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Norms and Contestations

Ethnicized and Minoritized Students as Space Invaders in Dutch Higher Education

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The experiences I had in Utrecht University weren't really nice; since my retirement I actually don't talk about it anymore. In 1969, five Surinamese students, two girls and two boys, jointly chose to apply to study Social Geography at the Uithof [Campus]. Four of us came straight from Surinam, and the fifth had finished his secondary school in the Netherlands. Experiencing such an invasion from Surinamese people, I think the people in Utrecht were shocked.

G.B., 'retired Surinamese male,' Utrecht University alumnus

G.B. literally felt he was seen as an invader who did not meet the norms of a university in the Netherlands. Upon arrival, the chairman of the Geography faculty called the Surinamese students in for a meeting; he put up the heater, saying 'I'm going to create a nice tropical temperature for you.' Even though the students had received education in Surinam in the Dutch language since young age, he wondered whether the students demonstrated 'sufficient Dutch language skills.' Also he emphasized the university would demand a different mentality: 'if you want to be successful in your studies, you will have to shed the "mañana" mentality that people have in the tropics,' in the university it would not work to be 'waiting beneath a tree for a coconut to fall in order to have food for the day.' G.B., who currently lives in Surinam, shared his experiences with us via e-mail after we published an invitation on the Internet discussion board *Waterkant.net*, a popular forum dedicated to Surinamese-Dutch and Surinamese people as well as those living in the diaspora.

In the words of scholars of education Daryl Smith

and Lisa Wolf-Wendel, 'the consistent theme of alienation experienced by students of non traditional backgrounds in their campus environments is symptomatic of a deep underlying problem that has not been adequately addressed' by university administrators. These students '"feel like outsiders" and "strangers in a strange land", as some campuses have remained more "chilly" than welcoming, more "alienating" than involving, more hostile than encouraging' (2005: 12). This issue has been on the agenda in the United States for years now. In Europe and the Netherlands in particular, higher education is most commonly recognized for its 'fundamental egalitarian nature' and 'equal treatment' of all (Torenbeek and Veldhuis 2008: 210). However, Gloria Wekker, a Surinamese-Dutch cultural anthropologist educated in the United States, argues that scrutinizing universities in the Netherlands is urgent as we should realize that 'the Dutch academy can be characterized as colour- and power- evasive' (2009: 151). Therefore, this article explores sociocultural dynamics of the Dutch multicultural society by taking the experiences of ethnicized and minoritized students in Dutch higher education as an entry point.

Utrecht University, the location where the data gathering for this case study was conducted, is one of the oldest universities in the Netherlands, and one of the largest in Europe. The World University Rankings and The Shanghai Academic Ranking of World Universities rate Utrecht University as the best university in the Netherlands (WUR 2013; ARWU 2013). In search for funds, Utrecht University, like other Dutch universities is increasingly positioning itself as a global competitor and aims to attract – commercially lucrative – international exchange students. Simultaneously, it also posi-

tions itself as an inclusive institution, as policies aimed to attract 'more non-western allochthonous students' demonstrate (Utrecht University 2009). Focusing on the ways in which bodies and knowledge co-construct space, we explore the ways in which Utrecht University is experienced as racialized, gendered and secularized. In particular we analyze how ethnicized and minoritized students perceive the social spatial norms that we consider to be constructed by teachers, the student-body and the curriculum. Timely for this special issue on the Netherlands Now, the question arises whether the championing of neoliberal education policies aligns with such egalitarian ideologies or whether a contentious intersection between Dutch egalitarianism, Dutch racism and Dutch classicism emerges.

Theoretically, the argument engages in dialogue with scholarship emerging from the 'spatial turn' (Warf and Arias 2009) that is increasingly finding resonance across the humanities and social sciences. We shed light in particular on experiences of spatial power in the context relations of the academy. The critical sociologist Nirmal Puwar argues that British institutions such as the parliament, judiciary, civil service and academia are territories that hold historically 'reserved' privileged positions (2004: 144). Recognizing that including and excluding mechanisms operate around corporeal specificity; those who enter spaces of authoritative power are measured against the dominant template of 'white male bodies of a specific habitus.' Those who do not meet the normative expectations are rendered out of place; they become 'space invaders' (2004: 141). Following Puwar, the main hypothesis of the present article is that ethnicized and minoritized students become *space invaders*, determining a challenge and a change of these institu-

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tions, recognizing that they cause a shift in the traditional understandings of 'the' Dutch nationality and culture: 'not longer is "the Dutchmen" necessarily white, autochthonous and Christian' nor male (Pattynama 2000: 11, translation ours). The empirical fieldwork was conducted late 2011 and early 2012, in the context of *Mig@Net, Transnational digital networks, migration and gender*, a European Union funded Framework 7 project. Using snowballing methods, 40 in-depth interviews were carried out with university students and alumni. The group consisted of migrant, ethnic minority and international exchange students. 11 identified as male, one as queer and 28 as female.

The article is structured as follows. First, we theorize the construction of space and an awareness of the emergence of spatialized injustices. Secondly, we discuss the process of data gathering. Subsequently, the context of educational obstacles in the Dutch academy is sketched. The remainder of the article presents the empirical case study. The case study of the spatial norms experiences of migrant and ethnic minority students consists of three parts: firstly we discuss their experiences of the mainstream student body, secondly we consider their perceptions of university personnel and thirdly we present their feelings of the university curriculum.

Conceptualizing spatial politics in the academy

In this section an intersectional approach to spatial injustices is set out, related to the context of the Netherlands and the Utrecht University case study. We engage in dialogue with work emerging from the 'spatial turn' (Warf and Arias 2010) that is finding resonance across the humanities and social sciences and addresses education as a domain of spatialized power relations. As Barney Warf and Santa Arias argue '*where* things happen is critical to knowing *how* and *why* they happen' (2010: 1). The context of the university will be understood as a social space constructed through material attributes, various bodies (students and staff) and imaginations of knowledge. Michel Foucault, Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre are key thinkers to understand this construction of social space. Following De Certeau, 'space is a practiced place' (1984: 117). Lefebvre similarly defined social space not as an inert, static thing but as 'a set of relations' (1991: 83). For Lefebvre, social space is simultaneously materialized through spatial practices (which he defined as 'perceived space'), imagined through representations (defined as 'conceived space') and biographically embodied as 'lived space' (1991: 33-39). Space gets constructed but not fully determined through structural frameworks and norms, as Lefebvre argues the body is structurally deployed in space but also occupies space 'the body, with its capacity for action... is space and has its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space' (1991: 170). Of particular interest for our focus on the university as a power-ridden space, Foucault highlights that space is inherently political, as power is spatialized. Power emerges at the interplay of top-down forces that Foucault describes as 'the great strategies of geopolitics' and everyday subversion from below which he labels as 'little tactics of the habitat' (1980: 149). Elizabeth Grosz asserts that it is exactly power that results in the reconfiguration of space: space 'moves and

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changes, depending on how it is used, what is done with it and to it, and how open it is to even further changes' (2001: 7). Social space thus is the result of a set of material, imagined and embodied relations.

