



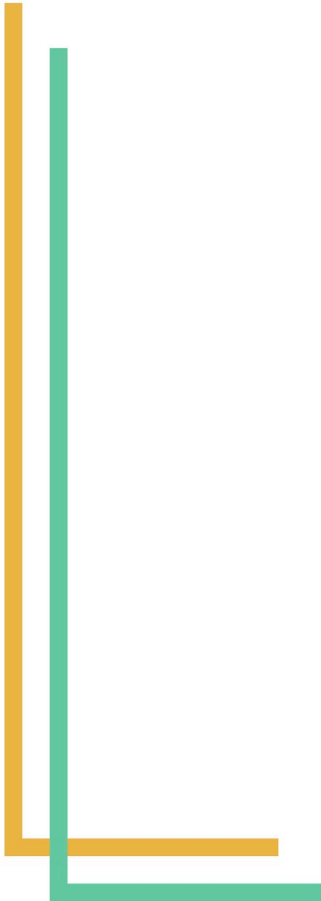
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Dissertations in Bilingualism 32

Of Ethics and Multilingualism in Internationalising Academia

Ethical Events in Swedish University Life

Luke Holmes



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Academic dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Bilingualism at Stockholm University to be publicly defended on Wednesday 14 December 2022 at 14.00 in Nordenskiöldssalen, Geovetenskapens Hus, Svante Arrhenius väg 12, and online, the Zoom link is available on the website of the Department of Swedish Language and Multilingualism.

Abstract

This thesis engages ethnographically with actors whose practices constitute contemporary Swedish universities and who pose and respond to everyday questions of ethics and multilingualism. In contradistinction to the discursively monolingual horizon of contemporary academia, the thesis thinks questions of language differently, contributing to the growing body of knowledge on socially and linguistically diverse practice in internationalising university life. By analysing the discursive practices of university students, administrators, teachers, and researchers, it aims to illuminate potential new ways of engaging, learning, and knowing that might be more justifiably described as ethical and multilingual. With participants who fulfil the key missions of an academic institution in the faculties of the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities, the thesis provides a full and nuanced sense of university life in Sweden, relevant to those working in, or in relation to higher education institutions across the globe. The thesis is based on three studies which all focus on participant representations and interactions to reveal the different ways in which the dominant discourse relating to language, multilingualism, and ‘internationalisation’ is being reproduced, responded to, and transcended. *Study I* engages with research and teaching staff to explore the extent to which their practices and representations relate to the ideologically double monolingual language policy, debate, and scholarship in Sweden. Revealed through various language ideological processes, participant representations were found to reproduce a dual monoglossic logic and linguistic order, favouring a Swedish and English linguistic repertoire to the extent that other multilingual research and social practices were rendered invisible and problematic. *Studies II* and *III* move beyond *study I*’s foregrounding of participants’ representations to instead focus on participants’ engagement in everyday ‘ethical events’, a notion inspired by the work of philosopher Emmanuel Levinas. They are here defined as interactions involving that which is not known, normative, or ordinarily visible, but for which all involved are called upon to take responsibility. Such events allow for the analysis of interactions in which interlocutors voice and respond to social, linguistic, and epistemic difference. *Study II* uses a Derridean notion of hospitality to illuminate ethical events in which administrators’ responses to multilingual interlocutors point towards the challenges and potential for ethical becoming and improved sociality in an internationalising university. *Study III* engages with international students compelled to perform in order to question and sometimes transcend the norms seen and felt to govern classroom engagement, learning, and knowing. The thesis summary locates the studies within the changing political discourse of higher education in Sweden and beyond. It also provides a framework for the three studies that works to show that questions of ethics and multilingualism are particularly pertinent for critical engagement with contemporary university life. Overall, the questions posed in this thesis highlight the multilingualism yet to be convincingly responded to in the sectoral, national, and institutional policy, planning, and debate on internationalisation and language in higher education. The thesis’ focus on ethical events emphasises both the exhaustion and the potentiality of spaces in which actors struggle to foster improved sociality, mutual responsibility, and more truly international academic practice.

Keywords: *Ethics, multilingualism, ethical event, responsibility, hospitality, Levinas, higher education, internationalisation, linguistic anthropology, linguistic ethnography, language policy and planning, language ideology.*

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IN INTERNATIONALISING ACADEMIA

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To all of my teachers and
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Given the intensely solitary nature of producing a PhD thesis, it is tempting to tell a certain variety of joke here and claim that I want to primarily acknowledge myself as the source of all that is written here. I was tempted. However, any humour in such a claim would be located in its patent absurdity and, given that we are often such a serious bunch, the joke may not be felt by any academic readers who do not know me. Needless to say, a great many other people have been invaluable in the process of producing this thesis. So many others have allowed me to overcome myself, so that I might successfully engage in the field, try to work out what was going on there, write the thesis, and come out of the writing process with most of my hair and marbles (albeit with both now seeming to have a different sort of hue). On account of the time, efforts, and kindness of so many others, I now feel my understanding of the world and our ways of making meaning within it greatly enriched. As such, you know, a fleeting mention here will be far from sufficient. Nevertheless, I would like to begin the impossible process of paying off the debt of gratitude owed to those of you that I now remember (and to those of you that I don't).

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Luke Holmes
Stockholm, November 2022

The present thesis is based on the following studies:

- I. Holmes, L. (2020). Disrupting dual monolingualisms? Language ideological ordering in an internationalizing Swedish university. In M. Kuteeva, K. Kaufhold & N. Hynninen (Eds.), *Language perceptions and practices in multilingual universities* (pp. 269–292). Palgrave Macmillan.
- II. Holmes, L. (2021). Language, hospitality, and internationalisation: exploring university life with the ethical and political acts of university administrators. *Current Issues in Language Planning*. DOI: 10.1080/14664208.2021.2013061
- III. Holmes, L. (submitted). Ethical events in the internationalising university: Engaging, learning, and knowing in spaces of otherwise.

Of Ethics and Multilingualism in Internationalising Academia

Ethical Events in Swedish University Life

1 Introduction

The Young Academy of Sweden (2022) recently published a ‘beginner’s guide to Swedish academia’. It deals with a broad range of useful know-how aimed at international scholars arriving at Swedish universities. One section is devoted to language (pp. 48–50). The section starts by detailing how Swedish is the principal language of Sweden, before it lists the five so-called national minority languages – Finnish, Meänkieli, Romani, Sámi, and Yiddish, as well as ‘a number of common immigrant languages’ (p. 49). English is given a special mention on account of it being widely used in Swedish academia and spoken at various levels of proficiency by a vast majority of the population. The guide then roughly corresponds with the linguistic order widely considered to be the most relevant in Swedish academia, with the categories of Swedish and English being at the top of this order in much of the debate, policy, and scholarship. But, perhaps inevitable for any such document, nothing is said that relates to *ethics*, aside from a guide to Swedish bureaucratic process relating to ethical review.

The astute reader will have noticed that in the title of this thesis, also engaged with Swedish academia, ethics comes first. Putting ethics first in the thesis is no coincidence. Nevertheless, this thesis is not concerned with constructing a moral stance on what the internationalisation of university life should be, it does not offer a more righteous approach to writing guides to Swedish academia, nor does it explore questions relating to the process of ethical review in Sweden. Rather, the thesis takes a Levinasian conception of ethics according to which our thought, subjectivity, and social and linguistic relations are explored as being inaugurated in sensible events of interaction with others. As such, what I strive to do with this thesis is to ethnographically point towards questions of ethics and multilingualism that arise within ‘on-

the-ground' meaning-making practices of actors whose practices constitute internationalising university life. Practices identified as being on-the-ground here refer to the participant representations and interactions, given in contrast to the prevailing discourse relating to language, multilingualism, and internationalisation that is seen to govern, although not ultimately define increasingly diverse Swedish university life.

It is in interactions – what I call 'ethical events', that the multilingual teachers, researchers, students, and administrators of Swedish university life are seen to give meaning in Swedish academia. Ethical events are explored as interactions in which university actors are faced with difference, which is not necessarily known, normative, or ordinarily visible, but for which interlocutors are called upon to take responsibility. I argue that it is through a consideration of such events involving the subjects navigating contemporary universities, that we might best hear and see what language in internationalising university life really means. Further, it is by grounding our language policy and planning in ethical events that we might keep open impulses of mutuality between subjects whose experiences and knowledges are disparate and yet which bring something new and potentially valuable to (Swedish) university life.

1.1 Aims of the thesis

The present thesis aims to accentuate both the exhaustion of various actors as well as the potentialities inherent within internationalising university life. It does this in various ways via three interconnected studies and their introduction in the present summarising chapter. All three studies explore how social and linguistic difference is voiced and responded to on-the-ground, while each does so with different university actors and in different university faculties. The studies analyse how different international actors and their meaning-making practices come to be constructed as more or less visible, the ideological processes involved, and the grounds upon which habitual and/or emergent meaning making practices are justified. This is done on a discursive horizon that foregrounds certain understandings of language, multilingualism, and internationalisation and which serves to inform the governance of the increasing social and linguistic difference within Swedish university life.

The thesis foregrounds questions of ethics and multilingualism. This is done with the aim of drawing attention to the responsibility that comes with the promotion of increased diversity within contemporary university life. University spaces are always already occupied by actors operating with certain languages and in relation to certain historically and spatially rooted discourse; increasing diversity serves to emphasise certain questions in these spaces,

which I frame here as questions of ethics and multilingualism. They are questions that problematise any assumptions regarding how matters of language in the university might be planned for or responded to. In relation to the discourse relating to internationalisation and globalisation, such planning tends to foreground the need for more English (e.g., Lillis & Curry, 2010; Park & Wee, 2013), which some equate to be a matter of linguistic imperialism (see Pennycook & Candlin, 2017; Phillipson, 2010). As I aim to show in this thesis, encounters involving multilingual practice disrupt/or and transcend the taken-for-granted in internationalising university life and point towards how an ethical becoming that responds to the difference of others is grounded, maintained, and full of potential for an internationalisation to come.

The thesis also aims to draw attention to the value of an ethnographic approach to questions of ethics and multilingualism, which both involves engagement in, and enables the analysis of ethical events. Ethical events and those engaged in them are here discussed as interacting in response to the prevailing discourse, but not constrained by it. Indeed, through a re-engagement with the work of Emmanuel Levinas (e.g., 1961, 1974, 1993) and Jacques Derrida (e.g., 1999, 2000a, 2000b), I aim to show how an openness in the ethical event brings the potential to transcend dominant discourse and language ideological orders, as well as to rework social relations. While such events are contingent in relation to the history, experience and knowledge of the interlocutors involved, I aim to show how they also allow for the exploration and development of hidden, unknown, and unknowable elements that break free from the definition of the situation at hand, both in fieldwork and in interaction.

1.2 Research questions

This summarising chapter serves to frame, focus, and contextualise the research object common to its three studies, that is, Swedish university life. This is done in relation to an overarching research question, as well as three interrelated sub-questions that each correspond to, but spill over from the three individual studies of this thesis:

Overarching research question:

How is social and linguistic difference represented, voiced, and responded to on-the-ground in Swedish university life, and what potentialities for more ethical becoming do such representations, voicings, and responses point towards?

Sub-question 1:

What social and language ideological orders are constructed in the scholarship, debate, and language policy relating to contemporary university life in Sweden, and how are such orders given meaning amongst those doing research and teaching to the extent that they might be described as ethical, or not?

Sub-question 2:

How and to what extent is the relevant language policy and planning reworked and challenged in response to who and what arrives with the internationalisation of Swedish university life? In what sense and to what extent can ‘hospitable’ interaction involving administration and their international interlocutors be understood as ethical and political?

Sub-question 3:

How do teaching staff and postgraduate students voice and respond to social and linguistic difference in a markedly diverse classroom? How and to what extent do classroom interactions as ethical events reveal a potential for spaces in which engaging, learning, and knowing across social and linguistic difference might take place?

1.3 Organisation of the summarising chapter

The summarising chapter is organised into 9 sections. Section 2 presents some preliminaries, including notes on its theoretical and methodological approach, the scholarly conversations engaged with, and the motivations for raising questions of ethics and multilingualism in relation to the research topic of internationalising university life. Section 3 contextualises the research object, looking at the notions of internationalisation, language, and multilingualism that prevail in the language policy, debate, and scholarship. Section 4 relates the Levinasian notion of ethics to the socially concerned study of language and introduces the sensitising concepts specific to each of the three studies. The section takes up language ideological processes, the ‘orders of visibility’ they create, the ethical and political dimensions of hospitality, as well as the notions of performance, genre, and interdiscursivity, and their role in the construction of ‘spaces of otherwise’. Section 5 describes and motivates the linguistic ethnographic approach taken, given as both methodologically and theoretically relevant to the understanding of university life. Section 6 then gives a more in-depth contextualisation of the individual studies, introducing, summarising, and commenting upon each, before they are drawn together in the synthesising discussion of section 7. Section 8 puts forward the chapter’s

concluding remarks and offers some more reflections upon the significance of the thesis based on the results of the individual studies. In section 9, the chapter ends with a Swedish summary.

2 Motivations and foci

In relation to its aims and the advancement of knowledge, this thesis has both empirical and theoretical motivations. These motivations are maintained and developed over the three separate and yet interconnected studies that make up the thesis. Empirically, the thesis seeks to add knowledge to the topics of language, multilingualism, and social relations in Swedish higher education. Theoretically it aspires to raise critical and productive questions in relation to the horizon upon which socially engaged language-related research is typically grounded. These two motivations are intertwined on account of their grounding in ethics, which, it is suggested, can be as much a grounding for multilingual interaction as it can for ethnographic engagement.

2.1 Facing language ideological tensions

Empirically, the thesis enters the conversation relating to language policy and practice in Swedish university life. Sweden is a multilingual nation, but is not without its language ideological tensions, from which its universities are far from immune. While Swedish is without doubt the most visible of all languages in Sweden and in its universities, Swedish is currently only the ‘principal language’ of Sweden (Språklag, 2009), and only one of the two ‘parallel languages’ promoted in university policy alongside English (see Nordic Council of Ministers, 2007). In not going so far as to name Swedish as the ‘official language’ of Sweden, it can be said that Sweden simultaneously recognises the fact that Swedish is central in Swedish society, gives space to its five so-called national minority languages, and responds to the fact of increasing multilingualism brought about by increasing transnational mobility, immigration, and ongoing refugee crises. In one sense, Swedish language policy can be said to have constituted an apparently hospitable response to the multilingualism in Sweden (e.g., Hult, 2004). Nevertheless, this hospitality remains to be explored, not least because Sweden and Swedish universities are entangled with various language ideological tensions, some of the most salient having become the tensions involving English *vis-à-vis* Swedish (Bolton & Meierkord, 2013; Salö, 2016).

The Swedish state is renowned for its positively *laissez-faire* attitude towards English, which has led to markedly high English proficiency amongst those educated in Sweden. In a country with limited internal markets the

encouragement of English use has served to strengthen Sweden's global economic position; widespread English proficiency has enabled increased international mobility, co-operation, and knowledge exchange. This development and strengthening of its markets, bound up with the promotion of English, took off after the second world war (Dahlstedt, 1976; Oakes, 2001), thereby enabling Sweden's educated to offer English-medium hospitality to increasing numbers of international arrivals. In relation to the market of higher education, the high levels of English proficiency paved the way for Sweden's highly educated to be able to offer courses with English as a medium of instruction following Sweden's implementation of the Bologna Declaration in 2007 (Airey et al., 2017). Indeed, when it comes to permanent teaching and research staff in Swedish universities, to this day internal and national recruitment prevails (see Salö, Holmes & Hanell, 2022). Sweden's governmental and institutional support of English medium publishing and teaching can in this sense be understood as a desire to foster increased cooperation and knowledge exchange for the benefit of its own position on international markets. The *laissez-faire* attitude towards English in higher education, however, has not continued without complications and increasing ideological tensions.

