THE PRESENTATION OF INTERNATIONALISATION

ON UNIVERSITY WEBSITES IN ENGLAND:

IMPOVERISHED DISCOURSES

by

Jenny Joy Lewin-Jones

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham

for the degree of Doctor of Education

School of Education

College of Social Sciences

University of Birmingham

MARCH 2023

ABSTRACT

The study investigates how internationalisation is presented on university websites to external audiences, especially to prospective students. Data were gathered from the websites of eight universities, each differently positioned in England's marketised and stratified higher education system, in 2020 before and during the Covid-19 pandemic. A Critical Discourse Studies approach was then used to analyse the webpages' discursive strategies, linguistic devices and other semiotic resources. Presentation of internationalisation was found to be narrow and limited, largely confined to webpages aimed at recruiting international students. Internationalisation was rarely mentioned on the more general webpages, not even within the dominant employability discourse. The more highly ranked institutions sometimes also used internationalisation competitively to promote their own excellence and distinctiveness. Missing completely was a broader view about benefits "for all" of internationalised education, in formal academic settings and university life more generally. This matters, the study argues, because such impoverished discourses may lessen expectations, and thereby narrow internationalisation in practice. Sociological theories of 'emotion management' and risk are then used to suggest possible reasons for universities conveying such limited perspectives on internationalisation. Finally, the study indicates how these findings and its methodology could be taken forward to encourage wider versions of university internationalisation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One: Introduction and context

Chapter Two: Literature review on internationalisation in higher education – its conceptualisation, enactment, and presentation

Chapter Three: Methodology, research design, and methods

Chapter Four: Capturing, recording, and analysing the data

Chapter Five: Findings – limitations and differentiation in the presentation of internationalisation

Chapter Six: Conclusions – critical evaluation of the limited presentation of internationalisation

References

Appendices

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

1.1. Chapter purpose and structure

In this study, I investigate how 'internationalisation' was presented by selected universities in England to external audiences on webpages in 2020. In this introductory chapter, I first explain the research focus, rationale, aims, and research questions. Second, I discuss my motivation for conducting the study and my methodological approach, since embracing my subjectivity is a central element in my research orientation. I introduce the Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) approach taken and my research design, including adaptations made to the study to take account of the Covid-19 pandemic. Third, I discuss the context to set the scene and demonstrate the contribution my study makes to the field of internationalisation in higher education. I discuss global and local policy pressures driving internationalisation in English higher education, showing why internationalisation has become central to a marketised and stratified system. I also highlight the study's immediate context with the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, especially on international student recruitment. Finally, I summarise the thesis structure and the contribution of each chapter.

1.2. Research focus, rationale and aims, and research questions

I chose to focus on the presentation of internationalisation to external audiences, especially prospective students, and I now explain why. Internationalisation in the context of higher education is multi-faceted, here taken to encompass the integration of "an international, intercultural or global dimension" into the work of universities (Knight, 2003, p. 2). This is worthy of study because internationalisation has become an important goal for many UK universities and a driving force across all forms of higher education provision (Brandenburg and de Wit, 2011; Ford and McMullin, 2016; Law, 2016; Kearney and Lincoln, 2017), as I demonstrate below. However, as I show in the next chapter, its meaning is ambiguous and variously defined and envisaged (Robson and Turner, 2007; Knight, 2013), with growing calls to approach internationalisation more critically (Pashby and de Andreotti, 2016; Stein and de Andreotti, 2016; George Mwangi *et al.*, 2018; Stein, de Andreotti and Suša, 2019b). Importantly, although internationalisation may offer opportunities to widen the outlook of all students, there is also the risk of it being diminished into something much narrower and with advantages unequally shared (Brooks, 2019, p. 63). In my conclusions to this study, I refer to the limited, depleted presentation of internationalisation as 'impoverished' (see 6.3).

Research on internationalisation in higher education is said to matter even more since the Covid-19 pandemic, the worldwide disruption to higher education which it brought about, and its ongoing impacts (Huang, Crăciun and de Wit, 2022; Tsiligkiris and Ilieva, 2022). The pandemic highlighted the value of face-to-face educational

interactions (because these were lost in the short-term), yet also the opportunities for online engagement. There was also growing recognition of the environmental consequences of international travel for education, thereby heightening the importance of internationalisation at home (Tsiligkiris and Ilieva, 2022, p. 362). These ideas are further developed in Chapter Two.

Various aspects of internationalisation have been debated and studied, but less well studied is how English universities present internationalisation externally. I have therefore focussed my study on university websites, particularly because these may indicate universities' implicit perceptions and taken-for-granted assumptions about internationalisation, and they may contribute to shaping students' views and expectations about this aspect of their education. Such websites may, of course, be viewed by people other than current and prospective students, but students are often directly addressed.

The findings of this study are especially significant for higher education practitioners such as global outreach, student recruitment, and webpage development teams, who bear immediate responsibility for the external-facing messages conveyed by universities about internationalisation. Beyond this, there is a wider significance about how universities could present the multidimensionality of internationalisation in all its potential richness (discussed in Chapter Two). Universities play a role in contributing to public debate, for example about responses to the human-caused threats to the planet. In shaping the expectations of the fifty percent of young people

in England who go to university, universities can have a significant voice in counteracting dangerously narrow and nationalistic contemporary political viewpoints.

I focussed on websites rather than any other form of communication because they are the likely first port of call for anyone seeking to find out about each university and are therefore a central way that universities convey an impression of themselves (Pampaloni, 2010; Chapleo, Durán and Díaz, 2011; Winter and Chapleo, 2017). I use the general term 'messages' to describe what is on the websites because the meaning of the word is open and reflects the webpages' marketing function. I then analysed these messages to identify the discourses of which they are a part (further explained in section 3.1.).

The particular webpages I examined were those that universities signposted as 'international' and those that are more 'general', to see whether prospective international and home students were likely to receive the same messages about internationalisation. I also thought it important to consider whether what is conveyed varied according to the status and ranking of each university, for the UK higher education system is a highly stratified one, as I explain below. I investigated the language used to convey particular messages, and in 1.3. below I justify this decision, with reference to my motivation and methodological approach.

My over-arching research aim was therefore to analyse and critique the discourses of internationalisation presented by universities in England on their external-facing websites. The four specific research questions (RQ) that I arrived at were:

RQ1. How do English universities in a stratified system present internationalisation in their website publicity?
RQ2. What differences are there in the messages about internationalisation on 'international' and 'general' webpages?
RQ3. How is the presentation of internationalisation related to other discourses such as inclusion of all students, university excellence, and graduate employability?
RQ4. What shifts in the website messages are apparent in the light of the Covid-19 pandemic?

The further rationale for each of these four questions is explained in section 1.4 below and in Chapter Two. In order to investigate these questions, I selected the eight universities shown with pseudonyms in Table 1.1. They are differently positioned in a marketised and stratified system, and are broadly representative of a range of characteristics.

Table 1.1: Brief summary description of the eight universities studied

Pseudonym	Brief description
Cityscience	Science-specialist university in a large city, 52% international students, ranked in top 10 UK.
Eastold	Old (ancient) university in the east of England, 34% international students, ranked in top 10 UK.
Midnew	New small university in the Midlands, 13% international students, fairly low in the UK rankings.
Midrussell	Large Russell Group university in the Midlands, 23% international students, ranked in top 20 UK.

Northnew	New small multi-campus university in the north of England, 3% international students, low in the UK rankings.
Northpoly	Large former polytechnic in the north of England, 8% international students, in the middle of the UK rankings.
Southarts	Small arts-specialist university in the south of England, 15% international students, not in the UK rankings.
Southglass	Medium size 1960s ('plateglass') university, the south of England, 31% international students, mid-high in the UK rankings.

The full rationale for the selection and a more detailed summary table is in section 3.3. below, with further information about the universities in Appendix A.

1.3. My motivation for and approach to the study

My research aim to examine discourses of internationalisation in higher education stemmed from my professional and academic background. I spent over twenty years as a lecturer in university language departments in the UK and Germany, which included teaching English for Academic Purposes, teaching German, and training students to teach English. I am now a lecturer on an undergraduate Sociology course, teaching students from a range of backgrounds. I have sought to incorporate internationalisation into my teaching, and questioned why at times it felt difficult to make internationalisation a course priority. It seems to be squeezed out by the pressures of other priorities, which led me to ask how universities presented internationalisation to public audiences, and how they used language to perhaps shape people's expectations.

My methodological approach (justified in full in Chapter Three) was driven by my belief in the centrality of language in shaping social life. With my background in language study and teaching, I am curious about language and therefore wanted to investigate the language used about internationalisation. Language conveys particular patterns of thinking which influence people's behaviour, and studying its use in a particular context reveals how we interpret the world through the dominant discourses of our time (Jones, Bradbury and Le Boutillier, 2011, p. 131). I therefore adopted a Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) methodology, and limited the number of texts I analysed in order to show in detail how internationalisation was presented and how it linked to other sets of ideas. The relationships between theory, methods, and data are complex in a CDS approach, with interaction between my existing knowledge, the data, my analysis and interpretations. As a result, I followed Wodak and Meyer (2016, pp. 4-5) in using the term CDS rather than the earlier term 'Critical Discourse Analysis' (CDA), as it indicates that there is not one single method.

My approach to the study involved reflection on my professional experience and practice, drawing theoretical justification from C. Wright Mills' notion of the 'sociological imagination' (Mills, 1959) and Bauman's exploration of sociological thinking (Bauman and May, 2001, p. 7). I explored the larger context in which my professional practice is embedded, as I sought to make links between 'personal troubles' and 'public issues' (Mills, 1959, p. 6), 'making sense' of what is happening beyond my immediate experiences (Bauman and May, 2001, p. 11). I had both an insider and outside point of view (Bauman and May, 2001, p. 7): 'inside', since I

worked in the educational field I was studying, and 'outside', since I deliberately chose to study how internationalisation was presented by universities other than those at which I have worked. I especially wanted to approach the websites without any prior familiarity, in order to be consistent and systematic in my methods.

I originally designed the study with a single data collection point, March 2020. However, I adjusted the design following the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic by adding two more 'snapshots', in late April and mid-June 2020, to investigate possible changes in the website presentation of internationalisation. Sociologist Anthony Giddens' (1991) concept of the 'fateful moment' seemed applicable here: a time "when things are wrenched out of joint, where a given state of affairs is suddenly altered" (Giddens, 1991, p. 113). Employing Giddens' notion aligned with my research orientation, as it helped me acknowledge my subjectivity. As a lecturer (especially with a precarious status at the time), I experienced March 2020 as a disruptive, destabilising, and distressing time at work, with the uncertainties and additional challenges of a sudden move to online teaching, and anxiety about students' wellbeing. However, the 'fateful moment' of the pandemic outbreak occurring during my data collection meant that my adapted study design also provided authentic snapshots of how universities had to make sudden changes to their websites in a time of crisis, including their presentation of internationalisation.

1.4. Context: global and local policy pressures driving internationalisation in English higher education

In this section I show why internationalisation, especially international student recruitment, became central to an expanded, marketised and stratified English higher education system. I discuss how government rhetoric showed increasing focus on international students as a revenue source. Higher fees for international students reinforced a binary view of international and home students. Finally, I turn to the immediate context of my study, the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on higher education in the UK. In particular, I show how the Covid-19 crisis was initially perceived as threatening international student recruitment.

Internationalisation within UK higher education expansion and stratification

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, the number of universities and the number of students in UK higher education expanded substantially. Legislation in 1992 upgraded former polytechnics to universities, reflecting a policy commitment to higher education expansion (Boliver, 2011, pp. 231–233). As higher education expanded, so did the proportion of international students. For example, in the UK the proportion of non-UK undergraduates rose from 8% in 1994-5 to 14% in 2017-18, and from 21% to 36% for postgraduates (HESA, 2019). An increase between 2019/20 and 2020/21 of 48,500 non-UK student enrolments (HESA, 2022) was largely driven by an increase in non-EU students. The number recruited from some countries increased considerably: for example, in 2020/21 32% of all non-EU students were from China (HESA, 2022), so even though others decreased (for example, Malaysia) the overall trend was clear. Expansion involved rising numbers of international staff as well as students. For example, the number of international staff

at English higher education institutions grew by 17.5% between 2015-16 and 2019-20, to represent a fifth of the overall workforce (Universities UK International, 2021, p. 12). International research links also increased, with 59.3% of UK publications in 2019-20 resulting from international collaboration, compared to 39.8% in 2010–11 (Universities UK International, 2021, p. 24).

At this point, I make two clarifications about the scope of my study. First, in the UK there is also some degree provision in non-university institutions, but this is a small proportion of the total, especially as a proportion of international students, so my study concentrates on universities. Second, within the four home nations in the UK, education is one of the policy areas now devolved to Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, and with differences between them (Knight, 2017, p. 52). My study therefore focuses on universities in England for consistency and to avoid the need to consider contextual differences such as fee differentials. It also relates to my own professional location at an English university. However, I sometimes use UK-wide data in this chapter to present the overall context within which English universities operate.

Internationalisation is also linked to the move towards global stratification in the higher education sector, with the term 'stratification' signifying a vertical order, representing the relative positioning of universities (Bloch and Mitterle, 2017, pp. 930-931). The expansion of the higher education sector may have shifted the balance in the UK between people with the cultural capital of a university qualification and those without, but the internal stratification within the sector conveys

differentiated advantage to those attending higher status institutions, evidenced by data from the Great British Class Survey (Wakeling and Savage, 2015, p. 291). Lumby and Foskett (2016) claim that internationalisation is used by higher education institutions for the purposes of differentiating and securing their relative positions, contributing to inequalities in power structures (Lumby and Foskett, 2016, p. 96). In a competitive system, internationalisation in all its dimensions is part of a university's cultural capital, seen as something to aspire to, with high cultural value, reflected in terms such as 'world-leading', 'global', and 'international standard' used in categorisation and for ranking teaching and research (Lumby and Foskett, 2016, p. 98).

Stratification is reinforced by ranking systems based on measurements of performance. In the UK, comparative higher education data has become increasingly available, concomitant with a growing demand on universities to make statistical returns to the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) and to report to government agencies for the purposes of university benchmarking and measuring performance (Horseman, 2018, p. 233). The availability of such data also meant its increased use by third parties to compare universities, for example by newspapers compiling league tables (Horseman, 2018, p. 235). Quantifiable performance metrics such as student/staff ratios and expenditure on infrastructure are used as standards for comparative purposes. Quantified opinions of students in satisfaction surveys and evaluations also feed into these league tables, and contribute to the notion of

'teaching excellence', which has become a taken-for-granted institutional goal (Saunders and Blanco Ramírez, 2017, pp. 404–405).

Position in rankings systems can change as universities respond strategically to what is measured. However, there is a distinction between fluctuating ranking position and long-anchored, enduring institutional reputation; the latter also reinforces stratification. International student recruitment data shows how long-term reputation is the strongest predictor of international student numbers rather than changed ranking positions (Soysal, Baltaru and Cebolla-Boado, 2022, p. 8). Historically-consolidated reputation conveys elite status and lasting hierarchies, which have endured as higher education has expanded (Baltaru, Manac and Ivan, 2022, p. 4). For example, despite the formal end of the binary system (universities and polytechnics), a hierarchy persists between the pre-1992 and post-1992 universities, regardless of actual ranking position (Raffe and Croxford, 2015, p. 314). The former include the self-promoting 'elite' Russell Group of twenty-four research-intensive universities, with Oxford and Cambridge the wealthiest and oldest (Baltaru, Manac and Ivan, 2022, p. 4). References to both ranking and reputation are therefore likely to feature on universities' webpages directed at international students.

Influence of neoliberal ideas on globalisation

Internationalisation as a strategically important goal in higher education has been influenced by globalisation, which in turn has been shaped by neoliberalism (Wihlborg and Robson, 2018, p. 8). Globalisation is characterised by rapidly

increasing global flows, connections and mobilisations of people and resources, disrupting nationally organised structures, and increasing interdependence between states (Zürn and De Wilde, 2016, p. 282). In respect of higher education, globalisation has led to such an intensification of internationalisation in universities that it is now hard to find an institution not involved in some kind of internationalisation effort (Yemini, 2014, p. 67). There has been increased integration of education between national systems, with a "growing porosity" between national institutions and the global educational world (Turner and Robson, 2008, p. 4). For example, the European Bologna Declaration, signed by 29 countries in 1999, harmonised qualifications, aiding their transfer between national systems and thus the movements of students internationally (Hussey and Smith, 2009, pp. 113–114). In addition, 'transnational' education has grown, where the institution awarding the qualification is in a different country from the learners, for example when UK universities run distance learning programmes or establish branch campuses in other countries (Brooks, 2019, p. 61). In 2019-20, 453,390 students were studying on UK degree programmes overseas, an increase of 10.6% on the previous academic year (Universities UK International, 2021).

How globalisation plays out depends on the underlying ideology, and 'globalisation' is often connected to the spread and dominance of neoliberal values and policies (MacCabe and Yanacek, 2018, pp. 172–174). Neoliberalism is characterised by a belief that the market should be the key driver of public policy and that, as a consequence, governments should disinvest in public services, leaving market forces

to work in the name of 'efficiency' and value for money (Sidhu, 2006, p. 121). Neoliberally influenced policies within the education sector have economic growth and profit as targets and motivations, and have been advocated by powerful global organisations such as the World Trade Organization, the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Jiang calls these organisations "the global representatives of neoliberalism" (Jiang, 2008, p. 348), led by rich countries such as the USA. Shajahan and Morgan (2016) demonstrate how the OECD's work reproduces competition furthering powerful economic interests and fomenting the idea of 'belonging' to the global community of higher education, based on models privileging 'Anglo-European' templates (Shahjahan and Morgan, 2016, pp. 94-95).

In the higher education sector, global competition has fostered world university ranking systems such as the Academic Ranking of World Universities, Quacquarelli Symonds World University Rankings, and Times Higher Education World University Rankings, which use weighted indicators to rank universities within international league tables (Soh, 2017, p. 105). Marginson (2006) argues that the dominance of the English language gives a positional advantage to English language nations, which also adds to disadvantages experienced by universities in less rich countries, mainly in the 'Global South', in a global higher education market characterised by economic competition (Marginson, 2006, p. 35). However, as Rizvi and Lingard point out, globalisation is not synonymous with neoliberalism (Rizvi and Lingard, 2009, p. 32). Indeed, the development in Malaysia of an alternative benchmark based on

sustainability and humanising higher education (Tan and Goh, 2014, p. 500) indicates that the neoliberally-influenced version of a globalised higher education is not the only possibility, yet this version remains dominant.

Marketisation of higher education in England: students-as-customers

Marketisation has played an important role in the development of internationalisation policies in higher education. By applying neoliberal ideas to the public sector, market approaches have led to competition between universities and to students being regarded as 'customers' or 'consumers' (Naidoo, Shankar and Veer, 2011; Brown and Carasso, 2013; Williams, 2013; Tomlinson, 2017; Nixon, Scullion and Hearn, 2018). The marketisation of higher education means that an aspect of human life previously deemed as outside commercial relations has been assigned a material value (Naidoo, 2005, p. 29).

The neoliberal argument for marketisation assumes that competing higher education institutions need to provide students with courses and experiences that meet their needs and wishes, and that quality and efficiency of universities will thereby improve (Hussey and Smith, 2009, p. 3). Specifically, the neoliberal argument says that higher education is meant to have economic utility, so that qualifications are a form of capital or currency. Marketisation in the public realm has also led organisations to accept the need to promote, advertise and 'sell' services to their potential recipients (Fairclough, 1993, p. 141), thus marketing has become an important function within higher education as institutions compete against each other. Universities have had to

reorientate themselves to appeal to prospective student 'customers' by promoting 'excellence', fuelled by ranking systems (Ward, 2012, p. 54). How such marketing takes places is linked to the digitalisation of society (Lupton, 2015; Marres, 2017; Selwyn, 2019; Lindgren, 2022). Digitally networked communications have transformed how people and institutions share information, with technology such as the internet embedded and omnipresent (Lindgren, 2022, p. 21). University websites have therefore become an important element of universities' outreach to a range of audiences (Hite and Railsback, 2010, p. 107), including international consumption (Zhang *et al.*, 2020, p. 1). Constraints on 'home markets' have led to an increased focus on international students as a revenue source and international competition between higher education providers (Lumby and Foskett, 2016, p. 96), as will be further argued below.

Higher education as individual employment gain

To investigate how internationalisation is publicly presented by universities, it is important to understand what is being marketed and why, which leads me to consider the dominant discourse of 'employability'. The concept of the 'university' is inherently international, in that exchange of knowledge and ideas transcends national frontiers (Scott, 1998, p. 109), with higher education viewed as a 'public good', having long-term benefits to society and solving global problems (Marginson, 2018, p. 322). However, under neoliberally-influenced governments such as the UK's, the personal benefits of higher education for individual students, particularly their future

employment and earnings, have become the focus of policy (Marginson, 2018, p. 323). This is an instrumental view of a higher education qualification as a 'product', focused on what it will lead to, rather than on the content of education in itself (Hussey and Smith, 2009, p. 46). Marketisation has entailed the knowledge accruing from university study becoming viewed as a commodity, 'priced' by demand (Ward, 2012, p. 104). However, since being a customer means purchasing experiences as well as products, a student-as-customer approach need not necessarily mean focussing solely on the future earnings the qualification will bring. Nevertheless, the link between degrees and future earnings has become dominant in debates about the 'value' of a university degree (Collini, 2017, p. 159).

'Employability' has become a pervasive term in UK higher education, with students expected to develop attributes which render them attractive to employers and adaptable to labour market demands (Handley, 2018, p. 239). Employability has also come to entail assessing whether graduates have gained graduate-level jobs (Clark and Zukas, 2013, p. 209). A growing emphasis on graduate skills and employability in UK government policy is illustrated by changing government department titles and by moving responsibility for universities from the Department for Education to the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills (2007-2009), then the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (2009-2016) (Collini, 2017, p. 95), with further changes thereafter, though still linking universities and business.

The oft-repeated claim that earnings for graduates are higher than for non-graduates features strongly in UK higher education policy (Bathmaker, Ingram and Waller, 2013, p. 724). However, inequality in higher education participation goes beyond whether someone attends university, to questions about which one they attend, reflecting the importance of institutional prestige (Boliver, 2013, pp. 344–345). With an expanded proportion of people attending university, university education per se may be less important now than the status of the individual university (Wakeling and Savage, 2015, p. 291). An emphasis on differences in graduate earnings according to the institution is evidenced in university marketing statements. For example, recent social media publicity states that: "Russell Group university graduates can expect to earn an average of £3000 a year more than their peers three and a half years after finishing their courses" (Russell Group, 2018). This is an example of the "ever-present promotional discourse" in marketised approaches (Botterill and Kline, 2009, p. 191). It also indicates the salience of stratification in an expanded UK higher education system. The relevance of internationalisation to these notions about employability is demonstrated in the literature discussed in Chapter Two.

International students as a source of income

There is more to be said though about why the number of international students studying in the UK has increased. Higher education's expansion and increased competition between universities has intensified the UK policy emphasis on generating revenue through recruiting globally mobile students. 'Policy' here refers to central government requirements and guidelines, but since universities have

considerable autonomy (Strike and Swinn, 2018, p. 129), it also means the policies and practices adopted by universities themselves. National policies include financial restraints and reductions in capital grants (Virdee and Keeble, 2018, p. 173), indirectly leading universities to pursue internationalisation goals to compensate for financial shortfalls.

Significant in the expansion of UK higher education was the Robbins Report (Committee on Higher Education, 1963), advocating the principle of higher education availability for everyone who could benefit from it. International students were described as a valuable presence in UK higher education institutions (Committee on Higher Education, 1963, p. 66). Robbins himself opposed charging overseas students more than home students, calling the idea in a House of Lords debate "…a sort of financial apartheid...which must certainly make our name stink in the nostrils of educationalists the world over" (Robbins, 1967, pp. 17–18). The vociferousness of Robbins' opposition to fee differentiation is perhaps surprising to a contemporary reader who is used to this difference.

The focus on revenue from international students was signalled in the Jarrett Report (CVCP, 1985). Its section on international students assigns a dual purpose to their recruitment: "Overseas students are welcomed by universities as an important contribution to the international character of the institutions" and "They are also a valuable source of income as they can often be educated at marginal cost to the university" (CVCP, 1985, p. 16). The reference to "international character" implied the

importance of internationalisation in universities wider than solely revenue-generation. Internationalisation was, however, not a central theme in UK higher education policy in the twentieth century. The Dearing committee produced a series of reports recommending the further expansion of UK higher education (The National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, 1997). None of the 93 recommendations of this review referred to internationalisation, a gap which confirms that internationalisation was perceived mainly as international student income-generation.

Tuition fees for domestic students have been capped by UK governments since first introduced in 1998. However, international students are treated differently, with their fees not capped (Tannock, 2013, p. 457). International students then became represented in policy discourse as sources of revenue and "economic objects" (Lomer, 2014), also cementing an enduring binary of 'home' versus 'international' students (Brooks and Waters, 2022, pp. 6–7), despite critique of this "false dichotomy" and calls for them to be treated as heterogenous populations (Jones, 2017, p. 934). Policy focus on international student revenue has intensified during the twenty-first century, with policy continuity under the Labour government of 1997-2010, which adopted the neoliberal view of education as a market, and then Conservative or Conservative-led governments since 2010.

For example, the 2003 Labour Government White Paper on 'The Future of Higher Education' described higher education as a competition between the UK and rival countries:

…higher education is becoming a global business. Our competitors are looking to sell higher education overseas, into the markets we have traditionally seen as ours….
(DfES, 2003, p. 13)

The use of "ours" in this passage signalled the White Paper's competitive thrust. There was no reference to gains for the international students themselves or for the countries they come from. The focus was on helping the UK economy and the domestic 'widening participation' agenda, to support young people in the UK from disadvantaged groups to access higher education (Harrison, 2018, p. 2), also described as 'social mobility' (Harrison, 2012, p. 58). International students would bring income that "feeds into our institutions" and "helps open up" opportunities (DfES, 2003, p. 64), and thus were to be welcomed to subsidise home students' education. Using income from international students to boost domestic capacity demonstrates the relationship between the global and local (Marginson, 2022, p. 6). Policy continuity over the decade which followed is evident in pronouncements from the Conservative-led Coalition Government of 2010-2015. A 2013 policy document echoed the 2003 White Paper's lauding of international student recruitment, but used more dynamic language such as "massive expansion" and "huge opportunity", and now also emphasised "succeeding in emerging markets", and winning contracts for educational services in "developing countries" (Department for Business, 2013, p. 3).

In 2015 Jo Johnson, then Minister of State for Universities and Science, gave a speech on international higher education, welcoming the "brightest and best"

international students, the benefits they bring to the UK including contribution to research and maintaining STEM provision, "cultural cross-fertilisation that benefits everyone", and long-term global links. The aim was to grow international student recruitment, and rule out any cap on numbers. However, Johnson's speech warned about ensuring that "…students who are not genuine cannot abuse the system" (Johnson, 2015). This reflects the contradictory imperatives of attracting international students for economic benefit and restricting immigration by conveying a "hostile message to would-be students" (Lomer, 2018, p. 321). The contradictory policies meant that growth in international student numbers was said "… to occur despite rather than because of political and policy changes" (Sá and Sabzalieva, 2018, p. 244). The tension is also reflected in the involvement of the Home Office (not the Department for Education) in international student recruitment. For example, in 2017, the then Home Secretary commissioned the Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) to study the impact of international students (Rudd, 2017). The MAC asked "What are the economic and social impacts of international students in the UK?" (Migration Advisory Committee, 2017).

There was thus a rhetorical contradiction between welcoming international students and restricting immigration. A 'hostile environment' for immigrants expanded border enforcement into everyday life (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2018, p. 233). However, a higher education national campaign was established, with the hashtag #WeAreInternational, whose website explicitly stated:

> *…there's a fear that international students are being discouraged from studying in the UK because the country is seen as less welcoming following changes to visa rules and political rhetoric over immigration*
> (University of Sheffield, 2017)

In the period when this study was being planned and conducted, internationalisation in English higher education also faced challenges from the 2016 UK referendum decision to leave the European Union. For example, the plan to charge students from EU countries higher level international fees (Department for Education, 2020) was forecast to reduce international student recruitment, as EU students had formerly paid at the lower home fees level. Warnings about isolationist and xenophobic rhetoric and threats to universities' international activities were expressed, for example by the University of Birmingham's Chancellor (as explained in Coughlan, 2017). In such a context, it was important to study how universities were presenting internationalisation publicly. However, the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic created an even more immediate and pressing challenge for universities, including for internationalisation.

Impact of Covid-19 on higher education

The UK-wide March 2020 lockdown meant a sudden transfer of most university courses to online teaching and assessment, with many students and staff studying and working from home, and only essential services operating in university buildings. There was media speculation about anticipated financial losses to universities from an expected drop in international student numbers (*e.g.* Adams, 2020). Data from

HESA show, however, that a predicted overall drop in international students did not materialise, with an increase of 48,500 non-UK students enrolling between 2019-20 and 2020-21 (HESA, 2022). Possible reasons for this rise in international students in the UK included the increasing tension between the USA and China, and from Australia and New Zealand closing their borders to international students in 2020 (Mittelmeier, Lim and Lomer, 2020).

The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on international students in Europe in 2020 was presented starkly in an Erasmus Student Network report, based on a survey of nearly 22,000 international students studying throughout Europe. Almost 40% of them experienced at least one problem, including difficulties with transport home, cancelled accommodation, and buying essential items such as sanitary products and food (Gabriels and Benke-Åberg, 2020). Similarly, in the UK, a National Union of Students report (2020) found that international students felt less confident than home students that they had the information they needed about changes to their studies, and they had particular uncertainties around accommodation, finances and visas (National Union of Students, 2020).

The UK government published guidance about the pandemic to universities in June 2020: 'Higher Education: reopening buildings and campuses'. Responsibility for tackling international students' concerns was placed on individual universities. Although the stated aim was to offer guidance on how to safely open university campuses the following academic year, there was little concrete advice, with wording such as "it would be for HE providers to assess the risk…" (GOV.UK, 2020).

Reference to international students concerned the requirement for visitors to the UK

(including incoming or returning international students) to self-isolate for 14 days.

Again, responsibility was put squarely on the universities.

The Office for Students' (OfS) 'Guidance for providers about student and consumer

protection during the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic' shifted the emphasis to

planning ahead (Office for Students, 2020). It also refers to providers "at risk of

market exit" (Office for Students, 2020, p. 13). This phrase and the words 'consumer

protection' in the title of the document reflect the marketised higher education sector,

and the role of the OfS in protecting students' interests as education customers.

International students were listed among those "most vulnerable to disruption" (Office

for Students, 2020, p. 6), but no specific measures were suggested.

International student recruitment as a source of revenue had been encouraged by

successive governments yet the impact of the pandemic showed that universities

would be exposed to financial vulnerability should international recruitment drop.

Thus, universities might have needed to intensify their marketing efforts in the

context of the pandemic.

Universities' plans for the 2020-21 academic year were shown in a June 2020 survey

of 92 universities. This showed that 97% of them planned to provide in-person

teaching, and 87% planned to offer in-person social activities (Universities UK,

2020). Marginson argued that in the marketised higher education system, universities

were forced, for their own financial survival, to issue over-optimistic messages about their plans for 2020-21 to avoid reduced student enrolment (Marginson, 2020). The issue of some universities' finances relying on revenue from international students was also highlighted in a parliamentary committee report on the financial sustainability of the higher education sector in England, expected to play out differently in different types of university. This report warned that if international student numbers did not continue to grow, some institutions would be at risk of failure as they were heavily dependent on international student fees (Committee of Public Accounts, 2022).

Internationalisation in a marketised and stratified system

To conclude, the pressures on English universities to compete in a globalised higher education sector strongly influenced by neoliberalism, and a marketised and stratified domestic system, have led to a policy focus on international students as a source of revenue for universities. International student recruitment is therefore likely to be a strong element of how internationalisation is conceptualised, implemented, and publicly presented.

I analyse these three aspects in my evaluation of the literature on internationalisation (Chapter Two), including consideration of other dimensions of internationalisation besides the employability foregrounded by neoliberal ideas. Marketisation has added to the pressure on universities to present themselves publicly, with digitalisation increasing their emphasis on institutional websites (Chapleo, Durán and Díaz, 2011). How internationalisation is visible on universities' webpages is addressed by my

research questions, to indicate how internationalisation is perceived and what messages are conveyed. The stratification of the UK system, reinforced by availability of comparative data and league tables, also informs my research design as I selected universities at different ranking positions. The likely impact of the Covid-19 pandemic led me to add an additional research question and adapt the research design.

1.5. Thesis structure and contents

In Chapter Two (Literature Review) I discuss aspects of internationalisation explored in previous studies and I justify the need to investigate how universities publicly convey messages about internationalisation. I review definitions and debates, showing that conceptualisations of internationalisation are multidimensional, including the international mobility of students and staff, internationalisation of curricula and pedagogy, and international research collaborations. I then evaluate empirical studies about the implementation of internationalisation, and show that internationalisation strategies were less effective if goals were not articulated clearly to all staff and students. I review studies on other aspects of universities' public messages, as these highlight linguistic and other website features which may have a bearing on how internationalisation is presented. I argue that it is therefore important to know how universities present dimensions of internationalisation to public audiences, as these may indicate their approach to internationalisation and, in turn, shape prospective students' expectations about and input into the practices of

internationalisation. Finally, I provide the rationale for each of the research questions which my literature review led me to formulate.

In Chapter Three (Methodology, Research Design, and Methods), I discuss my assumptions about the nature of knowledge and truth, and demonstrate the suitability of a CDS approach to answering my research questions. I make the case for the particulars of my research design: a qualitative investigation of how eight English universities presented dimensions of internationalisation on their websites in Spring and early Summer 2020. I present the rationale for the selection of universities, and the design adaptations which I made in the light of the Covid-19 pandemic. I explain why I drew on Reisigl and Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, pp. 32–33), incorporating aspects of Pauwels' framework for analysing websites (Pauwels, 2011, 2012, 2015).

In Chapter Four (Capturing, Recording and Analysing the Data), I explain the decisions taken about data collection and analysis, and the boundaries of the study. I justify my selection of webpages as units of analysis. I evaluate the options for analysing website content and formats and explain my priorities. I justify my use of a blend of manual methods and the software package NVivo to analyse the data. I describe the steps I took to prepare the data for analysis, thus providing an 'audit trail' of what I did and why. Finally, I discuss how I coded and analysed the data, and arrived at the four themes I present in my findings chapter.

In Chapter Five (Findings), I present a detailed analysis of linguistic features, providing the evidence to answer the research questions. I show that messages about internationalisation were primarily presented as being *about* and *for* international students. The presentation of internationalisation was differentiated and limited: there was greater visibility on the webpages targeting prospective international students than there was on the 'general' webpages, and wider discourses about benefits "for all" of internationalised dimensions of learning were marginalised. Messages about internationalisation were subsidiary to dominant discourses of excellence and future employment success. In the responses to the Covid-19 pandemic communicated by the universities, emotion-evoking language was used alongside evidence-based claims to reassure international students that they should continue to study in England.

In Chapter Six (Conclusions), I interpret the findings with ideas from the literature on the sociology of emotions, thus developing the 'critical' dimension of my CDS methodology. In particular, I apply the theoretical perspective of 'emotion management in response to risk' to suggest possible reasons why the versions of internationalisation presented were uneven and limited. I argue that this matters because differentiated public messages about internationalisation, with emotional appeals aimed mainly at international students, reinforce distinctions between home and international students, and may narrow the expectations of the former. Messages about internationalisation need to be better articulated publicly and extended beyond webpages serving the recruitment of international students, and not

limited to high-ranking universities. I then summarise what the study adds to the literature on internationalisation in higher education and highlight its methodological contribution. Finally, I draw conclusions about how it might be useful to others, including potential future research, and for my own professional practice.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW ON INTERNATIONALISATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION - ITS CONCEPTUALISATION, ENACTMENT, AND PRESENTATION

2.1. Introduction: chapter purpose and structure

In this literature review chapter, I evaluate existing evidence about how universities conceptualise, enact, and convey messages about the various dimensions of internationalisation. I make the case for my study of how internationalisation is presented on university websites, arguing that public articulation of internationalisation matters. This review has three sections. First, I review definitions and debates about aspects of internationalisation such as 'internationalisation at home'. Second, I evaluate empirical evidence about how these ideas are put into practice, and thus which dimensions of internationalisation could be presented externally. Third, I examine studies of how universities communicate various aspects of their work publicly. Since less is known about the external communication of internationalisation, I include studies on other aspects of universities' self-presentation, such as discourses of 'quality'. Such studies can illuminate linguistic features and other semiotic resources which may also have a bearing on how internationalisation is presented. I conclude that investigating the language used on websites to communicate different dimensions of internationalisation is important in order to gain understanding of how universities of different rank in a stratified system

communicate ideas about internationalisation, thereby potentially shaping views and expectations.

2.2. Conceptualisations of internationalisation in higher education

In this section, I review the ways in which internationalisation in higher education is conceptualised in the literature. I first consider different definitions of internationalisation and what they encompass. I then examine some of the interrelated dimensions of internationalisation: international mobility, 'internationalisation at home', 'internationalisation of the curriculum', 'sustainable internationalisation', and 'internationalisation at a distance'.

Defining internationalisation: a multi-faceted concept

Internationalisation is variously described as a 'process' (Knight, 2003, 2004, 2013; Gayton, 2019; Zapp and Ramirez, 2019); a 'theme' (Turner and Robson, 2008; Moir, 2018); a 'phenomenon' (Byram, 2018); a 'culture' (Montgomery, 2010); a "central feature of education policy" (Harris, 2011, p. 7); and an 'agenda' (De Vita and Case, 2003; Moir, 2018; Wihlborg and Robson, 2018). It has also been described as a set of 'discourses' (Herschberg, Benschop and van den Brink, 2018) through which prevailing ideas and assumptions are created, circulated and reproduced. These discourses are powerful in determining how internationalisation is thought and spoken about, and what aspects may be taken for granted (Herschberg, Benschop and van den Brink, 2018, pp. 812–813).

Identifying a single generic definition for internationalisation is problematic because it can be conceptualised and interpreted in multi-layered ways (Turner and Robson, 2008; Guo and Chase, 2011; Delgado-Márquez, Escudero-Torres and Hurtado-Torres, 2013; Haigh, 2014; Law, 2016). Yet defining internationalisation is an important endeavour, precisely because it is a slippery term and "…means different things to different people" (Knight, 2004, p. 5). Knight's (2003) influential "working definition" of internationalisation is:

> …the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education
> (Knight, 2003, p. 2)

Significant here is the idea of internationalisation as a "process", a state of 'becoming' rather than 'being', which resists the idea that internationalisation is an outcome of a "discrete project" (Yemini, 2015, p. 20). Knight's use of "integrating" also importantly implies that internationalisation should be central not marginal to universities' operations. Integration of internationalisation suggests that it would feature strongly in universities' public communications.

Defining the purposes of internationalisation: beyond economic rationales

Knight's definition has, however, been criticised for its failure to specify internationalisation's purposes (Egron-Polak and Marmolejo, 2017; del Carmen Arau Ribeiro and Coelho, 2019; Spencer-Oatey and Dauber, 2019). De Wit *et al.* (2015)

therefore re-worked Knight's (2003) definition, usefully adding the words in bold below to signal the purposes of internationalisation:

> ...the **intentional** process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions and delivery of post-secondary education, **in order to enhance the quality of education and research for all students and staff, and to make a meaningful contribution to society** (de Wit *et al.*, 2015, p. 29)

That addition responds to criticisms of narrow economic rationales for internationalisation, which are often raised in conjunction with critiques of neoliberalism (Sidhu, 2006; Warwick and Moogan, 2013; Lomer, 2014, 2018; Cantwell, 2015; Gunter and Raghuram, 2018; Page and Chahboun, 2019). One aspect of neoliberalism (see the previous chapter) is the belief that the market should drive public policy and governments should disinvest in public services, leaving market forces to work in the name of 'efficiency' and value for money (Sidhu, 2006, p. 121). This argument's relevance to internationalisation in higher education is that it is the drive for economic competitiveness which has led to an emphasis on recruiting revenue-generating international students to the detriment of internationalisation's other dimensions (De Vita and Case, 2003; Jiang, 2008; Haigh, 2014; O'Connor, 2018). It has been suggested that UK universities charging higher fees for international students than for home students contributes to international recruits being viewed in economic terms (Warwick and Moogan, 2013; Cantwell, 2015; Lomer, 2018; Page and Chahboun, 2019). O'Connor links internationalisation strategies at UK universities to efforts to compensate for losses of government financial support, rather than just enhancing their international profiles (O'Connor,

2018, p. 339). De Vita and Case (2003) and Haigh (2014) make similar points more strongly, referring to universities seeking to recruit international students "…to shore up holes left by reduced Government funding" (De Vita and Case, 2003, p. 383), and arguing that "…promoting internationalisation is about financial survival" (Haigh, 2014, p. 8). De Wit *et al.*'s (2015) revised definition of internationalisation thus addresses the requirement to judge internationalisation against criteria other than those reinforcing economic competitiveness (Egron-Polak and Marmolejo, 2017; del Carmen Arau Ribeiro and Coelho, 2019; Spencer-Oatey and Dauber, 2019).

International mobility emphasised by university rankings systems

A noteworthy aspect of De Wit *et al.*'s definition of internationalisation was their addition of the phrase: "for all students and staff" (de Wit *et al.*, 2015, p. 29), contesting the idea that internationalisation solely or predominantly concerns those who are internationally mobile, and resonating with the idea of 'internationalisation at home', and issues of equality and inclusion. However, international student and staff mobility continues to be a central dimension of how internationalisation is characterised. Turner and Robson (2008, p. 12) defined international 'mobility' as "…flows of students, academics, employees into and out of institutions". This entails international student recruitment, international staff employment, and international exchanges. The salience of internationalisation in higher education is indeed often evidenced statistically through increased numbers of internationally mobile students and staff (Bruch and Barty, 1998; Raghuram, 2013; Yi and Jung, 2015; Taha and

Cox, 2016; Nada and Araújo, 2018; Page and Chahboun, 2019; Lomer and Mittelmeier, 2021).

A continued focus on international mobility is linked to university ranking systems. Such systems are accorded much critical attention in the literature both conceptually and methodologically, recognising that they have had considerable impact on higher education (Delgado-Márquez, Escudero-Torres and Hurtado-Torres, 2013; Hazelkorn, 2014, 2018; Rauhvargers, 2014; Tan and Goh, 2014; Moed, 2017; Shattock, 2017; Soh, 2017; Souto-Otero and Enders, 2017). Internationalisation is "…embedded in a competitive environment" (Zapp and Ramirez, 2019, p. 473), in a "race" for reputation (Hazelkorn, 2014). The definitions considered above view internationalisation as a multi-faceted and transformative 'process', at odds with quantifiable outcome indicators (Knight, 2015, p. 108). An emphasis on international staff and student numbers may therefore stem from difficulties of measuring other aspects of internationalisation for the comparisons demanded by rankings (Dill and Soo, 2005, p. 495).

Shattock (2017) argues that ranking systems "…have a powerful effect on the way institutions perceive themselves and are perceived by others" (Shattock, 2017, p. 9). Evidence of their impact comes from Delgado-Marquez *et al.*'s (2013) findings that internationalisation positively influences a university's reputation (Delgado-Márquez, Escudero-Torres and Hurtado-Torres, 2013, p. 629). Their comparative analysis of the top fifty universities worldwide rested on reputation scores from the Times Higher

Education World Reputation Rankings, and values of internationalisation and of institutional performance from the THES World University Ranking. The only indicators they used to measure the extent of higher education internationalisation were percentages of international students and staff, which adds to the doubts cast on the 'measurability' of internationalisation. However, their findings suggested that top-reputation universities may include ranking data in their publicity.

Thus, 'being internationalised' via the presence of international staff and students as a mark of high reputation appears to be linked to the influence of ranking indicators. The implication is that visibility of the international mobility dimension of internationalisation may vary according to the ranking of the university. This raises the question of how the presence of international students and staff is a dimension communicated by English universities of different rank as part of their self-presentation.

'Internationalisation at home'

De Wit *et al.*'s (2015) emphasis on "for all students and staff" in their revised definition of internationalisation reflects the idea of 'internationalisation at home', which is the focus of a considerable subfield in the literature (Crowther *et al.*, 2000; Turner and Robson, 2008; Leask, 2009; Montgomery, 2010; Leask and Carroll, 2011; Elliott and Reynolds, 2014; Harrison, 2015; Lantz-Deaton, 2017; Robson, Almeida and Schartner, 2017; Dorner, 2018; Almeida *et al.*, 2019).

The term 'Internationalisation at home' is used to describe internationalised learning for students who study in their 'home' country. It was introduced by Crowther *et al.* (2000), referring to giving "…the non-mobile majority of students a better understanding of people from different countries and cultures" (Crowther *et al.*, 2000, p. 1). 'Internationalisation at home' has since been re-defined to cover not only the presence of international students, but also internationalised curricula and pedagogies (Robson, Almeida and Schartner, 2017, p. 20). However, although 'internationalisation at home' usefully expands what internationalisation means, this concept still partly rests on international mobility because, given the increase in numbers of internationally mobile students, those who do not themselves move to another country are more likely to study alongside international students within the UK (Harrison, 2015, pp. 412–413). Harrison suggested that 'home' students can also expect an international higher education experience because they study with students from a wider range of "national, cultural and linguistic backgrounds" than twenty years previously (Harrison, 2015, p. 413). In addition, there is growing ethnic and cultural diversity of the student body in the UK itself, as a reflection of diversity of UK society (Harrison, 2015, p. 413). As Bowl (2018, p. 684) highlights, the term 'diversity' has become a linguistic device for signalling such variety and difference, though it can obscure inequalities, disadvantage, and the need for inclusion.

Moreover, the inevitability of 'internationalisation at home' at an institution following recruitment of international students is contested (Robson and Turner, 2007; Leask and Carroll, 2011; Lantz-Deaton, 2017; Robson, Almeida and Schartner, 2017). For

example, Lantz-Deaton's (2017) quantitative surveys of students' intercultural competence at a research-intensive English university showed that despite the focus on intercultural competence in its internationalisation strategy, most participants did not increase their intercultural development during their first year of studies, as measured by their questionnaire responses in two waves of data collection. The study notably demonstrated that just being "in the presence of cultural difference" did not in itself lead to meaningful and reflective learning (Lantz-Deaton, 2017, p. 543).

Nonetheless, international students have sometimes been explicitly represented by lecturers and researchers as a 'resource' for home students (Teekens, 2003; Tange, 2010; Arkoudis *et al.*, 2013; Sawir, 2013; McDonald, 2014). Teekens (2003) made a case for teachers seeing "…students with different backgrounds as resources" (Teekens, 2003, p. 110). Tange (2010) described how Danish lecturer respondents in her study of lecturers' internationalisation experiences "…use the international students as a resource for classroom discussions" (Tange, 2010, p. 145). Similarly, Arkoudis *et al*. (2013) investigated ways "...to harness the potential" of increased numbers of international students at Australian universities (Arkoudis *et al.*, 2013, p. 223). Sawir (2013) concluded on the basis of interviews with lecturers that "…international students were an educational resource for teaching and learning" (Sawir, 2013, p. 364). In the UK context, although not directly using the term 'resource', McDonald concluded that there were benefits for domestic students of contact with international students (McDonald, 2014, pp. 62–63).

