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But where are you really from?

- A study about ethnic discrimination in higher education

Abstract

Ethnic discrimination is a poison that can have detrimental effects on its receivers. The current study therefore investigates the occurrence of ethnic discrimination in Sweden's higher education. To achieve this, semi-structural interviews were held to give insights into the experiences, effects and responses of students with foreign background at Lund University. By thematic sorting of the data, themes were uncovered to then be phenomenologically analysed by applying a conceptual framework. The findings indicate that students with foreign background experience additional stressors, often in the shape of microaggressions, that their ethnically Swedish peers are exempt from. The findings also show that as overt ethnic discrimination is being banished from society, the discrimination has taken a more subtle form, making it more difficult to identify and can therefore occur even in the presence of policy formation. This study concludes that more research needs to be directed in order to fully comprehend the state of ethnic discrimination in institutions for higher education in Sweden.

Key words: ethnic discrimination, microaggressions, Sweden higher education, student experiences, segregation

Words: 16 548

*Prejudice is a burden that confuses the past, threatens the future, and
renders the present inaccessible. – Maya Angelo*

Table of contents

1	Introduction.....	1
1.1	Aim and Research Question.....	4
1.2	Context for the Analysis.....	4
2	Towards a Conceptual Framework	6
2.1	The Concepts of Race and Ethnicity	7
2.2	Types of Discrimination.....	8
2.2.1	Explicit and Overt Discrimination	9
2.2.2	Implicit and Covert Discrimination.....	11
2.2.3	Structural and Institutional Discrimination	12
3	Methodology	15
3.1	Interviews	15
3.1.1	Interview Procedure	16
3.2	Coding and Analysis	17
3.3	Case Selection and Sampling	19
3.4	Ethical Concerns and Researcher Role	20
3.5	Material	21
3.6	Limitations	22
4	Analysis.....	24
4.1	Experiences	24
4.1.1	Feeling out of place	24
4.1.2	Negative ascription of intelligence.....	28
4.1.3	Positive ascription of intelligence	30
4.1.4	Excluding student culture.....	32
4.2	Effects.....	35
4.2.1	Segregation.....	35
4.2.2	Compromising identity.....	38
4.2.3	Effected student experience	39
4.3	Response.....	41
4.3.1	(Un)willingness to confront	42
4.3.2	Acknowledgement.....	44
5	Final Discussion and Recommendations	47
6	References.....	52
7	Appendix.....	58

7.1	Interview guide.....	58
7.1.1	Open question: Experience.....	58
7.1.2	Open question: Effect.....	58
7.1.3	Open question: Response	58
7.1.4	Closed questions.....	59

1 Introduction

To most people, starting university represents a time of unbridled optimism, exciting challenges, and myriad opportunities. Few students would anticipate that their university experience might be marked by racialised incidents that may cause them to question their academic merit or physical presence. To prevent, this most universities have policies on equal treatment and diversity; however, retention rates still show that students with foreign backgrounds¹ are more likely to drop out of their studies after their first year (UKÄ, 2017; SCB, 2017). Still, no further studies have been made to examine the in-school and campus environment to investigate whether students with foreign background experience any forms of discrimination and if their experiences can help us to understand discriminating ethnic and racial structures better. For my dissertation, I thus wish to investigate whether students with foreign background at Lund University experience any types of ethnic discrimination and if their experiences can lead us to an overall better understanding of ethnic discrimination.

It is important to note that official records of reported incidents of discrimination can be found, both governmental and non-governmental. However, since many incidents and discriminatory practices go unreported, it is also essential to study it scientifically, as it can help us understand discrimination as a dynamic process rather than point-in-time events (Smith, 2002, p.2). Examining ethnic discrimination has nevertheless presented a difficult challenge to the social sciences, and early theories have been criticised for their generalised understanding of discrimination and neglect to consider race and ethnicity more specifically (Freshman, 2000, p.360). To counter this, more recent social science studies have applied an interdisciplinary perspective when examining race-related discrimination, with many scholars conducting research at the intersections of

¹ SCB's definition: person born outside of Sweden or born in Sweden to two immigrated parents.

sociology, social psychology, anthropology, economics, law, and political science (Carbado & Roithmayr, 2014, p.150). This has resulted in increased literature relating to ethnic discrimination, with a plenitude of research dedicated to illuminating the effects of race, ethnicity, and racism in higher education. In this research, attempts have been made to explain how educational systems and traditional aspects of education perpetuate and maintain structures of inequality and ethnic discrimination on university campuses (ASHE 2015; Equality Human Rights Commission, 2019; Hiraldo 2010; Solórzano et al. 2000; Ward 2013).

In a most of these studies, this is achieved by applying Critical Race Theory (CRT), a critical theory with its roots in legal studies and intersectionality. Intersectionality, which in turn is a framework dedicated to highlighting the interconnectedness of marginalised groups, acknowledges that a person may belong to multiple disadvantaged groups or identities and argues that individuals relate and respond to certain issues is considered dependent on their position in a context-specific power structure (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014, p.421-23). Following this logic of intersectionality, CRT is often applied to uncover how institutional racism is pervasive in the dominant culture. While CRT scholars put varying emphasis on certain tenets, two principles are largely agreed upon, namely that (1) racism is omnipresent; (2) counter-storytelling is central since the social world is constructed. This entails that the theory is determined by an ontological position and builds on the principal premise that the social world is not fixed but rather constructed, and epistemologies result from the social practices that have normalised inequality and oppression. The theory argues that racism has become so deeply integrated into our society that white privilege has become unrecognisable, causing its beneficiaries to dismiss it. CRT, therefore, rejects any claims of a universal and fixed knowledge and instead turns its focus towards situated knowledges, emphasizing the importance for diverse individuals to share their stories. This approach has allowed close examination and understanding of experiences lived by students, as well as a critical examination of existing power relations and institutional practices that may inform the discrimination. Through bringing counter-stories to the table, this research can present views that are rarely evidenced and give insights into the experiences of students with foreign background in an attempt to both understand

and illuminate discriminatory structures (Crenshaw, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 1995; Martinez, 2014; Savas, 2014).

Research applying CRT has furthermore attempted to not only understand but also change the social situation for students with foreign backgrounds. This is often achieved through tapping into narratives and counter-stories, which can illuminate discriminatory structures and give a better insight into the perspectives of minority groups (Rangel-Clawson, 2016). Regularly using interviews and surveys, researchers identify types of discrimination ranging from microaggressions to hate crime incidents to explore the extent and effect of ethnic discrimination (Davis & Harris, 2015).

Furthermore, this type of research makes an effort to expose the systemic and pervasive nature of racism in higher education, however; previous studies have mainly related to cases in the US, illuminating an apparent research gap in the Swedish context. However, with increasing medial reports of discrimination in educational domains (Fjellman & El-Alawi, 2020; Hultman, 2020; Morby, 2020), there is great relevance to exploring the state of things at a Swedish university. Also, since American research has shown that hostile campus climates lower academic persistence and retention (Lewis et al., 2021). Since no similar studies have been conducted in a Swedish context, it can nevertheless be problematic to apply a critical theory that is so deeply connected to the United States and its long history as an ethnically biased society. Therefore, to avoid any preconceived notions about the university environment, this essay will draw on previous research to construct a broader conceptual framework in order to understand what discrimination is and what its effects may be. By then using this framework to make sense of the collected data, this thesis can begin to explore the existence and character of ethnic discrimination at a predominantly white university in Sweden, with the added value of evolving discrimination studies within the social sciences.

1.1 Aim and Research Question

Universities are a source of innovation and learning; hence, they are an important institution in our society, and ethnic discrimination should therefore not be tolerated since it can have a seriously damaging and deterring effect on the well-being of students and staff, but also because it normalises behaviour that will perpetuate society. Through conducting eight individual interviews and a focus group session, this study aims to investigate whether students with foreign background at Lund University experience any forms of discrimination and if their experiences can help us understand discriminating ethnic structures better. Therefore, the study will ask the following question:

How do students with foreign background at Lund University experience discrimination based on their origin?

1.2 Context for the Analysis

As mentioned, much previous research on ethnic discrimination has its footing in the American context, which has a long history of being an ethnically biased society (National Research Council, 2004, p.56). The postulations made in many theories relating to ethnic discrimination may not be applicable in the Swedish context, therefore, it is relevant to briefly discuss the Swedish context to situate the research better.

Sweden is often portrayed, both internally and externally, as a humanitarian superpower. This flattering label stems from a history of aiding people fleeing war and other atrocities; however, a sudden increase of refugees and migrants in recent years has left the tolerance for immigrants challenged, with an increasing and identifiable divide in society. This has in many ways left Sweden struggling with its self-image, attempting to make sense of its colourblind ideals in contrast to the rising issues concerning integration and discrimination (Osanami Törngren, 2015). Between the Swedish commitment to equality and rising anti-immigrant tendencies,

research has shown that whiteness and other visible differences continue to form what is considered to be “Swedish”, and while the area remains under-reported and understudied, lasting disparities in occupation, wages, healthcare, education and residents have been established (De Los Reyes, 2008:3; Fibbi et al., 2021:49, 58; Malmberg et al., 2018). While the diminutive research on the topic disallows a synthesis to be made in the Swedish context, this type of structural inequality is, as already discussed, often embedded in long-standing social structures. It is therefore essential to acknowledge the historical past of Sweden, such as its role in both the slave trade, the colonial project, and the development of race biology (Bradby et al., 2019, p.2; Ericsson, 2016). This is not to say that Sweden shares the same historical past as the US; however, with 19.6 % of the population born outside of Sweden (SCB, 2020), the relevance to explore the effects this may have on current social structures remains, especially since there is still a reluctance to acknowledge that ethnicity matters in society (Osanami Törngren, 2015, p.127). In societies such as the Swedish, where societal systems often are characterised by equality, discrimination may also act in more subtle or indirect ways, making it more difficult to capture using standardised surveys. There is thus a certain relevance to applying qualitative research to better capture experiences and build future action (Fibbi, 2021, p.44, 59). This thereby adds to the relevance of this thesis, as it attempts to shed some light on the phenomenon of ethnic discrimination in the Swedish context.