The increasing visibility of English in Swedish university life has contributed towards a response in Swedish language policy and planning, debate, and scholarship that raises old questions asking whether Swedish universities are national or international institutions (Salö, 2022 following Crawford, Sinn & Sörlin, 1993). Such questions led to the advocacy of and much debate surrounding 'parallel language policy' (see Fabricius et al., 2017; Gregersen et al., 2018; Hult & Källkvist, 2016; Josephson, 2005; Kuteeva, 2011, 2014; McGrath, 2014; Salö & Josephson, 2014; Salö, 2018). Such policy is recommended by the state for (optional) implementation by individual institutions, with a view to simultaneously safeguarding Swedish from "domain loss" to English in Swedish higher education (see Salö, 2014) and maintaining proficiency in English to uphold Sweden's existing international outlook. Such a development has only solidified a double monoglossic discourse relating to internationalisation, which constructs the promotion of English to be enough to facilitate international mobility, co-operation, and knowledge exchange.

This thesis takes a more radically passive stance in relation to the linguistic and social difference to be found in contemporary university life. With a multilingual lens, it does not foreground Swedish or English, nor any other named languages. A passive stance and multilingual lens allow for an openness to different accents, registers, discourses, and bodies, all of which are indexical of social difference and involved in meaning-making practices that go beyond interests in markets and Sweden's position within them. The enrichment of collective co-operation, and knowledge exchange, it is hypothesized, goes beyond a *laissez-faire* attitude in response to increasing

English, and is dependent upon an active rethinking of what constitutes an international language, itself dependent on a passive openness to and acceptance of multilingual practice.

2.2 Disrupting and developing discourse

Theoretically, the thesis works to advance a perspective on the relationship between multilingualism and ethics. It suggests that an ethical grounding to interaction, its investigation, representation, and location in language policy and planning may be that which enables internationalising university spaces to be reoriented in response to the multilingual resources that arrive therein. Sensitive to language ideological processes within Swedish university spaces (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Gal & Irvine, 1995, 2019) and the prevailing ‘orders of visibility’ (Kerfoot & Hyltenstam, 2017), the thesis investigates the meaning-making practices of academic actors’ as they employ, represent, and respond to the use of linguistic resources that include and go beyond Swedish and English. The emphasis on ethical events of interaction amongst participants in the latter 2 studies of the thesis also allows for the exploration of how actors’ multilingual practices transcend, even if only momentarily, the dominant discourse of university life that enables some more than it does others.

This theoretical development of the thesis came through its dialectical relation with the empirical approach taken, leading to change and adaptation across the three studies carried out in the order in which they are here presented. This resulted in the simultaneous and gradual expansion of the thesis’ linguistic ethnographic toolbox, as well as of its theoretical framework. Study 1 is an interview-based study which focuses on the ideological processes reproduced in researchers’ and teachers’ representations of diverse social and linguistic practices, and their relation to the wider discourse of internationalisation. Study 2 turns to ethical events of interaction to investigate what hosting multilingual interlocutors means for administrators in an internationalising humanities department. Study 3 further develops the understanding of ethical events through ethnographic engagement in social sciences classrooms. It deepens study 2’s interactional focus, to incorporate a consideration of embodied interlocutors as they engage in face-to-face interaction. The deepening of the interactional focus across the three studies allowed for a multi-layered exploration of how students and teachers struggle for a university life that goes beyond the discourse of internationalisation, while simultaneously pointing towards the potential for co-operation and knowledge exchange when social and linguistic difference is seen, heard, and responded to.

2.3 Diverse engagements

The responsibility for creating a just educational system in higher education is usually perceived as lying with teachers and researchers. Indeed, the Swedish Higher Education Act (Högskolelag, 1992:1434) dictates that the key missions of higher education institutions are to teach and to do research while ‘collaboration for mutual exchanges with the surrounding community’ is also mentioned. In addition, administration is given as a non-official yet overarching fourth mission – omnipresent and vital for facilitating the three primary missions. For this thesis, for the purposes of gaining a full and nuanced sense of university life in alignment with these key missions, I engaged with those doing the research (study 1), those carrying out administration (study 2), as well as those responsible for teaching and learning (study 3).

The thesis also engages with its participants across distinct faculties: the natural sciences (study 1), humanities (study 2), and social sciences (study 3). This was done with a view to taking into consideration disciplinary differences and their potential impact on language use (see esp. Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). In the natural sciences (study 1), the object of study holds no fundamental relationship to any national context such that scientific practice need not be carried out in any specific language. As such, it was hypothesised that in this faculty more than any other, an exploration of multilingual practices and representations of multilingual practices involving speakers with different linguistic repertoires would indicate the extent to which the discourse relating to internationalisation serves to govern social and linguistic difference. In the humanities (study 2), language is more often taken as the object of study. Ideas about which language should be employed in departmental communications are more likely influenced by the languages most often under investigation and most often used in that investigation. As such, in a humanities department with more of a vested interest in, and solid ideas about language, it was hypothesised that this faculty would best allow for an exploration of the struggles and potentiality involved in increasing multilingualism. In the social sciences (study 3), especially on the globally oriented postgraduate courses in focus, increasing transnational mobility brings the discipline’s object of study into its classrooms. Diverse students’ and teachers’ previous engagements, experiences, and knowledge of social issues from other parts of the world hold the potential to enrich and push the discipline forward, beyond the boundaries of any national, linguistic, and social categories. It was hypothesised that exploring multilingualism amongst those with a vested interest in social difference would point towards the ways in which diverse students’ and teachers’ previous engagements, experiences, and knowledge might be made relevant. In sum, this regard for disciplinary difference works to bring out

various considerations relating to multilingualism in internationalising university life, relevant both within, and beyond disciplinary boundaries.

To investigate the complexities of university life, a linguistic ethnographic approach was adopted. This was an approach which allowed me to “get down in the trenches without losing sight of the battlefield as a whole” (Bauman & Briggs, 2003: 316). The prolonged proximity to the participants afforded by an ethnographic approach allowed for an increased sensitivity to those social and linguistic configurations that could not be prefigured in advance (Ellingson & Sotirin, 2022: 11). This brings the thesis in line with the general tenets held by associates of the UK-based field of Linguistic Ethnography:

that the contexts for communication should be investigated rather than assumed. Meaning takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories, and institutional regimes, produced and construed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically; and that analysis of the internal organisation of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic) data is essential to understanding its significance and position in the world. Meaning is far more than just the ‘expression of ideas’, and biography, identifications, stance and nuance are extensively signalled in the linguistic and textual fine grain. (Rampton, 2007: 585)

As Rampton stresses, such tenets are to be appropriated and applied in different ways in different contexts, as they have been here. The engagement with discourse relating to internationalisation, in Sweden and beyond, also aligns this thesis with the tradition of linguistic ethnography and its concern to uncover the language ideological processes that constitute common sense and everyday practice (Rampton, 2007: 591).

3 Internationalising university life

Internationalising university life has to do with the political project of internationalisation. This section will emphasise the distinction between the predominant discourse relating to internationalisation, and the actors on the ground whose social and linguistic practices give internationalising university life its meaning. The section will briefly contextualise the general discourse of internationalisation, as well as the discourse most relevant to the actors navigating university life in Sweden. The discussion will reveal the entanglement of the language policy and planning debate with the late liberal processes argued to be governing social and linguistic difference, and the academic

market. This will be done with a view to locating the notion of multilingualism in relation to both the discourse and practice in Swedish university life.

3.1 The internationalising university

International activities of higher education institutions in northern Europe and beyond have been significantly expanding over the last two or three decades. This increase relates to the development of the discourse and project of ‘internationalisation’, which relates to predominantly Western political, economic, socio-cultural, and academic rationales and stakeholders (de Wit, 2020a: 32). Activities often discussed and celebrated in relation to internationalisation are study abroad programs, overseas branch campuses, more globally responsive teaching, learning and research, and increasing numbers of English medium publications programmes and degrees. The discourse of internationalisation also gets confused with processes of globalisation and transnationalisation on account of their mutual reliance and promotion of increasing cross-border communication and trans-national mobility (Dubois et al., 2016; Heilbron et al., 2018). In academic practice this is realised in cross-border collaborations, and student and staff mobility. Of course, the movement of scholars, students, and ideas common to all such processes is nothing new. In fact, it was a common phenomenon in the geographical space that is now Europe, already in the 12th century (de Wit, 2020b). However, student mobility is now taking place at an unprecedented level, with numbers of globally circulating students increasing from 250,000 in 1965 to 3.7 million in 2005, and to 5 million in 2020 (de Wit & Merckx, 2022: 45). This growth is mirrored in Sweden, where numbers have steadily grown over the past few decades, despite a momentary drop in 2011 when tuition fees were introduced for ‘third country free-mover students’, that is, students from outside the EEA and Switzerland who apply to Swedish higher education institutions (henceforth HEIs) independently, outside the framework of exchange programmes.

3.2 Late liberalism and the case of Sweden

In 2007, Sweden signed up to the Bologna process, working with other European nations to ensure international comparability in relation to the standards and quality of higher education qualifications. For some, this move generated hope that a diversity of perspectives and experiences would bolster the quality of higher education in Sweden. Indeed, the Bologna process was understood as a project that meant greater international engagement across Europe and beyond, whereby universities with a larger pool of scholars from a larger pool of societies might better generate new knowledge for the benefit of all (Jones

& de Wit, 2012: 50). Nevertheless, the discourse relating to internationalisation in recent decades has not all been about bringing people together, or about supporting students and scholars to engage, learn and know across social and linguistic difference. Since the 1950s, Swedish higher education has been increasingly oriented towards the market (Börjesson & Dalberg, 2021; see also Strömberg Jämsvi, 2019) and internationalisation globally has been represented as primarily deepening the engagement of higher education institutions with the neo-liberal market paradigm (e.g., Rider, 2014; de Wit & Altbach, 2021; Fleming, 2021; Van der Wende, 2001).

The marketisation of higher education in Sweden was only reinforced with the introduction of tuition fees for third country free mover students. While Sweden cannot be compared to countries like the US and UK in which the marketisation of higher education is far more pronounced, Bryntesson and Börjesson (2019) suggest that the introduction of fees is indicative of an ideological shift in the Swedish approach to internationalisation. Discourse relating to internationalisation in Sweden, they argue, now constructs HEIs as educational goods producers who compete to attract international students on an increasingly global market (Bryntesson & Börjesson, 2019: viii). In response to this, this thesis traces the ways in which Swedish university life might now be beholden to what Povinelli (2012a) describes as the discourse of late liberalism, which serves to govern the higher education market according to the values of neo-liberalism, such as competition and marketisation. But what of the social and linguistic diversity ushered in by processes of internationalisation and what Povinelli (2012b) describes as the multicultural governance of difference?

Since the introduction of fees in 2011, the numbers of both free moving and exchange students in Sweden have increased, with the decrease in numbers resulting from the pandemic widely believed to be an anomaly (Marginson, 2022; Shields, 2022). Increasing numbers of international scholars travel mainly from Germany, France, and Spain (UKÄ, 2020), thereby underlining the importance of the Bologna agreement for Swedish higher education. However, the 2011 increase in fees has seen a decrease in numbers of third country free mover students from southern Asia, eastern Europe, and less wealthy parts of Africa (Bryntesson & Börjesson, 2019). As such, market-oriented mechanisms of late liberalism are also seen to govern social and linguistic difference, potentially placing further burdens on students travelling from outside of Europe who have become relatively less represented in Swedish university life. Sensitised by the notion of late liberalism, then, this thesis also looks towards how the governance of difference might affect the engaging, learning, and knowing across difference, as per the ideals of internationalisation discussed above.

3.3 Linguistic diversity and multilingualism in higher education

Language-related difference is said to be a key factor in internationalising academia, as is evident in its wide discussion across a variety of socially engaged academic fields. Reflecting the increasing diversity of university life in recent years, the study of multilingualism practice in higher education has gained visibility (see esp. Canagarajah, 2013, 2022; Cots, Lasagabaster & Garrett, 2012; Kaufhold, 2020; Kuteeva, Kaufhold & Hynninen, 2020; Liddicoat, 2018; Mortensen, 2014). However, in most European language policy and planning, societal debate, and scholarship, the linguistic diversity in contemporary university life has largely been discussed in relation to the longstanding tensions surrounding the position, benefits, and implications of English vis-à-vis the relevant national language.

This focus on English is very much reflected in Swedish language policy and planning where the strong presence of English has generated concerned calls from those engaged to prioritise the safeguarding of the national language (see further Bolton & Meierkord, 2013; Fabricius et al., 2017; Gunnarson, 2001). The response to these calls is most salient in the above discussed policy aims of so-called ‘parallel language use’, adopted in 2006 in the *Deklaration om nordisk språkpolitik/Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy* (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2007). While consideration of language-related difference is prevalent in such policy, as well as in much of the debate and scholarship surrounding internationalisation, the question of the multilingualism on-the-ground is obscured due to its focus on only two languages.

The focus on English as *the* other language in internationalising academia and parallel policy is of no surprise considering the high visibility of English in two key academic practices. Firstly, English language practices dominate in transnational publishing and are a matter of great international debate (see esp. Carli & Ammon, 2007; Curry & Lillis, 2017; Liddicoat, 2016; Lillis & Curry, 2010; Salö, 2017; Soler, 2020, 2021). Secondly, English is also discussed on account of its increasing domination as a medium of instruction (e.g., Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012; Söderlundh, 2014; Wächter & Maiworm, 2008, 2014). English is also investigated in relation to its adoption as a lingua franca in multilingual university spaces (e.g., Hazel & Mortensen, 2013; Negretti & Garcia-Yeste, 2014; Salö, 2022).

Such nationalist/internationalist tensions are, of course, not exclusive to Sweden and are documented elsewhere in the Nordic region and beyond. For instance, in the regions of Catalonia, the Basque country, and Wales, questions of linguistic diversity in the university often focus on tensions between the

more internationally recognised language and the local language: Spanish *vis-à-vis* Catalan, Spanish *vis-à-vis* Basque, and English *vis-à-vis* Welsh (e.g., Cots, Lasagabaster & Garrett, 2012). All such discussions are illuminating in relation to the ongoing linguistic tensions felt by those in the host community; however, they do not respond to the question of multilingualism brought about by the international staff or students arriving to internationalising universities, who come with their own distinct linguistic repertoires that will go beyond any such focus on dual monolingualisms (e.g., study 1; Wee, 2017).

Crucial to this thesis is the fact that international staff and students researching, working, and studying in Sweden do not bring only academic English language resources into Swedish university spaces, nor do they necessarily or predominantly hail from an English-dominant context (UKÄ, 2020; UNESCO, 2022). Similarly, any notion that Swedish-born researchers necessarily have Swedish as their first language (L1) is a monoglossic ideological construction that speaks of the nationalism that has cast a shadow over other languages present in Swedish society. The increasing numbers of staff and students with an international background in our universities means that linguistic resources beyond academic English and Swedish are available and, one would imagine, to some extent in use and contributing towards the educational and market value of the actors' practices, not to mention university life more generally. Crucially, as research on language ideologies has so powerfully demonstrated, there are no natural connections between national and/or international background on the one hand, and the linguistic resources one is drawn to employ on the other.

3.4 The discourse and practice of internationalisation

One might need to be reminded that everyday events and interactions take place before the official discourse relating to those events and interactions takes shape (Dubois, Gingras & Rosental, 2016: 258). This might provide hope in relation to the disconnect between the diversity of linguistic resources held by the steadily increasing number of international academic staff members and students on the one hand, and the prevailing discourse emphasising the relation between English *vis-à-vis* the given national language (where relevant) on the other. However, less hopeful in relation to this disconnect is a quick look at the use of the words and phrases, 'internationalisation', 'English in higher education', and 'multilingualism in higher education', via the extensive corpora of the Google Books Ngram Viewer. Given that the political project and discourse of internationalisation is seen to have taken off in the 1980s and '90s, it is perhaps telling that there has been a steady *decrease* in discourse surrounding 'multilingualism in higher education' during the

period 2015–2019 (there is no data after 2019), after only a momentary rise during the period 2007–2015. It is especially telling when viewed against the continued, steadier, and sharper rise of discourse relating to ‘English in higher education’ during the period 2008–2020. For some this is indicative of an English-speaking monster that favours only an English-speaking elite that stifles and precludes the development of an increasingly multilingual higher education sector (e.g., Phillipson, 2003, 2008, 2010; Bunce, Phillipson, Rapatahana & Tupas, 2016).