Problematising the representation of international students

A further body of literature, however, challenges the assumption that international students should be viewed as a 'resource' for home students. Lomer and Anthony-Okeke (2019) articulate an important ethical dilemma: international students are valued for their economic contribution to host countries and for the benefit they bring to home students, yet are also represented in terms of deficiency in language and study skills and seen as undermining the quality of education for home students (Lomer and Anthony-Okeke, 2019, p. 614). There has indeed been much attention in the literature to the representation of international students through institutional discourses of deficiency, which suggest that they lack certain skills or attributes (Sidhu, 2006; Robson and Turner, 2007; Barron, Gourlay and Gannon-Leary, 2010; Tange, 2010; Marginson, 2012; McDonald, 2014; Cheeseman, 2017; Hayes, 2017; Heng, 2018). Robson and Turner (2007) found in their interviews with academic staff at a UK university that international students were commonly represented as a "burden" (Robson and Turner, 2007, p. 44). Barron *et al.*'s (2010) findings from questionnaires with staff at two post-92 universities similarly reported "extra demands" posed by international students (Barron, Gourlay and Gannon-Leary, 2010, p. 487). In answer, Jones (2017) calls for a "more inclusive response to diversity", recognising the needs of all students (Jones, 2017, p. 942). Lomer and Anthony-Okeke argue furthermore that the answer to deficit discourses lies in "ethically internationalised pedagogy" in which international students are "active, vocal and critical participants" (Lomer and Anthony-Okeke, 2019, p. 618) and "co-creators of knowledge and content" (Lomer and Anthony-Okeke, 2019, p. 629).

These pedagogical principles signal a way forward from earlier conceptualisations of international students either as a 'resource' to be exploited or as passive and needy. The idea of students being active co-creators of knowledge also throws a spotlight on innovative learning design as an element of internationalisation. This suggests the importance of exploring whether such principles of learning design are communicated to prospective students (home and international), as part of the presentation of internationalisation.

Another strand of the literature problematising the representation of international students identified international students as being caught up in wider UK government agendas about controlling immigration (Merrick, 2013; Levatino *et al.*, 2018; Lomer, 2018; Riaño, Van Mol and Raghuram, 2018; Sá and Sabzalieva, 2018). Although messages about limiting immigration had rarely targeted international students (though this became a matter of political debate in autumn 2022), the associated racialised and xenophobic narratives have affected them. This is revealed by analyses of pre-Covid-19 racialised experiences of international students in different countries (Lee and Rice, 2007; Cantwell and Lee, 2010; Brown and Jones, 2013; Madriaga and McCaig, 2019). Since the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, it has been argued that issues of racism and xenophobia towards international students have surfaced more explicitly worldwide (Mittelmeier and Cockayne, 2020; Yang *et al.*, 2020). Yang *et al.* (2020) presented evidence of discrimination concerns by Chinese applicants to UK universities (Yang *et al.*, 2020, p. 19). Their data from interviews with educational agencies in China showed concerns from potential

Chinese students about racism and discrimination, linked to incidents reported in Chinese media and social media (Yang *et al.*, 2020, p. 19). Mittelmeier and Cockayne (2020) investigated depiction of international higher education students on Twitter in early 2020. They found competing narratives of hostility towards international students (as perceived Covid-19 carriers) and outpouring of empathy when universities closed. As Mittelmeier and Cockayne's data source was social media, their study highlights how international students were the subject of public debate at the start of the Covid-19 pandemic. Their study, like Yang *et al.*'s, implies that English universities might acknowledge and publicly address fears of prospective international students about potential racism and hostility.

In short, the internationalisation dimensions discussed above concerned *who* might be involved, with the conceptualisation of internationalisation expanded beyond the internationally mobile to those who might experience 'internationalisation at home'. Whether and how 'internationalisation at home' is reflected in universities' website publicity is a matter that merits investigation.

'Internationalisation of the curriculum', 'employability', and 'global citizenship'

I move now to the 'internationalisation of the curriculum', which addresses the question of *what* is taught and *why*. A review of the 'internationalisation of the curriculum' literature illuminates how students might experience 'internationalisation at home' and how this might be communicated by universities. Curricular considerations are integral to 'internationalisation at home' and form a considerable

subfield in the internationalisation literature (Turner and Robson, 2008; Leask, 2009; Turner, 2009; Rienties, Alcott and Jindal-Snape, 2014; Clifford and Montgomery, 2015, 2017; Heffernan *et al.*, 2018; del Carmen Arau Ribeiro and Coelho, 2019). Leask (2009) formulated a comprehensive definition of 'internationalisation of the curriculum', covering what it is and the underpinning rationale:

> *… the incorporation of an international and inter-cultural dimension into the content of the curriculum as well as the teaching and learning processes and support services of a program of study. An internationalised curriculum will engage students with internationally informed research and cultural and linguistic diversity. It will purposefully develop their international and intercultural perspectives as global professionals and citizens.*
> (Leask, 2009, p. 209)

Leask extends her definition of 'internationalisation of the curriculum' beyond the topics taught (content) to include teaching, learning and support processes. She thereby takes a more holistic view than that signalled by the distinction Turner and Robson (2008) make between 'programming and curricula' and 'academic practices' in their list of internationalisation themes. Leask's definition also considers why curricula should be internationalised. Her idea that an internationalised curriculum can enhance an individual student's development as a "global professional" is linked to the notion of 'employability', the focus of an interrelated strand of the internationalisation literature.

Recent studies suggest that internationalisation is viewed as having competitive career-linked benefits for individuals (Morley *et al.*, 2018; Buckner and Stein, 2019;

Courtois, 2019). Theoretical perspectives from Bourdieu are applied in discussions of different types of 'capital'. For example, from interviews with academic staff, Morley *et al*. found that opportunities and constraints are complex, yet international mobility was in their study seen as enhancing professional capital (Morley *et al*., 2018, p. 550). Buckner and Stein similarly noted "...highly functionalist discourses of human capital development" in their critical discourse analysis of policy documents of three higher education professional associations, one based in the USA, one in Europe and one global (Buckner and Stein, 2019, p. 11). Courtois (2019) provided evidence from questionnaires and interviews with students participating in international exchange programmes. She found that short-term international study was presented to students as an economic rather than as an academic opportunity, framed as being akin to an internship (Courtois, 2019, pp. 202–203). These studies are useful in demonstrating that universities might present internationalisation as connected to employability.

As well as being linked to employability, internationalised curricula are debated in relation to 'global citizenship' (Haigh, 2008, 2014; Killick, 2013, 2018; Clifford and Montgomery, 2015, 2017; Moir, 2018; Patil Vishwanath and Mummery, 2019). Moir (2018) argues that there is a contradiction between employability-linked and individualistic notions of graduate attributes and the concept of 'global citizenship' (Moir, 2018, p. 215). He says being a 'global citizen' involves:

> *...an openness to other points of view and cultures, an understanding and appreciation of social and cultural diversity, a respect of human rights, and sense of public or civic responsibility.*
> (Moir, 2018, p. 214)

Haigh (2014) similarly emphasises awareness and understanding of others, referring to "…notions of social justice, fairness, equity and personal responsibility" (Haigh, 2014, p. 14). The possible tension identified by Moir (2018) and Haigh (2014) between graduate employability and global citizenship was bridged by Killick's concept of the "global graduate", as:

> *...someone who has the capabilities to lead a life he/she has reason to value in a multicultural and globalising world.*
> (Killick, 2018, p. 72).

Killick suggests that such "capabilities" should be developed as part of a university education. The phrase "lead a life he/she has reason to value" is a basis for his argument that the "capabilities" are "subjective", entailing self-reflection and monitoring of one's behaviour (Killick, 2018, pp. 73–74). Patil Vishwaneth and Mummery (2019) also argue that there is a danger that internationalisation of the curriculum is limited to gaining knowledge of other cultures, rather than developing students' awareness and criticality in relation to their own cultural norms. They call for a more critical approach to 'internationalisation of the curriculum' to develop a reflective disposition through analysis of one's own values instead of acquiring a set of competencies (Patil Vishwanath and Mummery, 2019, pp. 362–363). This is similar to what Clifford and Montgomery (2015) call a "transformative internationalised curriculum":

> *...developing knowledge of the self, and of self in relation to others, and seeing*
> *personal change as a necessary precursor to social change.*
> (Clifford and Montgomery, 2015, p. 48)

An emphasis emerging from the literature on the relationships between internationalised curricula, global citizenship, and the 'global graduate' is the need for universities' strategic plans, mission statements and policies to communicate such dimensions of internationalisation (Clifford and Montgomery, 2017, p. 1148).

To summarise, in the 'internationalisation of the curriculum' literature tensions are identified between individual self-advancement and collective social responsibility. However, studies suggest that the tensions could be resolved through shifting the emphasis from studying 'other' cultures to interrogating one's own values, and by viewing employability as the development of 'global graduate' dispositions. It is therefore useful to study the extent to which such shifts are evident in any ways that universities present links between internationalisation and employability.

'Sustainable internationalisation'

Another criticism of higher education internationalisation strategies has been that they are driven predominantly by economic and individualistic imperatives (Coate and Rathnayake, 2013; Knight, 2013; Naidoo, 2018; Wihlborg and Robson, 2018; Zapp and Ramirez, 2019). Naidoo (2018), for example, calls for alternatives to what she sees as the orthodoxy of competition and pursuit of self-interest (Naidoo, 2018, p. 611). Likewise, Zapp & Ramirez (2019, p. 489) point to the need to move beyond a

view of internationalisation characterised by "…aggressive (neo)liberalism and commodification, competition and excellence".

A related critical thread in the internationalisation literature focuses on the enduring impact of colonialism and associated ideas about cultural superiority (Suspitsyna, 2015; Stein and de Andreotti, 2016; Ploner and Nada, 2019; Stein, de Andreotti and Suša, 2019a). Higher education is argued to be situated within postcolonial legacies of 'Western' educational supremacy, which influence the dynamics of international student recruitment largely from poorer countries in the 'Global South' to richer industrialised countries in the 'Global North' or 'the West', including Western Europe, the USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia (Stein and de Andreotti, 2016, p. 226). For example, Ploner and Nada (2019) studied student migrants to the UK from countries with postcolonial connections (such as Zimbabwe). Their interview data showed such students attached greater value to knowledge gained from studying in the UK than in their home countries (Ploner and Nada, 2019, p. 385). Suspitsyna's (2015) discourse analysis of educational media in the USA revealed how narratives of Chinese educational inferiority endured (Suspitsyna, 2015, p. 28). The implication of these studies is that universities themselves may also perpetuate the privileging of 'Western' educational approaches and expertise, although classificatory terminology is problematic in this regard. The distinction of 'Global North' and 'Global South' is also attracting growing critique (as did the earlier 'developed/developing countries'), yet the more accurate alternative contrasting of 'minority/majority world' is not yet widely used (Giddens and Sutton, 2021, pp. 119–122).

A counterpoint to the criticisms of unequal and exploitative neoliberal and postcolonial internationalisation practices is the concept of 'sustainable internationalisation', which is advocated in some of the internationalisation literature (Haigh, 2008, 2014; Wright, 2009; Fadeeva and Mochizuki, 2010; Bonnett, 2013; Ilieva, Beck and Waterstone, 2014; Hussain and Hammett, 2015; Hopkins *et al.*, 2016; Glover, Strengers and Lewis, 2017). Like 'internationalisation', 'sustainability' has multiple interpretations (Ilieva, Beck and Waterstone, 2014, p. 878). First defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), it involves "…meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987, p. 24). This can be seen from ecological, economic, and social perspectives, and includes consideration of equity within and between nations (Wright, 2009, p. 106).

Ilieva, Beck and Waterstone (2014, p. 878) argue that in higher education the focus has predominantly been on *economic* sustainability through income generation, rather than *educational* or *environmental* sustainability on a wider scale. They argue for the "…primacy of relationships and mutuality". What 'sustainability' appears to add to the understanding of internationalisation is a more explicit focus on the long term, on equalising power relations between those involved in international partnerships, and on reducing the uneven impact of environmental and climate crisis.

The critiques of neoliberal and postcolonial frameworks of internationalisation usefully show that internationalisation entails complex historical legacies. The 'sustainable internationalisation' literature implies that such criticisms might be addressed through, for example, focussing on international research which has long-term sustainability goals and involves international partners on an equal footing. What is not known is whether and how explicitly 'sustainable internationalisation' messages are conveyed publicly by universities.

'Internationalisation at a distance'

I turn finally to the emerging concept of 'internationalisation at a distance', whose advocates question the idea that internationalisation entails mobile international and non-mobile home students studying in physical proximity. Rapidly developing online educational technologies are impacting on potential internationalisation strategies (Ramanau, 2016; Gemmell and Harrison, 2017; Lee and Cai, 2019; Mittelmeier *et al.*, 2019, 2020). Mittelmeier *et al*. (2019; 2020) challenge the binary of internationalisation abroad or at home, adding 'internationalisation at a distance', which they define as:

> *All forms of education across borders where students, their respective staff, and institutional provision are separated by geographical distance and supported by technology.*
> (Mittelmeier *et al.*, 2019, p. 2)

The relationships between higher education and digital technologies are complicated, with digitalisation firmly embedded in some aspects of universities' work but not in

others (Selwyn, 2014, p. 5). Prior to the Covid-19 pandemic, online learning only accounted for 3% of higher education learning in the UK (excluding the Open University) (Universities UK, 2018a, p. 10). However, online learning became a necessity with the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic and restrictions on travel.

Contrasting ideas about 'internationalisation at a distance' in the light of the Covid-19 pandemic come from two books on internationalised teaching in higher education (Zhang, Grimshaw and Shi, 2020; Dippold and Heron, 2021). Zhang, Grimshaw and Shi (2020) emphasised a reshaping of higher education, with a suddenly imposed shift to online delivery. They noted a likelihood of increased difficulty in recruiting and maintaining engagement of international students (Zhang, Grimshaw and Shi, 2020, p. 15). Dippold and Heron (2021), by contrast, speculated more positively about transformative opportunities for "more sophisticated" interaction and giving international students more voice in different ways (Dippold and Heron, 2021, p. 201). These contrasting views about the impact of Covid-19 pandemic on internationalisation were, however, speculative. What remains to be studied is how English universities actually presented the difficulties and opportunities for internationalisation posed by the sudden shift to online teaching in early 2020.

Conclusion: evolving conceptualisations of internationalisation

This review of the literature has revealed changes in perspectives on internationalisation, encompassing a number of discrete but interrelated aspects. Internationalisation often concerns recruitment of international students, linked to

economic considerations, both for career-linked benefits for the individual student and for institutional status in a stratified system. Furthermore, presence of international students also relates to the idea of 'internationalisation at home', including intercultural exchange. Debates about 'internationalisation of the curriculum' extend a focus on 'other' cultures to self-reflective critical dispositions and practices. Criticisms of competitive and individualistic rationales for internationalisation may be answered by the alternative idea of 'sustainable internationalisation'. Meanwhile, the necessity for geographical mobility is challenged by online developments and the idea of 'internationalisation at a distance'. Gaining insight into these conceptualisations of internationalisation was important in order to understand what may be included (and excluded) in how universities present themselves publicly. Equally salient is what I focus on in the next section: methodological approaches which have been used to study how internationalisation is put into practice.

2.3. Implementing internationalisation in universities

In this section, I group types of empirical studies to show what we know about the implementation of internationalisation policies in universities. Some of these studies focus on England and others on the UK as a whole, or on cross-county comparison. I have chosen to evaluate three research approaches to show how each has yielded different insights: qualitative studies with students and/or teaching staff interviewees; quantitative questionnaire-based studies; and mixed-methods case studies including

document analysis. I have purposively selected studies which are broadly representative of these approaches, to identify various dimensions of internationalisation's implementation.

Qualitative studies: student and teaching staff experiences and perceptions

One strand of the empirical studies on internationalisation at home assesses small-scale pedagogical interventions at single institutions, designed to encourage multi-national interactions for mutual benefit. Three examples typify such studies in that they draw on qualitative evidence from student participants at a particular institution (Elliott and Reynolds, 2014; Spiro, 2014; McKay, O'Neill and Petrakieva, 2018). Spiro's (2014) study conducted at a post-92 university in England aimed to explore the role pedagogy played in putting internationalisation into "actual practice on the ground" (Spiro, 2014, p. 71). A mix of qualitative methods provided evidence from student diaries, individual interviews, focus groups and student evaluations of four pedagogical projects involving home and international students. Students from different language and cultural backgrounds were paired up, with "guided reciprocity" activities such as students interviewing each other (Spiro, 2014, p. 80). The findings of this study highlighted the importance of teachers actively designing opportunities for students to learn from one another as equal partners, and explicitly communicating the aims (Spiro, 2014, p. 81).

Elliot & Reynolds (2014) investigated group work pedagogies involving a single-course cohort of 35 home and international students at a university in England. Their study drew on data from interviews carried out by five of the students interviewing their peers (Elliott and Reynolds, 2014, p. 312). Like Spiro (2014), they found that preparing students for international groupwork was important (Elliott and Reynolds, 2014, p. 318); however, they also identified complexities involved in setting up a framework for participative pedagogy.

McKay *et al.* (2018) used focus groups and semi-structured interviews to evaluate an intercultural awareness scheme for new international students at a UK university, finding that the year-long scheme helped students to "…value the diverse skills and attributes that they had to offer" (McKay, O'Neill and Petrakieva, 2018, p. 285). Their study highlighted the need for longer-term intercultural support opportunities (rather than brief orientation inductions), including informal social events, to build strong peer learning networks, and to bring "tacit elements to the fore" (McKay, O'Neill and Petrakieva, 2018, p. 285).

Another group of qualitative case studies collected data from teaching staff rather than students. They ranged from studies based at a single UK institution (Al-Youssef, 2013), up to four universities in the UK (Friedman, 2018; Soliman, Anchor and Taylor, 2018), and to studies with staff participants in different countries (Clifford and Montgomery, 2015; Robson, Almeida and Schartner, 2017; Almeida *et al.*, 2019). For example, Clifford and Montgomery (2015) analysed discussions in an online

course for university teachers on "Internationalising the curriculum for all students" (Clifford and Montgomery, 2015, pp. 51–52). An important finding was that there was a lack of consistent and explicit institutional articulation of the goals of internationalisation. The teachers in this study reported that internationalisation of the curriculum and global citizenship featured in their institutions' strategic plans but that "…the meaning of these concepts was seldom spelt out" (Clifford and Montgomery, 2015, pp. 53–54). Robson *et al.*'s (2017) findings from interviews with staff at a UK university showed that the implementation of internationalisation in pedagogical practice was limited to personal initiatives on the part of individual staff, and that institutional intercultural activities seemed to be aimed primarily at international students (Robson, Almeida and Schartner, 2017, pp. 27–28).

A finding in common of these qualitative interview-based studies with students and teaching staff was the perception of a need for effective communication of the aims of internationalised curricula, pedagogical strategies, and social activities. I view the usefulness of these studies as revealing this need for explicit institutional articulation of the goals of internationalisation to build students' expectations of the benefits of actively studying together and learning from each other, and to support staff initiatives "on the ground".

Quantitative questionnaire-based studies measuring internationalisation

A second strand of studies consisted of quantitative approaches, concerned with measuring aspects of internationalisation. These include research into social and

study interaction between students of different nationalities (Rienties, Johan and Jindal-Snape, 2015; Lantz-Deaton, 2017; Spencer-Oatey and Dauber, 2019), and the investigation of students' views on internationalising the curriculum (Heffernan *et al.*, 2018), as well as staff understandings of internationalisation (Barron, Gourlay and Gannon-Leary, 2010). Heffernan *et al.* (2018) surveyed 495 UK first-year home-based students at one UK university with a questionnaire, asking participants to indicate their views on statements about the internationalisation of the curriculum, and what they had experienced on their course. Notably, in my view, the students participating in Heffernan *et al.*'s research studied a range of subjects, such as Chemistry and Social Work. The study design thus differed from earlier studies which focussed on a single course, for example, a Masters in International Management (Turner, 2009), and an Event Management postgraduate course (Rienties, Alcott and Jindal-Snape, 2014). Students on such courses in Business and Management Schools would already be likely to have expectations of international dimensions, as business subjects account for the highest proportions of international students (Heffernan *et al.*, 2018, p. 3). Analysis of the survey results revealed that students' positive views about internationalisation correlated with pedagogic approaches making the relevance of internationalisation to the subject explicit. The authors concluded that students needed clear pedagogic signposting that they were learning about internationalisation (Heffernan *et al.*, 2018, p. 13). Heffernan *et al.*'s research reinforced qualitative studies' findings on the need to tell students *why* internationalisation is important, bridging subject relevance and international context.

Rienties, Johan and Jindal Snape (2015) undertook a quantitative analysis of 81 international and home students' development of social and learning networks. Importantly, unlike studies with participants in their first year on a course, new to university study (Elliott and Reynolds, 2014; Lantz-Deaton, 2017; Heffernan *et al.*, 2018; McKay, O'Neill and Petrakieva, 2018), Rienties *et al.* based their study on a module undertaken in the students' third year (Rienties, Johan and Jindal-Snape, 2015, p. 1213). They found that at the start of the study students tended to have friendship relations built on co-nationality, strongest for the largest co-national group (Rienties, Johan and Jindal-Snape, 2015, p. 1226), indicating that intercultural interaction thus far had been limited for some students. Students were then allocated to carefully-constructed groups for mixed group work activities. Measuring friendship relations before and afterwards showed that students developed stronger links with others in their assigned group, as group work enabled students to practise "…their ability to expand their social and cultural capabilities" (Rienties, Johan and Jindal-Snape, 2015, p. 1230). The 'before and after' aspect of this study in students' third year illuminated the importance of pro-active support to all students rather than an assumption that students could be left to build multinational friendships and learning relationships.

A larger-scale questionnaire was employed by Spencer-Oatey and Dauber (2019), who surveyed over two thousand international and home students at six universities, including three in the UK. They attempted to quantify social 'integration' of all students, tackling the challenge that 'integration' is harder to measure than student

numbers, and is therefore neglected in existing measurement criteria (Spencer-Oatey and Dauber, 2019, p. 1037). They claimed to have established an innovative way of measuring internationalisation, going beyond classroom interventions. Although the claim to 'measure' internationalisation is questionable, importantly their study did generate insights into opportunities outside the classroom such as volunteering activities and organised social events (Spencer-Oatey and Dauber, 2019, p. 1040). A further strength of their study was that their survey included both home and international students. Their findings suggested that for internationalisation at home it is crucial to promote social opportunities to all students as enhancing the quality of their education, linked explicitly to internationalisation.

Overall, findings from these quantitative studies supported the conclusions by authors of smaller-scale qualitative studies: 'internationalisation at home' is limited without active intervention; articulation of the goals of internationalisation is perceived as important by staff and students; successful implementation at the micro level of individual courses and projects is linked to consistent institutional explanation and promotion of internationalisation's purposes.

There is, however, a possible information gap about the context in which the empirical studies discussed thus far were conducted. Although authors provided details about individual courses or modules, they gave less information about the universities' characteristics. This may be to maintain anonymity, but that does not explain why reasons were rarely given for choosing a particular type of university.

Enough information was usually provided to show whether studies were situated in research-intensive traditional universities (Rienties, Johan and Jindal-Snape, 2015; Lantz-Deaton, 2017; Spencer-Oatey and Dauber, 2019), or post-1992 'new' universities (Barron, Gourlay and Gannon-Leary, 2010; Spiro, 2014), although Heffernan *et al.* (2018, p. 4) described their site as a "major UK university" without elaboration. There appeared to be no differences in the findings of these studies according to this broad division of type of institution at which the studies were conducted, but this cannot be certain.

Mixed-methods case studies of internationalisation strategy implementation

I turn now to mixed-methods case studies which included analysis of institutional documents and interviews (Sidhu, 2006; Al-Youssef, 2013; Friedman, 2018; Soliman, Anchor and Taylor, 2018). In contrast with the studies considered thus far, Sidhu (2006) provides contextual and historical detail on the two UK universities in her study of the presence of internationalisation in university marketing narratives (Sidhu, 2006, pp. 148–149, 163–164). Sidhu (2006) combined staff and student interviews with analysis of a range of institutional documents, for example the brochure for a Master's in International Management (Sidhu, 2006, p. 174). Noteworthy about Sidhu's study was her selection of two universities with contrasting institutional histories: a Russell Group university consistently ranked in the top ten, and a post-1992 former polytechnic. Her findings showed commonalities in the universities' construction of the imagined international student as both "elite economic subject" and "intellectually passive other" (Sidhu, 2006, pp. 175–176). Sidhu's analysis

provides an example of how the presence of international students may be marketed as offering a "rich cultural mix". Yet, as Sidhu pointed out, "…left unsaid is the question of *relevance*": the brochure did not explain *why* a curriculum engaging with international questions was important (Sidhu, 2006, p. 174). Sidhu's highlighting of this omission adds further weight to the argument that articulation of the aims of internationalisation is needed, as stated in the conclusions about the interview and questionnaire-based studies discussed earlier.

Like Sidhu, Al Youssef (2013) used a case study approach, drawing on university documents as well as interviews with staff. However, she interviewed middle and senior managers at a UK university who were involved in the process of creating and internally disseminating the university's internationalisation strategy. She also analysed university documents, including an international strategy document and operational plan (Al-Youssef, 2013, p. 57). A striking finding of Al-Youssef's study was that, even among those responsible for drawing up the central internationalisation strategy, there was a "…lack of shared understanding" (Al-Youssef, 2013, p. 58). Like Sidhu (2006), Al-Youssef also found contrasting representation of international students. Increasing their numbers was seen as central to the internationalisation strategy, for income-generation and for "…contributing to the cultural mix" (Al-Youssef, 2013, p. 64), and yet they were perceived as "others", with frequent references to 'us' and 'them' in the interview data (Al-Youssef, 2013, p. 60).

Soliman, Anchor and Taylor (2018) also used interviews with managers and document review. They focussed on four English universities with different histories (Soliman, Anchor and Taylor, 2018, p. 5), investigating present and past institutional internationalisation strategies and establishing a conceptual model of internationalisation trajectory. Soliman *et al.*'s documentary analysis showed that the presence of internationalisation within institutional strategies was linked to the organisational structures and the seniority of those promoting internationalisation, (Soliman, Anchor and Taylor, 2018, pp. 8–9). Their model of an internationalisation trajectory rests on an assumption that internationalisation is "foregrounded" if there is a separate document that outlines the institutional strategy (Soliman, Anchor and Taylor, 2018, p. 6). However, as Al-Youssef's (2013) management interview data showed, an internationalisation strategy document can be interpreted differently depending on people's roles within an institution, and barriers exist to following it up (Al-Youssef, 2013, p. 58).

Soliman *et al.*'s (2018) analysis led them to suggest a common model of internationalisation strategy development. By contrast, Friedman's (2018) study of the 'global citizenship agenda' illuminated the role played by the stratification of higher education. Friedman's four-university case study consisted of a high-ranking Russell Group university with a "long-term history of prestige", a similarly high-ranking but more recently perceived as elite university, a low-ranking (post-92) university in an urban city, and a low-ranking post-92 university in a small town (Friedman, 2018, p. 5). Friedman conducted interviews with university staff in a range

of administrative, management and academic roles and at a range of levels of seniority, as well as analysing strategy documents and reports. As a theoretical lens, Friedman drew on Bourdieu's framing of 'cultural capital' - described as a desirable form of knowledge or disposition which signals advantage (Friedman, 2018, p. 2). Global citizenship was most intensively promoted as a form of high-status 'cultural capital' to be acquired at the new elite university, whereas it appeared to be socially expected, and thus less explicitly promoted, at the old elite university. In contrast, Friedman's interview data showed that in the lower-ranked universities this kind of cosmopolitan capital was "…less commonly rationalized as necessary for students" (Friedman, 2018, p. 11). Friedman suggested that all the universities to some extent prepared students to "experience cultural difference", but that students at higher-ranked universities had access to a particular type of cosmopolitan capital used to compete for top jobs and leadership positions "at the cutting edge of the global economy" (Friedman, 2018, p. 12). Friedman's study is thus important in revealing complex differentiation between institutions in how global citizenship was conceptualised, illuminating how students were "positioned to be different kinds of global citizens" (Friedman, 2018, p. 13). In other words, the implication is that students in different types of institution receive different messages about internationalisation and its relevance to them. The 'cultural capital' is thus not accessible to all.

The mixed-methods whole-institution case studies, of strategy documents and manager interviews, extend the conclusions from the smaller-scale studies of student

and staff experiences of single modules and courses. In particular, reviewing this strand of studies has suggested that universities' positioning in a stratified system may be salient to their formulation, implementation, and articulation of different aspects of internationalisation.

Conclusion: internationalisation practices need explicit articulation

Knowledge about the enactment of aspects of internationalisation at universities has come from a range of study designs, though qualitative studies of a single course or module were more frequent, often conducted by teaching staff evaluating their own pedagogical practices. Such in-depth qualitative approaches yielded insights into students' and teaching staff's experiences and perceptions of interventions designed to enhance 'internationalisation at home'. The quantitative studies cited represent attempts to measure aspects such as internationalisation of the curriculum and 'integration' of home and international students, to reach beyond a simplistic view of internationalisation as being represented by numbers of international students. Mixed methods studies involving interviews with staff and document analysis showed that there were uneven strategies and different interpretations of internationalisation. A key conclusion emerging from these studies' conclusions is the importance of articulating the aims of internationalisation to all students, not just international ones. However, findings from a smaller number of comparative studies suggest the importance of considering the possible impact of universities' positioning in a stratified system on their enactment and articulation of internationalisation. It is therefore useful to study the messages about internationalisation conveyed to

students, home and international, and whether those messages differ between differently ranked universities.

2.4. Presentation of internationalisation in universities' external-facing publicity

In this section I evaluate studies investigating universities' external communications. There are few studies about the presentation of internationalisation on university websites, so I also review literature concerning website messages about universities' other work, as this shows how they *might* communicate internationalisation. I include studies of university websites in non-UK countries to supplement literature about UK university websites.

Universities' self-presentation as 'brands' in a marketised system

In a marketised system, universities invest effort in constructing and presenting their institutional identity (Fairclough, 1993, p. 157). Websites have become the primary source of public information about institutions, representing a key element of universities' marketing practices (Saichaie and Morphew, 2014, p. 500). Websites are not only used to disseminate information but also to construct and project institutional identity (Lažetić, 2019, p. 997). As a consequence, websites reveal discourses that construct and shape higher education identities and practices (Zhang and O'Halloran, 2013). It is not surprising therefore that researchers in different

countries have investigated aspects of universities' self-presentation to external audiences (Chiper, 2006; Askehave, 2007; Hartley and Morphew, 2008; Simões and Soares, 2010; Saarinen and Nikula, 2012; Zhang and O'Halloran, 2013; Graham, 2013; Griffith, 2013; Saichaie and Morphew, 2014; Jenkins, 2014; Hoang and Rojas-Lizana, 2015; Tomášková, 2017; Estera and Shahjahan, 2018; Rensimer, 2019; Lažetić, 2019; Zhang *et al.*, 2020; Kim, 2021). Although the focus of the above studies is not primarily on internationalisation, it is worth assessing the findings of such website studies because they illuminate the practices of marketised higher education systems and the importance of investigating universities' self-presentation.

Some studies have analysed how operating in a marketised system is manifested in universities' presentation of their distinctive features as 'brands' (Sidhu, 2006; Hite and Railsback, 2010; Mautner, 2010; Durkin, McKenna and Cummins, 2012; Saichaie and Morphew, 2014; James, 2017; Symes and Drew, 2017; Budd, 2018; Lažetić, 2019). For example, Symes and Drew (2017) and Budd (2018) highlighted the use of symbols and icons such as crests and shields as part of university branding and marketing (Symes and Drew, 2017; Budd, 2018). Lažetić (2019) investigated how students were consistently positioned as customers, revealed by analysis of website design. He conducted a large-scale cross-country study of website evidence of marketisation of higher education in Europe by analysing university websites in six countries, including England. He found that website homepage menus were often structured according to users or types of user, indicating a "service orientation" to particular customer groups, one of which was

64

international students (Lažetić, 2019, p. 1005). He also found the institutional brand

was often indicated by headings such as "10 reasons to study at University X" and

"Why choose medicine at University X". His cross-country comparison showed that

this was most present in the English university websites (Lažetić, 2019, p. 1013).

However, his findings also showed within-country differences, with student applicants

placed more prominently in the position of customers in lower ranked institutions,

based on the greater presence of the 'you' form of address (Lažetić, 2019, p. 1009).

The within-country variations in corporate website features and in market orientation

towards students found by Lažetić suggested that marketisation practices were not

homogenous and that there were subtle differences between institutions' self-

presentation.

Other studies have examined the construction of a UK national higher education

'brand' intended to appeal specifically to international students (Sidhu, 2006; Lomer,

Papatsiba and Naidoo, 2018; Rensimer, 2019). For example, Sidhu (2006) and

Rensimer (2019) both presented visual evidence from universities' prospectuses and

websites that a discourse of British exceptionalism may feature in iconic images

rather than in words. Sidhu, for example, showed how the London School of

Economics (LSE) used visual images of England's history such as Tower Bridge and

Big Ben to promote itself. She argued that using these images signifies the

perpetuation of links between intellectual and historical power, reworked into a

"discourse of education tourism" (Sidhu, 2006, p. 150). Meanwhile, Rensimer (2019)

found evidence of British universities with international branch campuses marketing

them through the use of stereotypical British imagery such as a cup of tea, a London bus, and a man in a kilt, rather than images of the actual branch campus (Rensimer, 2019, pp. 227–228).

Other studies of higher education marketisation and branding via websites make relevant general points about universities' self-presentation. For example, Hartley and Morphew's (2008) study of university brochures from a range of institution types in the USA was influential in drawing critical attention to the purpose and content of university publicity materials. Their conclusions about universities' publicity messages are relevant to how internationalisation might be presented. Their content analysis of university brochures showed that there was little or no reference to educational purposes, academic work or social benefit. Hartley and Morphew highlighted the "It's all about you" messages to students constructed through text and images. Importantly, they discussed the potential consequences: such messages gave a false impression of the time that academic staff can devote to individual students. It was suggested that raising expectations of such "hand-holding" also appeared to absolve students of responsibility for hard work and commitment to their studies (Hartley and Morphew, 2008, p. 687). Hartley and Morphew acknowledged that the purpose of the brochures was to 'sell' the university to prospective students, but they revealed the extent to which such publicity diverged from universities' mission statements about academic purposes, contribution to society, and building diverse inclusive communities (Hartley and Morphew, 2008, p. 688). Their thematic content analysis thus demonstrated why external messages matter: through them, universities

"…choose to begin forming a relationship with their students" (Hartley and Morphew, 2008, p. 673) and they build students' expectations.

Linguistic features used to build individualised relationships with students

I turn now to studies illuminating the importance of analysing linguistic features of higher education texts. Research into language use helps us to understand how universities present themselves (Fairclough, 1993; Mautner, 2005, 2010; Askehave, 2007). For example, some studies have analysed how students are directly and indirectly *addressed* by universities (Fairclough, 1993; Askehave, 2007; Zhang *et al.*, 2020; Zhang, Tan and O'Halloran, 2022). Fairclough's (1993) influential comparative analysis of Lancaster University's undergraduate prospectus for the years 1967-8, 1986-7, and 1993 showed a shift from impersonal style towards promotional practices, including personalisation of the university as "we" and individualised address to prospective students as "you" (Fairclough, 1993, p. 155). Fairclough highlighted the shifting "authority relations" between the university and students (Fairclough, 1993, p. 157). Students were positioned as customers or clients in the 1993 prospectus, and there was a decline in the traditional authority of the university, with fewer obligational statements such as "are required to take, is permitted, is allowed", which were visible in the 1967-8 prospectus (Fairclough, 1993, p. 154). Fairclough's longitudinal study showed how analysis of language provided evidence of a transition towards marketised practices in higher education in England.

A similar strength of Askehave's (2007) study of the University of Stirling's international student prospectus was its linguistic analysis of the information presented to students. Like Hartley and Morphew (2008) in their USA study, she identified the downplaying of academic aspects of university life, since text descriptions and images focussed on campus facilities, surroundings, and social activities (Askehave, 2007, p. 737). Her study adds to our understanding of *how* messages may be conveyed linguistically: the use of personal pronouns to stimulate a relationship, action verbs that denote choice, attention-seeking imperatives, reference to states of pleasant feelings, and trust-building rhetorical devices such as student testimonials. She also identified the use of imperatives "…as an attention-seeking device known from promotional and advertising discourse, used as a friendly, direct call for action". Two examples were: "Put yourself in the picture" and "Move in and feel at home" (Askehave, 2007, p. 736). Askehave concluded that prospective international students were addressed as a "picky student who is spoiled for choice" (Askehave, 2007, p. 739). Askehave studied one institution and therefore cannot show whether the linguistic features are used by a range of institutions. However, she revealed how linguistic devices play an important role in constructing and reinforcing messages.

Two recent cross-country comparative studies shed further light on how international students are addressed on university websites. Zuocheng Zhang was lead author of both studies, which analysed university webpages aimed at international students (Zhang *et al.*, 2020; Zhang, Tan and O'Halloran, 2022). Both studies took a

68

multimodal discourse analysis approach, investigating the spatial design of the websites, lexicogrammatical resources, and embedded videos and images. Zhang *et al.'s* (2020) study of how international students were addressed on three Australian and three Chinese university websites illuminated some national contrasts: for example, international students on the Chinese websites were represented as receivers of information, whereas on the Australian websites, they were constructed as agents, invited to 'choose', 'connect', 'share', 'engage' (Zhang *et al.*, 2020, pp. 4–5). Zhang *et al.*'s study showed that analysing how international students are addressed can reveal to what extent they are conceived of as consumers (Zhang *et al.*, 2020, p. 11). A further study examined the 'Why Choose' webpages of the University of Liverpool in England and two Australian universities which were at a similar level of prestige and recruited similar numbers of international students (Zhang, Tan and O'Halloran, 2022). Their multimodal content analysis of text and images revealed that these webpages showed a convergence of a neoliberal marketing discourse and a traditional educational discourse. International students were addressed as consumers and customers, yet traditional values of learning, research, and personal transformation were presented within the marketing (Zhang, Tan and O'Halloran, 2022, pp. 16–17). They highlighted, for example, the use of the modal 'can' in statements such as "Join a university where you can get the support you need to create your future". International students were addressed as "agentive doers" who would play an active role in making use of what the university provided (Zhang, Tan and O'Halloran, 2022, p. 15). What these studies did not show is whether the international students were addressed and represented differently from

other website audiences, since the focus was on international webpages. Indeed, Zhang, Tan and O'Halloran (2022) argue the need for studies to analyse webpages not specifically aimed at international students to gain more understanding of "…the workings of interdiscursivity on university websites" (Zhang, Tan and O'Halloran, 2022, p. 17).

The importance of 'keywords' in conveying ideas

Understanding the connections between ideas and their communication is aided by analysis of which words are used (Mautner, 2005, 2010; Holborow, 2013, 2015; Eagleton-Pierce, 2016; Leary, 2018; MacCabe and Yanacek, 2018). Lexical choices are often conceptualised as 'keywords', a term first deployed in this context by Raymond Williams (1983). Williams defined keywords as "significant, indicative words in certain forms of thought" (Williams, 1983, p. 15), whose meanings are connected with social, economic and political changes which researchers in various fields try to understand. Keywords are seen as "language hubs" (Holborow, 2013, p. 231), which provide a way in to analysing the presence of ideology. Holborow (2015) argued that keywords are persuasive because they are not seen as political; they "…almost pass unnoticed" as they have become taken-for-granted and go largely uncontested (Holborow, 2015, p. 72). Similarly, Kinchin and Gravett (2022) use the label "sacred terms" to refer to ubiquitous UK higher education shorthand such as "student-centred" and "teaching excellence", stating that their meanings are unlikely to be discussed let alone challenged (Kinchin and Gravett, 2022, p. 9). It is important therefore to question which words are used in a text and what ideas they reinforce.

Mautner's (2005; 2010) work is useful in signalling the importance of word choices to indicate the influence of corporate practices on higher education vocabulary. Her in-depth studies of a set of related keywords used in neoliberal discourses in higher education focused on 'entrepreneurial' and 'enterprising' (Mautner, 2005). She showed how the ambiguity of these words in everyday language meant that they could be appropriated to serve a particular viewpoint, with positive connotations, emphasising innovation and commercial activity (Mautner, 2005, p. 112). Other related keywords she identified in universities' promotional materials and websites were the nouns 'customer', 'excellence', 'product', 'output', 'investment', and 'delivery' (Mautner, 2010, pp. 77–78). Although Mautner did not directly examine internationalisation, her studies of keywords show how words can reinforce particular ways of conceptualising aspects of education, which in turn may influence educational practices.

That keywords are used to convey exclusively positive meanings, despite their ambiguity, was also a conclusion drawn by Saichaie and Morphew (2014) in their study of what twelve USA university websites conveyed about the purpose of higher education. Their thematic analysis showed that these universities presented themselves as offering unique and desirable cultures, via a combination of images and text. A prominent linguistic feature identified was the use of vague abstract nouns, for example references to universities' "spirit and tradition", "experiences", "endless opportunities", and "campus life" (Saichaie and Morphew, 2014, pp. 515–

516). Saichaie and Morphew pointed out, however, that these terms were not explained or defined. They also identified the use of the nebulous keyword "value", which was used to conflate the ideas of "quality" and "affordability", and obfuscate the actual cost to prospective students (Saichaie and Morphew, 2014, p. 517). Their study suggests that analysis of keywords illuminates how particular discourses are reflected in universities' self-presentation and reveals what may be taken for granted or concealed.

Beyond words: presentation via numbers, bullet points and tables

The studies I have reviewed so far showed how words conveyed particular meanings in universities' communications. However, meaning can also be built through semiotic mixing (O'Halloran, 2008, p. 453), with combination of words, numbers, and mathematical symbols (such as percentages). I therefore now move to a discussion of studies investigating how aspects of website design contribute subtly to the way ideas are presented (Stack, 2013; Ledin and Machin, 2015, 2018). Stack (2013) analysed the use of visual signifiers such as brightly coloured tables and pie charts in the Times Higher Education World University Ranking website. Stack showed how the tables themselves were represented as actors creating a system for ranking universities, with no mention of the people who had devised the methodology (Stack, 2013, p. 565). As Stack said:

> *Numbers seem to create meaning by themselves without humans mediating what to count, how counting happens or what is understood from what we count*
> (Stack, 2013, p. 579)

Information in the tables was, according to Stack, presented as transparent and neutral, conveying easily-consumed 'evidence' of which universities would be 'good' or 'bad' choices. The use of numbers reinforces the idea that aspects of higher education can and should be measured (Stack, 2013, p. 579). This has relevance for the presentation of internationalisation, as the conceptual studies I discussed earlier suggested that measuring internationalisation was a point of debate.

Ledin and Machin's (2015) analysis of four management documents from a Swedish university showed how placing language within numbered lists, bullet points, and tables legitimised management discourse (Ledin and Machin, 2015, p. 466). According to Ledin and Machin, the bullet points appeared to be stripped back core points and suggested coordination into a list, whereas they actually removed interconnections and created boundaries. For example, a numbered list of university strategies suggested some kind of hierarchy and order, with a systematic breakdown of abstracted components. However, this fragmentation concealed complex links between different strategies and actors, and had consequences for implementation (Ledin and Machin, 2015, p. 470). Bullet points, numbering and tables have connotations of science, logic and data. Yet Stack's (2013) and Ledin and Machin's (2015) analysis showed how they obscured and fused complex processes and relationships, and the apparent 'clarity' was false. Both studies showed how analysis of words can be usefully extended to demonstrate how the placing of those words in lists and tables matters.

Studying differences in self-presentation according to institutional profile

A further focus of study has been on whether a university's characteristics and position in a stratified system influences how it presents itself publicly. In studies of particular higher education discourses, researchers have examined purposive samples of institutions with diverse characteristics and missions, to uncover parallels and contrasts in institutional publicity (Chiper, 2006; Sidhu, 2006; Hite and Railsback, 2010; Saarinen and Nikula, 2012; Graham, 2013; Griffith, 2013; Saichaie and Morphew, 2014; Jenkins, 2014; Hoang and Rojas-Lizana, 2015; Tomášková, 2017; Knight, 2017; Bowl, 2018; Lažetić, 2019; Zhang *et al.*, 2020; Kim, 2021). Although not all investigated internationalisation, their approaches yielded insights into similarities and differences in other aspects of universities' self-presentation. Such studies are therefore of methodological relevance, as I make the case for a comparative website study with a focus on the presentation of internationalisation.

Discourses of 'quality' on university websites were investigated by Chiper (2006) in Romania and Hoang and Rojas-Lizana (2015) in Australia. Both studies concluded that age of institution was promoted as a signifier of quality by longstanding institutions, with explicit references to historical traditions. Both took a Critical Discourse Analysis approach, examining linguistic features that revealed the discourses. Hoang and Rojas-Lizana provided more methodological detail than Chiper, for example explaining their selection of particular webpages (Hoang and

Rojas-Lizana, 2015, p. 7). Hoang and Rojas-Lizana's analysis of sentence structure showed how an older institution constructed itself as the subject of sentences, as an authority, whereas a newer university foregrounded students and framed itself more as a "companion" (Hoang and Rojas-Lizana, 2015, pp. 12–13). For each linguistic feature, Hoang and Rojas-Lizana presented extracts from the data, so the conclusions were convincingly grounded in evidence.

The suitability of CDS approaches for analysing universities' self-presentation to external audiences was also demonstrated by Graham (2013). She analysed six English universities' commitment to widening participation, discursively presented in their prospectuses and websites, comparing pre-1992 with post-1992 universities, and 2007 with 2011. Graham's detailed linguistic analysis of the information presented to students enabled comparison between institution types. Her findings showed a subtle lessening over time of the demarcation between post-1992 and elite pre-1992 institutions. By 2011, she argued, English post-1992 universities foregrounded "discourses of quality and excellence" in their marketing, and the pre-1992 universities' messages became more welcoming and inclusive, evidenced by changes made to the wording and tone (Graham, 2013, p. 91).

The importance Graham placed on close analysis of language is reflected by Bowl's (2018) findings that differentiation according to an institution's ranking position may be subtly conveyed (Bowl, 2018, p. 686). Bowl analysed language used in publicly available documents in two universities in New Zealand and two in England, one

higher ranked and one lower ranked in each country, focussing on discourses of 'equality'. She presented extracts from the universities' strategic plans showing how all four universities claimed 'distinctiveness' (Bowl, 2018, p. 681). However, close analysis of language showed differences in their positioning. For example, how the universities described their business links subtly differed, with the higher ranked universities in charge of "valuable goods" to offer business partners, whereas the lower ranked demonstrated their keenness to serve business (Bowl, 2018, p. 678).