Every social space is characterized by its own expressive culture, which slots and sets the boundaries to particular material, imagined and embodied relations. We consider how the university institution also has its particular 'normative ways of being' (Puwar 2004: 116). According to Nirmal Puwar space invaders are considered to be bodies out of place that enter institutional settings where the norm is to be populated by mainstream, white, male, élite bodies. Women, members of the working class and ethnic minorities have, however, permeated those through top down governmental practices (like the integration of ethnic minorities through multicultural policies) and bottom up approaches by entering the no-go spaces through social climbing, education and other tactics to decolonize the dominant spaces. With each space constructed around a particular shared set of dispositions, tastes, actions and preferences, they each have their own inclusionary and exclusionary mechanisms (Puwar 2004). From the critical spatial perspective of space invaders, the university can be seen not as the commonly taken for granted stable and neutral backdrop of knowledge circulation, but as a distinct expressive culture filled with gendered, racial, classed and religious ideologies, hierarchies and politics.[1] This is a social space where certain bodies are accepted and behavior is promoted and others are dismissed through objects, gestures and other bodies.

Methodological considerations

In our attempt to address social spatial norms in the university, we have conducted in-depth interviews to learn more about the class, gender and racial/ethnic similarities and differences experienced between students who where born in the Netherlands from parents who arrived to the Netherlands as guest workers (Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch students), those who migrated themselves and international exchange students.[2] Although the main empirical corpus consists of interview narratives, we have also examined Utrecht University policy documents. Interviewees were invited via snowballing method, which resulted in 40 informants. The group consists of white Dutch, international exchange, as well as ethnicized and minoritized students who follow or have followed Bachelor, Master or PhD programs, individual courses or summer schools at Utrecht University (UU). This holds for all informants except Eoft, a young woman who self-identifies as 'Moroccan-Dutch' who was interviewed for her view on Utrecht University, she lives in Utrecht but chose to study at the VU University in Amsterdam. Our search started from within the humanities faculty, and gender studies students are over-represented, but students from different faculties including law, social sciences, geo-sciences, medicine, and science are included. Furthermore, the total group consists of current students as well as alumni, for example E.G. from Surinam was one of the first black students to study Geography in Utrecht in the late 1960s. All informants signed consent forms. All interviewees' names used in this article are pseudonyms, suggested by the informants themselves. The labels

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used to introduce the informants throughout this article are also provided by the interviewees. Adapting the setting to the preferences of the informants, interviews were conducted face-to-face or by telephone, *Skype* and email. Conversations lasted around 30 minutes on average, they ranged in length from 20 minutes to 1,5 hours.

At the beginning of the interviews, each informant was invited to describe him/herself in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, class and religion. The group consists of 29 (former) students who identify as girl, female or woman, 1 student who identifies as queer and 11 students who identify as male. Furthermore, the group includes 9 students who self-identify as white, ethnic-majority Dutch ('white,' 'autochthonous'), as well as 15 who emphasize an ethnic minority background ('allochthonous,' 'Dutch born foreigners,' 'non-white') and 16 who position themselves as international exchange students. In terms of social-economic position or class, the majority felt they belonged to middle class, one student reported to stem from a lower class background, and 3 reported an upper-class background (see appendix 1 for an overview of the informants). We promoted informants to (at least partly) become active agents over their own representations in the reporting, for instance by inviting them to suggest a pseudonym they wanted us to use when including their voice in the study. By extensively including direct quotes of the conversations that were ad-verbatim transcribed and translated into English, we intend to stay close to those experiences the informants shared with us. The interview transcripts were analyzed using NVivo 9.2, a qualitative data analysis software package. Following a 'grounded theory' approach to data analysis (Strauss and Corbin 1998), we inductively looked for structures, categories and themes in the interview data related to the construction of social space and power relations rather than superimposing a pre-formed framework.

Dutch higher education and the myth of egalitarianism

'Dutch higher education has a reputation as being extremely egalitarian,' Christoffel Reumer and Marijk van der Wende argue (2010: 2). However, this myth has recently been punctured. Ethnic minority groups have been found to encounter a myriad of obstacles in entering Dutch higher education. The Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) in 2008 reported the 'need to lift educational and social achievement among immigrant 'non-Western' populations' as a major challenge for the Netherlands (Marginson et al. 2008). Statistics Netherlands reports that 72 per cent of the students registered at Dutch universities in the academic year 2010-2011 were Dutch, 14 per cent were 'Western-allochthonous,' 13 per cent were 'non-Western allochthonous' and 2 percent were of 'unknown' ethnic background (CBS 2011).[3] The Dutch Inspectorate of Education has highlighted persistent unequal participation of Dutch 'non-Western allochthonous' students in higher education. Nation-wide, the proportion of this group of students in higher education is 13 per cent, while their share in the relevant age group of the general Dutch population (17 to 25 years) amounts to 16 per cent. For the past ten years the gap has hovered around 3 or 4 per cent (Onderwijsinspectie 2009: 6).

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This gap has been attributed to biases against minority subjects in school tests. Although categories of difference should not influence the outcome of psychological intelligence tests, ethnic minorities on average score lower than Dutch ethnic majority children in their IQ tests. The RAKIT test, which is known as 'the classic under the children IQ-tests' – used for children between the age of 4 to 11 year old – has recently been re-assessed and scholars found a 'quite severe' measurement bias against 'non-western allochthonous people' in the ways for instance 'verbal meaning,' 'learning names' and 'storytelling' is tested. In particular descendants of labor migrants and children of immigrants from former Dutch Colonies are potentially affected by the bias. The test could result in a 7 IQ point underestimation for seven year old Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch children and 4.5 IQ point underestimation for Surinamese-Dutch and Antillean-Dutch children (Wicherts and Dolan 2010). As the Dutch government has installed secondary education selection criteria based on IQ points (among other tests, including the CITO primary school exit exam), underestimations may lead to children being incorrectly redirected to forms of vocational and/or special education, which makes it much more difficult to reach the secondary school track 'vwo' that gives access to the university.

