Continuity and Change of Internationalisation during the Pandemic

Ulrika Fløisdorf, Hanne Kirstine Adriansen

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Abstract

Based on 17 qualitative interviews with staff and international students conducted at Danish higher education institutions during the autumn 2020, this paper asks how the international classroom was shaped and explores the nature of the international student experience during the pandemic. Faced with the insecurity and restrictions on mobility caused by the pandemic, Danish higher education made a rapid shift to online and/or blended learning. This meant that the taken for granted learning and socialising spaces at campus suddenly were moved to online spaces involving a particular combination of proximity and distance, being at two places at once. For many international students, the aspect of relating to new people and places is a substantial purpose of studying abroad. The students voiced their frustration and distress with the new situation. For some, it was because they had disrupted their stay in Denmark and returned to their home country, others were frustrated by the cancelled activities at and beyond campus. While the interviewees, in particular the students, talk about change, we argue that the pandemic was also a period of continuity and that some of the online practices will continue through internationalisation at a distance in the future. By listening to both the students' and staffs' experiences of internationalisation during the pandemic, we are offered a comprehensive perspective that contributes empirical finding with an attempt to understand how new forms of internationalisation at a distance may affect the wider outcomes of internationalisation in the future.

Keywords: *internationalisation, online learning, learning places, Denmark*

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Zusammenfassung

Basierend auf 17 qualitativen Interviews, die im Herbst 2020 an dänischen Hochschulen mit Lehrkräften und internationalen Studierenden geführt wurden, untersucht dieser Artikel, wie das internationale Klassenzimmer gestaltet wurde und welche Erfahrungen internationale Studierende während der Pandemie machten. Angesichts der durch die Pandemie verursachten Unsicherheit und Mobilitätseinschränkungen vollzog sich im dänischen Hochschulwesen ein rapider Wandel hin zu Online-Lehre und/oder Blended Learning. Dies bedeutete, dass die für bis dahin für selbstverständlich gehaltenen Lern- und Begegnungsräume auf dem Campus plötzlich in Online-räume verlagert wurden, welche eine besondere Kombination aus Nähe und Distanz erfordern, und das Gefühl auslösen, an zwei Orten gleichzeitig zu sein. Für viele internationale Studierende ist der Aspekt, mit neuen Menschen und Orten in Kontakt zu treten, ein wesentlicher Grund für ein Auslandsstudium. Die Studierenden brachten ihre Frustration und ihr Unbehagen über die neue Situation zum Ausdruck. Für einige war es der Grund, dass sie ihren Aufenthalt in Dänemark abgebrochen haben und in ihr Heimatland zurückgekehrt waren, andere waren frustriert über die abgesagten Aktivitäten auf und außerhalb des Campus. Während die Befragten, insbesondere die Studierenden, von Veränderungen sprechen, argumentieren wir, dass die Pandemie auch eine Zeit der Kontinuität war und dass einige der Online-Praktiken durch 'internationalisation at a distance' in der Zukunft fortbestehen werden. Indem wir sowohl die Erfahrungen der Studierenden als auch des Personals mit der Internationalisierung während der Pandemie einbeziehen, bieten wir eine ganzheitliche Perspektive, die empirische Ergebnisse liefert, um zu verstehen, wie neue Formen der 'internationalisation at a distance' die zukünftigen Auswirkungen der Internationalisierung im weiteren Sinne beeinflussen können.