2 Towards a Conceptual Framework

To be able to examine the existence and extent of ethnic discrimination in a particular domain, such as an educational system, it is necessary to have a concept of how such discrimination might occur and what its effects might be (National Research Council, 2004). While many previous studies have applied critical theories, such as Critical Race Theory (CRT), which can be highly useful when attempting to uncover institutional racism in the dominant culture, their understanding of racism and discrimination is deeply entrenched in the US context. Since no such studies have been made in a Swedish context, the purpose of this thesis is to place the students' narratives at its core and allow these to give shed light on a phenomenon. Therefore, it will not be guided by one theory to prevent it from making preconceived notions about the Swedish context (Furlong & Marsh, 2018, p.197).

Instead, a conceptual framework consisting of the most common themes of discrimination (overt, covert, and structural) will be constructed in order to analyse the data collection and better understand race-based discriminatory treatment. The framework will include parts of formal theory together with concepts and empirical findings from previous research to allow me to fully address the phenomenon being examined. This will be achieved by producing analytical tools that can be applied as a lens to make sense of the student experiences and understand identified key themes in the data collection. The framework is loosely constructed to provide general guiding or sensitising concepts without being fully developed to avoid pre-conceptions.

2.1 The Concepts of Race and Ethnicity

Despite substantial research and several compelling insights, there is still no consensus on what defines race and ethnicity, nor how they are alike or how they differ. The concepts do represent some internal or external group identification, however; while some disciplines emphasize the concepts' dissimilarities, they are often used interchangeably within the social sciences (Byrd & Best, 2016, p.286; Markus, 2008, p.653-55). In order to better understand ethnic discrimination, this section will briefly discuss the concepts of race and ethnicity.

The etymology of the term race is undecided; however, we do know that the biological classifications of race were first developed by the eighteenth-century naturalists while studying distant populations. It was then believed that different physical characteristics found in other people, such as skin colour or other facial features, also constituted a biological difference. Accordingly, it was presumed possible to ascribe groups of people with a "primordial identity" given at birth and largely unchangeable (National Research Council, 2004, p.26). The idea that people could be categorised and ranked on the basis of biological characteristics is today completely depreciated by scientific knowledge; however, the term race is still associated with differences and similarities in biological traits and continues to justify stratification and segregation between social groups. Meanwhile, ethnicity is often used in reference to a shared cultural identity and the practices this entails. This does however not make ethnic divisions fleeting or free of conflict, as they can be equally deep-rooted as ethnic divides (Rizova & Stone, 2018, p.1-2).

The lack of consistency when using the concepts could be explained by their lack of scientific ground. Since there is no biological sense for sorting individuals into groups that correspond to races or ethnicities, it only exists in our social world. This does however not make the bias related to the concepts any less real, it only means that it is constructed rather than fixed, to then be reproduced through institutions and social practices. This understanding of race and ethnicity as something socially constructed is furthermore determined by an ontological position that builds on the major premise that the social world is not fixed, but rather constructed, and

epistemologies are thus a result of the social practices which have normalised inequality and oppression on the basis of a perceived race. Hence, racial hierarchies and ethnic division have been sculpted from our learned perception of race and ethnicity, not an inherent biological difference (National Research Council, 2004, p.26; Rizova & Stone, 2018, p.2-3). This understanding furthermore follows the social constructivist logic of this thesis and the conceptual framework upon which it rests.

2.2 Types of Discrimination

As mentioned, it is important to have an understanding of what ethnic discrimination is when attempting to analyse it. First, it is important to note that even though concepts such as inequality, discrimination and racism often is used interchangeably, discrimination more specifically relates to both legal studies and social processes, and is therefore useful when attempting to reveal, but also understand, ethnic disparities. The promulgation of the concept advanced in the US already in the early twentieth century, however, it was not until the 1990s and 2000s it made its way into continental Europe's social sciences. The reason for this distinction between the US and Europe can be found in their differing historical legacies, where the US' history of slavery and race segregation has influenced the development of the concept (Fibbi et al., 2021, p.4, 19). Ergo, discrimination was, until recent years, predominantly studied from a legal point of view in Europe, and the law has been the benchmark for interpretation and action.

In Sweden, the anti-discrimination legislation mainly consists of the Discrimination Act (DO 2008, p.567), in which ethnic discrimination is defined as “when a person is treated disfavouredly or when a person's dignity is violated” relating to their ethnicity. This legislation has nevertheless been subjected to heavy criticism (Engholm, 2017; Schömer & Svenaeus, 2013; Schömer et al., 2014). The critique sometimes concern the exclusion of unequal treatment from the legislation and the fact that the act is not applicable to all people at all times, however, the fiercest criticism relates to the number of unsolved cases, with only 5% of the complaints

made in 2020 has resulted in an investigation². These statistics could deter individuals from reporting, providing us with an overall skewed understanding of how discrimination may occur and the impact it can have, both on individuals and society at large.

From a social science perspective, it can therefore not be considered enough to look into official reports of discrimination, as it often leaves the researcher with a point-in-time understanding of specific events rather than a comprehensive consideration of the phenomenon as a whole. Instead, we must examine ethnic discrimination as a dynamic process in a broader context (Makkonen, 2007, p.17). To do so theories are often applied, in which discriminatory practices often are classified according to their *individualistic* or *structural* nature, as well as their *conscious* or *unconscious* character (Bericat, 2017:19). The following section will therefore provide an overview of the broad classifications in the discrimination literature as this allows me to include subtle behaviours and the effects of cumulative discrimination that may not be explicitly unlawful.

2.2.1 Explicit and Overt Discrimination

Talking about ethnic discrimination, associations are often made to a distant time when discrimination and derogatory stereotyping of minorities were openly practiced and largely accepted by society. However, ethnic discrimination is by no means eradicated from our modern society. While it is important to note that the conditions of ethnic minorities have drastically changed in the past century, full ethnic equality often remains an elusive goal. While de jure ethnic discrimination has mainly been struck down, the process to eliminate it de facto is still very much on-going. This does not necessarily equal ingrained hostility or deep conviction in society, but it does allude to the dominating social norms individuals conform to (Katz, 1991, p.127-128).

² Unpublished statistics accessed via email contact with DO.

Despite a societal change, overt and explicit discrimination is still being inflicted upon people of colour. This treatment, which can be seen as prejudicial attitudes that result in discriminatory behaviour, can be further conceptualised as an individualistic process involving the direct interaction between the discriminator and the discriminated (National Research Council, 2004, p. 56-58). The discrimination is recognised by a discriminator enacting hostility towards people of other ethnicities and it often involves acts of categorisation and stereotyping. This direct form of discrimination is often conformant to the definition of discrimination in various acts and policies, and can include verbal antagonism, ethnic avoidance, or the denial of certain opportunities to name a few (Bericat, 2017, p.22). To expand on this further, overt and explicit types of discrimination is closely linked to exclusion and subordination. For example, verbal antagonism can comprise ethnic slurs or abuse, but also nonverbal hostility, in which the discriminator's behaviour openly communicates dislike or exclusion, potentially undermining the performance of the discriminated (National Research Council, 2004, p.56-58). These acts often constitute unlawful discriminatory behaviour and make out the basis for a hostile environment, causing segregation along ethnic lines, and at times even escalating ethnically motivated physical attacks and killings (Schneider et al., 2000, p.3; National Research Council, 2004:58).

This type of discrimination can furthermore be discussed using the concept of in-group love or out-group hate, in which it is argued that individuals identify with their in-group on the basis of certain factors, leaving those that are perceived differently to be members of an out-group. This phenomenon entails several moral implications as people tend to judge the behaviour of the out-group more harshly while being more forgiving and apologetic regarding the behaviour of the in-group (Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014). When this distinguishing between individuals and groups is based on ethnicity, it is often grounded in ethnic stereotyping. Since ethnic origin is usually a visible trait, some people use these traits to pass judgement, reducing their victims to a single trait. While it is important to note that overt and explicit discrimination can be unintentional, it is more likely to occur intentionally with a conscious desire to belittle or hurt someone solely due to their membership in a certain social category. However, regardless of its nature, overt and explicit ethnic discrimination has been proven to have negative effects on the

productivity of employees in a workplace, making it likely to have similar stressful effects on students experiencing it (Schneider, 2000, p.3). Studies have also shown the direct bearing this treatment can have on the well-being of ethnic minorities, with evidence to support an increase in symptoms related to anxiety and depression (Makkonen, 2002, p.6-7).

2.2.2 Implicit and Covert Discrimination

Although overt prejudicial attitudes are being increasingly ruled out in society, the core of such attitudes can persevere, consciously or unconsciously, and it can still be perceived as direct hostility and have the same deterring effects as open and intentional forms of discrimination (National Research Council, 2004, p.58-59). Unlike its explicit counterpart, implicit or indirect discrimination occurs when individuals or groups are disadvantaged in situation that on the surface may appear neutral (Fibbi et al., 2021, p.14-15). Given this, scholars have in recent years dedicated much of their studies on ethnic discrimination to the occurrence of so called microaggressions. The term microaggressions was first coined and developed in the 1970s by psychiatrist Chester M. Pierce in an attempt to describe the miniassaults he witnessed being inflicted on African Americans by non-black Americans. According to Pierce, it was important to look beyond the obvious and unpolished racism in order to acknowledge and study the more subtle substance of today's racism (Pierce, 1970; Spencer, 2017, p.1). Rather than targeting the more obvious ethnic assaults, microaggressions targets subtle verbal and non-verbal insults directed at people of colour, and it can be defined as “[a] brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioural and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory or negative ethnic slights and insults that potentially have harmful or unpleasant psychological impact on the target person or group.” (Pierce, 1974, p.271). Implicit microaggressions can be sorted into insults and invalidations, where the first is characterised by subtle snubs or insulting messages, and the latter by negating the experiences of a person of colour (Sue et al., 2007).