Over the course of five days, an article discussing Wicherts and Dolans' research on IQ tests published on *Maroc.nl* – an online discussion board popular among Moroccan-Dutch youths – was commented upon 77 times. Comments range from approving the finding itself 'when allochthonous kids do not understand certain words in the test, you would think this is due to language deficiency rather than that it says something about their level of intelligence' (Super ick, 02 Dec. 2010, translation ours), to coupling it to personal experiences 'I have made an appeal 8 years ago against the elementary school advice of my younger brother. And I have mentioned this point among others. I was denied' (tr_imparator, 02 Dec. 2010, translation ours), to placing it in a wider perspective of the lack of opportunity of upward mobility 'Once born for a ten-cent piece will never make it to be a quarter. It is all set in stone' (tanger73, 02 Dec. 2010, translation ours). 'Moroccan-Dutch' Eoft shared her frustrations with the educational obstacles ethnic minority youth face in the Dutch educational system: 'it might be because we have a different mentality fostered through a different education. I have seen it in my surroundings. I don't know whether it is really representative, but almost every Moroccan has had to stay back a class during secondary school.'

In addition, Wolff, Rezai and Severiens studied enrollment and drop-out numbers of the higher education student population from 1997 until 2005 and found that 'non-western allochthonous students' drop-out from higher education more often than 'autochthonous students' (2007: 119). Categories of differentiation thus impact in various ways. When considering the category of generation scholarship shows that among the 'non-western allochthonous students,' it is especially the group of 'first-generation students' meaning those who have migrated to the Netherlands themselves who show higher drop-out numbers. When considering the category of ethnicity, studies show that young Moroccan-Dutch students withdraw the least. With regards to gender, studies show that women fare better than men, drop-out rates

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among men are higher (ibid.: 119-120). Not only are drop-out figures higher among ethnic minority students, student populations and academic personnel as well as academic course curricula have also repeatedly been found to poorly represent the diverse ethnic composition of the Netherlands (Choeni 1997; Crul et al. 2002; Ingleby and Andriessen 2000; Wekker 2009). The literature indicates that social mobility of ethnic minorities is hindered and it can be expected that the increasing academic fees also do not make higher education more accessible to ethnic minorities and migrant background students.

Thus, ethnicized and minoritized students encounter a myriad of obstacles in their journey towards higher education. Following Nirmal Puwar, the question arises 'what happens when women and radicalized minorities take up "privileged" positions which have not been "reserved" for them, for which they are not, in short, the somatic norm. What are the terms of coexistence? This is an encounter that causes disruption, necessitates negotiation and invites complicity' (2004: 1). In analyzing the experiences the interviewees shared with us we aim to remain aware of how multiple axes of difference such as ethnicity, gender, class and religiosity intersect in the imagined, representational and material construction and perception of social space.

The Utrecht University case study

In the introduction, a statement from the conversation with G.B. was included to illustrate the intersecting power relations that Surinamese students experienced as space invaders in the homogeneously white institutional space of the university. Junny, a male Film and Gender studies alumnus who self identifies as 'a child of an empire,' adding 'others see me as an Antillean,' shared he 'was really shocked when I learned that the UU, as one of the major sponsors of the Utrecht Marathon, did not speak out when the Utrecht Marathon organizers decided they would pay less prize money when the winner would be African instead of Dutch.' Junny refers to the 2011 Utrecht Marathon, where organizers chose to set up a 'Dutch Battle,' a Dutch winner would win 10.000 euro, and a non-Dutch winner a disproportionate 100 euro. With this nationalistic strategy, the organizers wanted to discourage African runners to compete, in their aim of stimulating competition among Dutch runners. The organization was later condemned by the Dutch Equal Treatment Commission (CGB) for making an 'unlawful discrimination on the grounds of race and nationality' (CGB, 2011: 1). This way, even though its press office emphasized having no influence over the organization of the event, Utrecht University sponsored a sport event that discriminated on the basis of race and nationality.

In its *Strategic Plan* 2009-2013, the university however aims to position itself as 'A World Class University,' and its most prominent aim is to 'strengthen our presence and reputation as a top university, both nationally and internationally,' both in 'research,' 'education' and by taking a prominent position in 'the public debate' (Utrecht University 2009). Junny, continued in our interview by arguing that the Utrecht Marathon is seen as a 'prestigious' event, therefore the university connects its name with it. He felt hurt when the university did not take its responsibility to change

Table 1. Ethnic composition percentages of population across three scales: inhabitants Netherlands, personnel Utrecht University, students Utrecht University

People	Inhabitants Netherlands (2011)	Inhabitants Netherlands Percentages (2011)	Utrecht University Personnel (2011)[4]	Utrecht University Personnel Percentages (2011)	Utrecht University Students (2010-2011)	Utrecht University Students Percentages (2010-2011)
Former Dutch Antilles and Aruba	141345	0,85 %	0	0 %	339	1,12 %
Moroccan	355883	2,14 %	4	0,07 %	213	0,7 %
Suriname	344734	2,1 %	2	0,03 %	360	1,17 %
Turkey	388967	2,34 %	17	0,29 %	271	0,89 %
'Western allochthonous'	2196090	13,19 %	792	13,57 %	5153	16,98 %
'Autochthonous'	13228780	79,42 %	5021	86,03 %	24008	79,1 %
Total	16655799	100 %	5836	100 %	30344	100 %

the organization's marathon setup: 'when you want to become an international player, it means you have to act this way and accept that everyone is universally equal.' As an introduction to this case study on the experience of difference in the institutional space of Utrecht University, table 1 provides an overview of the ethnic composition of the general Dutch population, the Utrecht University personnel and the Utrecht University student body in the academic year 2010-2011.