Despite, or indeed in response to the dominance of discourse overlooking the linguistic diversity that increasing student and staff mobility brings to our universities, it is necessary to offer another and quite distinct reminder; namely, that the teachers’, students’, researchers’, and administrators’ social and linguistic practices that constitute university life are distinct from those represented, responded to, and/or planned for in the dominant discourse. Perhaps the practices that constitute university life are not yet being made visible, and so cannot be represented, responded to, and/or planned for. Perhaps the language policy and planning, debate, and scholarship is caught in a discursive hall of mirrors whereby it is to a large extent only its own self-same discourse, values, and interests, to which it responds. These hypotheses are such that their testing would, in the first place, call for an engagement with practice (see Heller, 2008 on the need to move from an engagement with structure to practice; Dafouz & Smit, 2016). Only through such an engagement with practice might those presiding over the language policy and planning, debate, and scholarship take responsibility in the face of the diverse and complex language practice of contemporary university life.

4 Theoretical approach

As stated at the beginning of this thesis, ethics comes first. It comes first both in terms of the theoretical, and the methodological approaches taken. This section will give a brief explanation of the meaning and value of ethics as a sensitising *and* grounding theoretical concept, as well as its relation to the other sensitising concepts used in the studies of this thesis. This section aims to relate Levinasian ethics to discourse as ordinarily conceived in the fields of critical discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, and linguistic anthropology.

4.1 The modern subject, discourse, and ethical events

This thesis prioritises the experiences and interactions of its participants as subjects whose being is somehow affected by their engagement with others in internationalising university life. A fundamental theoretical question here then

relates to our understanding of beings in relation to other beings, which is a question that remains fundamental across the humanities and social sciences. Conceived of as ‘subjects’ as opposed to ‘individuals’ or ‘selves’, the subject is the condition or process of consciousness from which the world or self is constituted (Colebrook, 2004: 184). What, however, constitutes the subject? The ‘modern subject’, from which much contemporary thought seeks to distance itself, posits the subject itself to be the ground from which judgements and predications are made. Only in modernity do we have the idea of the subject as the basis of all inquiry (Heidegger, 1967). The modern subject, then, is not a being amongst others, but is instead the very ground or condition through which others and things might be given (Foucault, 1970). In contrast and with a focus on how the subject experiences the world, as well as the positive and inescapable role of language, phenomenological thinkers such as Husserl and Heidegger posit the subject to be that which finds itself always and already in the world and in relation to others. Broadly speaking, for the phenomenological subject meaning is always found in relation to others and cannot even be imagined without them. Yet, as thinkers like Levinas and Cassirer contest, such a development continues to foreground the primacy of the individual subject and thereby renounces the fundamental importance of our relations with others (see further Cohen 2006: xxiff). The phenomenological project does not go far enough and, in response, the Levinasian subject posits an altogether more radical and asymmetrical relation with others.

The Levinasian subject is inaugurated in interaction with others. In Levinas’ phenomenological descriptions, other beings are not simply there with us on the horizon of being. In interaction with others, or what Levinas might call ‘ethical events’, we are confronted with another subject who, like us, has a unique trajectory and continues in a state of permanent becoming. Other subjects, unlike things on the horizon of being, do not reveal themselves as something that might be ultimately known, but rather confront us and put us into an asymmetrical relationship with mystery (Levinas, 1989: 42). As such, in order to allow for an ethical becoming amongst ‘absolutely intransitive’ subjects (Levinas, 1985: 59), the subject is called to responsibility in relation to what is not known, normative, and visible in the conventional descriptive and analytic optics of culture (Rapport, 2019: 73fd). Indeed, Levinas warns, it is in modern culture and our everyday understanding of the subject that we see the triumph of mathematical intelligibility and that which works to erase a sensitivity to the unknown Other who surprises, raises doubt, and resists pre-given knowledge (Levinas, 1972: 61). Moreover, the prevailing notion of a subject, as well as the phenomenological notion of a subject given by his teachers Husserl and Heidegger, Levinas argues, give way to the totality of discourse.

A post-structuralist understanding of discourse (e.g., Foucault, 1969) posits that an investigation of what a subject says is also an investigation into broader discourse. Discourse here is more than just a system of signs or language, but also that upon which speakers rely for its conventions, conditions, oppositions, and relations. A sociolinguistic investigation would thus potentially examine ways in which discourse is deployed and given meaning amongst participants (see further Blommaert, 2005). While the studies of this thesis rely upon such an understanding, Levinasian ethics also sensitises the studies to that which limits the subject and that which is held in reserve. Language is here not taken to be inherently ideological (cf. Wodak, 2007: 1) and ‘what is held in reserve’ would come in the ethical event of interaction. In relation to the discourse relating to internationalisation discussed above (section 3), for instance, the thesis explores what takes place when a unique subject, with a distinct social and linguistic repertoire makes an appearance within an internationalising university department which has its own ways of governing social and linguistic relations, that is, with its own discourse. It considers how the multilingual subject is represented and responded to, and how subjects might construct a space and sociality that is irreducible to the dominant discourse (see Thomas, 2004: 90). Beyond the dual monolingualism of Swedish parallel language policy and in the ethical event of interaction, this thesis thereby considers how university life is constructed through and in relation to the incalculable social and linguistic difference of others.

Indeed, given the totality of discourse suggested in study one, a focus on ethical events was considered necessary in order to get a sense of the potentiality of what was felt to be ‘held in reserve’. The first study of this thesis employs the notion ‘orders of visibility’ (Kerfoot & Hyltenstam, 2017) and the ideological processes of erasure, iconisation, and fractal recursivity (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Gal & Irvine, 1995, 2019; see study 1 for an overview). These notions sensitised the research engagement to the ways in which the study’s participants social and linguistic practices (re)produced and/or disrupted the discourse of internationalisation in Sweden to construct language ideological orders, such that certain linguistic practices were rendered (more or less) visible. As mentioned above, the focus of the prevailing discourse is on the principal language of Sweden, Swedish, and the language of internationalisation, English. This discourse, it is suggested, was given meaning on-the-ground to the extent that it regimented the representations of the social and linguistic difference amongst the participants. The results suggested a totality of discourse that contrasted with the practices and interactions of the participants thus raising questions of ethics in regard to the multilingual practices of the subject that were apparently invisible. With a Levinasian notion of the subject, study 1 raised questions, to be responded to in studies 2 and 3 of how intersubjective relations might be considered otherwise such that what is

apparently unknown and invisible might in fact be heard and seen in the discourse of the ethical event.

Rather perplexingly, Levinas claims that the difference of the Other is only heard in discourse. Less perplexing in view of the primacy of ethics for Levinas, however, is the fact that Levinasian ‘discourse’ refers to that which is wholly Other, and which is thereby distinct from the discourse of internationalisation. As Levinas (1961: 201) puts it, “[i]t is that discourse that obliges the entering into discourse, the commencement of discourse rationalism prays for, a “force” that convinces even “the people who do not wish to listen””. In other words, it is a discourse of the ethical event. This, then, is not a discourse of representation, but a discourse of the face of others speaking, calling one’s assumptions and enculturated self into question and into dialogue within an ethical event. In this way, the ‘modern subject’ is displaced as the centre or basis of all inquiry and makes way for a consideration of a subject for whom ethics comes first and for whom responsibility cannot be ignored.

4.2 Ethics and responsibility

‘Ethics is wholly other, and yet it is the same word’
(Derrida, 1986: 71, in Critchley 2014: 16)

In what sense is ethics ‘wholly other’? In the tradition of Levinas, ethics comes first and reveals itself in our relations with others and involves a pre-theoretical and primordial empirical relation with others¹. It is in the ‘ethical event’, confronted with the ‘face’ of the other – which for Levinas is absolutely Other, that we find our own subjectivity called into question. It is in this event that others generate in us a sense that we are being called upon to take responsibility. This would be a responsibility that cannot be ultimately carried out, since, as discussed above, the other cannot be ultimately known, thematised, or essentialised (see Levinas, 1961: 85ff). For the ethnographer, such a description is familiar, for what is ethnographic fieldwork if not an encounter with a corporeal other that transcends what is taken for granted and enculturated (Rapport, 2015: 257)? As we confront the face of the Other, one gets a sense that all tools of classification and conceptualisation are now

¹ In this thesis introduction, I frequently use the terms ‘other’ and ‘Other’. Both refer to what cannot be reduced to the self and so to draw an absolute distinction between them is impossible. However, any reference to ‘others’ refers to other subjectivities, while ‘the Other’ refers to what is different and otherwise. ‘The Other’ will remain mysterious and unknowable in our understanding, whether in interaction or upon reflection. Crucially, it is not used here in any sociological sense as a term used to distinguish between who is and who is not alienated socially according to the norms of a group. The Other is that to which we do or do not take responsibility for in all interaction. (See also Evens, 2008: xx–xi.)

relative. The doubt and uncertainty in relation to what appears to be irreducibly unique and Other in the face of those amongst us is where ethics and where the subject begins (again).

Ethics is not then about any secondary considerations or cognitive processes relating to how one might or should respond to others in interaction. For instance, ethics is not in itself involved in the judgement of whether a language policy, or whether the use of any given linguistic resources is good or bad. Rather, ethics comes upon us from the outside, in social space in our sensible experience with others. It is that which makes us human, and which forces us to recognise the limits of our own subjectivity, which the Other compels us to (re)inaugurate. Always situated, ethics is that which compels one to respond to the face of others – that which is unique and unknowable in our interlocutor, and to take responsibility for them. The other's difference and distinct trajectory takes us hostage to ignorance and calls out for the construction of social relations in response to the other's absolute difference witnessed in the ethical event. Like the socially engaged language scholar with sociolinguistic relations, Levinas says of ethics that the task does not consist in constructing it, but only in working to find its meaning (1985: 90). Nevertheless, in response to and via the ethical event, an ethical becoming might be maintained through the acceptance of responsibility.

Since the Other cannot be ultimately known, like Levinasian 'ethics' and 'discourse', one's 'responsibility' to others is also at odds with the more everyday understanding of responsibility (see Perpich, 2002: 82). There is no sense in which one *ought to* take responsibility by responding with the language of the other, for example. Rather Levinasian responsibility is such that it emerges in interaction and calls on us to keep the unicity of the other intact and to construct a space and construct relations where that is possible. Indeed, since one's "relationship with otherness is neither spatial not conceptual" (Levinas, 1989: 48), there is a responsibility to construct the space and sociality that might ground future social practice, of engaging, learning, and knowing in which the difference of others might endure.

4.3 Three questions of hospitality and the question of multilingualism

The thesis is sensitised by the notion of hospitality, which is a notion inspired by Levinasian ethics and developed in the work of Jacques Derrida (1999, 2000a, 2000b). The value and depth of the notion can be summarised in relation to three questions (Derrida, 2000a: 131). *Firstly*, the question of hospitality relates to the question of the foreigner – here the international colleague or interlocutor, comes as a theme, problem, affordance, or program

of research, whereby one asks what the foreigner means, and who the foreigner is. Such a question might be posed in a modern social sciences project, whereby ethics is suspended, and an abstraction is made of the international professor, student, or colleague, for example, as a white, male, British national, speaker of English. *Secondly*, one might pose a question directly to the foreigner, asking them who they are, where they come from, and what they want. Such a question might be posed in an interview or greeting such that the foreigner is granted a conditional access and/or legitimacy to the institutional space, judged according to what they say, and the language used to say it (e.g., see Blommaert, 2009). *Finally*, there is the question of the foreigner as a question coming from the foreigner and from abroad. Such a question is one that starts with hospitality and says an unconditional ‘yes’ or ‘come’ to the foreigner, regardless of what they might bring or ask from you, what languages they speak, or come to demand. It is a question of responsibility. Grounded in ethics, this third question is an absolute and unconditional hospitality, open to others and “to the future that cannot be anticipated” (Derrida, 1993: 34).

In the ethical event, although one can find a way around this most primordial question of responsibility in hospitality, it cannot be avoided altogether (Kulick, 2022). One might justifiably (by law) ask, ‘why should I respond to the international other in any language other than Swedish?’, but – on account of the encounter with the difference of the other, one cannot ignore their social and linguistic difference. To evade the responsibility, one might reply in one’s own language and reduce the interaction to one governed by sameness, whereby any difference becomes subsumed into the totality of the discourse of any pre-given system. To accept responsibility, on the other hand, would mean to give a response to the language of the other. It would mean an acceptance of the other, and their unique linguistic repertoire, in a response that looks to answer the questions of ethics and multilingualism. It would accept that which has arrived, together with the responsibility to respond to others in working towards a future that is wholly Other.

4.4 A space of otherwise and call for responsibility

Questions of multilingualism and of difference might be easily evaded in diverse classrooms, for example, by keeping one’s head down amongst one’s favoured classmates who share the same experience, language, and social norms. However, according to the principles of the European Enlightenment this would result in a loss to all involved. This would be to forego the opportunity to take mutual responsibility for the potentiality to construct new knowledge constituted by all the experiences and knowledge that others bring.

In a key turn for European epistemology, such potentiality was understood to be possible through the overcoming of Cartesian universalism in the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781/2007), Immanuel Kant posited time and space as *a priori* categories that enable our empirical understanding of the world. Kant argued that one cannot reason about or understand the world outside of these transcendental categories. As such, in a diverse classroom, social and linguistic difference should not be taken as an obstacle but as a potential affordance. However, Kant's ground-breaking conception of these fundamental categories may yet give cause to look away given the Eurocentric ideologies surrounding Kant's work.

In a reading of Kant's anthropological work (1798/2006), Grosfoguel (2012: 90) points out that African, Indigenous Asian, and Southern European men, and *all* women are not said to have the same access to these *a priori* categories that enable the governing of "reason". For Kant, 'universal', transcendental reason was fully accessible only to those who are predominantly male, white, and north European. As such, in an internationalising university, still very much haunted by Kant's legacy, some voices are seen to be more rational and worthy of a response than others. Moreover, given that these transcendental categories in a certain sense 'come first' for Kant, one might here suggest that "it is not the [non-white, non-male, non-north European's] language or voice that is despised: it is his experience" (Baldwin, 1997), and, as Hill (2009: 480) adds, his body. Kant provides the perfect alibi for evading the call to responsibility in the ethical event.

In response to such epistemologies, decolonial scholars work to make visible the fact that a truly global understanding of the world far exceeds a Western understanding of it. There are ecologies of knowledges (Santos, 2016) and a multiplicity of language practices involved in the production of knowledge, which are far from new, but are continually excluded and silenced according to colonial ideologies (Kiramba, 2018; Kerfoot & Bello-Nonjengele, 2022). Indeed, despite the increased processes and practices of internationalisation and globalisation in recent years through a widening scope of cross-border communication and the intensification of trans-national mobility, continuing global power struggles gain an ever-increasing grip on the human and social sciences (see Heilbron, Sorá & Boncourt 2018). In response, there is a call to "produce different knowledge, and produce knowledge differently" (Lather, 2013: 635). With a view to expanding our collective epistemological repertoires (Di Carlo, 2018), our universities must develop an openness to the experiences of those from other localities across the globe (de Souza, 2019). Yet, as shown in study 3, to move beyond any discriminating norms of engaging, learning, and knowing, those involved must come to terms with different voices and experiences that may remain unreconciled, or in tension with that which is taken for granted.