Schlüsselwörter: *Internationalisierung, Onlinelernen, Lernorte, Dänemark*

Introduction

The purpose and promises of internationalisation of higher education (IHE) vary, but include the potential to open the world by including a diversity of perspectives (Leask, 2015), to increase intercultural and language skills (de Wit *et al.*, 2015), to enhance the quality of education, research, and service to society, to promote mutual understanding and collaboration (de Wit, 1999). The pandemic has accelerated the creation

of new forms of internationalisation without international student mobility but based on different forms of online learning. Other forms or instruments of internationalisation include incoming student mobility, outgoing student mobility (together labelled international student mobility, ISM), English Medium Instruction (EMI), academic mobility, and internationalisation at home (IAH) (Adriansen *et al.*, 2019). The new forms of online internationalisation have been termed Internationalisation at a Distance (IaD) (Mittelmeier *et al.*, 2021) and are an alternative to international student mobility. There are a number of benefits related to these new forms of internationalisation including, first, increased availability to students who cannot be physically mobile (e.g. due to care responsibilities), second, being cheaper, perhaps even affordable to all, and third, decreased carbon footprint of internationalisation. However, there are also limitations. These relate both to learning through online methods and to wider understandings of the purpose and promises of internationalisation.

The aim of this paper is to explore how the online classroom affected processes of internationalisation during the pandemic. We argue that this knowledge is useful now that higher education institutions are developing alternative forms of internationalisation relying less on large-scale mobility, but more on online learning. Based on 17 qualitative interviews with students and staff in Danish higher education during the autumn of 2020, we ask: how was an international classroom shaped and what was the nature of the international student experience during the pandemic?

1. Research context: Danish higher education during the pandemic

While pandemics by nature are global, the responses to COVID-19 were national. Borders were closed, citizens 'called home', and governments issued protectionist policies in a hitherto unseen manner during the 21st century. In order to understand internationalisation during COVID-19, a brief description of the national context of the study is therefore called for.

From the mid-2000s, Denmark saw a steady increase of incoming international students, which reached 22,000 enrolled students per year (UFM, 2018). Due to the pandemic, the number of both incoming and outgoing students dramatically declined, although the Danish HEI in general were still welcoming international students.

Figure 1 illustrates restrictions in the Danish society and how they affected higher education institutions. It should be noted that there were no restrictions on mobility within the country, only a recommendation to limit the use of public transport.

Figure 1. COVID-19 restrictions in Denmark.
Above the months selected important restrictions for higher education
(derived from https://medarbejdere.au.dk),
below selected important restrictions for the Danish society
(derived from https://www.ssi.dk)

In the autumn of 2020, both blended learning [1] and physical classroom teaching were allowed, although all HEI were aware of a possible soon-to-come lockdown due to a 'second wave' of the pandemic.

2. Considering internationalisation through space, place, and the pandemic

Recent years have seen an increase in critical internationalisation studies, which for instance examine the meaning of the term 'international' within ISM (Brooks & Waters, 2022; Adriansen *et al.*, 2022), express their concern of the ethical aspect of internationalisation (Buckner & Stein, 2020), and raise our attention to the environmental costs of ISM (Shields, 2019). With the onset of COVID-19, where the majority of ISM came to a standstill and virtual classes the new reality, research explore internationalisation in relation to student engagement and online teaching (Neuwirth *et al.*, 2021), depictions of international students on Twitter (Mittelmeier & Cockayne, 2020) and belonging during remote teaching (Gravett & Ajjawi, 2021). While IaD is a new form of internationalisation, only few other studies exist beyond the research by Mittelmeier *et al.* (2019) that has generated a number of publications based on their empirical study in South Africa. In their work, Mittelmeier *et al.* (2019) argue in favour of adopting a more complex narrative to internationalisation in distance learning settings and highlight technology-supported internationalisation pedagogies to support intercultural learning (2021). Gemmel *et al.* (2015) is supposedly the first to examine internationalisation through an online distance-learning course. In Bruhn's (2020) PhD thesis about virtual IHE, she argues that 'while both digitalization and internationalization are recognised as key trends in higher education, research on the combination of the two is in fact dispersed and has been difficult to overlook to this date' (p. 24). Ramanau's (2016) study of an online international management course shows high degrees of engagement with international perspectives, but 'traditional campus-based acculturation effects were not

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1 A mix between online teaching and physical classroom teaching.