First we discuss the personnel figures. The university already in 2003 promised to diversify its employees by stating: 'Utrecht University will seriously strive towards increasing the number of allochthonous employees' (UBlad online 2003). However, the figures demonstrate that generally speaking Utrecht University does not mirror the diverse ethnic composition of the Netherlands at large. Although Antillean- and Aruban-Dutch constitute 1 per cent and Moroccan-, Surinamese- and Turkish-Dutch inhabitants each constitute over 2 per cent of the Dutch general population, these ethnic backgrounds are underrepresented among Utrecht University personnel. There are zero Antillean- or Aruban-Dutch personnel members, and among Moroccan-, Surinamese- and Turkish-Dutch background personnel, those of Turkish-Dutch background are most visible, but their presence only amounts to 0.29 per cent of the personnel.

Second we discuss the student body. In 2008, when the university organized information meetings for Moroccan- and Turkish-Dutch parents in Arabic, Tamazight, Turkish and Dutch it sought to demonstrate it engages in an 'active diversity policy, to attract more non-western allochthonous students, to ensure

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that the student population mirrors the society' (Utrecht University 2008). When considering the major ethnic groups in the Netherlands, table 1 illustrates that the Utrecht University student population does however not mirror the ethnic composition of Dutch society: while those of Antillean or Aruban descent are slightly overrepresented, students of Moroccan-, Surinamese-, and Turkish-Dutch decent are underrepresented. The number of students problematically labelled by the University as 'non-western allochthonous' students (in Dutch: *niet-westers allochtoon*) has actually doubled from 1119 in 1996 to 2422 in 2010, while the number of 'autochthonous' (in Dutch: *autochtoon*) has decreased in percentage from 19,189 in 1996 (84 per cent of the total student population) to 24,008 in 2010 (79 per cent of the total student population). The increase of 'non-western allochthonous' students meant their presence in the student population increased from 5 per cent in 1996 to 7.9 per cent in 2010. With an enrollment of 7.9 per cent, the percentage of ethnicized students at Utrecht University ranks lowest among the 5 universities in the urban western part of the country, University of Amsterdam, VU University Amsterdam, Rotterdam University and Leiden University (De Hoog 2009). The employee and student figures also do not mirror the composition of the city of Utrecht. The city houses 311.405 inhabitants, that includes 9 per cent Moroccan-, 4 per cent Turkish and 3 per cent Surinamese-Dutch people (Gemeente Utrecht 2011).

The feelings Laura, a 'White, Dutch' Gender Studies alumnus, expressed can be taken to sum up a feeling of discrepancy 'a large gap between the university and the society, following the divide between autochthonous and allochthonous people. Something will go wrong when there is not a balanced representation, at the management levels, and among teaching personnel.' Considering the ways in which bodies – as material, imagined and represented entities – construct social space and in particular power relations such as normative ways of being in space, in the following three empirical subsections, we subsequently address experiences of the composition of the personnel and the student population before presenting addressing the experience of diversity in the curriculum.

University personnel

In an explorative study by Choenni in 1997, it was noted that 'three quarters of allochthonous students found it important to see more teachers with an allochthonous background, for inspirational and identification purposes' (1997: 104). Five years later, scholars noted that the four largest ethnic minorities groups that receive most attention in minority policies (Surinamese-Dutch, Antilleans-Dutch, Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch) remain barely represented among scholarly personnel of Dutch universities (Crul et al. 2002). When comparing the ethnic composition of Dutch society with the number of ethnic minorities among the personnel evident gaps remain observable (see table 1). Almost 20 percent of the personnel are ethnicized minorities ('allochthonous'), and this figure consists of a disproportional small amount of teachers with a Moroccan-, Surinamese- or Turkish-Dutch background, while there was no member of personnel registered with a former Dutch Antilles or Aruban background. These figures do not mirror Dutch society. Of the 20 per cent, 14 per cent is labeled as 'western-allochthonous' meaning international expat academics.

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The interviewees shared they experienced the discrepancies as follows. Going beyond the figures, interviews with ethnic minority and migrant background students provide insights on the personally felt experiences of diversity in the university. For example Evelien, a 'Dutch white' student observes: 'almost everyone is white, and I don't see any teachers with a so-called "non-western" migrant background, or with a clear non-Christian background' and Lal, a 'Turkish' international exchange student said 'there are few scholars from second-generation migrants.' Laura similarly shared 'I remember very well that when I saw Gloria [A Surinamese-Dutch professor] during a PhD defence I realised she had a different ethnic background from all the professors who where there. And that there are only few women at that level.' During our conversation, Junny to his own surprise came to the shocking conclusion 'that only after a couple of years when I began taking courses in postcolonial studies, only then I saw a differently coloured person teaching the class. It's only now that I realize this, apart from them it was all white Dutch, or some white Germans.' He notes that the selection and hiring procedures have created a dominant norm of white, ethnic majority Dutch teachers, which serves as an exclusionary mechanism, excluding certain bodies, perspectives and voices. Hope, 'born on Aruba from European and Caribbean parents' similarly adds: 'I would like to see more professors with a Caribbean background. I feel that the European ethnic background is well represented, but the Caribbean territory, which is also a part of Dutchness, is few and far between.' The social space of the university, as enacted through the dominant bodily configuration of the white professor, establishes and hierarchically perpetuates whiteness as the norm. As such there remains crucial work to be done to confront the colour-blindness and in particular the blinding whiteness of academics (Verboom 2000: 25).

In addition, several informants emphasized they noticed a hierarchy among the personnel. Whereas the cleaning, service and administrative personnel they encountered included ethnicized and minoritized subjects, higher up in the rankings of the staff, among researchers, lecturers and professors, the diversity decreased. The higher positions are mainly filled with predominantly white, male ethnic majority Dutch and international staff members, mostly from elsewhere in European or North America. Aydah, a 'Moroccan-Dutch' Law alumna notes, 'I do not feel that the UU academic personnel mirrors Dutch society. In terms of personnel working at the counter in the university library: it is there that I sometimes see someone that makes me think 'hey, that is not a [typically] Dutch person.' But that's not the case for academic personnel such as lecturers and professors.' Lia, a 'Taiwanese' Gender studies PhD student notes that 'In the institute, when it came to research, going higher up [...] I didn't see people from other ethnic backgrounds, they were pretty much all white.' Speaking about the diversity of university personnel, Alexandra – a 'Romanian' media studies alumnus – notes a 'bit of a hierarchy,' adding 'it matters what sort of position they have,' a few of the teachers she had were international, but she shared her observation that 'at the secretariat especially you'd have people of other ethnic backgrounds, [and] people doing the cleaning jobs, or working in the canteen, they were people of different backgrounds.'