Notwithstanding the exhaustion of Western epistemologies and given the Levinasian notion of (primordial) discourse which signifies that which is unknowable and calls us to responsibility, the potentiality of being heard and constructing mutual responsibility remains for all. That is, ‘spaces of otherwise’ might still be constructed as spaces of both “curiosity and risk, potentiality and exhaustion” (Povinelli, 2012a: 454). Indeed, Levinas’ claim that ‘Ethics comes first’, and indeed, the entire Levinasian project responds to Kantian epistemology. The Other comes before any such transcendental categories and is found in face-to-face interaction. Primordial discourse encountered in the ethical event of interaction comes beyond the system, or indeed, before any form of life. The Other comes with a kind of passion, surplus and anarchy (Levinas, 1990b: 92) in relation to any given system. As such, an examination of the construction of spaces by those in interaction with international others depends on an ethical grounding that puts both the researched and the researcher in a radically passive and asymmetrical relationship with others, in all their social and linguistic difference. Not founded upon choice or developed as a skill, but rather as an elected affinity (Kleinman & Benson, 2006: 3–4), the inauguration of the subject and its potential ethical becoming was approached linguistically ethnographically.

5 A linguistic ethnographic approach

This section motivates the use of a broad and reflexive linguistic ethnographic approach. It outlines and discusses the methodological approach taken, and its adaptation according to the specific research questions and research contexts under study. The methodological approach is shown to be in a dialectical relation with the thesis’ theoretical approach, pointing towards the value of certain tools and methods for better locating and exploring questions of ethics and multilingualism. More specifically, the ethical event between researcher and researched is shown to inform the research and its development, suggesting that responsibility to one’s research participants involves a reflexive orientation and goes beyond any calculable institutional ethical procedures. An account of the institutional ethical review process adhered to for this research is nevertheless given.

5.1 Reflexivity: A methodological cultivation of theoretical ideas

The overall methodological approach taken in this thesis can be characterised as a reflexive and adaptive one that continually developed with a view to

responding to the research questions and the practices and experiences of the participants. Essentially, given the thesis' concern with the questions of ethics and multilingualism, as questions which appear in interaction, a primary concern with the analysis of interaction, or at least with the discussion of interaction was inevitable. Certainly, the thesis needed an approach that would provide insight into how those that were navigating university life were responding to its multilingual realities and/or the discourse relating to internationalisation of contemporary academia. Such an approach was changed and adapted over the 3 studies of this thesis.

The methodological choices of the studies that make up this thesis did not begin in the field. The thesis was motivated by the claim that "great ethnographic research lies not in the rigid execution of prescribed methodological procedures, but on the unrelenting cultivation of theoretical ideas" (Puddephatt, Shaffir & Kleinknecht, 2009: 1). Coming to the research as a graduate of philosophy and aesthetics, not able to put the interests generated there to rest, I instead worked to nurture them and take them forward with a view to developing both my theoretical and methodological orientation for the benefit of the overall research engagement. From the start and across the three studies, the cultivation of theoretical ideas was constant and felt to be best suited to an ethnographic approach.

As the description of studies below works to reveal, a neat separation of theoretical and methodical considerations would have been unhelpful, if not impossible in the case of the three studies of this thesis. In fact, I would suggest that the dialectical relationship between theory and method that revealed itself during this overall project lends the thesis strength. Rather than approaching each study according to some version of an orthodox grounded theory (e.g., Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I sought to make use of and develop a methodological approach highly sensitised by my theoretical position, and vice versa, thereby lending a greater consistency to the logic of the thesis. The questions of ethics and multilingualism were central to such an approach. As well as sensitising the analytical gaze to issues of responsibility and social and linguistic difference in participants' everyday interactions, they also raised questions concerning how a researcher might take responsibility in interaction with others as part of the research process.

The thesis developed across, and within each of the three studies in response to my ongoing engagement with the studies' participants, across a series of ethical events. In ethical events the participants' own unique knowledge and experience could be responded to, whether given in interview, or in the participants' own departmental and/or classroom interaction. Within each study, the engagement with research participants over many months, called for reflexive adjustment and negotiation along the way. Interaction with

and among my participants involved a certain kind of interpersonal relationship that can be characterised as an asymmetrical experience of passivity on account of my interest in their individual experiences that might transform and marked my engagement with internationalising university life (see further Benson & O'Neill, 2007). Only with such a passive approach, I suggest, might a researcher respond to and understand the common concerns, complexities, and contradictions of what participants experience as part of their engagement with the interactional construction of their everyday space. Moreover, only in this way might a researcher respond to the ways in which their own position in the field affects the construction of data. For instance, as discussed in study 2, when interacting over email with one of the research participants there, the language of interaction was under constant negotiation, with both of us trying to maintain and respond to the language, experience, and knowledge of the other. This created a greater sense of insider-ness, solidarity, and empathy (see further Martin-Jones, Andrews & Martin, 2016: 192) and generated discussion that led to the uncovering of more telling and insightful data. As became increasingly clear, the ethical responsibility called for by the participants in each study went beyond the provision of a detailed information sheet and consent form.

5.2 The development of an ethnographic approach

In study 1, a predominantly interview-based approach was taken. Engagement with the participants served to elucidate the extent to which discourse relating to internationalisation in Sweden was affecting internationalising university life in their department space. It also pointed to the fact of (invisible, ideologically erased) multilingual practices in Swedish university life. However, given the elected affinity found within the ethical event, any erasure of the departmental multilingualism was to be taken only as an indication of the discourse relating to internationalisation, not of the primordial discourse found in their interaction with the participants' departmental colleagues. While interviews served to point towards the discursive horizon of Swedish internationalising life and the exhaustion involved there for some more than others, it would not necessarily reveal the unknown potentiality of socially and linguistically diverse spaces to be experienced in departmental interactions across difference. There was therefore a strong sense that what there was to find would not be found out by only asking (Hymes, 1981: 84). The irreducibility of experience, actions and events found in interaction, eluded analysis by both researcher and researched alike (Hymes, 1978: 118). Going forward with the thesis project, a focus on participant interaction as ethical

events would help to move beyond the limits of representation, within which it is arguably impossible to capture the potentiality of any institutional space.

In study 2, the written interaction of the participants was put into focus on account of this being the main mode of communication that they used. Its analysis was supported by both ethnographic and narrative interviews, the former including discussions of the data collected. The inclusion of interactional data made it possible to explore the responses being given to the multilingualism of the interlocutors that the participants were facing in their day-to-day interaction. According to the research questions, this provided an opportunity to consider the extent to which their responses were in line with the general discourse of internationalisation and the language policy most relevant for the participants. Tracing the textual trajectories allowed for some empirical precision regarding what, if anything, gets entextualised and brought forward into face-to-face interaction from the policy and discourse relating to internationalisation (see further Blommaert, 2005; Briggs, 1997; Hymes, 1996). Crucially, given that the participants had been put directly into question by their international interlocutors not (yet) proficient in Swedish, the approach made it possible to explore the extent to which participant responses to these interlocutors sought to leave the linguistic otherness of their interlocutor intact, thus leaving the research open to a potentially distinct approach to language policy and planning grounded in ethics.

With study 3, the focus on interaction was maintained, but, given that speech is the predominant mode of interaction for students and teachers, the study benefited from a more traditional ethnographic approach centred around “participant observation”. The study’s engagement with students and teachers, whose reasons for entering the space were said to be largely determined by the desire to engage, learn, and know across difference, required a distinct methodological approach. Through the consideration of various classroom performances as part of the classroom genre, the ‘introductions round’, and its frequent recurrence was found to be most telling. The ethnographic focus on genres served to anchor the analysis of the emergent potentiality and exhaustion identified in the classroom spaces over months of intense fieldwork. The genre allowed for a focused consideration of the different approaches taken towards immanent social relations, the expectations surrounding them, as well as how they might be adjusted in performances that were creative, realised, achieved, and even transcendent of those relations (Gumperz, 1972: 16–18; Hymes, 1981: 81). Tensions were revealed that related to the ideological entanglement of internationalising university life with late liberal social, communicative, and epistemic norms. Consequently, the performances of certain international students were questioned, laughed at, but also accepted and responded to on account of students’ (inter)discursive and stylistic strategies involving irony, humour, and the use of other languages. In the tradition

of interactional sociolinguistics (e.g., Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b), the availability of interactional data here – as with study 2, served to reveal the ways in which social relations are constructed, negotiated, and contested. Moreover, sensitised by the linguistic anthropological concepts of performance, genre, and interdiscursivity (e.g., Bauman, 2005; Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Salö & Hanell, 2014), the interactional data also served to reveal the dialogic strategies used to pose increasingly forceful questions of ethics and multilingualism.

5.3 The ethical review process

While distinct from the ethics discussed here, I must also take the responsibility to comment upon the ethical review process relevant to this thesis. Each of the thesis' studies meets the ethical standards set out in the Swedish Ethical Review Act, as legally required by my employer and academic and institutional host, Stockholm University. Before beginning the research engagement for each of the studies and with a full and detailed project description and plan, I consulted the Swedish Ethical Review Act (*lag (2003:460) om etikprövning av forskning som avser människor*), which details the ethical criteria that each research project carried out in Sweden must meet. After consulting this Act, discussing my planned projects with an ethics advisor at the Office for Research, Engagement, and Innovation Services, and completing an online questionnaire used to check the ethical status of my research projects, it was not deemed necessary to go through more advanced ethical vetting processes with the Swedish Ethical Review Authority.

Throughout the research process, I ensured that I carried out my research with the competence necessary for ensuring that I might protect the research participants. All participants have been anonymised and no special categories of personal data have been processed (see the General Data Protection Regulation, EU 2016/679). All relevant research data, administrative documents, economic documents, and research output has been safely and securely stored away and will be kept for at least 10 years.

6 The included studies

In this section, I will introduce, summarise, and comment upon the three studies included in this thesis in relation to its overall and study-specific aims and research questions. Each study engages with a different set of actors whose practices constitute university life: researchers (study 1), administrators (study 2), and teachers and students (study 3). Each set of actors was also operating within different university faculties. This diversity amongst the

participants will guide this section in providing a sense of how internationalising university life is experienced and constructed by those fulfilling a university's key missions, in relation to different discipline-specific language norms.

6.1 Study 1: *Disrupting dual monolingualisms? Language ideological ordering in an internationalising Swedish university*

The first study of this thesis aims to explore how the double monoglossic focus on English and Swedish in the discourse of so-called internationalisation is given meaning on-the-ground, amongst researchers and teachers working in a Swedish natural sciences department. In response to the main research question of this thesis, it aims to give a sense of how social and linguistic difference is voiced and responded to in the research participants' everyday practices and interactions. The study starts from a position that assumes multilingual resources amongst staff and students, but which seeks to explore its perceived value in research and teaching practice, and university life more generally. The study is sensitised by previous research on language ideologies (e.g., Gal & Irvine, 1995; Kroskrity, 2000; Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity, 1998), which has revealed a tendency for facile connections to be made between languages and nations and all that they might stand for, which would at once simplify any social and linguistic diversity and erase the affordances and challenges it brings.

6.1.1 Methodological and contextual considerations

Study 1's methodological approach was linguistic ethnographic in character, yet the most heavily interview-focused study of the three studies of this thesis. Departmental interaction was witnessed via participant observation in the departmental space, reported on by 3 key participants in semi-structured interviews, and reflected upon in fieldnotes. Yet the data's analysis focused primarily on the ways in which social and linguistic practices were represented in interview. Accordingly, the study is at odds with the principles of linguistic ethnographic research in the mode of Rampton et al. (e.g., 1995, 2004, 2015) which foregrounds interactional data amongst participants to tie down otherwise subjective and otherwise idiosyncratic interpretation. The data engagement processes nevertheless employed various means to counter any personal biases or assumptions that might otherwise arise in an interview-

based study. For instance, the interviews were oriented by certain departmental ethical events and the related themes in which the 3 key participants were involved and that I had witnessed through participant observation. This interview approach allowed for a thematic analysis, in which the participants' convergent and divergent representations of related events and themes could be compared and put into conversation with each other, as well as with my own representations given in field notes. The data analysis also uncovered various instances in which the 3 key participants discussed the social and linguistic practices of the other 2. Accordingly, these 3 participants became the study's key participants and the data collected with and relating to the other 6 participants interviewed were not discussed in the writing up of the study. My subjective and idiosyncratic interpretation of the data was in this way reduced.

Conducted in a natural sciences department, study 1 is an engagement with a STEM discipline, most important in relation to the international knowledge economy and so arguably given freer rein in terms of hiring, teaching, and research policy. Linguistically, this free rein is reflected in the fact that science faculties have seen the highest frequency and most significant increase in the use of English as a medium of instruction in their classrooms (Airey et al., 2017; Melander, 2005). Such a freedom facilitates departments in meeting institutional, state-level, and/or individual demands such as, for example, increasing student numbers on account of the larger pool of English speakers, and/or better preparing students to work in related academic and professional fields that are often English speaking. Indeed, as came up in study 1, non-Swedish speakers had here been asked to teach in English at the undergraduate level, despite this going beyond the norms of the university in question where English was generally recommended as the medium of instruction for only postgraduate teaching. Such on-the-ground policy and planning language might be rationalised on account of the research object in STEM disciplines lacking ties to any specific language and/or local specificities, and/or the affordances of using a language that is more widely used and most valued in both academic and professional fields. Regardless of such rationalisations, however, this situation aligned the department with prevalent ideological norms in academia, whereby internationalisation equates to the need to foster more English language practices, and host more English language speakers. In this way, the *de facto* international language of science, that is, English, gains visibility at the expense of the visibility of any other language practices.

The national context, whereby Swedish is the principal language was of course also significant and could not be overlooked by those within the department. With English as part of an international researcher's repertoire, academic capital was seen to be gained in relation to the departmental drive for more use of English as a medium of instruction at the department, as well

as in relation to the dominance of English medium research in the natural sciences, and beyond (e.g., Liddicoat, 2016). Nevertheless, a command of Swedish was also revealed to be necessary for advancing one's career via local boards, research grants, and departmental administrative functions. Those who were able to work beyond the ideological push and pull between Swedish and English in study 1 – 'to metamorphose' from one side of the struggle to the other (study 1: 280), were best able to navigate all departmental spaces and practices, thus affording them power and legitimacy to promote their own and others' careers in the department. Those without a command of Swedish, however, had felt the institutional discourse of internationalisation to have erased this value of Swedish. Its value in the department was said to have been absent in discussions surrounding one's initial employment, while *in situ* it was revealed to be a highly visible language, required for an employee to be most favourably represented and positioned in the department (see also Salö, Holmes, Hanell, 2022, for an investigation and discussion of the optimal linguistic repertoire in Swedish university life).

6.1.2 The practice, language ideologies, and power

The internationalising department was also seen to be constituted by actors' linguistic practices that went beyond the use of English and Swedish. As expected, diverse multilingual resources were held by many researchers at the department and were reported to be active in the university life of the participants without English as a first language (L1). Yet, less expected, was the fact that the repertoire and background of the participants without English as an L1 was only (mis)represented according to the departmental 'order of visibility' (see section 4.1 above). The use of other (non-Swedish and non-English) resources was either unrecognised or considered to be of no value by the other international study participants who did have English as their L1.

Chinese Mandarin linguistic practices were unrecognised for the key role they played in relation to this participant's academic practice – in planning, data collection, and initial analyses. Moreover, they were only ever mentioned by senior colleagues as a problem, indexical of a failure to integrate, and of a conformist/non-creative 'Chinese' character (even though the participant was not born or educated in China and only spoke Mandarin with certain family members and friends). Even the participant who frequently used Chinese Mandarin resources did not see the need to discuss their use, let alone to question an order that ideologically erased, essentialised, and/or problematised them. The preoccupation with English and Swedish practices was accompanied by an apparent all-encompassing mis- or non-recognition of other languages in the department. The use of other languages was not discussed, and the use of Chinese Mandarin resources was represented as

being of no value in internationalising university life despite their use in academic research and social practices within the department. Such findings suggested a certain departmental language ideological orientation.