To fully understand these terms' intended use, it is important to note that overt racist acts are not socially condoned in society today, resulting in racism manifesting itself

in a more subtle and covert form. However, although overt racist acts have become socially unacceptable and people tend to avoid them, people may not always be consciously racist, causing their prejudices to manifest in subtle or unconscious ways (Nadal, 2011, p.470). Thus, microaggressions often occur out of ignorance and the perpetrator may even have good intentions, however, contrasting regular insults, microaggressions are a product of a dominant culture that sets the norm of what is “common sense”. By dominant culture I mean the majority culture in a given society.

“You speak good Swedish” (invalidation)
“Oh, but where are you from?” (invalidation)
“You are not like them” (insult)

Externally viewed, they may seem minimally harmful, but research have shown that the cumulative effect can be detrimental to its’ receivers, both physically and psychologically (Smith, Yosso & Solórzano, 2006, p.301; Sue et. al., 2007, p.279). This claim can be illustrated by the help of mosquitos, while one mosquito bite can be irritating, the cumulative effect of being bitten continuously throughout the day, every day is a constant stress factor. The bigger point made about microaggressions is thus that they cumulate and cause stress to people of colour, while white people are excluded from this type of treatment due to their privilege as part of a hegemonic norm (Smith, Yosso & Solórzano 2006, p.300). There is thus a great relevance to acknowledge and study this form of discrimination in order to ensure that these miniassults are not downplayed or overlooked.

2.2.3 Structural and Institutional Discrimination

In the two previous sections, the discussed types of discrimination mainly relate to individual behaviour; however, to fully address the phenomenon we must also provide an adequate description of the structural and institutional forms it may take. Within the social sciences, the perception of discrimination as a cognitive response of certain individuals is largely depicted since ethnic disparities cannot only be written off as a consequence of individualistic behaviour. Arguing from a social science standpoint, it is important to acknowledge that when collective actions

make a pattern, we must also discuss the structural nature of it (Roithmayr, 2014, p.5).

Structural and institutional discrimination often refers to policies and institutional practices that create a disadvantage for specific social categories in society, intentionally or unintentionally (National Research Council, 2004, p.64). Institutional discrimination often refers to public power and its content, while structural discrimination may be something more inherent. To explain, the deterministic view of race and ethnicity has been largely abandoned today, however, the belief in biological inferiority and superiority dominated, not only science, but also the institutional systems for centuries, justifying the colonial era and subsequently the construction of systems of rigid, exclusive racial categories and a "racialised social structure" (Taylor, 1997, p.281). An illustrative example is the United States where, even in the absence of the old Jim Crow laws, ethnic segregation continues to perpetuate society with disadvantages in education, housing, medication and wages to name a few (National Research Council, 2004: 64, Roithmavr, 2014, p.8). Some scholars therefore argue that while it is rare for societies to still have explicitly disadvantaging policies, structural and institutional discrimination can still be felt by the implicit functioning of society.

Scholars also claim that the social structures in society place individuals in a social location determined by their so called "risk factors" for discrimination, with ethnicity being considered one. The social location is also sensitive to intersections of discrimination and can thus also be determined by an individual's overall vulnerability to various forms of discrimination. One example of this kind of discrimination would be a female student with foreign background being harassed by a white male student but is unwilling to report due to feeling the odds being against her. This also conforms with findings that those who experience discrimination engage in certain behaviours, or avoid situations to evade potential discrimination (Essed, 1991; Feagin, 1991).

Structural bias may not be explicit or even intentional, however, it can be continuously beneficial to the dominant social group, by which I mean the social group that holds the majority power in a given society. It can, in theory, exist even

in the absence of individualistic discrimination; however, according to some scholars it is more likely that the two are interlinked (Corrigan, Markowitz & Watson, 2004, p.481). It is often said that each generation serves as the foundation for the next, which in this context could explain how structural discrimination is often reproduced through institutions and social practices and is bilaterally reinforced by individual behaviour. This inherited structure is often rendered invisible because of it being so widespread, however the result is that only the most apparent forms of discrimination are seen, while the structure remains obscured (Makkonen, 2002, p.14-16). Thus, it can be argued that ethnic inequality reproduces itself structurally even in the absence of intentional discrimination, making it harder to prohibit by legislation.

3 Methodology

3.1 Interviews

Theories of discrimination often emphasise the importance of counter-stories. In order to get access to these stories, this study will be using a combination of individual and focus-group interviews to illustrate how students with foreign backgrounds experience the ethnic climate of their university. There are many challenges to examining ethnic discrimination, however when it comes to gathering information and personal experiences; interviews remain a valuable approach (Smith, 2002, p.23).

Since the aim of the study is to gain access to the experiences of the interviewees, the interviews were conducted in a phenomenological manner. This method is frequently used to generate detailed information about a particular phenomenon, through exploring it from the perspective of those who have experienced it. By doing so, the collected data can provide us with thick descriptions of lived experiences, and the phenomenological approach can both serve illuminative purposes and be used to document bias and discriminatory practises, thus making it valuable in this research (Adams & van Manen, 2008, p.618; Parker & Lynn, 2002, p.11).

The phenomenological approach is nevertheless often unstructured, and the purpose of this study will benefit from an added structure by using semi-structured interviews with a few more guiding questions in order to identify common themes to be analysed. The individual interviews will then be used to gain in-depth insights into the experiences of the interviewees. The semi-structured design will allow the interviewee to speak freely about their story, whilst allowing me as an interviewer to listen and provide potential follow-up questions. The open-ended questions will

fall into categories (e.g. experiences of, effects of, response to), in order to collect the required data. This design will furthermore generate detailed information about the interviewee's overall perception and therefore also allow me to better understand particular situations they have experienced.

The strength of combining the individual interviews with a focus group discussion in this context is that it allows the interviewees to draw upon each other's experiences in order to better understand their own, which may also reveal contrasting perceptions of what ethnic discrimination is. This adds an element of peer-reviewing which benefits the credibility of the study. It also allows the interviewer to uncover concepts and themes about the phenomena through adding context and depth to the understanding of it, while observing the collective interaction of the participants. This assures the dependability of the study as it increases transparency and decreases opportunities for researcher bias.

Lastly, a lack of shared language between the interviewer and the interviewee can create additional challenges to the research process. To avoid this, all interviews were conducted in Swedish to ensure that the interviewees could express themselves comfortably without linguistic hinders (Fryer, Stanley & Mackintosh, 2016).

The interview guide can be found in its' entirety in the appendix.

3.1.1 Interview Procedure

The in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted face-to-face with eight participants. All interviews were conducted, audiotaped, and transcribed by the author of this thesis. To build trust and establish rapport, all participants were informed of the purpose of the study before giving their consent to participate. Due to respect for the interviewee, the questions did not follow a specific order, instead the interviews were opened up by a broad and open-ended question regarding their experiences with ethnic discrimination at the university, after which the interviewees were allowed to sequence their story as they saw fit. As an interviewer

I nevertheless ensured that all three sections (experience, effect and response) were covered.

3.2 Coding and Analysis

The analysis of this thesis can be seen as being twofold. By using a phenomenological approach, I identified key themes and allowed the transcripts to be coded in a thematic manner. This was achieved by first reading through the transcripts several times to find a sense of immersion in the data. This step was followed by sorting through and classifying sections of data in order to define conceptual categories by creating ‘codes’ or ‘labels’. This process was then repeated until the data could be reduced and sorted into sub-categories and then summed up by the identified theme (Roulston, 2013, p.3-7). When doing this, I used a selective approach and examined which statements or phrases that seemed essential or revealing about the described experience (van Manen, 1990, p.93). In this study, the data set consists of transcripts, and the codes generate specific themes or types of ethnic discrimination through inductive reasoning. The first step when doing the coding was to become familiar with the transcripts in order to then conduct a careful examination of the reoccurring words and concepts to capture key themes. This resulted in a coding scheme where the themes and citations could be placed.

Transcript	Code	Subcategory	Theme
“If you can’t see yourself going there with the people that goes there, you might not apply”	Unable to identify with other students	Normbreaking	Feeling out of place

The pros of doing this part inductively are that it allows the themes to emerge in an unbiased way, the process does therefore not include the application of theory (Graneheim, Lindgren & Lundman, 2017, p.30). The uncovered themes will instead later be put into relation to the conceptual framework, which will be used to identify textual and structural descriptions of the experiences and highlight both the problem and how it is conditioned. Hence, the coding is a crucial aspect of the analysis. This process was assisted by asking the interviewees to review responses in order to get their input and guarantee a higher level of dependability.

The second and most central part of the analysis was again conducted according to the rules of phenomenology. This type of analysis of the content entails a systematic reading of the categorised data in relation to the particular context to find and examine connections between the core themes, and further construct a reflective analysis and description of the students' experiences by using the conceptual framework (Creswell, 2007, Sayre, 2001, p.2). This structured approach allows the researcher to construct the meanings and essences of the phenomenon while representing the group of participants as a whole (Moustakas, 2011, p.2-3).

