-Portillo & Sinnigen, 2009), results in more culturally diverse work environments and behaviors (Lamberton & Ashton-Hay, 2015). People who respond well to those culturally diverse spaces and the respective diverse individuals are said to be equipped with IC (Jackson, 2015; Velten & Dodd, 2016). Developing IC, among other further competences, is necessary to respond to these

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diverse populations and working behaviors (Deardorff, 2009; Knight, 2011; Lokkesmoe et al., 2016; Stier, 2006).

Various concepts such as *cross-cultural competence*, *global competence*, and *global citizenship* have been interchangeably used with IC. IC is also referred to as Intercultural Communication Competence (ICC; Deardorff, 2006). However, these concepts differ slightly (Deardorff, 2006). Deardorff's definition of IC is of value, as it is commonly accepted in higher education (HE) contexts (Barrett, 2012; Busse & Krause, 2016; Di Mauro & Bolzani, 2020; Prieto-Flores et al., 2016). Deardorff (2004) defined IC as the "ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations based on one's intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (p. 247). Generally, the common ground of the various definitions of these terms includes multi-dimensional constructions and interactions with people from different cultures. IC is predominantly discussed and applied in the context of national cultures. This understanding is implicitly reflected in the term *intercultural*. The various definitions and models display the heterogeneous understandings of IC (Cushner, 2015). Among the critics, certain voices have emphasized the advantages of Deardorff's process model on IC in HE (Kampermann et al., 2021; Matveev, 2016; Tennekoon & Lanka, 2015).

In the context of HE, IC research highlights IC development in study abroad programs (Heinzmann et al., 2015; Bell, 2016; Williams, 2005; Behrnd & Porzelt, 2012), language learning (Moeller & Nugent, 2014; Hsu, 2022), seminars (Erez et al., 2013; Machado et al., 2016), virtual (Jon, 2013; Huang, 2023) and multicultural groups (Daly et al., 2015; Krajewski, 2011) contexts.

Literature has presented IC as an increasingly important requirement for participating in prospective organizations and their diverse workplaces (Spitzberg & Chagnon, 2009; Jon, 2013). However, this same literature provides multiple perspectives on definitions, interventions, and assessments that fail to present a coherent picture of effective IC development in HE. Consequently, despite the growing number of studies, this research stream lacks a consistent body of literature. Zhang and Zhou (2019) offer an overview of IC interventions concerning four educational approaches. However, researchers and practitioners must understand what constitutes an effective assessment to implement and assess IC in HE. "Questions around ICC development naturally lead to how to measure ICC and what evidence points to successful ICC development" (Deardorff, 2015a, p. 4). At this point, a more definite foundation is needed for research to cultivate a coherent understanding.

This literature review aims at bringing clarity to this issue. With the goal of filling the research gap addressed by Deardorff (2015a), "(w)hat are effective ways and methods to measure individuals' intercultural competence development more holistically?" (p. 4), this paper systematically reviews the current approaches to assessing IC in the context of HE and what IC competencies are being assessed through the different approaches of IC assessment published between 2000 and 2022. Although there is an extensive body of literature on this and related themes, the addressed research gap (Deardorff, 2015a) has not yet been filled.

As such, our study will contribute to the existing body of literature in three ways. First, we identify the varied approaches in IC assessment methods in HE by reviewing and discussing a specific sample of empirical studies. In the next step, we discuss the competencies assessed using the various IC assessment methods to explain which competencies are made transparent. Second, we critically examine the IC assessments concerning their administration, methods, and competencies. During this process, we focus on the principal aspects necessary for effective and holistic IC assessment in HE. Finally, we propose practical implications based on theoretical discussion that would allow research to advance toward a more holistic IC understanding. Such research facilitates a better understanding of IC development and the adoption of IC development in HE.

To do so, the paper first discusses the IC process model designed by Deardorff (2006). After providing this perspective, we describe the literature review process and code for IC assessment administration factors, methods as well as the IC dimensions according to Deardorff's model to categorize and analyze the assessed results. In the discussion, we give clear arguments based on our analyses on moving forward with a more holistic understanding of IC assessments in IC development.

Theoretical Framework

In this paper, to organize the systematic literature review findings, we use the process model on Intercultural Competence Development by Deardorff (2006). It represents a commonly used framework for the HE contexts. Despite being developed in the early 2000s, it is a foundational model that is still highly regarded and valid (Gopal, 2011; de Hei et al., 2019) for various reasons. The process model is based on the IC definition of Deardorff (2004), which has not changed since its first discussion. Therefore, it can be stated that the model is still applicable despite its emergence in the early 2000s. Besides, the model examines various levels of IC by highlighting four dimensions of IC development (compare Figure 1). In this vein, Kampermann et al. (2021) stated that "[t]he model moves from the individual level of attitudes/personal attributes to the interactive cultural level with regard to the outcomes" (p. 17). Furthermore, the internal dimension specifically has been addressed as a decisive factor in developing IC (Matveev, 2016). Deardorff stated, "[t]he attainment of ICC is a lifelong developmental process which means there is no point at which one becomes fully interculturally competent" (Deardorff, 2016, p. 121). Diverse experiences and the processing of experiences over time have shown IC development to be cyclical rather than linear (Moeller & Nugent, 2014; Tennekoon & Lanka, 2015). Compared with other IC models, this process model offers insights into relational and social aspects, as interactions with others are fundamental for fostering IC development (Schmidmeier et al., 2020). By focusing on the cyclical learning process and the outcome-oriented development of IC it helps build the argument for "effective and appropriate" (Deardorff, 2004, p. 247) communication across cultures.

Figure 1. Process model on Intercultural Competence Development, (Deardorff, 2006)

Deardorff's process model on IC is composed of four key dimensions. The starting point of IC learning is its first dimension: attitudes. This dimension defines an individual's characteristics and internal attitudes that are key to beginning IC development. For instance, an individual's openness toward other cultures and cultural diversity are fundamental for engaging in this developmental process (Deardorff, 2006). On the individual level, culture-specific knowledge and comprehension are developed to understand the functions of cultural competencies and strategies. This knowledge and comprehension dimension targets the cultures of the individual (part of cultural self-awareness) and others - consequently, skills like observing, listening, and analyzing mirror cultural comprehension in this dimension.

The next dimension includes the internal outcomes mainly concerned with developing intercultural traits. For instance, individuals develop ethno-relative views, empathy, cognitive flexibility, and adaptability. Reflectiveness is a key component in this dimension, as individuals should be able to change and apply various perspectives flexibly on intercultural issues and encounters. In the dimension of external outcomes, individuals demonstrate their ability to transfer their international processes into visible performances and encounters. Therefore, the individual's performance and communication are adjusted in intercultural encounters, and the respective goals are mutually met (Deardorff, 2006).

Methodology

For systematically gathering and reviewing literature, this research employed the literature search process and the systematic literature review (SLR) created by Denyer and Tranfield (2009). This study excluded potential selection biases by applying a structured, pre-defined approach for selecting literature. For the basis of this review, the database Scopus was used for retrieving high-quality, peer-reviewed articles. In a cross-disciplinary comparison, Scopus offers more peer review results than Web of Science (Harzing & Alakangas, 2016). We focused on publications from 2000 to August 2022, and the publication language had to be English. Furthermore, we narrowed our research to journal articles, books, and book chapters, excluding conference and working papers.

Although several terms for intercultural competence are used within publications, upon initial review, we decided to focus on the following terms and concepts for the selection criteria in *Abstract, Title and Keywords*:

Table 1: Selection Criteria of Literature Review Process

"Cultural Intelligence" AND		N = 638	
"Intercultural Competence" AND		N = 606	
"Cross-Cultural Competence" AND	Foster* Develop*	N = 162	Total: 1409
"Multi-Cultural Competence" AND	Assess* Measure*	N = 3	

We exported the references to EndNote 9.0 and deleted duplicates arriving at the final number of 1229 sources. We identified 78 sources by creating a smart group following the limitations and using Boolean operators for abstracts.

Table 2: Boolean Operators for Literature Review Process in Endnote 9.0

	Abstract	Contains	Students
AND	Abstract	Contains	Higher education
OR	Abstract	Contains	University
AND	Abstract	Contains	Empirical
OR	Abstract	Contains	Experiential

Papers were eligible for review if they contained empirical research data within HE. The studies were required to involve students' IC development. Therefore, we had to exclude research that took teachers, practitioners, or expatriates as sample groups. By thoroughly examining these identified articles' abstracts, we rejected all articles that did not include empirical research, primary data, IC assessments, or developments in curricular activities, leaving a total number of N = 48 articles. Additionally, we excluded publications that were not sufficiently focused on empirical research and IC assessment. These studies instead validated scales, introduced meta-analyses, or discussed IC on a theoretical level. The final number of publications was 31.

The content of the literature was managed by using an Excel spreadsheet to summarize the key characteristics of the studies. The papers were coded for the following factors with regard to the assessment administration: formative (several assessment points throughout the intervention, Deardorff, 2015b) or summative (one assessment in an intervention, usually at the end of an intervention, Deardorff, 2015b), direct (actually observable behavior and samples of work, Deardorff, 2015b) and indirect evaluation (transported assessment through self-assessments or interviews by i.e., instructors, Deardorff, 2015b), punctual or systemic-processual assessments (either focusing on the analysis and assessment of sub-dimensions or assessing and analyzing the data as a whole unit, Bolten, 2007) and lastly the perspective of the assessment, which is three-fold in self-reported, informant-based or performance-based (Leung et al., 2014). Additionally, the data was coded for the assessed competencies categorized after the four dimensions according to Deardorff's process model (Deardorff, 2006, compare Appendix 1.).

Results

IC assessment administration

Table 3: Distribution of studies regarding IC assessment administration factors

Factor	Peculiarity	Number of studies
Point in Time of Assessment (Deardorff, 2015b)	Formative	20
	Summative	11
Nature of Evaluation/Assessment (Deardorff, 2015b)	Direct	/
	Indirect	30
	Combined (Direct & Indirect)	1
Nature of Assessment (Bolten, 2007)	Punctual	18
	Systemic–Processual	8
	No (sub-)dimensions mentioned	5
Perspective of Assessment (Leung et al., 2014)	Self-reported	17
	Informant-based	6
	Performance-based	0
	Combined	
	Self-Reported & Informant-Based	7
	Self-Reported & Performance-based	1

Out of 31 studies, 20 followed a formative approach concerning the time the assessment was conducted (e.g., Behrnd, 2008; Chan et al., 2021; Roller, 2015). Concretely, these projects conduct multiple assessments of the students' IC in a certain time frame, for example before and after an intervention. However, a more regular, frequent timing of assessments is to be understood here, too. Summative assessments were conducted in the remaining 11 studies, focusing on a single assessment in the intervention process (e.g., Chen, 2015; Daly et al., 2015; Dervin, 2017). One study applied a combination of direct and indirect approaches (Machado et al., 2016), while the remaining 30 only used indirect evaluation approaches (e.g., Krajewski, 2011; Wang et al., 2021; Young et al., 2017).

In this sample, 18 papers included the sub-dimensions of intercultural competence in the analysis and thus were identified as punctual (e.g., McClinton & Schaub, 2017; Iskhakova et al., 2021; MacNab, 2012). Eight studies analyzed IC as a whole and were therefore categorized as systemic-processual (e.g., Erez et al., 2013; Machado et al., 2016; Zhou & Pilcher, 2018). In the remaining five papers, no (sub-) dimensions were considered (e.g., Daly et al., 2015; Krajewski, 2011; Matsunaga et al., 2003). Concerning the perspective of the assessments, 17 papers relied on self-reported assessment methods (e.g., Balogh et al., 2011; Chen, 2015; Luka et al., 2013), whereas six papers used informant-based approaches (e.g., Dervin, 2017; Matsunaga et al., 2003; Zhou & Pilcher, 2018). A combination of self-reported and informant-based assessments was used in seven papers (e.g., Chan et al., 2021; Kurpis & Hunter, 2016; Roller, 2015). Moreover, one study conducted self-reported and performance-based assessments (Machado et al., 2016). A sole performance-based perspective was not identified.

Intercultural Competence Assessment Methods

The pool of studies shows a tendency toward quantitative methods, employed by 17 out of 31 studies (e.g., Aba, 2019; Li & Longpradit, 2022; MacNab & Worthley, 2012). Further, it features six qualitative (e.g., Corder & U-Mackey, 2015; Dervin, 2017; Matsunaga et al., 2003) and eight multi-method approaches (e.g., Chan et al., 2018; Fakhreldin et al., 2021; Roller, 2015). Among the quantitative studies are questionnaires and surveys (e.g., Erez et al., 2013; Luka et al., 2013; MacNab, 2012; Young et al., 2017). Qualitative studies display a greater variety of sources, such as reflective journals or essays (Matsunaga et al., 2003; Zhou and Pilcher, 2017), narratives (Dervin, 2017), and wikis (Corder & U-Mackey, 2015).

The multi-method approach combines quantitative and qualitative assessment methods, for instance, surveys and reflection papers (Kurpis & Hunter, 2016) or surveys and critical incidents (Machado et al., 2016).

Assessed Competencies after the Process Model by Deardorff (2006)

Overall, 66 different assessed competencies were identified and matched to the four dimensions of the process model (Deardorff, 2006, compare with table four). For each dimension of the process model, several competencies were identified that were used in the studies of this pool of literature. We identified for each of the dimensions several competencies that were frequently assessed in the studies of our pool of literature. The dimension of internal outcomes showed the greatest variety with 25 assessed competencies, followed by knowledge and comprehension with 16 different competencies. Accordingly, the dimension of external outcomes indicated 13 competencies. Lastly, 12 competencies were identified for attitudes.

The most frequently assessed competency in the dimension of attitudes is openness (e.g., Zhou and Pilcher, 2018; Ramji et al., 2021), covered by six papers. Respect was assessed in five studies, while the other 10 competencies of the attitudes dimension were conducted in either one or two studies each. The other competencies, i.e., 10 out of 12, are represented with either one or two papers. For the second dimension of knowledge and comprehension, culture-specific knowledge is the most frequently assessed competence and was assessed in seven studies (e.g., Chan et al., 2018; Corder & U-Mackey, 2015; Krajewski, 2011). In addition to that, cultural awareness is also evident in six papers (e.g., Daly et al., 2015; Corder & U-Mackey, 2015; Deveci et al., 2022). Again, the remaining competencies were assessed in either one or two studies each. Alteration of perspectives was the most frequently assessed competency for internal outcomes, with six papers (e.g., Dervin, 2017; Machado et al., 2016; Zhou & Pilcher, 2018). (Interactional) confidence was assessed in five papers (e.g., Aba, 2019; Li & Longpradit, 2022; Kurpis & Hunter, 2016), while empathy (e.g., Machado et al., 2016), flexibility (e.g., Fakhreldin et al., 2021), critical reflection (Chan et al., 2021), and self-reflexivity (e.g., Roller, 2015) were represented in three studies, each. These form a center field, as the following competencies are again represented here in isolated cases. In the dimension of external outcomes, relationship cultivation was assessed in three (Aba, 2019; Ramji et al., 2021; Jackson, 2015) studies. Two studies assessed adapt to new communication styles (Chan et al., 2021; Fakhreldin et al., 2021). The remaining competencies were respectively mentioned in one paper.

From a methodological perspective, in terms of the attitude dimension, a preponderance of multi-method approaches can be identified (13 papers), followed by qualitative (eight papers) and quantitative (three papers; compare with figure 2).

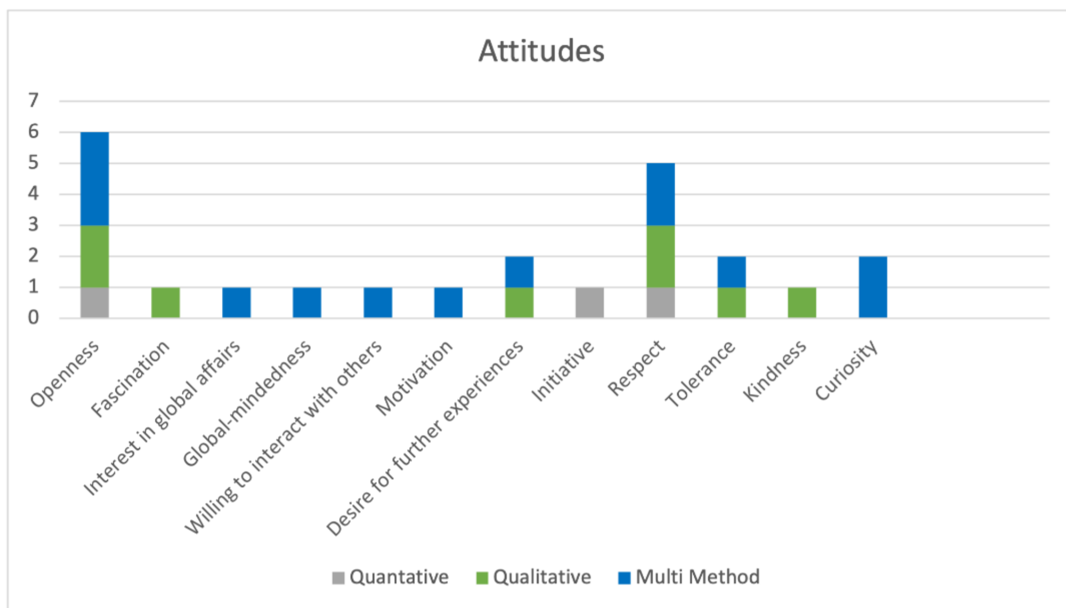

Figure 2. Distribution of Methods for Assessed Competencies, Attitudes

While respect and openness have already been identified as the most common competencies for this dimension, it can also be noted here that these two were also made transparent by all three methods.