observed' (p. 545). Other scholars highlight the long-term effects of the pandemic, such as HE finances and student mobility flows (de Wit & Altbach, 2021; Hudzik, 2020) and point to the challenges and possibilities for the future of IHE post-pandemic e.g. systemic changes within ISM and an increase in online and blended teaching (Bista *et al.*, 2022; Ferencz & Rumbley, 2022). Thus, the pandemic brought forth an opportunity for critical reflections on what internationalisation became when 'normal' internationalisation pedagogies and practices were challenged due to COVID-19 restrictions (Sidhu *et al.*, 2021). Therefore, this paper explores how an international classroom was shaped and unfolds the nature of the international student experience during the pandemic. This adds to emerging research about internationalisation relying less on large-scale mobility, but more on online learning.

This paper stems from a larger research project that draws on spatial and mobility theories (Adriansen *et al.*, 2019). These theories allow us to deconstruct the binary logic about internationalisation as domestic/international, and mobile/immobile. Instead, we see internationalisation as a fundamentally spatial process full of flows to different places, thereby producing and reproducing global hierarchies.

In the analytical framework for this paper, we draw on critical internationalisation studies (e.g. Stein, 2019; Spangler & Adriansen, 2021), which problematize the dominant patterns of flows, representation, collaboration, and resource distribution in the IHE. Inspired by Buckner and Stein (2020), we ask, 'What counts as internationalization?' and problematize what internationalisation is, where and how it takes place. We use the pandemic as a lens for exploring possible obstacles in internationalisation at a distance. Leask & Carroll (2011) argue that there is evidence of too much emphasis on 'wishing and hoping' (p. 647) that internationalisation suddenly appears from cultural diversity in the classroom and the campus. This inspires us in our spatial approach to understand how the international classroom was shaped during the pandemic.

3. Methodology

3.1. Informants

Originally, the study was planned to be an ethnographic field study at one higher education institution (HEI) in Copenhagen during the fall of 2020. However, even before starting, the HEI announced that the fieldwork was cancelled due to the uncertainties relating to COVID-19. Instead, the study is based upon three different forms of qualitative interviews with five staff members, eleven incoming Master students, and one Bachelor student enrolled as either degree [2] mobile students or credit [3] mobile students at HEI in the spring and/or fall of 2020. The rationale for choosing informants across universities was purely opportunistic given the limited opportunities for empirical research during the pandemic. The student informants were all in their twenties and came from China (3), Estonia (1), France (1), Germany (2), Rumania (1), Taiwan (1), Ireland (1) and the USA (2). They were enrolled in five different Master programmes: Anthropology of Education and Globalisation (5), Applied Anthropology (1), Computer Science (1), Global Development (2), and Design (2), and one Bachelor program: Teacher Education (1). The staff members included three international coordinators from Denmark and two lecturers from France and Singapore. Thus, the group of informants in this paper provide us with comprehensive perspective from both students and staff on what went on in the classroom that adds to other research concerning international students' study experience in Denmark during the pandemic (McGahey, 2021; UCPH, 2020).

3.2. Methods

Different types of qualitative, explorative interview techniques were used: semi-structured time- and spaceline interviews (Adriansen, 2012) were employed to open for in-depth knowledge of how the spatial position of

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2 Degree mobility: students pursuing a full degree, or degrees abroad such as bachelor, master, PhD (de Wit & Altbach, 2021).