The language ideological framework of study 1 served to sensitise the study to the relation between language and internationalising academia. The three participants engaged with in the writing up of study 1 are all similar on account of their having an international, or non-Swedish background. They can be further distinguished on account of their different national backgrounds and linguistic repertoires. As previous language ideological research works to demonstrate (see esp. Bauman & Briggs, 2003; Irvine & Gal, 2000), language ideological constructions are tied to the historical development, and expansion of the nation state, and to efforts to establish a national identity through a national language. Yet with this study's focus on only international researchers and teachers in an already highly internationalised department, ideological constructions went beyond the language ideological construction of the Swedish university as a Swedish speaking institution. In alignment with the discourse of internationalisation in Sweden, ideological constructions also related to the historical development and expansion of the internationalising university as English, as well as to efforts to establish an international identity as tied to the use of only English linguistic resources. The study's focus on participants with different national backgrounds and different linguistic repertoires thus allowed for a consideration of the department's language ideological order of visibility, according to which non-Swedish linguistic resources beyond English were not made visible. Also distinguished by their academic position, such an order suggested certain consequences for the participants involved.

According to the design of the study, the use, response to, and commentary on the use of any given linguistic resources on-the-ground was considered in relation to whether the participant was a full professor, associate professor, or doctoral candidate. This differentiation allowed for the consideration of which, and the extent to which any given language practices and/or linguistic resources were given legitimacy in the responses of those with more or less power to give it. Moreover, framed in relation to the ideological processes of erasure, iconicity, and fractal recursivity (Irvine & Gal, 1995, 2000, 2018), the study works to reveal *how* any given power geometries (see Paasi, 2005) were being ideologically constructed, reproduced, and/or disrupted in such a way that reflects the linguistic resources and everyday language practices at the department in question (e.g., Blommaert, 1999). The consideration of actors in certain positions, perhaps looking to occupy other more powerful positions, raises questions relating to the consequences of evading responsibility in the face of linguistic difference, such that a blindness to its potentiality would

perhaps affect the department's hiring policy, employee/student references, and future international character (see further Jaworski & Sachdev, 2004).

6.1.3 Dual monolingualism and the question of ethics and multilingualism

In sum, sensitised by the notion 'orders of visibility', the data in study 1 draw attention to a seeming ideological saturation according to which social and linguistic practices that do not involve Swedish and English linguistic resources were kept out of sight. Multilingual practice was nevertheless revealed to bring value to the department, contributing towards enhanced sociality and the generation of new academic research. Sensitised by language ideological processes, the study allows for an understanding of the processes through which the linguistic and social practices of others are problematised, mis-represented, and erased. The representations and commentaries of the study participants followed the same dual monolingual logic as the language policy, debate, and scholarship relevant to them whereby the complexity and value of social and linguistic practices were seemingly being glossed over by dual national and international language ideologies. According to the Levinasian notion of ethics and the corresponding understanding of multilingualism proposed above (see section 4), responsibility in response to the question of social and linguistic difference was seemingly being evaded.

The multilingual lens of Study 1 raises questions of ethics. Given that there was apparently no responsibility taken to maintain the social and linguistic difference of others, does this then point to ideological saturation of practices on-the-ground in Swedish university life, whereby the use of only two languages is visible and responded to? The desire to respond to this hypothesis worked to orient the thesis' second and third studies.

6.2 Study 2: *Language, hospitality, and internationalisation: exploring university life with the ethical and political acts of university administrators*

Study 2 is an ethnographic exploration of on-the-ground language policy and planning with administrative support staff in an internationalising humanities department. Administrators are confronted by increasing social and linguistic difference and yet, unlike teachers, researchers, and students they are rarely mentioned in relation to the language policy, debate, and scholarship of internationalisation in Sweden. Their practice thereby stands out on account of it being less salient within the discourse of internationalisation and parallel

language policy which is most clearly focused on and directed towards teaching and research practice. Being in this way ‘under the radar’, it was hypothesised that their interactions within an increasingly diverse institutional space would provide insight into approaches to language policy and planning adopted by actors given increased agential leeway.

6.2.1 Hospitality and the university administrator

Study 2 employs the notion of hospitality as part of an ethico-political framework. It works to draw attention to an academic department as a space of intersubjective dwelling, and the question of what on-the-ground language policy and planning might involve for its administrators with the arrival of international staff and students in an internationalising institution. Administrative support staff, or *verksamhetsstöd*, have the role of orienting and supporting all departmental staff, and so when increasing numbers of those staff did not speak the national language, the language that had been predominantly used at the department, the sociolinguistic reality of their role changed. Questions of hospitality arose. If international interlocutors arrive to the department, having been invited to engage in its ‘internationalisation’, but do not (yet) speak the language of the institution, that is those who do not (yet) speak Swedish, and are not (yet) able to orient themselves according to its Swedish/English parallel language policy (see section 2), how would/should the administrative support staff ground their interaction? Moreover, given that Swedish administration follows the trend of using the national language as its working language (Liddicoat, 2016: 234), and administrators may not have had experience of dealing with administrative matters in other languages, how are the political and ethical tensions of their hospitality to be resolved? Such questions relate to and make the most of the position of administrative support staff in (Swedish) academia to pose questions of ethics and multilingualism in relation to language policy and planning in an internationalising institution.

The study responds to gaps in the language policy and planning, debate, and scholarship, whereby questions relating to administration and their on-the-ground experiences of internationalising university life are left largely undiscussed. In the national language policy (Språklag, 2009:600), Swedish is said to be the official language of administration, which puts administrative support staff in a unique language-related position in Swedish university life. In this policy, the fact of changing sociolinguistic realities is not mentioned and so how an administrator might respond to sociolinguistic difference is left down to the institution and/or those on-the-ground. Yet, in the context of this study, the chief administrator reported having received no guidance or support in relation to the only very recent need to provide everyday support to inter-

locutors not (yet) proficient in Swedish. Supporting and/or providing hospitality to international colleagues and implementing a workable policy is thus left up to those with the least authority, and access to training, and/or resources to do so (Siiner, 2016: 444). As Liddicoat (2016: 234) suggests, this lack of regard and support for administration staff used to working in the national language, and simultaneous encouragement of internationalising hiring policies points to a certain injustice that calls for a response. Moreover, given the predominance of the national language in matters of administration, it is an injustice that might serve to encourage practices that serve to exclude some of the incoming staff and students with whom the administrators must engage (Karlsson & Karlsson, 2020: 82–83). The study is thus motivated by the lack of attention that matters of administration have received, and the potential for injustice that flows from this. Rather than detailing and describing this injustice, however, this study looks to the responses and agency of the administrators to see how they are responding to their situation and what insights we might gain from this.

Engaging with those who lack policy, support, and attention promises to bring about surprises and unexpected approaches to language policy and planning. Presumably, I hypothesised, the administrators would have been going beyond what those at the national and institutional level expect – a Swedish-only language policy would not allow them to fulfil their duties in their role of administrative support in an internationalising department. Of course, there might be times when those in administration are motivated to use additional languages for external communication with a view to targeting specific markets and international students (Liddicoat, 2016: 234–235). Yet, with a focus on internal communication in study 2, any market-driven motivations to use any given language were far less relevant for this study’s participants. English was going to be far less ideologically loaded for administrators than it was for the researchers and teachers encountered in study 1, for example. For administrators, English was not the language that the discourse of internationalisation suggests is *the* international language for use in publishing and teaching. Accordingly, the position of the administrators, it was hypothesised and subsequently suggested in the data and its analysis, might more clearly point to an approach to language policy and planning that is oriented differently, previously undocumented, and instructive in the field of language policy and planning.

6.2.2 A grounding in the ethical event

Study 2’s data set is centred around the participants’ archived email interactions, telephone calls, and regularly disseminated departmental texts. This interactional focus, as part of an 18-month ethnography would make available

for analysis the ways in which the study's participants would simultaneously respond to the implicit and explicit policy amongst the departmental administrators, as well as to the unique trajectories and subjectivities of their international interlocutors.

As part of the fieldwork, the initial analyses of any interactional data collected served to inform the subsequent interviews with participants. This, in turn, re-oriented the ongoing data collection and data engagement processes, thereby allowing for the co-construction of data (Cresswell, 2017), and for more balance between the researcher and participants throughout the process of data engagement (Wagner et al., 2016). In other, the general approach of this study was grounded in the ethical event; the methodological approach was informed by the theoretical framework, which was in turn illuminated in the field, thereby providing a better sense of what a hospitable approach towards others might involve. In this way the ethnographic approach gave me an opportunity to make sense of what the administrative staff were doing and a chance to capture what was distinct about their own response to internationalising university life (see also Rampton, 2006: 26). Approaching the participants in ethical events and open to the elected affinity such events involve (Kleinman & Benson, 2006: 3–4), the research engagement put into question my own idiosyncratic and subjective interpretation of what was going on in internationalising university life and allowed for ethical becoming between researcher and researched.

6.2.3 A promising ethico-political hospitality

The data is both reaffirming in terms of the traces of hospitality uncovered, and instructive as to the differentiation between the ethical and the political in the study's hospitality framework. The administrators responded to their interlocutors in such a way that worked to maintain their linguistic difference, revealing a strong sense of responsibility emanating from the ethical event. The hospitality involved an inevitable increase in language work, in terms of producing texts such as newsletters, emails, and PowerPoints in other languages, sourcing colleagues with the adequate linguistic resources to respond to non-Swedish speaking interlocutors when required, and a giving up of existing language norms relating to the explicit/implicit language policy on-the-ground. Such acts point towards a grounding of ethics in that the administrators' practices' validation came only from the international interlocutors themselves. Indeed, the increased workload was not being recognised or supported by the institution. In some cases, the approach also led to tensions between the more junior and the more senior colleagues on account of such an ethically unconditional approach both contradicting the previously accepted Swedish dominant norms/policy of the department and generating

more (largely unrecognised) work. Such tensions were resolved politically and in negotiation amongst the administrative staff and, if an internal colleague, with the international interlocutor themselves. The study thereby points to a division between ethical and political motivations for on-the-ground language policy, as well as to the ethical and multilingual grounding in the ways in which the participants responded to linguistic difference.

6.3 Study 3: *Ethical events in the internationalising university: Engaging, learning, and knowing in spaces of otherwise*

The third and final study of this thesis aims to explore how postgraduate students and teaching staff voice and respond to social and linguistic difference in diverse social sciences classrooms. It looks towards the ways in which these classroom spaces are constructed as ‘spaces of otherwise’ (Povinelli, 2011, 2012a), that is, spaces characterised by both exhaustion and potentiality. The investigation focuses on the construction of these spaces with the conceptually related Levinasian notion of the ethical event. It is in these interactional events, I suggest, that participants are called upon to take mutual responsibility for the unknown, non-normative, and invisible in the meaning-making practices of others (see section 4 above). This responsibility may be accepted or evaded, and, in this way, the paper considers how teachers and students facilitate and/or block ethical becoming in the internationalising classroom.

6.3.1 A linguistic anthropological approach

The study incorporates a linguistic anthropological interest in performance, genre, and interdiscursivity (e.g., Bauman & Briggs, 1990, 1992; Bauman, 2005; Hanks, 1987). These sensitising concepts are used to investigate the (inter)discursive performances the participants used to exhibit social and linguistic difference in the classroom ‘introduction round’ genre. As a genre in which one is asked to define who one is and what it is that one brings to the classroom space, the introduction round immediately works against the notion of absolute hospitality discussed above (section 4.3), whereby one would not even ask others their name (Derrida, 2000a). By asking a student to introduce themselves one inevitably invites the risk that individual students will come to be thematised in that space according to the meaning-making practices that they employ. In a diverse classroom, this risk would be one of essentialising multilingual others according to the indexical value of the accents, registers, discourses, and bodies that they bring into the classroom and with they are

asked to define themselves. The concepts of performance, genre, and interdiscursivity are employed to explore how students respond to this risk and the ways in which the students turn the question around within the introduction round genre in order to pose questions of ethics and multilingualism.

Developing these anthropological sensibilities, the study also engages with the notions of ‘late liberalism’ and the ‘quasi-event’ developed in the work of Elisabeth Povinelli. Late liberalism sensitises the study’s engagement to discourse related to the multicultural and Eurocentric governance of difference, as well as to the neoliberal governance of the market with which universities are said to be increasingly caught up (see section 3.2 above). Such discourse promises to exhaust internationalising university spaces; yet potential is nevertheless to be found and might be identified through a sensitivity towards the ‘quasi-event’. Quasi-events are defined as those happenings that live in “the fog of becoming; in a potential realm where something might happen if, and when the conditions for support and endurance emerge” (Povinelli et al., 2014: para 1). Such events follow and interlink with the logic of the Levinasian ‘ethical event’, which emphasises how the endurance of intersubjective ethical becoming is dependent upon others whose interruptions of discourse, here late liberal discourse, are always preoccupied with ethical becoming and its perseverance (Levinas, 1998: 179). Utopian in character, the construction of spaces of otherwise by means of quasi- or ethical events is characterised by both hope and harm and call out for exploration as a way of indicating “a way station for the emergence of something else” (Povinelli, 2017: para 7).

6.3.2 Diversity in the social sciences

The research engagement took place in and around social sciences classrooms over the course of the autumn semester, 2019. The postgraduate programme on which the students and teachers were engaged had a global orientation and was markedly diverse, even within a social sciences faculty with the highest levels of diversity of all university faculties. Such diversity was celebrated by the course leaders as a strength of the programme. The epistemic difference embodied by the diverse group was said to contain within it that which might allow the course participants to construct new knowledge in a field with a focus that is typically nationally oriented and non-comparative. Moreover, given that the programme had English as its medium of instruction, then engaging, learning, and knowing across difference could presumably take place. The classroom might be understood as a veritable heterotopia (Foucault, 1986), that is, a space in which enduring otherness and ethical becoming might be taken for granted. However, governed by the discourse of late liberalism,

such a heterotopian projection would not factor in the exhaustion, risk, and harm characteristic of late liberal spaces that might block such potential.

6.3.3 The construction of spaces of otherwise

The study's data reveals that the participants' distinct approaches to engaging, learning, and knowing in the classroom were not necessarily responded to. The students and teachers did not necessarily want to respond to the difference of their classmates. Even when they did, the complexity of the participants' performances was not necessarily heard, and at one stage laughter of ridicule was seen to be encouraged by the teachers to regiment the classroom engagement according to monologic norms (Billig, 2005). When the students stepped outside of the late liberal discourse relating to internationalisation, they were brought back into line and the responsibility towards others evaded. While this may have served the students individual prospects on the international job market, it also precluded the construction of new knowledge across difference. Notwithstanding, in the introduction rounds, discursive strategies were employed by the students to exhibit the group's differences and to call the others to take responsibility in relation to that difference. Spaces of otherwise were constructed through dialogic performances within a monologic speech genre, which incorporated multilingual resources and, despite the exhaustion involved, served to suggest potential new ways of engaging, learning, and knowing. The study thereby points towards ways in which one might foster ethical becoming and work towards a more truly responsible international academic practice.

7 Discussion

The following section will discuss the theoretical and methodological complexities, contradictions, and contingencies that were brought out in the summary of the individual studies in section 6 above. This will be done with a view to addressing the overarching research question of the thesis, via subsections that relate to the sub-research questions. In synthesising the studies' findings, the section will bring out the contribution the thesis makes to the field, as well as its limitations.

7.1 A dual monoglossic orientation in Swedish higher education

The overarching research question of this thesis asks about the ways in which social and linguistic difference is represented, voiced, and responded to in Swedish university life. The thesis begins its response to this question with an initial investigation of the representations of departmental social and linguistic practices given by researchers in the natural sciences. The dual focus on English and Swedish in Swedish higher education language policy, debate, and scholarship was seen to be reinforced and given meaning, apparently closing possibilities for more ethical becoming. Language ideological processes were shown to construct a language regime whereby those proficient in both the national language, Swedish, and ‘*the international language*’, English, were found to be in possession of the linguistic capital needed to navigate Swedish university life most easily. Such a repertoire afforded its holders greater access to spaces and practices that would in turn lead to greater job security and academic power, that is, in research collaboration with external bodies, departmental and faculty meetings, and everyday social situations such as lunch, *fika* (coffee breaks), and corridor/general lab interaction.