In knowledge and comprehension, a similar distribution is visible. Here, the multi-method studies also form the majority with 13 papers (compare with figure 3).

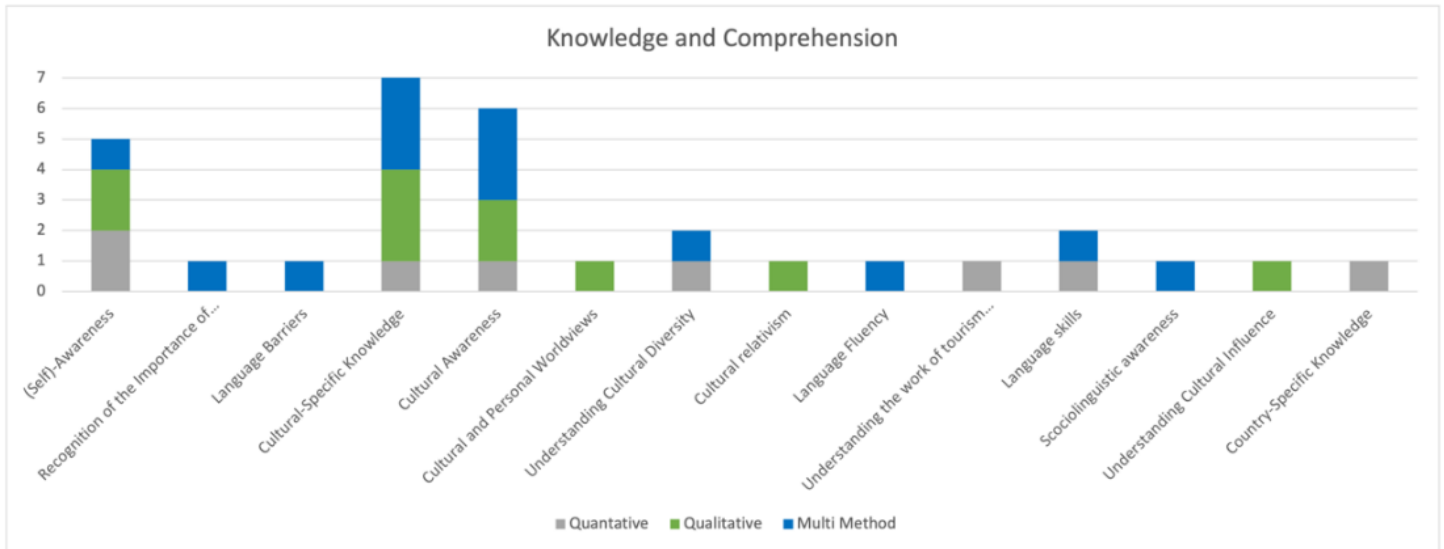

Figure 3: Distribution of Methods for Assessed Competencies, Knowledge, and Comprehension

However, the qualitative with ten and quantitative with eight papers are closer. The most common competencies were also measured with a broader variety of methods, for example culture-specific knowledge and cultural awareness.

The internal outcomes dimension represents the last dimension, which is also dominated by multi-method approaches (19 papers) (compare Fig. 4).

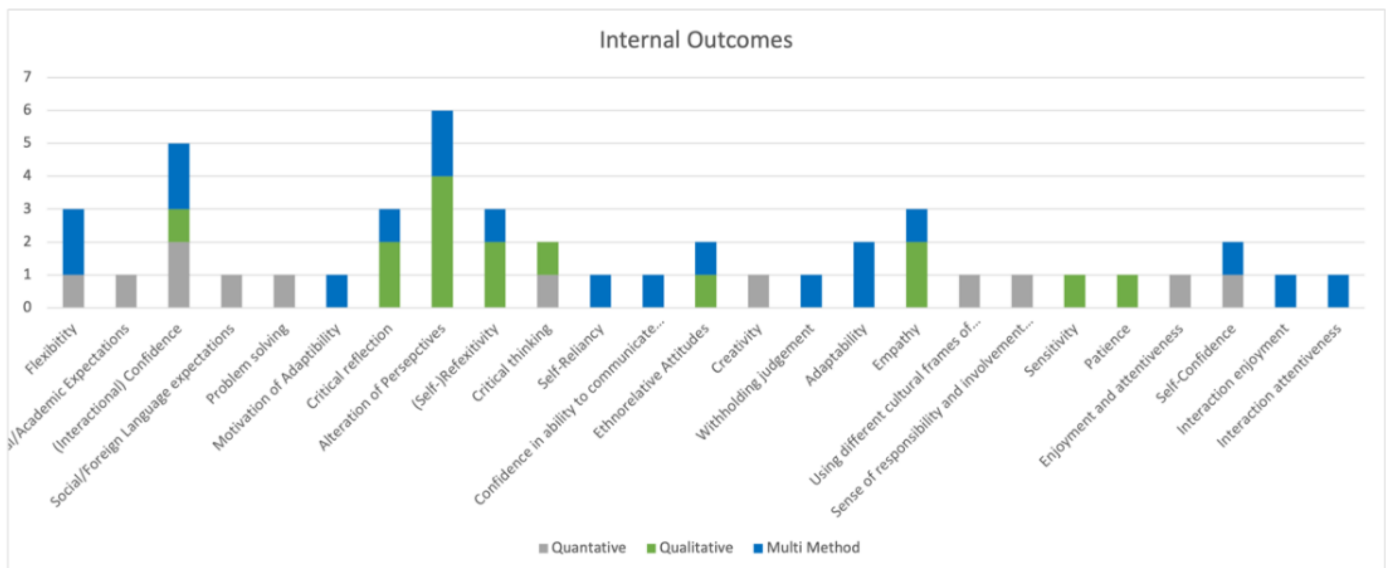

Figure 4: Distribution of Methods for Assessed Competencies, Internal Outcomes

Also noted is the gap between qualitative with 15 and quantitative with twelve papers. Qualitative and multi-method assessments find the most frequently measured competency alteration of perspectives. (Interaction) Confidence is the only competency that was measured by all three methodological approaches.

Lastly, for the external outcomes dimension, it can be determined that this dimension is the only one in which, after the multi-method papers in the first place (nine papers), quantitative approaches can be found with five papers and closely followed by qualitative papers with four (compare Fig. 5).

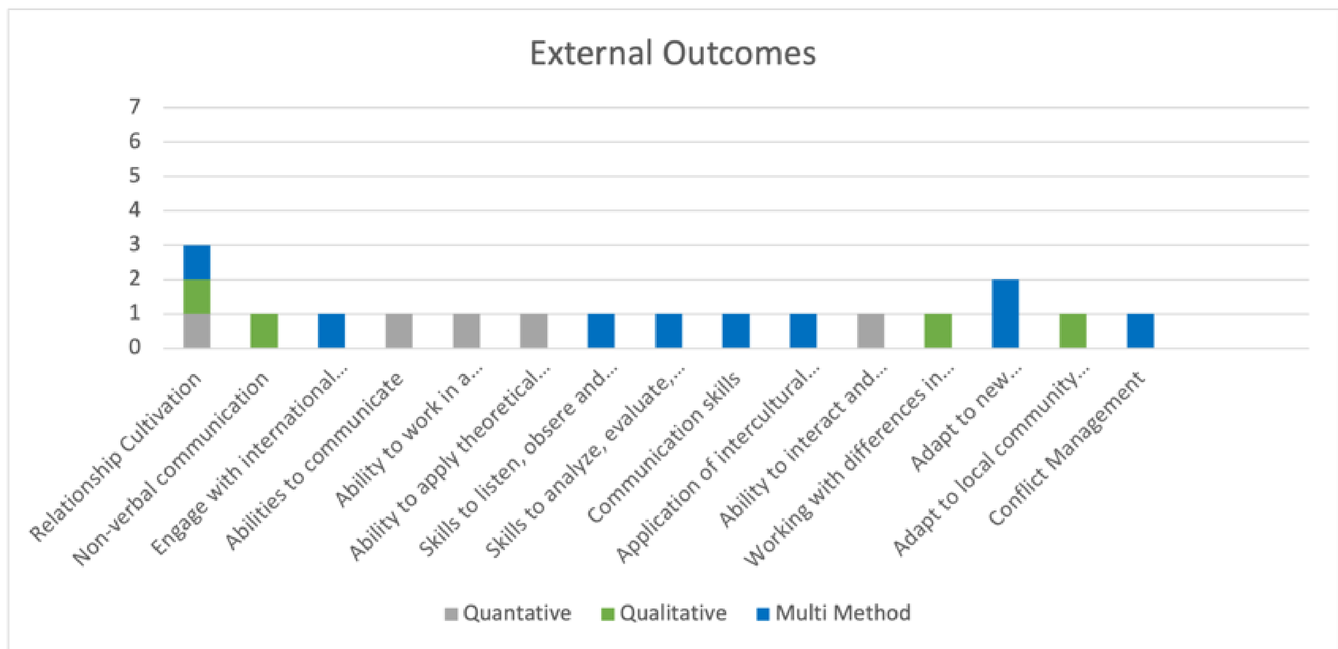

Figure 5: Distribution of Methods for Assessed Competencies, External Outcomes

Discussion

This literature review aimed to provide a clearer understanding of IC development in HE by answering the question, "(w)hat are effective ways and methods to measure individuals' intercultural competence development more holistically?" (Deardorff, 2015a, p. 4). The perspective of IC assessment was applied to provide a foundation to answer this question. A detailed understanding of the IC assessment approaches allows a more efficient and appropriate adoption of IC development. Mažeikienė and Virgailaitė-Mečkauskaitė (2007) stressed the importance of the holistic picture for an applied assessment. A holistic IC assessment comprises the right choice of IC assessment administration factors and methods. Ultimately, the IC assessment must respond to the overall concept that reflects how IC is defined and operationalized in modeling (Griffith et al., 2016). For HE purposes, IC assessment must respond to fostering effective and appropriate reactions in intercultural situations and the four dimensions posed by Deardorff (2006).

IC assessment administration

IC is a circular learning process that can be monitored only through formative assessments. Multiple measurement points within an intervention allow students to recognize and thus help shape their process in stages (Deardorff, 2015b). Instructors can measure their interventions' effectiveness by measuring IC at least at the beginning and end of each intervention. As learner characteristics also impact the learning process, multiple assessment points help instructors adapt to the heterogeneity of students. Summative assessments are beneficial for researching the intersections between concepts (e.g., Ang et al., 2007). However, they do not respond to the processual learning of IC. Punctual assessments yield more detailed insights into the state of IC development (Bolten, 2007). This approach allows instructors to cater IC development to specific IC sub-dimensions.

Less than two-thirds of the sample considered a punctual approach and thus hindering the comparability of studies and students. A more distinguished perspective on the dimensions might help students and instructors understand students' strengths and limitations and thus indicate an effective IC development.

The nature of IC is an interactional, people-focused concept that seeks translation into actual behavior in intercultural encounters (Deardorff, 2006). The students' perspective is required to gain insights into the internal aspects and attitudes, whereas the outsiders' perspective captures the external, performance-based aspects (Leung et al., 2014). The external perspectives ensure the independent evaluation of behavior in terms of effectiveness and appropriateness. Furthermore, the student usually has only themselves as a point of evaluation. In contrast, the instructor can contextualize the respective IC development within, for example, a classroom with a broader range of comparisons and possible behavioral aspects that helps them evaluate the IC development.

The sample shows a strong tendency, 30 out of 31, toward indirect evaluations, which results in a one-sided assessment. Both self-reported and informant-based perspectives are based on students' explanations (Leung et al., 2014). Self-reported measures favor socially desirable answers and pose the "intercultural learning paradox" (Goldstein, 2022, p. 33), in which the assessment outcomes after an intervention are decreasing due to the discomfort students might experience. Performance-based assessments reflect IC from a behavioral perspective and are thus independent of students' self-assessments (Leung et al., 2014). A combination of all three yields different perspectives and inputs and therefore checks for discrepancies.

IC assessment methods – Quantitative versus Qualitative

The common observation that quantitative methods are widely applied to research projects on IC in HE (Arasaratnam, 2016) is supported by the analysis of the pool of studies. Although quantitative methods present a relatively objective approach for generating data, the self-reporting approach is strongly criticized for lacking external perspectives and simplifying lived experiences in numerical data. Additionally, quantitative self-assessment scales lack the behavioral dimension. Quantitative methods might offer a limited perspective of IC development because they are "[…] not able to assess appropriateness given that appropriateness can be assessed only by others" (Deardorff & Jones, 2012, p. 168-169). The research and practice field must realize that IC is a highly interactive and person-centered concept dominated by interaction with others (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). Hence, the lack of the behavioral dimension and the focus on self-administered data offer only partial insights into the IC development of students (Zhang & Zhou, 2019).

In comparison to quantitative IC assessment methods, qualitative tools are composed of, among others, assessment centers, portfolios, and interviews, offering a more robust perspective on how an individual performs and interacts in certain situations. Qualitative methods demand more time for completion, leaving far more room for interpretation (than quantitative methods) in two respects. First, they leave more room for interpretation of competencies, such as questions in qualitative interviews. Second, they leave just as much room for interpretation of participants' answers. Thus, the information gain can be significantly higher than in quantitative methods, such as self-assessment scales. That is, it is possible to comprehend content that is neither covered nor assessed by applying a Likert scale in a self-assessment.

Neither are these two approaches comparable, nor is one of these methodological approaches better than the other. Instead, these methods generate different data and insights into the process of IC development. However, it is noteworthy that combining these two methods strengthens the benefits and overcomes the disadvantages of each method with regard to IC development. Thus, IC assessment demands a holistically multi-perspective and -method approach (Paras et al., 2019).

However, the results indicate that too few studies follow a holistic approach, especially that of a multi-method IC assessment. The consequences for the research field are found mainly in the comparability of the studies. Study results cannot be compared because studies follow different methodological approaches and thus produce various forms of results. Therefore, the diversity of these results cannot lead to a uniform understanding of IC assessment and IC development.

Assessed competencies linked to IC

To understand IC development, one must understand which competencies are considered essential and are captured by IC assessment. Because there is no fixed set of competencies, comparisons between studies are difficult because the ground of comparability is missing. The results show that 31 studies assessed 66 different competencies. This paper reveals the most frequently assessed competencies for each IC sub-dimension for HE frameworks. It is important to note that the

most frequently assessed IC competencies might not represent the most important competencies for HE. The so-called run-away effect (or positive feedback loop; Keesing, 1981) means that people tend to associate specific competencies with certain dimensions of IC development, such as those described by Deardorff (2006), based on their research situation and knowledge. In this way, people place more importance on these competencies than on others that have been less researched, creating a loop that reinforces the importance of specific competencies and thus makes them more relevant by reproduction.

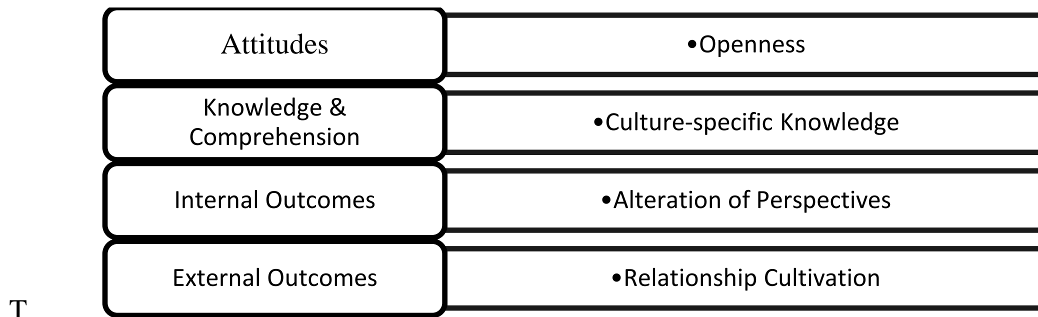

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Figure 6: Most frequently assessed competencies for each process model dimension

Figure six lists the most frequently assessed competencies for each dimension of the process model. As the dimension of attitudes represents the starting point of the cyclical learning process, the identified competencies within this dimension filter the processing of intercultural experiences (Deardorff, 2006). According to the pool of studies used in this research, openness seems to be the most central attitude and has been assessed with quantitative, qualitative, and multi-method approaches, emphasizing its validity as a central attitude for this dimension. As this dimension depends on internal and external evaluations, combining direct assessments with indirect assessments (Deardorff, 2015b) and self-reported approaches with informant-based approaches (Leung et al., 2014) supports the nature of this dimension.