Thus, studies have shown the value of using CDS to compare external-facing institutional messages. I conclude that the presentation of particular dimensions of internationalisation may also vary according to institutional status, and that these differences could be revealed through detailed examination of linguistic and other features.

2.5. Conclusion: the case for investigating how a range of English universities present internationalisation on their websites

This review of the literature has shown that many aspects of internationalisation have been debated conceptually and studied empirically. What remains unknown is how themes of international mobility, internationalisation at home, and internationalisation of curricula feature in English universities' external-facing websites. Overall, it seems important to understand how differently positioned English universities present internationalisation externally, especially in the light of contemporary global issues. Global emergencies such as climate breakdown, public health crises, and conflicts

require international thinking and solutions. Universities help to shape and articulate such thinking, as the revised definition of internationalisation (de Wit *et al.*, 2015, p. 9) at the beginning of this chapter suggested.

I now conclude with the four research questions that this literature review led me to formulate, and the rationale for each.

RQ1. How do English universities in a stratified system present internationalisation in their website publicity?

The literature suggests internationalisation's potential relevance to all students, international and home. However, although internationalisation could be for all students, there are currently few studies to show if and how this is conveyed to prospective students or indeed other audiences. Evidence on the enactment of internationalisation comes from case studies of individual courses or modules, which cannot reveal how messages about internationalisation reflect universities' status and characteristics. Some of the literature on university messaging examines discourses other than internationalisation, finding that such messages differ subtly between universities according to their ranking (e.g. Chiper, 2006; Graham, 2013; Hoang and Rojas-Lizana, 2015; Bowl, 2018). However, the presentation of internationalisation has not yet been the focus of a comparative study of differently-ranked English university websites to discover if there is differentiation in communication.

RQ2. What differences are there in the messages about internationalisation on 'international' and 'general' webpages?

The few existing website studies with a focus on internationalisation (Zhang *et al.*, 2020; Zhang, Tan and O'Halloran, 2022) concentrated solely on webpages targeting international students. Knowledge is lacking about how dimensions of internationalisation are presented to all students, home and international, and if there are differences in the messages.

RQ3. How is the presentation of internationalisation related to other discourses such as inclusion of all students, university excellence, and graduate employability?

Further questions arise about relationships between internationalisation and other aspects of universities' self-presentation. The literature suggested possible tensions between messages of inclusion, individual gain, partnership in tackling global problems, and educational and environmental sustainability, all complicated by the notions of excellence and competition promoted by ranking systems. The global citizenship literature in particular suggested that universities emphasise the association between internationalisation and employability. Reviewing the literature showed that research was needed to discover whether and how such messages are conveyed on universities' websites. However, on first inspection of the websites it was clear that the notion of environmental sustainability was barely present in connection with internationalisation, perhaps unsurprising since the websites focus on immediate gain from studying at the university rather than longer-term issues. I

therefore omitted sustainability from RQ3 and focussed on the other discourses identified, encapsulating them as inclusion, excellence, and employability.

RQ4. What shifts in the website messages are apparent in the light of the Covid-19 pandemic?

Another issue arising from the literature is how universities presented the shift towards online learning and 'internationalisation at a distance' when it was needed during the Covid-19 pandemic. Some authors speculated that institutions could present swifter adaptation in the pandemic if they had existing online delivery expertise (Zhang, Grimshaw and Shi, 2020, p. 15). Other studies implied that universities might present online learning positively for international interaction (Mittelmeier *et al.*, 2019, 2020; Dippold and Heron, 2021). The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on universities' representation of internationalisation is therefore worth investigating. Studying universities' messaging in 2020 could shed further light on the representation of internationalisation in times of crisis.

Summary of the rationale for this discourse-based study

Overall, the literature signalled the need to investigate *how* messages about internationalisation are conveyed. Studies of the linguistic and other features of websites suggested how persuasive messages about internationalisation might be constructed. The literature review has also helped identify that discourse-based approaches are well suited to investigating the messages universities convey to

external audiences. Yet hitherto discourses of internationalisation within universities' self-presentation have been little researched.

Thus, I have justified the need for my study and shown how I arrived at my research questions in response to matters raised by the literature. I move on in the next chapter to explaining and justifying my methodological approach, study design, and methods.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY, RESEARCH DESIGN, AND METHODS

3.1. Introduction: chapter purpose and structure

I ended the previous chapter (the Literature Review) by justifying my research questions. This chapter follows on and has three sections. In the first, I consider methodology, or beliefs about the nature of knowledge and knowing (Peim, 2018, p. 4), which influence my orientation to research, which in turn informs my Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) approach. I show how a CDS approach aims to illuminate how language constitutes and transmits knowledge and ideas (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 7).

In the second section, I make the case for the particulars of my research design: a qualitative investigation of how eight English universities presented dimensions of internationalisation on their websites in Spring and early Summer 2020. I explain why digital website data from universities' own websites were used, and justify my decision about which universities to include. I also explain my decision to adapt the design in the light of Covid-19 and to extend the timeframe for data collection. Finally, I discuss ethical considerations relevant to this study and how they were taken into account, through anonymising the universities, assigning pseudonyms, and not reproducing images.

In the third and final section, I consider methods, explaining the particular CDS approach I adopted. I show why I decided it was appropriate to draw on the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, pp. 32–33), and to incorporate aspects of Pauwels' framework for website analysis (Pauwels, 2011, 2012, 2015). I discuss the benefits of this approach, why some alternatives were rejected, and how some possible limitations were overcome.

3.2. Methodology: my orientation to research

I begin by discussing my subjectivity as a researcher, because this is central to the decisions I took and how I write about them. I next address the assumptions in my constructionist orientation to knowledge and interpretative orientation to knowing. I explain how these assumptions led me to an inductive model of research, whereby theory is said to 'emerge' from the data, although the relationships between theory, methods, and data are complex in a CDS approach.

Embracing my subjectivity as researcher

My interest in conducting this study arose from my professional experience as a university lecturer. I teach international and home students, and design my modules to incorporate international elements into the curriculum and to foster collaboration and communication. As a researcher, I am not detached or distanced from the world I live in and from my research object (Thomas, 2017, p. 108); I am shaped by my

historical, cultural and locational context, which influences my 'values' (Bryman, 2016, pp. 34–36), or 'subjectivity' (Thomas, 2017, p. 112). I use the latter term because it highlights the researcher as subject, whose presence is made transparent in the research and writing process. By choosing to write in the first person, I acknowledge my subjectivity. As Tardy (2012) says, all texts have voice, or authorial presence (Tardy, 2012, p. 39). I make mine visible via the linguistic resource of the first person, to point to the choices I made (Cardinali, 2021, p. 4).

This approach to my study aligns with the idea that CDS research cannot be 'objective' or 'neutral' (Cameron and Panović, 2014, p. 67), but is "engaged and committed" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258). I aim to make my decisions transparent, and recognise that others might decide differently. Thus, I recognise and qualify the possibilities of bias. Bias is hidden, whereas I expose and reflect on my role. I aim to be reflexive about my subjectivity (Robson and McCartan, 2016, p. 20), which entails being aware of my personal responses and how my professional and social context may impact on my interpretation of the data (Etherington, 2004, p. 19). Reflexivity also entails trying to remain self-aware about my language use (Fairclough, 1993, p. 142), and examining my choices of words. From a sociological perspective, making connections between individual situations and wider social and historical conditions involves the "sociological imagination", seeing links between biography and history (Mills, 1959, pp. 4–6). This means that my subjectivity is not fixed, but is shaped by others I interact with, as I change and develop during the research process (Etherington, 2004, p. 15).

Constructionist orientation to knowledge: (re-)production and change

Just as I see my subjectivity as changeable and changing, my orientation to knowledge is that there is not a single objective 'truth' or fixed external reality (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018, p. 16). Multiple meanings and realities are socially constructed and reproduced through interactions, practices, discourses, and language (Bryman, 2016, p. 30). Knowledge does not rest on a secure foundation, nor is it permanent and indisputable, as it is constantly revised (Bryman, 2016, p. 29). Such a constructionist viewpoint entails recognition that there are no final 'answers', but rather historically and culturally situated ideas and arguments (Gergen, 2015, p. 225). In CDS, discourses are understood to be "uses of language serving the organization and structuring of social life" (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 6). An essential principle underpinning CDS is that discourses are "socially constitutive as well as socially shaped" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258): they contribute to how we collectively understand the world and build narratives to explain it. People's knowledge about the world is continually produced and shaped by the perspectives of institutions (Kress, 2010, p. 110) and people individually within them (Macdonald, 2008, p. 287). This is why understanding can be gained from studying what messages institutions convey, as discourses are located in time and place (Mullet, 2018, p. 118).

My constructionist orientation aligns with a belief that language is central to an understanding of how ideas are constructed and circulated, as it has a function in people's lives, social contexts and interactions: "the context plays a part in

determining what we say; and what we say plays a part in determining the context" (Halliday, 1978, p. 3). The implication for my research approach was that I wanted to analyse the language used by universities to talk publicly about internationalisation as this could affect people's awareness of and expectations about universities' priorities and activities.

Interpretative orientation to knowing: illumination of ideas

The implication of taking the position that knowledge is not fixed is that the data are constituted socially by society and institutions, and also by the data collector. They are generated and interpreted in response to research questions (Robson, 2011, p. 427). Research is an interpretative process, influenced by the personal biography of the researcher (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018, p. 16). There are limits to what I as researcher can say with certainty, what Thomas calls the "humility of interpretative research" (Thomas, 2017, p. 113). However, through an approach involving analysis of language as primary source of data (Regmi, 2017, p. 1), I believe that my study can illuminate what messages are conveyed, how they are conveyed, and which are most prominent.

My study adds to knowledge of what internationalisation 'means' in the context of higher education policy and practice, through its analysis of evidence gathered at a particular point in time and in a particular context. Analysing concrete examples of messages conveyed can point to instances of "ambiguity and tension" (Farrelly, 2010, p. 102). My snapshots of what was communicated about internationalisation

before and in the time of crisis at the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic and first UK national lockdown can thus provide evidence towards a bigger picture of the tensions and contradictions concerning internationalisation in higher education. As Bryman (2016) states, this type of research involves a double layer of interpretation, in that the researcher interprets others' interpretations (Bryman, 2016, p. 28). In my study, I am interpreting universities' interpretations of what internationalisation means, by analysing what dimensions of internationalisation they convey and how they relate to other messages. There is also a further layer of complexity in that I am interpreting what universities mean from what they overtly convey in public utterances, as well as more subtle and possibly different meanings which may be revealed through a CDS approach.

Inductive research: theory 'emerging' from data

'Understanding' reached as a result of the researcher's interpretation can be described as 'inductive': it rests on the idea that theory 'emerges from' data, rather than a 'deductive' model which entails theorising first and testing out and validating a theory through the collection and analysis of empirical evidence (Bryman, 2016, pp. 20–21). Thus, data are evidence on which inductive knowledge is built, and the data do not 'say' anything until I sift through them, trying to make sense of them. However, a caveat is needed about inductive research, and the idea of theory 'emerging'. According to Bryman (2016), the separation of deductive and inductive models of research is not clear-cut: they are tendencies (Bryman, 2016, p. 24). Peim (2018) argues that separating theory and data is not possible, as researchers always begin

with thinking (Peim, 2018, p. 1). Researchers cannot look 'neutrally' at an object of research, as data are not theory-neutral (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 14). May (2011) similarly suggests that researchers always have presuppositions and prior insights (May, 2011, pp. 43–44). From my own perspective, there is constant interaction between my existing knowledge, the data I produce, and my interpretations. I also have to interpret my own interpretations through theories (Bryman, 2016, p. 28). In other words, theory does not just 'emerge' on its own. The researcher has a role in the process: inductive knowledge construction involves the researcher's prior or growing awareness of theoretical insights which they may subsequently apply to the findings. In my case, my study was already underway when I was invited to teach a module on the 'Sociology of Emotions'. My evolving professional practice thus had an influence on my interpretations of the study findings since I realised that theoretical perspectives on emotion management were relevant, such as Illouz's ideas on 'emotional capitalism' (Illouz, 2007). Inductive analysis can thus illuminate findings by drawing on theories whose relevance is gradually recognised.

Furthermore, undertaking CDS means that theory, methods and analysis are closely interlinked (Wodak, 2006; Reisigl and Wodak, 2016; Anderson and Holloway, 2020). A CDS approach can be seen as 'methodology', in that it is a set of principles which informed my selection of 'methods' and analytical tools, and it can itself also be described as a 'method' (Robson and McCartan, 2016, p. 371). A philosophical belief in discourses' constitutive power underpins my constructionist and

interpretative methodological approach. Analysing linguistic features in texts is my method. The 'critical' element of CDS, drawing on theoretical perspectives, comes in the discussion of the findings. Theory thus 'emerged' from the data via my analysis and interpretation, and my study can be termed 'inductive', although the inter-relationships between data and theory are complex, particularly with a CDS approach where methodology and methods intertwine.

To summarise, my orientation to knowledge and knowing rests on the idea that language is crucial to understanding the social world. Sets of ideas change, and these changes can be revealed by analysing language and communication. The merit of a CDS approach is that through revealing how ideas are conveyed linguistically, hidden complexities and underlying connections between sets of ideas can be revealed. That these are *my* interpretations is made explicit and I aim to be transparent about how I arrive at my interpretations and conclusions.

3.3. Research design: qualitative study of internationalisation on selected university websites

In this section, I move to the particulars of my study. To restate, my research questions arising from my evaluation of the existing literature on internationalisation were:

RQ1. How do English universities in a stratified system present internationalisation in their website publicity?

RQ2. What differences are there in the messages about internationalisation on 'international' and 'general' webpages?

RQ3. How is the presentation of internationalisation related to other discourses such as inclusion of all students, university excellence, and graduate employability?

RQ4. What shifts in the website messages are apparent in the light of the Covid-19 pandemic?

To answer these questions, I focussed my study on the presentation of internationalisation in eight English universities' websites. I will now make the case that my qualitative approach has 'ecological validity', justifying my design decision to use those eight websites as a purposive sample of localised examples of a particular genre of text. I explain why I only used websites as a data source, selected differently positioned universities, decided to research eight in total, and adapted the data collection timeframe in the light of the Covid-19 outbreak. Finally, I discuss ethical considerations, how I addressed them, and their impact on how I presented my findings.

Qualitative design: 'ecological validity' and 'trustworthiness'

My study is qualitative, as qualitative research focuses on interpretations, perceptions, narratives, stories, and complexity in the social world, to gain a better understanding of "things in their natural setting" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 10). My small-scale study is designed to shed light on the particular (Robson & McCartan, 2016, p. 20). The data in my study are expressed as words, in language-based textual material, and combinations of words and other semiotic resources. The

analysis of the data is also written, rather than through numerical measurement, and I present my findings in words not numbers.

Validity in qualitative research can be defined as "the credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation or other sort of account" (Maxwell, 2010, p. 280). The concept of 'ecological validity' (Bryman, 2016, p. 42) is applicable here. In other words, my study has a 'real life' context: I analyse actual words and other features of universities' websites as presented to 'genuine' audiences, since this is a study of how ideas are conveyed in an authentic communicative situation. The validity of my study lies in its illuminatory value. There is no intention for it to be generalisable to all contexts (Bryman, 2016, p. 42). As Maxwell (2010, p. 280) states, there is no requirement for a study to "attain some ultimate truth" in order for it to be useful (Maxwell, 2010, p. 280).

Qualitative research dependent on researchers' interpretations can be valid by virtue of its 'trustworthiness' (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, 2000). The view that alternative interpretations of the data are possible does not undermine such 'trustworthiness'. The issue with qualitative conclusions is not that different researchers bring different prior knowledge and experiences to their studies, but is about clear understanding of how a particular researcher's subjectivity can influence a study (Maxwell, 2010, p. 281). It is therefore important to show how the research was conducted, so others can judge the study design and transferability of methods to different instances (Bryman, 2016, pp. 384–386). 'Transferability' differs from 'generalisability'.

'Generalisability' involves statistical demonstration that findings from a sample would be true for the whole population, whereas 'transferability' ensures findings from one context could have relevance for another (Matthews and Ross, 2010, pp. 12–13). As Greene (2010) argues, interpretivist researchers must "provide for the possibility of transferability", but others are responsible for its actualisation (Greene, 2010, p. 70). My findings about the presentation of internationalisation on these websites are transferable in that they could also be used to illuminate other universities' messages about internationalisation. Trustworthiness is based on how I make my own position visible and take a reflexive approach (Etherington, 2004, p. 19). I explain my methods so others could use my tools and procedures. Moreover, I immerse myself through "repeated forays into the data" (Mullet, 2018, p. 121).

The focus of the study: marketised higher education system in England

I now explain why I decided to focus on higher education in England, responding to Reisigl and Wodak's (2016) advice to consider the specific political unit in which data are collected (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 38). Since marketisation has had an impact on the conceptualisation and implementation of internationalisation (Sá and Sabzalieva, 2018, pp. 236–238), it is appropriate to focus on the UK as a nation state whose higher education sector has been "acutely affected by the intensification of market forces" (Bowl and Hughes, 2016, p. 270).

However, distinguishing between UK home nations is important, since education policy is devolved to Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales (Knight, 2017, p. 52), so

funding and student fee systems differ between the four home nations. I also wanted

to counter a tendency in some studies to use 'the UK' as a proxy for 'England', such

as ones by Warwick and Moogan (2013), Jabbar *et al.* (2019), and Lee (2021). By

contrast, Bowl and Hughes (2016) precisely state the location of universities in their

study as England. I too wanted to be geographically exact and use language

carefully. In focussing on England, my choice gave me a wide pool from which to

select universities fitting the characteristics I sought, but avoided the need to

consider additional contextual distinctions arising from devolution.

Using website data: universities' self-presentation to public audiences

I now justify my decision to use university websites as the genre of text from which I

collected my data. Determining the type of text is an important step in designing a

study and establishing systematic data collection (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 38);

specifying the genre ensures some comparability between the texts (Knight, 2017, p.

50). Analysing data from websites is a contemporary form of document-based

research (Bryman, 2016, p. 299). 'Documents' means authentic sources of data, not

those produced on the initiative of a researcher (unlike survey or interview data)

(Bryman, 2016, p. 546). Although documents may be intended to present factual

statements, they are socially produced and have at their base the interests and

taken-for-granted assumptions of those who produce them or decide that they should

be produced (Macdonald, 2008, p. 287). In particular, in organisational settings,

documents may make aspects of an institution visible or invisible (Prior, 2004, p.

388). Some of the messages conveyed may be intentional, and others, equally

revealing, may not be. Website material is directed at the public, produced as a source of information and specific messages, for example for potential students (Simões and Soares, 2010, p. 376). Websites as data sources can generate evidence about how different universities present their understandings of internationalisation, what institutional priorities and messages they convey, and how discourses of internationalisation are presented as relating to other discourses.

Earlier studies investigating a range of higher education policies and discourses, before the rise of the institutional website, drew on printed publicity material, for example content analysis of US college 'viewbooks' (Hartley and Morphew, 2008), and university paper prospectuses (Askehave, 2007). Graham's (2013) study bridged the transition from paper to websites, considering both paper prospectuses in 2007 and websites in 2011 (Graham, 2013). I would argue that the shift towards websites has rendered it unnecessary for me to analyse paper prospectuses, even though some universities still produce them. Focussing solely on websites reflects the reality that they are now the primary source of public information about institutions and thus they represent a key element of universities' marketing practices (Saichaie and Morphew, 2014, p. 500).

Differently ranked universities with a range of characteristics

Selecting universities was an important step in the study design. In 2016-17 there were 162 higher education institutions in the United Kingdom, 128 of them in England (Universities UK, 2018b). It would have been unrealistic to study them all in detail

and so I decided to construct a purposive sample of universities representing different positions in the stratified system of higher education in England. A possible threat to my study's validity would have been to select a set of universities that were very similar to each other, because English higher education is characterised by diversity in institutional histories and missions (Bowl and Hughes, 2016, p. 273). Studies on other aspects of higher education discourses established a precedent for selecting institutions belonging to different subsets with diverse characters and missions (Hartley and Morphew, 2008; Graham, 2013; Saichaie and Morphew, 2014; Knight, 2017). Triangulation by collecting data from as diverse a range of settings as possible (Maxwell, 2010, p. 284) reduced the risk that my evidence was biased towards the presentation of internationalisation at a particular type of university. For example, it was important that my study also considered lower ranked universities not figuring in global rankings, whose presentation of internationalisation may be distinctive.

University ranking was not the only consideration. I wanted to sample universities that reflected diversity in a range of factors that could be pertinent to their presentation of internationalisation: age and institutional history, size of student population, proportion of international students, institutional specialism, geographical location, physical environment, and other characteristics including having an overseas branch campus. Considering these factors enabled me to establish a set of characteristics for selecting a diverse sample. For example, I wanted to avoid including two or more universities with similar histories. Basing the selection solely on

different rankings would not have ensured the universities were broadly

representative of a range of characteristics.

I decided to select such a range of universities as they might have different priorities

for, and different conceptions of, internationalisation. Analysing a range of

institutional websites enabled me to uncover parallels and contrasts, to tease out

trends and implicit assumptions, which could shed light on possible institutional

isomorphism and convergence or institutional variety (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983;

Scott, 1987, 2008, 2010; Duke, 2005). Questions of homogenisation and

heterogenisation in discourses could be examined (Prior, 2004, p. 388), and what

was said in different texts about the same aspect of reality (in my study,

internationalisation) could be compared (Van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 95).

A purposive sample of eight universities

I now explain why I felt that eight was the optimum number of universities to include

in the study and what criteria I used to narrow down to this final eight. The literature

suggested that fewer than twelve universities would be optimal for in-depth CDS

exploration considering linguistic features in detail (Askehave, 2007; Graham, 2013;

Reisigl and Wodak, 2016; Guion Akdağ and Swanson, 2018). Initially I considered a

purposive sample of six universities but decided that this was too small to cover

various possible indicators of difference between universities. There is some overlap

in the categories; for example, older universities may also be those of higher ranking.

There is also some duplication, as the so-called elite universities also belong to the

Russell Group and are research-intensive. However, in order to ensure that no characteristic was omitted, I wanted a sample that covered the following characteristics:

- an elite (Oxbridge) university

- a Russell Group university

- a research-intensive university

- a post-92 university (former polytechnic)

- a new university (established more recently than the former polytechnics categorised as post-92)

- a university with an overseas campus

- a university drawing on a largely local population of students

- a university purporting to have a 'green' mission

- a small specialist institution

- a university with a high proportion of international students

- a university with a low proportion of international students

- a large city-based university

- a university in a rural setting

- a university in a tourist-attracting location.

My reason for including a university with a 'green' mission' was based on recognition that ideas about 'sustainability' and environmental issues had been linked to the conceptualisation of internationalisation in previous studies (Haigh, 2008; Wright, 2009; Ilieva, Beck and Waterstone, 2014; Hopkins *et al.*, 2016; Glover, Strengers and

Lewis, 2017). In practice the notion of environmental sustainability in connection with internationalisation proved difficult to identify in the webpages, and so dropped out of this research study, forming an 'absence' in the discourses (von Münchow, 2018, p. 225). However, it was useful to retain that university in the data because of its other characteristics, such as being in a tourist-attracting location. My decision to select eight universities thus enabled me to include all the categories I had initially identified.

To make the selection of universities as systematic as possible, I used online rankings systems, league tables, university guides produced by newspapers, and Higher Education Statistics Agency data (HESA, 2019). I began with a list of all English universities and then created a longlist by selecting universities from each quartile of the Guardian University League Tables (The Guardian, 2019), and reduced it to a shortlist of ten using my criteria of desired characteristics. I narrowed my selection down from the shortlist of ten to my final eight by removing two institutions whose characteristics were covered by the other eight. My shortlist had two institutions with overseas campuses, so I selected the one with a more consistent position in the league tables and longer established overseas campuses. The shortlist included two post-1992 (former polytechnic) universities and I selected the largest, so that I had a large Russell Group and a large non-Russell Group university in my final eight.

Using league tables to inform my choice is not intended to imply an endorsement of rankings systems. Such systems accentuate the dominance in higher education of market metrics widely critiqued as "archetypically neoliberal artefacts" (Morrish, 2019, p. 357). However, league tables contain useful information neatly encapsulated for the researcher and enable extraction of details such as student numbers. Drawing on league tables also meant I was able to select universities with some stability of positioning, as the Guardian University Guide showed an institution's position over five years. This overcame the risk of selecting a university that had an atypical position in the 2019 league tables.

Table 3.1. below shows details of the eight universities selected (with more information in Appendix A). It demonstrates that they have different characteristics as outlined above and vary in age and date of confirmation of university status (degree awarding powers). It draws on HESA data (HESA, 2019) and information from the universities' websites. The table also shows the different positions occupied by the universities in ranking tables. I included the Times Higher Education (THE) World Rankings as it is the only international ranking to judge universities across research, teaching, knowledge transfer and international outlook (THE, 2019). However, I drew primarily on a UK-only ranking system, because data from the THE World Rankings league table do not show sectoral positioning of all the institutions in my sample. It cannot give adequate detail on differentiation between lower ranked universities, and some do not feature at all in world rankings. I chose the Guardian University League

Tables (The Guardian, 2019) because they are systematically compiled by a strongly education-focussed newspaper and are freely available.

Table 3.1: Summary details of the eight universities

Pseudonym	Brief description
Cityscience	Research-intensive specialist, large city, c.20,000 students, 52% international students, top 10 ranking global and UK, early 20thC.
Eastold	Research-intensive ancient generalist, medium city, c.20,000 students, 34% int. students, elite, top 10 ranking global and UK.
Midnew	Generalist, town centre new campus, c.12,000 students, 13% int. students, ranking c.100 in UK, 2005, new.
Midrussell	Research-intensive generalist, medium city, c.30,000 students, 23% int., global ranking, top 20 UK, mid 20thC civic 'redbrick'.
Northnew	Generalist, multi-campus across region, c.7,500 students, 3% int. students, not in global rankings, UK ranking c.120, 2007.
Northpoly	Generalist, large city, c.33,000 students, 7.5% int. students, 600-800 in global rankings, UK ranking c.60, 1992, ex-polytechnic.
Southarts	Specialist, campus medium town, c.3,500 students, 15% int. students, not in rankings, 2012 (from specialist arts college).
Southglass	Generalist, campus small tourist city, c.18,000 students, 31% int., 146 in global rankings, UK ranking c.40, 1961 'plateglass'.

(This table is a slightly more detailed version of the table in section 1.2.)

It is important to consider what validity threats might be raised in relation to my approach (Maxwell, 2010, p. 281), so I also need to address possible criticisms and constraints and how I overcame them in designing my study. One such is the risk of selectivity bias, raised as an issue more generally in relation to purposive sampling in qualitative research (Maxwell, 2010, p. 281). 'Cherry-picking' is an accusation often levelled against CDS (Bartlett, 2012, p. 4), as a researcher might intentionally select

texts that "prove a preconceived point" (Baker and Levon, 2015, p. 222). Addressing this is not a matter of trying to eliminate the researcher's influence, but of making plain the processes of selection (Maxwell, 2010, p. 282). For example, Baker and Levon's study on discourses of masculinity in the British press counters possible accusations of 'cherry-picking' by setting out how their sample of newspaper articles was arrived at by reducing the number of articles to a manageable set of texts for CDS (Baker and Levon, 2015, p. 222). This is an example of how purposive sampling entails researchers using judgment to select a sample to achieve a particular purpose (Robson and McCartan, 2016, p. 279). A strength of purposive sampling methods is that they "... expose more directly the nature of the transaction between investigator and respondent (or object)" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 40). I took this approach in order to make my selection of universities (and then of the particular webpages) as objective and transparent as possible, using my evaluation of the literature to guide my criteria. I also excluded any universities with which I and my close family had personal connections as a current student or member of staff, because I wanted to approach each university in my study on an impartial footing. I also wanted to come to the data collection without prior familiarity with one or more of the eight websites. This enabled me to be consistent in my initial encounters and first impressions of the websites, which was important for the 'ecological validity' of my study in its 'real life' context (Bryman, 2016, p. 42).

Timeframe for capturing data and its adaptation in the light of Covid-19

I now discuss the data-gathering timeframe, and why and how it was altered in the light of the Covid-19 pandemic. Websites are subject to change, so I needed a way to save ephemeral publicly-available online data (Karpf, 2012, p. 648). Using tools to 'capture' and preserve the data at specific moments in time enabled me to overcome this challenge of handling data from changing, dynamic websites (Jewitt, Bezemer and O'Halloran, 2016, p. 139). Building a stable database within a fixed timeframe enabled repeated analysis, and revisiting data in the light of later analysis of other websites. I was able to follow analytical steps recursively, returning to and repeating earlier steps (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 34). For example, when I noted the use of a linguistic device on a website, I went back to see if it had been used in the websites analysed earlier. Had I only accessed the websites 'live', I would have encountered the disadvantage that the content might have been updated between different times of access, and this might have hampered the analysis. I therefore wanted to capture and record the data at a particular point in time from each webpage, recording my initial impressions and creating a stable database offline so that I could return to it later and review it, in an iterative process of analysis. I discuss the procedural detail of capturing, recording and analysing the data in the following chapter.

I decided to collect the data over a limited time period, so that comparison between websites was based on snapshots in a particular timeframe (Tomášková, 2017, p. 85). I chose a short period of data collection, originally intending to collect the screenshots just in early- to mid-March 2020. I felt that this would be an optimal time

to gather data from the websites as it was long enough to select and record pages from each website in turn, and short enough so that comparison between websites was being made over the same period (Saichaie and Morphew, 2014, p. 509). For example, a change to visa regulations could affect how universities presented study opportunities to international students. I selected March, because it preceded most universities' spring and summer Open Days, when prospective students would be likely to be looking at the webpages, and universities would have their marketing prepared.

Although I originally planned this study as a single snapshot of universities' presentation of internationalisation, the Covid-19 outbreak marked a rupture in the 2019-2020 academic year and I felt this necessitated adjusting my original design. This led me to extend my data collection to explore how the presentation of internationalisation played out in a period of crisis and rapid change. I had no way of knowing how long the pandemic would last or what its impact on higher education and discourses of internationalisation might be, but it seemed important to extend my data collection by taking two more 'snapshots' during this volatile and unpredictable time. It appeared that Covid-19 could have a fundamental impact on higher education in England, including issues of internationalisation. For example, public debates and media focus quickly turned to the question of the recruitment of international students for the following academic year, with predictions of reductions in international students numbers and loss of revenue (Adams, 2020; Fazackerley, 2020; Johnson, 2020; Savage, 2020).

I thus took data snapshots from three points in time: early to mid-March 2020 (before the first Covid-19 lockdown); late April 2020 (during the initial Covid-19 lockdown), and mid-June 2020 (capturing universities' responses as they prepared for the academic year 2020 to 2021). The early to mid-March 2020 data collection was before the World Health Organization declared Covid-19 a pandemic on 12 March 2020 and before English universities moved their teaching online and restricted use of their campuses. There were no indications on the websites of the looming Covid-19 lockdown in the UK. The data therefore yield a pre-Covid-19 snapshot of how the eight universities were presenting themselves to the public via their websites, and how they were representing internationalisation.

My late April data collection point represented the universities' initial (emergency) responses on their websites. Extra content was uploaded to their websites, behind a bar or box on their homepages signalled as being related to Covid-19. Their existing content (captured in my early March collection) was largely unchanged, indicating the priority of conveying new information rapidly. At the point of my third snapshot in mid-June, the first UK lockdown was easing. My third phase of data collection focussed on any changes to the university websites since the initial emergency adaptations made in late March-April, captured in my second phase. This data collection point represented the universities' presentation on their websites of evolving responses to the pandemic, with a forward focus to academic year 2020-21. In June, the focus was on marketing via virtual Open Days. Some universities had revised their

homepages with new images, but the added content was still largely text-based and the existing images from pre-Covid-19 remained.

Ethical considerations: anonymising the universities and not reproducing images

My study underwent the University of Birmingham's research ethics review process, and gained approval from the Humanities and Social Sciences ethical review committee. Data collection from publicly available non-confidential documents and websites did not require detailed consideration of ethical issues of human participation, privacy and consent (Robson, 2011, p. 199). Nonetheless, there were ethical issues to consider related to privacy and anonymity, in respect of the institutions studied and people depicted in their websites' images. As Association of Internet Researchers advice states, internet research poses new ethical considerations for researchers, beyond those stated in institutional guidelines, so individual judgement is needed (franzke *et al.*, 2020, p. 24).

I will now explain why I decided to anonymise the universities, and not reproduce images. Although I avoid criticism of individual institutions, and focus on discourses of internationalisation, not higher education institutions themselves, there might be a possibility of my being in some way seen to question an institution's reputation. I therefore was cautious and anonymised the institutions, following the example of some previous studies (Barron, Gourlay and Gannon-Leary, 2010; Graham, 2013; Guion Akdağ and Swanson, 2018). I realise that a determined reader could use some of my quoted text to decipher the identity of a university in my study by web

searching for the phrases. However, that would entail a deliberate quest, particularly as website texts are often amended. I believe I have taken practical steps to achieve a degree of anonymity so that the focus remains on discourses rather than the institutions. For example, an agricultural specialist institution on my longlist was easily identifiable so I removed it from the list. This was less of an issue with my shortlisted choices of universities with creative arts and science specialisms, as there is more than one such university.

I considered two options for anonymising: numbering each institution (Barron, Gourlay and Gannon-Leary, 2010), or allocating pseudonyms (Graham, 2013). Numbering would remove all contextual information, with potential for confusion for me as researcher and for readers. I decided to use pseudonyms as they could be designed to convey partial information, for example using a prefix "Old" or "New" to indicate pre-1992 and post-1992 universities (Graham, 2013, p. 79). Discussing the status of the universities in a marketised and stratified system was important in my study, and I wanted pseudonyms to provide some contextual information for the reader. I therefore created two-part pseudonyms, with a geographical indicator as the first element and a reference to an institution's age or positioning as the second element, for example 'Midrussell' and 'Northnew'. This made it easier for me to work with the data from the eight universities and gives a brief indicator to the reader of the university type.

The second ethical issue concerned using visual images, here the 'found' images on publicly available websites. Using images in research has ethical implications about anonymity, privacy and consent (Banks and Zeitlyn, 2015; Jewitt, Bezemer and O'Halloran, 2016). Even with publicly available images there is a need to consider the anonymity of individuals in the images. This position accords with Banks and Zeitlyn's (2015) view that individual consent is needed if individuals' images are used in publications (Banks and Zeitlyn, 2015, p. 125). In addition, as Pauwels points out, the accessibility of images may not equate to usage rights (Pauwels, 2015, p. 271). Copyright exceptions are made for images used for research purposes, but I preferred to err on the side of caution and avoid any issues of copyright.

The image reproduction issue is linked to that of anonymity. Reproduction can mean identifying the institutions, either explicitly by including images containing text showing the university's name (Askehave, 2007), or implicitly via URL source captions which identify universities even if their names do not appear (Saichaie and Morphew, 2014; Tomášková, 2017). As I wanted to anonymise the universities, I described and analysed images without reproducing them. My verbal descriptions of images focused on compositional aspects and editing choices, such as background colour, image size, length of shot (Pauwels, 2012, p. 255). My decision aligns with Jewitt, Bezemer and O'Halloran's suggested cautious strategy of using visual material for analytical purposes only (Jewitt, Bezemer and O'Halloran, 2016, p. 151).

To summarise the case for my study design: I drew on websites since they are publicly-accessible sites likely to be the first impression audiences receive of a university. I selected eight English universities broadly representative of characteristics pertinent to exploring discourses of internationalisation. I originally intended to have one 'snapshot' data collection point in March 2020 to collect screenshots. I adapted my timeframe in the light of the outbreak of Covid-19, extending to two further stages of data collection, to explore any differences in the messages conveyed about internationalisation before and during the early stages of the pandemic. Ethical considerations led me to a cautious approach ensuring anonymity as far as possible and describing images rather than reproducing them.

I prioritised linguistic analysis over multimodal analysis because it became clear as I worked that much of the most relevant content was still in the form of text. Indeed, the content added by the universities during the pandemic stages of data collection was almost exclusively text additions. It was also immediately apparent that the persuasive power of the messages principally lay in the wide variety of linguistic features employed in the webpages' written content. I therefore found I needed to devote a large amount of time and space to analyse the linguistic features. This was more productive than an inevitably more superficial linguistic analysis within a full multimodal analysis. It enabled greater in-depth analysis of the linguistic features and discursive strategies, which yielded the findings presented in Chapter Five. However, the analysis retained a multimodal element in that I considered salient text-related

aspects of multimodality such as lists, bullet points and combinations of words and numbers.

3.4. Methods: justification of a CDS approach

In this section, I justify my adoption of CDS methods, showing how I narrowed my choices from the broad decision to use discourse analysis. I explain why I took an approach based on CDS. I also address the possible limitations of lack of self-criticality, and negativity, and how I overcame them. I then explain why I drew on the tradition of the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to analyse the data. I justify my decision to include (but not prioritise) multimodal aspects of the webpages and to draw on Pauwels' framework for website analysis (Pauwels, 2011, 2012, 2015), to arrive at my particular CDS approach.

Discourse Analysis: investigating how ideas are communicated via language

I begin by justifying my decision to focus on language and discourse. Language is a "resource" (Halliday, 1978, p. 192), used to convey particular ways of thinking and thereby can influence how people act. Thus, engagement with discourse analysis is appropriate because it recognises that language plays a central role in social life (Robson and McCartan, 2016, p. 371), and that studying language use in a particular

context plays an important part in understanding how ideas are shaped, reinforced, and legitimised (Mullet, 2018, p. 119).

Through studying communication processes in a social context, discourse analysis investigates the who, how, why and when of language use (Keller, 2012, p. 13). It is not only *what* is said that is important, but also *how*. As a "widely used qualitative method based on the detailed examination of language" (Robson & McCartan, 2016, p. 371), discourse analysis can be applied to a range of topics and "virtually any social text" (Robson and McCartan, 2016, p. 372). It is also a set of techniques suited to analysing the processes of change (Fairclough, 1993, p. 137). For all these reasons, I decided that discourse analysis would work well as a means of investigating the texts which were my focus.

The importance of the critical dimension of Critical Discourse Studies

'Discourse analysis' is a collective term designating a number of, connected but different, research approaches, and I now explain why I felt CDS, with its critical dimension, was suitable for investigating my research questions. What distinguishes CDS from other discourse analysis approaches is its focus on power and social differences (Bryman, 2016, p. 532). It exposes ideological biases and power influences. According to van Dijk, one of the early proponents of CDS, the core of CDS is "a detailed description, explanation and critique of the ways dominant discourses (indirectly) influence…shared social knowledge, attitudes and ideologies" (van Dijk, 1993, pp. 258–259). CDS approaches view language as an organising

force in society (Farrelly, 2010, p. 99), and thus they connect detailed textual analysis with wider discursive and political concerns (Mills, 2004, p. 140). CDS can be used to probe what may be hidden, and to raise questions about taken for granted utterances and the ideas behind them (Farrelly, 2010, p. 100). Fairclough (2010) calls this 'denaturalising': being critical rather than merely descriptive. This entails showing how ways of talking and writing which have become 'naturalised' are connected to particular ways of seeing and thinking (Fairclough, 2010, p. 38).

In education research, CDS enables us to explore relationships between educational practices and social contexts (Mullet, 2018, p. 117). It can illuminate the construction and representation of education issues, by showing their connections with language and making meaning (Rogers *et al.*, 2005, p. 383). CDS researchers engage closely with texts and illuminate meaning through detailed analysis of language (Antaki *et al.*, 2003, p. 10). Furthermore, CDS, unlike descriptive discourse analysis, goes beyond 'local' explanations and examines wider causes and effects (Fairclough, 2010, p. 45). Of particular relevance to my study, rather than researchers looking for explanations solely in the immediate institutional setting, CDS entails making connections at a higher level with sets of powerful ideas and dominant assumptions (Fairclough, 2010, p. 45). CDS helps the researcher to identify which interconnected sets of ideas can be revealed in texts (Blackledge, 2006, p. 26).

Addressing potential objections: lack of self-criticality and a focus on negativity

A possible criticism of CDS lies in the paradox that CDS researchers have to use language to analyse language. CDS should therefore entail self-criticality as well as outward-facing criticality: "If critical analysts use the same forms of language whose ideological biases they are exposing in others, then they might be uncritically and unselfconsciously instantiating those very biases" (Billig, 2008, p. 784). Billig illustrates his point by identifying a preponderance of nominalisations and instances of reification in the very writings that criticise the use of these stylistic features. Fairclough, although refuting some of Billig's criticisms, agrees "that as critical discourse analysts we should be careful about how we write ourselves, and make the question of how we write more of an issue than we have done" (Fairclough, 2008, p. 208). Similarly, Rogers *et al.* (2005) call for a higher degree of reflexivity, and for researchers to position themselves in the research (Rogers *et al.*, 2005, p. 382).

I have tried to address self-criticality in my own writing. Although I recognised the need to acknowledge my subjectivity, I was made aware by my supervisor's review comments that I was at times hiding my own role through the obfuscation of agency in my sentence structure. In other words, I was not consistently writing in the first person and making my role transparent enough. I therefore consciously adapted my written style. For example, I replaced structures such as "This chapter argues" with "In this chapter, I argue…". By doing so, I countered the possible accusation of presenting myself as a passive or disconnected participant in my research, which is a feature Mullet (2018, p. 134), for example, criticises in some studies.

Negativity is said to be another potential danger of a CDS approach (Breeze, 2011, p. 493). Much CDS work critiques dominant ideologies, inequalities, and power relations, which is said to lead to a tendency to focus on the negative and to indulge in a 'blame game' (Bartlett, 2012, p. 5). Martin (2004) therefore introduced the term 'Positive Discourse Analysis' (PDA), arguing that it is important to understand how change can happen for the better by analysing accounts of progress as well as producing "discouraging analyses of oppression" (Martin, 2004, p. 7). In practice, as Stibbe argues, whereas CDS focuses on pervasive language patterns, PDA can identify linguistic features that may point to alternative ways of thinking (Stibbe, 2018). I would argue, however, that CDS can be both deconstructive and constructive and can also point to alternatives. As Breeze (2011) suggests, positivity could be built into CDS, providing evidence of how positive change may be reflected in language use (Breeze, 2011, p. 521). Similarly, Macgilchrist (2016) argues in favour of identifying what might be "a tiny fissure" in dominant discourses and being open to moments of "surprise" (Macgilchrist, 2016, p. 273). Furthermore, Wodak and Meyer see the link between the term 'critical' and implications of negativity as a "misunderstanding", pointing out that the objects being investigated do not have to be negative or serious social problems (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 3). The implication for my study was that I looked for any messages about internationalisation, to see what ideas were taken for granted, if any appeared to go beyond dimensions discussed in existing literature or signalled alternatives to dominant discourses.

Discourse-Historical Approach: connecting language with sociohistorical context

As Wodak and Meyer (2016) argue, when describing research methods, the term

CDS is preferable to the earlier term 'Critical Discourse Analysis' (CDA), as it reflects

that there is not one single method but rather a diversity of approaches (Wodak and

Meyer, 2016, pp. 4–5), so I had to decide which to use. Van Dijk stated in his

'Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis' that the centre lies in "detailed description,

explanation and critique" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 258). Gee (2014) argues that CDS

research is "more valid the more it is tightly tied to details of linguistic structure" (Gee,

2014, p. 143). This implies that discourses are revealed by examining the meaning

that combinations of words carry. I wanted an approach that would enable analysis of

the specific "linguistic and semiotic *choices"* made in the texts (Taylor, 2004, p. 437),

and make presuppositions visible (Saarinen, 2008, p. 722). I drew on the Discourse-

Historical Approach (DHA), an interdisciplinary CDS approach developed by Ruth

Wodak, Martin Reisigl and others, because it seemed well-equipped to combine

linguistic analysis of messages conveyed by institutions with consideration of the

particular sociohistorical context (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 25). The DHA is a

flexible interdisciplinary variety of CDS with strong roots in linguistics (Reisigl, 2017,

p. 47). The DHA focusses on three dimensions of a text: 1) the content or topics; 2)

discursive strategies; and 3) linguistic devices (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 32).

Reisigl and Wodak list five types of discursive strategy: nomination, predication,

argumentation, perspectivization, and intensification or mitigation (Reisigl and

Wodak, 2016, p. 33). To identify these strategies in a text, Reisigl and Wodak (2016,

p. 32) suggest asking five questions:

1. How are persons, objects, phenomena, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically? (nomination)

2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes? (predication)

3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question? (argumentation)

4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed? (perspectivisation)

5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, intensified or mitigated? (mitigation and intensification)

The DHA has evolved over time, with studies on a variety of discourses and genres (Reisigl, 2017, pp. 44–47). The ways in which discourses change is a particular focus of DHA (Reisigl, 2017, p. 55), and my study shared that concern. Drawing on Reisigl and Wodak's questions and strategies helped me avoid the pitfall sometimes associated with CDS of making superficial lists of words (Pavlenko, 2007, p. 167). When analysing the data, I went beyond identifying grammatical and lexical devices in texts to considering how and why certain features were used. This method therefore provided insights into how language (re)produced and reinforced particular perspectives on dimensions of internationalisation.

Incorporating multimodality: beyond words

A potential weakness of approaches focussed on language is that ideas may also be conveyed in ways other than words. To add to understanding about how dimensions

of internationalisation were communicated, I therefore wanted to include consideration of the "intersemiotic complementarity" in the websites (Royce, 2002, p. 193), examining meaning across the language used and the websites' visual features (O'Halloran, 2008, p. 452). The term 'multimodal' describes communication that "melds a variety of communicative modes into a coherent and unified whole" (Van Leeuwen, 2011, p. 551). Drawing on website-based data aligns with an multimodal approach, since websites have many layers of meaning (Pauwels, 2011, 2012; Brooks and Waters, 2015). They are a multimodal form, with text, graphics, video, audio and animation in various combinations (Costello, 2017, p. 6). Investigating discourses is not restricted to words (Rose, 2016, p. 187), and the meaning of written words has to be understood in relation to what is represented through other resources (Jewitt, 2005, p. 316). As Van Leeuwen says, a discourse may be realised by different semiotic resources in different combinations; furthermore, there may be "several discourses about a given aspect of reality, making sense of it in different ways, including and excluding different things and serving different interests" (Van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 275). A multimodal approach reflects the view that each semiotic resource offers distinct possibilities but one is not superior to the other (Jewitt, Bezemer and O'Halloran, 2016, pp. 2–3). In other words, I wanted to analyse various aspects of the presentation of discourses, and to consider how these aspects combine as a whole.

The multimodality of website design was one of the reasons for rejecting another possible way of investigating linguistic aspects of prevailing discourses, which would

have been to take a large-scale Corpus Linguistics (CL) approach and build a corpus

of data from a large number of individual texts, using statistical and quantitative

methods to search for frequencies and patterns (Cameron and Panović, 2014, p. 81).

