Emotional Difficulties: Racial Representation in Swiss International Higher Education

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the affective-discursive responses of students and administrators to representations of diversity. In total, 31 interview participants were presented with a set of nine images sourced from international study office websites. The affective-discursive analysis of their responses utilizes a synthetic framework designed to investigate reactions to representations of race. The analysis suggests the emergence of the concept of "emotional difficulties" in response to these representations of diversity. Interview respondents evaluated, positioned, and aligned themselves, resulting in three distinct types of emotional difficulty: uncritical acceptance, aggressive indifference, and wry amusement. The article argues that these emotional difficulties serve as a manifestation of students' affective-discursive reactions to inclusion and diversity in higher education and are an integral component of how students navigate the intricate complexities of diversity representation.

Keywords: race, representation, affect, stance, inclusion

International higher education is a dynamic context with challenges characterized by interactions between people of different national, racial, and ethnic backgrounds. Indeed, internationalization, defined as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions, or delivery of post-secondary education" (Knight, 2004, p. 11), necessarily includes some forms of diversity as part of its premise. However, concerns about unequal flows of students in international student migration have been raised over the last decade. Studies show that structural factors impede diverse students from studying abroad in the US (Lee & Green, 2016; Murray Brux & Fry, 2010; Sweeney, 2013; Willis, 2015). Furthermore, diversity in internationalization continues to emerge as an important global trend (Bilecen & Van Mol, 2017; McAllister-Grande & Whatley, 2020).

The challenges faced by international students are merely one aspect of the overall education landscape. Mainstream higher education research has been concerned with equality for decades (Marginson, 2015). However, only recently have education scholars begun to focus on the challenges of inequality with

specific mentions of identity differences (Hernandez, 2021). Specifically in Switzerland, where this study takes place, scholars have attempted to understand complex power dynamics involved in international student mobility/migration (Riaño et al., 2018). This understanding especially illuminates notions of diversity in international higher education (Bell et al., 2018).

As universities compete for students under increasing marketization pressure, they must present themselves as diverse, international, and offering 'the best experience' (Askehave, 2007). Online university promotional materials mirror what universities consider inclusive and attractive. How students emotionally react to representations of diversity can tell us how discourses shape notions of diversity on university campuses. At stake here is a nuanced understanding of the emotional response to diversity representation in university settings.

This study explores racial representation on international office websites. The theoretical framework incorporates Glapka's (Glapka, 2019) synthetic approach by analyzing students' stances toward university promotion in majority-white European university settings. The concept of stance, or "the act of evaluation owned by a social actor," (Du Bois, 2007, p.141) lays bare the tensions caused by contested meanings of social values. The study further extends Glapka's (2019) synthetic framework by using Dunne et al.'s (2018) approach to analyzing teachers' "emotive language" in response to visuals in education settings. By using these two concepts, stance and emotive language, this study argues for the concept of "emotional difficulties." Emotional difficulties are an affective-discursive response to diversity. The analysis ultimately answers the question: "How do students and administrators respond to representations of diversity in Swiss international higher education?" by highlighting the undertheorized affective dimensions of inclusion/exclusion in international higher education.

The structure of the paper is as follows: it first outlines visual race as a salient factor in the analysis. It delineates the importance of (racial) inclusion and defines it vis-à-vis diversity. Then, it describes the necessary constructs of affective semiosis, or, meaning making through emotions. These three concepts, race, inclusion, and affect, form the theoretical framework for this paper. Next, the methods section provides a clear outline of the steps taken for sampling and analysis, including the justification for Switzerland as a case. The paper then presents the findings on three distinct categories of emotional difficulty: uncritical acceptance, aggressive indifference, and wry amusement. Finally, the paper concludes with a discussion on the implications of this study for higher education in a sociopolitical sense.

Theoretical Framework

Racial representation in international higher education

Discussions of affect and race in education contexts typically center on the inclusion and exclusion of racialized others (Ahmed, 2012). Emerging discussions on the materiality of the body acknowledge that affect as embodied meaning-making is an under-researched part of understanding internationalization (Brooks & Waters, 2017). Education scholars have also discussed how emotional investments are experienced in difficult contexts often characterized by racial and/or ethnic tensions (Yao & Viggiano, 2019; Zembylas, 2014). Race in affect literature on education is mutually constitutive with "particular emotional practices and discourses that include some students and exclude others" (Zembylas, 2015, p. 183). This affective power demonstrates the need to explore how racialized power dynamics work to establish exclusive hierarchies in global settings, even (and particularly) in European countries (Wekker, 2016).