In the knowledge and comprehension dimension, the competency of culture-specific knowledge is the most significant. The second dimension represents the second step in IC development and focuses on what is usually referred to as awareness and learning of other cultures (Deardorff, 2006). Here, quantitative, direct, and self-reported data is consistent with the learning of cultural facts and rules. External perspectives and evaluations, as in indirect evaluations (Deardorff, 2015b) and informant-based perspectives of assessment (Leung et al., 2014), can help foster the IC learning process and offer a reality check of what has been truly learned.

For the internal outcomes dimension of IC development, alteration of perspectives was the most frequent competency. Changing perspectives is key for effective and appropriate interaction with others in intercultural situations (Spitzberg & Chagnon, 2009). Because this dimension offers the first outcome from an internal perspective, the IC assessment administration and methods must also mirror this internal outcome process. Internal outcomes require certain reflexivity and understanding of emotional facets (Deardorff, 2006). Thus, qualitative, or multi-method approaches might be more appropriate to capture these different facets. A combination of self-reported and informant-based perspectives (Leung et al., 2014) might offer a dialogical exchange on these outcomes.

In the external outcomes dimension, the results highlight relationship cultivation as the most frequent competency. With this dimension, the three dimensions mentioned earlier are put into practice. The findings correspond with the IC definition that highlights the behavioral aspect of intercultural encounters (Deardorff, 2006). With the translation of mental competencies into a behavioral dimension, the need for performance-based perspectives is obvious. A performance-based perspective of assessment, as posed by Leung et al. (2014), is necessary to capture the behavioral components of IC and understand the level of appropriateness. Thus, regarding the nature of evaluation (Deardorff, 2015b), indirect approaches are necessary to support this notion.

Implications and Conclusion

The findings of this study add to the literature on IC development and IC assessment in the context of HE. This study uncovers the inconsistency in research and practice, as cases differ significantly from one another. This inconsistency affects the comparability of studies, as studies often only highlight partial aspects of IC development and even these from specific perspectives only. As a holistic picture of IC development is missing, this study proposes a model to explain how IC assessment impacts the outcomes of IC development, which further creates holistic approaches to IC development. With these findings, the study makes several specific theoretical contributions.

First, the findings highlight that IC development asks for holistic IC assessment composed of several components that have been widely neglected in the literature. A formative approach mirrors processual IC learning and multi-sided perspectives capturing the effectiveness and appropriateness of behavior. Direct and indirect assessments must subject the attitudes to a reality check. Performance-based assessments are necessary to monitor mental competencies' translation into actual behavior. Future studies should solicit evidence for the discrepancies caused by the assessment administration criteria and understand whether a combination of these different criteria bridges these discrepancies. In addition, it needs to be determined what training informant- and performance-based instructors and peers need to perform effective IC assessments.

Second, the study emphasizes the connection between IC assessment methods and IC modeling. The adoption of IC assessment must be consistent with the definition and models applied to the research context. Although quantitative methods are widely applied, they lack perspectives and are inconsistent with some of the IC model's dimensions. A more sophisticated and holistic assessment, such as a conglomerate built by combining qualitative and quantitative assessment methods and multi-perspective approaches, is required to assess IC holistically. Furthermore, the IC assessment tools used for the various approaches must correspond with the model developed for the context. In HE, it is essential that these methodological approaches mirror the four dimensions of the process model (Deardorff, 2006). Future IC assessment research should consider the nature of the various methods and tools and how these match the notion of the IC dimensions. IC modeling must refer to the appropriate use of methods and tools to create a foundation for IC assessments.

Third, the study shows that a clear definition of competencies is missing, as only trends of the essential competencies for each IC dimension can be determined. The basis for measuring specific competencies is missing due to the unclear theoretical framework. Therefore, it is imperative for future HE researchers to test these competencies and understand their relevance within the context of intercultural encounters posed by HE.

This study involves certain limitations. For instance, it focused only on peer-reviewed articles accessible through Scopus with the database that laid the foundation for this research. Therefore, using a combination of databases could influence the sample of this literature review. Additionally, the use of keywords in Scopus influenced the results, so different operators and concepts could have delivered different results. Furthermore, publications using keywords that would have fit all our criteria were dismissed. Although there is an extensive body of literature on IC in HE available in French or German, we have focused on English publications solely. Introducing a multi-language approach for the language of publications would certainly have impacted the final pool of studies.

Moreover, although an objective approach to the literature search was followed strictly, biases cannot be dismissed. For instance, one's culture and educational background strongly influence the IC field. Therefore, this literature review reflects the researchers' cultural biases and education.

In addition, the applied process model (Deardorff, 2016) on IC development represents one approach among several other definitions and models. The four-dimension process was concretely followed to analyze the pool of studies. Nevertheless, a different approach with a different number of dimensions and perspectives could deliver different results.

Despite the abovementioned limitations, this study marks a first step toward reorganizing the body of literature more consistently and to better understand IC assessments in IC development. Future research needs to take the next step and deepen the understanding of the appropriate use and administration of IC assessments with regard to HE-specific IC development.

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Appendix A

Identified Competencies after the process model by Deardorff (2006)

Dimension after Deardorff	Attitudes (12)	Knowledge and Comprehension (16)	Internal Outcomes (25)	External Outcomes (13)
	3/8/13	**8/10/15**	**12/15/19**	**5/4/7**
66 assessed competencies	**Openness (6)** (Aba, 2019; Zhou & Pilcher, 2018; Ramji et al., 2021; Machado et al., 2016; Chan et al., 2021; Fakhreldin et al., 2021) **Respect (5)** (Li & Longpradit, 2022; Zhou & Pilcher, 2018; Ramji et al., 2021; Machado et al., 2016; Deveci et al., 2022) **Curiosity (2)** (Machado et al., 2016; Fakhreldin et al., 2021) **Desire for further experiences (2)** (Zhou & Pilcher, 2018; Kurpis & Hunter, 2016) **Tolerance (2)** (Machado et al., 2016; Zhou & Pilcher, 2018) **Fascination (1)** (Dervin, 2017) **Interest in global affairs (1)** (Jackson, 2015) **Global mindedness (1)** (Jackson, 2015)	**Culture-Specific Knowledge (7)** (Krajewski, 2011; Chan et al., 2018; Kurpis & Hunter, 2016; Machado et al., 2016; Corder & U-Mackey, 2015; Zhou & Pilcher, 2018; Ramji et al., 2021) **Cultural Awareness (6)** (Daly et al., 2015; Corder & U-Mackey, 2015; Matsunaga et al., 2003; Deveci et al., 2022; Fakhreldin et al., 2021; Machado et al., 2016) **(Self-) Awareness (5)** (Aba, D., 2019; Krajewski, 2011; Dervin, 2017; Riner, 2013; Jackson, 2015) **Recognition of the Importance of Learning about and from Cultural Diversity (1)** (Chan et al., 2018) **Language Barriers (1)** (Chan et al., 2018) **Cultural and Personal Worldviews (1)** (Corder & U-Mackey, 2015) **Understanding of Cultural Diversity (2)** (Daly et al., 2015; Roller, 2015) **Cultural relativism (1)** (Dervin, 2017)	**Alteration of Perspectives (6)** (Dervin, 2017; Zhou & Pilcher, 2018; Matsunaga et al., 2003; Riner, 2013; Machado et al., 2016; Kurpis & Hunter, 2016) **(Interactional) Confidence (5)** (Aba, 2019; Corder & U-Mackey, 2015; Li & Longpradit, 2022; Kurpis & Hunter, 2016; Deveci et al., 2022) **Flexibility (3)** (Aba, D., 2019; Machado et al., 2016; Fakhreldin et al., 2021) **Empathy (3)** (Machado et al., 2016; Riner, 2013; Zhou & Pilcher, 2018) **Critical reflection (3)** (Corder & U-Mackey, 2015; Chan et al., 2021; Ramji et al., 2021) **(Self-)Reflexivity (3)** (Dervin, 2017; Zhou & Pilcher, 2018; Roller, 2015) **Critical thinking (2)** (Dervin, 2017; MacNab et al., 2012) **Social/Foreign Language expectations (1)** (Aba, 2019) **Problem solving (1)** (Behrnd, 2008) **Motivation of Adaptability (1)** (Chan et al., 2018) **Self-Reliance (1)** (Jackson, 2015) **Confidence in ability to communicate ideas and emotions (1)** (Jackson, 2015)	**Relationship Cultivation (3)** (Aba, 2019; Ramji et al., 2021; Jackson, 2015) **Adapt to new Communication Styles (2)** (Chan et al., 2021; Fakhreldin et al., 2021) **Non-verbal communication (1)** (Corder & U-Mackey, 2015) **Engage with international newscasts and events (1)** (Jackson, 2015) **Abilities to communicate (1)** (Luka et al., 2013) **Ability to work in a multicultural team (1)** (Luka et al., 2013) **Ability to apply theoretical knowledge in practice (1)** (Luka et al., 2013) **Communication skills (1)** (Machado et al., 2016) **Application of intercultural practices (1)** (Machado et al., 2016) **Ability to interact and collaborate in cross-cultural situations (1)** (MacNab et al., 2012)

Dimension after Deardorff	Attitudes (12)	Knowledge and Comprehension (16)	Internal Outcomes (25)	External Outcomes (13)
	Willing to interact with others (1) (Jackson, 2015)	Language fluency (1) (Jackson, 2015)	Ethnorelative Attitudes (2) (Kurpis & Hunter, J. 2016; Zhou & Pilcher, 2018)	Working with differences in a diverse team (1) (Matsunaga et al., 2003)
	Motivation (1) (Kurpis & Hunter, 2016)	Understanding the work of tourism business (1) (Luka et al., 2013)	Adaptability (2) (Machado et al., 2016; Fakhreldin et al., 2021)	Adapt to local community styles (1) (Ramji et al., 2021)
	Initiative (1) (Luka et al., 2013)	Language skills (2) (Luka et al., 2013; Roller, 2015)	Creativity (1) (Luka et al., 2013)	Conflict Management (1) (Fakhreldin et al., 2021)
	Kindness (1) (Ramji et al., 2021)	Sociolinguistic awareness (1) (Machado et al., 2016)	Withholding judgment (1) (Machado et al., 2016)	
		Understanding Cultural Influence (1) (Matsunaga et al., 2003)	Using different cultural frames of reference (1) (MacNab et al., 2012)	
		Country-specific knowledge (1) (MacNab et al., 2012)	Sense of responsibility and involvement with global issues (1) (MacNab et al., 2012)	
		Skills to listen, observe and interpret (1) (Machado et al., 2016)	Sensitivity (1) (Riner, 2013)	
		Skills to analyze, evaluate, and relate (1) (Machado et al., 2016)	Patience (1) (Riner, 2013)	
			Enjoyment and attentiveness (1) (Li & Longpradit, 2022)	
			Self-confidence (1) (Li & Longpradit, 2022; Deveci et al., 2022)	
			Interaction enjoyment (1) (Deveci et al., 2022)	
			Interaction attentiveness (1) (Deveci et al., 2022)	
			Professional/Academic Expectations (1) (Aba, 2019)	

Note. *Quantitative*/*Qualitative*/*Multi-Method*

Appendix B
Overview of Pool of Studies

Authors	IC Assessment Methods		Point in Time of Assessment (Deardorff, 2015b)	Nature of Evaluation/Assessment (Deardorff, 2015b)	Nature of Assessment (Bolten, 2007)	Perspective of Assessment (Leung et al., 2014)
	Quantitative (1) Qualitative (2) Multi-Method (3)	Description	Formative (4) Summative (5)	Direct (6) indirect (7)	Punctual (8) Systemic-processual (9)	Self-reported (1) infomant-based (2) Performance-based (3)
Aba (2019)	1	Survey	5	7	8	1
Balogh et al. (2011)	1	Survey	5	7	8	1
Behrnd (2008)	1	Survey	4	7	8	1
Chan et al. (2021)	3	Survey, Interview, Reflective Diary, Report	4	7	8	1&2
Chan et al. (2018)	3	Survey, Discussion, Focus Group	4	7	8	1&2
Chen (2015)	1	Survey	5	7	9	1
Corder & U-Mackey (2015)	2	Wikis	4	7	8	2
Daly et al. (2015)	1	Survey	5	7	/	1
Dang et al. (2019)	1	Survey	4	7	8	1
Dervin (2017)	2	Narratives	5	7	/	2
Deveci et al. (2022)	3	Survey & Reflective Writing Task	4	7	8	1&2
Erez et al. (2013)	1	Survey	4	7	9	1
Fakhreldin et al. (2021)	3	Survey & Focus Group	4	7	8	1&2
Iskhakova et al. (2022)	1	Survey	4	7	8	1
Jackson (2015)	3	Survey & Interviews	4	7	9	1&2
Krajewski (2011)	1	Survey	5	7	/	1
Kurpis & Hunter (2016)	3	Survey & Reflection Papers	5	7	8	1&2
Li & Longpradit (2022)	1	Survey	4	7	8	1
Luka et al. (2013)	1	Survey	5	7	9	1
Machado et al. (2016)	3	Survey & Critical Incidents	4	6&7	9	1&3
MacNab (2012)	1	Survey	4	7	8	1
MacNab & Worthley (2012)	1	Survey	5	7	8	1
MacNab et al. (2012)	1	Survey	5	7	8	1
Matsunaga et al. (2003)	2	Journal	4	7	/	2
McClinton & Schaub (2017)	1	Survey	4	7	8	1
Ramji et al. (2021)	2	Interview	5	7	/	2
Riner (2013)	2	Journal	4	7	9	2
Roller (2015)	3	Survey, Journaling, Personal Reflection, and Exercises	4	7	9	1&2
Wang et al. (2021)	1	Survey	4	7	8	1
Young et al. (2017)	1	Survey	4	7	8	1
Zhou & Pilcher (2018)	2	Reflective Essays	4	7	9	2

Independent Empirical Article

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Returning to the Academic Campus as the End of the COVID-19 Pandemic: Findings from a Student Survey in Israel

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Abstract

The Covid-19 outbreak created challenges for higher education as well as opportunities for transitioning to flexible models of teaching and learning adapted to the vision and culture of institutions of higher education in the new era. This study examines students' perceptions of face-to-face teaching and learning on the academic campus, after engaging in multiple e-Learning models during the pandemic. The findings of the current study show that we cannot resume full face-to-face learning as in the past. Most students (some 60%) expressed a clear and unequivocal preference for exclusive online learning. Students nonetheless expressed the belief that studying on campus allows them interpersonal and social interactions with students and faculty on campus. The findings of the current study support the consensus within the scientific community regarding the beneficial effects of socio-emotional learning programs on academic, emotional, and behavioral capabilities, the atmosphere in class, and students' achievements.

Keywords: academic campus, Covid-19, e-teaching, e-learning, socio-emotional learning (SEL), student perceptions

Introduction

Studies that followed the Covid-19 crisis on teaching and learning in institutions of higher education raise several important questions, such as: In the era of the technological revolution – does an incidental event become a facilitative event? What are the economic and pedagogic consequences of the changes that occurred during the Covid-19 pandemic (Volansky, 2020)? What are the implications of these changes for higher education? What is the significance of the academic campus? What roles do lecturers and students play in academic teaching and learning (Berger-Kikochinsky et al., 2020; Davidovitch & Wadmany, 2021)? Studies indicate that higher education has become a commodity, more than ever before (Hodges et al., 2020), and that students are more conscious than in the past of their limited time and other resources (Almog & Almog, 2020; Eckhaus & Davidovitch, 2021; Guo at al., 2016). Today, after more than two years in which students experienced a variety of learning models that ranged from fully digital learning, through hybrid (or blended) models, to face-to-face learning, , we are at a point in time that offers an opportunity to reconsider the meaning of academic teaching and learning, The current study focuses on the learning experience of students in higher education institutions in Israel upon their return to the academic campus after Covid-19 restrictions were lifted, and explores their perceptions of teaching and learning toward the end of the Covid-19 pandemic (Kovoor, (2020).