The lack of diversity spatially enacted through white

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staff members has serious downsides. In general interviewees expressed they greatly valued interaction with teachers of different backgrounds. The often 'singular mono-ethnic' composition of university staff steers the kind of questions asked and knowledge produced (Wekker 1999). Not only does a diverse teacher population enable the students to get in touch with various situated knowledges and partial perspectives, students note that when the teachers reflect heterogeneity they feel more welcome and better understood. In addition, ethnicized and minoritized students may find role models in teachers who are of non-ethnic majority Dutch descent. Maria, a 'white' Brazilian international exchange student emphasizes that diverse backgrounds of teachers may promote 'how to learn in a different way,' adding that when there is little difference among the teachers the university 'cannot tend more to the specificities of each student.' Junny gives an example, as a teaching-assistant for a course in the Media and Culture department, he felt that by considering his ethnicized and minoritized background in teaching new media, he felt 'students could learn to think differently about different media cultures.'

A more diverse teacher population may establish a more inclusive and welcoming space, as feelings of belonging among minoritized students may be sustained. For example Ronaldo, a 'Chinese' Chemistry PhD student shared feeling 'lucky to have a supervisor whose wife is Chinese. That means he understands some of Chinese culture, he knows what I think, and what I need.' Gender studies alumna Hope argued 'it makes you feel better when you see there are students and teachers of different ethnic backgrounds walking around.' Barnita Bagchi, a Utrecht University assistant professor in comparative literature from India summed up in our interview that acknowledging and incorporating diversity is a key step for universities to take in the current era of globalization. Diverse backgrounds, of students and lecturers, not only promote a 'shared sense of belongings' she notes it also 'promotes the challenging of our own assumption and European assumptions to knowledge production' and provide the necessary role models.

'Moroccan-Dutch' Aydah feels that the lack of diversity among the personnel does not set a good example: 'that is a pity,' she says, if there would be ethnic minorities among members of the staff, 'allochthonous students would perhaps also begin to consider a job in the university.' Although 'Dutch, from the south of the Netherlands' Elizabeth rightly nuances that an exact mirror of society is difficult to obtain, she feels that a more just distribution is increasingly 'important to overcome this gap between university and society,' as people of different background 'would recognize themselves in a teacher or in a professor or university people that speak in media. To recognize them more as a role model.' Nuance, a 'Dutch' male informant, notes that the composition of teachers 'can be steered, for example by means of positive discrimination. The question needs to be asked while that is desirable. Myself, I find it important that you have a good range of diversity, but I do not know whether people of different descent are available on the job market.' Barnita Bagchi also recognizes there is a danger in recognizing ethnicized and minoritized lecturers solely on the basis of 'difference.' These staff members find themselves in a 'double-bind,' she notes between opposite poles of wanting to 'shake off their

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identity' as part of the global academic community on the one side while on the other side being positioned to 'take up an identity.' However, when being seen as token of diversity and being 'taken solely for a native informant,' the risk arises that ethnicized lecturers are being 'essentialized' and 'ghettoized' as an outsider to the institutional mainstream white social space of knowledge production and dissemination. Furthermore, policies aimed at diversifying staff – and by doing so potentially pluralizing the embodied and imagined social space of the institution – are not necessarily purely the result of an egalitarian desire. In the World University Rankings the 'ratio of international to domestic staff' for example amounts to a measurement factor of 2.5 per cent (out of 100) (WUR 2013b), so hiring international expat candidates increases the university profile in the global university marketplace. In the next subsection, we scrutinize how the student body constructs certain spatial norms.

Student body

The majority of interviewees shared that in their view the university did not mirror Dutch society in terms of its gender distribution, religious diversity and ethnic composition. In this subsection we uncover the default mark-up, reserved positions and natural occupants of the Utrecht University student body. In terms of ethnic composition, Nuance, a 'Dutch' sociology student feels that there are 'more autochthonous than allochthonous students, especially students from above average social background and only few Muslims'; the law alumnus Mounia, a 'Moroccan-Dutch woman' shared 'I didn't feel it mirrored society, as I was the only one of autochthonous background, the rest was mainly Dutch' and

Augustino, an 'Southern-Italian' international exchange student noted 'the average student population is Dutch, white Dutch, middle-class.' Chris, a 'Dutch, white' woman notes: 'most people were atheistic or with some kind of Christian background.'

The default configurations of the student population get articulated in various ways. Figures show that in the year 2010-2011 59 per cent of the students in Utrecht are women, versus 41 per cent men. Gender distributions, however differ widely across the disciplines, as respectively 62 per cent and 64 per cent of the students are men in the Faculty of Beta sciences and the Faculty of Geosciences, while women are over-represented in the Faculty of Social Sciences (80 per cent) and the Faculty of Veterinary Sciences (72 per cent). 'Native Dutch' alumnus Martijn notes that during his science and innovation management studies, 'gender was biased towards males (65 per cent versus 35 per cent), due to the technical nature.' Marcus, 'Dutch, family of my father has Italian and family of my mother has Norwegian blood' is a male law student. He notes that 'the large number of women in comparison with men is in my opinion the only disproportional category in my studies.' Rose, 'fully Dutch, but I do like the idea of having some distant bonds with Asia' is a medicine student. She notes that she enjoys the presence of women in her study environment: 'if I judge only the medical faculty I'd say females are over-represented, which to me is not necessarily a negative thing.' Isabella, a 'white, Dutch' Gender Studies student similarly shared that she enjoys the university because of the number of female students 'I think there are more women than man studying at UU because there are relatively a lot of 'women studies.' I don't see this as a

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problem. I kind of like it this way, because there are already plenty of universities in the Netherlands where there are mainly men studying.'