I could have built such a corpus of pages from university websites and used it to

identify key words, word frequency and patterns of collocation, for example counting

instances of the use of the word "international" and the words it occurred with most

frequently. However, I considered a CDS approach more appropriate as it enabled

me to analyse linguistic features (such as verb tenses, adjective combinations, and

pronoun use) combined with aspects of other semiotic resources (such as hyperlinks

to external sources, incorporation of logos and statistics, background colour,

representation of people and places through images). As Lazar argues, an

advantage of a multimodal approach is its interdisciplinarity, incorporating insights

from semiology as well as linguistics (Lazar, 2007, p. 156). The importance for my

study was that if dimensions of internationalisation were not explicitly mentioned in

words, subtle ideas might be conveyed through website layout and other semiotic

resources. It would also enable analysis of relations between messages expressed

via different semiotic resources, illuminating tensions, contradictions, or gaps.

Furthermore, researchers who use computer-based analytical tools able to handle

vast databases of text, such as Baker and Levon (2015), are still convinced of the

merits of close scrutiny of a text or a small set of texts. The aim is to enable the

researcher to identify subtle linguistic patterns, interpreting them within their

ideological context (Baker and Levon, 2015, p. 233). A CDS approach also aligns

with the constructionist ideas I embraced, unlike corpora studies which may not necessarily address these.

Incorporating a multimodal dimension: appropriate tools for analysing websites

Just as I needed to opt for a particular discourse analysis approach, I also had to decide which approach to multimodal website analysis provided suitable analytical tools to supplement my primarily linguistic analysis. I drew on aspects of Pauwels' framework for website analysis (Pauwels, 2011, 2012, 2015), particularly its in-depth content analysis element, as it complements the CDS approach. Pauwels' framework was designed to enable researchers studying websites to "make more and better use of the many layers of potential meaning that reside in the rich multimodal nature of websites" (Pauwels, 2012). Pauwels' framework has six phases:

- Preservation of first impressions and reactions

- Inventory of salient features and topics

- In-depth analysis of content and formal choices

- Embedded point(s) of view and implied audience(s) and purposes

- Analysis of information organisation

- Contextual analysis, provenance and inference (Pauwels, 2015, p. 75)

What makes Pauwels' framework especially effective for my purposes is what he terms "cross-modal interplay" (Pauwels, 2015, p. 80), paying attention to the interaction between different layout and design features, and relationships between

linguistic and other elements. Using elements of Pauwels' framework lent robustness to my study by providing a tool for analysing website design elements in conjunction with linguistic features. A confirmatory precedent was Jenkins' (2014) study of discourses of English as a *lingua franca* in international universities, with her primary approach discourse analysis, using aspects of Pauwels' multimodal framework. More recently, Brooks and Waters (2023), in their analysis of university website references to the Turing Scheme, similarly focus primarily on words but sometimes add observations on any of the websites' visual representations that they found particularly striking.

Finally, as websites have evolved technologically, they provide new affordances for users, such as the ability to click on links to external websites, buttons embedded in webpages, and the facility to watch video clips or chat live to a person. It was important for me to adopt a framework that had not become outdated as website design evolved. Pauwels' framework fits this requirement since it can be complemented by other frameworks that focus on particular website affordances. Adami (2015), for example, designed a multimodal framework specifically to analyse webpage interactivity, and she explicitly states that her tools are intended to be integrated with frameworks such as Pauwels' (Adami, 2015, p. 135). Thus, consideration of links, buttons and icons and actions they effect can be included in my analysis, alongside other important multimodal features which have semiotic affordances, such as lists, bullet points and tables (Ledin and Machin, 2015, p. 466).

To summarise my research methods, my broad approach was discourse analysis, specifically critical insights from CDS and the DHA, extended by consideration of multimodality, but maintaining a primary focus on language and linguistic features. I implemented this approach by adapting frameworks of tools and questions suggested by Reisigl and Wodak and by Pauwels.

3.5. Conclusion: an approach enabling deconstructive and constructive analysis

My aim for this study was to analyse how messages about internationalisation are conveyed by universities' websites using combinations of linguistic and other semiotic resources, and how these relate to other higher education discourses. In this chapter, I have presented my methodology, research design, and methods in their final form, but my approach evolved over a considerable period of time and entailed much re-thinking and development. In particular, the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic led to me make the pivotal decision that my study would include the extra dimension of change over the period covered by the outbreak and first UK lockdown.

I have explained my research approach and the thinking on which it is based. It is an inductive, constructionist approach to language analysis that entails me being cautious about my own language, transparent about my role, and avoiding over-claiming. My approach allows conclusions to be constructed using data analysis and interpretation, rather than data being taken to test and provide empirical support for a

prior hypothesis. CDS enables the analysis and discussion to be deconstructive in analysing the messages conveyed on the websites yet also constructive in its approach to knowledge overall. It can critique dominant discourses and power relations yet also illuminate alternatives.

CHAPTER FOUR

CAPTURING, RECORDING AND ANALYSING THE DATA

4.1. Introduction: chapter purpose and structure

This chapter forms a bridge between the discussion of my methodological approach and research design (Chapter Three), and my findings (Chapter Five). In this chapter, I outline how I captured, recorded and analysed data from the eight university websites. I address delimitation – my decisions about the boundaries of the data collection. I justify my selection of webpages as units of analysis. I evaluate the options for analysing website content and format, and explain the features I prioritised. I describe and justify my blend of the Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) package NVivo and 'slow' manual (paper-based) methods for capturing and recording data. I give procedural detail (with reference to appendices), as an 'audit trail' of what I did, when, how, and why. Finally, I discuss how I coded and analysed the data, and arrived at the four themes I will present in my findings chapter.

4.2. Selecting the webpages to analyse

Websites are too complex to consider in their entirety, so I needed to decide from which webpages on each website to draw data (Hine, 2016, pp. 524–525). There is no one path through a website, as readers choose where to click and what to view. This has implications for researchers. Attempts to capture digitised data are 'agential

cuts', interventions that involve choosing what is recorded and thus what meanings are generated (Lupton, 2020, pp. 28–29). This is comparable with the photographer who takes an active role in constituting a photograph (Kember and Zylinska, 2012, p. 82). It is important therefore that I justify how I selected which webpages to capture.

Setting boundaries for the data collection

I wanted to evaluate the first impressions of the websites (Pauwels, 2015, p. 75). I sought webpages that readers were most likely to encounter quickly, rather than through a lengthy process of browsing and clicking (Adami, 2015, p. 137). I thus wanted to avoid following too complex a path deep into the layers of the websites (Harper, 2012, p. 142). To achieve this, I restricted my webpage selection to those reached within three clicks from the homepage.

I acknowledge a limitation here: it could be argued that I might have encountered more references to internationalisation of the curriculum by clicking further into each website to find more course-specific information, for example about international business management courses. However, my purpose was to investigate what visitors to the websites would encounter first, without navigating deeper paths through the webpages and accessing specific course documents.

The starting-point for each website is the homepage, which provides an overview of the site and acts as a navigational gateway (Zhang and O'Halloran, 2013, pp. 472–473). Homepages often just function as a 'table of contents', with hyperlinks and

general locational images (for example, city views), and little descriptive text. I did however want to include them for the first impressions they present and to see if and how internationalisation featured, even if just as a link to click on.

Selecting 'general' and 'international' webpages

My review of the literature showed that it was important to investigate whether dimensions of internationalisation were presented as being "for all". I therefore did not restrict myself to webpages aimed at prospective international students. Messages about internationalisation could be conveyed on pages apart from those specifically labelled 'international'. Therefore, from the homepage I selected 'international pages' and also 'general pages'. I see 'general pages' as those aimed at all audiences, signalled by a heading such as "About us" or "Study at...". I define an 'international page' as one explicitly headed 'international' or 'global'. Otherwise, I based my choice on the content of the webpages rather than searching for particular words, because headings vary slightly between universities.

Since I excluded webpages which were more than three clicks from the homepage, some pages aimed at home students about study abroad opportunities were not included. Similarly, I did not search for specific terms relating to study abroad such as the Turing Scheme. The focus of my study was on the immediate visibility of internationalisation at the particular university, available to all students. Focussing on those able to be internationally mobile or who might search the website for such opportunities was beyond the scope of my study. However, Brooks and Waters'

(2023) study covers that: analysing messages given on university websites about the Turing Scheme to prospective students.

Covid-19 impact on the data collection and analysis

The extension of my data collection because of the Covid-19 pandemic necessitated augmenting my selection of webpages, to analyse what universities added to their websites in the crisis. I hoped to find out whether internationalisation featured in the additions, and whether there were changes in the internationalisation-related language used. As outlined earlier, my first data collection point was between early and mid-March 2020, my second was in late April 2020, and my third in mid-June 2020. For my second and third data collection points, I therefore captured data from new Covid-19 related webpages, as well as checking for changes or continuities on webpages I had previously accessed. Appendix B shows precise dates of data collection for each website.

When designing my study, I anticipated including analysis of images and image-text relations, due to the multimodal nature of websites, even though my primary focus was linguistic features. The outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, however, not only meant adapting my data collection timeframe but also a change in the nature of the data gathered, with less focus on images. The additional material added to the websites during the pandemic was text-dominated and my overall analysis was even more focussed on words than I had anticipated.

4.3. Recording 'first impressions': the look and feel of the websites

I now outline the stages of data recording, beginning with the initial impression of the university websites from their homepages, which Saichaie and Morphew (2014, p. 508) call the "primary landing page" for searches on particular topics. Recording first impressions was especially important in case my growing familiarity with the websites during the analysis created distance from my immediate reactions to them. Web designers are usually advised to consider the appearance and 'feel' of the website interface users navigate, because of "the personality it conveys to the user" (Sklar, 2015, p. 63). Pauwels (2012) also recognizes the importance of the initial 'look' and 'feel' of websites. His framework for analysing websites has as its first step the "preservation of first impressions and reactions", including "categorization of 'look and feel' at a glance" and "recording of affective reactions" (Pauwels, 2012, p. 252). This prompted me to record my impressions when encountering them 'live' for the first time. As Richards also says, "… first meetings with the data are precious" (Richards, 2015, p. 88).

Accessing the websites using one device

Gauging the websites' 'look and feel' entailed deciding what device to use to access the websites initially, so that my technologically determined experience across the eight websites was identical. Previous studies analysing content and features of university websites (e.g. Graham, 2013; Griffith, 2013; Zhang and O'Halloran, 2013; Jenkins, 2014; Saichaie and Morphew, 2014; Brooks and Waters, 2015; Tomášková,

2017) do not state what kind of device was used. Gasston (2013, p.7) points out that most users move between different devices while completing a task, and visitors to websites are likely to access them in different ways. However, I suggest that using one device for research enables consistency of the initial experience across websites, thus ensuring robustness in my data capture and findings. I therefore viewed each website using my 13.5-inch screen laptop, rather than switching between laptop, smartphone, and desktop computer.

Audio recording first impressions

I decided that noting my immediate reactions to each website would be more spontaneous if I used audio recording in addition to writing notes. Writing inevitably entails editing, reducing spontaneity, whereas recording speech can preserve affective reaction. Complementary use of audio recording and note-taking is supported by research methods literature on interview practice. Each can yield different results (Alvesson, 2011, p. 55). Interviewers are advised to use both (King and Horrocks, 2010; Thomas, 2017), as it is difficult for researchers to remember important details of an interview without a recording (Mann, 2016, p. 115); I argue that this applies also to the researcher's first visit to a website.

I downloaded my voice recordings to my laptop, naming and dating each, and transcribing them using Word's 'Dictate' feature. I edited them manually while listening to them, and then imported into NVivo the transcript Word documents and

my edited versions. The minor edits I made included inserting punctuation. This follows guidance on transcribing interviews (King and Horrocks, 2010; Mann, 2016). Each of my recordings lasted from five to ten minutes. I commented on my immediate impressions of the homepage, and then navigated a short path through the website, seeking indications of internationalisation or international students, and saying what characteristics of the university appeared dominant. Using the voice recorder let me track my reactions as I navigated each website. Appendix C provides an example of a transcription.

Making an inventory of salient features

To augment these recordings, I wrote an inventory of salient features for each website, so the two sets of data were complementary, as advocated by Pauwels (2012, p. 252) and as adopted in previous website studies (Stack, 2013; Jenkins, 2014). Inventory-creation identified design features that had created the 'look and feel' I experienced in my first encounter with the websites, and later aided comparison between websites. Inventory-creation also entailed recording notable absences, such as lack of references to international students on homepages, as previous studies showed such absences could also prove important later in the analysis (Jenkins, 2014). Designing a rubric (Saichaie and Morphew, 2014, p. 506) enabled systematic tabular comparison (Graham, 2013, p. 81).

I created my initial rubric from salient features identified in previous studies of universities' self-presentation. Including images in the inventory was important

because particular visual elements are part of corporate branding, and the image an institution wishes to communicate (Koller, 2009, p. 46). I distinguished temporary images accompanying news items from more enduring images (Zhang and O'Halloran, 2013, p. 477). I included evidence of homogeneity of corporate branding, explicit mission statement, positioning in relation to competitors, student testimonials, institutional history, and references to famous academic staff (Lažetić, 2019, pp. 999–1000). Universities may use colour to signal their identities (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 229). Particular colours may contribute to the construction of relationships between the organisation and the website's visitors, by eliciting emotional reactions (Zhang and O'Halloran, 2013, p. 477). I also noted whether language was placed in lists, bullets and tables, since these formats have been identified as ways discourses are legitimised through conveying authority (Ledin and Machin, 2015, p. 466). A further element of this first stage that I captured in my rubric was personalisation, as this is part of a customer choice discourse. This may be achieved, for example, through the personal pronouns 'we' and 'you' (Askehave, 2007, p. 736). Personal pronouns can make the reader feel that the address is meant for them and that they should respond (Griffith, 2013, p. 7). As I viewed the websites again, I added further features to the rubric in an iterative process. Appendix D shows my completed rubric for one website.

4.4. Preparing the data for analysis

I now show how I prepared the selected 'international' and 'general' webpages for analysis. I wanted a system for capturing and recording data which would enable me

to "work up" inductively from data to theory (Richards, 2015, p. 85), and record the data in a manageable way for analysis (Richards, 2015, p. 64). Creating a stable data set which I could return to later for further analysis in an iterative process proved to be even more important in the light of Covid-19 disruption, because of its impact on my working life and consequent interruptions in my planned timescale for my study.

Using one NVivo Project

I used one NVivo project to incorporate all the data from the webpages (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013, p. 28), because handling data in a single project enabled comparisons across universities. Richards (2015, p. 78) recommends creating folders for different sorts of data, formatting documents with divisions clearly labelled with headings identifying part of the record, and recording separate notes about the project. I followed this advice, bearing in mind the need to avoid "loss of complexity and context" (Richards, 2015, p. 63). When importing data into NVivo, I labelled documents according to university and data collection period, enabling me to compare in detail my three data collection periods for each university and cross-reference them with other universities.

In addition to the homepages, I planned three-plus webpages for each university to import as PDFs via the CAQDAS tool NCapture as my NVivo project 'sources'. However, I encountered an issue with inconsistent PDF capture. Because of drop-down menus and rolling images on some webpages, some text was lost. To

overcome this problem, I also copied and pasted webpage sections into a Word document for each website and imported those into NVivo. Because data analysis is not a simple linear series of steps, but is iterative, with the researcher journeying back and forth across the data (Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier, 2013, p. 140), my preparation setting up the project and storing the data files accessibly was essential for easy retrieval and ongoing analysis (Richards, 2015, p. 76).

Blending paper-based and digital methods

I now justify my use of manual (paper) data records alongside digital ones. Although I used the CAQDAS package NVivo in this study, I felt additional techniques were needed too. As Richards (2015) warns, researchers should not "feel constrained to the stable of specialized qualitative computing (CAQDAS) tools" (Richards, 2015, p. 69). To preserve the website data, as well as importing PDFs and Word documents into NVivo, I captured screenshots of some webpages and printed copies.

For some websites, importing images to NVivo worked. Nodes were applied to sections of text by selecting 'Text', and for images, nodes were applied by selecting by 'Region' (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013, p. 193). The same nodes could thus be applied to both text and images. However, for some websites I encountered formatting loss, particularly relative placements of images, text and other semiotic resources. Keeping separate screenshots retained exact records of the overall impression and layout of webpages. I decided it was worth printing specific screenshots in colour, particularly where the NCapture import was less successful.

130

This fulfilled the requirement in digital social research to save data in stable form (Hine, 2016, pp. 522–523). Additionally, keeping webpage print-outs and screenshots of some webpages was a back-up to the digital record, overcoming computer files' vulnerability (Richards, 2015, p. 76). Furthermore, physically handling paper records facilitated the iterative process of comparing the universities' homepages. Admittedly, it would be possible to do this digitally via a large screen or multiple screens, but these were not available to me. I found that keeping multiple screen tabs open and flicking between them was inefficient for comparing the first 'impressions' stage of the analysis. By comparing printed copies, I overcame this technological limitation.

I maintain that the materiality of engaging with data off-screen and making manual handwritten records is in fact more than a 'second best': it complements the screen-based analytical process. This supports Ulmer's rejection of "hurried, mechanical, assembly-line writing" (Ulmer, 2017, p. 201) and her call to "be slow, write slow, pay attention" (Ulmer, 2018, p. 318). Advocating 'slowness' in scholarship is, however, not simply about pace, but about depth, autonomy and control (Martell, 2014). As Paulus, Lester and Britt's (2013) analysis of a range of qualitative research textbooks suggests, software packages are tools to speed up and expand management tasks, but do not themselves actually do the analysis (Paulus, Lester and Britt, 2013, p. 644). Above all, researchers still must take decisions about categories to create and how to apply them (Basit, 2003, p. 145). I found the slowing down that came with working off-screen was beneficial in controlling the analysis. However, technologies

should not be "feared, avoided, or rejected" (Paulus, Lester and Britt, 2013, p. 649),

and I embraced many possibilities from my CAQDAS-generated database.

4.5. Coding the data and arriving at themes

After preparing the data, I coded them. Coding is "an interpretive act" (Saldaña,

2009, p. 4), and codes are constructed by the researcher (Charmaz, 2014, p. 115). In

other words, I acknowledge that another researcher might have chosen different

codes; however, making my coding process systematic and transparent constituted a

validation strategy (Creswell, 2012, p. 250), ensuring that my account of the data was

trustworthy.

Constructing NVivo codes

Coding in NVivo is stored in nodes, and I now outline how I created these using a

threefold approach; Appendix E shows a list of my nodes according to type. First, for

some nodes I used topic coding (Richards, 2015, p. 110), summarising a topic, for

example 'employability'. Topic codes were a useful way to start (Bazeley, 2013, p.

159). Some topics came from literature discussed in Chapter Two; for example, I

expected to see a topic of support for international students. Other topics were

identified as I examined the data, for example 'emotional reassurance'. Second, I

coded particular linguistic devices, drawing on Reisigl and Wodak's list of devices by

which discursive strategies can be realized (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 33), as

discussed in Chapter Three. Their list names parts of speech and rhetorical devices,

and so, for example, I coded the adverb 'extremely' as an 'intensifying adverb'. In their categorisation, this counts as an "augmentative" used for "intensification". Third, I used 'In Vivo' coding (Miles, Huberman and Saldaña, 2014, p. 75), lifting words directly from the text. I did this to see if my data demonstrated commonality between the university webpages, for example, whether all presented themselves as a 'community', using that exact word. To keep track of which were 'In Vivo' codes, I used single quotation marks for such codes (Saldaña, 2009, p. 75). Some of my 'In Vivo' codes are examples of linguistic features (such as the pronoun 'you'), because I wanted to collect evidence of particular words and phrases and record the context in which they were used.

The initial nodes were created as I progressed through the texts (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013, p. 76). I gradually began to organize the nodes into trees (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013, p. 99), as broader categories began to emerge, while still remembering to see the coding structure as a "work in progress" (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013, p. 99). Further nodes were added as more sources were coded, and the earlier ones revisited. This was an iterative process, involving "to-ing and fro-ing, stopping and starting, pausing and staring" (Swan, 2017, p. 281). Appendix F shows two screenshots of my NVivo coding in progress, to illustrate the methods I used.

Data snapshots from three points in time

My data collection extension in response to Covid-19 entailed adapting my sources and nodes. To enable comparison between the points in time within the project, I

added files for the second and third data collection points. To identify the nodes from each point, nodes added during the initial Covid-19 lockdown were given prefix CV, with prefix CV2 for those added at the next Covid-19 collection point, as shown in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Labelling the nodes according to point in time

Data collection point	First point	Second point	Third point
Date	early to mid-March 2020 (before the first Covid-19 lockdown)	late April 2020 (during initial Covid-19 lockdown)	mid-June 2020 (capturing universities' responses in preparation for academic year 2020-2021)
Node format	no prefix	prefix CV	prefix CV2
Example of topic nodes	Campus architecture	CVsupport	CV2reassurance

My prefixes had the benefit that, when re-examining the data, I could easily distinguish the nodes representing website content before Covid-19 from those added early in the pandemic. Analysis began before, and carried on after, the NVivo electronic coding: data analysis should not be one step carried out discretely following data collection, but is "an all-encompassing activity that continues through the life of the project" (Basit, 2003, p. 145).

Making comparisons across the data

Comparing the universities was the next step. The software's 'code-and-retrieve' element permits finding the coded sections stored as nodes (Seale, 2017, p. 359),

and is faster than using manual paper-based methods (Seale, 2017, p. 364). Having

coded the sources from the websites, I could review the text and images stored at

particular nodes, reflecting on what they meant (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013, pp.

118-119). I also noted examples of the five discursive strategies identified by Reisigl

and Wodak: nomination; predication; argumentation; perspectivisation, framing or

discourse representation; intensification, mitigation (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 33),

explained in Chapter Three. NVivo's rapid searching aided comparison across the

universities, again iteratively. NVivo was useful, as it provided ways to interrelate the

data, whilst keeping the connections to the original context (Fielding, 2008, p. 687).

Similarities and differences in the language used by the universities were explored.

Arriving at four over-arching themes

My rationale for taking a thematic approach was to enable comparison across time

and between universities and thus identify commonalities, contrasts, and differences.

The themes provide a basis for the analytical summaries which will be used to

answer the research questions. Although I initially coded and analysed the data for

each university separately, I felt that an integrated approach to the thematic

discussion would align best with my overall methodological strategy, rather than

considering the universities and data collection points separately. The four

overarching themes were slowly identified through the coding, the organisation of

NVivo nodes into trees, and the iterative process of re-viewing my data. I gradually

assembled the codes into eight abstract categories (Richards, 2015, p. 189):

Excellence, Exceptionalism, Community, Future, Continuity, Change, Solidity,

Emotion. These abstract categories helped me to identify themes, as shown in Appendix G.

It was challenging to undertake the classification into categories. The websites were complex, and there were overlaps and fluidities between categories. This was not a rigid system of categorisation, but a means of structuring my findings and illuminating how they addressed (or did not address) the different dimensions of internationalisation identified in my literature analysis. I explored these interconnected categories through a comparative process, constantly revisiting the texts, and eventually combining and dividing the categories into four overarching themes (Mullet, 2018, p. 128). In table 4.2 I trace the 'emergence' of my main themes.

Table 4.2: Evolution of the four themes

June 2020	July 2020	June 2021	July 2021
Excellence, exceptionalism, and substance	Excellence and exceptionalism	Competitive internationalisation: excellence and exceptionalism	Competitive internationalisation: excellence and exceptionalism
Future-oriented individualisation and gain	Future-oriented individualisation	Internationalisation and future-orientated individual gain	Commodified internationalisation: future-orientated individual gain
Students as consumers: support for all	Support for all students	An 'international community'?	Universities as 'communities': only partially presented as international

Continuity in uncertain times	Continuity in uncertain times	Internationalisation in uncertain times: emotion and reason	Internationalisation and Covid-19: emotional and rational responses to uncertainty

Table 4.2 shows, horizontally across the table, how the themes evolved. When revisiting them after a considerable time gap, I was able to address a weakness in the articulation of my initial themes, and reworded them to focus more sharply on internationalisation. Thus, I reflected on the names I gave the themes, as part of the self-criticality in my CDS methodological approach.

4.6. Presenting the data

Finally, I explain how I have presented my findings by theme in the following chapter (Chapter Five). As I revisited the data, I considered how each main theme responded to my research questions, revising not only the order but also the formulation of the themes. This included questioning and revising some of the terms I had initially used, for example, replacing 'exceptionalism' with 'distinctiveness', for greater precision. I used Reisigl and Wodak's five questions relating to discursive strategies (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 32), explained in full in my methodology and research design chapter. Their questions helped me organise my findings and construct a logical order in which to present the themes, arriving at the order shown in Table 4.3 below. The table shows the final four main themes with summary descriptions and examples

of linguistic features, based on Mullet's (2018) method of presenting overarching

themes when using CDA (Mullet, 2018, pp. 128–130).

Table 4.3: Four main themes

Theme	Theme summary	Examples of linguistic features
A. Internationalisation primarily presented as *about* and *for* international students	• University self-nomination as a welcoming inclusive 'community', but not consistently as an international one. • Internationalisation largely presented to international students. • Personal relationship between university and individual student emphasised.	• Statistics as argumentation. • Lexis about 'home'. • Adverbial clauses for intensification. • Use of deictics *e.g.* pronouns and possessives (we, us, our). • Verbs: *offer, support, provide.* • Prospective student addressed as you.
B. Internationalisation used as an indication of 'excellence'	• Being 'excellent' in various respects (*e.g.* facilities, research, teaching). • Claims of superiority. • Distinctiveness and uniqueness *e.g.* via geographical location.	• Lexis of 'leading'. • Multiple synonymous adjectives for predication. and intensification. • Intensifying adverbs. • Present tenses. • Language of rankings for argumentation.
C. Internationalisation marginalised in discourses of employability	• Future careers & employment. • Individualisation & personalisation. • Student-as-consumer/	• Lexis of workplace. • Pronouns + future tenses. • Imperatives. • Future with will (absolute truth claim). • Triple structures.

		customer. • Employment statistics. • Facilities investment (£££ spent).	• No use of modal verbs to mitigate claims (might, may, can). • Interdiscursivity/ recontextualisation.
D. Internationalisation and Covid-19: communicating reassurance in response to uncertainty		• Emergency shift to online teaching. • Inclusion of international and home students. • Emotional reassurance and empathy. • Guarantees & reasoned argument.	• Present continuous tense & pronoun 'we' for perspectivisation. • Emotion-related lexis for intensification. • 'Will' for argumentation. • No hedging or conditional language. Presented as facts.

Presenting my findings by theme in this order also enabled me to relate them to my research questions. I have ordered the four themes so that they relate in sequence to the four RQs, although there is not an exact correspondence as the themes cross-cut the RQs. The top three themes all relate to RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3, and the final theme relates to RQ4.

4.7. Conclusion: a stable data set captured at a pivotal moment

In short, I used a carefully planned approach to website data gathering, capturing my initial impressions using audio recording, then adding a written inventory. My blending of 'slow' manual methods and NVivo embraced technology while retaining control of the analytical process. I approached the data from different angles in an iterative process, and took advantage of the opportunity for later collection stages, representing snapshots of additions to the university websites during the pandemic outbreak. Overall, my methods generated a stable data set from dynamic websites,

at what seemed to be a pivotal moment in universities' self-presentation. I summarised the data by assembling it into codes, then sorted it into abstract categories and finally into themes to help me answer my research questions.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS: LIMITATIONS AND DIFFERENTIATION IN THE PRESENTATION OF INTERNATIONALISATION

5.1. Introduction: a reminder of research questions; chapter purpose and structure

This chapter presents the findings in the form of evidence and discourse analysis of it, adding links to the literature where appropriate. It informs Chapter Six, in which I discuss the findings, adding a critical dimension to complete the Critical Discourse Study. To restate, the research questions were:

RQ1. How do English universities in a stratified system present internationalisation in their website publicity?
RQ2. What differences are there in the messages about internationalisation on 'international' and 'general' webpages?
RQ3. How is the presentation of internationalisation related to other discourses such as inclusion of all students, university excellence, and graduate employability?
RQ4. What shifts in the website messages are apparent in the light of the Covid-19 pandemic?

In this chapter, I show that in the March 2020 website data, messages about internationalisation were aimed predominantly at international students, not reflecting 'internationalisation for all'. Overall, internationalisation was mainly presented as being about international student recruitment. Internationalisation messages were expressed in ways which reflected dominant discourses of excellence and future employability. These tendencies remained apparent in the data collected during the

Covid-19 pandemic, in April and June 2020. However, universities also communicated responses to the Covid-19 pandemic by adopting emotion-based language and evidence-based claims to reassure international students, in a time of uncertainty, that they should continue to study in England. Analysing the emotional element of the webpage additions during the pandemic prompted me to recognise the extent of emotion-based messaging in the pre-pandemic webpages too.

I structure this chapter according to the four central themes arrived at through the coding and iterative analysis discussed in Chapter Four:

- Internationalisation primarily presented as *about* and *for* international students
- Internationalisation used as an indication of 'excellence'
- Internationalisation marginalised in discourses of employability
- Internationalisation and Covid-19: communicating reassurance in response to uncertainty

The findings are primarily based on linguistic analysis of the websites. As explained in Chapter Three, the websites of eight universities were selected, a number which enabled the inclusion of all the potentially pertinent institutional characteristics identified, although it was challenging to analyse as many as eight websites. I argue that it was important not to restrict the in-depth analysis of linguistic features on these webpages. Extending the analysis to cover the images and video content of the websites would have lessened the time devoted to the linguistic analysis, or would have meant limiting the number of universities in the study. I show in this chapter just how much insight can be gained from such comparative linguistic analysis.

I present examples of linguistic features from the webpages which throw light on the issues raised by the research questions. Appendix H contains tables of extracts from all the universities' websites, and in this chapter I have used a selection of extracts to present my findings. I chose examples which most effectively illustrated similarities and differences between the universities, and between 'general' and 'international' webpages, to identify differences in presentation of internationalisation to prospective students and others.

5.2. Internationalisation primarily presented as *about* and *for* international students

The first theme relates particularly to RQs 1 and 2, and partially addresses RQ 3. The conceptualisations of internationalisation reviewed in Chapter Two emphasised that internationalisation could be 'for all' university students and staff, reflected in the dimensions of 'internationalisation at home' and 'internationalisation of the curriculum'. The literature highlighted the importance of articulating the 'for all' message to all students. In this section, I show, however, that the international student recruitment dimension predominated, as internationalisation was generally presented as being not only *about* international students, but also *for* them.

Webpages signposted as 'international'

The first indicator of internationalisation was on webpages signposted as being 'international'. All the university websites had tabs at the top of their homepages with links to internal webpages; five of the eight universities had the word 'International' as

an option. The sixth, Midrussell, stood out as using the word 'Global' rather than 'International'. This seemed to be linked to its having two overseas branch campuses, a characteristic not shared by the other universities. A further unique feature of Midrussell's website was that its 'Global' webpage began with a statement by a named Pro-Vice-Chancellor for Global Engagement. According to Soliman *et al.* (2018), naming a senior individual with a title indicating strategic responsibility for internationalisation may be an indication of its importance to the institution (Soliman, Anchor and Taylor, 2018, p. 9). There were no authorship attributions for statements on the other universities' international webpages. In terms of website structure, therefore, internationalisation seemed to be given more weight on the Midrussell website than the others. Eastold and Northnew did not have a homepage tab labelled 'International', which initially suggested that a distinction was not being made between webpages of interest to international or home students. However, other tabs led to a webpage labelled 'International students'. Thus, despite slight differences in website navigation, each university had webpages signposted as international.

Internationalisation in universities' self-nomination

Analysis of universities' self-nomination, identifying how they named and constructed themselves in particular ways (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 32), revealed similarities and differences in respect of internationalisation. I made two comparisons: the first was between the different universities' statements, and the second involved differences within a single university website between their international and general pages (see Appendix H, Box 1 for full set of extracts).

Statements beginning with the name of the university, along with *'is'* or *'we are'* indicated how the universities named and presented themselves. For example, on pages signposted as international, Eastold, Cityscience and Southarts described themselves similarly as *'international communities'* in a clear self-nomination strategy, for example:

> *[Eastold] is a diverse international community and welcomes talented students from around the world* (Eastold, international)

The subtle difference in the use of *'international'* or *'global'* on the homepage tabs was also visible in the self-nomination. Midrussell referred to itself as*:*

> *A global community, home to staff and students from over 150 countries* (Midrussell, international)

Midrussell's use of *'global'* rather than *'international'* appeared to emphasise that its community was not just located in England, but also in its two overseas campuses. Nomination includes signalling who belongs to the entity being named, or "membership categorisation" (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 33). The use of the word *'global'* indicated that members of the community were distributed across different countries, whereas 'international' signalled the presence of students from other countries at sites in England. A further use of *'global'* to signal overseas membership was Northpoly's reference to its *'global alumni community'* in more than 140 countries:

> *[Northpoly] has a proud history of higher education since 1824. Over 300,000 form our global alumni community in more than 140 countries* (Northpoly, international)

In short, universities' self-nomination strategies were important as they allowed internationalisation to be identified. However, self-naming as an 'international community' was largely restricted to webpages signposted as international.

Internationalisation expressed in terms of numbers of international students

Even where the words *'international community'* were not used as an explicit self-nomination strategy, numbers of international students featured in the way universities depicted themselves to external audiences. Citing numbers of international students indicates the use of statistics as an argumentation device to justify claims (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 33). Six of the websites featured such statistics on their international pages. The highest ranked university, Eastold, gave the most precise details about its numbers and proportions of international students:

> *There are currently more than 22000 students in total at the University with over 9000 international students representing over 140 different countries. Around 25% of undergraduate students and over 50% of graduate students are from outside the UK* (Eastold, international)

The expressions *'more than'* and *'over'* emphasised the large numbers. As well as the numbers of international students, the range of countries of origin was emphasised. Similarly, Southglass on its international page referenced itself as international through the wording *'staff and students from over 140 countries'*. The same number, 140, was also used by Cityscience:

> *A truly international community: students come from over 140 different countries to study at [Cityscience]* (Cityscience, international)

146

The addition of the intensifiers *'truly'* and *'different'* in the Cityscience wording appeared to put extra weight on the number of countries. The sentence structure further emphasised this through punctuation with a colon. What came after the colon was an explication of what came before (Crystal, 2015, p. 219). In other words, the community could be described as *'truly international'* because of the number of international students.

As explained in Chapter Three, the universities in the study were selected to reflect a range of characteristics, including the proportion of their students who were from overseas, as it was assumed that might have impacted on how internationalisation was presented on the websites. Which statistics were used on the webpages seemed to relate to the proportion of international students at each institution. Northpoly and Northnew had the lowest proportions of international students. As already noted, Northpoly listed alumni figures rather than current student numbers. Northnew used the vague expression *'from all over the world'* rather than a precise (but low) figure of countries of origin:

> *We welcome students from all over the world. Find out what [Northnew] can offer to international students. Here at [Northnew], our small and friendly campuses provide a welcoming and supportive environment where you can quickly begin to feel at home* (Northnew, international)

Northnew made its small size a strength, emphasising friendliness towards international students. In contrast, the four universities with the highest proportions of international students all stated that they had students from over 140 countries. For Midrussell, with its overseas campuses, the figure was over 150 countries. However, despite differences in the detail of the statistical presentation, the common point was

that on their websites all the universities employed references to the recruitment of international students. Thus the most prominent aspect of internationalisation in universities' self-nomination was the presence of international students.

Internationalisation messages conveyed to international students

The internationalisation messages were not just focussed on international student recruitment, but were also aimed at international students, rather than anyone else. Southarts, Midnew and Northnew referred to international students on their international pages but not at all on their general pages. Eastold, Cityscience, Midrussell and Northpoly presented themselves in slightly different ways on their general and international pages, with less detail about international students on the latter. For example, whereas Midrussell's international page included self-nomination as a *'global community'* with students from 150 countries, its general page referred to its overseas campuses rather than the presence of international students at its UK campus:

> *We have inspiring campuses in three countries, energising us to be a globally engaged university* (Midrussell, general)

Overall, reaching most of the messages about international students involved clicking on headings signposted for international students, in some cases making two or even three clicks, which increased the effort required to access this content. The need to make several clicks suggested that information was "buried deeper", as the visitor had to pass through several layers of the website (Pauwels, 2011, p. 582). This further lowered the likelihood of internationalisation being perceived of as 'for all'.

'General' webpage emphasis on cosmopolitan city location

Further analysis of the mention of *'community'* confirmed differences in messages directed to international and to home students. The noun 'community' was one of the 'In Vivo' codes identified in the initial phase of coding (Chapter Four), as it occurred frequently, and could be seen as a 'keyword' such as those identified in previous studies (Mautner, 2005, 2010; Holborow, 2015). Initially, 'community' might be taken as a sign of inclusion discourses. However, it was challenging to pin down exactly what was meant by the word 'community' as it was employed in different ways on different webpages. The Eastold, Cityscience and Southarts international webpages used 'international community' to refer to the universities themselves, for example:

> *Join [Southarts] international creative community…We are deeply proud of our international community and what we gain from our diverse student and staff population is immeasurable* (Southarts, international)

References to *'international community'* on webpages not specifically aimed at international students, such as the more general 'About Us' webpages, were employed to different effect. The two large city-based universities (Cityscience and Northpoly) referred to their local settings, emphasising the name of the city where the university was located. Cityscience used *'international community'* to describe itself on its international page, but used the phrase differently on its general page, to emphasise the international nature of its location:

> *Our location in central [city name] is a huge advantage in what we do, setting us in the heart of a truly international community, with some of the world's biggest businesses on our doorstep* (Cityscience, general)

Northpoly similarly emphasised its setting:

> *We are a great, modern university, in a great global city, here to make an impact on [City name], our nation, and beyond, with a driving ambition to discover and disseminate knowledge* (Northpoly, general)

The international aspect of Northpoly and Cityscience universities for home students thus referenced their cosmopolitan city locations, rather than what the universities constituted or provided for students. The general pages did not articulate the presence of international students at the university.

International students 'feeling at home' with other international students

Presenting numbers of international students on international pages was also used to argue that international applicants would 'feel at home', suggesting a discourse of inclusion. This argument was made on the international pages by two universities with very different characteristics: Eastold, number one in The Guardian University Guide 2020, with 34.4% international students; and Midnew, a new university ranked 93 in the same league table, with 13.4% international students. Despite the difference in ranking and percentages of international students, Eastold and Midnew appealed to prospective international students on an emotional level in a similar way:

> *It's a great place to be a student and has a truly diverse community so wherever you're from, you'll quickly start to make friends and feel at home* (Eastold, international)

> *We have more than 1,000 international students from over 100 countries studying with us each year, so you can be sure that you will fit in and feel at home with us* (Midnew, international)

Both universities used the conjunction 'so' to signal a result (Leech and Svartvik, 1994, p. 105), thereby indicating that feeling at home would be a consequence of the

presence of the other international students. In the Midnew example, the affective element of 'feeling at home' was heightened by the wording: *'you can be sure that'*, strengthening the link between international student numbers and emotional reassurance. Eastold's use of the word *'quickly'* intensified the claim that international students would *'make friends'* and *'feel at home'*. These claims implied that international applicants would feel most at ease with other international students, regardless of their country of origin, suggesting that international students are a homogenous group and differentiated from home students.

Internationalisation on general pages limited to certain universities

I have shown that an international student presence was featured on universities' international webpages in similar ways, regardless of the different characteristics of the universities. However, on the general pages there were more striking differences between universities as references to internationalisation differed according to their characteristics. The two specialist institutions, Cityscience and Southarts, on their international pages both described themselves as *'international communities'*, but this was not the case on their general pages, where instead they emphasised their specialisms:

> *[Cityscience] is a global top ten university with a world-class reputation in science, engineering, business and medicine* (Cityscience, general)

> *We are a leading arts university for the creative industries, turning creativity into careers. We're passionate about our creative subjects and encourage curiosity, risk-taking and adventure* (Southarts, general)

International-level research featured in the self-nomination on general pages by the research-intensive universities Eastold, Cityscience, Midrussell, and Southglass. The highest ranked university, Eastold, also presented the most prominent message on its general page regarding the presence of international students:

> *[Eastold] is one of the oldest and most distinguished universities in the world. We've been teaching here since 1209 and today more than 25% of our undergraduates (around 3,100 students) are from outside the UK, representing around 100 countries… Our mission is to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence* (Eastold, general)

On the general pages of Southarts, Northpoly, Midnew and Northnew, however, there was no reference to internationalisation or international students, despite the evidence they presented on their international pages of international student numbers. For example, whereas the Midnew international page referred to its '*1,000 international students from over 100 countries',* its general page focus on change and transformation did not include any international element:

> *We are one of the youngest universities in the UK… our commitment to transforming lives and inspiring change is at the heart of all that we do. We want to ensure that your experience studying with us enables you to transform your life and those of others too, no matter how great or how small this may be* (Midnew, general)

The presentation of internationalisation was thus limited at the lower-ranked institutions, since internationalisation did not feature on their general pages. Expectations that internationalisation would be integral to their university studies were not communicated to prospective home students equally at all the universities.

Addressing international and home students

Analysing the way students were addressed helps establish how they were represented, and any differences in this between international and home students. I have shown how the use of numbers bolstered the universities' self-depiction on international pages as *'international communities'*, and suggested a view of international students as a collective entity, different from home students. However, I now turn to analysis of pronouns to show how an individualised and personalised relationship between universities and all students (home and international) was constructed.

Pronouns contribute to the discursive strategy of predication, or attribution of particular qualities and characteristics (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 32). Chapter Two showed how the pronoun 'you' was also identified in previous studies to indicate marketised messages appealing to prospective students (Fairclough, 1993; Askehave, 2007; Hartley and Morphew, 2008; Lažetić, 2019; Zhang, Tan and O'Halloran, 2022).

Personal pronouns 'you' and 'we' (and possessive pronouns 'your' and 'our') were used frequently on all eight websites. 'You' in English can be used as both singular and plural, the latter being a collective 'you'. However, on these webpages, 'you' reflected individualisation, functioning as an appellation to a prospective student. Similar use of pronouns featured in messages on both international and general pages (see Appendix H, Box 2 for full set of extracts on the use of 'you' and 'we').

The appellation to an individual was evident in the Cityscience example, with the address to an individual student shown by the '*yourself*' (rather than 'yourselves'):

> *Fun, friendly and with a heathy dose of independence, living in halls is a great way to fully immerse yourself in the [Cityscience] experience from your very first day* (Cityscience, general)

The appeal to students as individuals was also identified in statements about how the universities would fulfil the students' diverse needs. Similar messages were on the webpages of universities with different characteristics: for example, Northnew (a small university with under 8,000 students, which acquired university status in 2007) and Southglass (a university since 1961 with 17,800 students). Northnew's general and international pages emphasised ever-present support:

> *We equip, empower and inspire you to discover great things from the day you arrive…* (Northnew, general)

> *It's great you are considering studying at [Northnew]…We have lots of experience of supporting our students' differing requirements, both in their academic studies and personal lives – help is always at hand* (Northnew, international)

Southglass had similar messages on both general and international pages, and, like Northnew, emphasised the continuity of support during students' studies:

> *Whether you're an undergraduate, Masters or PhD student, we have the learning resources and study support to help you succeed at [Southglass]* (Southglass, general)

> *We want you to get the most out of your studies and student life. That's why we help to prepare you for [Southglass], welcome you when you arrive and support you during your time here* (Southglass, international)

This subtly reflected a view of all students as individual customers, whose needs should be satisfied. Midnew's statement on its general page *'we are here to help, whatever you may need'* seemed particularly suggestive of a consumer context and customer relationship, as in a retail setting.

However, messages about students' needs did not solely reflect discourses of students-as-customers. Boundaries between discourses are fluid and open to reinterpretation (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 27). The use of the pronoun 'you' could also reflect inclusion discourses, targeting all students. Thus, an emphasis on 'you' was a linguistic realisation of interconnected discourses, or what Reisigl and Wodak term a "hybrid" discourse (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 28). For example, Midnew featured the challenges facing new students on its general 'Student Life' page:

> *As well as all the fun things, we also provide a supportive environment for you, so that your life at university is as smooth as possible. We understand that for a lot of people, coming to university is a massive step and we are here to help, whatever you may need. Join us and you will be one of the first students through the doors of our [campus name] campus. Whatever has led you to us, we're glad that you're here* (Midnew, general)

The empathetic tone in Midnew's use of the colloquial expression *'massive step'* was similar to the emotional reassurances given to international students that they would *'feel at home'*. Adjusting to university life was thus depicted as an issue facing all students, whether international or home, and there was no suggestion that international students required more support. In other words, no inferences could be drawn about 'deficit' discourses in the representation of international students on these webpages, unlike in the findings of some previous internationalisation studies

suggesting that international students were viewed in terms of what they lacked (Robson and Turner, 2007; Barron, Gourlay and Gannon-Leary, 2010; McDonald, 2014). References to *'needs'* and *'help'* were linked to teaching, resources, and support services, on both international and general pages.

Messages of inclusion were intensified by the supportive tone struck via a combination of the pronoun 'you' and an informal style. Eastold, Northpoly, Midrussell, Midnew, and Northnew used the same colloquial construction: an adverbial clause beginning with 'wherever' or 'whatever' (see Leech and Svartvik, 1994, p. 111), for example

> *Wherever you're from, you'll quickly start to make friends and feel at home* (Eastold, international)

> *Whatever has led you to us, we're glad that you're here* (Midnew, general)
> *We've got you, whatever you want to be* (Northnew, general)

For more examples, see Appendix H, Box 2. Eastold's usage, *'Wherever you're from...',* was specifically aimed at international students, whereas Northpoly, Midnew, Midrussell, and Northnew used the construction to address all students. This adverbial construction conveyed an informal tone, especially noticeable in the Northnew instance. Its use of *'we've got you'* was a colloquial way of saying 'don't worry, we will provide whatever you need'. The informality heightened the friendliness and conveyed a personalised, reassuring message.

These examples suggested the construction of a personal relationship between institution and prospective students. Not only were the students addressed directly as

'you', but also five of the universities intensified the welcoming and inclusive-sounding message through adverbial phrases with the added implication of 'no matter what', which conveyed a message of student diversity, recognition of differences between individuals, and inclusion of all. Moreover, messages about the provision of support were aimed at all students, not just international ones.

Conclusions from theme one: internationalisation not presented as 'for all'

The literature reviewed in Chapter Two showed how internationalisation *could* be articulated as important to all students. However, on these websites, internationalisation was not presented as 'for all'. Claims to being internationalised rested mainly on the presence of international students and, for the higher-ranked universities, on international research reputation. Moreover, universities' explicit construction of themselves as 'international' seemed principally aimed at appealing to prospective international students. Considering 'absences' as well as 'presences' in discourses highlights "what is said and what is unsaid" (von Münchow, 2018, p. 225). Comparing the general and international pages revealed the absence of messages about internationalisation on the general pages. Prospective home students viewing general pages were not similarly targeted with messages about the benefits of being part of an 'international community. Overall, internationalisation was primarily presented to international students, and to those at higher-ranked universities.