While a phenomenological analysis can be conducted using either inductive or deductive reasoning, qualitative analysis frequently involves both (Schwandt, 2001, p.125). This study is such an example since the findings are generated by a close examination of data, as well as the application of theories from previous research to inform and develop the analysis. This approach may have the drawback of lacking generalisability; however, a qualitative approach can provide the researcher with a more holistic view of the phenomenon at hand.

3.3 Case Selection and Sampling

Since there is an apparent research gap relating to ethnic discrimination in higher education in Sweden, I have chosen Lund University to be the case for this study and the sample was drawn from the university's student body. Founded in 1666 and ranking among the world's top 100 universities, Lund University is one of the most well-renowned schools in Sweden, and according to the university, there is zero tolerance for all forms of discrimination. It is stated that all operations should "build on equality between the sexes, equal opportunities, and diversity", meaning that all associated with the university should be treated or judged without irrelevant consideration to their ethnic origin (LU Policy, 2019). According to SCB and UKÄ, while students with non-European backgrounds indeed represent a minority at the university, the percentage of accepted students with foreign backgrounds in the year 2018/2019 was 21%, a number that lies within the range of several universities in Sweden (Morby, 2020). Lund University can thus be considered a typical case in which I want to explore a phenomenon (Seawright & Gerring, 2008, p.299).

By using criterion sampling, with the criteria being "non-European foreign background", the interviewees were drawn from the university's student body. While *foreign background* can be defined as a "person born outside of Sweden or born in Sweden to two immigrated parents" (SCB, 2019), the added limitation of non-European avoids including students with foreign backgrounds that still belong to the dominant culture from affecting the result. This sample criterion is essential to the aim of the thesis as it builds on the assumption that bias is connected to characteristics that do not conform with the dominating culture and the norms it produces. The sample does not include exchange students since they may expect to be approached as foreigners, and the purpose of this thesis is to explore whether Swedish students with non-European backgrounds experience a type of discrimination that their ethnically Swedish peers are excluded from.

The sampling of students was furthermore done in accordance with Patton's (1990) argument for a purposeful sampling, using random purposeful sampling to counter the issue of a sample that is too large to handle. The purpose of this technique is to

randomly select a small sample that can provide the study with in-depth information without the researcher having preconceived knowledge of what the outcome will be, while also reducing suspicion about why certain cases were chosen. For this thesis, this was achieved through a public search for participants from which interviewees were randomly selected. This resulted in a smaller sample with a great deal of internal heterogeneity; however, the strategy served this study well since the interviewees were sampled from an already criterion-based sample. The composition of the interviewees was widespread with four men and four women, representing the Medical, the Juridical, the Political Science, the Psychological and the Economic faculties, as well as LTH. It is nevertheless important to acknowledge that the sample is too small to be representative and generalisable, however, it can give detailed information about each interviewee and still uncover a shared pattern across the participants. Thus, given the limits to this thesis, this sampling technique seems the most appropriate to attain a credible sample. With that said, having a larger sample with representatives from all faculties would be more representative and could also indicate whether there is a significant discrepancy between faculties, making it a topic for further research.

3.4 Ethical Concerns and Researcher Role

According to Dickson-Swift et al. (2007) it is important to question one's role and prejudices in order to remain open and objective when conducting this type of sensitive research. As the interviewer, I might experience feelings of privilege or guilt, and my role could be challenged by the fact that I myself am a student at the university, as well as a part of the dominant culture. This also begs the question of how well I can understand ethnic discrimination without ever having to be subjected to it myself, however, this could also prevent personal experiences from contaminating the results.

Nevertheless, to minimise the risk of any misinterpretation on my part, I will aim to maintain neutrality and use mainly open questions to ensure that the interviewees describe their experiences in their own words. It is here important to be aware that the interviews are real accounts of someone's life, something to also remember

when analysing the transcribed interviews to minimise bias. With a phenomenological approach, it is however assumed that the interviewer is a part of the social world and therefore not entirely bias free when reflecting on essential themes and aspects of analysis. While coding the data I am accessing individuals' narratives to understand the everyday experiences in their own lifeworld, however I still remain in my own situated knowledge. This could risk neglecting key themes or present them in an unrepresentative way. It is therefore important that I as a researcher acknowledge my own subjectivity, but also that I use the knowledge provided by the conceptual framework when analysing the findings to guarantee that the links between data and result are visible (Neubauer, Witkop & Varpio, 2019, p.94-95).

It is also important to note that the interviews may pose a risk to the interviewees as the students are still enrolled at the university. The students may describe experiences that expose their identity, which could have a damaging effect on the interviewee's studies moving forward. This risk could also deter other students from participating and thus result in an insufficient sample. As the interviewer, I will minimise the potential risks for exposure by anonymising all names and voices, but also ensure that the interviewee is fully informed about the work and its process. I will also make sure that the interviewee is aware that they always have the option to not reply to a question if it is considered too sensitive. It is nevertheless important that I maintain a level of rapport between myself and the interviewee, as well as formulate questions that keeps this to a minimum in order to avoid partial or full withdrawal (Persson, 2016, p.72).

3.5 Material

In this study, the analysed data consists of the transcribed interviews. The data was collected during 8 individual interviews and 1 focus group meeting. The material used to analyse the collected data consists of a combination of books, research articles, legal documents and news articles. Since the study of ethnic discrimination is often conducted at the intersection of many academic fields, this thesis will

borrow from social psychology, legal studies and sociology while still keeping a social science approach.

3.6 Limitations

As mentioned, ethnic discrimination is not a simple construct to examine and the study contains some limitations that need mentioning. While the interview study has an apparent extra-disciplinary relevance, it is also tinted by the drawbacks of lacking generalisability. It can be problematic to generalise based on a few individuals' experiences, especially since the phenomenological design and structure of the interviews can lack sufficient concreteness and cause the researcher to be over-interpretive and have unintended bias. To counter this and improve the rigor of the study, some structure has been added to the interview guide (Cypress, 2017, p.254). While there are benefits of generalisability to a structured survey, a phenomenological and qualitative approach remains preferable in this type of research as a fully structured interview would essentially be a verbally administrated self-report inventory (Widiger, 2001, p.2018). What the study lacks in generalisability, it nevertheless makes up for in the amount of information it collects on each participant, and I therefore argue that the continuous work to collect these stories could produce enough information on underlying behavioural processes to start making causal inferences. However, to make interpretative generalisations the data would need to be used as a basis for creating an exploratory sequential mixed method design. This could entail using the themes uncovered in the interview and a complementary survey to test the generalisability of these findings. Still, since there is no previous research on the Swedish context, it makes more sense to sequence qualitative with quantitative than the other way around since exploration is needed (Small, 2011, p.65).

Moving on, it is also important to address the robustness of the study's sample. The sample criteria a) student at Lund University b) with a non-European foreign background was chosen to limit the sample and avoid students with foreign backgrounds that still belong to the dominant culture from skewing the result. While this limitation adds to the dependability of the study, it is important to note that it

excludes students with one foreign parent that lies outside of the dominant culture and consequently does not confine to dominating norms. However, after balancing the added value of these stories, and the risk of contaminating the results, this criterion seemed to be the better choice. It is nevertheless also important to note that the respondents to the public search may be those who feel that they have a story to tell. However, this should not interfere with the purpose of the study since it is not to establish a representative and generalisable result, but rather to explore a phenomenon through identifying common themes related to it.

Lastly, it would be of interest to interview drop-out students with foreign backgrounds in order to examine whether the ethnic climate of the university was a factor in their decision to forgo their education. However, since I am interested in the current state of things at the university, issues of accessibility and internal validity have led me to collect my sample from the current student body. A sample of dropped out students could for example contaminate the result of the study since it would be difficult to assert a time interval and identify the main cause for dropping out, as well as determine the effect discrimination had on this.

4 Analysis

This chapter is dedicated to analysing the collected data, as it outlines the identified themes to examine them with the help of the conceptual framework. This process is done to develop a textural and structural description of the participants' experiences, and how they tie into their context, as this further results in an overall essence of the experienced phenomenon (Creswell et. al., 2007, p.254). Through analysing the data content, the study will be able to shed light on whether the interviewed students have experienced discrimination during their time at the university, and whether it has had an effect on their time as a student. In some instances, secondary sources related to the study of discrimination have been added. This has been done in order to add theoretical depth to the analysis, since the thesis has not been theoretically driven to avoid preconceived notions about the current state at Lund university.

The chapter is divided into three sections to reflect the structure of the interview guide; experience, effect and response, with the identified themes as sub-sections. Each theme is then analysed by applying the conceptual framework as a lens and including representative quotes from the interview transcripts.

4.1 Experiences

The following section outlines the most common experiences shared by the students in their interviews. Phenomenologically analysed, they have been sorted into themes.

4.1.1 Feeling out of place

Lund University is a predominantly white university, and students with foreign background can often find themselves being the only person of colour among many

white students. This campus composition may reflect society as a whole; however, this does not mean that the lack of diversity is not relevant for this thesis, or the students' perception of discrimination in the university environment. The stories conveyed in the interviews bore witness to the fact that ethnicity seems to have significance for social interactions in the academic setting, as it in many instances brings on a feeling of being out of place and subsequently hinders new relations from being formed. Attending a university with limited ethnic heterogeneity establishes a cultural dominance which minority students can have difficulty identifying with. Furthermore, the consciousness surrounding this can deter students with non-European backgrounds from approaching peers, resulting in sociocultural and ethnic isolation.

I do not think I have ever been as aware of my ethnic background as I have been during my time at Lund University. Never been confronted with these issues to the same extent as I have now. Of course, it exists in all layers of society, but it is so palpable here, so very, very palpable.