Besides bodies as material and imagined markers of difference, material elements and their representational connotations were often foregrounded as producing spatial power relations. For example, clothing standards were mentioned to operate in the university. Although the university has not set formal clothing requirements, informants underline that certain attire has become the norm. Laura describes that based on observations in the university library, 'the average girl has half long blonde hair and she wears a jogging pants tucked in her Uggs,' while the average boy 'wears a shirt, and has untidy hair,' adding that 'when a girl with a headscarf walks around in the library, you'll see people looking at her.' But clothing as a marker of spatial belonging and dismissal does not only refer to markers of religiosity. For example Bob, a 21-year-old Chemistry student who wears baggy jeans and sees himself as Dutch with 'foreign blood' which he considers 'irrelevant,' shared: 'I heard from my study advisor that he never expected me to succeed, but that probably has to do with my way of doing things, my appearance and clothing style.' In their enactment of institutional spatial relations, disciplinary norms are established through clothing choices and preferences, and garments deviating from the norms become signs of difference and signify alterity: the headscarf for example makes women Muslim bodies hypervisible (Duits and Van Zoonen 2006).

Food and drink are also mentioned as space-specific markers of inclusion and exclusion. Several informants noted that food can be a nexus of intercultural encounter. For example Laura, a 'Dutch, white' gender studies alumna noted: 'food is where one finds one another, with different ingredients, food can offer a common ground, similar to the university.' This is also fostered through the university, as Alexandra argues, as the university funds extra curricular activities: the 'international Neighborhood group, with dinners of cuisines of specific countries, dedicating events to different cultures, countries. Via these kind of programs I had more contact with people of different backgrounds than through the curriculum.' However, besides a location for convivial encounter, food and drinks are also an area of contestation. Eoft, a 'Moroccan-Dutch' student, shared she preferred to study at the VU University in Amsterdam where she could go to 'the canteen and order a Halal sandwich without any problem' instead of Utrecht University where she feels she would stand a greater chance of having a frat-boy 'offering you beers that you do not want to or are not allowed to drink.' 'Moroccan-Dutch' informant Mounia explains that her religious background caused her to feel excluded 'for example during Ramadan. All the Dutch students would be having lunch, while you are sitting there with them. You just feel you are a bit different. You are the only one who is not having food at the moment.' Food and fasting become a source of social exclusion, reminding the Moroccan-Dutch informants of their status as space invaders.

Similarly, several Muslim students shared that they felt the built characteristics of the spatial environment of Utrecht University did not accommodate their preferences, because they missed a prayer room. Eoft reports 'I just don't like it there,' adding that elsewhere they have 'facilities like a prayer hall and halal food,

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which make it more attractive for students with an Islamic background.' 'Moroccan-Dutch' Fatima, who followed a course in Utrecht sees herself as a Modern Muslim. She adds that a prayer hall is important for her, and she frequents one at the Radboud University Nijmegen where she also studies: 'they have a student church, where different groups of different religions come together, Jewish, Christian, Islamic, I feel that there, everyone can find what they are looking for.' She adds that the room was setup partly because of the Muslim student union that has been active for years. Other informants have argued that the development of facilities is not only the top-down task of the university itself, but also something the students should make an effort for themselves. Quincy, raised Catholic, who was active in various student unions, feels students also hold a responsibility: 'it is also a matter of setting up a student-union, with financial support of the university, and you can do what you like, such as setting up such a room.'

Both international exchange students and ethnic minority students shared they were ethnicized and minoritized, as they were made to feel to stand out from the crowd. Lia, a 'Taiwanese' gender studies student reflects 'I noticed I was the only Asian student in the whole cohort crowd' while 'half Surinamese, half Dutch' student of science and innovation management James shared 'as one of the few persons of color, you quickly get the idea that you do not fully belong.' 'Romanian' Alexandra shared 'I felt very different when I first came.' Such dynamics strongly complicate ethnic minority and international exchange students' identification with and belonging to the university. Similar to how Laura reminds us in the beginning of this section

that Muslim girls who wear a headscarf draw the attention of fellow students, Sara 'white Italian born from Italian parents' gender studies alumnus reflects that: 'during the time I was studying, there was a girl with a Muslim background, and she was wearing a veil, being very visible, she was the only one.'

Ethnicized and minoritized students report the offensiveness of having to occupy minoritarian positions in the social space of the university. Following Louis Althusser, 'hailing' or 'interpellation' is a calling to participate in a particular form of ideology (1971: 163). Frantz Fanon expands on Althusser and describes the disciplinary power of interpellation to subjugate the non-white body through a racialized naming such as 'nigger.' In Fanon's classic example of racial hailing, the shout 'Look a Negro!' interpellates the addressed person as other, robs his/her individuality and fixes his/her inferiority (2008: 93). Muslim students noted to have frequently experienced this dynamic first-hand. 'Dutch, but of Moroccan decent' Chumicha stated 'I am a Muslim, and I wear a headscarf, so yes I am unmistakably recognizable,' while Eoft shared her frustration with constantly being hailed as other: 'you get sick and tired of constantly being reminded you are different. You do not want to be the only one wearing a headscarf, one of the few people of color. Constantly having to account for yourself, blegh!' When continuously feeling slotted as different and being considered as somehow other than the norm, their feelings of belongingness in the so-called 'egalitarian' space of the university are problematized. Invading the educational space, religious and ethnic-minority students feel their presence is made highly visible as their bodies 'disturb the normal institutional landscape' (Puwar 2004: 48).

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Mounia, also experienced exclusion but notes that in the field of Law she did notice some changes over time: 'I have to say that near the end of my study, I saw some students who where obviously allochthonous, girls with headscarves, you really did not see that in the beginning.' Ethnicized and minoritized students feel the majoritarian student body seeks to position them into already existing, fixed boxes; they are known and hailed in a limited range of positions: 'they are thus highly visible bodies that by their mere presence invite suspicion and surveillance' (Puwar 2004: 11). Hope similarly experienced a change for the better. She shared she migrated to the Netherlands from Curacao, to study at the university level. 'That was in the eighties, back then the differences between cultures were enormous.' Recently she has participated in a graduate student summer school, and she reflects: 'I felt more at home than in the eighties. Back then I felt like a fish out of water. I could not identify.'