3 Credit mobility: students studying abroad for a short period, up to one academic year, and transferring credits back to their home degree (de Wit & Altbach, 2021).

the students affected their understanding of 'becoming international', and how they constructed relations in different places. A big sheet of paper was used where one time- and one spaceline were drawn horizontally, starting with the first time the informant reflected upon what 'international' really means and ended by the day of the interview. In this collaborative technique, where both the interviewer and the interviewee can draw and make notes, it is not only significant how the life history is portrayed by the informants, but also how they make connections to other events in their lives and the broader political, social, and environmental context. Additionally, the collaborative interview method 'mapping tool' (Donnelly *et al.*, 2019) was used in order to capture the informants' relational construction to people and places. The participants were asked to colourcode a blank world map in four different colours, each colour representing where the informants felt more or less safe in terms of the pandemic, and where they would prefer or not prefer to study. When they were done, they were asked: Tell me about your map. The map became a helpful instrument that enabled the participants to tell 'thick stories' (Madden, 2010) but was not considered as stand-alone-data as a brief semi-structured interview was conducted prior to the mapping tool.

The interviews took place in a setting chosen by the informants, either at their institution or in a virtual format in their home. As a result of the stricter COVID-19 restrictions by the end of the fieldwork, and the fact that some of the participants had returned to their home country, eight of the interviews were conducted in a virtual format, either through Skype or Teams. For practical reasons the online interviews were made as conventional, semi-structured interviews. Compared to the more collaborative interview methods above, in the semi-structured interview the researcher is more in control and subtly steers the questions and topics (Madden, 2010). The semi-structured interviews concerned faculties' understanding of how to internationalise the online classroom, and students' motivation to come to Denmark and 'becoming international' during the pandemic, among other topics. Conducting the interviews online was conducive for talking about the effects of online classes, the method matched the topic so to speak. As many of the informants were challenged due to COVID-19 restrictions, staying sensitive and looking for possible signs of discomfort or unease while interviewing was essential

to ensure informants' wellbeing during the interviews. The length of the interviews was 40-90 minutes, 14 of them were conducted in English, three in Danish, and they were digitally recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions were first analysed by open coding (Madden, 2010), 'opening up' data and generating multiple ideas of what is at stake. Further, themes were chosen based on quantity and what the informants highlighted in the interviews. Finally, more focused coding were employed, recoding the codes. Through the coding process both initial and integrative memos were produced.

4. What can we learn about internationalisation during the pandemic?

Guided by our research questions and inspired by critical internationalisation studies, the following analysis shows negotiations of what counts as internationalisation and how to internationalise the online classroom from the perspective of both students and staff and the dynamics between them.

4.1. Faculty: shaping an 'international' online classroom

'People are still moving maybe a little less but it is not less international than usual, not so many [from] outside the EU but we still have many Swedes and Germans, it is not completely locked. Less than ideal but not completely impossible' (Helen, lecturer, 29 October 2020).

In this quote, we can see that Helen still saw the classroom as international during the pandemic, because students from the northern parts of Europe were still moving across borders. Hence, she connected internationalisation to an international student body. Helen, who is French, is a lecturer at a large university, Uni 1, that promotes itself as highly international both in relation to the number of mobile students and international lecturers.

Generally, the interviewed faculty members agreed that the classroom was still international referring to e.g. incoming students, EMI, and internationalising the curriculum (see e.g. Beelen & Leask, 2011; Leask, 2009).

Hence, some continuity existed as shown in Figure 2 further below. When Helen was asked about how she internationalised the online classroom, she highlighted how she 'was mindful to give them [the students] examples from different countries' with an aim to provide the students a more diverse and critical worldview. Further, she explained that in most of her classes she used EMI as a way to internationalise, linking internationalisation with the English language. We will not probe further into the discussion about the critical aspects of the use of EMI. However, as explained by Adriansen *et al.* (2022), when using the term 'international programmes' as a proxy for programmes taught in English, we need to ask how this may play into 'the ongoing dominance of particular (Anglophone, Western, "unaccented") forms of English' (p. 28). Ema, who originates from Singapore, also works as a lecturer at Uni 1, stressed the importance of a diverse curriculum to shape a more complete picture of today's world context and hence increase the students' exposure to internationalisation, 'the educators have a responsibility and need to show different examples of articles [to the students]'. Without any explicit training in online teaching, Helen and Ema were not prepared nor equipped to adapt their internationalisation pedagogies to an online format. We therefore question how the engagement with international perspectives in the online classroom unfolded. As Mittelmeier *et al.* (2021) argue, IaD activities need to be designed in a way that includes technology-supported internationalisation pedagogies to provide a platform for supporting intercultural learning. However, the informants explained that they used virtual breakout groups with an aim to minimise 'black screens'[4] and benefit the students who found it challenging to speak in front of the class.