Visual race

Public discourses in Europe tend to silence discussions of race (Cervulle, 2014; El-Tayeb, 2011; Essed, 1992). Here, race tends to be seen and not heard; research on visual racial differences focuses on discourses that 'teach' race based on sight by emphasizing the aspect of meaning-making through visual stimuli (Nayak, 2017; Yue, 2000). Discourses imbue race with meanings associated with specific phenotypes and how they are shaped by, for example, colonial history and evolving migration patterns that bring

representations and the physical presence of racially different people (Clark, 2020; Frisina & Hawthorne, 2018).

For Switzerland, the absence of explicit discussions about race help to shape racist discourses that take on regional, linguistic specificities (Boulila, 2019). The unique phenomenon of racial discussions among students in the predominant 'global hub' of education in Swiss institutions illuminates how universities represent race and attendant difficulties with inclusion.

Inclusion, not diversity

Inclusion in higher education constitutes "organizational strategies and practices that promote meaningful social and academic interactions among persons and groups who differ in their experiences, their views, and their traits" (Tienda, 2013, p. 1). Inclusion differs from diversity efforts in universities, which focus on bringing in 'diverse' bodies to a potentially hostile, homogeneous environment (Ahmed, 2012; Tate, 2014). While education studies has been primarily concerned with moving from an integration paradigm to inclusion, this concern centers on specific demographics, such as disabled students (Woodcock & Hardy, 2017).

This distinction between diversity and inclusion is key, as the presence of diverse bodies does not necessarily mean that they will be included, let alone centered, loved, or celebrated. The qualitative difference between diversity as a professed, measurable value at universities and inclusion as the promotion of meaningful interaction can be encapsulated in the concept of "diversity regimes" wherein the signifier "diversity" is employed as a vague institutional strategy that "obscures, entrenches, and even intensifies existing racial inequality by failing to make fundamental changes in how power, resources, and opportunities are distributed" (Thomas, 2018, p. 141). This regime has been found to govern university contexts regarding various forms of diversity; the affective dimensions thereof also going unnoticed and effectively silenced (Ahmed, 2021).

Affective semiosis

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

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

The anxieties produced by the presence of racialized others, whether physical or represented in media, have been shown to govern national and institutional contexts and interpersonal relations (Ahmed, 2013; Tolia-Kelly, 2019). An approach that centers on emotional difficulties with power dynamics can account more fully for the role of emotion in responses to specific forms of racial representation (Zembylas, 2018). Analyses of mediatized discourses have centered on the political implications of emotions (Westberg, 2021). However, approaches to interpersonal affective interactions that highlight notions of race and representation bridge larger and smaller-scale discourses (Glapka, 2019).

Methods

Switzerland emerged as a unique and feasible case for study due to its distinctive characteristics. The country's manageable size facilitated data collection; there are ten universities and two university-level federal research institutions. While there are other higher education establishments, such as vocational universities and specialized programs, this research primarily focuses on nationally-recognized universities, which also receive significant international attention.

Swiss higher education institutions boast a unique position in global academia, regularly earning placements in the prestigious "top ten" universities across various university ranking systems. Notably, they are the only universities outside of the US and the UK to achieve such recognition (QS World University Rankings 2021: Top Global Universities | Top Universities, 2021; World University Rankings, 2021). Despite the criticism regarding the fairness of university ranking systems (Shahjahan et al., 2017), Switzerland's universities' consistently high rankings make them highly sought after by international students who often refer to such rankings when making university decisions (Thakur, 2007).

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

This analysis focuses on transcripts from thirty-one interviews with four administrators, six bachelor's students, fifteen master's students, and seven doctoral students; nineteen were female, and twelve were male. They were thirteen domestic students and fourteen international students, and four administrators. Two participants were Asian, one was Black, one was Middle-Eastern, two were White Latinas, and the remaining twenty-six were White (For a summary of demographic characteristics, see Table 1). Participants were recruited via advertisements in various social media groups and direct emailing and snowball sampling through the interviewer's networks.

Selection criteria for inclusion in the sample were that participants had to be attending or working for one of the ten Swiss universities or two federal research institutions. These criteria were selected to create a multifaceted picture; solely including, for example, international students would not capture the emotive responses of domestic students. Administrators were included due to their overarching view and ability to provide context; in contrast to professors, they are intimately familiar with the ins and outs of internationalization. The driving force behind the study was to understand how students and administrators who interact with them understand, navigate, and respond to diversity.