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Research Questions

The research questions focused on students' experience of teaching and learning after returning to campus. Specifically, we ask:

(1) Do students consider face-to-face learning in the classroom to be an effective teaching method, and if so, to what degree?

(2) Do students believe that face-to-face teaching improves their learning abilities, and if so, to what degree?

(3) Do students prefer e-teaching or face-to-face teaching, and do these preferences differ by type of lesson, department, manner of instruction, or lecturer's availability?

(4) What are the predictors of students' preferences for face-to-face teaching?

(5) What are the main difficulties that students encountered when they returned to campus?

(6) What should be done to improve students' experience of face-to-face teaching in the classroom?

Literature Review

Many studies, which have followed the Covid-19 outbreak over the past three years, examine the effectiveness of e-Learning, and its benefits and shortcomings for students' learning (e.g., Cohen & Davidovitch, 2020; Davidovitch & Wadmany, 2021). The Covid-19 crisis compelled all institutions of higher education, in Israel and elsewhere, to transition to full e-studies, promptly and with no prior planning. Online studies continued until a decision was made in 2022 to resume studies on campus, either fully or partially in person, at schools, universities, and colleges in Israel. In response, academic faculty were required to implement a fundamental change in their teaching. These changes create the basis for a new way of planning and teaching, and called for new ways of creative thinking and problem solving by lecturers in higher education, as well as an opportunity to rethink the essence of students' learning.

The Characteristics of E-Learning

E-Learning is characterized primarily by studying from home or participating in studies that do not require physical attendance at an academic institution. Teaching and learning are performed through the use and integration of technological devices and platforms means (smartphone, computer, apps, and websites, online lessons or recorded lessons and presentations). E-Learning creates a change in the structure of academic teaching and learning (Nir-Gal, 2000). E-Learning affords an improved learning experience through the use of computers and/or the internet, both within the academic institution and outside it (Phelps, 2018; Davidovitch & Wadmany, 2021). Even before Covid-19, academic institutions also developed an awareness of the financial and marketing potential of the incorporation of e-Learning in the programs they offer.

Technology per se is mostly infrastructure – tools. The choice of how to realize the potential that technology represents belongs to its developers and users (Altbach & De Wit, 2020). As a result, different models of e-Learning were developed, ranging from the Moodle system, where students access materials uploaded by lecturer, through face-to-face lectures accompanied by digital presentations, to innovative models that combine multiple content sources and attempt to offer new, more collaborative and less centralist forms of learning, All these models are based on digital contents that are on the internet for viewing or for shared learning (Davidovitch & Wadmany, 2021; Goldschmidt, 2013).

Opportunities and Impediments to E-Teaching in Higher Education

In recent years, an increasing number of universities and colleges have sought to integrate e-teaching in their academic institutions, and are investing many resources in developing distance learning courses, which they see as an attractive, relevant, and commercially advantageous way of teaching and learning. Institutions of higher education in Israel are a unique case, as studies indicate that Israeli students, who are typically older than university students in other countries, have many commitments and need flexible study hours and short travel times to the university campus in order to efficiently combine work with studies (Eckhaus & Davidovitch, 2021). In Israeli students begin to study after their military service, many have already started their own family, and most have moderate socioeconomic status (Davidovitch & Wadmany, 2021). Hence, the convenience offered by distance learning and the flexibility of time and place meet the needs of learners in general, and in Israel in particular (Benade, 2017).

During the Covid-19 outbreak, the closure of academic institutions and the transition to e-learning posed significant challenges for learners and their families. Less advantaged students from low socioeconomic groups were especially adversely affected by a lack of conditions at home that were conducive to continuous learning, such as a suitable study

space and stable internet connection. Such disparities in resources available at home obviously had a potentially detrimental effect on universities' efforts to ensure equal opportunities for all learners (Weissblei, 2020).

In addition to its personal, familial, and financial advantages, e-teaching also has benefits for digital literacy and learning skills. For example, even before the Covid-19 pandemic, a study conducted with students in the Technion in Israel (Barak et al., 2012) indicates that students who studied remotely expressed a greater sense of self-efficacy. Self-efficacy is a necessary condition for success distance learning, as students must have confidence in their ability to monitor and manage their academic progress, be self-motivated, mobilize their cognitive resources, and perform the required tasks. Hence, with regard to learning preferences, students who studied remotely were found to have more positive attitudes to asynchronous learning (online content and prerecorded lectures) compared to students who studied face-to-face, because they believed that studying remotely at the time of their choice could enhance their learning skills (Barak et al., 2012).

The research literature indicates that many students need a supportive setting that includes face-to-face teaching and direct contact with the lecturer (Davidovitch & Wadmany, 2021). In distance learning, the learner is considered to be an active, independent learner who has the choice and freedom to make decisions about their learning process and to manage their study time independently. Hence, students who manage to study remotely are likely highly motivated, independent, self-efficacious learners who believe in themselves and their abilities and have high self-control, which allows them to effectively solve problems and handle challenges in general, and cope with technological issues (Wagner & McCombs, 1995; Davidovitch & Wadmany, 2021).

Despite the above, the research literature shows that there are elements that pose difficulties for learners in virtual environment across the globe (Cohen, 1999; Weissblei, 2020). One of the main problems characteristic of distance learning processes is the absence of a social setting. Some learners find it hard to learn individually, and distance learning, which includes no face-to-face social interactions, might be to their detriment, particularly for complex courses that require discussion and conversation (DePietro, 2020).

The Necessary Conditions for an Effective Transition to E-Learning

Studies conducted before and during Covid-19 identified several conditions that must be addressed when designing an effective transition to teaching and learning in online environments (Hershkowitz & Kaberman, 2009; Eckhaus & Davidovitch, 2021). The transition from traditional learning to e-learning completely changes the learning experience for students and not unexpectedly evokes resistance and objections. In Israel, during the Covid-19 pandemic, students and lecturers were required to quickly adapt to the online learning environment and to new technology-supported management systems, courses, and teaching techniques. While learning in a traditional classroom is mostly passive, use of technological tools invites more active learning. Students with a "traditional" learning outlook therefore find it hard to adapt to e-teaching. Training and practice with e-learning, and an awareness of the benefits of this type of learning, might facilitate a change in student perceptions and prepare them for a transition to learning in online environments (Eckhaus & Davidovitch, 2021).

To ensure a smooth transition, institutions that operate online learning systems must take action to prevent technical problems in general, and specifically to prevent disparities between different populations and sectors. In Israel, such groups include Arab and ultra-Orthodox Jewish students (Weissblei, 2020). An adequate level of technological skills is essential if students are to become integrated in online courses, manage and complete their assignments, perform well in exams, and take an active part in their own learning process. Training in computer and technology literacy is therefore necessary to help students function effectively in online environments with no disturbances or obstacles (Cohen & Davidovitch, 2020).

Students must also have good time management skills. Setting times constitutes a fundamental component of e-learning. Managing a learning process online is different than learning face-to-face, particularly because students have the sense of having no time limits or constraints because it is possible to learn anywhere, anytime. In practice, however, e-learning poses a challenge for students' time management skills as online courses require considerable time and intensive effort and concentration. Planning a regular schedule can help learners plan and organize their learning (Cohen & Davidovich, 2020).

The education system in Israel was partially digitized at the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, but use was minimal, especially in the higher education system. As a result, both lecturers and students often lack the cognitive skills necessary for efficient and effective use of online technologies (Davidovitch & Yossel-Eisenbach, 2018), including information searches, collecting verbal and visual data, building knowledge, evaluating quality, and generating meaningful study material from materials located in the digital sphere. A lack of these skills might lead to unwise use of these technologies in teaching and learning,

Moreover, it is necessary to fit the pedagogic approach to the learning environment. Namely, online academic learning environments are typically considered supplementary material that supports lecture-based courses and therefore the pedagogic approaches used are adapted to traditional face-to-face learning and teaching processes. Moreover, in Israel, many lecturers have not undergone specific training in adapting their teaching materials to distance learning format and

pedagogies. As a result students attend courses that use novel technologies without specifically adapted pedagogies, which makes it difficult for students to learn effectively (Davidovitch & Wadmany, 2021). Recent studies in Israel highlight the need for a new digital pedagogy for academic teaching and learning (Davidovitch & Eckhaus, 2021; Wadmany, 2017, 2018).

Self-motivation is an essential requirement for e-Learning, yet many students in Israel who study online have been found to lack motivation (Barak et al., 2012; Davidovitch & Wadmany, 2021). High motivation and a positive attitude are important factors in students' efforts to cope with the challenges of e-learning challenges (Davidovitch & Wadmany, 2021).

Studies in Israel found that students describe a sense of loneliness and social disconnection when learning in an online environment (Davidovitch & Eckhaus, 2021) and emphasize the lack of physical reinforcement that usually exists when studying face-to-face. Furthermore, this sense of loneliness has a negative impact on students' academic achievements (Davidovitch & Wadmany, 2021). Studying on campus offers students an opportunity to satisfy emotional and social needs. Prior to the Covid-19 pandemic, students were accustomed to spending most of their time on the academic campus where social interactions and opportunities for personal growth occurred. A study published in late 2020 by CASEL, the leading US organization that promotes social-emotional learning (www.casel.org) emphasizes the significance of social-cultural sensitivity, values of equality and fairness, trust and cooperation, and authentic relationships among families, educational systems, and communities. According to CASEL, social-emotional learning is an inseparable part of education and human development, and it advances individual's educational capital and the excellence of the educational system, including the system of higher education. CASEL defines social-emotional learning as a process in which children and adults acquire and implement knowledge, skills, and attitudes, in order to develop a healthy self-identity, manage their emotions, achieve personal and collective goals, feel and display empathy; establish and preserve supportive relationships, and make decisions in a responsible and caring way. The transition to e-Learning requires that institutions of higher education continue to create opportunities for students social-emotional learning, beyond the technicalities of the materials taught in the academic programs (Passey, 2019).In Israel, in response to the pandemic, higher education institutions were urgently required to develop methods that would allow education to continue from home. However, encouraged in this direction by the Council of Higher Education, these new methods and practices were focused almost exclusively on the technical aspects of teaching and almost completely disregarded the social effects of distance learning. Higher education institutions focused on helping their instructors organize their teaching differently to adjust to the new circumstances of the pandemic, but directed limited attention to preparing instructors to address the social and emotional effects of e-Learning on their students.

Theoretical Background

The study was based on Hativa's (2015) emotional-cognitive model of optimal teaching. According to this theory, a teacher's optimal teaching ability comprises two dimensions: the first is the cognitive dimension, which includes the ability to organize the course and the lessons and make optimal use of the time for learning; presentation of clear explanations of the course materials; and the ability to maintain students' focus and engagement in the lesson. The second dimension is the emotional-social dimension, comprising the teacher's respect for their students, empathy for their challenges, a sense of caring, and assistance to help them succeed. Additional areas examined in this study were based on the model developed by Cohen and Davidovitch (2020) and these are: improving students' learning in online studies, and personal preferences for online vs. face-to-face learning of students and teachers.
The current study explores the transition to e-Learning in higher education institutions in Israel, reflected in students' perceptions of the advantages and shortcomings of e-Learning and face-to-face teaching upon their return to campus after experiencing various forms of e-Learning models during the Covid-19 pandemic, including full, blended, and occasional face-to-face learning.

Methodology

This study combines quantitative and qualitative research methods. The study is based on an attitude survey conducted among students of Ariel University in Israel. Ariel University has an extremely diverse student population and differs from other universities in the attention that the institution gives to its students' learning experience and the social-cultural dimensions of a university education. In response to the pandemic, instructors at Ariel invested efforts not only to adjust their teaching methods to e-Learning, but also directed attention to the emotional and social experiences of their students and instructors.

A questionnaire was developed for this study, comprised of items related to the effect of online learning on learning quality (Hativa, 2015), and respondents' perceptions of the advantages and shortcomings of online teaching and learning (Cohen & Davidovitch, 2020). Students rated their agreement with each items on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very strongly agree). Demographic information on respondents was also collected (e.g., personal and work background). To obtain in-depth understanding of the findings of the statistical research, the survey also included five open-ended questions,

students were requested to express their opinion on (a) the advantages of studying on campus, (b) the challenges of attending classes on campus, (c) how to improve teaching on campus, and (d) the future of e-teaching.

The Sample

The research population included 1,048 students, most of whom were studying for a bachelor's degree at the university. Close to half (48.7%) were studying at the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Humanities. Sixty percent of the research population were female students, two thirds were working concurrently with their studies. About one quarter reported having a low socioeconomic status, and more than two thirds were not married. Table 1 presents the students' background characteristics.

Instruments

A questionnaire in which students responded to several statements related to the impact of e-Learning on the quality of their learning, and the advantages and disadvantages of e-teaching and e-Learning was developed specifically for this study on the basis of Hativa's (2015) theory and cognitive-emotional model of effective teaching. According to this theory, effective teaching comprises two dimensions: (a) a cognitive dimension, which includes a good ability to organize the course and the lesson, make efficient use of the time for learning, present clear explanations of the study material, and maintain students' concentration and engagement in the lesson; (b) an affective dimension, which includes the teacher's ability to show respect for the students, express empathy for their challenges, care about their success, and assist them in achieving it. The questionnaire also included items developed on a model proposed by Cohen and Davidovitch (2020), which reflected two additional dimensions of teaching, specifically in e-Learning settings: (c) the teacher's ability to improve students' learning abilities through e-teaching. (d) Students' personal preferences for e-Learning, by type of lesson, manner of studies, type of institution, department, students' convenience, and resources).

Participants rated their agreement with 43 items, which were classified into the four main themes described above on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). In addition, the questionnaire included questions on personal, marital, occupational, and learning-teaching background characteristics of the students in the sample.

Findings

The first research question examined students' perceptions of the effectiveness of face-to-face learning in the classroom. To examine the association between students' preferences for face-to-face learning on campus or for e-Learning and the different teaching dimensions, we conducted a Pearson's test. The findings indicate that students' preference for face-to-face learning was most strongly and negatively associated with students' belief that e-Learning improved their ability to study. Students' preference for face-to-face learning was also significantly positively associated with students' belief that face-to-face learning is more interesting, followed by the belief that lecturers' availability is greater in face-to-face learning.

Students' preference for face-to-face learning was significantly negatively associated with the belief that e-learning is more convenient, which is consistent with the negative association between students' preference for face-to-face learning and the belief that face-to-face learning is wastes students' resources. The findings indicate an inverse association between preference for face-to-face learning and variables related to convenience and efficient use of resources.

The second research question related to students' belief that face-to-face learning on campus improves students' learning. The majority of students in the sample (65.7%) believe that e-Learning improves learning skills compared to face-to-face learning, versus some 17% of students who think that face-to-face learning improves students' learning skills compared to e-Learning. To explore the aspects of teaching that predict participants' preferences for learning on campus, we conducted two regression tests: a multiple regression test (Model 1) and a hierarchical regression test (Model 2).

Model 1

Model 1 is a multiple regression model. The dependent variable in the model is students' preference for learning on campus, and all other research variables are independent variables (improved learning in face-to-face learning, convenience of studying in face-to-face teaching, lecturers' availability in face-to-face teaching, waste of resources, interpersonal interactions in face-to-face learning, and the three measures of effective teaching).

Table 1.

Pearson's Correlation Test Between the Research Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Personal preference for e-learning	-										
Personal preference for face-to-face learning	-0.864***	-									
Improved learning capacity in face-to-face learning	-0.838***	**0.893*****	-								
Convenience in the study process in e- learning	0.722***	**-0.701*****	-0.714***	-							
Availability of lecturers in face-to-face learning	-0.636***	**0.704*****	0.763***	-0.555***	-						
Studies are more interesting in face-to-face learning	-0.795***	**0.843*****	0.889***	-0.709***	0.751***	-					
Studies are more ordered and organized in face-to-face learning	-0.162***	0.189***	0.198***	-0.152***	0.236***	0.200***	-				
Studies are clearer in face-to-face learning	-0.211***	0.256***	0.259***	-0.186***	0.263***	0.266***	0.451***	-			
Waste of resources in face-to-face learning	0.670***	-0.604***	-0.567***	0.547***	-0.442***	-0.530***	-0.095**	-0.147***	-		
Interpersonal interactions in face-to-face learning	-0.129***	0.148***	0.181***	-0.206***	0.189***	0.197***	0.372***	0.367***	-0.141***	-	
Students' self-evaluation of their academic achievements	0.143***	-0.136***	-0.188***	0.079**	-0.166***	-0.125***	-0.053	-0.075*	0.102***	-0.009	-
Lecturers prefer face-to-face learning	-0.640***	0.683***	0.722***	-0.553***	0.629***	0.717***	0.195***	0.272***	-0.421***	0.195***	-0.126***

Table 2

Multiple Regression Coefficients for Students – Model 1 – Predict Only Measures Of Perceived Learning on Campus

	B	*β*	***t***
Constant	1.16		6.35***
Improvement of learning capacity when teaching on campus	0.72	0.60	18.38***
Interpersonal interaction	-0.01	-0.03	1.77
Improvement of teaching (interest)	0.18	0.18	5.63***
Waste of resources	-0.18	-0.11	6.69***
Improvement of teaching (order and organization)	-0.00	-0.01	0.56
Availability of lecturers	0.03	0.03	1.29
Improvement of teaching (clarity)	0.01	0.03	1.93

***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .05$.

According to the findings, the regression model in Model 1 is significant ($F(8,970) = 582.75$, $p < .001$) and explains 83% of the variance in students' preference for face-to-face learning on campus ($r^2 = 0.828$). Availability of lecturers on campus, improved order and organization of teaching in face-to-face learning, improved clarity in face-to-face teaching, and more opportunities for interpersonal interactions in face-to-face learning predicted students' preferences for studying on campus. In contrast, the strongest predictor of students' personal preference for studies for e-Learning is "improved learning capacity in face-to-face learning." Other variables found to be significant predictors of students' preference for learning on campus (although their predictive strength is less than half that of the variable "improved learning capacity") are "studies are more interesting in face-to-face learning" and "waste of resources in face-to-face learning."