The cultural, social, and symbolic capital of a repertoire consisting of Swedish and English in Swedish university life is unsurprising, but the consequences of the symbolic power of this repertoire were less predictable. The departmental language regime in the natural sciences was such that the employment of any other linguistic resources for the purposes of engaging in academic research and the construction of departmental sociality across difference was invisible (see further Wee, 2017). This lack of recognition afforded to the fact of multilingualism was surprising considering the value placed on increasing trans-national research practices in internationalising academia (Crawford, 1992; Dubois et al., 2016; Schott, 1993). As study 1 shows, multilingual and transnational meaning-making practices hold great potential and play an important role in the interdiscursive construction of academic texts (see also Salö & Hanell, 2014). Previous research has explored the construction of multilingual text (e.g., Canagarajah, 2013; Mortensen, 2018), as well as multilingual online and digital practices amongst students and teachers (e.g., Kuteeva, 2018; Lam, 2013; Wei & Hua, 2013). However, more research is needed on how, and the extent to which multilingual writing practices are constructed as more or less visible amongst different university actors (see however Kaufhold, 2018). Working to make such practices visible can contribute to the establishment of transformative academic writing programmes (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013).

Analysis of the language ideological processes involved in the construction of the departmental orders of visibility served to provide a sense of the workings and the logic of the department's ideological ordering. The socio-linguistic reality on-the-ground was seemingly being ordered by language ideological processes within participant representations that rendered multilingual practice invisible or problematic. Accordingly, there was apparently no irony felt when a participant simultaneously expressed annoyance and surprise about the extant lack of visibility of English, *and* apparent concern relating to the formation of Mandarin speaking groups in the lunchroom. The invisibility of departmental multilingualism was further evidenced after ethnographic investigation revealed this Mandarin speaking lunchroom group to be made up by speakers with different first languages. No doubt, concerns relating to a lack of integration would not apply to an English-speaking group with distinct social and linguistic trajectories since this department was an 'internationalising' one. In this department, only English practices were to be made visible as internationalising practices. Indeed, as study 1 suggests, continuities can be traced from the historical emphasis on internationalism in Sweden as an English medium project (see section 2.1 above), to the ideological processes found within Swedish academic practice. Such processes both iconise English as the international language, and erase the multilingual complexity and potentiality brought into the department space by increasing transnational mobility.

Given the institutionalisation of parallel language policy promoting Swedish and English, it was seen to be in the professional interests of researchers and teachers to reproduce a dual monolingual ideology (cf. Kroskrity, 2000: 8; Silverstein, 1979: 193). Correspondingly, to take responsibility for non-Swedish/English meaning-making practices and make their existence and complexity visible was seen as something to be evaded (see further Salö, 2022). As such, the fostering of personal interests in Swedish university life relied upon the reproduction of the order of visibility given in the discourse of internationalisation. Moreover, ideological processes that worked to construct and maintain such an order were identified in the representations of all study 1's participants, even those of multilingual speakers producing texts and fostering sociality across linguistic difference. It appeared that non-Swedish/English meaning-making practices should be sacrificed for greater visibility and academic power. This suggests that the double monoglossic discourse relating to internationalisation in Sweden had come to saturate departmental practice. Such a conclusion, however, would rely upon a certain understanding of discourse that studies 2 and 3 call into question.

All three studies of this thesis relate to a post-structural or Foucauldian understanding of discourse as that which refers to ways of constituting knowledge, which include social practice, forms of subjectivity, and power

relations (see section 4.1 above). In this way an investigation into social and linguistic practice in contemporary university life is simultaneously taken to be an investigation of the broader discourse of internationalisation as that which will, to some extent, have constituted academic practice. Unearthing a mismatch between the general discourse and practice with such an understanding is nothing new, nor is study 1's call for a keener critical awareness of the social and linguistic complexities in internationalising university life (e.g., Leask & Bridge, 2013; Tange & Millar, 2016; Peacock & Harrison, 2009).² However, studies 2 and 3 seek to offer an investigation of potentiality through a Levinasian understanding of discourse, defined as "the experience of something absolutely foreign, a pure 'knowledge' or 'experience'" (1961: 73).

Levinasian discourse creates a distinction between post-structural discourse and the arrival of the incalculable and unknowable (e.g., Derrida, 1993) given here as the question of ethics and multilingualism (see section 4.2 above). In studies 2 and 3, Levinasian discourse is given in voices of the international other whose arrival and meaning-making practices are distinct from and serve to disrupt the discourse of internationalisation. Levinasian 'discourse' would posit a bottom-up approach, such that we focus on the practices and embodied experiences of international others as constituting and revealing the potential within internationalising university life. So, while study 1 focuses on the representations of others, studies 2 and 3 focus on the experiences amongst international others. This served to open the analysis up beyond the consideration of individual interests more beholden to the governmentality of discourse, and towards collective responsibility inaugurated through Levinasian discourse as the experience of the Other. Only through a consideration and foregrounding of empirical instances of practice might one responsibly describe the representations of others as suggesting an ethical becoming, or not (re: sub research question 2).

We might rely on discourse for an institution's conditions, oppositions, and relations, but the seemingly ideological saturation of departmental relations in study 1 called for an approach in which the experience of an internationalising university might point towards something oriented otherwise. This would be to interrupt the ideological processes found in the representations of participants and to look towards actual experiences of responding to social and linguistic difference. Doing so, would be to reckon with that which can only be intimated or aesthetically evoked (Hymes, 1978: 12; Busch, 2017). As Derrida (1990: 79) puts it, what arrives in practice "can only be 'mis-known', that is, unrecognized and misunderstood. It can only be recognized afterwards

² This is not to call into question such an approach since the exploration of any given context can of course serve to bring about positive change to the relevant language policy and planning. Rather, I here seek to draw attention to the limitations of adopting one such approach as well as the potential within another.

when it has become normal or the norm". That is, the experience of the Other can only be recognised in discourse in which its 'mis-knowing' is inevitable because it necessarily goes beyond our understanding – rendering it impossible to represent or thematize, and possible only to experience.

In response to the limits of representation, the rest of the thesis was oriented towards the ways in which actors in different positions within the university confronted the arrival and discourse of the international and multilingual interlocutor as that which can only be mis-known. A key point made in this thesis is that it is through ethnographic engagement with such encounters that we might best trace the emergence and potential maintenance of multilingual practice for which both the interlocutor and ethnographer take responsibility. Aiming to do the impossible and represent the mis-known encountered in ethical events – themselves defined as encounters with the unknown and ordinarily invisible – holds the potential to shape the discourse of internationalisation towards a greater responsibility for the Other and the multilingual realities on the ground.

7.2 An ethical movement beyond monoglossic ideology

As shown in studies 2 and 3, the administrators', students', and teachers' voicing and responding to increasing multilingualism was grounded in ethical events. Social and linguistic diversity, despite its persistent lack of visibility, was being responded to, and in some cases accepted and worked into the departmental space and practices. The movement from an analytical focus on language ideology to ethics served to reinforce the Levinasian claim that others do not come to the subject in the form of ideology, but as that which is Other, encountered as uniquely distinct from the prevailing discourse. Critical engagement with internationalisation, then, need not only mean exploring the prevailing discourse, the related ideological processes, and that which is generalisable. Rather, a focus on ethical events as discussed in this thesis can reveal the emergence and potential maintenance of that which is not known and ordinarily invisible in discourse. Here the focus illuminated participants' ability to transcend the discourse of internationalisation, often in solidarity and in resistance to its ideological processes, with a desire for improved sociality, mutual responsibility, and more truly international academic practice. A research focus beyond ideology promised to prove instructive in relation to how language policy and planning might be done in a movement towards more ethical becoming.

Empirical decisions were nevertheless made on a language ideological basis with a view to revealing that ethical events are as much a response to prevailing discourse as they are to the Other in interaction. As shown in study

1, the fact that a natural sciences department has no foundational relationship to any national context is not to indicate that it is free from an ideologically driven orientation towards social and linguistic difference. In fact, those within the natural sciences are arguably more open to the dominant discourse than those in other disciplines. In contrast to the humanities and social sciences in which actors often use different and sometimes critical perspectives to interpret texts, practices, and social phenomena, those in the natural sciences are less likely to have developed an authorial presence on account of their research and teaching practices often relying on established methods and procedures (Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). Indeed, the choice to engage in a natural sciences department was rewarded with a strong sense of the ideological character of the participants' representations of language and definition of the field (Bourdieu, 1985: 208).

The ideological character of the discourse and practice in study 1 might also be said to be revealing as the department in focus had had the longest history (around 30 years) of hosting international scholars. The dual monolingual regimentation identified in the natural sciences department, whereby linguistic practices beyond English and Swedish were heard but not recognised, therefore points towards a potential strengthening of ideological processes over time in alignment with the double monoglossic discourse of internationalisation in Sweden, serving to erase linguistic diversity over an extended period. While the departmental discourse may have been gradually shaped to promote improved sociality, transnational practices, and mutual responsibility, the data suggests that those in the department had instead learnt how to evade such responsibilities. The fact of improved sociality, transnational practice, and mutual responsibility in studies 2 and 3 points towards a responsibility to foster such an ethical becoming made visible through ethnographic investigation. As already suggested, however, the results in study 1 may have had less to do with the empirical context and more to do with the theoretical and methodological approach taken, which, in any future study, would be responsibly adapted for further research within a natural sciences department in order to better explore such ambiguities. As the findings of studies 2 and 3 suggest, any suggestion of ideological saturation in a department space would benefit from an ethnographic investigation of the ethical events therein.

7.3 Ethics and politics in the ethical event

My ethnographic engagement in humanities and social sciences departments pointed towards the value of ethical events in which a less clear or less deeply ingrained ideological framing of international others and social and linguistic

difference was evident. The relatively recent arrival of international colleagues in study 2 and the markedly diverse classrooms of study 3 allowed for a consideration of how on-the-ground language policy, planning and practice might take place amongst actors facing others unknown in practice, invisible in the prevailing discourse, and unaccustomed to local norms. The focus on ethical events in these two studies revealed practice amongst the participants to be oriented towards negotiation, the fostering of improved sociality, and when necessary (study 3), endurance to maintain social and linguistic difference as part of the group relations.

The persistence of a discourse of internationalisation across the three studies, however, pointed towards the political dimensions of the ethical event according to which priority would be given to Swedish, the principal language of Sweden, and English, the language of internationalisation and internationalism in Sweden (see section 3.2 above). In study 2, while negotiation was considered fundamental, a recognition of the legitimised languages also played a role in the choice of preferred language. Even if efforts were made to respond to linguistic difference, Swedish was still a language to be encouraged amongst international colleagues. This might then be taken to indicate the employment of a purely pragmatic or politically grounded response to linguistic difference. However, in emphasising the need to ground language choice in an asymmetrical negotiation with others, whereby maintaining the others' difference was a priority – before any encouragement of legitimised language practices, the actors' policy, planning, and practice were shown to be *ethico*-political acts. The emphasis on negotiation and the prioritising of the language of others was fundamental for the participants, to the extent that not responding in the language of others was experienced as 'uncomfortable' and represented as being exclusionary.

Grounding discourse in ethics was nevertheless seen to be politically and pragmatically problematic for the participants. In study 2, taking responsibility for the arrival of linguistic difference not only generated feelings of discomfort and self-doubt, but also an increased workload. Producing emails, departmental texts, and PowerPoints in both Swedish and English, and sourcing colleagues who might support taking phone calls and querying candidate multilingualism in interview with Spanish, for example, takes time for which the higher education sector, Swedish nation, and institution in question had not given support. Such support might have been given with additional resources, language training programmes, and/or the creation of in-house language centres, etc. (see further Gregersen et al., 2018). The lack of institutional support was an oversight that had been raised at a university wide level by one of the participants, but no action had been taken. The lack of a significant response from those with the power to do so threatens to make any ethical becoming identified here more difficult to take responsibility for. As such, the

invisibility of this struggle and the exhaustion in such departmental spaces calls for more research in this area such that the extent and significance of the problem may be amplified, and any action taken well supported.

The logic of the ethical events examined in studies 2 and 3 was such that the division between ‘host’ and ‘guest’ had become unclear, with all taking on the role as hostages of the Other at certain times (see Derrida, 2000b: 8). The language of the administrators in study 2, in its broadest sense the language norms and the policy of the department had suddenly been overwhelmed by the recently arrived international colleagues. Yet in the ethical event the administrators felt compelled to take responsibility for social and linguistic difference and in an asymmetrical relation with the practices of others, found themselves a guest in relation to the now accepted language practices of the other. On the other hand, in acknowledging the role of hostage-taker that they had apparently taken, the international arrival expressed guilt and/or doubt about having brought a new linguistic reality and guest-hood to their hosts and to the department. Consequently, the (inter)subjectivity of both guest and host was condemned to take responsibility such that they would, if possible, host the other by learning and speaking the language of the other. The internationalising department had apparently made hostages of all, nevertheless maintaining the potential to unite them in a dialogically grounded solidarity as a result. Fostering solidarity response to the subjection of both discourse and other interlocutors, however, did not come so easily to the participants in study 3.

7.4 The late liberal governance of multilingual spaces

In the English medium social science classrooms of study 3, it might have been assumed that the collective response to social and linguistic difference would have been unproblematic. After all, a critical awareness of social ideology, societal change, and social difference is part and parcel of the *raison d'être* of any social sciences department. Nevertheless, it quickly became apparent in the initial weeks of the fieldwork that sociality, mutual responsibility, and practice across difference was not so easily given, at least in the classrooms under study. The prevailing discourse of internationalisation was shown to regiment more than the choice of national language, such that different ways of engaging, learning, and knowing were experienced as problematic. Although English was the medium of instruction, different accents, registers, discourses, and bodies were being described as ‘weird’ and ‘strange’ by all involved, while some experienced the classrooms as spaces of exhaustion. International students and teachers were thereby compelled to

employ evermore creative strategies in order to introduce and foster international academic practice.

Given the exhaustion that accompanied the potential found in the internationalising classroom spaces, study 3 points towards the relevance of what Povinelli (2011) calls late liberalism and its relevance to the discourse of internationalisation. As discussed above in section 3, late liberalism simultaneously refers to the multicultural governance of difference and the neo-liberal governance of the market. It is a governance concerned with a specific form of social organisation and a specific distribution of life and goods (Povinelli, 2013), with which higher education institutions and those whose practices constitute them are caught up. This was exemplified in the ethical events that took place across study 3 but is also relevant to the governance of difference in study 1.

7.4.1 The exhaustion of university spaces

The governance of social and linguistic difference across the studies was seen to relate to a distinction between a sectoral, national, and institutional symbolic commitment to internationalisation and the experiences of those who embody diversity and different national backgrounds (see further Ahmed, 2012). In study 1, the presence of students speaking languages other than Swedish and English in the eating area was regarded as a concern for the department, indexical of the institutional and departmental failure to integrate students. In study 3, the key participant was subjected to a racialisation of his embodied meaning-making practices. He and others felt compelled to bring this racialisation into question and sought to transcend it through creative interdiscursive performance and the development of a unique genre style. It appeared that even students and teachers in the social sciences were not free from the tendency to thematise others according to social categories (see further Levinas, 2006: 58–69), thus pointing towards university spaces as being spaces of exhaustion wherein students are constantly compelled to question and transcend prevailing discourse in order to allow for engaging, learning, and knowing across difference.