However, the increased presence of ethnic minority students is also seen as a danger to the image of an institution. For example, together with Erasmus University Rotterdam, the student population of the vu University Amsterdam includes around 20 per cent ethnic minority students, next to 10 per cent international exchange students. The vu University head René Smit warned in 2009 that he feared that his university would become known as a 'black university,' fearing that the term 'fosters many negative associations, such as bad results' (de Hoog 2009). Similarly, among 'white' Dutch informants, diversity was valued but often their statements revealed that diversity could also imply a threat to the quality of education. Marcus asserted diversity should not be a selection criterion of the university to accept students, 'students in my view should only be judged on the basis of their qualities and knowledges,' while Martijn described that 'different backgrounds can lead to interesting discussions. However, this should not come at the expense of the average level of intellect at the university.' Bob attests that 'the university is simply not meant for all population groups.' These opinions may be taken to reflect feelings of threat connected to space invading dissonant bodies, which can be explained by the idea of spatial hierarchies developed by Puwar. She notes dissonant bodies may be seen to 'disturb the normal institutional landscape' and question authority as they are known to belong 'outside civil places' (2004: 48, 50). Furthermore, the lack of ethnic minority and migrant students is not seen as a problem of the university, but is seen to lay in the incapacity of specific groups. Placed in a 'deficit model' (Giroux, cited in Wekker 2009: 160) minoritized students and lecturers are expected 'to make up for their arrears': 'if black, migrant and refugee students do not enter the university in any great numbers, then that is to be understood by their own lack' of motivation, intellectual and language skills, family support and financial situation (Wekker 2009: 160).

Eoft and Chumicha shared experiences of being positioned in the deficit model and made hyper visible. Eoft shared: 'we are disadvantaged, even though we are at the same level as an autochthonous person' and Chumicha explains: 'you know, when I make a mistake, in a saying or proverb, it's immediately like "oh you have a language deficit". When I make a mistake, I become an allochthonous person who cannot write Dutch.' They feel that within the space of the univer-

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sity, they are positioned into already existing, fixed boxes, they are known and hailed in a limited range of positions. Those who fall outside of the dominant normative embodied knowledge paradigm are dismissed. As Artwell Cain found, in the Netherlands, ethnic minorities often are reluctant to assert difference and situate themselves in diversity policies, being 'worried that their native Dutch colleagues would assume that they were unqualified for their position' (2007: 185).

In contrast with the dismissive reflexes that seem to occur in the institution upon the entrance of dissonant bodies, in university policy documents, the university board repeatedly sets out it seeks to promote its position in global university rankings by attracting international exchange students (Utrecht University 2009: 11). During our conversation, 'white and Dutch' alumnus Isabella analyzed the presence of international exchange students at Utrecht University. She shared that: 'I feel that the norms of the university are predominantly white, with a little touch of token international students. Foreign students are the prestigious showpieces of the university to demonstrate its diversity, and to earn money. Which is ridiculous, they do not provide the diversity that I would like to see.''Taiwanese' Kiki similarly feels that the unequal participation of ethnic minority and migrant students and teachers partly stems from economic processes: 'the ranking system and market logic operate among higher education resulted in university only open the door for middle and upper class oriented population' of either Dutch or international professors and students. The market logic results in bizarre constellations, Lal, a 'Turkish' international student for instance reflected upon the composi-

tion of the student population by comparing the international students with ethnicized and minoritized students: 'I can say that the disadvantaged position of some of the non-Western migrant groups in the Netherlands show also at the University. To be honest, I have met more Turkish students who come from Turkey to study at UU, more than second generation Turkish students,' those born in the Netherlands. Indeed, international exchange students have become highly valued in global university ranking mechanisms. The 'ratio of international to domestic students' for example amounts to a factor of 2.5 per cent (out of 100) in the World University Rankings (WUR 2013b). As such the aim for a pluralized space embodied by a specific configuration of ethnicized groups of students is not motivated by egalitarianism. It may be argued that international exchange students have become mere tokenized showpieces of diversity that are valued over Dutch-born ethnic minority students.

The curriculum

In this final empirical section, informants' experiences of diversity in the curriculum are unraveled. Several issues surfaced when analyzing the interview transcripts on the role of the university in teaching diversity across its curriculum. No consensus exists about whether the incorporation of ideological pluralism and attention for diversity in the social space of the university would benefit all disciplines and faculties, or whether it would mostly only make sense for certain fields. 'White, Dutch' student Laura points out the two sides in the debate: 'that is a difficult point, autonomy and the liberal mind-set becomes at stake, should the universities bring up or educate?'

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First, there are informants such as Hope who feel the university should educate students to become 'global human beings,' Surinamese-Dutch alumnus 'Elizabeth D.' similarly sees 'the role of university as "bildung". This does not only concern discipline-specific knowledge, but also broader developments that broaden your insights about the society.' 'Bildung' refers to Hegelian and Humboltian traditions of self-cultivation where maturation includes harmonization and unification of individuals with broader society (Biesta and Egéa-Kuehne 2001: 159). Laura, a 'white, Dutch' student of medicine, feels that the role of the university to teach diversity is not confined to the social sciences or humanities. It is also of importance in medicine: 'there is room for improvement to gain a better consciousness of the cultural backgrounds of patients and how it may impact upon feelings and treatments.' Aydah, a 'Moroccan-Dutch' law alumnus shared her frustration with western centeredness and stereotypes in education: universities should 'not just provide one perspective. An example I have encountered during my studies is the meaning and wrong association (in the context of current events) of the Islamic word "jihad". In several lectures, this word was wrongly interpreted as "holy war", a definition that is now sadly anchored, but it is a wrong one.' Laura and Aydah subscribe to the idea of how educators should 'move from classroom technician to active political agent, as he or she views education as a vehicle to build an egalitarian community' (Kincheloe 2003: 43).

Secondly, there are informants who feel the university plays a different role in society. Marcus, a law student, for example shares: 'I don't consider it the task of the university to teach every student about how society works. This happens in secondary school and in society itself. For sociological or anthropological studies, it's different; the topics are an important part of their focus.' Neel, an 'Indian' alumnus in Hydrology, does not feel it is the task of the university either: 'this should be the responsibility of parents, society and early childhood education. It certainly doesn't hurt to have these notions of respect, tolerance etc. really openly discussed throughout one's adult life, but I wouldn't expect a course in it at university level.' In tandem, Lia, a 'Taiwanese' student in gender studies, feels the topic of diversity is restricted to certain fields 'in terms of content it's perhaps less important for people doing engineering for example.' Interviewees also did not agree on how students should be taught about issues of diversity, migration and multiculturalism: 'Dutch, white' gender studies student Chris for example said the 'question is whether it can be included in a way that it does not become an obligatory boring thing, it has to be attractive, that is a problem.'