Interviewee 4

This quote illustrates how a homogeneous campus composition can amplify the feeling of environmental invalidity and being non-conforming to the dominant norm. This homogeneity does however not only affect the way minority students perceive themselves, but also how they are perceived by others. Several interviewed students reported that their visible ethnicity causes them to be seen as perpetual foreigners as they are commonly spoken to in English are often mistaken for exchange students.

When I am in a new building and someone speaks to me, they speak to me in English. That happens all the time.

Interviewee 2

These treatments can be seen as unintentional and without ill-meaning, however, to its receiver it can send the message that you do not belong here. This type of treatment can furthermore be described as a microaggression, or in this case a

microinvalidation, as it in a very subtle way conveys an invalidating message. As stated, this behaviour is not necessarily a conscious act of discrimination; however, it can be a product of the bias and prejudice learned through the dominant culture that causes individuals to use their own worldview when making assumptions. As a result, most perpetrators of microaggressions claim to have moral and egalitarian values and do not self-identify as being racist, while simultaneously sending denigrating messages to people with foreign backgrounds through acting on unconscious presumptions of what is the norm and thus what is norm-breaking.

I have been stopped when I was walking into school on a normal day and was forced to show my ID. No one else was stopped.

Interviewee 1

These presumptions can also cause students to be singled out based on their appearance. During the interviews, several interviewees alluded to the fact that much discrimination holds a visual factor. According to their own experiences and the incidents they themselves have witnessed, the more a student visually breaks the norm, the more they are subjected to acts of alienation. As seen in the quote above, one interviewee shared how he had been the only one to be stopped to identify himself upon entering the school. This experience coincides with discrimination research relating to ethnic stereotyping, according to which it could be possible that the person asking for identification used visible traits to pass judgement, subsequently revealing their perception of who belongs at the university. As stated in the conceptual framework, this kind of experience can inflict harm on its receiver, with evidence to support an increase in symptoms related to anxiety and depression. However, to the aggressor, it is likely that this differential treatment went by unnoticed. One of the strengths of microaggressions is their ability to remain invisible to its perpetrator. Identifying a microaggression can therefore be problematic, as discrimination is not always the only plausible explanation. However, according to the interviewees, even unconscious discrimination can instill questions regarding one's compatibility with the with the domain.

The question I get asked the most is; where are you from?

Interviewee 5

Many of the interviewed students had received questions just like, or similar to this, and while most interviewees said to understand that it often is asked with curiosity, they were also aware that it shifts the focal point from academic competence to ethnic heritage, an experience from which their white classmates are excluded. Externally viewed, this can seem minimally harmful, however, research has shown that the cumulative effect of being subjected to microaggressions frequently can be detrimental to its' receivers, both physically and psychologically. Being repeatedly stung by a mosquito means that you never fully heal, while simultaneously experiencing the stress of knowing that you will get stung again. This repetitive pattern could also be identified in many of the stories told by the participants, as they expressed that this type of discrimination is frequent.

It easily happens a few times a month. So, like, when it happens a few times a month for five years, then it is something... like a pattern.

Interviewee 2

This differential treatment can be both conscious and unconscious, in fact, it can sometimes be said or done with the best of intentions. However, in the interviews the students expressed similar feelings of fatigue over their differential treatment. Understanding the damaging effects of positive microaggressions may be difficult for the majority population, but whether it is well-intentioned or not, it can still be seen as a sort of invalidation, leaving the student with a feeling of being out of place. This occurrence could furthermore be understood by a prominently colourblind ideal in our society, in which people are unwilling to acknowledge that ethnicity matter, or even their own biases, regardless of its' positive or negative framing. This refusal may hinder open discussions on the matter, as acknowledgement is often the first step towards change. This discussion will be continued in section 4.3.2 Acknowledgement.

4.1.2 Negative ascription of intelligence

The second theme to surface from the interviews was the experienced assumptions made regarding the students' intelligence and/or competence. The interviewees all shared instances where they had experienced their intelligence being questioned, including not being expected to contribute to group projects or even being picked last. This kind of prevalent microaggression has been identified in previous studies on ethnic discrimination and can be defined as "assigning intelligence to a person of color based on their race" (Capodiluo et al., 2014; Sue et al., 2007). This phenomenon was prevalent in the interviewees and when conducting the focus group, all participating interviewees said to experience that the bar is set higher for them and that they need to outperform their classmates in order to receive the same academic acceptance.

There are preconceived notions about people... About what you know, or do not know...maybe about one's ambition as well. But you become more accepted once you have proved your competence. Like, you always come very well prepared to the first meeting if there is a group project, so that...so that no one looks down on me. I have to perform better than the others...to like, earn the same respect, I would say.

Interviewee 3

All participating interviewees shared similar stories to this, about how it can be difficult to partner up for group projects, how they often are talked down to, and how their ideas and thoughts often are questioned or disregarded altogether. These assumptions can be linked to the conceptual framework's discussion on overt discrimination, as it involves acts of stereotyping and categorisation that causes subordination and exclusion. By ascribing students with foreign background membership to a certain social group, which is not chosen and cannot be changed, could lead to denied equal opportunity, the very core of an equal society. The perception that you need to overperform to step out of the pigeonhole can thus amplify feelings of being out of place, as well as impact the students' participation in their own education as several interviewees aimed to keep a low profile.

You do not remember a Sara that is not as good, because she fits the context, I do not.

Interviewee 4

This quote relates to the self-categorisation and subsequent subordination. It also reveals an awareness of the interviewee, as (s)he experience that they are excluded from the majority group. Research has shown that this kind of fear of negative stereotyping, and inability to self-identify with a social domain such as the university, can have harmful implications on both the ability to sustain motivation and achieve academic results (Steele, 1997, p.616-617).

They do not expect us to have the qualifications to manage. Like, 'Wow, you know this?' And no one would think that your mother is highly educated. Nobody thinks or expects the same of you as they do of an ethnic Swede.

Interviewee 5

Though this type of comment can appear as a personal slight but is instead a microinsult and an instance of stereotypical harm, as it reveals an expectation of inferior intelligence. While personal insults often are random, microinsults like the negative ascription of intelligence often mirror societal stereotypes, which further can have damaging effects on minority groups' ability to identify themselves with certain academic settings. These stereotypes do however not only cause students with foreign backgrounds to self-doubt, they also establish a norm of who fits the academic context, and subsequently, who do not. These fixed limitations can also cause students with foreign backgrounds to encounter disbelief. Two out of the eight interviewees claimed to have been under suspicion or had accusations of cheating directed at them repeatedly by exam guards. Although there is no evidence that the accusations were a result of prejudice, the interviewees' expressed that the repetitive suspicion by exam guards instilled a feeling of having both your morals, intelligence, and presence at the university, questioned.

So, there were always these two ladies that kept an extra eye on me, always nearby; no matter what, one was always keeping watch. It has been this way throughout my studies. Not that it bothers me, I find it funny and grin at them. But I think it has all to do with my skin colour... The first time I did not quite know what the deal was, but then I realised that they were expecting me to cheat every time, so...

Interviewee 6

These experiences can be described as microaggressions because of their implicit nature, however, the type of collective pattern that these themes make up forces us also to consider the structural backdrop. Since there is no biological sense for sorting individuals into groups that correspond to races or ethnicities, it only exists in our social world. This does however not make the bias related to the concepts any less real, it only means that it is constructed rather than fixed, to then be reproduced through institutions and social practices. Despite Lund University being a university open to all, past ideas of which social groups are representative for the university and higher education, can still affect who is made to feel a sense of belonging. Thus, it can be argued that ethnic inequality reproduces itself structurally even in the absence of intentional policy discrimination.

4.1.3 Positive ascription of intelligence

The third theme to emerge also concerns the ascription of intelligence, however this time in a positive manner. Unlike its negative equivalent, positive ascriptions of intelligence may sound flattering, however they also stem from ethnic stereotypical thinking. It impacts its receiver negatively as it generalises an individual's competence based on their ethnic background, and by doing so, also extends an assumption about said ethnic group.

Oh, you should become a researcher. There are not many like you.

Interviewee 1

This type of positive ascription of intelligence can be considered a microinsult in disguise, as it can be heard as the motivating words of a teacher, but rather conveys the message that academic achievements among students with non-European backgrounds are in any way atypical or at least not part of the norm. While this type of experience is exempt from negative wording, its focal point drifts from academic aptitude to ethnic heritage by making assumptions on what is normal and thereby abnormal in the academic sphere.

'Oh, you are so talented...' they speak to me as if I am five years old. What did you expect? I am a fifth-year engineering student at the best university in Sweden, so talking to me like a child? And they often think that they are giving me a compliment, but that is not how I receive it''

Interviewee 2

As seen in the quote, the positive ascription of intelligence is not often well-received as it both generalises and establishes a fixed limitation on certain ethnic groups. To its receiver it also sends an invalidating, and at times demeaning, message about their intelligence, while additionally limiting the individuality of the person. The cumulative effect of these comments can therefore have consequences on the students' self-identification as a minority member in a majority group setting.

It is often said as a compliment but lands badly, for example this one you have heard many times, 'wow, your Swedish is so good', like what the hell are you surprised about? I was born in this country, like, it is pretty obvious that I speak the language. Why would I take it as a compliment? I absolutely take it as an insult.

Interviewee 4

Although the interviewees thought of the positive ascription of intelligence as preferable to the negative, the comments remain a type of microinsult by generalising an individual's intelligence on the basis of their group membership by extending an assumption about the ethnic group. The interviewees believed the positive ascriptions of intelligence were made with the conscious intent to compliment the students, as they are being ascribed a positive attribute. However,

what the aggressors fail to confront is that to the receiver, it is tainted with negative assumptions about their knowledge or/and intelligence.