Model 2

Model 2 is a hierarchical regression that included two stages: The first stage included students' background variables (age, gender, marital status, employment status, department, type of institution) and students' characteristics (special needs, language difficulties, students' self-evaluation, difficulties students encountered while studying on campus). The second stage included the variables entered in the first stage and all the research measures explored in Model 1. Model 2 included the characteristics of the hierarchical regression. Students' background variables explain only 13% of the variance in

students' preferences for face-to-face learning, while students' preference face-to-face learning explain 70% of the variance in students' preference for face-to-face learning. The overall model explains 83% of the variance in students' preferences for face-to-face learning. Table 3 presents the characteristics of the hierarchical regression model – Model 2.

Table 3

Preference for Learning on Campus – Model 2 – Predicted by Background Variables and Students' Perception of Learning on Campus

	F	r^2
First stage – Predictors: background variables	13.30***	0.13
Second stage – Predictors: background variables and perception of learning on campus	246.96***	0.83

****p* < .001, ***p* < .01, **p* < .05.

Analysis of the two stages indicates a significant difference: The background variables explain only 13% of the variance in students' preference for face-to-face learning, where the measures of perceived face-to-face learning explain 70% of the variance in the preference for face-to-face learning and the overall model explains 83% of the variance in the variable of preference for face-to-face learning. Table 4 presents the coefficients of the hierarchical regression in the first stage, which includes only background variables that predict the preference for learning on campus.

Table 4

Preference for Learning on Campus – Hierarchical Regression Coefficients – Model 2 Stage 1 – Predicted by Background Variables

	B	β	t
Constant	2.72		8.07***
Married	-0.321	-0.11	3.21***
Have resources for face-to-face learning	0.82	0.26	8.32***
Social Sciences	0.16	0.06	1.78
Working	-0.23	-0.08	2.49*
Type of institution (university)	-0.23	-0.06	1.72
Special needs	0.29	0.04	1.25
Age	-0.01	-0.03	1.00
Student self-evaluation	-0.20	-0.12	3.84 ***
Gender	0.12	0.04	1.30
Language difficulties	0.42	0.05	1.73

p < .01, **p* < .05

Four background variables explain students' preference for face-to-face learning on campus, most strongly by "improved learning capacity on campus" Students who noted that they are capable of learning effectively on campus expressed a stronger preference for learning on campus. The following variables were negative predictors of students' preferences for learning on campus: students' self-evaluation, marital status (married students expressed a lower preference for studying on campus), and employment status (working students expressed a lower preference for learning on campus than did non-working students)..

The belief that face-to-face learning improves students' ability to study is the strongest predictor of the students' preferences for studying on campus, in line with the findings of Model 1. Other variables that predict students' preferences for studying on campus, when controlling for background variables, are the beliefs that face-to-face teaching on campus is more interesting (positive association with preferences for studying on campus), face-to-face studies are wasteful (negative association with preferences for studying on campus), "having special needs" increases the preference for studying on campus, while students' who also hold a job in addition to their studies reduces the preference for face-to-face studies on campus.

Next we explored students' personal preferences for face-to-face or e-teaching by type of lesson, discipline, manner of teaching the lesson, and the lecturer's availability. Students' preference for face-to-face teaching on campus is related to the type of lesson studied: Students who have a weak preference for face-to-face teaching on campus prefer online theoretical courses via e-Learning and prefer to study hands-on courses and workshops on campus (see Table 5).

Table 5

One-way Analyses of Variance (ANOVA) – Preference for Teaching on Campus by Type of Preferred Course in e-Learning

	Preference for studying on campus											
	Weak				Moderate				Strong			
Types of courses preferred in e-Learning	*M*	*SD*	n		*M*	*SD*	n		*M*	*SD*	n	*F*
Theoretical courses	c4.70	0.80	678		b4.11	0.99	122		a3.16	1.37	169	183.79***
Exercises	c4.49	0.98	676		b3.69	1.22	120		a2.59	1.40	167	208.81***
Practical courses	c3.02	1.55	670		b2.18	1.45	117		b1.82	1.17	167	52.20***
Workshops	c3.54	1.50	660		b2.67	1.49	117		a2.10	1.30	162	70.84***

***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .05$. Means marked by different letters are significantly distinct.

We also explored students' preferences for different types of e-learning methods: synchronous e-lessons, recorded lectures, or a combination. Findings indicate that 61.4% of students (N = 630) prefer synchronous e-lessons and 28.1% (N = 288) prefer a combination of a synchronous e-lessons and recorded lectures. Only about one tenth of the students preferred recorded lectures only. Students with low self-evaluation expressed a stronger preference for face-to-face learning on campus than did students with high self-evaluation, who preferred e-Learning. To address the fifth research question we explored whether students prefer face-to-face teaching on campus and to what degree. Based on the findings of previous studies, we examined students' preferences by perceived convenience of studies, which was found to be significant (Davidovitch & Wadmany, 2021). Perceived effectiveness of e-Learning compared to face-to-face learning in a classroom is also related to perceived convenience (or lack thereof) of attendance requirements and technical difficulties that traveling to the campus entails. According to the findings, 51.4% (N = 539) of the students feel that online studies via Zoom are more convenient than face-to-face studies. A high degree of agreement is evident among students regarding two perceptions of face-to-face teaching that are not related to the teaching process: A very high percentage of students believe that studying on campus is a waste of resources (such as the cost of petrol for traveling to the academic institution, hours spent in traffic jams, hours of waiting between lessons at the university), while slightly less than half the students reported that studies on campus offered greater opportunities to engage in interpersonal interactions with students and faculty.

In general, students believe that studying on campus makes a small contribution to improving their learning skills and ability to study. Only some 17% of all students contended that e-teaching increases their ability to study while 65% of students believe that teaching on campus reduces their ability to study. Regarding students' beliefs concerning lecturers' availability, order and organization of studies, studies as a source of interest, and clarity of teaching – more students contended that teaching on campus is detrimental to the academic experience compared to students who believe that studies on campus help improve the academic process. In addition to the findings of the quantitative study, we also present the findings of the qualitative study, which was based on a series of open-ended questions.

Preference for Studies on Campus

Analysis of the themes that emerged in participants' responses to the open-ended question regarding the advantages of studying on campus shows that 82.2% of the responses refer to opportunities for interpersonal interaction (whether with the lecturer or with others, such as friends in general and/or fellow students). Personal relationships and lecturer availability was the second most frequently theme mentioned by participants. This finding may illuminate the conflicting findings regarding students' beliefs of the opportunity to interact with lecturers in the quantitative section of the study. The findings of the open-ended questions correspond to the findings that indicate the importance of this variable for students' perceptions of studies on campus. However, according to the statistical findings, 53.4% of students believe that lecturer availability in face-to-face teaching is low. That is, while relationships with lecturers (and others) are perceived as highly important,

students feel that lecturers' availability in practice is actually insufficient: "It all depends on the lecturer. Some lecturers are worth their weight in gold, and with regard to others I have no idea how they call themselves lecturers and it seems that they only come to pass time"… "I think that teaching in class is relevant mainly when the lecturer is charismatic and there is added value to studying in class…" "The lecturers and the teaching assistants are very caring and helpful. That's the most important [thing], it really makes a difference" … "Lecturers should leave students alone, they should be lecturers and not high school teachers."

In their responses to the open-ended questions, students are critical of the quality of lecturers' teaching, and refer primarily to the pedagogical aspects of the lecturer's work: "If presentations are used then the lecturer should make good use of them rather than only reading aloud from them," "It is important to improve the quality of lecturers and teaching assistants (some of them)," The findings also indicate that students attribute importance to lecturers' attention, patience, and empathy for students: "Nice, attentive lecturers, and not those who only come to read aloud from a presentation. Caring"… "More patience by teachers [is needed]"… "More contact between lecturers and students [is needed]. I have no specific idea, but [they should] try and increase students' sense of belonging."

Analysis of students' responses regarding the advantages of studying on campus also shows that 46.8% of addressed various aspects of the learning process (the ability to concentrate, the learning atmosphere, comprehension of the material, focused and meaningful learning, and academic commitment). Some 10% noted that studying on campus improves lecturers' ability to explain the study material, and some 12% noted that studying on campus improves their ability to concentrate and to focus on the material. At the same time, it is notable that a considerable proportion of participants (21.6%) believed that studying on campus offers no advantages whatsoever.

Students were also asked to address the difficulties they encountered when they returned to campus after social distancing restrictions were lifted. The findings indicate that 22.3% (N = 227) noted that they lack the necessary resources and tools for studying on campus. Of these students, 41% reported financial difficulties that studying on campus created for them, specifically the cost of rent, food, and travel costs, such as petrol and/or public transportation. In addition, 23.83% of the respondents reported wasting precious time due to the need to come to campus. Of these students, 11.21% reported difficulties due to their lack of a car, 9.80% reported that the equipment provided by the university for studying is inadequate (e.g., classrooms that are unsuited for studies, broken chairs and desks, an unstable internet connection, and classroom equipment such as projectors and support equipment that are often broken). Also, 9.35% indicated the lack of a designated quiet space for studying on campus and/or elsewhere (many of the students live in dorms or in rental apartments near campus). Accessibility problems due to the lack of regular public transportation (few bus lines, irregular operation of bus lines, where the bus does not arrive at the designated time or at all) and lack of space in the dorms (endless waiting lists for slots in the dorms) were noted by 7.94%. Seven percent of the respondents reported difficulties due to the lack of parking space at the university, 3.73% indicated difficulties related to the cost of equipment required for studying in class, such as specific equipment for workshops, notebooks, pens, laptops, tablets, etc. Complaints concerning crowded classrooms were voiced by 2.8%, and 1.87% reported that the need to come to campus entailed hiring a babysitter or incurring the cost of after-school care for their young children at home. Only 1.87% of the respondents reported difficulties due to Covid-19 and the need to obtain a Green Pass. In March 2021, Israeli law required that individuals present a Green Pass as a precondition for entering certain businesses and public areas. The pass was issued to Israelis who had been vaccinated with two doses of Covid-19 vaccine, or who recovered from Covid-19.

The final research question addressed what students believe should be done to improve the experience of face-to-face studies on campus. Students' responses referred mainly to access and accessibility, specifically (a) access to the campus (transportation) ("Increase public transportation…" "Organize transportation to the university"); (b) parking ("There is a severe parking problem that is very oppressive and eliminates any desire to come," "I usually come to all the lessons. But if there was a train station near the university it would make it much easier."); (c) access within the campus ("I come to class. If it would be possible to open catering facilities at more accessible points at the university – that would be wonderful… Maybe something with real food, that would not require us to walk ten minutes in each direction and wait in line for ten minutes when the break is only 30 minutes," "…And the climb from the lower to the upper campus makes no sense. There should be shuttles or some other way. It makes no sense for us to arrive in class breathless" "Add parking

spaces, to stop making it necessary to hurry from class to class, so that during recess between lessons it will indeed be possible to rest and to take a break rather than having to walk around searching for the next class.")

The next meaningful area that requires improvement according to students is comfort in class ("Sometimes the classrooms are full and there is almost no room to sit," "Not having 300 students in a class," "Transportation to the university; smaller, more comfortable classrooms").

An open-ended question was asked regarding students' opinions on whether online synchronous studies should be continued in the post-Covid era. The responses to this question were consistent with the findings of the quantitative section of the study. Some 60% of the students expressed a clear and unequivocal preference for full online studies, 26% preferred hybrid studies (a combination of face-to-face and online), and only 12.4% of the respondents expressed a wish to resume exclusively face-to-face studies on campus. Notably, 13.6% answered that their preference regarding the type of study method depends on the type of course. A small portion of interview respondents (8.6%) believe that e-learning improves their ability to study effectively, for example through increasing their ability to concentrate on the study material, and contributes to joint learning, discourse, and discussions in class. A small proportion (2.2%) believes that e-learning satisfies students' need to engage in interactions with the lecturer.

Discussion

The current study examined whether and to what degree students are interested in returning to the campus after experiencing e-learning, with all its advantages and disadvantages. The study also explored students' perceptions of teaching and learning after more than two years in which they experienced a variety of teaching models: fully online, blended, and face-to-face. The quantitative and qualitative findings of the current study show that 60% of students expressed a clear, unequivocal preference for studying exclusively online, about one quarter (26%) preferred blended studies (a combination of face-to-face and online studies), and only 12.4% expressed a desire to resume face-to-face studies on campus. Of these, 13.6% stated that their preference depends on the type of course in question.

A high degree of agreement among students is evident regarding two perceptions of face-to-face teaching that are not related to the teaching process: A very high percentage of students believes that face-to-face learning on campus is a waste of resources (e.g., cost of transportation to the academic institution, time spent in traffic jams, time wasted on campus between classes), while slightly less than half of students reported that face-to-face studies on campus offer greater opportunities for interpersonal interactions with students and faculty.

Analysis of the themes that emerged in response to the open-ended question regarding the advantages of studying on campus shows that 82.2% of the responses referred directly or indirectly to interpersonal interactions (whether with the lecturer or with others, such as friends and/or fellow students). Although relationships and interactions with lecturers were considered important, many students noted that such interactions were in practice insufficient.

Conclusion and Implications

Due to social distancing restrictions, the Covid-19 outbreak generated opportunities for transitioning to more flexible learning (Davidovitch & Wadmany, 2021). The findings of the current study, other studies (Davidovitch & Wadmany, 2021), and position papers by students suggest that the campus should operate a blended format that combines online and face-to-face studies. Curricula—including their cognitive and social-emotional dimensions—should be reviewed and adjusted to new teaching and learning formats that meet the needs of today's learners in the new and changing environment. Not all courses are suited for distance learning, but those that are, particularly theoretical courses, should be taught online while carefully incorporating appropriate digital teaching methods and pedagogies. Curricula will necessarily include hands-on classes such as laboratories, workshops, and studios, which require students' physical attendance on campus or in appropriate study zones.

In the past, educational policy consistently focused on students' cognitive and intellectual functioning and underestimated the role of relationships and emotions. Today, the importance of both cognitive and emotional components of the learning process are recognized for their potential contribution to students' academic and personal success. The current research findings support the consensus within the scientific community regarding the importance of social-emotional development (Jones & Kahn, 2017) and the beneficial effects of social-emotional learning on academic, emotional, and behavioral abilities, on the atmosphere in class (Mahoney et al., 2018), and on students' achievements (Schonert-Reichel, 2017). The research literature indicates that in recent years a new educational paradigm known as resilience education has emerged, in which educational contents and practical acquired skills are used to train both students and lecturers to function more independently in times of routine and crisis (Plotkin-Amrami, 2021). Resilience is strongly related to socio-emotional learning (SEL), which emphasizes the process experienced by students and lecturers, and focuses on the means of social-emotional learning, with the aim of developing a wide range of intrapersonal and interpersonal skills, attitudes, and capabilities, including self-awareness, social awareness, and decision-making skills (Durlak, 2015). In contrast to SEL, resilience education is designed to develop learners' coping skills and realize their potential in crisis situations.

We must pay special attention to students' feedback, as evident in the current study, which emphasizes that many students feel that the need to physically attend a lecture on campus that can be delivered online is an unnecessary waste of resources.

Preparation and training are essential conditions for the success of e-learning. Assimilation of technologies requires comprehensive, methodical preparations, including training for the faculty, redefining the nature of teaching, establishing the appropriate technological infrastructure, establishing support systems, working in teams, making judicious use of open sources, and making structural changes to the study halls and classrooms on campus.