A Danish international coordinator at Uni 2, Anna, who had implemented and worked with Collaborative Online International Learning[5]

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4   When students turned their camera off during class.
5   The Collaborative Online Learning (COIL) model enables faculty and students to collaborate with peers worldwide through co-taught, culturally focused online learning environments to achieve intercultural understanding, learning in discipline-specific content, and competences in communication and group collaboration (Vahed & Rodriguez, 2021).

(COIL) and virtual breakout groups prior to the pandemic, pointed out that virtual breakout groups did help students to engage more compared to working with the whole class. While the lecturers at Uni 1 did not explicitly mention international aspects of working in online breakout groups during the pandemic, the informants from Uni 2 explained how working in online breakout groups in different COIL projects enriched the international student experience both in terms of cultural enrichment and in practising their English language skills. Hence, all lectures pointed to the purpose and potentials of internationalisation mentioned in the introduction. This aligns with research that shows that IaD activities such as online group work with other students based around the world may support students intercultural learning and exchange (e.g. Mittlemeier *et al.*, 2021). However, Mittelmeier *et al.* (2021) also stress how staff is required appropriate training and preparation to provide the benefits and affordances of teaching in IaD activities online, which was not possible during the pandemic.

The informants stressed that students, who had met physically prior to the pandemic, were significantly more engaged in online classes compared to those students who had only met online. This shows how space matters for creating relations. The reason was the relationships formed between the students when they had met physically, a relationship they carried with them into the online classroom. The relational sets of practices created prior to the pandemic helped to internationalise the student experience, enhancing students' communication and intercultural skills due to their higher engagement. Other studies of ISM during the pandemic have also pointed to learning as situated with special reference to the importance of drawing on and building relations (Sidhu *et al.*, 2021). For the informants, an additional complexity of the sudden transition to online classes in the spring 2020 was the lack of informal encounters with students for example in between classes or in the hallway. Our findings demonstrate that spaces outside the classroom facilitated an important part of the internationalisation process, and the lack of these spaces left some students, especially the international students, with less support than usual. Other studies (e.g. Wang, 2022) show that international students have been less willing to use student services than domestic students have.

Online learning is not a novelty to higher education (Adedoyin & Soykan, 2022), but as noted by Rippy & Munoz (2022) the sudden transition to online learning forced some faculty members to adapt their courses to an unfamiliar teaching modality they never had taught in. Under normal circumstances, lecturers would have had time to familiarise themselves with the new technology. This was not the case during the pandemic, as Rippy & Munoz (2022) argue, the focus changed from teaching to basic survival. Hence, teaching ended up being dominated by oneway lectures with limited use of pedagogies for promoting critical thinking and deep learning and with little opportunity for students to seek feedback. Similarly, Marie, an international coordinator at Uni 2, voiced with great agony that during the pandemic there was no time for explaining the students *why* internationalisation is important only *how* it should be done.

4.2 Students: The nature of the international study experience during the pandemic

'My semester abroad was cancelled and now I had to do this online university. I was trying to participate a little but not that much as it was not the experience I had expected. My motivation was very low' (Julie, Germany, 10 October 2020).