5.3. Internationalisation as an indication of 'excellence'

The second theme reveals how the presentation of internationalisation was linked to claims of 'excellence' in a competitive system. Although I will show that there were subtle differences according to characteristics of the universities, all used internationalisation to indicate excellence. However, other 'excellence' messages were more prominent than those about internationalisation. I show how linguistic devices were used to establish status features with implications of 'excellence', such as currency (being up-to-date), longstanding reputation linked to age, and distinctiveness. I then demonstrate that all the universities, regardless of ranking, used league tables to support their excellence messages, though there were differences in how international reputation featured in them.

Attributing excellence through multiple adjectives

Reisigl and Wodak's discursive strategy of 'predication' attributes characteristics, qualities and features to actors, objects, phenomena and processes (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 33). Adjectives come first in their list of linguistic realisations of evaluative attribution of negative or positive traits. It is therefore important to analyse the use of adjectives, to show what characteristics were presented as conveying 'excellence'. Although the adjective 'excellent' was rarely used directly, all universities used adjectives to imply 'excellence' and attribute this quality to their teaching, research, resources, facilities or support. Adjectives included *'world-class',*

'foremost', 'renowned', 'first-class', 'outstanding', 'great' (see Appendix H, Box 3 for

full set of the adjectives).

Currency (being up-to-date) was one trait contributing to 'excellence', emphasised

through adjectives such as *'modern', 'dynamic', 'ground-breaking', 'state-of-the-art',*

'latest' and *'up-to-date'*. Such adjectives were used to describe facilities, for example:

> *All of our courses are based on our stunning award-winning campus. It's a state-of-the-art creative hub designed for specialists. With a backdrop of head-turning architecture…* (Southarts, general)

> *We'll support you every step of the way whichever course you choose – providing you with first-class teaching, modern facilities, impressive accommodation and great learning* (Midnew, general)

However, this emphasis on currency was unrelated to the institution's age: it was not

just the newer universities that made claims of being up-to-date. The oldest

university, Eastold, also referred to its facilities in this way:

> *…wide-ranging learning resources and up-to-date facilities… one of the highest student retention rates in the UK* (Eastold, international)

Adjectives emphasising currency were not only applied to buildings and facilities but

also to research and teaching. Student evaluations were cited as evidence to support

excellence claims by Midrussell and Northnew:

> *Our teaching is delivered by some of the brightest minds in their fields and shaped by the latest ground-breaking research. Student evaluations tell us that our teaching is excellent and hundreds of academic staff are nominated for our Staff Oscars each year* (Midrussell, general)

> *Award-winning student support…Many of our programmes record 100% student satisfaction. Unlike many universities, we have small class sizes and*

can offer you a more personal experience, something that our international
students tell us that they really value (Northnew, international)

However, there were differing emphases in these messages, related to the ranking

and size of the institution. The larger, older, and more highly ranked Russell Group

university (Midrussell) linked research excellence with teaching, whereas the smaller

new university (Northnew) made a virtue of smallness and personalisation of

experience. Midrussell referred to teaching by researchers who had *'the brightest*

minds', whereas Northnew stated that they offered *'small class sizes and a more*

personal experience'. Northnew's addition of *'something that our international*

students tell us that they really value' implied that prospective international students

should consider this factor in making a choice about where to study. Northnew also

highlighted its competitive comparison by saying '*Unlike many universities…'.*

Despite differences, both universities claimed excellence on the grounds of students'

evaluation of teaching, presenting themselves competitively. Northnew's use of

'award-winning' also reflected competition in a stratified system.

Alongside currency, a further excellence claim was longstanding status, confirming

this dimension's importance established in the internationalisation literature (Raffe

and Croxford, 2015; Lumby and Foskett, 2016; Bloch and Mitterle, 2017; Baltaru,

Manac and Ivan, 2022). Eastold, Cityscience, and Midrussell (the oldest and highest

ranked universities in the study) justified excellence claims by explicit references to

reputation and respect. Cityscience referred to its international reputation, with word

'world' showing international status:

> *[Cityscience] is a global top ten university with a world-class reputation in science, engineering, business and medicine. Our international reputation for excellence in teaching and research…* (Cityscience, general)

Eastold also used *'world'* to highlight its reputation. The messages on its international and general pages both began with superlatives *('best', 'oldest', 'most distinguished')* emphasising status:

> *[Eastold] is one of the best universities in the world… inspiring teaching that's respected the world over…* (Eastold, international)

> *[Eastold] is one of the oldest and most distinguished universities in the world. We've been teaching here since 1209 and today more than 25% of our undergraduates (around 3,100 students) are from outside the UK, representing around 100 countries* (Eastold, general)

Thus, for the older universities, age and longstanding status appeared to have some bearing on how excellence claims were framed. Eastold also linked its reputation claims to the high proportion of international students. It used the conjunction *'and'* to connect its historical foundation date to its current international student numbers, implying that presence of international students justified its ongoing excellence claims. However, Eastold's reference on its general page to the presence of international students stood out, as this was not the case with other universities.

Excellence linked to research tackling global and local issues

Internationalisation was also used to bolster 'excellence' claims in research and international outreach activities, said to benefit humanity on a wider scale. The research-intensive Cityscience, Midrussell, and Southglass stated that they were responding to the world's problems:

> *[Cityscience] people share ideas, expertise and technology to find answers to the big scientific questions and tackle global challenges* (Cityscience, general)

> *Research at [Midrussell] makes an impact around the world by tackling some of the major challenges facing society, the economy and the environment* (Midrussell, general)

> *[Southglass] is proud of its reputation as an institution with a distinctly global outlook allowing us to be at the forefront of research influence worldwide. Our wide range of international activities continue to develop new opportunities for collaboration and knowledge exchange in our efforts to tackle global issues* (Southglass, international)

All three used the verb *'tackle'*, referring similarly to *'global issues'* (Southglass), *'global challenges'* (Cityscience), and *'major challenges'* (Midrussell). Southglass referred explicitly to internationalisation, describing its *'international activities'.* However, this text featured on its international page, not its general pages, so was a further example of internationalisation presented largely to prospective international students.

Northpoly referred to its aim to *'improve people's lives',* which might appear to indicate prominence of internationalisation:

> *Our research is carried out to a world-leading standard, to drive the economy and improve people's lives* (Northpoly, general)

However, on closer scrutiny the use of *'the economy'* suggested that the *'people's lives'* being improved were in the UK. The reference to *'world'* was about the standard of the research. Furthermore, whereas Midrussell used *'around the world'*, which did indicate global impact, Southarts' reference to *'our world'* could, like the Northpoly example, refer to more localised concerns:

> *Our [Southarts] community works to make the world a better place, using creativity to offer solutions to the inequalities we see in our world* (Southarts, general)

These examples showed that the word *'world'*, like *'community'* discussed earlier, can be ambiguous and interpretation was not straightforward. Close reading was needed to evaluate whether use of *'world'* could be taken to articulate internationalisation on the webpages.

The presentation of the research collaboration dimension of internationalisation was most visible on the Cityscience and Midrussell general webpages, and on the Southglass webpage directly targeting international students. In other words, the presentation of internationalisation via research activities was not prominent on all the websites, was presented competitively *('at the forefront', 'world-leading')*, and was targeted at international recruitment. The main emphasis was on the excellence of the university, and references to internationalisation were used to support such claims.

Self-presentation as 'unique'

I continue with the linguistic features used to realise the discursive strategy of 'predication', attributing positive traits (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 33), moving now to the trait of 'distinctiveness', even 'uniqueness'. Every university used adjectives to attempt to show how it differed from other universities, for example *'one-of-a-kind'* (Cityscience) and *'exceptional'* (Northnew). Distinctiveness was also conveyed through other linguistic devices, signalling what made the institution special, including

adverbs, verb phrases, and comparatives (see Appendix H, Box 4 for full set of extracts).

Distinctiveness claims were often linked to the phrase *'in the UK'* (Cityscience, Southglass, Northpoly, Midnew, Northnew), with universities comparing themselves with others at a national level, for example:

> *[Cityscience] is the only university in the UK to focus exclusively on science, engineering, medicine and business. A [Cityscience] education is something special… is a one-of-a-kind university in the UK* (Cityscience, general)
> *We were the first university in the UK to be named as a Changemaker Campus in 2013* (Midnew, international)

Midrussell was the only sampled university to have overseas campuses, and it stood out as foregrounding British specialness (*'British university', 'UK higher education'*), hinting that British higher education was superior to that of other countries:

> *Our established campuses in three countries afford [Midrussell] a unique opportunity to explore what it means to be a leading British university not only at home but also abroad, conducting cutting edge research… providing a quality UK higher education to many more students than would otherwise be possible* (Midrussell, international)

The possessive pronoun 'our' reinforced standpoint (Pauwels, 2011, p. 581). The phrase '*at home but also abroad'* (signalling that UK is 'home') was an additional indication of the discursive strategy of perspectivisation, used to position the speaker and express involvement or distance (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 33). Midrussell's reference to international branch campuses was explicitly linked to international student recruitment, and its wording suggested it operated at an international level of competition for students.

Expressions indicating distinctiveness featured on all the websites, whatever the university's ranking. However, a university's position in the stratified system may be gleaned from *how* it did this. For example, on international pages Eastold (an ancient, elite university) emphasised selectivity in recruitment (*'we admit the most academically able…'*), whereas Northnew (a new university) highlighted its commitment to inclusion (*'exceptional student support'*). The aspects of their appeal to prospective international students that made them distinctive differed.

Non-academic factors were also used to appeal to prospective students. Distinctiveness claims extended to location-related factors. Northnew, Southglass, and Southarts presented their locality as 'selling points', for example:

> *Located in one of the UK's top tourist destinations. Where better to live and study than in one of the most attractive tourist destinations in the UK? …We enjoy a low cost of living – far more favourable than most parts of the UK. Also, our campus accommodation is some of the least expensive university accommodation in the UK* (Northnew, international)

> *Could there be a better place to be a student than our beautiful campus? Find out more about our much-loved city by the sea* (Southglass, international)

Location was thus used to attract international students, for instance Northnew emphasising itself as a tourist destination. Although I am not reproducing images here, for reasons argued in Chapter Three, it is worth noting that the Southglass' international page contained a picture of the city, and Southarts showed prospective international students a beach image. Southglass' rhetorical question (*'Could there be a better place?'*) suggested the answer 'no'. Images thus intensified location-related claims. References to location construct a discursive justification strategy,

165

demonstrating institutions' place-bound attractiveness through text and images, via intersemiotic complementarity (Royce, 2002, p. 193).

Location-related distinctiveness claims were employed to appeal to international students in different ways. Northnew also highlighted its region's low cost of living, and campus accommodation's cheapness. Comparative and superlative adjectives made the comparison overt. Moreover, the comparison told international students they should be alert to geographical differences in the cost of living, drawing attention to Northnew competitors' disadvantages. Again, recruitment of international students featured prominently.

International reputation to indicate ranking in a stratified system

All the universities referenced league tables (see Appendix H, Box 5 for full set of extracts). The highest ranked universities presented their internationally competitive position to evidence reputation, which accords with Delgado-Marquez *et al.'s* (2013) findings (see Chapter Two). Eastold, Cityscience, and Midrussell (the highest ranked in my sample) referred to their positions in national and international rankings:

> *[Eastold] is consistently rated among the top institutions in international league tables for the quality of our teaching and research. Our teaching staff includes many national and world subject leaders* (Eastold, international)
>
> *Our international reputation for excellence in teaching and research sees us consistently rated in the top 10 universities worldwide. We're consistently rated in the top five UK universities and in the top ten worldwide* (Cityscience, general)

We consistently rank highly in UK and international league tables. In the top 25 in the UK's three major league tables: The Complete University Guide 2020… (Midrussell, general)

Eastold and Cityscience used the verb *'rated'*, and Midrussell used *'ranked'*. Both verbs referred to external authority, those who had done the rating or ranking. Midrussell's and Cityscience's naming of league tables added additional weight to their statements. This indicates the discursive strategy of argumentation, which can be used to justify claims of truth (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 33). However, unlike Midrussell and Cityscience, Eastold did not name particular league tables, perhaps because its top ranking meant there was no need for additional argument about its excellence. All three presented themselves as in the top tier, nationally and globally, emphasising their status in an international hierarchy.

However, universities outside the top tier in league tables also presented themselves as 'excellent' via references to rankings. Thus, it was not just the highest ranked universities which featured statements about ranking. Although the international league table aspect of internationalisation was limited to the higher ranked universities, the language used by the lower ranked universities reflected that used by the higher ranked, with claims to be *'top'* and *'highest'*:

[Southarts] named top modern university in the south west. According to The Sunday Times [Southarts] is a top 50 university, rising eight places to a new national ranking. The results have awarded [Southarts] the highest score for teaching quality when compared to other specialist Arts universities (Southarts, general)

Many of our courses have a student satisfaction rating of over 90%, some of which are first in the region:
- *1st in the north west for Law*

- *1st in the north west for psychology*
- *3rd in the north west for media and film studies*

Source: Guardian League Tables 2019 (Northnew, general)

Compared to the higher ranked universities, Southarts' and Northnew's claims related to rankings covering smaller geographical areas, a smaller pool of competitors, and each drew solely on one league table. However, the language was still about excellence, ranking, awards, and quality. In addition, Northpoly and Northnew used similar language to refer to specific named awards, with the sentence structure 'Our [adjective of excellence] [feature of university] has been/was recognised…'. The similarity in wording was a further indication of the importance placed on awards, regardless of the universities' ranking.

Consistency of excellence was used by higher ranked universities to reinforce claims. The lower-ranked Northnew's exceptional student support claim evidenced a six-year-old award. Southarts was a new entry into the top fifty for 2020, so its 2020 claim had currency but it could not claim a long history at this ranking. By contrast, all three higher ranked universities used the adverb *'consistently',* emphasising the durability of their excellence claim.

Furthermore, Cityscience, Midrussell and Southglass included links to the league tables. In general, external links form part of the dynamic organization of websites, steering the audience's pathway. Such hyperlinks can also be a 'priming strategy', to draw attention to information or affiliations (Pauwels, 2011, p. 582). The universities not only described themselves, but invited website visitors to click links to external

sources to support their claims. Including links to external league tables could be seen as helping to construct a convincing argument to persuade the viewer of the claims' rightness (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 35). This also attributed authority to league tables. Universities with the Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF) Gold and Silver awards also included the logos on their webpages as a visual sign of external ranking. Further indication of argumentation was visible in the use of bullet points, a "stripped back" form of presentation, conveying a sense that the important components have been identified (Ledin and Machin, 2018, p. 164). Bullet-pointed lists have semiotic affordances, used to manage and convey logical relations (Ledin and Machin, 2015, p. 466). A similar feature was Northpoly's 'Question and Answer' structure, on its international and general webpages:

> *How does [Northpoly] perform in university rankings? Times Higher Education includes us in its top 200 universities in the world under 50 years old (2019) and we are ranked top 20 in the UK in 11 subject areas* (Northpoly, international)

> *What makes us proud to be [Northpoly]? Our excellent teaching quality has been recognised with a Teaching Excellence Framework Silver Award* (Northpoly, general)

The excellence claims were thus realised not only linguistically via adjectives and adverbs but also through multimodal features such as links, lists, bullet points, layout, and logos. Previous studies argued that ranking systems influenced how universities perceived themselves (Hazelkorn, 2014; Shattock, 2017). The data showed how such influence extended to universities' public self-presentation on both general and international pages, across the range of universities selected.

169

Conclusions from the second theme: dominant discourses of excellence

To conclude, discourses of excellence stood out on both general and international pages. The devices which achieved this linguistically were common to all the universities – a range of adjectives, comparatives, and intensifying adverbs. Universities used such language both overtly and subtly to claim excellence and distinctiveness within English higher education, and to highlight aspects of their self-presentation, reinforced by other website features. Aspects singled out as unique varied according to the university's characteristics, such as age. Geographical location was used to target international students in particular. There were also differences in what feature made them 'award-winning' or highly ranked, but all universities justified claims of distinctiveness with reference to league table position or to awards won, regardless of their ranking. Thus internationalisation again appeared to be primarily about recruiting international students through competitive claims. For a number of these universities, internationalisation contributed to excellence claims, though it was discourses of excellence that dominated, rather than internationalisation.

5.4. Internationalisation marginalised in discourses of employability

In this section I turn to the interconnections between internationalisation and 'employability', addressing RQs 1, 2 and 3. To identify gaps in the presentation of internationalisation, or "discursive absences", it is important first to identify what discourses *are* present (Schröter and Taylor, 2018, p. 14). I therefore show how

employability featured prominently on all the webpages, with university study framed

as fostering career-related skills, employability, and economic gain – messages

targeted at home and international students. Second, I highlight linguistic devices

and other website features which emphasised these messages. Third, I

demonstrate, however, differences between the international and general pages of all

the websites: connections between internationalisation and employability were

largely limited to international pages, and internationalisation of the curriculum did not

feature. Thus, I argue that internationalisation appeared marginal to discourses of

employability, and, where visible, was targeted at international student audiences

rather than all.

Orientation to future gain: a lexis of employability

Employability discourses were evident in words such as 'career', 'job', 'employer',

'skills', and 'industry' (see Appendix H, Box 6 for full set of extracts on employability).

Such words were often combined with the personal pronoun 'you' or 'your' plus a

future-oriented verb such as 'plan'. The general pages emphasised how the

universities would support students to achieve individual career success, for

example:

> *Our Careers Service is on hand to support your career planning from your very first day* (Cityscience, general)

> *…the knowledge you gain on your course is geared towards getting you a job as soon as you graduate! That's why 97% of our graduates enter employment within 6 months of graduating* (Northnew, general)

Cityscience implied an expectation that students would already have clear career plans on entering the university. This might be due to the type of courses at Cityscience, a specialist science institution. Northnew emphasised how quickly students would be employed through the phrase *'as soon as you graduate!'*, intensified with an exclamation mark. Exclamation marks have long been used in written English as indicators of emotion, used for social bonding (Crystal, 2015, p. 181). The Northnew exclamation mark use reinforced the informal tone of the colloquial phrases *'geared towards'* and *'getting you a job'*, and the implication was that students would be pleased and excited by this prospect. Despite minor differences in emphasis, all universities used the personalised 'you' and 'your' with references to 'career' and 'job'. They all claimed that they enabled students to achieve career success through their services and resources providing support and help.

Intensifying employability claims via linguistic features and website design

The visibility of discourses of employability on the websites was also heightened by statistics widely used on general pages. Northnew and Southarts examples showed how employability claims were intensified, as both presented numbers relating to employment and referred to the success of alumni:

> *Our graduates have an amazing employability record, with 9/10 in employment or further study six months after graduation. A university education is a positive investment for your future, and our enviable employability record is proof of the value a [Northnew] degree holds to both our graduates and employers* (Northnew, international)

> *Our average graduate employment rate over the last five years has been 97%. Our alumni constantly return with incredible stories of things they've done, business they've created and awards they've won. 98% of the class of 2015/16 at [Southarts] progressed to employment or further study within six months* (Southarts, general)

The various combinations of linguistic and mathematical symbols by Northnew and Southarts could be seen as semiotic mixing (O'Halloran, 2008, p. 453), with numbers and words together reinforcing the point about successful graduate employment. Statistical evidence was thus an argumentation device adding weight to employability messages. The examples also featured linguistic devices discussed previously in this chapter, such as adjectives (*'incredible', 'amazing'*) and adverbs (*'constantly'*), here intensifying messages about future career success.

A further linguistic means intensifying employability claims was triple structures (three-part lists), containing three words belonging to the same part of speech. Triple structures provide rhythm and are easily remembered (Mooney and Evans, 2019, p. 48). The use of concise three-part slogans with initial capital letters can be seen as a website "design signifier", gaining attention and revealing ideas underpinning the website (Pauwels, 2011, p. 579). Northpoly's general page used sets of three imperatives as an attention-attracting strapline or slogan, each starting with a capital letter: *'Explore, Create, Succeed'* and *'Live, Study, Thrive'*. Similarly, Northnew and Southarts each used a set of three verbs associated with employability: '*We equip, empower and inspire you'* (Northnew), and *'We relentlessly innovate, collaborate and connect in ways that turn creative talent into career'* (Southarts). In the Southarts example, the adverb *'relentlessly'* added further emphasis.

References to employability were found on general webpages with 'Why?' in their titles: *'Why [Eastold]?', 'Why [Cityscience]?', 'Why choose [Northnew]?', 'Why [Southarts]?'* and *'Why study with us?'* (Midrussell). This signalled a discursive practice of argumentation (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 33), as the question 'Why?' leads to reasons being given. Here, reasons for studying at the university were linked to excellence claims and employability:

> *… you will be equipped with the skills employers are looking for…Our graduates are consistently targeted by leading employers, giving your career the best possible start* (Midrussell, general)

> *[Eastold] is one of the top five universities most often targeted by Britain's leading graduate employers (The Graduate Market in 2019). These academic and extra-curricular opportunities help to ensure that [Eastold] graduates are highly employable – many of our graduate students go on to further study, as well as careers across many industries and sectors, including academia* (Eastold, general)

The idea that employability contributed to excellence was most explicit in the Midrussell general webpage as the section was headed 'Academic Excellence'. Midrussell's reference to *'skills employers are looking for'* was similar to Northnew's claim about the *'proof of the value a [Northnew] degree holds to both our graduates and employers'.* Unlike its general page, Eastold did not explicitly refer to 'employers' on its international page, though this was implied in a statement that its graduates were *'greatly sought after'.* In addition, the adverbs *'highly'* and *'greatly'* added to the force of the utterance through a discursive strategy of intensification (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, p. 33). Eastold told international students that its graduates were not

just 'employable' and 'sought after' but *'highly employable'* and *'greatly sought after'*, intensifying the adjectives.

These references to employers signalled external justification of the claims. This connects with the references to league tables, discussed earlier. In both instances, external authority was used to underpin the statements by the universities, thereby adding weight.

Reinforcing 'student as customer': pronouns and imperatives

Messages about employability and future gain tended to reinforce the idea of students-as-customers, with an array of choices of universities. This was evident in the appeals to prospective students. The imperative mood was used to build relationships between individuals and the institution. Imperatives telling a reader what to do add to other linguistic features, such as the use of the modal verb 'you will', to build a narrative or "imaginary scenario" (Fairclough, 1993, p. 147). The addressee was a prospective student (you), and the scenario was them committing to the university and becoming a student there in the future. Reinforcing a reference to the future, imperatives such as *'join', 'choose',* and *'come'* acted as a powerful exhortation*.* This device was used on both general and international pages.
On its international page, Southglass explicitly referred to choice saying *'Choose from more than 500 degrees at [Southglass]',* suggesting a view of students-as-consumers making selections. However, the choice emphasised here was not between Southglass and other universities but from within an array of possible

degrees at this university. Discourses of students-as-consumers also underpinned references to universities' social media activities. Cityscience and Southarts exhorted prospective international students to subscribe to the university's social media. Both mentioned Facebook, and Southarts specifically targeted prospective Chinese students by suggesting they connect on Weibo (a Chinese social media platform). The use of *'join', 'connect'* and *'like'* (in the social media sense) suggested the construction of an online relationship prior to the student physically moving to the university. Such appeals to students to affiliate themselves to the university's social media align with contemporary media strategies used by retail brands to gain customers' allegiance. The data thus showed that the trend identified three decades ago towards universities using publicity materials to 'sell' the institution to customers (Fairclough, 1993, p. 156) now reflects wider changes in advertising practices, with social media used for promotional and marketing purposes.

Internationalisation enhancing employability for international students

Thus far, I have shown how linguistic features contributed to the emphasis on employability, and connected excellence and career success, but the role that internationalisation played was less visible, and on the general pages was even absent. On international pages, it was Midrussell that featured the most explicit link between internationalisation and employability, citing "*work opportunities around the world*", and the career benefits and support of its global alumni networks. However, there was no reference to such benefits on its general pages. Similarly, Midnew referred to "*new friendships and contacts*" as well as "*English and communication*

skills" on its international page, but internationalisation was not linked to employability on its general pages. Although Northnew's use of the words *'investment'* and *'proof of the value'* explicitly linked university study with employment success and economic gain, the employability wording on its general and international pages did not indicate an international aspect.

Previous studies have suggested that internationalisation could potentially be connected to employability and presented as having career-linked benefits (Killick, 2018; Morley *et al.*, 2018; Buckner and Stein, 2019; Courtois, 2019). However, on these websites, this was rarely the case. Furthermore, relationships between internationalised curricula and global citizenship graduate skills (Haigh, 2008; Clifford and Montgomery, 2015, 2017; Killick, 2018; Moir, 2018) were not articulated. Thus an important dimension of internationalisation identified in Chapter Two, internationalisation of the curriculum, was a "discursive absence" (Schröter and Taylor, 2018, p. 2).

Conclusions from the third theme: connections between employability and internationalisation not presented to all website users

Messages about employability and future career success were prominent, and targeted at both home and international students. Notions of excellence and distinctiveness (from the second theme) were reinforced and made more concrete by showing prospective students the benefit for their own future. Imperatives addressed prospective students directly and students were exhorted to form bonds with the university. However, while for international students, internationalisation was

sometimes presented as an element of employability messages, internationalisation did not seem to feature in them on general pages. Thus, connections between internationalisation and employability were largely targeted at and presented to international students rather than all students.

5.5. Internationalisation and Covid-19: reassurance in response to uncertainty

To answer RQ 4, I wanted to discover what changes there were following the advent of the pandemic in the websites' navigational structures, the internationalisation-related messages, and the lexis and other linguistic features used to convey those messages. I analysed additions and revisions to university webpages during the first pandemic lockdown in England and the shift to online learning which was common there. I did this to discover what messages were foregrounded in a time of crisis such as the pandemic, and whether any changes gave additional insights into the internationalisation-related messaging that operated pre-pandemic. The Covid-related material reinforced the previous findings and, above all, I argue that it highlighted the role of emotions in internationalisation messages.

Changes to the websites as a result of the Covid-19 Pandemic

All the websites provided navigation options leading to Covid-19 information, but none of them made any immediately apparent distinction between home and international students. This differed from the website organisation previously when most websites had a separate 'International' tab. The universities uniformly signalled

the new information by additional coloured banners across the top of the homepage, containing wording such as 'Covid-19 information' (Northpoly) and 'Covid-19 updates' (Northnew), indicating the urgency of the crisis. However, within the Covid-19 updates some sections were signposted as aimed at international students, most obviously with reference to travel guidance, visa regulations and English language qualifications. It was therefore possible to continue to make a distinction between general sections and international sections specifically targeting international students, and to identify similarities and differences between them (see Appendix H, Box 7 for full set of extracts).

Conveying flexibility and certainty through the language of safety and use of the word 'will'

The words *'flexibility'* and *'flexible'* were noticeably used in association with international applications. This was one area where the texts during Covid-19 spoke directly to international students. The reassuring tone varied in strength between the universities, but the emphasis on flexibility was similar. All the universities reassured international students that they would not experience any detriment through delays in the applications process; for example:

> *In light of the current disruption, we have extended this deadline to 18 August and will keep this under review. New students concerned about obtaining or renewing their visas should contact the International Student Support team* (Cityscience, international)

> *We are aware that exams and assessments are being impacted across the world. This includes delays to exam dates and some results being released. We are closely monitoring the ongoing situation and will be reviewing any relevant deadlines and other changes…* (Midrussell, international)

> *We'll be as flexible as possible and work with you to progress your application as smoothly as we can… As long as you continue to work with your course team (via online tutorials or similar), and complete the required work, you won't be disadvantaged…* (Southarts, international)

Southarts' use of *'as smoothly as we can'* indicated that the applications process might not be smooth. Northnew said *'We would like to reassure you',* implying that international applicants might be worried. The reassurance offered may indicate underlying concern about potential withdrawals of applications from international students. This was also signalled in an announcement by Northpoly of new scholarships for all international students starting in September 2020.

Underlying these flexibility-related messages were hints about difficulties, yet overall, the suggestion was that students would not be much inconvenienced. However, there were other more disruptive Covid-19-related changes to university life such as campus closures and moving teaching online. Recognition of such unwelcome changes was coupled with an emphasis on safety, thereby conveying emotional reassurance. The linguistic devices used by all the universities were similar, conveying messages of purposeful action in the name of safety and protection. This applied to both general and international pages, as illustrated by examples from Northnew:

> *Our top priority is the health and safety of our university community; our students and our staff. The university has now moved to online delivery of the majority of our courses so we can ensure we can protect and support our students and give them the best possible opportunities to complete their studies* (Northnew, general)

> *If we need to make any changes to courses, processes, deadlines or entry requirements, we will do so in the best interests of students and their families*

and will keep everyone informed as quickly and comprehensively as we can
(Northnew, international)

During the early months of the Covid-19 pandemic, on all the websites, the theme of continuity was also signalled by the verbs 'remain' and 'continue', which featured frequently, along with the use of 'will'. The modal auxiliary verb 'will' has various uses, including requests, orders, and offers, as well as expressing "certainty or confidence about present or future situations" (Swan, 2005, p. 616). In the text outlining provision for the coming academic year (2020-21), the grammatical structure 'will + verb' conveyed certainty about the future. New concrete actions in response to Covid-19 were often linked to safety, probably to counter uncertainty by giving apparently definite information. Tangible on-campus measures such as signage and walkways were presented as evidence that prospective students would be safe. The level of detail given by the universities varied from the precise *'three…face coverings'* (Cityscience) to statements that allowed for changing rules and advice.

Text layout on webpages forms part of the 'visual rhetoric' of a page, conveying a coherent meaning to the reader (Bateman, 2014, pp. 134–135). A particular layout may signify a familiar genre (Pauwels, 2011, pp. 579–580). The words 'guidance', 'advice', and 'information' were used frequently in the during-Covid-19 text by all universities. The informative nature of the text was reinforced by the formatting of sections of text as Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) and Question and Answer (Q & A). Such layouts were likely to be highly recognisable and emphasised that

universities were proactive in answering students' questions. For example, Northnew used a Question and Answer (Q & A) format to address prospective international students. Northnew posed the question (as if asked by international students): *'Is it still safe to come to the UK to study?'*, and then gave its response:

> *The health, safety and wellbeing of our students is our top priority. We are accepting applications as usual. To reassure you and your parents, we are adhering strictly to the guidance that has been put in place to help reduce the spread of the virus. Along with all other UK Universities have measures in place to take care of anyone that may be potentially at risk. The UK is proud to have one of the best public healthcare systems in the world* (Northnew, international)

Here, the theme of continuity was indicated by *'as usual'* and *'still'*, also emphasising continuing adherence to guidance and measures. These phrases were combined with indicators of excellence (*'top', 'one of the best'*). Excellence was linked with a reference to British superiority. Northnew could not answer the question with a definite 'yes, it is safe', but the implication was that if international students became ill, they would be better cared-for in the UK than elsewhere. The reassurance given to international students about the excellence of the UK healthcare system pointed to ongoing competition for students, not just between UK universities but between countries.

National action expressed by various linguistic devices

The Northnew reassurance to international students referred to health-related measures at all UK universities. A sense of national purpose was further visible in

metaphors of Covid-19 as a national enemy. Metaphors of war are emotionally powerful and have a wide scope, used in many situations of difficulty, danger and uncertainty (Semino, 2008, p. 100). They were adopted by many governments and news media to refer to Covid-19 as an enemy (Gillis, 2020; Muzu, 2020). On these websites, lexis from the semantic field of warfare could be identified in universities' emphasis on concrete practical responses to the pandemic. Sometimes the battle imagery was subtle, but nonetheless identifiable, for example:

> *We have set up a taskforce to strategically co-ordinate our activities in the most efficient way possible. We have established immediately three working groups to begin manufacturing personal protective equipment for NHS staff and other key workers; helping with national efforts to test for COVID 19; and coordinating Covid-19 related research* (Southglass, general)

This Southglass example revealed a densely packed set of linguistic devices. Verbs connoted decisive action (*'set up', 'coordinate', 'establish', 'begin', 'manufacture', 'help', 'test'*). These were intensified by adverbs (*'strategically', 'immediately'*), and adjectival phrases *('most efficient way possible')*. The nouns *'taskforce'* and *'working group'* also implied purposeful action, and there was not one working group but three. This can be interpreted as a usage of enemy metaphors to "emphasize the gravity and urgency of the problem in question, and the seriousness of the effort that is being made to solve it" (Semino, 2008, p. 100).

Research-intensive universities did continue to feature international dimensions of research activities. For example, Eastold and Midrussell referred to their research in combatting Covid-19 with the wording *"national and global crisis",* and *"local, national and global effort".* However, the Cityscience website emphasised the support the

university was providing to the NHS, like Southglass highlighting national purpose. Overall, on general pages, the problem and actions were often conveyed in national terms, with an emphasis on the UK, rather than international dimensions.

Expressions of excellence employed to reinforce competitive claims in responses to Covid-19

As on the websites pre-Covid-19, messages about excellence and distinctiveness were also apparent, conveying a sense of strength and positivity during the uncertainty of the Covid-19 pandemic. Although there were suggestions of unity of national purpose, the ongoing messages about excellence were largely used to reinforce individual institutions' competitive claims rather than to emphasise collective action. Northnew turned the online learning into a strength by emphasising its priority on student safety. Midnew also conveyed a message about the quality of its response to the pandemic:

> *Thanks to Active Blended Learning, [Midnew] was able to respond quicker than most to the challenges of the COVID 19 pandemic. In this digital age it remains one of our greatest strengths and makes studying with us a dynamic and highly relevant experience that is second to none. The academic, professional and employability skills and knowledge you'll gain will be of the highest, externally benchmarked standards. More importantly, they'll prepare you for making your way successfully in a constantly changing world* (Midnew, general)

In this Midnew example, a number of linguistic devices were combined for persuasive effect. As pre-Covid, competition was signalled. The comparative *'quicker than most'*, the superlative *'greatest'*, and the idiom *'second to none'* all conveyed a sense of being ahead of other universities. The adjectives *'digital', 'dynamic'* and *'relevant'*

indicated not only an impression of being up-to-date, but also subtly implied that other universities may not have been as proactive in establishing online teaching ahead of Covid-19. The themes of excellence and distinctiveness were thus still evident in the content added during the Covid-19 pandemic. Midnew's use of the name *'Active Blended Learning'* was an effective nomination strategy, conveying visual weight through the capitalisation. In reality, the style might not be very different from how other universities responded during campus lockdowns, but the fact it already had a name provided gravitas and supported the claim that Midnew had developed online teaching pre-Covid-19.

Use of the present continuous tense to reinforce messages of continuity and action

References to the past, present and future may reveal implicit meaning (Pauwels, 2011, p. 578). Some words had an explicit temporal reference such as *'experience'* (past reference) and *'plans'* (future reference). More subtly, temporal reference via tenses reinforced underlying messages of continuity despite the Covid-19 crisis. Continuity was signalled by continuous (or progressive) tenses, often indicating that an activity is not yet completed (Leech and Svartvik, 1994, p. 73). For example, Southarts stated '*We're working…'*. Such tenses were usually accompanied by an adverb to emphasise ongoing duration (rather than the limited duration that continuous tenses can also indicate). At the start of the Covid-19 pandemic, Eastold and Midnew both used the verb *'monitor'* in the present continuous tense, with very similar intensifying adverbs (Midnew used *'continuously'*, and Eastold *'continually'*).

185

The use of the linguistic device of the present continuous tense plus an intensifying adverb(s) became so prominent on the websites during Covid-19 that I introduced an NVivo code specifically for it in my second data collection point (April 2020).

At the third data collection point (June 2020), the present continuous tense plus intensifying adverb was still apparent, but with a shift towards time-limited activity, signalled by adverbs such as *'currently'*. On their general pages, universities described new measures, couched in similar language explicitly referring to safety on campus, for example:

> *We are currently looking at all the arrangements for your in-person experience. We're busy getting our beautiful campus ready for the new academic year. We are currently creating new walkways and navigation aids to ensure safety-spaced movement around campus* (Southglass, general)
> *We are currently putting in place social distancing and hygiene measures on campus in line with our promise to create a university estate that is as safe and secure as possible for all our new and returning students* (Midnew, general)

The focus was on preparations for a return to on-campus teaching in autumn 2020, after the Covid-19 lockdown and move online in spring/summer 2020. The use of the present continuous tense emphasised ongoing effort and careful planning by the universities in preparation for the following academic year.

Conveying reassurance and empathy through intensified emotion-related language

On all the websites, reason-based language, with reference to concrete measures, was combined with emotional reassurances. As in the pre-Covid-19 data, there was emphasis on the personal relationship between university and prospective students,

with use of pronouns 'we' and 'you'. In addition, relationship nouns *('our students',* *'you and your parents', 'students and their families')* emphasised personal relationships. Other verbs, adjectives and adverbs were also used to emphasise emotional reassurance *('reassure', 'help', 'everything we can', 'in the best interests')*. However, despite the reassuring tone and seemingly concrete statements, there were caveats (e.g., *'…everything we reasonably can'; 'If we need to make any* *changes...we will do so in the best interests…')*. The caveats implied concern about further spread of Covid-19 and its impacts, including limits on international flights. Messages about safety measures and the relationship between university and student were employed to show continuity of learning, teaching, and the applications process, albeit with some adaptations. In other areas of university activity, continuity during Covid-19 was impossible and disruption was evident. For such cases, emotional language was intensified, for example:

> *…we've made the difficult decision to postpone our graduation ceremony this year. Our staff and community cherish and value this important event every bit as much as you do. We're aware that a lot of students, friends and family members will be disappointed – this has been an immensely difficult decision, and it's not something we've decided upon without great consideration… the pride attached to this spectacular and prestigious event is something shared by us all and we won't let you down* (Southarts, general)

The repetition of *'difficult decision'* was intensified by the adverb *'immensely'*, and the phrase *'great consideration'*, which emphasised regret about having to postpone the graduation ceremonies. This emotional loading was heightened through the juxtaposition of *'cherish and value'* with *'disappointed'*. A sense of empathy was created by *'every bit as much as you do'* and *'shared by us all'*, emphasising a

shared emotional experience, and intensifying the messages about the university as a community which were visible in the pre-Covid data.

Conclusions from the fourth theme: emotional intensification to reassure students

In the communication about uncertainty, an intensification of already existing messages was visible. As in the pre-Covid-19 data, the most prominent aspect of internationalisation was recruitment of international students. The data collected in April and June 2020 showed continuity in discourses of 'excellence' during Covid-19. The challenges and risks of the pandemic were referred to, but to emphasise the excellence of the universities' responses, sometimes using implied international comparisons such as the excellence of the UK healthcare system, and in the case of some research-intensive universities, international dimensions of their research activities. A combination of emotional reassurance and logical reasoning was used by all the universities in this study to make a case for international applicants continuing to apply to the universities. Not all the websites used explicit metaphors of war (against the enemy of the pandemic), although the emphasis on universities' concrete actions was prevalent. The emotional impact of the pandemic was directly mentioned via references to students' *'concerns'*, *'anxiety'* and *'worry'*. In answer, expressions of understanding, empathy, and reassurance were used, suggesting a response on an emotional level. The combination of reasoned argument and emotional language formed an appeal to international students to remain committed to the university. An intensification of messages about the personal bond between

university and student indicated underlying emphasis on the ongoing importance of international recruitment.

5.6. Conclusion: limited, differentiated, and competitive presentation of internationalisation

To conclude this chapter, I now show how my findings answer the research questions:

RQ1. How do English universities in a stratified system present internationalisation in their website publicity?

All the universities whose websites were analysed featured the recruitment of international students as the principal dimension of internationalisation. Internationalisation was consistently presented in terms of numbers of international students recruited, linked to self-nomination claims for an 'international community'. However, differentiation was apparent between universities according to their characteristics. On international pages, the universities with the highest proportion of international students employed statistical detail about numbers of international students and countries of origin. On general pages, the four universities with the lowest proportion of international students did not include international dimensions in their self-nomination. Emphasis on the large number of countries of origin of existing students was linked to emotional appeals about them 'feeling at home'. Higher-ranked, research-intensive universities also referred to their international-level research. In short, expectations that internationalisation would be core to their university experience were not conveyed equally to all prospective students, as

internationalisation was presented mainly for international recruitment purposes, though the basis of that appeal varied according to each university's position in the stratified system.

RQ2. What differences are there in the messages about internationalisation on 'international' and 'general' webpages?

Internationalisation messages identified in answer to RQ 1 were more evident on webpages specifically signposted as international. Statistics about international students and their countries of origin mainly appeared, or were more detailed, on webpages specifically signalled as 'International' or 'Global'. Analysis of general 'About Us' and 'Study At' webpages showed that messages about the benefits of an 'international community' did not seem to be addressed to home students. Discourses of 'internationalisation at home' were not apparent on general webpages, with benefits of global alumni networks limited to international pages. There was some variation according to universities' rankings and characteristics, with differences between international and general pages greater in the lower-ranked universities. References to 'international' and 'global' on general webpages sometimes referred to the city context rather than the universities themselves, or to universities' positioning in global rankings, featuring on the higher-ranked universities' general pages. In short, messages about internationalisation were stronger and more prominent on the international webpages, especially for the lower-ranked universities.

RQ3. How is the presentation of internationalisation related to other discourses such as inclusion of all students, university excellence, and graduate employability?

In relation to the first of those discourses, most websites had messages about the inclusion of all students, for example claiming that international student applicants would 'feel at home'. Universities frequently suggested they could satisfy diverse students' needs, especially via individualisation and a personal relationship between the prospective student and university. Some of the literature analysed in Chapter Two suggested that international students were often seen as requiring additional support, and were represented via deficit discourses. However, on these websites international students were not portrayed as being in greater need of support and 'integration' than home students. Messages about student support appeared on both general and international pages, with no explicit differentiation between those students, perhaps reinforcing claims that international students were part of an inclusive student community.

However, the very structure of the webpages subtly contradicted messages of inclusion, with separate pages for international students reinforcing the binary of home and international students. Some matters were evidently seen as relevant only to international students, notably the issue of internationalisation itself. Other features of websites too, such as the numerical detail offered, presented a view of international students as a collective entity, different from home students, and therefore perhaps not fully included with them.

What was more striking was that messages about internationalisation were conveyed in language reflecting widespread discourses of 'excellence'. Messages about 'excellence' pervaded the language on the webpages, through adjectives and ranking-linked lexis, intensified by adverbs, present tenses, and rhetorical devices. Internationalisation was linked to discourses of excellence in so far as international league tables and claims to be 'world-leading' were used by higher-ranked universities to justify claims to be excellent, and excellence claims were used by all universities to appeal to prospective international students. Where aspects of internationalisation did feature, they were presented competitively as a tool to recruit international students. Even where research activities aimed at the 'global good' were mentioned, the presentation emphasised the superiority of a particular institution. Institutions all made claims about their excellence and uniqueness, drawing on university rankings. The content of the claims varied according to institutional characteristics such as age, size, and location, but there was commonality in the language used. Regardless of ranking, all the universities used wording that justified and intensified messages of 'excellence' and 'distinctiveness', reflecting competition in a marketised system. Similar techniques were used to convey the messages, such as citing external authority of league tables, using statistical evidence to justify claims. However, discourses of excellence dominated, rather than those of internationalisation.

Furthermore, discourses of employability were dominant on all websites, with employers cited as sources of authority for excellence claims. Regardless of

universities' ranking and characteristics, an underpinning idea was revealed that their primary role was to equip students for post-degree working life. Emotional language bound prospective students to the universities through the references to their future. However, although employability was dominant on both general and international webpages, a link with internationalisation appeared primarily in appeals to international students about what they would gain from studying in England. Connections between internationalisation and employability were largely only presented to international students. Inter-relationships between internationalisation and other discourses were complex and not always transparent. In short, internationalisation was subservient to other discourses: it was treated as evidence to support the excellence discourse, and (for international students only) shown as enhancing employment opportunities.

RQ4. What shifts in the website messages are apparent in the light of the Covid-19 pandemic?

Internationalisation was still presented mainly as being about the recruitment of international students. Despite the uncertainty of the pandemic, prospective international applicants and existing international and home students were given messages which conveyed continuity and stability. Although there were some suggestions of national unity, international efforts, and similar approaches taken by all universities in the face of a common threat, the text added to these websites during Covid-19 largely reinforced competitive claims. What stood out in the data gathered in April and June 2020 was the affective aspect of the argumentation, with

both explicit and implicit appeals to students' feelings. Analysis of a range of linguistic devices revealed that the messages about internationalisation during Covid-19 were conveyed through a combination of evidence-based argument and persuasive emotional appeals, primarily aimed at international students. In short, in response to Covid-19, messages used intensified emotional language (plus rational argument) to reassure prospective students that the pandemic did not threaten the opportunities and competitive advantages that each university claimed.

The importance of the affective element of internationalisation for RQs 1-3

Analysing the emotion-focused content of the pandemic webpages helped me recognise that affect was also a significant feature of the webpages pre-pandemic, as I now highlight. Many of the pre-pandemic messages (discussed in sections 5.2-5.4) were worded in ways that appealed to prospective students' emotions. Students were invited to feel attracted to each university by features such as its excellence, reputation and status, the virtues of its location, the choices available within the university, and the way its research benefits humanity. Notably, some of the messages had an air of reassurance in relation to possible anxieties, for example with the university self-depicting as a community where international students would feel 'at home', and emphasising the ever-present support provided, and likelihood of eventual employment.

The pre-pandemic webpages used emotive language and linguistic features for apparent persuasive effect. Nouns and verbs, such as 'community' mentioned above,

or 'empower' and 'inspire' cited in 5.4, were often ones with intrinsically favourable associations. Adjectives and adverbs were used to intensify messages. Pronouns and direct address were used to demonstrate an individualised and personalised relationship between the university and the prospective student. An informal and colloquial tone was adopted to demonstrate support, friendliness and empathy. Some linguistic devices were ones familiar from persuasive consumer marketing, such as three-part slogans and other triple structures, and exclamation marks to indicate informality and excitement. This linguistic repertoire was allied with impactful design features, such as eye-catching banners, lists, and bullet points. Before and during the pandemic, website users were presented with an array of emotion-laden devices inviting them to commit to the university in question.

Findings summary

In short, the websites presented only a limited, partial notion of internationalisation. The presentation of internationalisation was largely confined to the features that seemed to relate to recruitment of international students. The presentation of internationalisation was also differentiated, being largely absent from the pages likely to be seen by home students, and also varying according to the local or parochial characteristics of each university. Emotive language was prominent in the ways universities used internationalisation to promote themselves.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS – CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE LIMITED PRESENTATION OF INTERNATIONALISATION

6.1. Introduction: chapter purpose and structure

This final chapter is both retrospective and forward-looking. First, I draw on sociological theory about 'emotion management' to interpret the findings from Chapter Five, thus providing more of the critical dimension that is an essential part of Critical Discourse Studies. I then summarise what this study adds to the literature on internationalisation in higher education. I also highlight the study's methodological contribution in bringing together CDS and website analysis, demonstrating the benefits of that approach. This leads me then to propose ways of taking the study forward, its usefulness to others, and how it could be extended. Finally, I reflect on what I gained from the research process, and the implications of my study for me as a practitioner.