Table 1

Demographic information for Interview Participants

Name*	Gender	Age	*Status*	*Race*
Andrea	Female	Early 40s	Admin	White
Andreas	Male	Mid 20s	BA student	White
Andy	Male	Late 20s	MA student	White
Blue	Female	Mid 20s	MA student	White
David	Male	Early 20s	BA student	White
David	Male	Late 20s	Ph.D. student	White
Elena	Female	Early 30s	Ph.D. student	Latina

Esme	Female	Late 30s	Admin	White
Giacomo	Male	Mid 20s	MA student	White
Giovanni	Male	Mid 20s	Admin	White
Hakeema	Female	Late 30s	MA student	White
Indiana	Female	Early 20s	MA student	Black
Jo	Female	Early 20s	Admin	White
Joachim	Male	Early 30s	Ph.D. student	White
Laura	Female	Early 40s	Admin	White
Laura	Female	Late 30s	Admin/PhD	White
Leia	Female	Mid 20s	MA student	Asian
Ludovico	Male	Early 20s	BA student	White
Luna	Female	Early 20s	BA student	White
Maria	Female	Early 20s	MA student	White
Meagan	Female	Early 20s	MA student	White
Mercedes	Female	Mid 30s	MA student	White
Para	Female	Early 20s	BA student	White
Paula	Female	Mid 20s	MA student	Middle Eastern
Phoebe	Female	Mid 20s	Ph.D. student	White
Rainer	Male	Late 30s	BA student	White
Stefan	Male	Early 20s	MA student	White
Sara	Female	Late 20s	Ph.D. student	White
Sara	Female	Late 20s	MA student	White
Vasco	Male	Mid 20s	MA student	Asian
Kirby	Male	Mid 20s	Ph.D. student	White

*Note. All names are pseudonyms selected by interview participants

The author, a Queer, Black, Latinx, US-born man, conducted the interviews; his positionality influenced how the interviews took place (Brown, 2016). For example, the interviewer's status as a non-White, non-Swiss person impacted the interviews as the use of English and references to the United States were quite common, even in interviews not conducted in English Additionally, some participants who guessed that the interviewer could also speak Spanish used Spanish terminology.

The photographs were selected from a larger data set that was part of the author's ongoing research (see author, forthcoming). They were selected due to the wide range of activities shown (for a brief description of the selected images, see Table 2). Ultimately, the nine images represented several kinds of images within the dataset. Images were chosen from each region in Switzerland, assuring that there would be at least a partial representation of similar kinds of universities. A wide array of visually diverse students were also represented; these images were chosen to represent visual diversity and elicit participants' responses to this concept.

Table 2

Photograph descriptions

Photograph	Description

1 – Trio of students	Three students walk across a grassy campus on a sunny day. One presents as White and male, one presents as White and female, the last presents as a darker-skinned South Asian female.
2 – Students on stairs	Several students working on their laptops on the stairs in front of a university building. Most of the students are White and female, and one is darker complected.
3 – Seven student faces	Seven students of varying complexions are depicted. The image is cropped so that all one can see are the students' heads. They are all gazing in different directions
4 - Working with headsets	Two White students are depicted working at computer screens with headsets on while a White blond woman stands above them looking at their screens.
5 - Another trio of students	Three students engaged in conversation. One presents as White and male, and one presents as East-Asian and female, the last is darker complected and male
6 – Woman pointing at a screen	A White woman points at a screen with a remote in her hand while a Black man and Black woman look on.
7 – Students pointing at a map	A White man points at a map while two White women on either side look on.
8 – Several students smiling	Several students of varying complexions smile at the camera.
9 – Class in a lecture hall	A typical lecture hall with tiered seating is depicted. The student in the center is a White male. In the row behind him sit two female students who present as East- and South Asian, respectively.

The analysis relied on a theoretical framework that synthesizes the approach used by Glapka (2019) based on the larger affective-discursive framework (Wetherell, 2012) and combined with concepts of emotional manifestations and thematization (Fiehler, 2002) and stance theory (Du Bois, 2007). In her study, Glapka relied on photo-elicitation to guide semi-structured interviews. She used images of women racialized as Black found in popular beauty magazines to stimulate responses from her interview participants, in a similar fashion to the current study. The analysis here extends this synthetic framework by incorporating Dunne et al.'s approach to emotional analysis to expand Glapka's affective-discursive theorization toward inclusion/exclusion in education. Dunne et al. (2018) analyzed "emotive language" evoked by photographs taken by students and shown to teachers to understand the children's standpoint and emotional experiences, which resonates with Fiehler's concept of "emotional manifestations" (p. 3). These emotional responses showed how individuals position themselves regarding inclusion, invoking socio-cultural values (Du Bois, 2007).

The analysis proceeded through the following steps: transcripts were analyzed for manifestations of emotions in several categories, including vocal, non-vocal, verbal, and nonverbal expressions (Fiehler, 2002). Additional notes on paralinguistic cues were collected via field notes to enrich the data. The analysis was reviewed by a second researcher to bolster validity and underwent several revisions before arriving at the final categories. This approach allowed for an inductive development of a new theoretical construct, namely emotional difficulties. The study identifies the forms of emotional difficulty by marking the evaluation, positioning, and alignment of stance taking.