There is a reversed kind of racism at the sociological department. At the Political science department, nobody believes in your competence until you have proved them wrong, but at the sociological department it was very... they are very willing to find the competence, you did not even have to prove it, because they already think the best of the marginalised. The devaluing is more deterring. The encouraging racism is not so bad, but it reminds you that you are different. But the devaluing... it is brutal.

Interviewee 1

Ascription of intelligence in any form stems from structural bias, as it is based on societal stereotypes of who belongs to the academic sphere. As discussed in the conceptual framework, these structures are reproduced through institutions and social practice, and may alter the way we view certain groups of people. Regardless of whether it is conscious or not, it constitutes an additional stressor for those subjected to it and that if left unaddressed can have impeding effects on their academic career and career trajectory.

4.1.4 Excluding student culture

In six of the eight interviews, as well as in the focus group session, the students expressed that they experienced the student culture to be excluding in some ways. According to the interviewees, the university's policies and activities have been mainly designed by and for white students, leaving them unable to identify with the dominant student culture. One example that was emphasised was the inauguration traditions during the orientation weeks, in which older students introduce new students to university life. This inauguration tradition is often considered a pivotal part of starting university, and the setting for a great deal of the bonding among peers, however, many of the interviewees looked at these types of student activities with a sense of ambiguity. Although participation is optional, not taking part can rob you of chances to find a social network among peers, whilst taking part can cause feelings of not belonging to be intensified.

There are these old cultural and traditional things you want to uphold, which is nice, because of course you should keep traditions alive. But it is very Swedish, and it very much becomes me as a minority sitting at the dinners, expected to know all the songs I do not know. You get looks and comments about your inexperience, and I am like, it is not like we do not party, we just did not grow up with drinking songs. That is another reason why the Swedes are more drawn to each other, it is more fun cohesion between them, whilst me who have a foreign background feel as if I really have to prove myself, show that I can be just as Swedish as you, that I also can read this song-book and take a shot, but yeah...

Interviewee 5

It is important to stress that the interviewees did not feel explicitly unwelcomed by the university, nor did they describe the student culture as explicitly discriminating, instead, they depicted stories of invalidation, which have a cumulative effect and can instill a feeling of not being in the right place. Several of the interviewees revealed that they are not always able to identify themselves with the traditional and cultural aspects of student life at the university. It can be considered natural that not all students feel at home in the student culture, and others may also experience invalidating messages. However, what sets these experiences apart when discussing discrimination, is whether the invalidation is based on ethnicity or not. To not feel excluded based on your ethnic heritage, or to have assumptions made about your traditions and ethnic culture, can send the invalidating message that you do not belong. This can also be true for the many exchange students that attend Lund University, however, as a foreign exchange student you may expect to be introduced to a new culture as a foreigner, whilst Swedish students with foreign background should not be made perpetual foreigners when interacting with the student culture.

Actually, I think my hijab is the biggest factor. I do not know, it [the hijab] does not stop me from anything, but still it actually does, so much. People...it feels like they do not hang out with me because of certain things I cannot do, I do not drink, yes, I do not eat everything, yes, but it is like... should these two things result in us not being able to hang out? But it feels like it does, like, it is the reason we cannot hang out.

Interviewee 7

This experience can deter someone from reaching out to other students, as an invisible divide based on preconceived notions between their white peers and themselves can be detected. These assumptions made can also be seen as a consequence of ethnic stereotyping. Since ethnic origin usually is a visible trait, some people use these traits to pass judgement, reducing the other person to a single trait. This occurrence may not be intentional, or even conscious, however, the stereotyping remains harmful in the sense that it disallows new friendships to be made across ethnic lines, even before even being introduced and having the chance to make a connection. This can also leave students with non-European backgrounds to seek out networks administrated by students with a similar background or identity, since they may not experience the same invalidating messages in a context where they are better represented. However, as numerous interviewees pointed out, this results in activities and networks being administrated by, and for, students with foreign backgrounds instead of an adaption of the existing culture so that it can cater to an increasingly diverse student body. By not doing so, we could possibly add to ethnic isolation and segregation, which in its' extension can affect representation in the student group.

If you cannot picture yourself among the people that go there, I do not think you will apply.

Interviewee 3

As the quote reads, representation can be an important factor when it comes to the sense of belonging, and in a study conducted by sociology researchers Hurtado and Carter (1997), a sense of belonging is stated as a key variable to the students' persistence and success in higher education. A claim that since has been confirmed by several studies relating to ethnic and racial campus climates (Harris III & Wood, 2016:40-41). Given the findings in the first themes, it is of high importance to investigate how the campus climate can become more inclusive for all. Having a student culture that certain student groups are unable to identify with, or conform to, can be harmful. This does not mean that we should cut ties with our traditions and culture, but we could acknowledge the diversity and work more with

inclusiveness, as this could allow non-conforming students to feel embraced rather than instilled with a feeling that they are different than, and unwanted by, their peers.

4.2 Effects

The experiences reported by the participating interviewees naturally have consequences for the students' time at university. Therefore, an analysis of the commonly identified themes regarding the effects of ethnic discrimination will follow below.

4.2.1 Segregation

The experiences discussed in the previous section do not occur in a void, they have effects on the students that are exposed to them. The most frequently expressed effect of discrimination at Lund University is visible to the eye, namely the segregation within the student group. When conducting the interviews, it was made clear that there is a problem with segregation at the university as all of the interviewed students shared highly similar stories relating to it. These stories all had two parts to them; the feeling of not being included in the white student group, as well as the urge to connect with other students with foreign backgrounds.

I study at a very Swede-dominated program. I have only seen one other girl with foreign background, and I hang out with her. And I have only been here one semester, I have only had one seminar-group, but already it is like this... I saw the stares...they do not want me in their group, I saw the stares... that they... not openly, they do not say it, but they talk to each other more, they spend more time together, without me. You know, basic stuff. Me and the other foreign girl, we met one day and were like 'ah, we can hang out instead', cause she feels exactly the same, I talked to her and she told me 'I feel the same stares, they do not want me here either'. So, there are groupings, the swedes, and us two.

Interviewee 7

When conducting the interviews, all students told stories similar to the one shown in the quote above. Despite the odd stories of classmates who openly do not want to work together, most interviewees agreed that the segregation they experience is implicit and occurs naturally. In the interviews, the reason given for this phenomenon was the lack of shared experiences, and thus the inability to identify oneself with the other. In fact, one interviewee said that they often hear students preach about diversity and integration, but that the same students then only associate themselves with other white students. It is often said that each generation serves as the foundation for the next, which in this context could explain how structural segregation can be reproduced through social practices and is bilaterally reinforced by individual behaviour, even without intent.

We are quite few students with a non-European background at my department, but we all hang out. We are a click that hangs out, but they are not in my class. They are above me, under me, in a different orientation, or program, and all from different countries. It could be a coincidence, but still, why is it me, the Turk, the Chinese and the Iraqi?

Interviewee 6

This quote illustrates how segregation occurs implicitly, however, regardless of its' implicit nature, segregation at university can have longstanding effects on academic, as well as future career trajectory. The network you form during the years at university have big impact, not only because it affects your student experience, but also because that social network becomes a professional one after leaving school and may influence access to information and future jobs. The process of segregation is nevertheless dual, and as stated in the conceptual framework, feelings of unfamiliarity and exclusion can furthermore become a stressful event that may result in the seeking out of familiar faces. The interviewed students all stated that they often intentionally avoid homogeneous environments, and it is not rare for the interviewees to seek the company of other students with non-European backgrounds. The reason given for this was mainly the inclusiveness and sense of belonging provided in these settings.

Most wogs are the same, like, you experience the same prejudices. The same person that speaks to me in English, speaks to him in English. So you kind of have the same experiences, might handle it differently, but it is something that we can talk about

Interviewee 8

This quote is meant to show how shared experiences abridges new connections, as several interviewees described the bar as being lower when making a connection or starting up a friendship. This phenomenon can be understood by the principle of in-group preferences, as the interviewed students felt that they have a shared social code based on their experiences. This in-group preference can be further strengthened by negative experiences with the out-group, and together they clout social dynamics. This also relates to the stories shared about how the interviewees had been taken under the wing by older students with foreign background, and that they themselves had done the same to students in years below their own. In a sense, students with foreign background seem to have established their own supportive environment in which they feel validated. This support system may increase the feeling of connectedness and therefore have positive effects on academic persistence and retention; however, these academic counter spaces simultaneously helps cement the division, which can have long term damaging effects on the campus climate, as well as the students residing in it.

Lastly, implicit bias and segregation have the congenital habit of acting as self-fulfilling prophecies, as the factors that cause the division are unlikely to be contradicted once segregation is stratified. Ethnic segregation within the university can thus self-perpetuate even in the presence of policies and efforts to broaden representation. Previous research has shown that interracial friendships are more frequent in diverse school settings (Lewis, 2012), however, given the findings in this theme it would be hasty to write segregation off as solemnly a consequence of weak representation. For future research it should thus be of importance to investigate more closely how in- and out-group preferences interact in the university environment, and in which ways it may influence segregation.

4.2.2 Compromising identity

The interviewees also expressed how their experiences of being discriminated against had caused them to compromise their own identity. The identity of an individual develops over the course of life, a part of this formation comes from self-categorisation, but it also involves the external perception others may have. The shaping of one's identity is a life-long and complex process, which asserts identity as a somewhat fluid construction (Forrest-Bank & Cuellar, 2018). This furthermore allows people to present the part of their identity that is most favourable in a certain situation, and according to several interviewees, there is an awareness of how you should present yourself to avoid attention being drawn to your ethnicity and becoming representative for that group.