Institutions of higher education cannot continue to rest on their laurels and expect to continue to flourish while disregarding their dynamic environment and the changes needs and preferences of their students. University decision makers and educational policymakers must undertake a process of rethinking and strategic planning of study contents and their relevance for students' lives. The tasks ahead include decisions related to the incorporation of the most appropriate new and diverse teaching methods and pedagogies for teaching, learning, and assessment, combined with advanced technologies adapted to learners in general and customizable by individual students (personalization of studies). Such planning must also give weight to the development of students' social-emotional learning abilities and practical skills, so that students understand and manage their emotions, feel and display empathy, are able to set positive goals, develop and preserve relationships, and reach wise decisions to function independently and effectively during times of routine and times of crisis. Although we believe that institutions of higher education will continue to diversify in the future and develop a wide range of teaching and learning models according to their visions and cultures of the institutions, the academic campus will maintain its relevance and importance as an integral component of academic education.

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(Mis)aligned Investments:

In-Service ITA's Experience Within Their ITA Training Class

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Abstract

Despite their centrality to undergraduate teaching in U.S. universities, few studies focus on international teaching assistants (ITAs) and their experiences within ITA training classes. Through a multiple case study of two In-Service ITA's (China, Taiwan) investments (Darvin & Norton, 2015) in one such class, it became clear how idiosyncratic are perception of these courses: one ITA profound negativity involved accusations of institutional racism, yet another flourished through the class. Data included journaling, interviews/ stimulated recalls, course assignments, and classroom (ESL and departmental) observations. Findings, presented as narrative and then as conceptual configurations of investments, explained their experiences bifurcated due to their disparate teaching experiences and to policy decisions made within one's home departments. This study expands the scope of ITA and investment research by connecting macro and micro-level aspects. Pedagogical implications are to center pedagogy on learners' investments, utilizing reflexive activities to prevent misaligning the course with learners' identities, ideologies, and desired capital.

Keywords: English as a Second Language, ESL, identity, international teaching assistant, investment, ITA

Introduction

Approximately 400,000 international graduate students were enrolled within American universities in 2019-2020 (Israel & Batalova, 2021), many becoming International Teaching Assistants (ITA's) who serve in their departments through various teaching roles (Gorsuch, 2012). Over the years, North American universities have come to rely on ITAs to teach undergraduate courses, labs, recitations, etc. Preparing for instructional duties, ITAs often enroll in English language course- work (Gorsuch, 2014). Such classes are exponentially important because ITAs eventually instruct other students -

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under-graduate learners (Gorsuch, 2016). Within ITA training classes, it is critical that ITA educators maintain learners'motivation in such classes (Gorsuch, 2016), yet their motivations within the course remain unexplored, typically focusing on their socialization and teaching experiences. As a potentially important space for learners' development, the present study explored it through the lens of individual ITA's, seeking to answer these research questions (RQ):

RQ1: In what ways were In-Service ITA's invested in an ITA training class?

- RQ1.1 What were their perceived identities and their imagined identities, and how did they change during their participation in an ITA training class?
- RQ1.2 What were their ideologies towards the learning context and how did they change?
- RQ1.3 What systemic patterns of control facilitated their investment and acquisition of capital, or hindered them?

Literature Review

Recent ITA scholarship continued in well-established veins of research. Studies have compared ITAs and domestic teacher assistants (Tas), reaffirming that distinctions exist (Collins et al., 2022; Zhang, 2019). Assessment of language, intelligibility, and teaching preparedness remain topics of interest (Lindemann & Clower, 2020; Ma, 2022; Sok et al., 2020; Thirakunkovit et al., 2019; Yan et al., 2019). ITA's actual discourse within classrooms has been examined (Cotos & Chung, 2019), as has the impact of a pronunciation pedagogy (LaScotte et al., 2021). One novel approach to ITA pedagogy is greater incorporation of undergraduate students within ITA training (Hatcher et al., 2020), even turning the proverbial tables by directing linguistic training towards undergraduates, not ITAs (Subtirelu et al., 2022). Above all, recent scholarship seems to center largely on self-reported data and perspectives, whether from former ITA (Papi, 2022; Yu, C., 2022) or from redesigned ITA training programs/curricula (Sahranavard & Du, 2022). In particular, one special issue of the Modern Language Journal was dedicated to ITA and included many articles focusing on the perspectives of various stakeholders within one Midwestern U.S. university (Antón, 2022).

One welcomed development in the scholarship is a greater focus on ITA's experiences (Adebayo & Allen, 2020; Agrawal & McNair, 2021) and their perspectives (Collins, 2021a; Collins, 2021b; Ramjattan, 2020; Wang, 2020). This work extends prior scholarship that examined the socialization and acculturation processes of ITA's (Bengu, 2009; Jia & Bergerson, 2008; Uzum, 2012; Uzum, 2013), from testing through teaching assignment (Ernst, 2008), including an examination of ITA's social lives off campus (Myles & Cheng, 2003). Focusing on ITA's teaching experiences (Adebayo & Allen, 2020; Agrawal & McNair, 2021), this work has not examined ITA's development within the ITA training class/ curriculum. As the site of potential learning, it is critical to understand ITA's experiences and abilities within such curriculum, availing an understanding of how such pedagogies facilitate ITA's overcoming obstacles and "cultural bumps" they perceive in their path (Collins et al., 2022; Ramjattan, 2020).

Few studies have focused on ITA's experiences within ITA training classes/curricula. Notwithstanding, the few studies that examine ITA's learning in ITA training courses are now somewhat dated, and studied the impact of specific pedagogical interventions (Stevenson & Jenkins, 1994; Wallace, 2015; Zha, 2006). Moreover, they were conducted by researcher-instructors, meaning the researcher both taught the course and simultaneously conducted research. This, combined with the lack of a comprehensive, longitudinal view of a semester long ITA training course while ITAs perform departmental teaching duties, leaves considerable gaps in our understanding of what facilitates and hinders ITA's linguistic and professional development.

Theoretical Framework

Like its companion study which examined Pre-Service ITAs (Anderson, 2022), this study explores aspects of learners' identities. These aspects are no longer considered ancillary to how one learns a new language; rather "issues of identity and power are being recognized as central to (the field of) second language acquisition (SLA)" (Norton &

McKinney, 2011, p. 74). Identity work enriches the study of SLA in four principal ways. First, it uniquely integrates the individual learner within their larger social world. Secondly, it examines how opportunities to use and learn the language are socially constructed, to which, thirdly, practices, resources, and identities contribute. Fourthly, identity research produced the concept of investment, which recognizes the complex relationship between the learner and their commitment to learning the language and makes room for learners' imagined identities and imagined communities (Norton, 2013).

Within this line of inquiry, Norton developed the concept of investment to more fully understand ESL learners' "motivation," viewing the construct of motivation to be simplistic (Norton, 2019). Within identity research, exploring learners' investment is an important item on the research agenda (Norton & De Costa, 2018). The most comprehensive model of investment is Darvin and Nortons' (2015), which takes learners' investment as the interplay between identities, ideologies, and capital (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Overviewing each, identity is, "the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton, 2013, p. 5). Next, ideologies are defined as, "dominant ways of thinking that organize and stabilize societies while simultaneously determining modes of inclusion and exclusion, and the privileging and marginalization of ideas, people, and relations" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 44). Lastly, drawing from Bourdieu (1986), capital is simply put, power, -power that manifests in different forms within different spheres. For example, economic capital could take the form of property, wealth, or income, while cultural capital, specific types of knowledge or credentials (Bourdieu, 1986).

These three components unpredictably cascade into one another. Nonetheless, the model holds that learners bring multiple identities (real and/ or imagined) into learning spaces, which are already influenced by existing ideologies. It is learners' desire for capital that propels their learning. As their capital is valued by others, their identities become affirmed. Yet during these processes, others may not value learners' capital, and/or learners may not successfully acquire the capital they seek. Ideologies within the learning space, manifested as structures of power, patterns, or practices, may impair learners' acquisition of capital. Against these impairments, learners may struggle to be recognized as the identity they desire for themselves (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 46-7). Learners' investment then is the interplay between these components.

At present, few studies have used Darvin and Norton's model of investment (Barkhuizen, 2016; Gearing & Roger, 2018; Shahri, 2018; Stranger-Johannessen & Norton, 2017). Broadly, investment has been used both as tool for exploration and as an explanatory tool (Norton & Toohey, 2011). Applications of Darvin and Norton's model is no different. Within classrooms, it was used to examine the investments of English language learners within a private Iranian language institute (Shahri, 2018). Outside classrooms, it was deployed to explore or explain EFL instructors' learning of Korean while living and working in South Korea (Gearing & Roger, 2018), the identities of one immigrant Pre-service EFL teacher in English over eight months (Barkhuizen, 2016), and the engagement of Ugandan teachers in a digital education intervention (Stranger-Johannessen & Norton, 2017). The model's comprehensiveness makes it well suited for use with a variety of learners, exploring factors inside and outside the classroom.

Methodology

Using Darvin & Norton's (2015) model as conceptual framework and organizing principle, a descriptive case study was conducted. Case studies are an, "in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system" that aimed to produce a *thick description*, meaning a "complete, literal description of the incident or entity being investigated" (Merriam, 2009, p. 40). In understanding language and its learning, Duff (2008) posited, "the case study approach to applied linguistics research has been very productive and influential", having been used (as multiple- and single case studies) of teachers, immigrant language learners, bilingual families, and programs (Duff, 2008, p. 36).

Among the misconceptions of case study work are issues of generalizability and researchers' biases. As presented by Flyvbjerg (2006), it is often believed that one cannot generalize from a singular case, and so singular cases do not contribute to science. Case studies also are confirmations of researchers' pre-conceived notions, some posit. Reformulating these critiques, Flyvbjerg (2006) responded that, "formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development; the

force of a single example is underestimated" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 216-245). As for bias, the scholar posited that case study research exhibits no more confirmatory tendencies than any other form of research. To explore ITA's investments, a multiple case study was most appropriate because it availed a highly contextualized comparison between two cases -here meaning individual learners. Sampling was "purposive" (Merriam, 2009, p. 77-8), eliciting participation from ITA's enrolled in ESL 9999.

Participants Quenton and Jacob (pseudonyms), two ITA's at Paw State University (PPSU-[pseudonym]) were this study's two focal participants. As Chinese and Taiwanese graduate students -respectively, both were serving their departments (Chemistry/ STEM Education) in roles that required regular, instructional, oral communication with undergraduate students (and so were considered "In-Service ITA's"). Both were enrolled in one section of ESL9999 taught by Mr. Sam (pseudonym). The study was part of larger project that involved Pre-Service ITA's, who were previously reported on (Anderson, 2022). For this IRB-sanctioned research, participants were recruited at Autumn 2018's start from all sections of ESL9999. As a token of gratitude, each participant received a total of four $10 gift cards during data collection, paid by the researcher. The researcher offered participants no corrective feedback.

Setting PPSU is a large Midwestern university enrolling thousands of international students annually. Mandated by state law, all international graduate students working as instructors must become certified via the ESL department's testing. Typically prior to/ upon arrival, international students take the I-TEACH Test (pseudonym), which assesses English comprehensibility when teaching field-specific concepts. Home departments assign ITA's instructional roles depending upon their scores, with more communicatively demanding assignments reserved for high-scoring ITA's. Some test-takers gain certification for any instruction role, while others get certified for roles while concurrently taking ESL9999. Those receiving the lowest scores may only serve as graders or lab-preparers, while concurrently taking ESL 9998 and/or 9999. Testing may be taken once per semester- independent of ESL9999- and again upon completion of ESL9999.

Researcher's Positionality ESL9999 instructors were four Caucasian, American men. One was the researcher, yet none of the researcher's students participated in the research. All other instructors also rated I-TEACH Tests. I, the researcher, had been teaching ESL9999 for 4 years as a graduate teaching assistant (GTA), having received initial training from veteran instructor Mr. Sam, whose course design and approaches I adopted. Mr. Sam's ESL9999 classroom oriented his learners toward the teaching of undergraduate classes, involving student-led discussions on cultural topics, partner work, lecturing, and microteaching/ tutorials. As a researcher, I believe the combination of my deep familiarity with the class and sharing the approximate age/ identities of GTA /graduate students afforded me keener insight into the experiences of ITA's than had I not shared these identities with ITA's. I am not aware of any way in which my positioning negatively impacted the research or the participants.

Data Collection Data included weekly journals, class assignments, interviews, and classroom observations of ESL9999 and within home department courses (See Tables 1, 2, and 3). Four semi-structured interviews were done, which occurred at the semester's start, middle, and conclusion, and at the onset of Spring 2019 after the I-TEACH Test. The second and third interviews were stimulated recall sessions that utilized ESL9999 assignments, journals, and the researcher's field notes taken during observations. All interviews were structured to align with the Darvin & Norton (2015) model of investment, exploring each of the three components. Additionally, two rounds of interviews were conducted with ESL9999 instructors and one round with home department coordinators. Weekly journaling prompted participants' written responses, using a secure Google-doc-like software, to "Describe a particularly significant moment that occurred in or through your class/ your class assignments." Two 150-word sample paragraphs were provided. Outside ESL9999, observations were made in Quenton's teaching within labs and office-hours. For Jacob, observations of his interactions were not possible. First, Jacob requested his participation in the study be concealed from his department. Secondly, Jacob's supervisory role

involved watching student-teachers interact with school children, for whom many protections exist. Instead, I made observations in two PPSU courses in STEM Education that Jacob hoped to teach.

Table 1

Data Collected- Interviews

ITA Participant	interviews (hours)	ESL 9999 instructor interviews (hours)	home department interview (hours)
Jacob	4.25	3.75	1
Quenton	5.5		.75

Table 2

Data Collected- Observations

ITA Participant	ESL 9999 observations	Direct observation of ITA's performing teaching roles (hours)	Observation in Home Dept. of other TA's performing teaching roles (hours)
Jacob	4.25	0	4
Quenton	5.5	4	2

Table 3

Data Collected- Assignments/ Deliverables

ITA Participant	ESL 9999 assignments collected (assignments)	Journaling (number of entries)	Journaling (average number of words per entry)
Jacob	36	13	138
Quenton	21	12	317

Data Analysis Account data, the study's primary interest, consisted of semi-structured interviews, weekly journals, and stimulated recalls. Account data were transcribed verbatim. Secondary data included assignments, instructor feedback, and fieldnotes from classroom observations taken in both the ITA training class and in home department classes. The combination of these sources afforded triangulation, which, "…can bring greater plausibility to the interpretation of results" (Hyland, 2010, p. 195). All data were indexed before being coded for themes using Transana Professional 3.31c, a qualitative analysis software. Coding was done using qualitative content analysis, which is interested in the communication of meanings (Merriam, 2009, p. 205). Three *a priori* categories (identity, ideology, capital) initially guide the study, however additional categories are anticipated to emerge. Later, categories of findings were woven into an interpretation (Merriam, 2009, p. 189).

Within the account data, the boundaries of data points were set as moments in the transcripts when the conversation moved from one idea to another. Best efforts were made to capture in one data point a particular point a participant made and its exemplification (if applicable), however, any second exemplification offered would have been recorded as a separate data point. Counts of data points were used to identify salient findings, as soon described. Secondary data -classroom assignments/ feedback and field notes- were analyzed and utilized in stimulated recall sessions to generate more account data. Within secondary data, data points were identified as relatively coherent units that addressed or supported an emerging theme without parsing.

All data was labeled one of four types: "Homework data" (hw:#), observational data (obs:#), and the two varieties of account data: interview (int:#), and journaling (j:#). Tabulations were made of each theme. For example, a theme, "Louie was a confident teacher," supported by four account data points (two journal and two interview data) and two homework data, would appear: "(int:2, j:2, hw:2)". Only findings are reported that were supported by at least 3 account data or by 4 assignment data, which emerged from analysis as a logical threshold. Among findings, only those essential to the emerging

understanding were reported. Although imperfect, these tabulations allow an assessment of the supporting data. Afterward, cases are compared utilizing cross-case comparisons (Duff, 2008, p. 164), before discussing findings conceptually.

Results

Profiles of the two cases are presented before findings are presented -first as individual cases, then as cross-case comparisons.

Quenton

Quenton was a 23-year-old, first-year doctoral student of Chemistry from China. Before arriving at PPSU, Quenton earned a bachelor's degree in China before obtaining a master's degree from a small university in the same state as PPSU, which constituted his first English immersion experience. Quenton was in his first semester at PPSU and his first in teaching, leading two general chemistry lab sections.