Findings

Stances
Stances are characterized by affective-discursive relationships amongst subjects, between subjects and objects, and within specific socio-cultural environments. Three types of affective stances were identified within the data: uncritical acceptance, aggressive indifferences, and wry amusement. These stances indicated the respondents' emotional difficulties with questions of representation and highlighted tensions between diversity representation and inclusive environments.

Uncritical acceptance
Uncritical acceptance is an affective-discursive gesture toward accepting diversity without reflecting on its complex meanings. This affective stance is often manifested through avoidance of specific linguistic markers of diversity, i.e., specific mentions of race, ethnicity, and other forms of difference and the power imbalances and inequalities these differences might entail (George Mwangi et al., 2018). Respondents evaluated diversity as a benefit for the social context of the university (Maher & Tetreault, 2013). However, these responses did not show concrete understandings of diversity. For example, when asked if the nine images were representative of the diversity on campus, one White, male, international student demonstrated his uncertainty.

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

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

Another kind of uncritical acceptance emerged in the interviews that showed the complete removal of dynamics of difference from an embodied frame of reference. One White male Swiss student studying outside of his home region struggled to define diversity but seemed to have strong opinions.

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

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

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

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

Each respondent who exhibited this form of emotional difficulty vehemently claimed not to care about racial differences but explicitly derided the images. For example, one White international

doctoral student gave cues throughout her interview that diversity is a laughable topic. Describing the Black and White subjects in image six, she said:

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

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

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

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

The interruption of the penultimate question included an explicit epistemic statement, "If we could be finished by 16:00, that would be great," in an annoyed tone of voice. To contextualize, the interview had seemingly gone well up until this point. Additionally, the interview had only lasted about 30 of the approximately 60-minute range listed on the informed consent form that Stefan signed. This participant made clear that he was not aligned with the researcher's critical inquiring stance through his divestment of the time he was willing to spend being interviewed. Through the content of his utterance, his tone also calibrated the relationship between interlocutors by disrupting the affective encounter through his clear expression of disinterest in the interview process. Stefan's stance of aggressive indifference demonstrates his overall positioning towards diverse racial representations; engaging with them is not worth his time. His difficulty with these representations elicited a stance that impacted the interview, creating a rushed intensity felt in extra-discursive ways.

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

diversity. A stance of aggressive indifference toward diverse racial representation highlights emotional difficulties toward inclusion through visual means.

Wry Amusement

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

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

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

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

She also laughs mockingly that there is 'only one black person.' The qualifier 'only' is another short comparative marker that indicates more Black people to reflect the number at the institute would be more appropriate. Compared to the word "chunk" to describe large groups of non-White people, one can infer from the affective-discursive acts within that specific sentence in the excerpt that she holds a critical stance and, thus, has a problem with how the subjects of the images are represented in the visuals. Rather than

simply explicitly describing an emotional difficulty, she first linguistically marked the problems, then subtly demonstrated her stance of wry amusement toward the issue.

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion and concluding remarks
This study demonstrated the impact of emotions around racial representation by identifying emotional difficulties with representations of diversity. The analysis outlined embodied senses of acceptance, indifference, and amusement. Manifestations of emotion indicate evaluations of representations of race in line with socio-cultural values, rendering it unspeakable (Hernandez, 2021). The notion of emotional difficulties allows researchers and practitioners to highlight the emotional aspects of navigating diversity.

The responses of Kirby, Giacomo, Lynne, Stefan, Azula, and others show that reactions to diversity are often beyond mere words, and some are more pleasant than others. As is often the case in Western Europe and elsewhere, the problematics of race "blindness" and "muteness" are to be seen, heard, and felt in subtler, more insidious ways.

This study has shown institutional discourses of diversity are not reflected in the affective environment; perspectives on inclusion remain uncritical, aggressive, and wry. Additionally, this analysis exposes mundane occurrences of forceful emotional intensity by analyzing commonplace emotional expressions rather than the "particularly emotional" (Fiehler 2002, p. 96). It provides a framework for situations where racialized exclusions play a powerful yet inconspicuous role. Specifically, in an age where internationalization is playing an ever-increasingly important role in migration, and migration is being leveraged by stakeholders as an important political issue, this study addresses affect as an unspoken, yet clearly impactful force on reactions to international students. Future studies on this topic could build off of this framework, for example, by incorporating affective-discursive reactions in their analyses of internationalization within and beyond the classroom. For Swiss higher education, this study has demonstrated that internationalization is not simply a question of logistically accommodating newcomers from the surrounding countries.

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

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