“There is definitely an awareness of how you present yourself. You should be low-key, not be too loud, and blend in. Not make too much noise to avoid being the messy wog. You do not want to be the one to ask for a break, because you are more likely to be remembered as being lazy since you stand out. And since you stand out, you kind of become this representative for your entire ethnic group, so you have to be a model student.”

Interviewee 4

While it is safe to assume that most students wish to present themselves in the most favourable light, there is a discrepancy between doing so because you wish to enhance your individual performance or doing so because you do not want societal stereotypes about your ethnicity to be strengthened. This awareness can be seen as a result of in-group love or favouritism, as members of a privileged group are more likely to give advantages to individuals similar to themselves, while excluding members of the out-group from the same opportunities. Adapting or relinquishing one's ethnic identity can be seen as a strategy to avoid discrimination, however, whether it is a strategic choice or not, it can have damaging effects on the student's own self-image.

This is what makes it so hard, like I really do not want to tone it down. No matter how much you do not want to downplay your cultural, traditional upbringing, norms and all that, I somehow push it aside because I struggle to fit into the Swedish one, with Swedish friends in a Swedish class, with the Swedish traditions, the Swedish culture. (. ...) If I had brought my Swedish classmates to hang out with my friends from outside of school, it would have been a clash, a real clash. And that is because my friends from outside of school have not had to compromise themselves the same way I have in order to prove my belonging.

Interviewee 5

Although integration is a two-way street, the interviewees expressed that to integrate themselves, they felt the need to adapt their own identity to be accepted, or at least to avoid being singled out. This reveals an awareness of the societal stereotypes related to ethnicity, and the students are therefore keen to remove themselves from this. However, feeling the need to downplay or hide ethnic identity also reveals the failure to renounce said societal stereotypes, and shows that ethnicity is still a factor. While in-group love applies to all types of societal groups, it seems that ethnicity remains central to the formation of networks in the academic sphere.

4.2.3 Effected student experience

When conducting the interviews, the interviewees revealed that their experiences of ethnic discrimination had borne consequences on their time as a student. Starting university should represent a time of unbridled optimism, exciting challenges, and myriad opportunities. The learning opportunities, the friendships you form, and the experiences you have as a university student tend to stay with you for the course of your life. To then feel that you in some ways are excluded from this experience, left the interviewed students with a feeling of missing out on pivotal parts of attending university. First, when the interviewees were asked about whether they felt like their experiences of discrimination had impeded their academic results, the responses varied from confirmations that their motivation and performance had been weakened, to those who claimed that it made them work even harder.

However, all interviewees were in agreement that it has affected their student experience.

I do not think it affects my academic results, but it definitely affects how one is feeling. The campus environment is supposed to be a pleasant setting to subsist in, you are supposed to feel at home, have open discussions. And you are not supposed to only feel comfortable with a small and isolated faction of the class, it is supposed to be... It is supposed to be a place for everyone

Interviewee 6

As mentioned, a sense of belonging has been identified as a key variable to the students' persistence and success in higher education. Thus, being left without a sense of belonging could have the cumulative effect of hurting the student experience as a whole.

To me, Lund University represents hanging out and having fun, as well as studying. Study, I do, I am not affected in that way, I can manage on my own. But it is the fun part, of doing things together, hanging out. I miss that, I do not have that in my life here. When you come to a university town, you dream about the student experience. I do not have that. I just do not get invited, because I have tried everything... I spend a lot of time in school, I try to meet new people, I follow the social medias, but you know, they never call on me, and I do not think they ever will. It makes me sad, but I do not want to be like 'please spend time with me'. But you can feel it, something is missing... it is missing.

Interviewee 7

While it is difficult to confirm that the experiences expressed in the quote are a consequence of the student's ethnicity, the interviewee was inclined to believe that it was her hijab posed as an obstacle to her ability to make friends among her peers, subsequently having an impact on her experience as a university student. This perception was confirmed by the focus group session in which the students discussed experiences of not being naturally included, varying from not being invited to have lunch, to being excluded from study sessions. This sense of not being included, or not belonging, is naturally harmful to the student experience. The

process of achieving an academic degree is stressful, and to have the added weight of loneliness and/or isolation can therefore be directly harmful to a student's well-being. To furthermore have these experiences be a consequence of one's ethnic heritage, is a burden that their white peers are exempt from. Moving on, the students also described that this affected their motivation to take part in group projects as these course moments posed a challenge to find a group, with the added experience of having their intelligence ascribed in either a positive or negative manner. These experiences and subsequent effects could furthermore be explained by the difficulty to find any validation of your presence in your environmental surroundings.

If you cannot picture yourself among the people that go there, I do not think you will apply. I think the best thing to do is to broaden the recruitment, at least that would make it less visible and noticeable.

Interviewee 3

As stated before, a skewed representation can create a discouraging and non-supportive environment, which can provide students with foreign background with the invalidating message that you do not belong there. This type of implicit invalidation naturally has effects on the experience of being a student, and could deter new students from applying, but also increase retention rates, thus reinforcing the current imbalanced representation. As seen in the theme relating to segregation, not being included by peers have caused students with foreign background to create their own supportive havens. While this may be good for the well-being of an individual student, it runs the risk of establishing parallel experiences of being a student at Lund University entails. To counter this development, we must do better at creating an inclusive environment in which talent and potential are nurtured.

4.3 Response

The third section of the interviews related to responses to eventual ethnic discrimination. The following analysis will therefore cover the identified themes

regarding the interviewees' response to ethnic discrimination, as well as the response of others in the university environment.

4.3.1 (Un)willingness to confront

The interviewees all acknowledged the importance of confronting other people's prejudices and discriminatory behaviour, however, when discussing the matter in the focus group it became evident that doing so not always an uncomplicated task. All but one of the interviewed students expressed an unwillingness to confront their teachers or their peers when experiencing feelings of discrimination. In conversation they conveyed a conflict within themselves; the feeling of being treated differently due to their ethnicity, versus the realisation that this feeling is difficult, if not impossible to confirm. While several interviewees had experienced incidents, both overt and covert, very few of them were said to be certain or able to prove that the differential treatment had been due to their ethnic background.

I do comment on it, but the subtleness is a problem. It is difficult to touch. I cannot say 'your comment is racist' because it is so subtle and refined that it is not tangible. Instead it leaves me with a feeling that I cannot prove with facts or with words. Sometimes it is the way you say it, the attitude, not what you say.

Interviewee 4

In the interviews it was made clear that the students' own perception of these incidents was linked to their ethnicity; however, this did not make them any more prone to confront or report discriminating incidents, as they felt that their perception of an incident was not sufficient evidence. These types of ambiguous incidents are also identified as microaggressions, as the discrimination is done in such a subtle and implicit way that it may only be noticeable to the receiver. This makes it problematic to identify the microaggression as it often can be explained away by its' source. Actually, in some instances, confronting a person's bias only generated a quick defence, squashing any hopes of having your feelings validated. When asked about their response in these situations, the interviewees therefore spoke of thick skins and self-preservation.

If you were to get angry in those types of situations, you would have a very hard life, you would be angry all the time.

Interviewee 2

Being the only student with a non-European background in a classroom can furthermore cause students to feel as if they are carrying the burden of representation and therefore need to speak up against ethnic injustice. Four out of the interviewed students expressed how their fellow classmates have a tendency to look to them for certain answers on matters simply based on their ethnicity, and having to fight these battles constantly can bring on feelings of fatigue as it does not only add to the feeling of being different to the majority group at the university, it also puts pressure on one individual to speak for an entire community. And while most of the interviewed students rejected the idea that their teachers and classmates intentionally sought to create a hostile and unwelcoming environment, they did express a desire to remain silent. In cases where discussions of a discriminatory nature had erupted in class, the interviewees described how either classmates or teachers tried to smooth it over and move on, leaving the affected students to have feelings of frustration. This type of behaviour can furthermore have damaging effects on the students' academic careers.

If you feel that you have been given an unfair grade, you might not stand up for yourself to the same extent and let things pass even though it is definitely not right.

Interviewee 4

While all of the interviewed students said to have experienced some type of ethnic discrimination while attending the university, none of them had filed official complaints or reports to the university. Here lies a paradox; while the interviewed students acknowledged the importance of speaking up, they remain hesitant to do so out of fear that a confrontation would disadvantage rather than benefit them. This phenomenon is nevertheless consistent with current research on discrimination, as

these types of crimes are heavily under-reported, causing a large discrepancy between the number of reports filed and actual incidents taking place.

4.3.2 Acknowledgement

As stated in the previous section, the ambiguity in much of the differential treatment deters the affected students from speaking up due to the fact that racial experiences often are nullified or diminished in importance by the majority. Thus, when asked about possible responses to discriminatory behaviour, all interviewees shared the same wish for acknowledgement.

Most people tend to see themselves as good people and when they are confronted with their own discriminatory behavior it can be difficult to accept or even understand. The immediate response is often to become defensive or explain the behavior away. However, according to the interviewees, this strategy becomes part of the issue, as it impedes any open discussion on the matter. Actually, a majority of the interviewees expressed that their experiences with discrimination often slide by without them being validated, revealing microaggressions' power of invisibility.

I do not think that they really feel this way, I think they struggle a lot to change the way they feel. The rational side of them questions it, but the complexity of the shame they feel over their own prejudices make them not able to admit that they exist, and that is a big problem because that is where the opening lies (. ...) Since I live in this body, I have been forced to deal with this, I have taken the consequences of it and had to deal with it, but the average white swede does not have to do that, does not really have to do it, and then it becomes this conflictual thing where you close your eyes for something that is difficult because you are afraid that 'I might be racist'.