The discomfort felt in relation to any unknown and non-normative aspects of university life in Sweden was also shown to relate to the governance of the higher education market. In study 1, a transnational and multilingual approach to research production generated uneasiness and was left unrecognised, demonstrating a perception that the primary concern relating to research output should be only its marketable product. In study 2, improved departmental sociality and functioning across linguistic difference was dependent on stretching the time and resources of administrative staff, the question of which

was raised at a university level, but largely ignored. In study 3, students struggled against the idea that the acquisition of knowledge for the purposes of increasing market potential was to go unchallenged, yet such dissenting epistemological positions were subject to ridicule. While the governance of markets might realise itself in different ways and may not in itself be problematic, at the expense of those operating there, one question was shown to be highly prominent in Swedish university spaces: do the practices of those in university life have market value (Urciuoli, 2018: 14)? While such questions might be exhausting, much potentiality was found within questions of ethics and multilingualism posed and responded to within ethical events.

7.4.2 The potentiality of university spaces

Notwithstanding the exhaustion of some participants, the university spaces navigated in this thesis were at the same time shown to be spaces of potentiality. This potentiality was made most prominent through the analysis of participant interaction, as well as through researcher engagement with participants made possible through the ethnographic approach that calls for mutual responsibility between researcher and researched (see section 5.1 above). In study 2, before any negotiations took place, ethical events revealed participants to be taking a stance of radical passivity in their interaction with others. When confronted with a language that went beyond what was known, normative, and ordinarily heard in the department, in this case Spanish, steps were taken to draw on the resources of others in order to provide an absolute hospitality to interlocutors not (yet) proficient in Swedish. While such an event was not commented on or supported beyond the discourse of the departmental administrators, it served to create affinities within the department pointing towards the value of taking responsibility and posing and responding to questions of ethics and multilingualism. These questions were seen to come before the question of market value and the thematization of social and linguistic difference. In pointing towards an approach to university life distinct from the one imagined in the late liberal discourse of internationalisation, such events might be usefully conceptualised as a quasi-event (see section 6.3 above). As part of a series of such quasi- or ethical events, another administrator asked for broader institutional support in response to the departmental desire to continue in the provision of such hospitality. While this call was evaded, it does point to the political impetus generated in quasi-, or ethical events, such that the potential for improved sociality and international academic practice at the department might endure.

Performances of dialogic self-introduction in study 3 also served to generate affinities in the classroom. The performances here were more radical,

made in direct response to, and in transcendence of any late liberal discourse seen to be governing classroom difference. While the semester started with a call to construct knowledge across difference, it became apparent that the dominant approach to engaging, learning, and knowing was serving to govern difference. In response, various international students were compelled to commit 'heretical' acts (Tange & Millar, 2016), as ironizing agents (Rapport, 2002), such that the classroom's meaning-making practices might incorporate more diverse knowledges and be reconceptualised to promote a diversity of voice (Stroud, 2015). With distinct genre styles and through interdiscursive and dialogic performance, students and teachers called upon one another to engage and negotiate across social and linguistic difference. Such calls were responded to and, to varying degrees, the late liberal discourse governing the classroom space was transcended. The affective dimensions and employment of irony and humour in such events was crucial and points to the value and potential of further research into such dimensions of interaction (e.g., see Franzén et al., 2021).

The classroom potentiality was seen to endure most joyfully, however, when dialogue across social and linguistic difference was initiated and positively responded to by the black guest lecturer who taught just one class towards the end of the semester. She came with a distinct accent, body, experience, and knowledge, but nevertheless succeeded in eliciting improved sociality in a class within which more diverse voices were heard than in any other class of the semester. Affinities in the class had been strengthened and mutual responsibility was hard-won over the semester, but the dynamics of this particular class emphasised the potentiality of internationalising university life like no other. This pointed towards questions relating to eliciting mutual responsibility and affinities in internationalising university life, and why here the burden was seemingly only taken on by those students and teachers whose voices, bodies, and experiences have been historically marginalised. Such findings point towards the value of the rapidly growing work on the epistemologies of the South (e.g., Kerfoot & Tatah, 2017; Rudwick & Makoni, 2021; Santos, 2012, 2016) that seeks to validate the experiences and knowledges of those social groups who have systematically suffered injustice and whose meaning-making practices are ordinarily evaluated negatively, as they were in study 3.

8 Concluding remarks

This thesis is a sociolinguistics of Swedish university life that foregrounds the various actors who constitute it through their practices. It aims to provide insight into the experiences of those fulfilling the key duties of a university,

in three different faculties, in response to questions of social and linguistic diversity embodied and voiced by others. In relation to the broader discussion of internationalising higher education in Sweden and elsewhere, the thesis contributes to the advancement of knowledge concerning language and its role in calling us to take responsibility for the incalculable and unknown social relations in which we engage. The key findings will here be presented in response to the aims given at the beginning of this summarising chapter.

The exhaustion and potentialities of the spaces investigated in this thesis were seen to relate to social and linguistic difference and the ways in which it was both governed by and disruptive of the discourse of late liberalism. Multilingual practices involving different approaches to engaging, learning, and knowing were seen to be regimented such that what went beyond the dual monolingual parallel language policy was constructed in participant representations as problematic or invisible. In interaction, what was unknown and unpredictable was shown to be disapproved of, misrecognised, or unseen (study 1), institutionally unsupported (study 2), and evaded and ridiculed (study 3). Multilingual practices were shown to be exhausting for those voicing difference, despite their contribution towards fostering sociality, responsibility, and more truly international academic practice. Such contributions nevertheless testify to the potentiality of multilingualism in contemporary university life. Participant practices showed that the democratic, socially responsible, and ethically grounded ideals of internationalisation remain in place, thereby calling out for a response from others with the power to effect change, provide support, and allow for the ethical becoming on-the-ground to endure.

Questions of ethics and multilingualism such as these are always already being posed on the ground in contemporary university life. The focus on the Levinasian ethical event showed how these questions were serving to call interlocutors to take responsibility for that which is Other and to make meaning across difference. Bringing a 'primordial discourse' into focus, the theoretical approach taken in this thesis served to reveal the disruptive and radical potentiality to be found in interaction. On one level, the approach taken raised a critical awareness of the struggles of university actors who are marginalised by a lack of consideration for that which comes with increasing diversity. On a deeper level, it emphasised the need to ground language policy and planning in what study 2 identifies as absolute hospitality, since who or what will come into university spaces in future cannot be anticipated. Any policy and planning that might be described as ethical needs to anticipate an irreconcilable impasse with the inevitable arrival of new and distinct ways of engaging, learning, and knowing that would undermine the stability of any given policy within any given system (cf. Derrida, 1995). As such, an

approach to language policy and planning needs to be sensitised by an awareness of the responsibility here shown to be taken by those responding to the exhaustion and potentiality of multilingual interaction in university spaces. Such an approach would be dependent upon further linguistic ethnographic research that traces changing social relations through university actors' interactions as they engage in ethical events.

The notion of the ethical event guided the methodological approach of this thesis and pointed towards the affordances of assuming an active passivity, characteristic of ethnographic fieldwork (Rapport, 2015). Such a stance kept the research alive to the open moments within interaction in which the participants' and my own knowledge, experience, design, and control were challenged (cf. Benson & O'Neill, 2007: 45). The exhaustion and potentiality of internationalising life was revealed most keenly through an analysis of the immediacy of the sensible, of the intimated, and aesthetically evoked, and not of what my participants claimed to know (Hymes, 1978: 12; Levinas, 1987: 116). Indeed, approaching research engagement as a series of ethical events, sensitised to the unknown and unforeseen, allowed for an investigation of how the Other who voices the unknown in unknown languages expresses itself (Levinas, 1961: 51). Moreover, while the research would have benefited from being more longitudinal, the exposure to participants over extended periods allowed for an analysis of how the unknown came to be operationalised and how it worked to foster improved sociality, mutual responsibility, and more truly international academic practice.

9 Sammanfattning på svenska

Denna sammanläggningsavhandling beforskar flerspråkighet, diversitet och interaktion i ett universitetsväsende alltmer präglad av internationalisering. Avhandlingen studerar etnografiskt de människor som utgör de nutida svenska universiteten och som dagligen står inför frågor om etik och flerspråkighet. Med ett etikbegrepp hämtat från filosofen Emmanuel Levinas är det viktigt att påpeka att etik i den här avhandlingen inte tas i bruk i syfte att föreslå en riktigare/korrektare/lämpligare moralisk hållning till det internationaliserade svenska universitetslivet och språkanvändningen i det. Avhandlingen använder istället den levinasiska etiken för att studera hur vårt tänkande, vår subjektivitet och våra språkpraktiker påverkas av och i konkreta interaktioner ansikte mot ansikte med (internationella) andra. De tre studier som avhandlingen består av fokuserar på representationer av och interaktioner inom "etiska händelser", det vill säga händelser som med nödvändighet involverar något som inte är känt, normativt eller i gängse mening synbart, men som parter i samtal påkallas att ta ansvar för. Det är interaktionen som är etisk, inte den

etik eller moral som interaktionen är ett uttryck för (jfr Critchley, 2014: 300). Potentialen för kollektivt ansvarstagande och etiskt tillblivande kommer dock fram i sådana händelser. Representationer och interaktioner som relaterar till och involverar studiedeltagarnas alltmer mångfaldiga sociala, lingvistiska och epistemiska repertoarer diskuteras därför utifrån huruvida olikheten tycks accepteras eller undvikas, och hur en sådan respons relaterar till och/eller utmanar diskurserna om den ökande flerspråkigheten i det nutida universitetslivet.

På den samtida högre utbildningens diskursivt enspråkiga horisont tänker denna avhandling annorlunda om språkfrågor, och bidrar därmed till den växande kunskapen om socialt och språkligt mångfaldig praktik i det internationaliserade universitetslivet. Den behandlar hur personer som interagerar i det samtida universitetslivet arbetar för att finna utrymmen, eller finner sig i utrymmen, inom vilka ett begrepp om flerspråkighet som blott samexistens och sammanförande av olika språk blir otillräcklig. Genom att studera praktiker som går bortom styrningen av språklig olikhet i den svenska språkpolicyen och språkplaneringen, t.ex. den parallella språkpolicy som förespråkar användandet av både svenska och engelska (se Kuteeva, 2014) undersöker avhandlingen den inneboende utmattningen och potentialiteten i flerspråkighetens etiska händelser, inom vilka det finns olika språkliga variationer, accenter, register, diskurser och kroppar att bemöta.

Avhandlingen lägger fram ett svar på en övergripande frågeställning och tre inbördes sammanhängande delfrågor som de tre studierna besvarar i tur och ordning:

Övergripande frågeställning:

Hur representeras, uttrycks och bemöts social och språklig olikhet “på marknaden” i det svenska universitetslivet, och vilka potentialiteter för mer etiskt tillblivande pekar dessa representationer, uttryck och bemötanden på?

Delfråga 1:

Vilka sociala och språkliga ideologiska ordningar konstrueras i vetenskap, debatt och språkpolicy i relation till Sveriges nutida universitetsliv, och hur tillskrivs sådana ordningar mening “på marknaden” bland de som forskar och undervisar i en sådan utsträckning att de går att beskriva som etiska eller inte?

Delfråga 2:

Hur och i vilken utsträckning omarbetas och utmanas den relevanta språkpolicyen och språkplaneringen som svar på vem och vad som infinner sig i och med internationaliseringen av det svenska universitetslivet? I vilken

bemärkelse och utsträckning kan “gästvänlig” interaktion mellan administrativ personal och deras internationella samtalsparter förstås som etisk och/eller politisk?

Delfråga 3:

Hur uttrycker och bemöter lärare och forskarstudenter social och språklig olikhet i ett utpräglat mångfaldigt klassrum? Hur och i vilken utsträckning avslöjar interaktioner i klassrummet, i egenskap av “etiska händelser”, en potential för rum där kontakt, inlärning och vetande kan äga rum över gränser för social och språklig olikhet?

Den breda metod som används för att besvara dessa frågeställningar kan beskrivas som lingvistisk etnografisk och lingvistisk antropologisk. Jag valde ett tillvägagångssätt som gjorde att jag kunde “gå ner i skyttegravarna utan att förlora slagfältet som helhet ur sikte” (Bauman och Briggs, 2003: 316). Den långvariga närhet till deltagarna som den etnografiska metoden innebär möjliggjorde en ökad känslighet för sådana sociala och språkliga konfigurationer som inte går att förutsäga på förhand. Den möjliggjorde också en ökad ansvarskänsla mot deltagarnas specifika kontakter, upplevelser och vetande i termer av avhandlingens grund i etiken.

Avhandlingen tar avstamp i de övergripande principerna för forskare inom det brittiska fältet lingvistisk etnografi (Rampton, 2007: 585), som i sin tur är starkt påverkad av den amerikanska traditionen lingvistisk antropologi. Enligt dessa principer bör språklig praktik studeras i dess situation och får sin mening i den kontext där den äger rum. Mening anses uppstå inom specifika sociala relationer, interaktionshistorier och institutionella regimer, och produceras och tolkas av aktörer med distinkta repertoarer. Interaktionsdata anses avgörande för att bestämma den position och den olikhetspotential som aktörer har när de navigerar en given kontext; meningens signaler och spårbarhet anses vara rikast i de lingvistiska och textuella detaljerna. Rampton understryker att sådana principer måste tillämpas på olika sätt i olika kontexter, vilket har gjorts här.

Avhandlingen kartlägger vardagliga sociala och språkliga praktiker hos olika aktörer på universitetet: studenter, administratörer, lärare och forskare, liksom de sätt på vilka det internationaliserade universitetslivets flerspråkighet spelar en roll i deras praktik. Mer specifikt studerar avhandlingen i vilken utsträckning flerspråkigheten stärker och/eller hämmar relationer mellan dessa olika universitetsaktörer genom de sätt på vilka de representerar och närmar sig den flerspråkiga praktiken och inlemmar den i sina interaktioner. Bland forskare (studie 1) visade sig flerspråkig praktik spela en viktig men samtidigt osynlig eller problematiserad roll i institutionens socialitet och produktion av akademisk forskning, som i slutändan publiceras på engelska.

Bland administrativ personal och dessas samtalsparter (studie 2) visade det sig att den ökade lingvistiska mångfalden tog dem och deras praktiker gisslan, samtidigt som deras respons på den ändå avslöjade en potential för ökat samarbete och ökad solidaritet mellan kolleger. Bland studenter och lärare (studie 3) visade sig flerspråkighet spela en viktig roll för att ifrågasätta monologiska och regimenterande normer, och samtidigt möjliggöra framväxten av förbättrat engagemang, lärande och vetande över gränserna för olikhet. Fokuset på olika aktörer som har distinkta och samtidigt centrala uppdrag i universitetslivet (Högskolelag, 1992) möjliggjorde en rik och nyanserad förståelse av det internationaliserade universitetslivet i Sverige och den flerspråkiga praktikens ställning inom det.

Avhandlingen engagerar även deltagare från flera olika fakulteter: naturvetenskap (studie 1), humaniora (studie 2) och samhällsvetenskap (studie 3). Detta gjordes för att ta hänsyn till skillnader mellan ämnen och dessas potentiella effekter på språkanvändningen (Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). Inom naturvetenskapen (artikel 1) saknar studieobjektet ett avgörande samband med någon som helst nationell kontext. Detta gör att flerspråkig praktik och representationer av flerspråkig praktik som involverar talare med olika språkliga repertoarer tjänar som en tydlig indikation på hur styrningen av olikhet sker i praktiker där vilket språk som helst skulle kunna anses tjäna det vetenskapliga syftet likaväl som något annat. Inom humaniora (artikel 2) är det oftare språket självt som är studieobjektet. Idéer om vilket språk som bör användas påverkas sannolikt av vilka språk som oftast studeras och oftast används i ett sådant studium. Det innebär att på en humanistisk institution ger frågor om gästvänlighet i relation till språklig olikhet – till flerspråkighet bortom Sveriges huvudspråk, dvs. svenskan – bättre möjlighet att studera flerspråkighetens effekter och funktioner, liksom att ompröva vad internationella språkpraktiker och vem en internationell forskare kan vara i det internationaliserade universitetslivet. Inom samhällsvetenskapen, särskilt på globalt orienterade forskarutbildningar som den studie 3 fokuserar på, utgör social och språklig olikhet ett löfte om något mer. Tidigare kontakter, upplevelser och vetande om sociala frågor i andra delar av världen har en potential att berika och föra ämnet framåt, bortom nationella, språkliga och rasifierade gränser. För att studenternas och lärarnas tidigare kontakter, upplevelser och vetande ska synliggöras i det mångfaldiga klassrummet måste dock först kommunikation äga rum över dessa gränser. Sammanfattningsvis lyfter detta hänsyn till olikhet mellan ämnen fram olika aspekter i relation till det internationaliserade universitetslivets flerspråkighet, som är relevanta både inom och mellan ämnesgränserna.