PPSU's Chemistry Department's Rigorous Pedagogy

Beyond doctoral studies, lab-leading TAs had numerous obligations. Weekly meetings required them to learn the pedagogy of each lab lesson, taking turns giving mini-lectures as practice. Later in Head TA's office hours, TAs had to prove their ability to implement each week's lesson. TAs then led the three-hour lab, twice per week, which required giving instructions and individualized guidance. Afterwards, TA's grade students' lab reports, which a Head TA verified the consistency of grading across all labs/ all TA's and required re-grading if the TA had not graded using the department's methods or standards. TAs also staffed office hours, 60-minute walk-in tutoring sessions in which 20-30 undergraduates from all Chemistry courses, could seek any TAs help.

Seeking English/ Teaching Skills/ Cultural Knowledge

Quenton saw potential employment in teaching following graduation (int:6). Aspects of American capitalism inspired him, and he envisioned himself using applied chemistry as a means to acquire future wealth, ultimately to be reinvested through philanthropic work (int:5). Quenton's desire to interact with Americans, to fit in with them, was strong (int:6, j:4). He saw cultural familiarity as critically important (int:4, j:1). Quenton admired aspects of the US university and of American students, including their diversity (int:4). Quenton viewed interactions with native speakers as important for his language development (int:3). Quenton saw his own English as flawed resulting from a lack of environment in which to practice (int:3) and his previously limited interactions with native English speakers and rare use of English (int:3). Quenton faulted the Chinese educational system for focusing too much on input at the expense of output (int:3). He wanted someone to correct his mistakes in English (int:3).

"Surviving" His Studies

Quenton viewed teaching positively (int:5) yet he reported negative emotions tied to his current lab teaching, particularly grading students work, which was "brainless" and felt like a "job" (int:5, j:7). PPSU's chemistry labs are too bureaucratic (int:4, j:2). Because of his many duties tied to lab-leading, Quenton reportedly felt he was only "surviving", sensing that he was being surpassed by his departmental peers (int:5, hw:1). His Chemistry peers would all prefer a research position to a teaching position (int:5). Within teaching positions, he saw recitation-leader as less time consuming than lab-leading, and thus desired it (int:3). Because recitation positions were reserved for ITA's who attained full certification on the I-TEACH Test, Quenton valued improving his score (int:1). Quenton viewed his lack of preparation and completion for his ESL9999 assignments as detrimental to his teaching and to his confidence (hw:4). In both lab and ESL9999, Quenton was frustrated by a language barrier that he felt was hindering his fluency (int:4, j:1, hw:5). Within the course, Quenton became too busy for all his ESL9999 work (int:6).

Improving His Chemistry Lab Pedagogy Using ESL9999

Quenton's ESL9999 instructor, Mr. Sam, perceived the intelligibility of ITA's as highly complex (int:7). He valued ITA learners acquiring a keen awareness of their audience (int:11), and these views converged with Quenton's. Quenton's assignments in ESL9999 had direct overlap/ interconnection with his lab teaching (int:3, hw:1), particularly the utility of microteachings for his giving lab instructions (int:8). In both spaces, Quenton became aware of learner's (in)ability to see the board/ visual materials (int:1, hw:7). He likewise became sensitized to the learners' level of prior knowledge of a topic (hw:4), and to the importance of checking in with students and interacting with them (hw:6). Quenton values improving his teaching (int:8). Through reflective assignments in ESL9999, he reflected on the importance of rapport and small talk with learners (hw:3) and developed the view that audience awareness is something that good presenters/ speakers possess (int:4). Knowing American culture helped him develop rapport with his students (int:3). Through ESL9999 assignments, he noticed other instructors' use of connecting words (hw:5) and saw the heterogeneity of his ESL9999 peers as an asset (int:3, hw:1). He learned that good speakers control their rate of speech (int:3).

"The Experience Difference"

Despite positive experience leading labs generally (int:5), in his Tuesday lab, the rude behavior of one problematic student undercut his self-confidence (int:2, hw:4). Quenton perceived this student's negativity spreading to her peers, leading him to the atmosphere of Tuesday's lab being "frozen," and to his becoming increasingly insecure in front of his students (int:3, j:3). Lacking preparation, he reported in his homework, undercut his confidence (hw:4). Quenton explained the contrast as, "the experience difference": students' negativity in his Tuesday's lab section -which was reflected in his SEI scores, he later said-, compared with the amicable atmosphere of the Thursday section, was explained by his own inadequate preparation for Tuesday's lab and stronger preparation in leading the same lab a second time each week (int:7, hw:3).

ESL9999: an invaluable experience

Ultimately, Quenton found ESL9999 to be generally helpful for his lab-teaching (int:4), having transferred skills from it to his lab (int:6, j:1). Quenton so positively viewed the course and its instructor, whom was an "expert," that he theorized that courses like ESL9999 makes the difference between good and poor Chinese speakers of English (int:6). Specifically, he found the individual tutorials most beneficial (int:6), particularly in differentiating /l/ and /n/ (hw:4). After ESL9999, Quenton became certified on the I-TEACH Test to avoid additional ESL coursework. The next semester, Quenton continued to serve as a lab instructor of two sections of a new course.

Jacob

37-year-old doctoral student Jacob was in his third year studying STEM Education. In his native Taiwan, Jacob earned a bachelor's degree in Science Education with an ESL endorsement and a master's degree in Math. Prior to PPSU, he had several years of elementary school teaching in Taiwan and three years of Math/ Chinese Foreign Language teaching in a Midwestern US state. At PPSU, for a fifth semester, Jacob supervised pre-service K-12 teachers -undergraduate students in training- in field placements within local schools. He met them weekly and occasionally observed their teaching.

An Expert Teacher, Strengthening His Case for A Teaching Appointment

Jacob's high confidence in his teaching abilities is based on his prior teaching experience (int:6). Jacob saw himself as unique amongst his ESL9999 peers and departmental colleagues because of his teaching experiences, which included ESL teaching (int:5). Jacob was confident in his supervising role (int:3) and saw himself as benefitting from the experience (int:3). Yet Jacob was frustrated at being assigned to supervise student-teachers, rather than teaching (int:5). Jacob's desire to teach STEM Education courses at PPSU was robust, pursuant of future work as a university instructor (int:6, email:1).

Prior to and during Autumn 2018, Jacob invested many hours observing undergraduate classes within his department that he hoped to teach, preparing himself for a teaching position, conducted independently from all ESL9999 assignment or coursework (int:5, j:1, hw:3). At the start of Autumn 2018, Jacob reported having only rare or mostly troubled interactions with Americans (int:5). Throughout the semester, he had negative interactions with one female supervisee (int:4).

ESL9999, Redundant Yet Educational

Despite consistently reporting that he "already knew" much of ESL9999's content (int:5), Jacob developed an array of skills. He liked having access to ESL9999 materials (int:3, j:2). He initially took interest and valued native English speakers' vocabulary and phrasing (int:5, j:2, hw:1), and in reductions and linkages of words (int:2, j:2). Later in the semester, Jacob came to believe that his receptive skills of native speakers' reductions were sufficient for him (int:1, j:2).

Jacob firmly believed that good teaching was interactive teaching (int:6, j:1). Jacob saw his microteaching as superior to those of his classmates (int:1, j:1, hw:4), and used his peers as a measure of his own progress (int:4). He noticed the interactivity of peers' microteachings, or lack thereof (int:1, j:1, hw:4). One assignment, to explain a poster, allowed Jacob's interactive teaching skills to be valued (int:2, j:2). Jacob improved upon a variety of presentational/instructional skills using humor (int:1, j:1, hw:5) and referencing real-world examples when explaining concepts (int:2, j:1, hw 1). Through his peers' microteachings, he noticed their assertiveness (or lack thereof), and made increasing assertiveness a goal of his own (int:5, hw:3), as well as eye contact with the audience (int:1, hw:5). Assignments to watching and transcribe his own microteaching were beneficial (int:4). Jacob appreciated and wanted more microteaching practice since it used the format of the I-TEACH Test (int:3, j:1).

Conjoint Frustrations

Jacob's views on ESL9999 darkened by the semester's end. He viewed the course to not be providing what he truly desired: fluency-building activities (int:7, hw:1). (Conversely, Mr. Sam believed ESL9999 and its learners to not need fluency development but greater precision [int:1] amongst a litany of other skills.) Jacob saw the course engaging in and promoting instructor-led lecturing, which was as not only negative, and but pedagogically harmful to learners (int:6, j:2). Jacob reflected that the course lacked clarity in policies and organization (int:5). He also complained that assignment assigned six times, the Key Terms lists and recordings, were burdensome and unnecessary, for which he minimized his efforts (int:4, hw:3). ESL9999 work became less important, and progressively devoted less time to them (int:5). Before the semester finished -and before he had taken the I-TEACH Test- Jacob learned that his department had selected other TA's for the teaching roles he sought, and he would again supervise. Knowing that he would again not be an instructor, Jacob insisted that only through teaching a class could he apply ESL9999 skills, and because he was only supervising he was unable to judge ESL9999's usefulness (int:5). Nearing semester's end, Jacob's views culminated in his appropriating peers' accusations of racism and exploitation regarding capable ITA's being required to take ESL 999 and the I-TEACH Test, to speak like an American (int:2).

Unfortunate Epilogue

After the course's end, Jacob gained full certification on the I-TEACH Test and was again supervising in Spring. Yet following data collection, Jacob emailed the researcher that he learned he would not be offered a supervisor position the following year, for reasons he did not specify (email:1), resulting in his loss of funding for his fourth at PPSU. The researcher did not seek explanation from administrators, nonetheless two points made by the department coordinator when earlier interviewed may be relevant. First, within this department, there is habitually greater demand for teaching positions than positions available (int:1). Secondly, pressure from external state accreditation agencies on the department factor into the department's staffing decisions. Concisely, it matters to the department whether those teaching future teachers hold state licensure themselves (int:1). Jacob, who had taught at a private school in another U.S. state, did not (int:1).

Conceptual Findings

This section provides answers to the research questions. Examining ITA's investment, the research questions inquired into participants' identities, ideologies, and access to capital. Because of the interlocking nature of these three components, findings are reported conjointly to not lose explanatory power. Each case is reviewed before a comparison is offered.

Aligned: Quenton's Investments, ESL9999, Chemistry Labs

Quenton's identity as a novice instructor, seeing as important capital interactions with Americans and self-improvement as an instructor, was an excellent fit for Mr. Sam's ESL9999. The nature of the ESL9999 assignments, their overlap with and direct applicability to his lab context proved the most salient. Moreover, its paralinguistic, cultural material -rapport building and small talk- most facilitated Quenton's lab-leading abilities. Quenton developed an ideology -a "way of thinking" - that having strong rapport with his students enhanced their learning, which reduced his time needed to grade their mistakes, freeing him to focus on his own academics. ESL9999's assignments, tutorials, and feedback, were capital that Quenton found immediate use for in his lab teaching. Moreover, Quenton's duty to lead the same lab on Tuesday and on Thursday for different cohorts also facilitated his teaching, and thus, his identity as a successful lab-leader.

Conversely, this identity was most hindered by the number of TA responsibilities he was shouldering. These duties burdened him academically, reaffirming his status as an international student inherently disadvantaged alongside his American peers. Quenton's numerous duties also hindered his ESL9999 work and thus his lab-leading. An astute observer, Quenton theorized the "experience difference," an ideology that linked his own inadequate preparation to students' malcontent and misbehavior in Tuesday's lab, in stark contrast to his enjoyment and learners' success in Thursday's lab. Teaching the same lab anew, Quenton felt more capable and perceived positive results, which affirmed his identity as an effective instructor.

Misaligned: Jacob's Investments with ESL9999's approach

Jacob's disquieting case revealed several important conceptual points. It is clear that Jacob's identities, ideologies, and capital were tightly bound to the point of inseparability. As a supervisor of student teachers, Jacob was promoting interactive teaching among his supervisees, which was valuable capital that had developed during his doctoral studies in STEM education, his extracurricular observations of many PPSU classes, and his own years of teaching experience. Jacob believed his skillset to be the capital necessary for a teaching appointment within PPSU's STEM education classes, itself being the most prized capital available to him. Such capital and subsequent identity, that of a course instructor at a renowned American university like PPSU- were capital he envisioned that would lead to employment post-graduation. Merely supervising student teachers, for Jacob, was no substitute.

To be eligible to be appointed to a teaching position, Jacob needed to pass ESL9999 and gain full certification on the I-TEACH Test. Both of which required him to adopt their specific practices, which Jacob viewed as teacher-centered lecturing. Ironically -and tragically then, this practice ran contrary to his ideology that teacher-centered lecturing is antithetical to good teaching. As such, it also conflicted with the triad of Jacob's identity as an expert teacher, teaching ideologies, and capital, both desired and previously collected. Moreover, critiquing teaching -usually student-teachers'- was his main duty as teaching supervisor. This duty to critique, and this role, represented the highpoint of his teaching experience, and the closest he was permitted to actually leading a university course in the U.S. In other words, critiquing ESL9999 was at once a critique of counterproductive teaching practices and an exercise of Jacob's extant capital -drawing from his identities as supervisor, expert teacher, and emerging STEM education scholar.

Jacob's negativity towards ESL9999 developed concurrently with his departmental frustrations. Repeated disappointments involving teaching assignments being given to others provided the backdrop for his negativity towards ESL9999. He took on the identity of an aggrieved, exploited ITA. Conflating ESL9999 with his hiring frustration, Jacob ultimately reported that ESL9999 had been useless because he was not a classroom teacher, yet he was not a classroom teacher because his department had repeatedly denied him this promised opportunity. This ideology overlooks the myriad

of skills he reported to have developed and discounts any applicability of these skills to his supervisions. Neither ESL9999 nor Mr. Sam played any role in Jacob's departmental frustrations, yet Jacob pondered ESL9999's complicity in an unjust system.

Comparing Cases

Both In-Service ITA's were enrolled in the same section of ESL9999. Quenton saw ESL9999 as growing his teaching identity, while Jacob reported ESL9999 to be of little use. What most explain this difference are the identities, ideologies, and capital they had formulated and accumulated prior to ESL9999. Jacob's identity as an expert instructor was solidified before the course while Quenton's was still embryonic. Jacob saw himself as an expert teacher wrongly placed into a remedial course with peers who needed the remediation. Jacob was attentive in ESL9999 only to the wrongheaded pedagogy it proscribed: lecturing, a type of capital Jacob not only devalued but eschewed. So Jacob dismissed course material as personally redundant but harmful to other ITA's.

Conversely for Quenton, ESL9999 was an invigorating source of learning. His concurrent lab-leading responsibilities meant his learning was not theoretical but made real impacts and ramifications for his identities and pursuit of other capital, his own academics. Jacob viewed his supervising role as availing no opportunity to apply ESL9999 learning, a view must be understood within the context of his dissatisfaction with his employment and emerging identity as an aggrieved ITA. These findings demonstrate the importance of the extant identities, ideologies, and capital the ITA's brought to ESL9999, and power of their perceived immediacy of their need for the course content.

Discussion

This study examined the identities, ideologies, and capital that two ITA's developed through their semester-long ITA training course, leading to a deeper understanding of ITA's investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015). It expands our understanding of this model within language learning (Barkhuizen, 2016; Gearing & Roger, 2018; Shahri, 2018; Stranger-Johannessen & Norton, 2017) by underscoring the unpredictable, idiosyncratic nature of individual learners' investment within the learning context. Despite being enrolled in one section of the same course, the two ITA's experienced the course in opposite ways, due largely to their dissimilar developmental stages vis-à-vis teaching. It also discovered that decisions made within home departments -external to the ITA training class- profoundly impacted the investments that ITA's make in the ITA training class. This demonstrates that power structures that are seemingly removed from the learning context nonetheless can greatly impact the learning. Moreover, it is participants' perceptions of these power structures may be of equal, if not greater significance, to their learning.

Much messier than any notion of a straight-forward test-preparation course, the learning that was recorded in this ITA class was complex. Mr. Sam's course was multi-faceted, often-times embedding assignments within his learners' own home departments, and availed ITA's choice in the substance of their learning. The messiness came from the disparate ways that ITA's aligned, or misaligned, with the course. Jacob did not recognize these elements of choice the course was granting him. His case illustrated that issues of identity and power are critical in second language acquisition (Norton & McKinney, 2011, p. 74). Dually victimized by his department and by ESL9999's failure to honor his capital, he positioned the ITA training as useless for his supervising. This finding confirms that cultural capital, and earning others' recognition thereof, "is always a site of struggle" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 45).