6.2. Interpreting the findings: theoretical perspectives from the sociology of emotions

Discourse analysis exposes taken-for-granted assumptions, ways of thinking and talking about internationalisation. The previous chapter's final section related the findings to the four research questions and highlighted the prominent role of emotions in them. In this section, I argue that drawing on sociological insights about

emotion management helps illuminate those findings, especially suggesting *why* internationalisation might be presented in a limited way, primarily for and about international students.

Limited presentation of internationalisation

I showed in Chapter Two that internationalisation has been conceptualised as multidimensional and integral to universities' work (e.g. Knight, 2003, 2004; Turner and Robson, 2008; Leask, 2009; de Wit *et al.*, 2015). Empirical studies of the implementation of internationalisation highlighted the importance of articulating its aims to all students and staff (e.g. Sidhu, 2006; Clifford and Montgomery, 2015; Robson, Almeida and Schartner, 2017; Heffernan *et al.*, 2018).

However, although internationalisation *could* therefore have been central to website messages conveyed by the universities in this study, my findings showed that it was not. My first research question asked how English universities in a stratified system present internationalisation. In Chapter Five, I showed how presentation of internationalisation was limited. Missing were messages about the benefits "for all" of internationalised and diversified dimensions of learning, in formal academic settings and the broader university environment. Internationalisation was largely presented as being about international student recruitment.

I sought to understand *why* the presentation of internationalisation might be like this, and to explore what theoretical perspectives might help me to interpret those

findings. Showing *how* internationalisation was presented, via analysis of linguistic features, revealed emotion-related language aimed at reassuring current and prospective students, and not just in the data gathered during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Discourses of emotion in higher education

My interpretation of the data thus developed alongside my growing awareness that theoretical perspectives on emotions could shed light on the presentation of internationalisation. In Chapter Three, I discussed the relationship between data and theory in my inductive CDS methodological approach. To recap, inductive knowledge does not start with a hypothesis, but nor does theory 'emerge' on its own. Inductive research entails researchers applying prior or growing awareness of relevant theoretical insights (Bryman, 2016, p. 28). In my case, I did not set out to investigate emotion-provoking aspects of the presentation of internationalisation, yet this became an important theme and I sought to understand why.

Emotion in higher education is a relatively under-developed area of research. A few studies have addressed the role of emotions in universities, for example in the working lives of academics (Chubb, Watermeyer and Wakeling, 2017; Thies and Kordts-Freudinger, 2019) and in the lives of students (Beard, Clegg and Smith, 2007; Hey and Leathwood, 2009). Antoniadou and Quinlan's (2020) study of immigrant academics in the UK used a model of emotion regulation to investigate emotion responses, experiences, and expression (Antoniadou and Quinlan, 2020, p. 73).

Sobel and Evans (2020) investigated emotional aspects of university librarians' work during the Covid-19 lockdowns (Sobel and Evans, 2020).

However, connections between emotions and internationalisation have hitherto not been widely investigated, and this is one of the contributions my study makes to the field of internationalisation in higher education. In Chapter Five, I showed how internationalisation was presented publicly, revealing features of language which might shape website users' views and expectations. My findings showed that emotions were an important feature of the language used and I now suggest that universities' use of such language fits a more widespread pattern of the way organisations attempt to manage emotions

Theoretical perspectives from sociology: emotion management

Contributions by sociologists to the study of emotions are relevant here. Sociology's important insight is that emotions, and the way they are experienced and expressed, are to a large extent socially and culturally constructed. Previously, emotions were mainly seen as internal processes associated with the body, the functioning of the brain, and personality. They were viewed as the province of biology or psychology rather than sociology (Williams, 2001, pp. 39–41). However, sociologists increasingly recognised that emotions are shaped by social institutions, social systems and power relations (Jacobsen, 2019, p. 2). This means that emotions are not just an individual private matter, but are often generated by social, collective processes (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019, p. 7). Social practices actively create and elicit emotions, rather

than simply expressing emotions that were already there (Burkitt, 2014, pp. 44–45). Frequently, emotions are 'managed' by organisations, sometimes subtly through language that creates 'emotion norms' (Charmaz, Harris and Irvine, 2019, pp. 138–141). The salience of emotions in social interactions is evidenced by a growing body of literature on the sociology of emotions (Hochschild, 1983; Williams, 2001; Illouz, 2007; Wetherell, 2012; Ahmed, 2014; Burkitt, 2014; Harris, 2015; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019).

It was Hochschild who "…turned the sociological spotlight on emotions" (Dillon, 2019, p. 355) with her book '*The Managed Heart'* (Hochschild, 1983)*,* an influential study which revealed that the expression of emotions was 'work' that employers required people to do. Hochschild's insights about 'emotional labour' in the management of emotions have been applied in a range of organisational studies, such as healthcare and policing (Smith and Kleinman, 1989; Henderson, 2001; Lumsden and Black, 2018; Ward, McMurray and Sutcliffe, 2020). I argue that theories about emotion management also offer insights for my study. In other words, how universities presented internationalisation on the webpages may relate to management of website users' emotions, including those of future students, as I argue below. First, however, I also show how sociological ideas about 'emotional capitalism' and 'risk' can add to the interpretation.

'Emotional capitalism' and internationalisation

Illouz's concept of 'emotional capitalism' challenged the view that organisations in capitalist systems were dominated by objective rationality and regularities. She stated that:

> *Emotional capitalism is a culture in which emotional and economic discourses and practices mutually shape each other… affect is made an essential component of economic behaviour*
> (Illouz, 2007, p. 5).

In other words, economic relationships are highly emotional, and emotional relationships have become based on economic models and commodified. This is evidenced by studies on how emotional appeals feature in the marketing, advertising and branding of products such as cars, clothing and drinks (Hill, 2010; Heath, 2012), and how emotional attachments have become increasingly marketised, for example ever-more expensive commodities and services associated with love and romance (Essig, 2019).

For this study, Illouz's connection of economic and emotional discourses can help me answer the second and third research questions, about how the presentation of internationalisation is related to other discourses such as inclusion, excellence, and employability, and what differences there are in the messages about internationalisation on 'international' and 'general' webpages. I will now explain how all these sociological insights about emotions clarify the answers to these questions.

In Chapter Five, I presented evidence that statistics and citations of external authority were used to demonstrate excellence and employability, making reason-based

arguments about the distinctiveness of the institution and its graduates' employment prospects. The rationality of such argumentation was implied verbally and in objective-looking lists on the webpages. This supplemented emotive appeals to prospective students about their feelings and their own future, which aligns with Illouz's point about economic and emotional discourses being intertwined.

However, internationalisation did not feature homogenously in those appeals: there were differences between the messages on international and general pages. Messages to prospective international students about how they would *feel* when part of an 'international community' formed a central element of the international webpages. Internationalisation also featured via messages about what international students would gain from studying at the university, such as career-supporting global contacts. Conversely, on the general pages emotive appeals relating to internationalisation were absent. For example, prospective home students were not presented with emotional language linking internationalisation with their economic future. This contrast requires explanation, because according to the conceptualisations of internationalisation in the academic literature in Chapter Two, emotional appeals about 'global citizenship' skills and the benefits of global alumni networks (for example) could have been made to home students. In other words, links between internationalisation, excellence and employability could have been presented on general pages, but largely were not. The concept of 'emotional capitalism' can clearly help explain the messages designed to recruit international students, but additional clarification is needed to explain why dimensions of

internationalisation were usually not presented as benefits to home students. This

differentiation is in effect an example of market segmentation which is, as Anna Giza

explains (Giza, 2021), a key element of marketing strategies. Segmentation reflects

the assumption that sections of consumers share characteristics which will lead them

to make similar choices (Giza, 2021, p. 98). The question then is on what basis the

student market was segmented in the websites, and why internationalisation did not

feature on general pages as much as on international pages.

Risks and emotional reassurance

There is a further dimension, risk, which may help explain why messages about

internationalisation and also emotional reassurances differed between the various

webpages. Risk involves future scenarios and potential dangers, related to specific

political and social contexts, and is intertwined with emotion (Lupton, 2013). The

dominant discourses on the websites seemed to involve perceived threats and risks.

Ulrich Beck referred to 'risk society', arguing that industrialisation and modernisation

had led to widespread hazards (Beck, 1992, p. 22), and these generate everyday

insecurities and anxieties. Giddens and Sutton (2021, p.177), elaborating on Beck's

argument, explicitly identify decisions about education and career choices as feeling

risky, particularly because rapid economic change makes it difficult to know what

skills will be worthwhile in the future. Throughout his writing, Beck links risks with

globalisation, and emphasises that risks are created by industries which often

operate on a global scale. He also points out that there is a boomerang effect,

whereby the agents of risk are themselves caught by the hazards that they unleash (Beck, 1992, p. 37). This could have direct relevance to internationalisation in higher education, as arguably the competitive environment in higher education has accentuated the risks to students of making 'wrong' choices, and also the risks to the universities themselves of such choices threatening their own recruitment and viability.

Beck's focus, especially in a later book *World at Risk* (Beck, 2009), was not only the reality of threats but especially people's consciousness of them. In line with Beck's argument about risk-consciousness and anxiety, Zygmunt Bauman argued that an emotional phenomenon dominating contemporary society is "liquid fear" (Bauman, 2006). Bauman said this fear was connected to neoliberalism: in neoliberally-influenced societies, people experience apprehension and uncertainty, as "...the market thrives under conditions of insecurity" (Bauman, 2006, p. 135).

I suggest that these points by Beck and Bauman about risk, combined with the earlier points about emotion management, market segmentation, and emotional capitalism, can help explain my key findings. Discourses of excellence and employability pervaded universities' websites, reflecting the marketised environment and the need to reassure potential students they were making the 'right choice' for their future job success. However, the presentation of internationalisation was not universal, and was frequently absent from the general pages, not presented to home students as relevant to their likely concerns such as employment potential. Emotion management

was also visible on the international webpages in the form of language suggesting that international students could feel excitement about the prospect of making new friends from different countries, but this was not a feature of the general pages, suggesting that website decision-makers did not consider that this would have allayed any fears of the home students. Interpreting the data from the perspective of emotion management related to perceived risks thus gives insights into what fears, worries and concerns universities anticipated as needing allaying for prospective students, and thereby the likelihood of the relevance of internationalisation to those students. In short, internationalisation was largely not presented as being relevant to prospective students other than those purposefully accessing the webpages signposted as international. It was mostly targeted to prospective international students because it was probably assumed that they were the ones whose anxiety about university study (and what it might lead to) could productively be managed by reference to universities' international dimensions.

There were also contrasts between the universities' webpages according to their characteristics and rank in the stratified higher education system. For example, internationalisation did appear on the general pages of higher-ranked universities, albeit as an indicator of prestige. In other words, a further basis for market segmentation is the stratification discussed in Chapter One that is such a feature of the English higher education system, reinforced by league tables. Differences between the webpages may reflect assumptions about the likely concerns of potential applicants to the higher and lower ranked universities. This reinforces the

point that emotion-management messages about internationalisation were tailored to those applicants whose risk concerns might be thought likely to be allayed by knowledge of a university's international dimension.

The concept of risk received renewed attention in the Covid-19 pandemic, a "crisis on every level: social, cultural, environmental and economic" (Lupton and Willis, 2021, p. 4). The possible impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the presentation of internationalisation generated the fourth research question, which asked what shifts in the website messages were apparent in the light of the pandemic. As the data showed, emotional reassurance on the universities' webpages was more visible and explicit during the pandemic. It was evidently expected that students would see pandemic-related risks as immediate and urgent, including Covid-19 itself and cancelled in-person teaching, so heightened emotion management was employed. However, this pandemic-related reassurance reinforced rather than replaced the assurances discussed previously.

Illouz has defined emotion as inner energy propelling people towards acts (Illouz, 2007, p. 2), which underscores that emotional appeals are drivers to encourage people to think and behave in certain ways. My study shows the importance of identifying how emotions are integral to the discourses around internationalisation. Even before students arrive at university, their expectations and feelings are likely to be influenced by website messages. Differentiating messages about internationalisation, with emotional appeals mainly targeting only international

206

students, contributes to furthering the distinctions made between international and home students (already established via differentiated fees) which may be hard to dispel.

6.3. What my study adds to the literature on internationalisation

In Chapter Five, discussing my findings, I identified connections to the literature on internationalisation, and I now summarise the most important of those, showing how my study adds to knowledge in this field. My findings supplement the internationalisation literature by demonstrating how the dimensions of internationalisation it discusses played out in university external-facing publicity. Most crucially, I showed that the wider aspects of internationalisation that the literature discusses were marginalised on the webpages, often to the point of nonexistence. This adds substance to authors who emphasised the need for the wider aims of internationalisation to be articulated to students. I showed how the websites usually featured only a limited version of internationalisation, mostly orientated to international students themselves and their recruitment. I also showed that messages about internationalisation varied according to the universities' positions in the stratified system, which I describe as a form of market segmentation.

Reflecting on the websites' pared down and differentiated notions of internationalisation, I propose that the discourses of internationalisation in my findings are best described as 'impoverished', as they were narrowly circumscribed,

omitting the richness of some of the wider ideas of internationalisation covered in the literature and contradicting the idea that internationalisation is "for all".

My study is thus significant in showing the importance of external messaging by universities about internationalisation. The 'impoverishment' of the internationalisation discourses presented means that opportunities are missed to promote the importance of international connections and mutual exchange of ideas especially at a time of increasing sociopolitical crises. The study highlights the need to ensure that such messages are conveyed to all potential students, rather than reproducing a segregation of home and international students.

I have also demonstrated how emotion-laden many of the websites' internationalisation messages were, especially in relation to 'risks' that prospective students might be expected to be anxious about. It seemed to me possible that those responsible for the websites were engaging in emotion management: attempting to influence the feelings of the prospective students by allaying the fears those applicants probably had. Within the limits of this study, I could not investigate whether this was what was intended, but in 6.5. below I suggest this is an area of possible future research. I further suggested that the context within which emotion management takes place is 'emotional capitalism'. I think this idea might usefully supplement that of neoliberalism, an explanatory lens common in the internationalisation literature. These notions of risk-related emotion management, emotional capitalism, and the affective dimension of

internationalisation more generally, are currently not prominent in the literature on internationalisation and perhaps warrant further study.

6.4. The methodological insights of my study

In this section, I suggest some methodological insights which might assist further research in this area. First, despite a contemporary trend towards multimodal analysis, I would argue that an approach emphasising linguistic elements of a text still has merit. Second, I show that transparency about decision-making and the affective aspects of research has benefits for researcher and audience. Third, explaining how I dealt with the unexpected through flexibility and adaptation may help others.

The importance of linguistic elements of text

My methodology (see Chapter Three) advocated the in-depth analysis of written text. It extended this to consider layers of meaning which arise from other visual elements, but my focus was primarily on written words. While in an image-rich society multimodal analysis may yield important insights into messages conveyed by universities to prospective students (Rensimer, 2019; Zhang *et al.*, 2020; Zhang, Tan and O'Halloran, 2022), there is a danger of squeezing out studies offering detailed analysis of linguistic features. My study shows that written text is still a crucial aspect of university websites, confirmed when the new content added in March 2020 was largely in words.

Combining Reisigl and Wodak's five DHA questions with Pauwels' website analysis methods enabled me to identify categories then form them into over-arching themes (each with distinctive linguistic features) to help me answer the research questions. The step-by-step approach that I constructed thus formed a basis for detailed analysis of the words and syntax of the written text. Appendix E shows that I noted fifteen distinct types of language feature, some involving several sub-categories; the effort demonstrated that it is only when analysing at such a level of detail that the subtle, nuanced effects of language become evident.

For anyone doing CDS-focused research, my study perhaps also demonstrates the need to note explicitly the emotional content of the language studied. Otherwise, I would argue, there is a risk of failing to recognise the extent to which emotions permeate and underpin discourses, and give them their power.

Transparent decision-making

My study shows how inductive CDS research can be labyrinthine, entailing re-thinking and learning. I have made my presence visible in this thesis by using the first person and showing that decisions are controlled by the researcher, in doing so challenging the idea that research is 'objective'. The suggestion of 'control' does not, however, mean that the process was straightforward. I had to re-visit decisions repeatedly, for example, naming and renaming the themes (see Chapter Four).

I showed how using 'slow' manual methods alongside a digital software package was productive. For example, I demonstrated the value of including an affective dimension in the research process, carefully recording first impressions (including the 'look and feel' of the websites) via audio recordings and paper-based rubrics to record immediate, spontaneous reactions to the websites. Thus, as well as the affective element being prominent in my findings, it also played a distinctive role in my research methodology.

Throughout the research, I carefully considered and recounted every step of my decision and interpretation process, including rejecting alternative approaches and decisions. I aimed to make the process systematic and transparent, enhancing the trustworthiness of my account. I have taken the reader step-by-step through those decisions, so this may also be of value to people about to embark on CDS-based research.

Facing the unexpected

Facing the unexpected during the research process meant showing adaptability, and I was open about the changes I made to the design and execution of the study. The outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic was an extreme example of external factors that can impact on researchers. Furthermore, being a part-time researcher, with limited time available, heightened the need to be adaptable. Showing how I adapted the study in response to changing circumstances may be useful to others, as this is likely to feature in many research projects.

Taking a CDS approach inevitably entails flexibility of ideas in seeing what 'emerges' from the data, as is associated with inductive research approaches. However, I argued in Chapter Three that the 'inductive versus deductive' binary is rather false. Theory-influenced ideas informed my choice of research topic, the decisions about what to look for, and my interpretations, so there were deductive aspects. Nonetheless, the research also had a strong 'inductive' element, allowing theory to emerge from the data, for example, about the emotional element of the presentation of internationalisation. This also led me to make my study more transdisciplinary as sociological insights proved useful to interpret the linguistic findings. In this way, my study makes a methodological contribution in illustrating how flexibility can be desirable and productive. The unexpected can be embraced, particularly when analysing evolving discourses and needing to apply critical insights to what emerges.

6.5. Taking forward my findings and methodology

In this section, I argue that my study's findings are useful to three main audiences: staff implementing higher education policies including in marketing roles, university teaching staff advocating internationalisation, and education and sociology researchers interested in linguistic analysis.

Internationalisation policy implementation in higher education

The importance of articulating messages about the multidimensionality of internationalisation has implications for people in roles such as marketing and

communications, and in shaping the student experience. My findings suggest that it is important to extend messages about internationalisation beyond recruiting international students to recruiting home students. This is closely connected with the need to develop and promote internationalised curricula and pedagogy. The benefits of internationalisation should therefore be more explicitly interconnected with other discourses. For example, internationalised curricula could be presented as enhancing all students' awareness of and ability to work in a diverse society.

My study raises questions about universities' internal power structures and who makes the decisions about website content, and about how coherent the decision-making processes are. University websites are composite, multiple-authored artefacts, changing over time and containing residues of past iterations. Therefore tracking the authorship and attribution of individual decision-making about websites is complex (Pauwels, 2011, pp. 582–583), and was not my aim; it was beyond the scope of my study to investigate website decision-making. My conclusions about how internationalisation was presented could, however, inform future studies of website decision-making, so my study has wider implications for the implementation of internationalisation policies.

My findings suggest that further research would be valuable. In Chapter Three, I explained that, as Bryman (2016, p. 28) says, there is a double layer of interpretation in the kind of research I have undertaken, as here the researcher interprets others' interpretations. I have concluded that website creators may be making assumptions

about students' perception of likely risk. I have used evidence from the website language to suggest what those assumptions might be, but this could be further investigated by taking a different methodological approach, using methods such as interviews with website decision-makers. My study could help with that as I identified messages and assumptions about internationalisation to ask about, and a possible theory to apply: risk-related emotion management.

Knowing more about website decision-making would make it easier to identify ways to make the links between internationalisation and other priorities more explicit. This is not only relevant to marketing and communications departments. For example, international departments and staff responsible for supporting international students' transitions also have a stake in ensuring that internationalisation is for, and presented to, all students.

University teachers advocating internationalisation

This study has shown that internationalisation as presented on the webpages studied was for and about international students. This may add to the findings of previous studies by university researchers and teachers which problematised the implementation of internationalisation in universities. Researchers suggested, for example, how the reciprocal benefits for home and international students studying together could be enhanced, including through pedagogical and curricular interventions (Elliott and Reynolds, 2014; Spiro, 2014; McKay, O'Neill and Petrakieva, 2018). Participants in those studies expressed some frustration: those

advocating and developing internationalised teaching practices felt they were working in isolation, without coherent implementation of university internationalisation strategies (Clifford and Montgomery, 2017; Robson, Almeida and Schartner, 2017).

I have suggested that potential university students' expectations about internationalisation may be limited if its aims are not well articulated by universities when they present themselves publicly. Individual teachers' actions require support through more coherent integration of internationalisation into universities' public messages. The study could be useful to university teachers advocating internationalisation in their work as it points to the need to consider what messages are conveyed externally as well as internally by their university. My focus was on messages that were prominent at first sight to website visitors, so my study design did not include individual course webpages. However, individual teachers might have more input into such pages, and a future project for me or others could be further investigation of the articulation of internationalisation goals at the level of course webpages.

Researching higher education

Throughout, I have sought to make my CDS approach and linguistic analysis in general accessible to those who are not language specialists, so the methodology of my study might also be of use to researchers in the fields of education and sociology even if they are not language specialists. A language-focused methodology aligns well with social science aims of investigating similarities, differences, and inequalities,

so the approach could be applied to a variety of higher education matters, not just to internationalisation. However, it could be particularly useful in investigating the practices and communication of internationalisation *within* universities, for example analysing documents and internal course webpages, as suggested above.

6.6. A personal and professional reflection on the study

One of my motivations for embarking on this doctoral study was to gain insights for my own professional practice. Undertaking the research was a reflexive project, which began when I had already been teaching in higher education for over two decades. I hoped that the challenges of doctoral study would stimulate and refresh my thinking. My choice of methodological approach offered that opportunity. The criticality of CDS challenges the researcher to be self-critical (Fairclough, 2008, p. 208), monitoring and challenging their own use of language (Billig, 2008, p. 784), and resisting being 'captured' by a particular hegemonic discourse (Trowler, 2001, p. 197). Moreover, Ball maintains that addressing our own subjectivity means "a struggle over and against what we have become, what it is that we do not want to be" (Ball, 2015, p. 15).

However, I could not have foreseen just how much I would be challenged. Early in this study, it was a shock to be made redundant from my long-standing post in my university's Language Centre and it took time to gain another post at the university. I had to adapt to the changed professional circumstances of multiple casual teaching

contracts. In addition, in designing this study, I had no inkling of how the Covid-19 pandemic would disrupt and complicate my professional life and research. Killick's view that even 'expert' academic staff are at times novices in changing and complex landscapes of academic practice (Killick, 2018, p. 77) seemed all the more pertinent as I faced the challenge of the sudden 'online pivot' in March 2020, and the difficulties of teaching in-person during subsequent waves of Covid-19. Emotions came to figure prominently in my thinking, not only connected to the findings of my study, but also in my dual role as a doctoral student as well as a lecturer during the Covid-19 pandemic. For example, experiencing the challenges myself from the student perspective during the pandemic helped me in supervising and providing feedback on my undergraduate students' dissertation work.

The learning I underwent through doctoral study was accompanied by tackling new teaching challenges. I became heavily involved in teaching on the BA Sociology course, taking on existing modules and introducing new ones. In each case, I have reflected how I can contribute to building a more internationalised curriculum and internationalisation "for all". This has meant some soul-searching about the design, content, management, and teaching of modules. For example, I question my wording in module documents, which writers' work I cite in reading lists, my choice of visuals, my design of interactive sessions (online or in-person), and the autonomy students have to create the modules with me. As Killick says, academic staff cannot aim to instil a sense of global selfhood in students unless they can secure their own practice

in the same frame (Killick, 2018, p. 77). Doing this study has reinvigorated and reorientated me as a teacher.

Above all, the findings of my study have encouraged me to ask myself what discourses of internationalisation I present to students and colleagues through my curriculum and teaching practices. I take forward the question of how, as a teacher, I can create spaces for critical reflection on, and articulation of, what internationalisation means, especially for a generation of students whose educational pathways have been affected by Covid-19.

Finally, I want to end on a note of hope. As I said in Chapter Three, taking a CDS approach can lead to positivity about alternatives as well as pessimism about the problems being addressed. My study has added to previous critiques of the ways internationalisation is implemented in higher education in England by showing gaps and unevenness in its public presentation. However, I have provided support for the view that some issues can be addressed, such as making internationalisation more visible to all website audiences. Integrating and highlighting international elements in the work done by universities remains an important endeavour, one which I will continue to advocate in my own practice.

REFERENCES

Adami, E. (2015) 'What's in a click? A social semiotic framework for the multimodal analysis of website interactivity', *Visual Communication*, 14(2), pp. 133–153. doi: 10.1177/1470357214565583.

Adams, R. (2020) 'Universities face £460m loss from expected drop in east Asian students', *The Guardian*, 8 June. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/jun/08/universities-face-460m-loss-from-expected-drop-in-east-asian-students-coronavirus (Accessed: 8 June 2020).

Ahmed, S. (2014) *The cultural politics of emotion*. 2nd edn. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Al-Youssef, J. (2013) 'An international approach to teaching and learning from a UK university management perspective', in Sovic, S. and Blythman, M. (eds) *International Students Negotiating Higher Education: Critical perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 55–66.

Almeida, J., Robson, S., Morosini, M. and Baranzeli, C. (2019) 'Understanding internationalization at home: Perspectives from the Global North and South', *European Educational Research Journal*, 18(2), pp. 200–217. doi: 10.1177/1474904118807537.

Alvesson, M. (2011) *Interpreting interviews*. London: Sage.

Anderson, K. T. and Holloway, J. (2020) 'Discourse analysis as theory, method, and epistemology in studies of education policy', *Journal of Education Policy*, 35(2), pp. 188–221. doi: 10.1080/02680939.2018.1552992.

Antaki, C., Billig. M., Edwards, D. and Potter, J. (2003) 'Discourse analysis means doing analysis: a critique of six analytic shortcomings', *Discourse Analysis Online*, pp. 1–14. Available at: http://extra.shu.ac.uk/daol/articles/open/2002/002/antaki2002002-paper.html.

Antoniadou, M. and Quinlan, K. M. (2020) 'Thriving on challenges: how immigrant academics regulate emotional experiences during acculturation', *Studies in Higher Education*, 45(1), pp. 71–85. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2018.1512567.

Arkoudis, S., Watty, K., Baik, C., Yu, X., Borland, H., Chang, S., Lang, I., Lang, J. and Pearce, A. (2013) 'Finding common ground: enhancing interaction between domestic and international students in higher education', *Teaching in Higher*

Education, 18(3), pp. 222–235. doi: 10.1080/13562517.2012.719156.

Askehave, I. (2007) 'The impact of marketization on higher education genres — the international student prospectus as a case in point', *Discourse Studies*, 9(6), pp. 723–742. doi: 10.1177/1461445607082576.

Baker, P. and Levon, E. (2015) 'Picking the right cherries? A comparison of corpus-based and qualitative analyses of news articles about masculinity', *Discourse & Communication*, 9(2), pp. 221–136. doi: 10.1177/1750481314568542.

Ball, S. J. (2015) 'Subjectivity as a site of struggle: refusing neoliberalism?', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, pp. 1–18. doi: 10.1080/01425692.2015.1044072.

Baltaru, R.-D., Manac, R.-D. and Ivan, M.-D. (2022) 'Do rankings affect universities' financial sustainability? - financial vulnerability to rankings and elite status as a positional good', *Studies in Higher Education*. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2022.2061447.

Banks, M. and Zeitlyn, D. (2015) *Visual methods in social research*. London: Sage.

Barron, P., Gourlay, L. J. and Gannon-Leary, P. (2010) 'International students in the higher education classroom: initial findings from staff at two post-92 universities in the UK', *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 34(4), pp. 475–489. doi: 10.1080/0309877X.2010.512076.

Bartlett, T. (2012) *Hybrid voices and collaborative change: Contextualising Positive Discourse Analysis*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Basit, T. (2003) 'Manual or electronic? The role of coding in qualitative data analysis', *Educational Research*, 45(2), pp. 143–154. doi: 10.1080/0013188032000133548.

Bateman, J. A. (2014) *Text and image: a critical introduction to the visual/verbal divide*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Bathmaker, A.-M., Ingram, N. and Waller, R. (2013) 'Higher education, social class and the mobilisation of capitals: recognising and playing the game', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 34(5–6), pp. 723–743. doi: 10.1080/01425692.2013.816041.

Bauman, Z. (2006) *Liquid Fear*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bauman, Z. and May, T. (2001) *Thinking Sociologically*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bazeley, P. (2013) *Qualitative data analysis: practical strategies*. London: Sage.

Bazeley, P. and Jackson, K. (2013) *Qualitative data analysis with NVivo*. 2nd edn.

London: Sage.

Beard, C., Clegg, S. and Smith, K. (2007) 'Acknowledging the affective in higher education', *British Educational Research Journal*, pp. 235–252. doi: 10.1080/01411920701208415.

Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: towards a new modernity*. London: Sage.

Beck, U. (2009) *World at Risk.* Cambridge: Polity Press

Billig, M. (2008) 'The language of critical discourse analysis: the case of nominalization', *Discourse & Society*, 19(6), pp. 783–800. doi: 10.1177/0957926508095894.

Blackledge, A. (2006) 'The magical frontier between the dominant and the dominated: Sociolinguistics and social justice in a multilingual world', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 27(1), pp. 22–41. doi: 10.1080/17447140608668536.

Bloch, R. and Mitterle, A. (2017) 'On stratification in changing higher education: the "analysis of status" revisited', *Higher Education*, 73(6), pp. 929-946. doi: 10.1007/s10734-017-0113-5.

Boliver, V. (2011) 'Expansion, differentiation, and the persistence of social class inequalities in British higher education', *Higher Education*, 61(3), pp. 229–242. doi: 10.1007/s10734-010-9374-y.

Boliver, V. (2013) 'How fair is access to more prestigious UK universities?', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 64(2), pp. 344–364. doi: 10.1111/1468-4446.12021.

Bonnett, M. (2013) 'Sustainable development, environmental education, and the significance of being in place', *Curriculum Journal*, 24(2), pp. 250–271. doi: 10.1080/09585176.2013.792672.

Botterill, J. and Kline, S. (2009) 'The privileged discourse: advertising as an interpretive key to the consumer culture', in Howells, R. and Matson, R. W. (eds) *Using visual evidence*. Maidenhead: Open University Press, pp. 170–194.

Bowl, M. (2018) 'Differentiation, distinction and equality – or diversity? The language of the marketised university: an England, New Zealand comparison', *Studies in Higher Education*, 43(4), pp. 671–688. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2016.1190961.

Bowl, M. and Hughes, J. (2016) 'Fair access and fee setting in English universities:

what do institutional statements suggest about university strategiesin a stratified quasi-market?', *Studies in Higher Education*, 41(2), pp. 269–287. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2014.927846.

Brandenburg, U. and de Wit, H. (2011) *The end of internationalization*, *International Higher Education*. Available at: https://ejournals.bc.edu/ojs/index.php/ihe/article/view/8533/7667 (Accessed: 4 February 2019).

Breeze, R. (2011) 'Critical Discourse Analysis and its critics', *International Pragmatics Association*, 21(4), pp. 493–525. doi: 10.1075/prag.21.4.01bre.

Brooks, R. (2019) *Education and society*. London: Red Globe Press.

Brooks, R. and Waters, J. (2015) 'The hidden internationalism of elite English schools', *Sociology*, 49(2), pp. 212–228. doi: 10.1177/0038038514525517.

Brooks, R. and Waters, J. (2022) 'Partial, hierarchical and stratified space? Understanding "the international" in studies of international student mobility', *Oxford Review of Education*. doi: 10.1080/03054985.2022.2055536.

Brooks, R. and Waters, J. (2023) 'An analysis of the UK's Turing Scheme as a response to socio-economic and geo-political challenges', *Higher Education*. doi: 10.1007/s10734-023-00995-0.

Brown, L. and Jones, I. (2013) 'Encounters with racism and the international student experience', *Studies in Higher Education*, 38(7), pp. 1004–1019. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2011.614940.

Brown, R. and Carasso, H. (2013) *Everything for sale? The marketisation of UK Higher Education*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Bruch, T. and Barty, A. (1998) 'Internationalizing British Higher Education: students and institutions', in Scott, P. (ed.) *The Globalization of Higher Education*. Buckingham: Open University Press, pp. 18–31.

Bryman, A. (2016) *Social research methods*. 5th edn. Oxford: OUP.

Buckner, E. and Stein, S. (2019) 'What counts as internationalization? Deconstructing the internationalization imperative', *Journal of Studies in International Education*, pp. 151-166. doi: 10.1177/1028315319829878.

Budd, R. (2018) *Protected by their shields? Why are UK universities increasingly*

adopting coats of arms as their logos?, *ECHER blog*. Available at: https://www.echer.org/protected-by-their-shields/ (Accessed: 20 July 2019).

Burkitt, I. (2014) *Emotions and Social Relations*. London: Sage.

Byram, M. (2018) 'Internationalisation in higher education – an internationalist perspective', *On the Horizon*, 26(2), pp. 148–156. doi: 10.1108/OTH-11-2017-0090.

Cameron, D. and Panović, I. (2014) *Working with written discourse*. London: Sage.

Cantwell, B. (2015) 'Are international students cash cows? Examining the relationship between new international undergraduate enrollments and institutional revenue at public colleges and universities in the US', *Journal of International Students*, 5(4), pp. 512–525.

Cantwell, B. and Lee, J. J. (2010) 'Unseen workers in the academic factory: Perceptions of neoracism among international postdocs in the United States and the United Kingdom', *Harvard Educational Review*, 80(4), pp. 490–516. doi: 10.17763/haer.80.4.w54750105q78p451.

Cardinali, R. F. (2021) 'Authorial voice in conference presentations in English', *Academia Letters*. doi: 10.20935/AL4517.

del Carmen Arau Ribeiro, M. and Coelho, M. (2019) 'Transference and transformation for internationalisation in higher education', *European Journal of Language Policy*, 11(1), pp. 71–94. doi: 10.3828/ejlp.2019.5.

Chapleo, C., Durán, M. V. C. and Díaz, A. C. (2011) 'Do UK universities communicate their brands effectively through their websites?', *Journal of Marketing for Higher Education*, 21(1). doi: 10.1080/08841241.2011.569589.

Charmaz, K. (2014) *Constructing grounded theory*. 2nd edn. London: Sage.

Charmaz, K., Harris, S. R. and Irvine, L. (2019) *The social self and everyday life: understanding the world through symbolic interactionism*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Cheeseman, M. (2017) 'How to win at being a student', in Waller, R., Ingram, N., and Ward, M. R. M. (eds) *Higher Education and social inequalities: University admissions, experiences, and outcomes*. London: Routledge, pp. 99–114.

Chiper, S. (2006) 'The discourse of Romanian universities', *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 19(6), pp. 713–724. doi: 10.1108/09534810610708369.

Chubb, J., Watermeyer, R. and Wakeling, P. (2017) 'Fear and loathing in the academy? The role of emotion in response to an impact agenda in the UK and Australia', *Higher Education Research & Development*, 36(3), pp. 555–568. doi: 10.1080/07294360.2017.1288709.

Clark, M. and Zukas, M. (2013) 'A Bourdieusian approach to understanding employability: becoming a "fish in water"', *Journal of Vocational Education & Training*, 65(2), pp. 208–219. doi: 10.1080/13636820.2013.782887.

Clifford, V. and Montgomery, C. (2015) 'Transformative Learning Through Internationalization of the Curriculum in Higher Education', *Journal of Transformative Education*. doi: 10.1177/1541344614560909.

Clifford, V. and Montgomery, C. (2017) 'Designing an internationationalised curriculum for higher education: embracing the local and the global citizen', *Higher Education Research and Development*. doi: 10.1080/07294360.2017.1296413.

Coate, K. and Rathnayake, G. (2013) 'An ethical commitment. Responsibility, care and cosmopolitanism in the internationalized university', in Sovic, S. and Blythman, M. (eds) *International students negotiating higher education: Critical perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 39–53.

Collini, S. (2017) *Speaking of universities*. London: Verso.

Committee of Public Accounts (2022) *Financial sustainability of the higher education sector in England*. London. Available at: https://committees.parliament.uk/publications/22593/documents/166272/default/ (Accessed: 25 November 2022)

Committee on Higher Education (1963) *Higher Education: Report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister under the Chairmanship of Lord Robbins 1961-63 (the Robbins Report)*. London.

Costello, V. (2017) *Multimedia foundations: core concepts for digital design*. 2nd edn. Abingdon: Routledge.

Coughlan, S. (2017) 'Lord Bilimoria warns of university losses from Brexit' *BBC News*. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-39082046 (Accessed: 30 June 2018).

Courtois, A. (2019) 'From "academic concern" to work readiness: student mobility, employability and the devaluation of academic capital on the year abroad', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 40(2), pp. 190–206. doi:

10.1080/01425692.2018.1522241.

Creswell, J. W. (2012) *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches*. 3rd edn. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.

Crowther, P., Joris, M., Otten, M., Nilsson, B., Teekens, H. and Wächter, B. (2000) *Internationalisation at home: A position paper*. Amsterdam: European Association for International Education.

Crystal, D. (2015) *Making a point: the pernickety story of English punctuation*. London: Profile Books.

CVCP (1985) *Jarratt Report (1985): Report of the Steering Committee for Efficiency Studies in Universiites*. Available at: http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/jarratt1985/index.html (Accessed: 22 December 2018).

Delgado-Márquez, B. L., Escudero-Torres, M. Á. and Hurtado-Torres, N. E. (2013) 'Being highly internationalised strengthens your reputation: An empirical investigation of top higher education institutions', *Higher Education*, 66(5), pp. 619–633. doi: 10.1007/s10734-013-9626-8.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2018) 'Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research', in Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 5th edn. London: SAGE, pp. 1–26.

Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (2013) *International Education: global growth and prosperity*. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/340600/bis-13-1081-international-education-global-growth-and-prosperity-revised.pdf (Accessed: 29 June 2018).

Department for Education (2020) *Studying in the UK: guidance for EU students*, Available at: https://www.gov.uk/guidance/studying-in-the-uk-guidance-for-eu-students.

DfES (2003) *The future of higher education*. Norwich. Available at: https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20040117000548/http://www.dfes.gov.uk/highereducation/hestrategy/ (Accessed: 12 December 2018).

van Dijk, T. A. (1993) 'Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis', *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), pp. 249–283. doi: 10.1177/0957926593004002006.

Dill, D. D. and Soo, M. (2005) 'Academic quality, league tables, and public policy: A cross-national analysis of university ranking systems', *Higher Education*, 49(4), pp. 495–533. doi: 10.1007/s10734-004-1746-8.

Dillon, M. (2019) *Sociological Theory*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

DiMaggio, P. J. and Powell, W. W. (1983) 'The Iron Cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields', *American Sociological Review*, 48(2), p. 147. doi: 10.2307/2095101.

Dippold, D. and Heron, M. (2021) 'Conclusion: taking classroom interaction forward', in Dippold, D. and Heron, M. (eds) *Meaningful Interaction at the Internationalised University*. London: Routledge, pp. 196–203.

Dorner, H. (2018) 'Exploring students' conceptions of internationalised learning: Experiences from international online collaborative seminars', *Innovations in Education and Teaching International*, 55(3), pp. 304–313. doi: 10.1080/14703297.2016.1210530.

Duke, C. (2005) 'Values, discourse and politics: an Australian comparative perspective', in Tapper, T. and Palfreyman, D. (eds) *Understanding Mass Higher Education*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 6–27.

Durkin, M., McKenna, S. and Cummins, D. (2012) 'Emotional connections in higher education marketing', *International Journal of Educational Management*, 26(2), pp. 153–161. doi: 10.1108/09513541211201960.

Eagleton-Pierce, M. (2016) *Neoliberalism. The key concepts*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Egron-Polak, E. and Marmolejo, F. (2017) 'Higher Education internationalization: adjusting to new landscapes', in De Wit, H. et al. (eds) *The Globalization of Internationalization*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 7–17.

Elliott, C. J. and Reynolds, M. (2014) 'Participative pedagogies, group work and the international classroom: an account of students' and tutors' experiences', *Studies in Higher Education*, 39(2), pp. 307–320. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2012.709492.

Essig, L. (2019) *Love, Inc.* Oakland: University of California Press.

Estera, A. and Shahjahan, R. A. (2018) 'Globalizing whiteness? Visually re/presenting students in global university rankings websites', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, pp. 1–16. doi: 10.1080/01596306.2018.1453781.

Etherington, K. (2004) *Becoming a reflective researcher*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Fadeeva, Z. and Mochizuki, Y. (2010) 'Higher education for today and tomorrow: university appraisal for diversity, innovation and change towards sustainable development', *Sustainability Science*, 5(2), pp. 249–256. doi: 10.1007/s11625-010-0106-0.

Fairclough, N. (1993) 'Critical discourse analysis and the marketization of public discourse: the universities', *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), pp. 133–168. doi: 10.1177/0957926593004002002.

Fairclough, N. (2008) 'The language of critical discourse analysis: reply to Michael Billig', *Discourse & Society*, 19(6), pp. 811–819. doi: 10.1177/0957926508095896.

Fairclough, N. (2010) *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. 2nd edn. Harlow: Prentice Hall.

Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. (1997) 'Critical discourse analysis', in Van Dijk, T. A. (ed.) *Discourse as social interaction*. London: Sage, pp. 258–284.

Farrelly, M. (2010) 'Critical Discourse Analysis in political studies: an illustrative analysis of the "empowerment" agenda', *Politics*, 30(2), pp. 98–104. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9256.2010.01372.x.

Fazackerley, A. (2020) 'Forget freshers' week: universities prepare to teach new first years online', *The Guardian*, 3 April. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/apr/03/forget-freshers-week-universities-prepare-to-teach-new-first-years-online (Accessed: 3 April 2020).

Fielding, N. (2008) 'The role of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis', in Hesse-Biber, S. N. and Leavy, P. (eds) *Handbook of Emergent Methods*. New York: Guilford, pp. 675–695.

Ford, C. and McMullin, J. (2016) 'Internationalization of higher education institutions: challenges and opportunities', in Côté, J. E. and Furlong, A. (eds) *Routledge Handbook of the Sociology of Higher Education*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 289–298.

franzke, A., Bechmann, A., Zimmer, M. and Ess, C. (2020) *Internet Research: Ethical Guidelines 3.0 Association of Internet Researchers*. Available at: https://aoir.org/reports/ethics3.pdf (Accessed: 21 February 2021).

Friedman, J. Z. (2018) 'The global citizenship agenda and the generation of

cosmopolitan capital in British higher education', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 39(4), pp. 1–15. doi: 10.1080/01425692.2017.1366296.

Gabriels, W. and Benke-Åberg, R. (2020) *Student Exchanges in Times of Crisis: The impact of COVID-19 on student exchanges in Europe*. Brussels. Available at: https://esn.org/covidimpact-report (Accessed: 4 October 2020).

Gasston, P. (2013) *The modern web: Multi-device web development.* San Francisco: No Starch Press.

Gayton, A. M. (2019) 'Exploring the widening participation-internationalisation nexus: evidence from current theory and practice', *Journal of Further and Higher Education*. doi: 10.1080/0309877X.2019.1678014.

Gee, J. P. (2014) *An introduction to discourse analysis*. 4th edn. London: Routledge.

Gemmell, I. and Harrison, R. (2017) 'A comparison between national and transnational students' access of online learning support materials and experience of technical difficulties on a fully online distance learning master of public health programme', *Open Learning*, 32(1), pp. 66–80. doi: 10.1080/02680513.2016.1253463.

George Mwangi, C. A. *et al.* (2018) 'Criticality in international higher education research: a critical discourse analysis of higher education journals', *Higher Education*, 76(6), pp. 1091–1107. doi: 10.1007/s10734-018-0259-9.

Gergen, K. J. (2015) *An invitation to social construction*. 3rd edn. London: Sage.

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and self-identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. and Sutton, P. W. (2021) *Sociology*. 9th edn. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gillis, M. (2020) 'Ventilators, missiles, doctors, troops … the justification of legislative responses to COVID-19 through military metaphors', *Law and Humanities*, pp. 1–25. doi: 10.1080/17521483.2020.1801950.

Giza, A. (2021) 'Targeted society: Should sociology theorize marketing?', *Studia Socjologiczne*, 2021(4). doi: 10.24425/sts.2021.139723.

Glover, A., Strengers, Y. and Lewis, T. (2017) 'The unsustainability of academic aeromobility in Australian universities', *Sustainability: Science, Practice and Policy*, 13(1), pp. 1–12. doi: 10.1080/15487733.2017.1388620.

GOV.UK (2020) *Higher education: reopening buildings and campuses - GOV.UK*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/higher-education-reopening-buildings-and-campuses/higher-education-reopening-buildings-and-campuses (Accessed: 5 June 2020).

Graham, C. (2013) 'Discourses of widening participation in the prospectus documents and websites of six English higher education institutions', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 34(1), pp. 76–93. doi: 10.1080/01425692.2012.692048.

Greene, J. C. (2010) 'Knowledge accumulation: three views on the nature and role of knowledge in social science', in Luttrell, W. (ed.) *Qualitative educational research*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 63–77.

Griffith, J. (2013) 'Pedagogical over punitive: the academic integrity websites of Ontario universities', *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, 43(1), pp. 1–22. Available at: https://search-proquest-com.apollo.worc.ac.uk/docview/1437956243?pq-origsite=summon&accountid=15133 (Accessed: 8 July 2018).

The Guardian (2019) *University league tables 2020 - full rankings and courses | Education | The Guardian*. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/ng-interactive/2019/jun/07/university-league-tables-2020 (Accessed: 2 September 2020).

Guion Akdağ, E. and Swanson, D. M. (2018) 'Ethics, power, internationalisation and the postcolonial: a Foucauldian discourse analysis of policy documents in two Scottish universities', *European Journal of Higher Education*, 8(1), pp. 67–82. doi: 10.1080/21568235.2017.1388188.

Gunter, A. and Raghuram, P. (2018) 'International study in the global south: linking institutional, staff, student and knowledge mobilities', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 16(2), pp. 192–207. doi: 10.1080/14767724.2017.1401453.

Guo, S. and Chase, M. (2011) 'Internationalisation of higher education: integrating international students into Canadian academic environment', *Teaching in Higher Education*, 16(3), pp. 305–318. doi: 10.1080/13562517.2010.546524.

Haigh, M. (2008) 'Internationalisation, planetary citizenship and Higher Education Inc.', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 38(4), pp. 427–440. doi: 10.1080/03057920701582731.

Haigh, M. (2014) 'From internationalisation to education for global citizenship: a multi-layered history', *Higher Education Quarterly*, 68(1), pp. 6–27. doi:

10.1111/hequ.12032.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1978) *Language as social semiotic: the social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.

Hamilton, L. and Corbett-Whittier, C. (2013) *Using case study in education research*. London: Sage.

Handley, K. (2018) 'Anticipatory socialization and the construction of the employable graduate: A critical analysis of employers' graduate careers websites', *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(2), pp. 239–256. doi: 10.1177/0950017016686031.