One of the main reasons for international students to study abroad is to engage and relate to new people and places (Ginnerskov-Hansen, 2014), together with the international knowledge and routes to employment and immigration that these skills and experiences provide them (Kanwar & Carr, 2020). All student interviewees voiced their frustration and distress with the new situation with COVID-19 and its effects. For some, it was because they had disrupted their stay in Denmark and returned to their home country, others were frustrated about the cancelled activities at the campus and beyond. Julie, a German Master student, had only been in Copenhagen for two weeks when the lockdown was a fact and she decided to return to her home country. Her account above shows how her motivation for attending online classes was low, aligning with Altbach & de Wit (2020) who argue that students' lack of motivation for online delivery will affect their planning to sign up for HE of the fall 2020. Julie further narrated how the pandemic caused her to miss out on the personal journey and adventures that under more normal circumstances come with

ISM. Similarly, Erasmus Student Network's (2020) study of student exchanges in Europe during the pandemic shows that while problems such as technical issues, insufficient prepared lecturers and time difference may be dealt with, the 'real' Erasmus student experience during the pandemic is unlikely to be the same as first imagined by the students. Most informants argued that their study abroad experiences could not solely be (re)produced behind the screen. This emphasises the intrinsic value of experiencing a new place and another academic system physically and demonstrates how the power of meeting someone face-to-face should not be understated (Liu & Gao, 2022).

Although the students were pleased that teaching continued throughout the lockdown, they narrated that the online classes presented certain challenges, such as lack of stable Wi-Fi, lower learning [6] efficacy, a need for a higher self-discipline, and difficulties feeling 'at home' in the online space. Gemmel *et al.* (2015) argue that education at a distance can only succeed when students feel a sense of community through the ability for personal and professional interaction, which we will illuminate further below. When blended learning was allowed and all classes also were streamed online, students could freely choose if they wanted to attend the online- or physical class. Viva, akin to other informants, always chose to attend the physical classroom rather than online. This illustrates how student's own agency, in the shape of their responses to attend the physical classes rather than the online space, enabled continued access to an international classroom as they had imagined prior to the pandemic. In other words, the physical classroom and campus are places where students are longing to live their student lives including social experiences. When talking about how online learning unfolded, Lily, a French Master student on her third semester, commented: 'It [online learning] required more discipline…it's hard to focus at home but then it's like, well just get to it'. During the interviews, many of the other students pointed at experiences akin to Viva's and Lily's. Leah, a master's student from China studying at her first semester, mentioned how 'the professor will be so much more

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6   Here we use learning as an emic concept. Thus we do not assess whether they learned less or not.

involved with face-to-face interaction with students than paying attention to students online'. This again brings to the forefront how the low engagement between faculty and student in the online classroom may have affected the international perspectives, which according to Ramanu (2016) are often lacking in an online context. As a result, several of the informants stressed how they began to question the international nature of their student experience in Copenhagen. The students, who had returned to their home-country could only attend the online learning and all internationalisation for them was in the virtual space. This also had spatio-temporal consequences. As Wang (2022) reminds us, for international students from the Americas, far East, and Oceania, attending online classes in Europe often means having to study at midnight or early morning. Inspired by Bruhn (2020), we argue that the online classroom also has spatial reference points and that students are not virtual people, but they are confined by the specifics of their localised realities, such as time zones, when attending online classes. Thus, even in virtual spaces, spatial locations of bodies affect what kinds of international experience are possible, as the narratives illuminate.

Many students pointed out that having an established relationship, especially with Danish people, made it easier to stay grounded and connected to their daily lives in Denmark. When employing the mapping interview, Jiao, also a Chinese master student, pointed out that he was lucky to have both Danish and international friends, as his Danish friends could help him understand what was going on in Denmark during the pandemic. As to the seven students who did not have a Danish social relation, many of them expressed that they to some degree received information from their institution, but it was not sufficient for them to understand what was going on in the Danish society in general. Similar findings can be found in a study by UCPH (2020). Building on Ramanau (2016), the findings above indicate that regardless of the student's geographical situation they expected more focus on international content and collaborations with fellow international students than their learning experience offered.