By framing ESL9999 as exclusively imparting lecturing skills on ITA's, then condemning lecturing as pedagogically harmful, Jacob was, "challeng(ing) normative ways of thinking, in order to claim the right to speak" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 47). More than speaking, Jacob was claiming the right to critique, and to exercise his capital, thereby affirming his multiple identities as teaching supervisor, experienced teacher, and educational scholar. Jacob's discrediting of ESL9999 appears a unique example the educational beliefs of ITA's (Gorsuch, 2003), connected to learners' resistance in the L2 classroom (Liu & Tannacito, 2013). Within studies of investment using Darvin & Norton's (2015) model, no other case exists of misalignment between learners' constitutive investment components and the proscribed learning (Barkhuizen, 2016; Gearing & Roger, 2018; Shahri, 2018; Stranger-Johannessen & Norton, 2017). Jacob's case also contributes to the growing literature on international students' perceptions of racism (Buckner et al., 2021; Yu, 2021).

Findings also underscored the importance of the alignment between learners' investment, their learning context, and the external space in which they apply their learning. Jacob's case presents a warning for pedagogues about significant misalignments exist between them. Particularly critical to explore is learners' application of the learning -real and envisioned. The alignment of instruction with learners' needs remains a concern for educators (Johnson, K.A. & Parrish, 2010). This study adds this new dimension to prior work exploring learners' investments within a classroom connected to outside-classroom contexts (Andrew, 2011; Gu, 2008; Johnson, E.J. & Johnson, 2016). Beyond investment, similar recent work has focused on the alignment of instruction with learners' motivation (Sato, 2021).

The hardships and misalignments revealed in this study, including Mr. Sam's, point to the need for future research on ITA educators' practices and perspectives (Gorsuch, 2003) and their investments in building their learners' repertoires (De Costa, P.I. & Norton, 2017). If pedagogy takes seriously the well-being of ITA's, it must also take seriously the well-being of ITA educators. What is needed are both fine-grained analyses of individual ITA educators like Mr. Sam, coupled with surveys of the ITA community of practice, akin to surveys of educators of other niche groups (Lough & Toms, 2018). More work is also needed to elucidate the communication and implementation of ITA-language-related policies across campuses (Ernst, 2008).

This modest study (n=2) should constitute an initial step towards a wider exploration of the investments of ITA's. Rather than producing generalizable truths, case studies produce from rich, deep data intriguing topics to pursue further exploration. One such topic is how participants' varying levels of teaching expertise and experience impact their learning. Another is the availability of teaching contexts in which to apply one's learning developed in an ITA training class. Every comparison between humans brings affordances and limitations. Additional case studies would benefit comparison, particular cases focused on ITA's leading labs or in advisory type roles like Jacob's. Finally, within qualitatively oriented research the positionalities of the researcher are not marginally important, but central. Alternative data, findings, or interpretations may have arisen had the study been conducted by other researchers. Additional work done by female, non-native English speaking, or non-teaching researchers would also benefit comparison.

This study also offers insights for research. These findings demonstrate that investment is an effective conceptual tool for both exploring learners' learning and analyzing it (Norton & Toohey, 2011). Moreover, the positioning of the researcher as researcher only (not researcher-instructor) afforded the research deeper, critical perspectives on the experience that were previously absent. Regarding ITA's, the two cases here were keen to connect with Americans, despite their workloads. Researchers should harness and facilitate such connections, remaining mindful of ITA's many departmental duties. These insights may lead to more useful, honest perspectives.

Implications and Conclusion

Pedagogical Implications

ITA educators must take account of ITA's home countries, first languages, cultural traditions, and academic disciplines (and the teaching contexts/styles of each). To this list, we must add ITA's prior teaching experience. Because Quenton and Jacob were at starkly different points in the development of their teaching identities, differentiated instruction would have proven useful. Of equal importance, instructors must allow ITA's latitude in choosing the capital they acquire. In a high-stakes course like ESL9999, the types of the capital ITA's are to acquire seem fixed. Assignments allowed ITA's the freedom to customize assignments for ITA's own purposes. Reviewing studies of ITA training classes (Jia & Bergerson, 2008; Stevenson & Jenkins, 1994; Wallace, 2015), such freedom appears unique. This study echoes calls to make investment be a pillar of a course's design (Trentman, 2013; Wu, 2017).

For learners like Jacob, for whom the learning became "meaningless and ritualized" (Norton, 2010, p. 10), instructors must remind such learners of the control afforded them to shape their learning. Likewise, also needing explication are the possible applications of skills targeted in the course within non-teaching contexts (e.g. academic conferences, job interviewing, etc.). In this way, it is ITA educators who must "struggle" to have learners recognize the value of the capital the ITA training course offers (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 45).

Regrettably, Jacob's resentment grew unbeknownst to his ESL9999 instructor. For Jacob, course-required journaling may have revealed his frustrations to Mr. Sam, who could have then looked "upstream" and "downstream" to

understand his discontent (Erickson, 2004, p. 187). Journaling might also have surfaced Quenton's "experience difference," which Mr. Sam could have leveraged as learning opportunities. Preservice teacher training has successfully used reflective practices to combat excessive stress (Garbys-Barker, 2012). While supporting a healthy emotional life was not an ESL9999 course goals, it should be. Kramsch (2006) posited that pedagogy must educate, "whole persons with hearts, bodies and minds with memories, fantasies, loyalties, identities" (Kramsch, 2006, p. 251). More work is needed of ITA's within their academic and social circles, accounting for their lives both on and off campus (Myles & Cheng, 2003).

Quenton's strong emotional experiences and subsequent development demonstrate the necessity that ITA's be involved in teaching and interacting with real undergraduates in which to practice their emerging instructional skills. The cycle Quenton established -experiencing real teaching, valuing ESL9999's targeted skills and recognizing their potential applicability, then applying and sharpening them within his teaching- represents the ideal pedagogy for ITA's. Furthermore, Quenton found amicable conversations with his undergraduates to be mutually beneficial and therefore focused on developing these skills in ESL9999. This finding attest to the "double linguistic calibration" (De Costa, P.I., 2010, p. 778) that ITA's often experience, needing proficiencies of both formal language for instruction and informal language for their social lives. Findings suggest that ITA training classes should target these rapport-building skills.

Lastly, home departments should recognize how the various duties they assign ITA's impact them, including their academics. Home departments should furthermore understand how teaching appointments are viewed by ITA's. For Jacob, it was a coveted form of capital. If departments shared Jacob's perception, it would have taken greater care to transparently distribute them and comply with university language policies. To do anything less may foster accusations of malpractice, as those issued by Jacob.

Conclusion

This examination of the investments of two In-Service ITA's in their ITA training class was a novel contribution to comparative and international higher education. Conducted by an external researcher, the study extended through the duration of the course and testing. It produced findings from various data types sampled from the multiple ecologies to which the ITA's belonged. The idiosyncrasy of the investments of the two ITA's in their singular ITA training class is revelatory. Making this difference was their varied levels of prior teaching experience, the availability of authentic teaching contexts, and policies of their home departments. These findings necessitate that pedagogy recognize ITA's prior teaching experience and attitude towards teaching alongside their other more recognized identities and capital. Findings also demonstrate the pedagogical importance of all ITA's having opportunities to instruct undergrads in some manner.

Theoretically, this study demonstrated the thoroughness of the Darvin & Norton (2015) model of investment, which affords a more holistic, and thus accurate, view of learners' "motivation" to improve their skills in a second language. This conceptual model can benefit higher education broadly, both as a tool of exploration and as one for pedagogical design. Finally, it became clear through the study's voluntary reflective activities that the ITA's socio-emotional well-being were not adequately addressed. Quenton's and Jacob's cases offer a window into the complexities of ITA training but symbolize their incredible perseverance to rapidly adapt to new environments, becoming leaders within North American undergraduate classrooms.

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Book Review

Douglass, J.A. (2021). *Neo-nationalism and universities: Populists, autocrats, and the future of higher education*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 320 pp. $49.95 (paperback). ISBN 9781421441863.

Purpose and Central Argument

On December 15, 2019, the Delhi police, controlled by the government of India, entered the campus premises of Jamia Millia Islamia University and disrupted a peaceful demonstration against a newly passed citizenship act, attacking and detaining students perceived as "anti-nationals." Similarly, in January 2021, after Rodrigo Duterte accused the University of the Philippines of serving as a communist recruitment hub, the Philippine government terminated an agreement with the university that prohibited state security forces from entering its campuses, threatening academic freedom and student activism in the process (Ayson & Reyes, 2021). This pattern of authoritarian leaders bringing universities to heel reveals that neo-nationalism – what Sata and Karolewski (2020) have referred to as Caesarean politics – is becoming increasingly mainstreamed and is leading to democratic backsliding under thinly veiled pretexts such as taking back control, eradicating insurgency, and making nations great again.

Neo-nationalism and Universities, a collection of essays edited by John Aubrey Douglass, a professor of public policy and higher education at the University of California, Berkeley explores this global phenomenon. The book underscores how chauvinistic leaders are milking nationalism – whether rooted in faith/religion or racial/ethnic/cultural supremacy – to romanticize repristinated pasts, regulate scholars, defund universities on ideological grounds, and demonize Others, including foreign states and peoples, religious/ethnic minorities, sexual minorities, Marxists, and feminists. The book is structured as a series of national and pan-national case studies that reflect neo-nationalist movements, ranging from low-key illiberal to full-blown autocratic regimes. Through these case-wise examinations, the book's contributing authors – seasoned academic researchers and leaders – assess the meaning and impact of neo-nationalism on the behaviors, roles, and values of major universities.

Overview of the Book

The book illustrates that old nationalisms have taken on new configurations across the world, sparked by stimulants such as the acceleration of social change, mismanagement of refugee crises, and social media-inflamed polarization, forces which, in tandem, have enabled neo-nationalist parties to sow discord, bridle universities, weaponize science, and gain political mileage. In the **first chapter**, Douglass conceptualizes the university as an extension of and inextricably bound to the nation-state, and notes that universities shape and are shaped by their national environments. In the **second chapter**, Douglass offers a framework for neo-nationalism, identifying four overlapping types: nascent populism, nationalist-leaning governments, illiberal democracies, and authoritarian regimes. These introductory chapters set up the premise that while neo-nationalism is fueled by similar mainsprings, it manifests in varied ways and with varying degrees of influence on the missions, activities, and priorities of universities.

For instance, in the **third chapter**, Brendan O'Malley, detailing factors underlying Brexit, lends credence to findings that Brexit's nationalist project played up long-standing ethnic myths and symbols of English identity (Schertzer & Woods, 2022), nostalgia for an imagined past (Orazi, 2022), and social anxieties concerning multiculturalism (Calhoun, 2017), all of which contributed to the United Kingdom (UK)'s divergence from the European Union (EU). In the **next chapter**, Douglass describes Donald Trump's ascendency and refashioning of previous forms of national populism in the United States (US), delving into issues such as campus culture wars, White supremacy, and Sinophobia in America. In **chapter five**, Wilhelm Krull and Thomas Brunotte cite reasons such as the geopolitics of emotion and anti-Brussels paranoia

as contributing to the rise of neo-nationalism in Europe, corroborating Brøgger's (2021) observation that Europe's nationalisms of the past have evolved into a novel configuration, one that opposes both the forces above (i.e., the EU) and the forces below (i.e., EU migrants).

Universities are local actors and at the same time becoming increasingly international, and this book illustrates that inward-looking nativist, xenophobic, and parochialism sentiments jeopardize internationalization and stymie knowledge generation and sharing. For instance, in the third chapter, O'Malley uses the example of the UK's inability to participate in programs such as Erasmus+ to highlight the loss of academic mobility and cooperation caused by neo-nationalism. This echoes Otto's (2021) observation that Brexit compromised the ability of higher education institutions in the UK, EU, and US to partner with one another in collective pursuits of positive institutional outcomes in teaching, research, and service. Wellings (2022) has stressed that neo-nationalism should be analyzed as an important variable in the politics and process of disintegration in the EU, and Marijk van der Wende takes on this analysis in **chapter six**, shedding light on how de-Europeanisation, propelled by neo-nationalism, impedes the free flow of skills, talent, and ideas across the borders of EU's member states.

This book, further, describes how neo-nationalists are curtailing academic freedom in their attempts to direct university research and teaching in ways that align with their agendas. That neo-nationalists prefer ideology unchallenged by evidence (Slaughter, 2019) is particularly well demonstrated by Krull and Brunotte in chapter five. Through examples such as Viktor Orbán's decisions to dismantle gender studies programs and oust the Central European University from Budapest, the authors delineate how universities in Hungary, Poland, and Germany are being used as pawns by power-tripping demagogues. Similarly, in **chapter seven**, O'Malley explains how Recep Tayyip Erdoğan fanned Islamic nationalism in Turkey and solidified his sway over higher education through ministerial controls on management, the censorship of criticism, and the elimination of suspected Gülenists, Kurdish sympathizers, and other threats – real or perceived – to the legitimacy of the Justice and Development Party (AKP).

Karin Fischer continues this discussion on academic freedom in **chapter eight** by detailing methods used by Xi Jinping (e.g., the harassment of Charter 08 signatories) to coerce China's universities to toe the party line. While nationalism and globalization are often viewed as antithetical processes, Fischer elucidates how Xi has attempted to reap the dividends of globalization through the Belt and Road Initiative, reminding readers that if universities are crucibles of dissent, they are also propellants of innovation and international esteem, which might explain why Xi, who views open inquiry in the academe with caution, seeks also to invest in world-class universities and harness science as geopolitical leverage. In the **penultimate chapter**, Igor Chirikov and Igor Fedyukin list Vladimir Putin's maneuvers to tighten the Kremlin reins around Russia' universities (e.g., replacing rector elections with appointments and placing constraints on interpretations of Russia's past and contemporary politics), tactics that hearken back to Soviet legacies of control over higher education. The authors also contemplate the future of Russian university autonomy and the scope of increasing re-Sovietization, issues that acquire urgency in the wake of the pandemic and Putin's invasion of Ukraine.

In the **closing chapter**, Elizabeth Balbachevsky and José-Augusto Guilhon-Albuquerque trace Brazil's deleterious turn toward fascism, describing the ideological war waged by Jair Bolsonaro's administration against Brazil's knowledge regime. Perhaps the biggest takeaway from this chapter – and this compilation of essays, as a whole – is that universities, despite neo-nationalist pressures to domesticate them, must strive to promote the common good while maintaining the dignity of free persons. This exhortation is particularly driven home by Balbachevsky and Guilhon-Albuquerque, who inform readers that Brazil's universities, despite the neo-fascist assault that they had to endure, continued to defend human rights, mitigate the impacts of COVID-19, and deploy science in the service of society. By concluding on such a positive note, this book affirms that while universities are susceptible to authoritarian arm-twisting, they can function as responsible actors in society. This echoes Robertson and Bayetova's (2021) claim that educating students in liberal values, such as critical thinking and freedom of expression, can effectively counter a state's authoritarian impulses.

Strengths, Weaknesses and Contributions

The book leaves the impression that neo-nationalism resembles a multi-headed, shapeshifting monster, mutating and metamorphosing into different shapes and forms (e.g., ethnocentrism, religiocentrism, and false patriotism) across different social, historical, political, and regional contexts, often coming to be known by different names (e.g., Trumpism, Orbánism, Bolsonarism, and Putinism). Douglass and his colleagues have warranted a clarion call to universities to keep an eye out for signs of democratic erosion or demise and remain committed to their civic mission of leading change, inclusively and systematically, for public welfare. The authors have suggested that universities can and should be bellwethers of change, defend the freedoms of minorities from the whims of the majority, and harness science and scholarship for the health and

sustenance of the communities in which they are situated. However bleak the future of universities seems in these trying times, this book leaves the hope, however rose-tinted this yearning might be, that higher education can be a potent weapon to slay neo-nationalism, whatever hideous and tyrannical form this monster might take.

Despite this book's numerous merits, its conspicuous limitation is that it does not adequately examine neo-nationalist formulations across Third World contexts. With the exception of Turkey, Douglass and his co-authors do not explore what Shakil and Yilmaz (2021) have described as civilizationism, the fusion of religion with identitarian populism. The book does not address questions such as these: What are some unique features of Third World religio/ethnic-populist civilizationism, examples of which include Hindutva Brahmanical nationalism in India, Sinhalatva Buddhist nationalism in Sri Lanka, and Imran Khan's brand of Islamist nationalism in Pakistan? How might Third World scholars remain committed to truth and justice if their campuses become proxy battlegrounds for competing, conflicting hegemonic and peripheral nationalisms (e.g., Indian and Kashmiri nationalisms, Sri Lankan and Tamil nationalisms, Pakistani and Baloch nationalisms)? What are the implications of blasphemy laws, anti-terrorism laws, and colonial-era sedition laws for the future of universities in postcolonial countries? These questions could serve as a starting point for students and scholars of comparative and international higher, political science, and cultural studies interested in expanding the conversation on neo-nationalism and higher education.

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