Harper, D. (2012) *Visual sociology*. London: Routledge.

Harris, S. (2011) *The university in translation*. London: Continuum.

Harris, S. R. (2015) *An invitation to the sociology of emotions*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Harrison, N. (2012) 'Patterns of participation in a period of change: Social trends in English higher educaiton from 200 to 2016', in Waller, R., Ingram, N. and Ward, R.M.(eds.) *Higher education and social inequalities*. London: Routledge, pp. 54-80.

Harrison, N. (2015) 'Practice, problems and power in "internationalisation at home": critical reflections on recent research evidence', *Teaching in Higher Education*, 20(4), pp. 412–430. doi: 10.1080/13562517.2015.1022147.

Harrison, N. (2018) 'Using the Lens of "Possible Selves" to Explore Access to Higher Education: A New Conceptual Model for Practice, Policy, and Research', *Social Sciences*, 7(10), pp. 1-21. doi: 10.3390/socsci7100209.

Hartley, M. and Morphew, C. C. (2008) 'What's being sold and to what end? A content analysis of college viewbooks', *The Journal of Higher Education*, 79(6), pp. 671–691. doi: 10.1080/00221546.2008.11772123.

Hayes, A. (2017) 'Why international students have been "TEF-ed out"?', *Educational Review*, 69(2), pp. 218–231. doi: 10.1080/00131911.2016.1197183.

Hazelkorn, E. (2014) 'Rankings and the global reputation race', *New Directions for Higher Education*, 2014(168), pp. 13–26. doi: 10.1002/he.20110.

Hazelkorn, E. (2018) 'Reshaping the world order of higher education: the role and impact of rankings on national and global systems', *Policy Reviews in Higher Education*, 2(1), pp. 4–31. doi: 10.1080/23322969.2018.1424562.

Heath, R. (2012) *Seducing the Subconscious: The Psychology of Emotional Influence in Advertising*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Heffernan, T., Morrison, D., Magne, P., Payne, S. and Cotton, D. (2018) 'Internalising internationalisation: views of internationalisation of the curriculum among non-mobile home students', *Studies in Higher Education*, pp. 1–15. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2018.1499716.

Henderson, A. (2001) 'Emotional labor and nursing: An under-appreciated aspect of caring work', *Nursing Inquiry*, 8(2). doi: 10.1046/j.1440-1800.2001.00097.x.

Heng, T. T. (2018) 'Different is not deficient: contradicting stereotypes of Chinese international students in US higher education', *Studies in Higher Education*. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2016.1152466.

Herschberg, C., Benschop, Y. and van den Brink, M. (2018) 'Selecting early-career researchers: the influence of discourses of internationalisation and excellence on formal and applied selection criteria in academia', *Higher Education*, 76(5), pp. 807–825. doi: 10.1007/s10734-018-0237-2.

HESA (2019) *Yearly overviews | HESA, HESA*. Available at: https://www.hesa.ac.uk/data-and-analysis/students/overviews (Accessed: 9 March 2019).

HESA (2022) *Higher Education Student Statistics: UK, 2020/21 - Where students come from and go to study, https://www.hesa.ac.uk/news/25-01-2022/sb262-higher-education-student-statistics/location*.

Hey, V. and Leathwood, C. (2009) 'Passionate attachments: Higher education, policy, knowledge, emotion and social justice', in *Higher Education Policy*, pp. 101–118. doi: 10.1057/hep.2008.34.

Hill, D. (2010) *Emotionomics: leveraging emotions for business success*. 2nd edn. London: Kogan Page.

Hine, C. (2016) 'Digital social research', in Gilbert, N. and Stoneman, P. (eds) *Researching social life*. 4th edn. London: Sage, pp. 520–533.

Hite, N. G. and Railsback, B. (2010) 'Analysis of the content and characteristics of university websites with implications for web designers and educators', *Journal of Computer Information Systems*, 51(1), pp. 107–113. doi: 10.1080/08874417.2010.11645455.

Hoang, T. V. Y. and Rojas-Lizana, I. (2015) 'Promotional discourse in the websites of two Australian universities: A discourse analytic approach', *Cogent Education*, 34(2), pp. 1–19. doi: 10.1080/2331186X.2015.1011488.

Hochschild, A. R. (1983) *The managed heart: commercialization of human feeling*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Holborow, M. (2013) 'Applied linguistics in the neoliberal university: Ideological keywords and social agency', *Applied Linguistics Review*, 4(2), pp. 229–257. doi: 10.1515/applirev-2013-0011.

Holborow, M. (2015) *Language and neoliberalism*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Hopkins, D. *et al.* (2016) 'Academic mobility in the Anthropocene era: a comparative study of university policy at three New Zealand institutions', *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 24(3), pp. 376–397. doi: 10.1080/09669582.2015.1071383.

Horseman, N. (2018) 'Benchmarking and rankings', in Strike, T. (ed.) *Higher Education strategy and planning*. London: Routledge, pp. 228–246.

Huang, F., Crăciun, D. and de Wit, H. (2022) 'Internationalization of higher education in a post-pandemic world: Challenges and responses', *Higher Education Quarterly*, 76(2), pp. 203–212. doi: 10.1111/hequ.12392.

Hussain, S. and Hammett, D. (2015) 'Viewpoint: "The world is going to university": higher education and the prospects for sustainable development', *International Development Planning Review*, 37(4), pp. 361–372. doi: 10.3828/idpr.2015.22.

Hussey, T. and Smith, P. (2009) *The trouble with Higher Education. A critical examination of our universities*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Ilieva, R., Beck, K. and Waterstone, B. (2014) 'Towards sustainable internationalisation of higher education', *Higher Education*, 68(6), pp. 875–889. doi: 10.1007/s10734-014-9749-6.

Illouz, E. (2007) *Cold intimacies: the making of emotional capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Jabbar, A., Teviotdale, W., Mirza, M. and Mswaka, W. (2019) 'Academics' perspectives of international students in UK higher education', *Journal of Further and Higher Education,* 44(3), pp. 350-364. doi: 10.1080/0309877X.2018.1541974.

Jacobsen, M. H. (2019) 'Emotions, emotions, everywhere emotions!', in Jacobsen, M.

H. (ed.) *Emotions, everyday life and sociology*. London: Routledge, pp. 1–12.

James, D. (2017) 'Social class, participation, and the marketised university', in Waller, R., Ingram, N., and Ward, M. R. M. (eds) *Higher Education and Social Inequalities: University Admissions, Experiences, and Outcomes*. London: Routledge, pp. 231–242.

Jenkins, J. (2014) *English as a lingua franca in the international university: the politics of academic English language policy*. London: Routledge.

Jewitt, C. (2005) 'Multimodality, "reading", and "writing" for the 21st century', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 26(3), pp. 315–331. doi: 10.1080/01596300500200011.

Jewitt, C., Bezemer, J. and O'Halloran, K. (2016) *Introducing multimodality*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Jiang, X. (2008) 'Towards the internationalisation of higher education from a critical perspective', *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 32(4), pp. 347–358. doi: 10.1080/03098770802395561.

Johnson, J. (2015) *International higher education - GOV.UK*, *GOV.UK*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/international-higher-education (Accessed: 29 June 2018).

Johnson, J. (2020) *What will higher education look like after coronavirus?*, *KCL News Centre*. Available at: https://www.kcl.ac.uk/news/what-will-higher-education-look-like-after-coronavirus#.XpXdjO_PIzU.twitter (Accessed: 15 April 2020).

Jones, E. (2017) 'Problematizing and reimagining the notion of 'international student experience', *Studies in Higher Education*, 42(5), pp. 933-943. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2017.1293880

Jones, P., Bradbury, L. and Le Boutillier, S. (2011) *Introducing social theory*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: The Polity Press.

Karpf, D. (2012) 'Social science research methods in internet time', *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(5), pp. 639–661. doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2012.665468.

Kearney, M. L. and Lincoln, D. (2017) 'The international student experience: voices and perspectives', *Studies in Higher Education*, 42(5), pp. 823–824. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2017.1286832.

Keller, R. (2012) *Doing discourse research: An introduction for social scientists*. London: SAGE Publications.

Kember, S. and Zylinska, J. (2012) *Life after new media: Mediation as a vital process*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Killick, D. (2013) 'Global citizenship, sojourning students and campus communities', *Teaching in Higher Education*, 18(7), pp. 721–735. doi: 10.1080/13562517.2013.836087.

Killick, D. (2018) 'Graduates in/for a multicultural and globalising world', *On the Horizon*, 26(2), pp. 72–78. doi: 10.1108/OTH-10-2017-0084.

Kim, S. Y. (2021) 'College disability support offices as advertisements: A multimodal discourse analysis', *Discourse Studies*, 23(2), pp. 166–190. doi: 10.1177/1461445620966921.

Kinchin, I. M. and Gravett, K. (2022) *Dominant discourses in higher education: critical perspectives, cartographies and practice*. London: Bloomsbury.

King, N. and Horrocks, C. (2010) *Interviews in qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Knight, E. B. (2017) *The impact of massification of the Higher Education sector on the idea of a degree in the UK*. Monash University. Available at: https://figshare.com/articles/The_Impact_of_Massification_of_the_Higher_Education_Sector_on_the_Idea_of_a_Degree_in_the_UK/5732178 (Accessed: 8 July 2018).

Knight, J. (2003) 'Updating the definition of internationalization', *International Higher Education*, 33, pp. 2–3. Available at: https://ejournals.bc.edu/ojs/index.php/ihe/article/viewFile/7391/6588.

Knight, J. (2004) 'Internationalization remodeled: Definition, approaches, and rationales', *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 8(1), pp. 5–31. doi: 10.1177/1028315303260832.

Knight, J. (2013) 'The changing landscape of higher education internationalisation - for better or worse?', *Perspectives: Policy and Practice in Higher Education*, 17(3), pp. 84–90. doi: 10.1080/13603108.2012.753957.

Knight, J. (2015) 'International universities: Misunderstandings and emerging models?', *Journal of Studies in International Education*. doi: 10.1177/1028315315572899.

Koller, V. (2009) 'Brand images: multimodal metaphor in corporate branding messages', in Forceville, C. J. and Urios-Aparisi, E. (eds) *Multimodal metaphor*. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 45–71.

Kress, G. (2010) *Multimodality. A social semiotic approach to contemporary communication*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Kress, G. R. and Van Leeuwen, T. (2006) *Reading images: the grammar of visual design*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge.

Lantz-Deaton, C. (2017) 'Internationalisation and the development of students' intercultural competence', *Teaching in Higher Education*, 22(5), pp. 532–550. doi: 10.1080/13562517.2016.1273209.

Law, D. (2016) 'The internationalisation of higher education', *Perspectives: Policy and Practice in Higher Education*, 20(2–3), pp. 35–36. doi: 10.1080/13603108.2016.1143730.

Lazar, M. M. (2007) 'Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Articulating a Feminist Discourse Praxis', *Critical Discourse Studies*, 4(2), pp. 141–164. doi: 10.1080/17405900701464816.

Lažetić, P. (2019) 'Students and university websites - consumers of corporate brands or novices in the academic community?', *Higher Education*, 77(6), pp. 995–1013. doi: 10.1007/s10734-018-0315-5.

Leary, J. P. (2018) *Keywords: the new language of capitalism*. Chicago: Haymarket Books.

Leask, B. (2009) 'Using formal and informal curricula to improve interactions between home and international students', *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 13(2), pp. 205–221. doi: 10.1177/1028315308329786.

Leask, B. and Carroll, J. (2011) 'Moving beyond "wishing and hoping": internationalisation and student experiences of inclusion and engagement', *Higher Education Research & Development*, 30(5), pp. 647–659. doi: 10.1080/07294360.2011.598454.

Ledin, P. and Machin, D. (2015) 'How lists, bullet points and tables recontextualize social practice', *Critical Discourse Studies*, 12(4), pp. 463–481. doi: 10.1080/17405904.2015.1039556.

Ledin, P. and Machin, D. (2018) *Doing visual analysis*. London: Sage.

Lee, J. (2021) 'A future of endless possibilities? Institutional habitus and international students' post-study aspirations and transitions', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 42(3), pp. 404-418. doi: 10.1080/01425692.2021.1886907.

Lee, B. K. and Cai, H. (2019) 'Evaluation of an online "Internationalization at Home" course on the social contexts of addiction', *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 23(3), pp. 365–388. doi: 10.1177/1028315318797155.

Lee, J. J. and Rice, C. (2007) 'Welcome to America? International student perceptions of discrimination', *Higher Education*, 53(3), pp. 381–409. doi: 10.1007/s10734-005-4508-3.

Leech, G. and Svartvik, J. (1994) *A communicative grammar of English*. 2nd edn. London: Longman.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2005) *Introducing social semiotics*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2011) 'Multimodality and multimodal research', in Margolis, E. and Pauwels, L. (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods*. London: Sage, pp. 549–569.

Levatino, A., Eremenko, T., Molinero Gerbeau, Y., Consterdine, E., Kabbanji, L., Gonzalez-Ferrer, A., Jolivet-Guetta, M. and Beauchemin, C. (2018) 'Opening or closing borders to international students? Convergent and divergent dynamics in France, Spain and the UK', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 16(3), pp. 366–380. doi: 10.1080/14767724.2018.1457432.

Lincoln, Y. S. and Guba, E. G. (1985) *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Lincoln, Y. S. and Guba, E. G. (2000) 'The only generalization is: there is no generalization', in Gomm, R., Hammersley, M., and Foster, P. (eds) *Case study method*. London: Sage, pp. 27–44.

Lindgren, S. (2022) *Digital media and society*. 2nd edn. London: Sage.

Lomer, S. (2014) 'Economic objects: How policy discourse in the United Kingdom represents international students', *Policy Futures in Education*, 12(2), pp. 273–285. doi: 10.2304/pfie.2014.12.2.273.

Lomer, S. (2018) 'UK policy discourses and international student mobility: the deterrence and subjectification of international students', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 16(3), pp. 308–324. doi: 10.1080/14767724.2017.1414584.

Lomer, S. and Anthony-Okeke, L. (2019) 'Ethically engaging international students: student generated material in an active blended learning model', *Teaching in Higher Education Critical Perspectives*, 24(5), pp. 613–632. doi: 10.1080/13562517.2019.1617264.

Lomer, S. and Mittelmeier, J. (2021) 'Mapping the research on pedagogies with international students in the UK: a systematic literature review', *Teaching in Higher Education*, pp. 1–21. doi: 10.1080/13562517.2021.1872532.

Lomer, S., Papatsiba, V. and Naidoo, R. (2018) 'Constructing a national higher education brand for the UK: positional competition and promised capitals', *Studies in Higher Education*, 43(1), pp. 134–153. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2016.1157859.

Lumby, J. and Foskett, N. (2016) 'Internationalization and Culture in Higher Education', *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, 44(1), pp. 95–111. doi: 10.1177/1741143214549978.

Lumsden, K. and Black, A. (2018) 'Austerity policing, emotional labour and the boundaries of police work: An ethnography of a police force control room in England', *British Journal of Criminology*, 58(3). doi: 10.1093/bjc/azx045.

Lupton, D. (2013) 'Risk and emotion: towards an alternative theoretical perspective', *Health, Risk & Society*, 15(8), pp. 634–647. doi: 10.1080/13698575.2013.848847.

Lupton, D. (2015) *Digital Sociology*. Oxford: Routledge.

Lupton, D. (2020) *Data selves*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Lupton, D. and Willis, K. (2021) 'COVID society: Introduction to the book', in *The COVID-19 Crisis: Social Perspectives*. doi: 10.4324/9781003111344-2.

MacCabe, C. and Yanacek, H. (2018) *Keywords for today*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Macdonald, K. (2008) 'Using documents', in Gilbert, N. (ed.) *Researching social life*. 3rd edn. London: Sage, pp. 285–383.

Macgilchrist, F. (2016) 'Fissures in the discourse-scape: Critique, rationality and validity in post-foundational approaches to CDS', *Discourse & Society*, 27(3), pp. 262–277. doi: 10.1177/0957926516630902.

Madriaga, M. and McCaig, C. (2019) 'How international students of colour become Black: a story of whiteness in English higher education', *Teaching in Higher*

Education. doi: 10.1080/13562517.2019.1696300.

Mann, S. (2016) *The research interview*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Marginson, S. (2006) 'Dynamics of national and global competition in higher education', *Higher Education*, 52, pp. 1–39. doi: 10.1007/s10734-004-7649-x.

Marginson, S. (2012) 'Including the other: regulation of the human rights of mobile students in a nation-bound world', *Higher Education*, 63(4), pp. 497–512. doi: 10.1007/s10734-011-9454-7.

Marginson, S. (2018) 'Public/private in higher education: a synthesis of economic and political approaches', *Studies in Higher Education*, 43(2), pp. 322–337. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2016.1168797.

Marginson, S. (2020) *Covid-19 and the market model of higher education: Something has to give, and it won't be the pandemic | CDBU, Council for the Defence of British Universities*. Available at: http://cdbu.org.uk/covid-19-and-the-market-model-of-higher-education-something-has-to-give-and-it-wont-be-the-pandemic/ (Accessed: 3 August 2020).

Marginson, S. (2022) 'What is global higher education?', *Oxford Review of Education*, pp. 1–26. doi: 10.1080/03054985.2022.2061438.

Marres, N. (2017) *Digital Sociology: The reinvention of social research*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Martell, L. (2014) 'The slow university: Inequality, power and alternatives', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 15(3). Available at: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/2223/3692 (Accessed: 1 July 2019).

Martin, J. R. (2004) 'Positive discourse analysis: solidarity and change', *Revisita Canaria de Estudio Ingleses*, 49, pp. 179–202.

Matthews, B. and Ross, L. (2010) *Research methods: a practical guide for the social sciences* . London: Pearson.

Mautner, G. (2005) 'The entrepreneurial university: A discursive profile of a higher education buzzword', *Critical Discourse Studies*, 2(2), pp. 95–120. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17405900500283540.

Mautner, G. (2010) *Language and the market society: critical reflections on discourse and dominance*. London: Routledge.

Maxwell, J. A. (2010) 'Validity', in Luttrell, W. (ed.) *Qualitative Educational Research*. London: Routledge, pp. 279–287.

May, T. (2011) *Social Research: Issues, methods and process*. 4th edn. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

McDonald, I. (2014) 'Supporting international students in UK higher education institutions', *Perspectives: Policy and Practice in Higher Education*, 18(2), pp. 62–65. doi: 10.1080/13603108.2014.909900.

McKay, J., O'Neill, D. and Petrakieva, L. (2018) 'CAKES (Cultural Awareness and Knowledge Exchange Scheme): a holistic and inclusive approach to supporting international students', *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 42(2), pp. 276–288. doi: 10.1080/0309877X.2016.1261092.

Merrick, B. (2013) 'Whose initiative? International student policy in the UK', in Sovic, S. and Blythman, M. (eds) *International students negotiating higher education: Critical perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 28–38.

Migration Advisory Committee (2017) *Call For Evidence MAC Students' Commission*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/migration-advisory-committee (Accessed: 30 June 2018).

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M. and Saldaña, J. (2014) *Qualitative data analysis: a methods sourcebook*. 3rd edn. London: Sage.

Mills, C. W. (1959) *The sociological imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mills, S. (2004) *Discourse (The new critical idiom)*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge.

Mittelmeier, J., Rienties, B., Rogaten, J., Gunter, A. and Raghuram, P. (2019) 'Internationalisation at a Distance and at Home: Academic and social adjustment in a South African distance learning context', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 72, pp. 1–12. doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.06.001.

Mittelmeier, J., Rienties, B., Gunter, A. and Raghuram, P. (2020) 'Conceptualizing internationalization at a distance: A "Third Category" of university internationalization', *Journal of Studies in International Education*, pp. 266-282. doi: 10.1177/1028315320906176.

Mittelmeier, J. and Cockayne, H. (2020) 'Global depictions of international students in a time of crisis: A thematic analysis of Twitter data during Covid-19'. Available at: https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3703604 (Accessed: 2 October 2020).

Mittelmeier, J., Lim, M. A. and Lomer, S. (2020) 'Why international students are choosing the UK – despite coronavirus', *The Conversation,* 6 October. Available at: https://theconversation.com/why-international-students-are-choosing-the-uk-despite-coronavirus-147064 (Accessed: 6 October 2020).

Moed, H. F. (2017) 'A critical comparative analysis of five world university rankings', *Scientometrics*, 110(2), pp. 967–990. doi: 10.1007/s11192-016-2212-y.

Moir, J. (2018) *Internationalizing higher education: a critical overview, Proceedings of Multidisciplinary Academic Conference, Czech Association of Scientific and Technical Societies*. Available at: https://rke.abertay.ac.uk/en/publications/internationalizing-higher-education-a-critical-overview (Accessed: 17 January 2021).

Montgomery, C. (2010) *Understanding the international student experience*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mooney, A. and Evans, B. (2019) *Language, society and power*. 5th edn. Abingdon: Routledge.

Morley, L., Alexiadou, N., Garaz, S., González-Monteagudo, J. and Taba, M. (2018) 'Internationalisation and migrant academics: the hidden narratives of mobility', *Higher Education*, 76(3). doi: 10.1007/s10734-017-0224-z.

Morrish, L. (2019) 'The accident of accessibility: How the data of the TEF creates neoliberal subjects', *Social Epistemology*, 33(4), pp. 355–366. doi: 10.1080/02691728.2019.1638991.

Mullet, D. R. (2018) 'A general Critical Discourse Analysis framework for educational research', *Journal of Advanced Academics*, 29(2), pp. 116–142. doi: 10.1177/1932202X18758260.

von Münchow, P. (2018) 'Theoretical and methodological challenges in identifying meaningful absences in discourse', in Schröter, M. and Taylor, C. (eds) *Exploring silence and absence in discourse*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-64580-3_8.

Muzu, C. (2020) 'War metaphors used for COVID-19 are compelling but also dangerous', *The Conversation*, 8 April. Available at: https://theconversation.com/war-metaphors-used-for-covid-19-are-compelling-but-also-dangerous-135406 (Accessed: 20 July 2020).

Nada, C. I. and Araújo, H. C. (2018) '"When you welcome students without borders,

you need a mentality without borders" internationalisation of higher education: evidence from Portugal', *Studies in Higher Education*, pp. 1–14. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2018.1458219.

Naidoo, R. (2005) 'Universities in the marketplace: the distortion of teaching and research', in Barnett, R. (ed.) *Reshaping the University*. Maidenhead: Open University Press, pp. 27–36.

Naidoo, R. (2018) 'The competition fetish in higher education: Shamans, mind snares and consequences', *European Educational Research Journal*, 17(5), pp. 605–620. doi: 10.1177/1474904118784839.

Naidoo, R., Shankar, A. and Veer, E. (2011) 'The consumerist turn in higher education: Policy aspirations and outcomes', *Journal of Marketing Management*. Taylor & Francis , 27(11–12), pp. 1142–1162. doi: 10.1080/0267257X.2011.609135.

The National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education (1997) *Dearing Report: Higher Education in the learning society*. Available at: http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/dearing1997/dearing1997.html (Accessed: 27 December 2018).

National Union of Students (2020) *COVID-19 and Students Survey Report @ NUS Connect*. Available at: https://www.nusconnect.org.uk/resources/covid-19-and-students-survey-report (Accessed: 4 October 2020).

Nixon, E., Scullion, R. and Hearn, R. (2018) 'Her majesty the student: marketised higher education and the narcissistic (dis)satisfactions of the student-consumer', *Studies in Higher Education*, 43(6), pp. 927–943. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2016.1196353.

O'Connor, S. (2018) 'Problematising strategic internationalisation: tensions and conflicts between international student recruitment and integration policy in Ireland', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*. doi: 10.1080/14767724.2017.1413979.

O'Halloran, K. L. . (2008) 'Systemic functional-multimodal discourse analysis (SF-MDA): constructing ideational meaning using language and visual imagery', *Visual Communication*, 7(4), pp. 443–475. doi: 10.1177/1470357208096210.

Office for Students (2020) *Guidance for providers about student and consumer protection during the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic*. Available at: www.officeforstudents.org.uk/publications/guidance-for-providers-about-quality-and-standards- (Accessed: 10 June 2020).

Page, A. G. and Chahboun, S. (2019) 'Emerging empowerment of international students: how international student literature has shifted to include the students' voices', *Higher Education*. doi: 10.1007/s10734-019-00375-7.

Pampaloni, A. M. (2010) 'The influence of organizational image on college selection: what students seek in institutions of higher education', *Journal of Marketing for Higher Education*, 20(1), pp. 19–48. doi: 10.1080/08841241003788037.

Pashby, K. and de Andreotti, V. O. (2016) 'Ethical internationalisation in higher education: interfaces with international development and sustainability', *Environmental Education Research*, 22(6), pp. 771–787. doi: 10.1080/13504622.2016.1201789.

Patil Vishwanath, T. and Mummery, J. (2019) 'Reflecting critically on the critical disposition within Internationalisation of the Curriculum (IoC): the developmental journey of a curriculum design team', *Higher Education Research & Development*, 38(2), pp. 354–368. doi: 10.1080/07294360.2018.1515181.

Paulus, T. M., Lester, J. N. and Britt, V. G. (2013) 'Constructing hopes and fears around technology: a discourse analysis of introductory qualitative research texts', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 19(9), pp. 639–651. doi: 10.1177/1077800413500929.

Pauwels, L. (2011) 'Researching websites and social and cultural expressions: methodological predicaments and a multimodal model for analysis', in Margolis, E. and Pauwels, L. (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Visual Research Methods*. London: Sage, pp. 570–589.

Pauwels, L. (2012) 'A multimodal framework for analyzing websites as cultural expressions', *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 17(3), pp. 247–265. doi: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.2012.01572.x.

Pauwels, L. (2015) *Reframing visual social science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pavlenko, A. (2007) 'Autobiographic narratives as data in applied linguistics', *Applied Linguistics*, 28(2), pp. 163–188. doi: 10.1093/applin/amm008.

Peim, N. (2018) *Thinking in education research*. London: Bloomsbury.

Ploner, J. and Nada, C. (2019) 'International student migration and the postcolonial heritage of European higher education: perspectives from Portugal and the UK', *Higher Education*, pp. 1–17. doi: 10.1007/s10734-019-00485-2.

Prior, L. (2004) 'Documents', in Seale, C., Gobo, G., and Gubrium, J. F. (eds) *Qualitative research practice*. London: Sage, pp. 375–389.

Raffe, D. and Croxford, L. (2015) 'How stable is the stratification of higher education in England and Scotland?', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 36(2), pp. 313–335. doi: 10.1080/01425692.2013.820127.

Raghuram, P. (2013) 'Theorising the spaces of student migration', *Population, Space and Place*, 19(2), pp. 138–154. doi: 10.1002/psp.1747.

Ramanau, R. (2016) 'Internationalization at a distance: A study of the online management curriculum', *Journal of Management Education*, 40(5), pp. 545–575. doi: 10.1177/1052562916647984.

Rauhvargers, A. (2014) 'Where are the global rankings leading us? An analysis of recent methodological changes and new developments', *European Journal of Education*, 49(1), pp. 29–44. doi: 10.1111/ejed.12066.

Regmi, K. D. (2017) 'Critical Discourse Analysis: Exploring its philosophical underpinnings', *Méthod(e)s: African Review of Social Sciences Methodology*, 2(1–2), pp. 93–107. doi: 10.1080/23754745.2017.1354555.

Reisigl, M. (2017) 'The Discourse-Historical Approach', in Flowerdew, J. and Richardson, J. E. (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 44–59.

Reisigl, M. and Wodak, R. (2016) 'The discourse-historical approach (DHA)', in Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (eds) *Methods of critical discourse studies*. 3rd edn. London: Sage, pp. 23–61.

Rensimer, L. (2019) *Going global: Representation and sense-making in the British international branch campuses of the United Arab Emirates*. University of Wisconsin-Madison. Available at: https://www.proquest.com/docview/2335176544/abstract/5678EC1283584F42PQ/1?accountid=15133

Riaño, Y., Van Mol, C. and Raghuram, P. (2018) 'New directions in studying policies of international student mobility and migration', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 16(3), pp. 283–294. doi: 10.1080/14767724.2018.1478721.

Richards, L. (2015) *Handling qualitative data*. 3rd edn. London: Sage.

Rienties, B., Alcott, P. and Jindal-Snape, D. (2014) 'To let students self-select or not',

Journal of Studies in International Education, 18(1), pp. 64–83. doi: 10.1177/1028315313513035.

Rienties, B., Johan, N. and Jindal-Snape, D. (2015) 'A dynamic analysis of social capital-building of international and UK students', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 36(8), pp. 1212–1235. doi: 10.1080/01425692.2014.886941.

Rizvi, F. and Lingard, B. (2009) *Globalizing educational policy*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Robbins, L. (1967) *Overseas students' fees (Hansard, 14 February 1967)*, *Hansard*. Available at: https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1967/feb/14/overseas-students-fees (Accessed: 1 July 2018).

Robson, C. (2011) *Real world research*. 3rd edn. United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell.

Robson, C. and McCartan, K. (2016) *Real world research*. 4th edn. Chichester: Wiley.

Robson, S., Almeida, J. and Schartner, A. (2017) 'Internationalization at home: time for review and development?', *European Journal of Higher Education*. doi: 10.1080/21568235.2017.1376697.

Robson, S. and Turner, Y. (2007) '"Teaching is a co-learning experience": academics reflecting on learning and teaching in an "internationalized" faculty', *Teaching in Higher Education*, 12(1), pp. 41–54. doi: 10.1080/13562510601102115.

Rogers, R., Malancharuvil-Berkes, E., Mosley, M., Hui, D. and Joseph, G. (2005) 'Critical Discourse Analysis in education: A review of the literature', *Review of Educational Research* , 75(3), pp. 365–416. doi: 10.3102/00346543075003365.

Rose, G. (2016) *Visual methodologies*. 4th edn. London: Sage.

Royce, T. (2002) 'Multimodality in the TESOL classroom: Exploring visual-verbal synergy', *TESOL Quarterly*, 36(2), pp. 191–205. doi: 10.2307/3588330.

Rudd, A. (2017) *Commissioning letter to the Migration Advisory Committee on international students*. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/639814/HS_to_MAC_-_students.pdf (Accessed: 29 June 2018).

Russell Group (2018) *Russell Group university graduates [Twitter]*. Available at: https://twitter.com/RussellGroup/status/991339017848401925 (Accessed: 1 May

2018).

Sá, C. M. and Sabzalieva, E. (2018) 'The politics of the great brain race: public policy and international student recruitment in Australia, Canada, England and the USA', *Higher Education*. Springer Netherlands, 75(2), pp. 231–253. doi: 10.1007/s10734-017-0133-1.

Saarinen, T. (2008) 'Position of text and discourse analysis in higher education policy research', *Studies in Higher Education*, 33(6), pp. 719–728. doi: 10.1080/03075070802457090.

Saarinen, T. and Nikula, T. (2012) 'Implicit policy, invisible language: policies and practicees of international degree programmes in Finnish universities', in Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D. D., and Sierra, J. M. (eds) *English-medium instruction at universities*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, pp. 129–150.

Saichaie, K. and Morphew, C. C. (2014) 'What college and university websites reveal about the purposes of higher education', *The Journal of Higher Education*, 85(4), pp. 499–530. doi: 10.1080/00221546.2014.11777338.

Saldaña, J. (2009) *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. London: Sage.

Saunders, D. B. and Blanco Ramírez, G. (2017) 'Against "teaching excellence": ideology, commodification, and enabling the neoliberalization of postsecondary education', *Teaching in Higher Education*, 22(4), pp. 396–407. doi: 10.1080/13562517.2017.1301913.

Savage, M. (2020) 'Universities brace for huge losses as foreign students drop out | Education | The Guardian', *The Observer*, 11 April. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/apr/11/universities-brace-for-huge-losses-as-foreign-students-drop-out (Accessed: 23 April 2020).

Sawir, E. (2013) 'Internationalisation of higher education curriculum: the contribution of international students', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 11(3), pp. 359–378. doi: 10.1080/14767724.2012.750477.

Schröter, M. and Taylor, C. (2018) 'Introduction', in Schröter, M. and Taylor, C. (eds) *Exploring silence and absence in discourse*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Scott, P. (1998) 'Massification, Internationalization and Globalization', in Scott, P. (ed.) *The Globalization of Higher Education*. Buckingham: Open University Press, pp. 108–130.

Scott, W. R. (1987) 'The adolescence of institutional theory', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 32(4), pp. 493–511. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html. (Accessed: 6 September 2018).

Scott, W. R. (2008) 'Approaching adulthood: the maturing of institutional theory', *Theory and Society*, 37(5), pp. 427–442. doi: 10.1007/s11186-008-9067-z.

Scott, W. R. (2010) 'Reflections: The past and future of research on institutions and institutional change', *Journal of Change Management*, 10(1), pp. 5–21. doi: 10.1080/14697010903549408.

Seale, C. (2017) 'Using computers to analyse qualitative data', in Silverman, D. (ed.) *Doing Qualitative Research*. 5th edn. London: Sage, pp. 355–375.

Selwyn, N. (2014) *Digital technology and the contemporary university*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Selwyn, N. (2019) *What is digital sociology?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Semino, E. (2008) *Metaphor in discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shahjahan, R. A. and Morgan, C. (2016) 'Global competition, coloniality, and the geopolitics of knowledge in higher education', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 37(1), pp. 92–109. doi: 10.1080/01425692.2015.1095635.

Shattock, M. (2017) 'The "world class" university and international ranking systems: what are the policy implications for governments and institutions?', *Policy Reviews in Higher Education*, 1(1), pp. 4–21. doi: 10.1080/23322969.2016.1236669.

Sidhu, R. K. (2006) *Universities and globalization: To market, to market*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Ltd.

Simões, C. and Soares, A. M. (2010) 'Applying to higher education: information sources and choice factors', *Studies in Higher Education*, 35(4), pp. 371–389. doi: 10.1080/03075070903096490.

Sklar, J. (2015) *Principles of web design*. 6th edn. Boston, USA: Cengage.

Smith, A. C. and Kleinman, S. (1989) 'Managing Emotions in Medical School: Students' Contacts with the Living and the Dead', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 52(1). doi: 10.2307/2786904.

Sobel, K. and Evans, L. (2020) 'Emotional labour, information literacy instruction, and

the COVID-19 Pandemic', *Journal of Learning Development in Higher Education*, (19). doi: 10.47408/jldhe.vi19.607.

Soh, K. (2017) 'The seven deadly sins of world university ranking: a summary from several papers', *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 39(1), pp. 104–115. doi: 10.1080/1360080X.2016.1254431.

Soliman, S., Anchor, J. and Taylor, D. (2018) 'The international strategies of universities: deliberate or emergent?', *Studies in Higher Education*, pp. 1–12. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2018.1445985.

Souto-Otero, M. and Enders, J. (2017) 'International students' and employers' use of rankings: a cross-national analysis', *Studies in Higher Education*, 42(4). doi: 10.1080/03075079.2015.1074672.

Soysal, Y. N., Baltaru, R. D. and Cebolla-Boado, H. (2022) 'Meritocracy or reputation? The role of rankings in the sorting of international students across universities', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*. doi: 10.1080/14767724.2022.2070131.

Spencer-Oatey, H. and Dauber, D. (2019) 'Internationalisation and student diversity: how far are the opportunity benefits being perceived and exploited?', *Higher Education*, pp. 1–24. doi: 10.1007/s10734-019-00386-4.

Spiro, J. (2014) 'Learning interconnectedness: Internationalisation through engagement with one another', *Higher Education Quarterly*. Wiley/Blackwell (10.1111), 68(1), pp. 65–84. doi: 10.1111/hequ.12031.

Stack, M. L. (2013) 'The Times Higher Education ranking product: visualising excellence through media', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 11(4), pp. 560–582. doi: 10.1080/14767724.2013.856701.

Stein, S. and de Andreotti, V. O. (2016) 'Cash, competition, or charity: international students and the global imaginary', *Higher Education*. Springer Netherlands, 72(2), pp. 225–239. doi: 10.1007/s10734-015-9949-8.

Stein, S., de Andreotti, V. O. and Suša, R. (2019a) '"Beyond 2015", within the modern/colonial global imaginary? Global development and higher education', *Critical Studies in Education*, 60(3), pp. 281–301. doi: 10.1080/17508487.2016.1247737.

Stein, S., de Andreotti, V. O. and Suša, R. (2019b) 'Pluralizing frameworks for global ethics in the internationalization of higher education in Canada', *The Canadian

Journal of Higher Education, 49(1), pp. 22–46. doi: 10.47678/cjhe.v49i1.188244

Stibbe, A. (2018) 'Positive Discourse Analysis: re-thinking human ecological relationships', in Fill, A. F. and Penz, H. (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Ecolinguistics*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 165–178.

Strike, T. and Swinn, D. (2018) 'Leadership, governance and decision-making', in Strike, T. (ed.) *Higher Education Strategy and Planning*. London: Routledge. doi: 10.4324/9781315206455-8.

Suspitsyna, T. (2015) 'Cultural hierarchies in the discursive representations of China in the Chronicle of Higher Education', *Critical Studies in Education*, 56(1), pp. 21–37. doi: 10.1080/17508487.2015.971330.

Swan, E. (2017) 'Postfeminist stylistics, work femininities and coaching: a multimodal study of a website', *Gender, Work & Organization*, 24(3), pp. 274–296. doi: 10.1111/gwao.12162.

Swan, M. (2005) *Practical English usage*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Symes, C. and Drew, C. (2017) 'Education on the rails: a textual ethnography of university advertising in mobile contexts', *Critical Studies in Education*, 58(2), pp. 205–223. doi: 10.1080/17508487.2016.1252783.

Taha, N. and Cox, A. (2016) 'International students' networks: a case study in a UK university', *Studies in Higher Education*, 41(1), pp. 182–198. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2014.927851.

Tan, Y. S. and Goh, S. K. (2014) 'International students, academic publications and world university rankings: the impact of globalisation and responses of a Malaysian public university', *Higher Education*, 68(4), pp. 489–502. doi: 10.1007/s10734-014-9724-2.

Tange, H. (2010) 'Caught in the Tower of Babel: university lecturers' experiences with internationalisation', *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 10(2), pp. 137–149. doi: 10.1080/14708470903342138.

Tannock, S. (2013) 'When the demand for educational equality stops at the border: wealthy students, international students and the restructuring of higher education in the UK', *Journal of Education Policy*, 28(4), pp. 449–464. doi: 10.1080/02680939.2013.764577.

Tardy, C. (2012) 'Current conceptions of voice', in Hyland, K. and Sancho Guinda, C.

(eds) *Stance and voice in written academic genres*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 34–48.

Taylor, S. (2004) 'Researching educational policy and change in "new times": using critical discourse analysis', *Journal of Education Policy*, 19(4), pp. 433–451. doi: 10.1080/0268093042000227483.

Teekens, H. (2003) 'The requirement to develop specific skills for teaching in an intercultural setting', *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 7(1). doi: 10.1177/1028315302250192.

THE (2019) *World University Rankings 2020 | Times Higher Education (THE)*. Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2020/world-ranking#!/page/2/length/25/locations/GB/sort_by/rank/sort_order/asc/cols/stats (Accessed: 11 November 2019).

Thies, K. and Kordts-Freudinger, R. (2019) 'University academics' state emotions and appraisal antecedents: an intraindividual analysis', *Studies in Higher Education*, 44(10), pp. 1723–1733. doi: 10.1080/03075079.2019.1665311.

Thomas, G. (2017) *How to do your research project*. 3rd edn. London: Sage.

Tomášková, R. (2017) '"And this is the view from outside my window": On text and image interplay in university website blogs', *Topics in Linguistics*, 18(2), pp. 81–93. doi: 10.1515/topling-2017-0012.

Tomlinson, M. (2017) 'Student perceptions of themselves as "consumers" of higher education', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 38(4), pp. 450–467. doi: 10.1080/01425692.2015.1113856.

Trowler, P. (2001) 'Captured by the discourse? The socially constitutive power of new Higher Education discourse in the UK', *Organization*, 8(2), pp. 183–201. doi: 10.1177/1350508401082005.

Tsiligkiris, V. and Ilieva, J. (2022) 'Global engagement in the post-pandemic world: Challenges and responses. Perspective from the UK', *Higher Education Quarterly*, 76, pp. 343–366. doi: 10.1111/hequ.12390.

Turner, Y. (2009) '"Knowing me, knowing you," Is there nothing we can do?', *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 13(2), pp. 240–255. doi: 10.1177/1028315308329789.

Turner, Y. and Robson, S. (2008) *Internationalizing the university*. London: Continuum.

Ulmer, J. B. (2017) 'Writing slow ontology', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 23(3), pp. 201–211. doi: 10.1177/1077800416643994.

Ulmer, J. B. (2018) 'Minor gestures: slow writing and everyday photography', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 15(2–3), pp. 317–322. doi: 10.1080/14780887.2018.1430016.

Universities UK (2018a) *Flexible learning: the current state of play in UK higher education*. Available at: https://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/policy-and-analysis/reports/Documents/2018/flexible-learning-the-current-state-of-play-in-higher-education.pdf (Accessed: 23 May 2021).

Universities UK (2018b) *Patterns and trends in UK higher education 2018*. Available at: https://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/facts-and-stats/data-and-analysis/Pages/Patterns-and-trends-in-UK-higher-education-2018.aspx (Accessed: 9 December 2018).

Universities UK (2020) *Most universities will teach in-person this autumn*. Available at: https://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/topics/covid/most-universities-will-teach-person (Accessed: 17 June 2020).

Universities UK International (2021) *International Facts and Figures 2021*. Available at: https://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/universities-uk-international/insights-and-publications/uuki-publications/international-facts-and-figures-2021 (Accessed: 27 September 2022).

University of Sheffield (2017) *#WeAreInternational*. Available at: http://www.weareinternational.org.uk/ (Accessed: 17 July 2018).

Virdee, S. and Keeble, A. (2018) 'Finance, resource allocation and income forecasting', in Strike, T. (ed.) *Higher Education Strategy and Planning*. London: Routledge. doi: 10.4324/9781315206455-10.

De Vita, G. and Case, P. (2003) 'Rethinking the internationalisation agenda in UK higher education', *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 27(4), pp. 383–398. doi: 10.1080/0309877032000128082.

Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2019) *Emotions, media and politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Wakeling, P. and Savage, M. (2015) 'Entry to Elite Positions and the Stratification of

Higher Education in Britain', *The Sociological Review*, 63(2), pp. 290–320. doi: 10.1111/1467-954X.12284.

Ward, J., McMurray, R. and Sutcliffe, S. (2020) 'Working at the edge: Emotional labour in the spectre of violence', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 27(1). doi: 10.1111/gwao.12377.

Ward, S. C. (2012) *Neoliberalism and the global restructuring of knowledge and education*. London: Routledge.

Warwick, P. and Moogan, Y. J. (2013) 'A comparative study of perceptions of internationalisation strategies in UK universities', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 43(1), pp. 102–123. doi: 10.1080/03057925.2013.746573.

WCED (1987) *Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our common future*, *Report of the World Commission of environment and development: Our common future*. New York. Available at: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/milestones/wced (Accessed: 28 May 2021).

Wetherell, M. (2012) *Affect and Emotion: a new social science understnading*. London: Sage.

Wihlborg, M. and Robson, S. (2018) 'Internationalisation of higher education: drivers, rationales, priorities, values and impacts', *European Journal of Higher Education*, 8(1), pp. 8–18. doi: 10.1080/21568235.2017.1376696.

Williams, J. (2013) *Consuming Education: Why Learning Can't Be Bought*. London: Bloomsbury.

Williams, R. (1983) *Keywords*. 2nd edn. London: Fontana.

Williams, S. (2001) *Emotion and Social Theory*. London: Sage.

Winter, E. and Chapleo, C. (2017) 'An exploration of the effect of servicescape on student institution choice in UK universities', *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 41(2), pp. 187–200. doi: 10.1080/0309877X.2015.1070400.

de Wit, H. *et al.* (2015) 'Internationalisation of Higher Education', *Brussels: European Parliament, Committee on Culture and Education*. doi: 10.2861/6854.

Wodak, R. (2006) 'Linguistic analyses in language policies', in Ricento, T. (ed.) *An introduction to language policy: theory and method*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 170–193.

Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (2016) 'CDS: History, agenda, theory, methdology', in Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (eds) *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*. London: Sage, pp. 1–22.

Wright, T. S. A. (2009) 'Sustainability, internationalization, and higher education', *New Directions for Teaching and Learning*, 2009(118), pp. 105–115. doi: 10.1002/tl.357.

Yang, Y., Mittelmeier, J., Lim, M and Lomer, S. (2020) *Chinese international student recruitment during the COVID-19 crisis*, *Research Explorer*. Available at: https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/chinese-international-student-recruitment-during-the-covid19-crisis(be489a37-107c-480e-82c4-4583bc3dfeeb).html (Accessed: 22 November 2020).

Yemini, M. (2014) 'Internationalisation discourse What remains to be said?', *Perspectives: Policy and Practice in Higher Education*, 18(2), pp. 66–71. doi: 10.1080/13603108.2014.888019.

Yemini, M. (2015) 'Internationalisation discourse hits the tipping point', *Perspectives: Policy and Practice in Higher Education*, 19(1), pp. 19–22. doi: 10.1080/13603108.2014.966280.

Yi, J. E. and Jung, G. (2015) 'Public discourses about international students', *Sociology Compass*. Wiley/Blackwell (10.1111), 9(9), pp. 776–783. doi: 10.1111/soc4.12293.

Yuval-Davis, N., Wemyss, G. and Cassidy, K. (2018) 'Everyday bordering, belonging and the reorientation of British immigration legislation', *Sociology*, 52(2), pp. 228–244. doi: 10.1177/0038038517702599.

Zapp, M. and Ramirez, F. O. (2019) 'Beyond internationalisation and isomorphism–the construction of a global higher education regime', *Comparative Education*, 55(4), pp. 473–493. doi: 10.1080/03050068.2019.1638103.

Zhang, Y. and O'Halloran, K. L. (2013) '"Toward a global knowledge enterprise": university websites as portals to the ongoing marketization of higher education', *Critical Discourse Studies*, 10(4), pp. 468–485. doi: 10.1080/17405904.2013.813777.

Zhang, Z., Tan, S., Wignell, P. and O'Halloran, K. (2020) 'Addressing international students on Australian and Chinese university webpages: A comparative study', *Discourse, Context and Media*, 36, pp. 1–13. doi: 10.1016/j.dcm.2020.100403.

Zhang, Z., Grimshaw, T. and Shi, X. (2020) 'Mapping the terrain of international

students education in tertiary settings', in Zhang, Z., Grimshaw, T., and Shi, X. (eds) *International student education in tertiary settings*. London: Routledge, pp. 1–20.

Zhang, Z., Tan, S. and O'Halloran, K. L. (2022) 'Managing higher education and neoliberal marketing discourses on *Why Choose* webpages for international students on Australian and British university websites', *Discourse & Communication*. doi: 10.1177/17504813221074076.