5. Discussion and concluding remarks

In this paper, we have examined how the pandemic affected processes of internationalisation. Even though the students could move within Denmark during the pandemic, the limited physical mobility hampered the social life of international students. Without physical classes and campus activities, many international students did not experience the wider academic life in Denmark. Moreover, due to the restrictions and lock down, the students could not take part in the wider (cultural) life even though they lived in Denmark as they expected prior to the pandemic. As we have argued elsewhere (Fløisdorf & Adriansen, forthcoming), processes of internationalisation are not restricted to the classroom and the campus, but entail living in a foreign country, experiencing and participating in the everyday life of that country. Therefore, it became even more difficult for international students to develop a social network with Danish students. Lack of social network can cause international students to live in a 'bubble' parallel to Danish students (Ginnerskov-Hansen, 2014). Negative consequences of online learning e.g. low motivation, not feeling at home, lack of concentration were not restricted to international students, domestic students had similar experiences. However, the international students also missed the non-campus part of their international student experience.

The student narratives were very much about change. This is probably due to the disruption to their expected study abroad. We argue, however, that there also were continuity in internationalisation during the pandemic, which we have illustrated in Figure 2, see next page.

The findings provided by this paper can be used as a particular moment-in-time (the year of 2020) documentation of internationalisation practices and the faced realities by international students in Copenhagen. It adds to the few studies of internationalisation during the pandemic with a focus on IaD by showing how internationalisation was different during the pandemic and how it compares to IaD (see Figure 2). It is thus an empirical contribution with an attempt to generate knowledge for future improved internationalisation practises. By studying internationalisation during the pandemic, we can offer insights into opportunities and obstacles offered by new forms of internationalisation such as

**Figure 2: Continuities and changes in the processes
of internationalisation**

Continuity and change of internationalisation

Pre-pandemic	During the pandemic	IaD
In the physical classroom: English medium instruction, internationalising the curriculum, physical group work, informal meetings, physical interaction, body-language	**In the online classroom:** English medium instruction, internationalising the curriculum, online group work. Sometimes met with 'black screens', being at two places at once, only facial expressions. Due to the sudden shift to online learning, most teachers did not have explicit training in how to internationalise the online classroom. Students signing up for classes prior to the pandemic were not informed about the shift to online classes.	**In the online classroom:** English medium instruction, internationalising the curriculum. International collaboration between institutions and/or people e.g. shared communication spaces, wikis, interactive blogs, and online group work. Being at two places at once, only facial expressions. Both students and lecturers are informed and prepared that classes are online.
At the campus: Welcome week, informal conversations, physical interaction, using the campus as both study place and social place.	**At the campus:** At times, complete lockdown of the campus, sometimes only social activities cancelled, the campus became an unfamiliar space.	**At the campus:** There can be online activities such as welcome week. Usually no official internationalisation activities.
Beyond the classroom and the campus: Full participation in society through social, cultural, and sport activities, festivals, travelling the country, meeting new people, meeting physically with friends.	**Beyond the classroom and the campus:** Cancelled social, cultural, and sports activities, minimizing one's social interaction and public transport, facemasks, Danish management of Covid-19.	**Beyond the classroom and the campus:** No activities.

internationalisation at a distance. The paper offers a comprehensive per-
spective by including both students and staff. By combining methods
inspired by spatial and mobility theories with narrative/life history inter-
views, we go beyond traditional binary understandings of internationali-
sation and highlight internationalisation as a fundamentally spatial
practice. We agree with Sidhu *et al.* (2021: 314): 'Remaking international

higher education via digital infrastructure and remote learning can only be successful if it addresses the centrality of embodied and experiential dimensions of learning'. Internationalisation is a process that takes place beyond the classroom and the campus; these aspects of internationalisation will be missed in IaD. More importantly, we have pointed to internationalisation as a process that does not happen by itself in the (online) classroom. All this has bearings for how internationalisation efforts should be designed in the future.

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