Samtliga tre studier i avhandlingen fokuserar på deltagarnas representationer och interaktioner i syfte att uppenbara de sätt på vilka styrande diskurser om språk, flerspråkighet och “internationalisering” reproduceras, bemöts

och/eller transcenderas. Nedan sammanfattas studierna var och en för sig i relation till deras specifika teoretiska och metodologiska ansatser.

Studie I studerar forskare och lärare och undersöker i vilken utsträckning deras praktiker och representationer förhåller sig till den enspråkiga språkpolitiken, debatten och forskningen i Sverige. Studien utgår från ett antagande om flerspråkig kompetens hos personal och studenter och intresserar sig för att utforska det upplevda värdet av sådan kompetens i den praktiska forskningen och undervisningen, liksom för socialiteten på institutionen. Den baserar sig samtidigt på tidigare lingvistisk antropologisk forskning om språkideologier (t.ex., Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity, 1998; Kroskrity, 2000), som har visat en tendens att göra lättvindiga kopplingar mellan språk och nationer och allt som dessa kan tänkas stå för, vilket både förenklar den sociala och språkliga mångfalden och suddar ut de möjligheter och utmaningar som den medför.

Inom europeisk språkpolitik och språkplanering, samhällsdebatt och forskning har den språkliga mångfalden i det nutida universitetslivet främst diskuterats i relation till långvariga spänningar i relation till engelskans ställning och fördelar och konsekvenserna av att använda engelska visavi det nationella språket. Detta återspeglas i hög grad i den svenska språkpolitiken och språkplaneringen, där engelskans starka ställning har lett till reaktioner från de som vill prioritera skyddet av det egna språket (se Salö, 2016: 10ff.). Detta märks kanske främst i policymålen för den så kallade "parallellspråkigheten" som antogs 2006 i *Deklarationen om nordisk språkpolitik* (Nordiska ministerrådet, 2007). Hänsyn till en mycket specifik språkrelaterad olikhet framträder tydligt i en sådan policy, liksom i mycket av debatten och forskningen om internationalisering. Frågor om bredare och mer flexibel flerspråkig praktik, och om de flerspråkiga repertoarer som internationell personal och internationella studenter för med sig in i universitetslivet, förblir dock underutforskade.

Med utgångspunkt i olika språkideologiska processer (Gal & Irvine, 1995, 2019; Irvine & Gal, 2000) visade det sig att deltagarnas representationer av interaktioner och praktik på institutionen i studie 1 reproducerade en parallellspråkig ideologi (Wee, 2017) som favoriserar en svensk och engelsk språklig repertoar. Styrkan och legitimiteten i denna repertoar var sådan att, i strid med institutionens riktlinjer om att undervisning på grundnivå endast ska ske på svenska, undervisningsuppgifter på grundnivå också gavs till talare som (ännu) inte behärskade svenska och därmed fick utföra dem på engelska. Svenskan beskrevs å andra sidan av den icke-svenska deltagaren som en möjlighet för forskare att få tillgång till forskningsnämnder, vissa forskningsanslag och administrativa funktioner i landet. Trots redogörelser om att svenskans värde och betydelse för institutionen inte togs upp i diskussioner om personers inledande anställning visade det sig *in situ* att svenskan var ett mycket synligt språk och ett krav för att en medarbetare skulle bli optimalt

representerad och placerad på institutionen. De som lyckades ta sig bortom den ideologiska dragkampen mellan svenska och engelska i artikel 1 – en “metamorfos” från den ena sidan av kampen till den andra (se Holmes, 2020: 280), hade störst kapacitet att navigera de olika rummen och praktikerna på institutionen, vilket gav dem makt och legitimitet att stärka sina egna och andras karriärer på institutionen. Liksom inom policy och planering, debatt och forskning var det den språkliga olikheten mellan engelska och svenska som var mest relevant för studiens deltagare.

Många forskare på institutionen hade dock en mångfald av flerspråkiga resurser och beskrevs som aktiva i institutionens sociala och akademiska praktik. Repertoaren och bakgrunden till sådana praktiker representerades dock (kanske missvisande) endast så att användandet av “andra” (icke-svenska och icke-engelska) resurser antingen inte uppmärksammades eller ansågs sakna värde. Även en deltagare som använde sådana andra resurser såg inget behov av att diskutera den användningen eller än mindre ifrågasätta sin ideologiska utsuddning, essentialisering och problematisering. Kinesiska språkliga praktiker på mandarin förblev inte bara uppmärksammade trots deras viktiga roll i relation till den akademiska praktiken – vid planering, datainsamling och inledande analys – utan nämndes endast av seniora kolleger som ett problem, ett tecken på misslyckad integration och konformistisk/icke-kreativ “kinesisk” personlighet. Fokuset på engelska och svenska praktiker visade sig därmed vara styrt av en diskurs om “internationalisering” som utesluter flerspråkighet i den meningen att det som inte syns inte finns, eller inte bör finnas där. Studien tyder därmed på att flerspråkighet representeras som att den saknar (positiva) värden eller konsekvenser för det internationaliserade universitetlivet, även om akademiska och sociala praktiker av flerspråkig karaktär tyder på något annat. Enligt det levinasiska etikbegreppet verkade det som att ansvar som respons på frågan om andras sociala och språkliga olikhet kringgicks till förmån för reproducerandet av och reagerandet på en pågående “ideologisk tvekamp mellan två enspråkigheter”.

Studie II använder ett etiskt-politiskt ramverk om gästvänlighet för att belysa hur administratörers praktik på en humanistisk institution pekar på en potential för etiskt tillblivande och förbättrad socialitet på ett internationaliserat universitet. Administratörer nämns sällan i språkpolitiken, debatten och forskningen om internationalisering i Sverige (se dock Karlsson & Karlsson, 2020; Liddicoat, 2016; Siiner, 2016), men även de måste bemöta den ökande flerspråkigheten på institutionerna, som är en konsekvens av internationaliserande policyer och processer. Deltagarna i den här studien var administratörer på en humanistisk institution och navigerade rum som var mindre kontrollerade av sektoriell, ämnesmässig och nationell styrning. Inte mycket finns sagt om vad som utgör ett internationellt språk och hur man ska bemöta ökad språklig mångfald i administrativa frågor, särskilt inom humaniora. Med

en sådan frihet och/eller brist på policy och planering formulerade jag hypotesen att etiska interaktionshändelser med andra som (ännu) inte behärskade svenska skulle ge insikter om i vilken utsträckning och på vilka sätt deltagarna skulle ta ansvar för ökande social och språklig olikhet på institutionen.

Som en del av fältarbetet, och i enlighet med den etiska logik som låg till grund både för studiens teoretiska och metodologiska ansatser, vägledades intervjuerna med deltagarna av inledande analyser av inhämtade interaktionsdata. Detta gav i sin tur en ny inriktning åt datainsamlingen och databehandlingen. Detta möjliggjorde samkonstruktion av data (Cresswell, 2017) och bättre balans mellan forskare och deltagare under hela databehandlingen (Wagner et al., 2016). Genom denna etiska orientering underbyggdes det metodologiska tillvägagångssättet av det teoretiska ramverket, som i sin tur belystes av det metodologiska tillvägagångssättet, och därmed gav en bättre förståelse av vad ett gästvänligt förhållningssätt till andra kan innebära. På det sättet utgjorde det etnografiska tillvägagångssättet ett tillfälle att förstå vad den administrativa personalen gjorde och en möjlighet att fånga in det distinkta i deras respons på det internationaliserade universitetslivet (jfr Rampton, 2006: 26). Deltagarnas egna sociala och språkliga olikhet var sådan att forskningsaktiviteten utmanade min egen idiosynkratiska och subjektiva tolkning om vad som pågick och pågår i det internationaliserade universitetslivet.

Inhämtade data var både bekräftande avseende de tecken på gästvänlighet som upptäcktes, och informativa avseende skillnaden mellan det etiska och det politiska i studiens gästvänlighetsbegrepp. Administratörerna reagerade på sina samtalsparter på ett sätt som upprätthöll deras språkliga olikhet och avslöjade en stark känsla för ansvar och etiskt tillblivande som respons på etiska interaktionshändelser. Gästvänligheten medförde en oundviklig ökning av mängden språkarbete, genom att framställa texter såsom nyhetsbrev, e-post och PowerPoint-presentationer på andra språk, hitta kolleger med nödvändig språkkompetens för att ge svar åt icke-svensktalande samtalsparter vid behov, och att överge befintliga språknormer gällande institutionens uttryckliga och implicita språkpolicy och språkplanering. Sådana handlingar pekar på en grund i etiken genom att valideringen av administratörernas praktik främst kom från deras internationella samtalsparter.

Institutionen gav dock varken erkännande till eller stöd för den ökade arbetsbördan. I vissa fall ledde det företräde som administratörerna gav åt etiken till spänningar mellan juniora och seniora kolleger, då en sådan kompromisslös inställning både stred mot institutionens tidigare vedertagna svenskdominerade normer/policyer och genererade mer arbete (som mestadels inte erkändes). Sådana spänningar löstes politiskt – genom förhandlingar mellan den administrativa personalen och den internationella samtalsparten, om denne var en intern kollega. Studien pekar därmed på en uppdelning

mellan etiska och politiska motiv för en språkpolicy “på marken”, liksom på de etiska och flerspråkiga grunderna för de sätt på vilka de reagerade på språklig olikhet. Den understryker också nödvändigheten av och den motsvarande bristen på en politisk respons på administratörernas kamp på sektoriell, nationell och institutionell nivå.

Studie III studerar internationella studenter i ett starkt mångfaldigt klassrum, där de nödgas agera i etiska händelser som respons på sina klasskamrater och lärare. Studien tar hjälp av begreppet “spaces of otherwise” (ung. “annorlunda”) som pekar på den potentialitet och utmattning som förekommer på det internationaliserade universitetet (Povinelli, 2012a) och de sätt på vilka studenter och lärare försöker konstruera relationer på ett sådant sätt att etiskt tillblivande kan bli varaktigt där. Studien relaterar även interationaliseringens diskurser till den sena liberalismens diskurser – ett begrepp som används för att beskriva den simultana mångkulturella styrningen av olikhet och den nyliberala styrningen av marknaden, dvs. den som betonar värden som konkurrens och marknadisering (Povinelli, 2011).

Deltagarnas kroppar, vetande och erfarenheter betraktas här som konstituerade och inskrivna i denna senliberala diskurs, på ett sådant sätt att internationella studenter och lärare är dömda att reproducera och/eller reagera på dem i sina dagliga interaktioner. Varje olikhet måste dessutom uttryckas med en röst som i sig också är (delvis) konstituerad och inskriven i dessa diskurser. Även om relationer skulle kunna vara grundade på ett annat sätt – i de etiska händelser som undersöks i artikel 2 – använde den här studien en mer komplex (lingvistisk) antropologisk verktygslåda för att understryka potentialen för ett etiskt tillblivande som svar på senliberala diskurser. Studien använder det antropologiska begreppet “kvasihändelse” (Povinelli et al., 2014) som gör forskaren uppmärksam på händelser inom vilka förutsättningar för varaktig olikhet och stöd till olikhet skulle kunna växa fram. Begreppet är relaterat till den etiska händelsen, i vilken framväxten av sådana förutsättningar endast anses kunna ske i interaktion med andra. I en klass där de sociala relationerna är mindre känsliga för uppmaningar till ansvar från individuella interaktioner ansikte mot ansikte (vilket analyserades i artikel 2) förstärktes även interaktionsaspekten och potentialen för etiskt tillblivande av det lingvistiska antropologiska konceptet om performativa händelser (Bauman, 1986), vilka utspelar sig inför publik och som kommer till uttryck i den etablerade klassrumsritualen presentationsrundan.

Det lingvistiska etnografiska tillvägagångssätt som har använts – där praktik analyseras bortom den enstaka interaktionshändelsen – lämpar sig även väl för ett studium av interdiskursivitet. Interdiskursiviteten har utvecklats inom den lingvistiska antropologin och berikar en analys med hänsyn till sociala och språkliga bruk över tid och rum i takt med att dessa fortplantas och

avskaffas i möten (Agha, 2005: 1), liksom över nationella och/eller institutionella gränser. Perspektivet möjliggör ett mer lyhört studium av samtida talpraxis i rum som befolkas av personal och studenter med biografiskt distinkta diskurshistorier som kan komma att utforma nutida och framtida diskurspraktiker. I kombination med en analys av performativa händelser som del av en genre möjliggör även det generiska interdiskursivetsperspektivet – en potentiell form av generisk innovation – en känslighet för rubbningar i en hegemonisk ordning som kan främja öppenhet för olikhet (Bauman & Briggs, 1992: 149ff.) och etiskt tillblivande.

Studiens fynd tyder på att internationell kontakt, lärande och vetande över gränser för olikhet inte är ett oundvikligt resultat av ökad rörlighet och mångfald i klassrummet. Men trots den senliberala styrningen av marknader och olikhet visade det sig ändå att värden som gruppsolidaritet, samarbete och dialog ändå bestod bland studenter och lärare. Denna uthållighet visade sig vara beroende av ett utopiskt överskott i studenternas och lärarnas önskan om ömsesidighet och reciprocitet i sina kontakter över gränserna för olikhet, genom handlingar som med fördel kan beskrivas som handlingar av “språkligt medborgarskap” (Stroud, 2015: 20, 2018: 23). Men för att sådana handlingar skulle bli synliga krävdes dock ett svåruppnått ansvar. Det visade sig att ansvar för olikhet endast togs som respons på upprepade interdiskursiva uppträdanden från diskursivt marginaliserade aktörer under presentationsrundan. Därifrån kunde annorlunda växa fram och det etiska tillblivandet kunde bestå. Kanske var det dock endast för att läraren lockade fram studenternas sociala och språkliga olikhet som mångfalden av röster i klassrummet sågs som informativ och berikande snarare än som ett hinder för kontakt, lärande och vetande. Studien understryker därmed återigen behovet av en internationalism som reagerar på den mångfald av sociala och språkliga praktiker som äger rum i det nutida universitetslivet.

Sammantaget belyser avhandlingens frågeställningar den flerspråkighet som kräver en respons i de sektoriella, nationella och institutionella diskurserna om internationalisering. Avhandlingen understryker etiska händelser i vilka aktörer “på marken” kämpar för att främja bättre socialitet och akademisk praxis. Den pekar på det faktum att i det internationaliserade universitetslivet ligger komplexa och i slutändan inte helt konkretiserbara historier om kontakt, lärande och vetande bakom varje interaktion. Med sin grund i etiska händelser snarare än enbart toppstyrd policy och planering visar det sig att alla aktörer som är involverade i universitetslivets internationalisering står inför valet att undvika andras sociala och språkliga olikhet, eller att reagera på den. Att reagera och därmed upprätthålla den har visat sig vara ett sätt att omorientera praxis och öppna upp möjligheter för mer etiskt tillblivande. Om andra skulle ta ansvar för det skulle det innebära ett skifte mot en ny internationalisering i vilken de personer som konstituerar universitetslivet skulle ha mindre

svårigheter med kontakt, inläring och kunskap i solidaritet och över gränserna för olikhet.

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