Interviewee 8

The quote shown above captures the strong societal norm in which racism and ethnic discrimination are condoned, as well as the undesirable side effects this may have. The phenomenon of ethnic discrimination was not unknown to any of the interviewees, as they all had been forced to confront it, an experience most of their white peers have been exempt from. Prejudice thrives in the silence and it is

therefore important to acknowledge that avoiding a difficult discussion sometimes can add to someone else's feelings of being discriminated against, and to the phenomenon as a whole.

Like, you cannot say that it is racist. Someone always jumps in and says, "no, he did not mean it like this, he meant it like that", and they defend each other and make light of the situation, but it is not... you should not feel the need to extenuate what someone else has said. If someone has these opinions, they have these opinions.

Interviewee 8

This quote reveals a reflexive defensiveness that can also extend to classmates and even teachers. Naturally, this does not mean that all individuals at Lund University are discriminators, but it can be argued that this is a circumstance in which ethnic inequality reproduces itself structurally even in the absence of intentional discrimination.

Maybe take a public fight, but also... honestly, I do not know if one can call it moral courage, but it would be grateful if the person without a different ethnic background could jump in and comment. Take the battle instead of remaining in the background.

Interviewee 5

To fully confront ethnic prejudice and discrimination we need more than the ones that are subjected to it fighting it. The anti-racist norm in society is a positive, and it cannot become the very thing that hinders us from confronting remnant prejudice by smoothing over discriminatory behaviour. Although overt prejudicial attitudes are being increasingly ruled out in society, the core of such attitudes can persevere, consciously or unconsciously, and it can still be perceived as direct hostility and have the same deterring effects as open and intentional forms of discrimination. It is therefore important to not only retreat into a defence, but rather to listen and acknowledge a narrative that may be unfamiliar to your own.

Do you want to be the person that lessens a statement? Or do you want to be the one who is like 'no, this is not okay'. Always trying to mitigate... As soon as I speak of an incident where an ethnically Swedish person has made a clumsy statement and I am telling another ethnic Swede about it, it gets...like, when I tell the story back I feel how it becomes sensitive to tell the person because they seem to take it on and it gets very personal.

Interviewee 5

5 Final Discussion and Recommendations

Starting university represents a time of unbridled optimism, exciting challenges, and myriad opportunities. However, what this thesis has found is that students with foreign background seem to experience additional stressors that in turn could have impeding effects on their academic time, career trajectory and overall well-being. The purpose of this thesis has been to investigate and illuminate a previously unaddressed and understudied phenomenon in Sweden's higher education, and while not all students with foreign backgrounds might share the same experiences, the findings of this study suggest that there actually might be a problem within the walls of the university. By applying the conceptual framework to analyse the data, instances of ethnic discrimination have been identified. The data, here in the form of lived experiences of the interviewees, has allowed me to conceptually map the experiences of ethnic discrimination to a range of contexts, both capturing the nuanced experiences of students with foreign background, and delineating the broader spatial patterns that demonstrate the more structural nature of the discrimination they encountered.

As it stands, students with foreign background experience feelings of being out of place, having their intelligence ascribed in both a positive and negative manner, as well as the student culture to be excluding. Most of these experiences have an implicit nature, making them difficult to confront, and therefore result in student segregation rather than conversation. The experiences are then mutually reinforced by the segregation in the student group. The interviewees expressed both how they felt avoided by their peers, and how they themselves felt uncomfortable in a student culture that was described to be a white, Swedish culture, and which they to varying degrees felt non-conformant to. Naturally, the intensity of this perception is at variance among the students, as their expressed resilience to it varied. However, this can subsequently cause students with foreign background to compromise their

own identity, or altogether disengage themselves from core activities at the university, to avoid loss of confidence and well-being due to the stress of being the only one of a minority group, or even actual or potential ethnic discrimination. Furthermore, the implicit nature of the experiences and subsequent effects, as well as the fear of not being believed and lack of acknowledgement from their peers, discourage students to speak up, further perpetuating the cycle of segregation and discrimination.

As explicit ethnic discrimination is being increasingly condemned, we must not retreat into a colourblind ideal in which ethnicity is not a factor. From the perspective of an onlooker, the experiences told in this study may seem of minimal importance, however, in the absence of explicit discrimination, implicit discrimination can flourish if left unaddressed, potentially causing further harm down the road. The bigger point is thus that the accumulation of these experiences cause stress to students with foreign background, while white students are excluded from this type of treatment due to their privilege as part of a majority group. While the university has acknowledged a skewed recruitment and is attempting to counter it, and although more than one strategy must be applied to do so, it is important to also tune in to the experiences of those already attending. It is imperative that we acknowledge that constantly being on the look-out for mosquitoes, could deter students from enrolling, especially if we put the lid on every time a student with a foreign background is bitten.

This study has helped us to document and analyse ethnic discrimination, as well as the stress and responses it bears, from the perspective of students with different foreign backgrounds. It has revealed that despite the equal policies and conditions of higher education, implicit and covert discrimination still resides under the surface, and does therefore conform to much of the findings of contemporary ethnic discrimination research. As we have seen, it is also in the nature of microaggressions and other subtle forms of discrimination to be ignored or downplayed, making them difficult to confront.

When conducting this study, one of the most unexpected findings was the similarity of the stories told by the interviewees, a group that beyond their shared experiences

of being students with foreign backgrounds, were very diverse. It seemed as if there is a shared narrative that remains untold, and while some may be inclined to write the counter-stories in this thesis off as individual experiences and conclusions, it would be ignorant to do so. Regardless of whether these experiences are motivated by the students' ethnicity, or if it is the students' own perceptions, the effects remain the same and the issue must thus be confronted. Also, given what we know about structural ethnic disparities, one must ask how many stories makes for a pattern? If we wish to change the demographic at Lund University, we must stop treating these experiences as point-in-time events face them with a more holistic approach.

Furthermore, the experiences of discrimination expressed by the interviewees are unlikely to be unique to the university, as several interviewees concluded, the university is not separate from society as a whole, and current influences can therefore not be stopped from penetrating the university's walls. As previously discussed, segregation is on the rise in society, and it is only valid to assume that our instances for higher education are not exempted from it. This does however not take away from the problem, or the urgency to confront it. Lund University should be a pillar of society, where knowledge and innovation should flourish, not a place where ancient prejudices persevere. While a colourblind ideal may sound idyllic, this study has shown that clinging to it does not seem to be helping us. Not with an increasing amount of evidence that alludes to ethnicity actually mattering. We exist in a multicultural society and it is therefore important to confront in what ways the media, non-verbal behaviours of others, as well as the attitudes of our peers and friends may influence our own implicit, or even explicit biases. As seen in the data, discriminatory behaviour has become more implicit and covert, and we must find new methods to assess it. While perceived discrimination can be both under- and overreported, it must be used to support more official reports of discrimination. As witnessed in the interviews, it can however be difficult to prove the intent of the aggressor since they themselves may be oblivious to their actions, as well as the harm they may impose. Nevertheless, the perceived discrimination seems to have an enough damaging effect on the motivation, self-image and overall well-being of students with foreign background for us to realise that, irrespectively, more conversations need to be had.

In this study, it has been established that the experiences conveyed by the interviewees fall within the brackets of ethnic discrimination, as it is defined in social science research. However, due to the qualitative design of this thesis, further research must be done in order to make any rigid generalisations of the present findings. This thesis does therefore not make the claim that ethnic discrimination is omnipresent, it is simply a long overdue presentation of counter-stories that are too rarely heard. As much as Lund University strive for diversity, equality, and equal opportunity, it is also a product of the society in which it operates. It is therefore not to be unexpected that the university also reflects the privileges and shortcomings of said society. This should however not deter us from taking a deeper look into the experiences of students with foreign background and investigate the impact it may have on individual students, as well as university climate and higher education as a whole.

To do so, this study should be duplicated at other universities and institutions for higher education to increase generalisability. This could be achieved by applying a mixed method design to complement the findings of this study. While a phenomenological approach with semi-structured interviews remains preferable when it comes to collecting experiences as data, this data could nevertheless be used as a basis for creating an exploratory sequential mixed method design, with a bigger complementarity statistical survey, from which more generalisations can be drawn. Using mixed methods to give an answer to the research question could also strengthen the reliability of the results since the consistency of measures and results could be assessed. Because there is no previous research on the Swedish context, it makes more sense to sequence this type of qualitative study with a quantitative one than the other way around, since exploration is needed. This type of sequential study would provide the researcher with the ability to understand the mechanisms behind the discoveries made in the interviews and allow this to inform broader studies in which results are generalisable.

Lastly, conducting this study has shown me realities beyond my own and I sincerely hope that it will do the same for others. However, there is no denying that the road ahead is long and winding. Thus, I wish to leave the final words to social scientist and discrimination scholar Gordon Allport (1954).

“It required years of labour and billions of dollars to gain the secret of the atom. It will take a still greater investment to gain the secrets of man’s irrational nature. It is easier...to smash an atom than a prejudice”

– Gordon Allport, The nature of prejudice, p. xvii

6 References

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7 Appendix

7.1 Interview guide

Control question:

Can you share your perception of what racial and ethical discrimination is?

7.1.1 Open question: Experience

Can you think of a time when you have felt discriminated because of your foreign background at Lund University?

If yes, can you describe that in as much detail as possible?

If no, have you ever witnessed any type of ethnical discrimination?

7.1.2 Open question: Effect

If yes, how did this make you feel?

If yes, how has this effected your time at the university?

7.1.3 Open question: Response

If yes, how did you respond?

If yes, did you report it?

If yes, how did the university respond?

If no, can you explain why?

7.1.4 Closed questions

Gender?

What faculty are you a member of?

How long have you been a student at Lund University?