Zürn, M. and De Wilde, P. (2016) 'Debating globalization: cosmopolitanism and communitarianism as political ideologies', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 21(3), pp. 280–301. doi: 10.1080/13569317.2016.1207741.

APPENDIX A: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EIGHT SELECTED UNIVERSITIES

	SOUTH ARTS	EAST OLD	NORTH NEW	CITY SCIENCE	NORTH POLY	MID NEW	MID RUSSELL	SOUTH GLASS
Guardian University Guide rankings 2017-2020	Not included for overall ranking	1>1>1>1	117>118>118>116	7>6>7>7	60>76>73>79	73>105>111>93	25>19>17>18	20>20>26>41
Sunday Times League Table 2020	43	1	121	4	62	116	21	38
THEWUR ranking 2020	Not included	3	Not included	10	in the 601-800 rank	Not included	152	146
Date of University status	2012	1231	2007	1907	1992	2005	1948	1961
History	Was specialist arts college, est. 1880	Ancient	Merger of teacher training, arts college, and other campuses	Various mergers of spec. institutions	Post-92 with polytech roots (1970), from earlier working-class institutes	Amalgamation of former tech and training colleges	Civic Redbrick	'Plate glass'
Total number of students	3,490 SMALL	20,510 MED	7,580 SMALL	18,375 MED	33,080 LARGE	11,970 MED	33,100 LARGE	17,800 MED
% internat. students	15% MEDIUM	34.4% HIGH	3.1% LOW	52% HIGH	7.5% LOW	13.4% MEDIUM	23% HIGH	31% HIGH

	SOUTH ARTS	EAST OLD	NORTH NEW	CITY SCIENCE	NORTH POLY	MID NEW	MID RUSSELL	SOUTH GLASS
Generalist or specialist?	Spec. creative arts	Gen.	Gen.	Spec. science, engin., med., bus.	Gen.	Gen.	Gen.	Gen.
Mission grouping	GuildHE	Russell Group	Million + The Cathedrals Group	Russell Group	University Alliance	Ashoka U Change-maker Campus	Russell Group	-
Geog. location	South	East	North	London	North	Midlands	Midlands	South
Physical setting	One campus, edge of town	City-based, collegiate	Multi-campus, across region, incl. HE within FE colleges, esp. remote areas	City-based, expanded from one main campus	City-based, modern urban	Town-centre incl. new campus	Expanded from one campus (edge of city)	Campus (edge of city)
Overseas campus?	No	No	No	No	No	No	Two: Malaysia and China	No

APPENDIX B: DATA COLLECTION DATES

Early-mid March 2020		
University	First impressions recording	Importing data to NVivo and printing screenshots
Southarts	2 March	3 March
Eastold	4 March	4 March
Northnew	5 March	5 March
Cityscience	7 March	7 March
Northpoly	8 March	8 March
Midnew	10 March	10 March
Midrussell	12 March	12 March
Southglass	12 March	12 March
Late April 2020		
Southarts		28 April
Eastold		28 April
Northnew		28 April
Cityscience		28 April
Northpoly		29 April
Midnew		29 April
Midrussell		29 April
Southglass		29 April
Mid-June 2020		
Eastold		11 June
Southarts		11 June
Northnew		11 June
Cityscience		11 June
Northpoly		11 June
Midnew		11 June
Midrussell		12 June
Southglass		13 June

APPENDIX C: EXAMPLE OF TRANSCRIPTION OF INITIAL IMPRESSIONS VOICE RECORDING

Northnew Voice Recording Transcript (9.33 minutes)
Recording: 5 March 2020 Transcribed and edited: 7 March 2020
Manual editing of Word 'Dictate' version: e.g. removing 'um', adding punctuation and sentence breaks, adding a few articles, changed 'straight line' to 'strapline'

Northnew University It's the 5th of March 2020. I've just opened the homepage and immediately a little chat box has popped up on my screen saying 'Hi. We're here to answer any questions that you may have'. I can now click and get rid of that box but it's interesting that popped in first. So on the home screen, the top is full with the background image, I'm getting a view of countryside, students out in woodland, what looks like two staff in a lab, and these pictures are switching from one to the other; they're not flashing in or moving across, they're just one is being replaced by another like on a slideshow. And then in big white lettering across the screen it's got the strapline 'where the impossible is made possible', then slightly smaller white lettering 'we equip, empower and inspire you to discover great things from the day you arrive', and then two orange rectangular boxes, one says 'find your course' one says 'explore open days'. In the top left we've got the University name and a little logo, the logo could either be flames or it could be leaves, it's a little bit artistic, abstract.

Then down the left hand side we've got some icons: 'ask a question' with a little speech bubble, then a little paper aeroplane 'apply now for 2020', then the face wearing a mortar board 'speak to a student'. Then if I scroll down, we've got more icons to click on 'about us', 'living', 'open days', 'campuses', 'finance', and this is all in a big blue rectangle with the white lettering 'being enriched', then 'we've got you whatever you want to be', 'don't take our word for it hear from a selection of our graduates about how their lives changed so they too can make a difference'. And then lower down we've got the same strapline again in a bright orange box and then we've got lots of pictures of students moving from right to left across the screen, name of the student, subject and then 'read more.'

Then I'm still scrolling down the home screen 'news and events' and pictures moving from right to left, 'masterclass' being advertised, and then scrolling down again 'enriching businesses' and pictures. The University is all about developing people, we've got 'apprenticeships', 'information for employers', and then scrolling down again 'life at' and alongside that there is a video to click on, and then scrolling down

we've got a map of the UK showing the location of the University. We've got very clear contact details and then we've got more to click on.

I would say the language strikes me overall as being quite informal, quite direct, straightforward, simple, no fussy fonts, lots of images. Overall a very welcome impression, friendly, lots of students extremely visible on this homepage. I think I'll click on 'life at' and see what that gives: 'life on campus', 'facilities', 'student support', 'disability', 'registration', 'accommodation'. I'll try 'student support', I'm not seeing anything that directly says international. Ohh yes here we go, if I scroll down under 'more support options', it's got 'international student support' and 'the prospect of studying abroad is an exciting opportunity', 'as an international student our support services teams are here to help you every step of the way', 'pre arrival support', 'on arrival support', 'on course support', 'progression and employment', and all that is bullet pointed we've got under each heading that five or six bullet points, very direct, contact details. Then another link to 'international study', that's got a video at the top of the page um and then we've got lots of images with very simple white lettering 'how to apply', 'entry requirements'. Images mostly featuring students then 'download a whole international student guide' and then 'study abroad encouraging our students to study abroad', so that page I would say is probably the key international one.

Overall the website seems quite homogenous, we've got the University logo at the top, we've got consistency of white font over images. It comes across to me as a very easy to read website, combination of text and images, slightly heavier on video than the other websites I've looked at so far and definitely students featuring a lot more strongly. There is 'our research', and 'business' but on those first pages the emphasis seems to be very much on students. I'm just having a quick look at the 'our research' page, yeah I think … 'study' page yeah we've got international students featuring on the 'study' page, that's the link back to the same page I was looking at earlier, so it looks like they've got links through to that international page from various other pages. 'Open days', open day pages don't specifically flag up international students. I'm just going to click on the 'staff' see if there's any…, no that didn't work I think that's a link just for their own staff. I'm just going back to that 'about' page - definite 'career links', 'close links to local law firms, police forces, youth centres et cetera. Bit of statistics about graduate employment; we've got some history of the University, environment, library services, we've got another video. There isn't directly an international link off that page so perhaps the international information is more geared towards students who are applying from overseas but international is present, and as I say overall lively with the moving video images and plenty of other videos to click on.

APPENDIX D: EXAMPLE OF RUBRIC OF INITIAL IMPRESSIONS

First impressions 'look and feel' of university websites

Pseudonym of university: NORTHNEW

Date of voice recording and rubric completion: 5 March 2020

Salient features	Details/evidence	Comments
Dominant colour(s)	White/blue/orange (and colourful photos)	Eye-catching homepage with big image and white lettering. Outdoorsy look.
Corporate brand (homogeneity?)	All pages have same colour palette, uni name and logo top left	Individual course pages differ
Strapline	Dominant position across big top image on home page: "WHERE THE IMPOSSIBLE IS MADE POSSIBLE. We equip, empower and inspire you to discover great things from the day you arrive"	White large letters really stand out. More strapline-like statements lower down the home page too. Use of informal language e.g. "We've got you, whatever you want to be"
Mission statement	See strapline above? Nothing labelled as mission statement though.	
Position regarding competitors	Not immediate, not on home page	'Why choose Northnew?' page does give league table positions for Northnew
Use of rankings/ league tables	Not immediate, but do feature on international 'Why choose Northnew?' page	I said 'no' in my initial impression, needed to dig around more. More in evidence on pages aimed at international students.
Badges/ awards/logos	Not prominent. Some individual mentions e.g. Buttle UK Quality Mark for young care leavers (on the Community page). 'Why choose Northnew?' (via 'International') has: "Our exceptional student support was recognised by the award of 'Outstanding Student Support Team' in the Times Higher Leadership and Management Awards of 2014"	
Institutional history	Yes, the 'About Us' page has a link to 'History', with detailed text about the different institutions that merged to form Northnew.	Although 'Northnew' itself is new, the emphasis is on the heritage from the individual parts
Staff achievements	Not prominent. The home page has a news section with the heading 'See what our students and lecturers are up to and get in the know on upcoming events'. Some news items feature masterclasses on offer. The 'Become a student' page has a link to 'Academic	Emphasis is on wider community links/outreach e.g. school visit to the uni, mental health initiatives. Students more prominent than staff.

	staff', which is an alphabetical list of all staff, some with images, some not. You have to click on individual staff to find out about e.g. their publications.	
Student testimonials	Yes, very heavy student voice presence. Home page has prominent 'Northnew Stories' section with close-up images of students' faces with 'Read more'. 'Student life' page features individual students available for live chat, with little bios.	Very personalised, lots of detail about the individuals
Overall presence of images	Images more prominent than text on home page, with use of icons too. Some other pages more text-heavy.	
Temporary images (news)	Yes, on home page these are mostly groups of people on a visit or at an event	
Enduring images	Yes, e.g. beautiful landscape shots	
Impression of image content	People dominate on home page, a lot of close-ups of faces.	
Presence of video	Yes, most main pages have moving images as well as videos to click on. Home page has 'Life at Northnew' video to click on. 'International students' page has video prominent across top.	Individual course pages don't have videos, but the student chat box popped up
Impression of type of video	'Life at Northnew' features shots of different campuses, students studying, working, voice over by students and staff. Emphasis on friendliness, vibrancy, personalised education, courses, careers, facilities, small. 'International study' video starts with welcome from director of international, then Chinese students and member of international support staff talking about life there. Includes description of the weekly 'international corner' get-together.	Note individuals with northern accents doing voiceovers. Feel of identity of the northern campuses.
Presence of wording: blocks of text as prose	Yes, though tends to be short, just a couple of sentences in each block on home page. Other pages have longer blocks.	
Wording in bullet points, lists, tables	Some bullet pointed text on some pages e.g. some course pages have list of features with ticks at start. List of reasons 'Why choose Northnew?'	
Statistics	Not many. 'About page' emphasises career links, and states: "That's why 97% of our graduates enter employment within 6 months of graduating"	
Interactive features e.g. live chat facility	Yes, very prominent – 'chat to students' feature popped up as soon	Really pushes the contact

	as I opened the home page, and popped up on course pages too.	
Personalisation/ hailing a reader	Yes, heavy use of 'you', linked with informal style and relationship e.g. "We've got you"	This is throughout the website, not just on 'apply' pages
Presence of internationalisation	Not on home page; have to click though to find mention of international. The 'Student support' page has a link for 'International student support'	Link to a pdf of a 15-page 'Welcome to Northnew International Students Guide'. Even though homepage doesn't feature international, there is an abundance of info, help, guidance etc…but all aimed at prospective international students. Video and text refers to events/opportunities for home and international to mix, but this is not on main pages

APPENDIX E: NODES ACCORDING TO TYPE (IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER)

Topic codes (nodes)

First period: early to mid-March 2020 (before the first Covid-19 lockdown)

alumni	international collaboration
being different	international staff
being up-to-date	knowledge
campus architecture	learning/ teaching
collaboration	local and global
competition	location
competitors	named award
concern re UK study	personal
cost of living	rankings
creativity	reasons
discovery	reputation
diversity	society
employability	standard(s)
facilities	statistics
future	student life
global good	success
Internationalisation at Home (IaH)	sustainability
inspiration	Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF)

Second period: late March to early April 2020 (during initial Covid-19 lockdown)

CV action, efforts	CV global
CV change	CV international students
CV continuity	CV listening, answering
CV Covid-19	CV suspension
CV emotions	CV teaching
CV exams	CV the crisis
CV future	CV worry

Third period: mid-June 2020 (capturing universities' responses in preparation for academic year 2020 to 2021)

CV2 campus	
CV2 change	CV2 international students

CV2 community CV2 competition CV2 continuity CV2 emotion CV2 empathy CV2 expectations CV2 facilities CV2 future CV2 guidance	CV2 local and global CV2 quality CV2 reassurance CV2 response CV2 safety CV2 statistics CV2 support CV2 teaching CV2 these times CV2 welcome

Linguistic feature codes (nodes)

First period: early to mid-March 2020 (before the first Covid-19 lockdown)

formal language
future with 'will'
imperatives
informal language
intensification adverb
multi positive adjectives
multi verbs
passive voice
superlatives
three parts (trios)

Second period: late March to early April 2020 (during initial Covid-19 lockdown)

CV battle metaphors
CV future cont. tense
CV intensifier
CV present cont. tense

Third period: mid-June 2020 (capturing universities' responses in preparation for academic year 2020 to 2021)

CV2 adjectives
CV2 future 'will'
CV2 present cont. tense
CV2 superlatives

In Vivo Codes (nodes)

First period: early to mid-March 2020 (before the first Covid-19 lockdown)

'#WeAreInternational'	'outstanding'
'academic'	'professional'
'award-winning'	'special'
'career'	'support'
'community'	'thinking'
'connected'	'top'
'excellent'	'we'
'exceptional'	'you'
'experts'	'you might'
'great'	'you'll'
'leading'	
'our'	

*Second period: late March to early April 2020 (during initial Covid-19 lockdown)*

CV 'advice'	CV 'pandemic'
CV 'alternatives'	CV 'peace of mind'
CV 'anxiety'	CV 'priority'
CV 'aware'	CV 'productive'
CV 'combat'	CV 'protect'
CV 'community'	CV 'reassure'
CV 'concerned'	CV 'remotely'
CV 'Coronavirus'	CV 'response'
CV 'COVID-19'	CV 'support'
CV 'current circumstances'	CV 'the situation'
CV 'currently'	CV 'uncertainty'
CV 'difficult decision'	CV 'unprecedented times'
CV 'difficult time'	CV 'updates'
CV 'face-to-face'	CV 'useful'
CV 'flexibility'	CV 'virtual'
CV 'guidance'	CV 'we appreciate'
CV 'helpful'	CV 'We know'
CV 'normal'	CV 'we realise'
CV 'ongoing'	CV 'we understand'
CV 'our'	CV 'you'

Third period: mid-June 2020 (capturing universities' responses in preparation for academic year 2020 to 2021)

CV2 'priority'

APPENDIX F: EXAMPLES OF NVIVO CODING IN PROGRESS
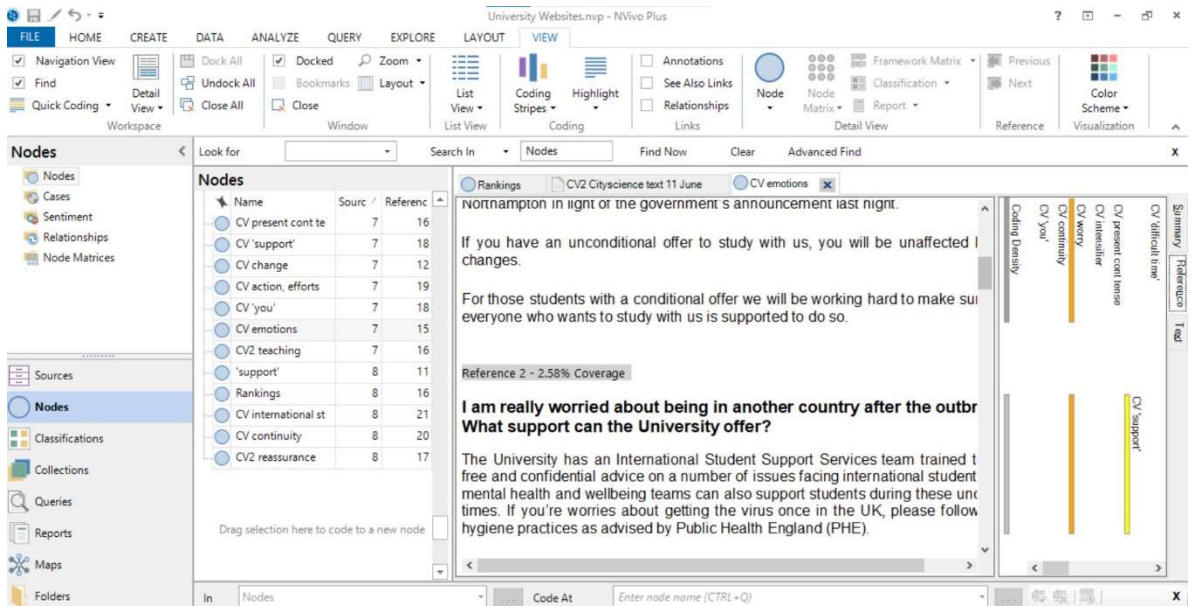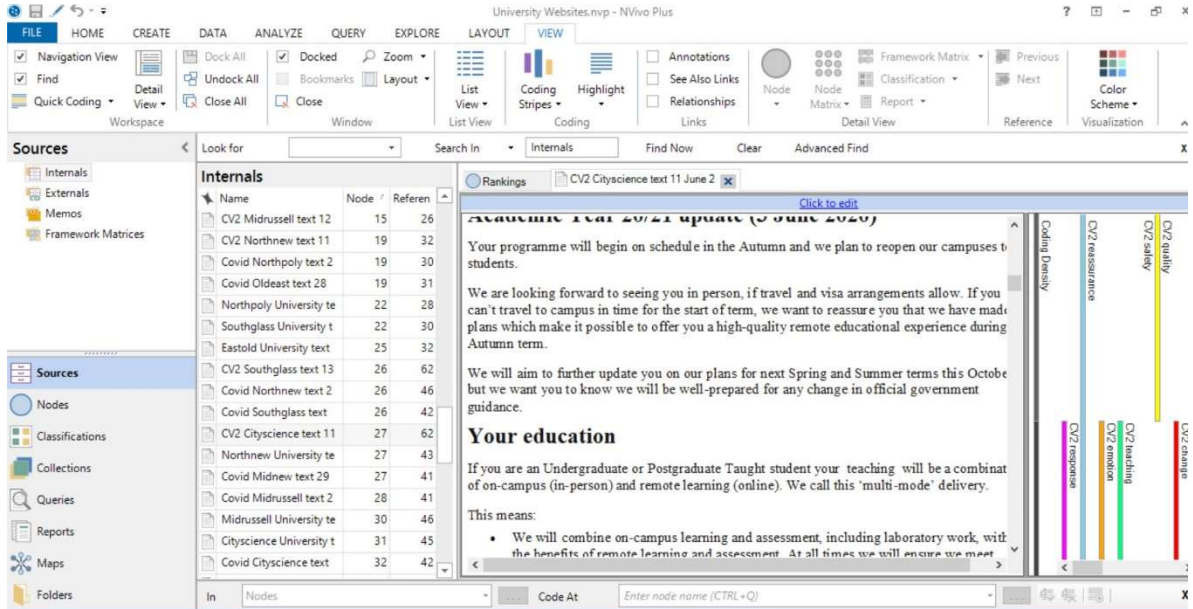
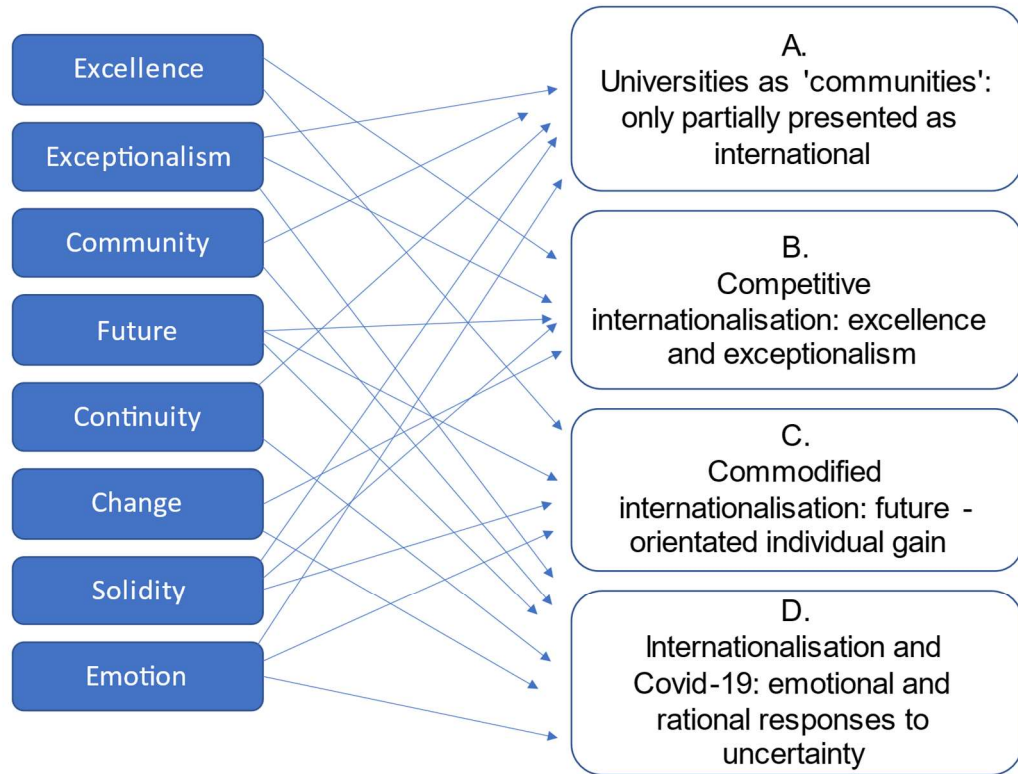# APPENDIX G: FROM ABSTRACT CATEGORIES TO OVER-ARCHING THEMES

Diagram devised by author of this study, based on ideas from Mullet (2018, p. 128).

APPENDIX H: UNIVERSITY COMPARISON

Box 1: Self-nomination on international and general pages

University, ranking, and % of international students	International pages	General pages e.g. 'About Us'
Eastold Ranked 1 34.4%	*[Eastold] is a diverse international community and welcomes talented students from around the world.* *It's a great place to be a student and has a truly diverse community so wherever you're from, you'll quickly start to make friends and feel at home* *There are currently more than 22000 students in total at the University with over 9000 international students representing over 140 different countries. Around 25% of undergraduate students and over 50% of graduate students are from outside the UK*	*[Eastold] is one of the oldest and most distinguished universities in the world. We've been teaching here since 1209 and today more than 25% of our undergraduates (around 3,100 students) are from outside the UK, representing around 100 countries.* *Our mission is to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.*
Cityscience Ranked 7 52%	*A truly international community: students come from over 140 different countries to study at [Cityscience]*	*[Cityscience] is a global top ten university with a world-class reputation in science, engineering, business and medicine…Our location in central [city name] is a huge advantage in what we do, setting us in the heart of a truly international community, with some of the world's biggest businesses on our doorstep*
Midrussell Ranked 18 23%	*A global community, home to staff and students from over 150 countries*	*Here at [Midrussell] we deliver research that transforms lives and shapes the future…We have inspiring campuses in three countries, energising us to be a globally engaged university*
Southglass Ranked 41 31%	*Choose from more than 500 degrees at [Southglass], a highly ranked UK university, and join a community of staff and students from over 140 countries*	*[Southglass] is a leading research-intensive university near [city name]. We have both an international and local outlook, with staff and students*

University	International pages	General pages
Southarts Ranked 43 (Sunday Times) 15%	*Join [Southarts] international creative community…We are deeply proud of our international community and what we gain from our diverse student and staff population is immeasurable*	*We are a leading arts university for the creative industries, turning creativity into careers. We're passionate about our creative subjects and encourage curiosity, risk-taking and adventure.*
Northpoly Ranked 79 7.5%	*[Northpoly] has a proud history of higher education since 1824. Over 300,000 form our global alumni community in more than 140 countries.*	*We are a great, modern university, in a great global city, here to make an impact on [City name], our nation, and beyond, with a driving ambition to discover and disseminate knowledge*
Midnew Ranked 93 13.4%	*We have more than 1,000 international students from over 100 countries studying with us each year, so you can be sure that you will fit in and feel at home with us.*	*We are one of the youngest universities in the UK… our commitment to transforming lives and inspiring change is at the heart of all that we do. We want to ensure that your experience studying with us enables you to transform your life and those of others too, no matter how great or how small this may be.*
Northnew Ranked 116 3.1%	*We welcome students from all over the world. Find out what [Northnew] can offer to international students. Here at [Northnew], our small and friendly campuses provide a welcoming and supportive environment where you can quickly begin to feel at home.*	*The University of [Northnew] is a good investment of your time and skills, as we focus on preparing you for your career… We offer exciting research-informed academic studies, professionally focused courses and technical skills*

(first row continues from previous page): *from more than 100 countries and frequent engagement in community activities and services.*

Box 2: 'You' and 'we' in international and general pages

University	International pages	General pages
Eastold	*To help you settle in there's a huge range of information, events and activities for new overseas students*	*[Eastold] is known and respected across the globe for the excellence of our teaching and research, and the quality of our graduates. Not only are you taught in the lecture theatre by*

	Wherever you're from, you'll quickly start to make friends and feel at home	*academics who are experts in their field, but our supervision system means that you receive more personal tuition from them too*
Cityscience	*Our International Student Support team organise events and activities to help you settle into life in the UK*	*Fun, friendly and with a heathy dose of independence, living in halls is a great way to fully immerse yourself in the [Cityscience] experience from your very first day.*
Midrussell	*Your student experience is about much more than just studying. This page highlights some of the opportunities you can take advantage of while studying with us as an international student.*	*Find your home from home. Whatever you're into, we've got something for you* *Students are at the heart of what we do. We are continuously developing our campuses to ensure that you have the spaces, facilities and resources that you need.*
Southglass	*We want you to get the most out of your studies and student life. That's why we help to prepare you for [Southglass], welcome you when you arrive and support you during your time here.*	*Whether you're an undergraduate, Masters or PhD student, we have the learning resources and study support to help you succeed at [Southglass]*
Southarts	*We offer a variety of programs for international students such as full-time bespoke study abroad and short course opportunities*	*Our staff are exceptional…all here to support you with your studies and help you to achieve outstanding outcomes*
Northpoly	*From the day you arrive to long after you graduate, we will support and encourage you*	*Our campus is designed around your student experience – based in the heart of the city, you'll never be bored. Whatever you're into – from sports and shopping to culture and clubbing – [city name] has it covered*
Midnew	*This has led us to build a whole new University from the ground up that is designed to reflect the way that you actually learn rather than the way you are expected to learn*	*As well as all the fun things, we also provide a supportive environment for you, so that your life at university is as smooth as possible. We understand that for a lot of people, coming to university is a massive step and we are here to help, whatever you may need.* *Join us and you will be one of the first students through the doors of our [campus name] campus.* *Whatever has led you to us, we're glad that you're here*
Northnew	*It's great you are considering studying at [Northnew]*	*We equip, empower and inspire you to discover great things from the day you arrive.*

	We have lots of experience of supporting our students' differing requirements, both in their academic studies and personal lives – help is always at hand.	*We've got you, whatever you want to be.*

Box 3: Adjectives conveying 'excellence'

University	International pages	General pages
Eastold	*[Eastold] is one of the **best** universities in the world… **inspiring** teaching that's respected the world over… **wide-ranging** learning resources and **up-to-date** facilities… one of the **highest** student retention rates in the UK*	*[Eastold] is one of the **oldest and most distinguished** universities in the world. We've been teaching here since 1209 and today more than 25% of our undergraduates (around 3,100 students) are from outside the UK, representing around 100 countries.*
Cityscience	*Explore our campus and **world-class** facilities…Studying at [Cityscience] is a challenging and **rewarding** experience*	*[Cityscience] is a global top ten university with a **world-class** reputation in science, engineering, business and medicine. Our international reputation for excellence in teaching and research…* *… Learn from **world class** experts and be part of a global community. …expect to be challenged and inspired as we open your mind to the **latest** thinking in your subject area.* *[Cityscience] people share ideas, expertise and technology to find answers to the big scientific questions and tackle global challenges*
Midrussell	*Be part of our world. A world of possibility, where **great** minds grow together. A global community, home to staff and students from over 150 countries*	*Our teaching is delivered by some of the **brightest** minds in their fields and shaped by the latest **ground-breaking** research. Student evaluations tell us that our teaching is **excellent** and hundreds of academic staff are nominated for our Staff Oscars each year. Research at [Midrussell] makes an impact around the world by tackling some of the major challenges facing society, the economy and the environment. This is where the MRI scanner was invented; where you'll find the world's largest group of human rights scholars; and where the*

		answers to global food security are being unearthed
Southglass	*[Southglass] is a **world-leading** research university with many projects led by the **foremost** academics in their field.* *[Southglass] is proud of its reputation as an institution with a distinctly global outlook allowing us to be at the forefront of research influence worldwide. Our **wide** range of international activities continue to develop **new** opportunities for collaboration and knowledge exchange in our efforts to tackle global issues*	*[Southglass] is a **leading** research-intensive university near [City].* *Lose yourself in thousands of books in our **world-class** library. Be inspired by **renowned** lecturers.*
Southarts	*[Southarts] provides an **internationally orientated** learning, teaching, research and knowledge transfer environment*	*All of our courses are based on our **stunning award-winning** campus. It's a **state-of-the-art** creative hub designed for specialists. With a backdrop of **head-turning** architecture…* *Our [Southarts] community works to make the world a better place, using creativity to offer solutions to the inequalities we see in our world.*
Northpoly	*All of our programmes are enriched by our **extensive** research activities, and all have been developed in close partnership with business, industry and the professions.* *[Northpoly] has several diverse faculties that combine tradition and innovation to create a **truly dynamic** learning environment.*	*We are a **great**, modern university in a great global city… **distinguished** alumni… We work closely with our city, with business, the community and our academic peers – locally, nationally and internationally – to be **inventive**, **creative**, generate **great** opportunities…* *Our research is carried out to a **world-leading** standard, to drive the economy and improve people's lives*
Midnew	*Our teaching is **outstanding**, our resources are **excellent***	*We'll support you every step of the way whichever course you choose – providing you with **first-class** teaching, **modern** facilities, **impressive** accommodation and **great** learning.*

University	International pages	General pages
Northnew	***Award-winning** student support* *Many of our programmes record 100% student satisfaction. Unlike many universities, we have small class sizes and can offer you a **more personal** experience, something that our international students tell us that they really value.*	*Five campuses, one [Northnew], infinite possibility. [Northnew] equips, empowers and inspires you to discover **great** things from the day you arrive.*

Box 4: Words and phrases conveying distinctiveness

University	International pages	General pages
Eastold	*[Eastold] is probably **different to** any educational establishment you have experienced.* *We admit the **most academically able** and motivated students to our courses*	*[Eastold] is justly famous for its heritage of scholarship, historic role and magnificent architecture. This heritage supports **one of the world's most important** centres for teaching and research.*
Cityscience	*[Cityscience] is **one of the world's most** international universities. [Cityscience's] global collaborations, discoveries and networks are transforming lives and creating opportunity in the UK and around the world.*	*…is **the only** university in the UK to focus exclusively on science, engineering, medicine and business* *A [Cityscience] education is **something special*** *… is a **one-of-a-kind** university in the UK*
Midrussell	*Our established campuses in three countries afford [Midrussell] a **unique** opportunity to explore what it means to be a **leading British university** not only at home but also abroad, conducting **cutting edge** research… providing a **quality** UK higher education to many more students than would otherwise be possible.*	*We are stewards of a **pioneering** and entrepreneurial tradition of creativity and **innovation***
Southglass	***Could there be a better place to be a student than our beautiful campus?*** *Find out more about our much-loved city by the sea*	*Find out how we're working towards becoming one of the **greenest universities in the UK** and investing in the **largest solar project in the UK** higher education sector*
Southarts	*[Southarts] is a very lively and friendly seaside town, ideally situated*	***A campus like no other.** Our spaces are divided into villages,*

	on the south coast of the UK, with many shops, bars and cafes and a growing creative community; and only 2 hours from London	boulevards, green space and infrastructure., Our campus also has a real buzz about it. On route to the café you might pass a film crew, a woman in Elizabethan dress and a DJ. It's a microcosm of the creative industries.
Northpoly	*[City name] is **the best UK city** to live in, according to the Economist Global Liveability Survey 2019*	*We are part of the UK's **most popular** student city*
Midnew	*We were the **first university in the UK** to be named as a Changemaker Campus in 2013*	*We want to **break the mould** of what Higher Education can be*
Northnew	***Exceptional** student support* *Located in one of the UK's **top** tourist destinations. Where better to live and study than in one of the **most attractive** tourist destinations in the UK?* *We enjoy a low cost of living – **far more favourable** than most parts of the UK. Also, our campus accommodation is some of the **least expensive** university accommodation in the UK*	*Where the impossible is made possible. Five campuses, one [Northnew], infinite possibility.*

Box 5: Ranking in stratified system

University	International pages	General pages
Eastold	*[Eastold] is consistently rated among the top institutions in international league tables for the quality of our teaching and research.* *Our teaching staff includes many national and world subject leaders* [No listing of rank]	*… the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence* [No listing of rank]
Cityscience	*We provide an education for students from around the world…* (followed by a heading 'League Tables' and three columns headed *Global rankings, UK rankings, subject rankings*, with 10 external links	*Our international reputation for excellence in teaching and research sees us consistently rated in the top 10 universities worldwide* *We're consistently rated in the top five UK universities and in the top ten worldwide*

	and bullet pointed highlights) *e.g.* *Times Higher Education World University Rankings 2020* • *3rd in Europe* • *10th in the world*	(followed by external links to league tables)
Midrussell	*…a leading British university not only at home but also abroad* *Unlock and advance your potential with our world-leading teaching and research… [Midrussell] is a founding member of the Russell Group of universities in the UK and a member of Universitas21… [Midrussell] is in the top 100 universities worldwide** **QS World Rankings 2020.*	*As a member of the UK's prestigious Russell Group and the Universitas 21 global network of research-intensive universities, we deliver a high standard of education. We consistently rank highly in UK and international league tables.* *In the top 25 in the UK's three major league tables: The Complete University Guide 2020; The Guardian University Guide 2020; The Times and Sunday Times Good University Guide 2020.* *Ranked as a world top 100 university by the QS World University Rankings 2020.* TEF Gold logo
Southglass	*25th most international university in the world *** ***Times Higher Education World Rankings 2019* (external link)	*[Southglass] is a leading research-intensive university.* 'About Us' page internal link *'Rankings and figures' See how we perform in the league tables.* Leads to external links to three UK league tables: • *38th in the UK: The Times and Sunday Times Good University Guide 2020* • *40th in the UK: The Complete University Guide (CUG) 2021* • *41st in the UK: The Guardian University league tables 2020.* and a world league table, plus UK National Students Satisfaction Survey and Which? Guide.
Southarts	[No details about rankings on the international pages]	*We are a leading arts university for the creative industries* (homepage)

		[Southarts] named top modern university in the south west. According to The Sunday Times [Southarts] is a top 50 university, rising eight places to a new national ranking. The results have awarded [Southarts] the highest score for teaching quality when compared to other specialist Arts universities. *We've been awarded Gold by the TEF (Teaching Excellence Framework)* *We've been named top UK university for Mental Health First Aid!*
Northpoly	*How does [Northpoly] perform in university rankings? Times Higher Education includes us in its top 200 universities in the world under 50 years old (2019) and we are ranked top 20 in the UK in 11 subject areas (Complete University Guide 2020)*	*We are taking a leading role in shaping your future* *Our research is carried out to a world-leading standard* *What makes us proud to be [Northpoly]?* *Our excellent teaching quality has been recognised with a Teaching Excellence Framework Silver Award* *TEF Silver logo*
Midnew	TEF Gold logo at bottom of international webpage	*We are one of the youngest universities in the UK but we are already leading the way in adding value to society* *As one of the few universities to be ranked Gold in the Teaching Excellence Framework, we know that sharing knowledge, supporting creativity and striving to make a positive difference will change the future… We are one of the youngest universities in the UK but we are already leading the way in adding value to society* *TEF Gold logo*
Northnew	*Unlike many universities, we have small class sizes and can offer you a more personal experience, something that our international students tell*	*Student satisfaction* *Many of our courses have a student satisfaction rating of over 90%, some of which are first in the region:* • *1st in the north west for Law*

	us that they really value…The Guardian University League Tables for 2017 recognised the quality of our programmes and placed us: • *In the top five universities in the North West for Business, Management and Marketing* • *In the top 4 universities in the North West for Health* • *In the top 3 universities in the North West for the Arts* • *In the top 3 universities in the North West for Psychology* *Our exceptional student support was recognised by the award of 'Outstanding Student Support Team' in the Times Higher Leadership and Management Awards of 2014.*	• *1st in the north west for psychology* • *3rd in the north west for media and film studies* *Source: Guardian League Tables 2019*

Box 6: Future career orientation

University	International	General
Eastold	*…graduates from all disciplines go into a very wide range of occupations, and are highly employable and greatly sought after due to the key transferable skills you develop and hone here*	*Top 5 for academic and employer reputation (QS World University Rankings 2020).* *[Eastold] is one of the top five universities most often targeted by Britain's leading graduate employers (The Graduate Market in 2019).* *These academic and extra-curricular opportunities help to ensure that [Eastold] graduates are highly employable – many of our graduate students go on to further study, as*

		well as careers across many industries and sectors, including academia.
Cityscience	*Get involved… keep up-to-date… Join our Facebook page*	*Our Careers Service is on hand to support your career planning from your very first day*
Midrussell	*Study with us to enhance your employability and graduate with unrivalled career prospects.* *All our services are available to international students, and we have specialist resources to help you find work opportunities around the world.* *There are several visa options for international students who wish to pursue a career or start a business in the UK after graduation. When you graduate, you'll be part of a global alumni community of over 280,000 [Midrussell] graduates, who help current students and each other. These networks will provide opportunities and life-long career support for a successful future.*	*Academic Excellence* *Whether you undertake a year in industry, take up a summer internship or have a clinical placement as part of your course, you will be equipped with the skills employers are looking for* *Unlock your potential with our world-leading teaching and research* *Transform your future by studying at a world-leading university* *Our graduates are consistently targeted by leading employers, giving your career the best possible start.*
Southglass	*Choose from more than 500 degrees at [Southglass]* *Join a community of staff and students from over 140 countries*	*We have the learning resources and study support to help you succeed at [Southglass] – and in your future career*
Southarts	*Join [Southarts] international creative community* *Like us on Facebook… connect with us on Weibo…*	*We invest heavily in industry-standard technology and spaces that equip you for life in the creative industries. We want you to get used to the equipment and facilities you'll find in the real world* *Our average graduate employment rate over the last five years has been 97%* *Our alumni constantly return with incredible stories of things they've done, business they've created and awards they've won* *98% of the class of 2015/16 at [Southarts] progressed to*

		employment or further study within six months
Northpoly	*Prepare for your career* (this is a link to a video aimed at international students)	*Explore, Create, Succeed* *Live, Study, Thrive*
Midnew	*Studying with us will help you create new friendships and contacts. It will help you improve your English and communication skills.*	*Come to [Midnew] and you will see that we do things a bit differently* *We have increased focus on seminars or tutorials that allow closer interaction between students and a member of staff in the form of discussion in small groups or one-to-one that mimic practice in the professional world*
Northnew	*Here are some of the reasons our international students have chosen us:* *High employability* *Our graduates have an amazing employability record, with 9/10 in employment or further study six months after graduation. A university education is a positive investment for your future, and our enviable employability record is proof of the value a [Northnew] degree holds to both our graduates and employers.*	*…the knowledge you gain on your course is geared towards getting you a job as soon as you graduate!* *That's why 97% of our graduates enter employment within 6 months of graduating.*

Box 7 Covid-19 related additions to the university webpages April and June 2020

University	International	General
Eastold	*We are mindful that many of our EU and overseas offer holders are not completing qualifications. … if you are aware that your results are going to be awarded in a different way than originally planned, please bring this to the attention of the College that made you an offer as soon as possible. We are currently working very hard…*	*The university is continually monitoring the latest Public Health England and government advice.* *A new rapid diagnostic test for COVID-19, developed by an [Eastold] spinout company and capable of diagnosing the infection in under 90 minutes, is being deployed at [City name] hospitals, ahead of being launched in hospitals nationwide.* <u>June</u> *At a time of national and global crisis, [Eastold] is rising swiftly and effectively to the challenge.* *Find out how [Eastold] researchers and experts are responding to the COVID-19 pandemic.*

Cityscience	*Offer holders with an English language condition will have been given a deadline of 16 July for their offer details. In light of the current disruption, we have extended this deadline to 18 August and will keep this under review. New students concerned about obtaining or renewing their visas should contact the International Student Support team*	*We know that this is a difficult time for our community, and that anxiety around Covid-19 may be affecting your wellbeing…please do not be concerned about your studies.* *More than one thousand members of staff and hundreds of students are volunteering to support the NHS. We have converted two labs for NHS COVID-19 testing…we have handed over machines for NHS emergency use, Our students are providing hundreds of free meals to NHS workers.* <u>June</u> *What measures can I expect in the Autumn Term? …You will receive a welcome pack that will include three washable cotton face coverings, hand sanitiser and anti-viral wipes'*
Midrussell	*We are aware that exams and assessments are being impacted across the world. This includes delays to exam dates and some results being released. We are closely monitoring the ongoing situation and will be reviewing any relevant deadlines and other changes…*	*We will do everything we can to support applicants during these unprecedented times* *…we have cancelled our open days in June. This is to ensure the safety of our visitors, staff and students* *How the university is helping to fight coronavirus. People are what makes this university great, now more than ever. Our staff and students are supporting the local, national and global effort to tackle the pandemic.*
Southglass	*Make sure you have updated your term-time address so we know how to contact you in an emergency. If you are staying on campus, please also complete this short survey so we can stay in touch with you and make sure you have all the latest information.* *[Southglass] is currently looking at plans to deliver an 8-week online pre-sessional course… we hope to provide all our international partners and agents with information about the process very soon,*	*… decided to suspend all teaching… We listened to our whole community in coming to this decision and we believe strongly it is the right one for all* *We have set up a taskforce to strategically co-ordinate our activities in the most efficient way possible. We have established immediately three working groups to begin manufacturing personal protective equipment for NHS staff and other key workers; helping with national efforts to test for COVID 19; and coordinating Covid-19 related research* <u>June</u>

	but at present we are still assessing the options.	*We are currently looking at all the arrangements for your in-person experience* *We're busy getting our beautiful campus ready for the new academic year. We are currently creating new walkways and navigation aids to ensure safety-spaced movement around campus*
Southarts	*We'll be as flexible as possible and work with you to progress your application as smoothly as we can* *Students on Tier-4 visas are permitted to study remotely for this interim period. As long as you continue to work with your course team (via online tutorials or similar), and complete the required work, you won't be disadvantaged…*	*We're very much paying attention to questions and queries that you might have* *We're working really hard to make sure that you'll have a fantastic time as a member of our friendly, brilliant and creative community* *…we've made the difficult decision to postpone our graduation ceremony this year. Our staff and community cherish and value this important event every bit as much as you do. We're aware that a lot of students, friends and family members will be disappointed – this has been an immensely difficult decision, and it's not something we've decided upon without great consideration… the pride attached to this spectacular and prestigious event is something shared by us all and we won't let you down.* *…in order to protect members of our community, we've decided to close our campus, with teaching continuing online during this period* *Our student support, course and administrative teams are fully operational and will continue across online environments*
Northpoly	*The International Society are now working virtually and services will move online. If you feel lonely, isolated or that you need support, please get in touch via the International Society website.* *As soon as we understand what system is operating in your country, we will update you on how we will assess*	<u>June message from named Pro-Vide-Chancellor for Education</u> *The resilience, creativity and sense of community that all our students have demonstrated over the past few weeks has been impressive. You should be truly proud of how you have adapted to challenging circumstances. As you manage the pressures of the end of the academic year, I know that you might be concerned about what next year could look like… Firstly, we plan*

	your application. As the extent of the disruption becomes clearer, we will be in a better position to provide further guidance on this. Our priority will be to ensure every applicant is treated fairly. *New international scholarships available. [Northpoly] is offering a scholarship package of £2,000 for every year of study to international students accepted onto a full-time taught undergraduate programme that starts in September 2020.*	*to start our next academic year as planned in September… Secondly, we are developing plans to deliver some on-campus learning for most courses, and will be delivering a combination of some online and some on-campus teaching throughout the year, while following national guidelines to secure student and staff well-being.*
Midnew	*The university will apply a degree of flexibility to international applicants and offer holders who expect that they will experience delays*	*We are continuously monitoring the situation* *We know that applicants will be worried* *…we believe the safer option is the ongoing suspension of face-to-face activities* <u>June</u> *We are currently putting in place social distancing and hygiene measures on campus in line with our promise to create a university estate that is as safe and secure as possible for all our new and returning students* *The library and other social and sporting facilities will also be open, subject to relevant social distancing rules* *Thanks to Active Blended Learning, [Midnew] was able to respond quicker than most to the challenges of the COVID 19 pandemic. In this digital age it remains one of our greatest strengths and makes studying with us a dynamic and highly relevant experience that is second to none. The academic, professional and employability skills and knowledge you'll gain will be of the highest, externally benchmarked standards. More importantly, they'll prepare you for making your way successfully in a constantly changing world.*

| Northnew | *Is it still safe to come to the UK to study?* *The health, safety and wellbeing of our students is our top priority. We are accepting applications as usual. To reassure you and your parents, we are adhering strictly to the guidance that has been put in place to help reduce the spread of the virus. Along with all other UK Universities have measures in place to take care of anyone that may be potentially at risk. The UK is proud to have one of the best public healthcare systems in the world. We will do everything we reasonably can to make sure that students are still able to enrol on our courses (in September) this year. If we need to make any changes to courses, processes, deadlines or entry requirements, we will do so in the best interests of students and their families and will keep everyone informed as quickly and comprehensively as we can.* | *Our top priority is the health and safety of our university community; our students and our staff. The university has now moved to online delivery of the majority of our courses so we can ensure we can protect and support our students and give them the best possible opportunities to complete their studies.* <u>June</u> *We are currently assessing the requirements to provide a safe learning experience on our campuses …all on-campus activity will be subject to social distancing measures and timetabling will reflect the need to ensure that total numbers of students of staff and students on each campus, each day, are within the limits that will permit safe practice* |