Unraveling the tension between these two commonly held divergent views, Jean Ferguson Carr has argued that attention for diversity has mostly been advocated and adopted by the humanities and social sciences, especially within feminist and women's studies, black and ethnic studies, sociology of education, and psychology. She argues that disciplines such as the physical sciences have been more resistant to diversity work. 'As a result, students face a gap in the curriculum and a contradiction because diversity issues are seen as crucial in some parts of the curriculum but not in others. Thus, students may not get an infusion of diversity and equity across the curriculum' (2007: 31).

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Conclusions

Educational institutions reflect and reproduce wider social patterns of power and sometimes become sites of resistance, policing and regulation of wider social meanings (Sanjakdar 2011: 103).

Almost four decades ago, G.B. a student from Suriname experienced he was seen as an invader to the normative educational space of the university. He was warned that an expected Caribbean '*mañana* mentality' would not meet the demands of Utrecht University (UU). According to postcolonial sociologist Nirmal Puwar 'space invaders' are considered to be bodies out of place that trespass institutional settings where the norm is to be populated by mainstream, white, male, élite bodies. Top-down and bottom-up initiatives have resulted in an increase of minoritarian subjects in institutional spaces including the university. Following Puwar, the question arises what happens when ethnicized and minoritized students take up "privileged positions" which have not been "reserved" for them' (2004: 144) in the social space of the university?

In this article, the notion of space invaders was developed as a tool to empirically analyze the social space of the university by exploring instances of the material, embodied and imagined construction of spatial power relations. More specifically, on a case-study basis the spatial construction of exclusionary normative ways of being was explored by considering ethnicized and minoritized students' perceptions of the Utrecht University staff, student body and curriculum.

Although the university promised diversification in its policy documents, Dutch-born ethnic minority members of personnel are underrepresented. Those of non-Dutch background are mostly international expat academics from Europe and other parts of the Western world. In the experiences of our informants non-Christian background teachers are also relatively invisible. Furthermore, a hierarchy is observed, among lower-ranked teachers and service personnel, diverse backgrounds were observed, but higher up the rankings, staff was noticed as increasingly white and overrepresented by males. The default configuration of the student population is also white, middle/upper-class Christian/secular Dutch. The mainstream social space was experienced to be constructed for example by the dominant imagination of the headscarf as a contested signifier of alterity. Muslim bodies, but also students wearing baggy garments, were othered and made hypervisible, as these clothes were highlighted as signs of unbelonging. Many interviewees however valued the presence of students of different backgrounds to offer additional situated perspectives.

Indeed, acute to understand the complexities in the Netherlands Now, the diversity policies of the university seem to be more motivated by a neoliberal drive for international competition rather than the egalitarianism Dutch higher education was noted for (Torenbeek and Veldhuis 2008; Reumer and Van der Wende, 2010). The increased presence of international expat academics and international exchange students – important measurement factors in university ranking mechanisms – stands in stark contrast with the lingering under-representation of Dutch-born ethnic minorities among students and staff members. To end on a positive note, we have located a desire among students to be provided with educational tools to become – borrowing

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the words of interviewees Junny and Hope – 'global human beings' and a more diverse constitution of academic personnel, student body and curricula can promote a more inclusive and pluralized interpretation of 'universal knowledge.'

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Notes

1 Interestingly, recently a weblog named 'Space-Invaders.eu' was setup in the Netherlands to document the politics of identity focusing on the intersections of race, class, gender, ability and sexuality.

2 The empirical data for this analysis was collected in the context of the *Mig@Net, Transnational digital networks, migration and gender* research project. In this project, we conducted a thematic study of education and knowledge in collaboration with researchers at the University of Bologna in Italy who focused on the context of secondary education and scholars at the Panteion University in Greece who examined the primary school context (for more information, see Roggero and Grappi 2012).

3 According to Dutch government definitions, the term '*allochto-nen*' ('allochthonous' in English) concerns inhabitants of the Netherlands who were born in a 'non-western country' (they are labeled as the 'first generation') or people from which at least one of the parents was born in a 'non-western' country (the 'second generation'). Defined against allochthonous people, autochthonous are those of Western descent. The constructed binary opposition between autochthonous and allochthonous western and non-western groups is problematic. In every dichotomy one side is favored over the other, resulting from the presentation of particular kinds of information in particular kinds of ways. The non-favored side is othered. As such the standard and the norm is seen as being more advanced and sophisticated while people in the autochthonous category are seen as backward, exotic, primitive, uncivilized others. The label allochthonous is now increasingly also a substitute for speaking about Muslims.

4 These figures, accurate as of 01-11-2011, are based on calculations on the registration of nationality of university personnel in the faculty of Beta sciences; Veterinary sciences; Humanities, Geosciences; Law, Economics and Governance; and Social sciences as well as University College. There were no figures available for the faculty of Medicine (https://facts.uu.nl/).

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Appendix: overview of interviewees

Pseudonym	Course	Age	Gender	Ethnic self-description	Class	Religion
Axel	New media, digital culture (Ma)	27	Male	Israeli, born in the ex-USSR and immigrated out at young age	-	-
Alexandra	University college (Ba) Media studies (Ma, PhD)	32	Woman	Romanian, white		
Augustino	Gender studies (Ma)	28	Male	Southern-Italian, which makes it different from Italian. I'm from an island.	Upper middle class	Raised Roman-Catholic
Aydah	Law (LLM)	-	Female	Moroccan-Dutch	-	I'm Muslim
Bianca	Gender and ethnicity (rMa, PhD)	29	Female	Born in Italy	Lower middle class	-
Bob	Physics (Ba)	21	Male	Dutch, I have foreign blood but this is 1/16th and 1/32 and I consider it irrelevant.	Well off	None
Chris	University college (Ba) Philosophy (Ma) Gender and ethnicity (rMa)	24	Woman	Dutch, white	Upper class	-
Chumicha	Law (Ba) Criminology (Ma)	-	Woman	Dutch, but of Moroccan descent, born in the Netherlands	Working class	I'm Muslim
Elizabeth	Gender and ethnicity (rMa)	24	Woman	I'm Dutch from the south of the Netherlands	-	Raised Protestant
Elizabeth D.	English, American Studies (Ma)	43	F	Surinamese-Dutch	Middle class	None
Eoft	Went to Free University, Amsterdam	-	Woman	Moroccan-Dutch	-	Islamic
Evelien	Cultural anthropology (Ba) Gender studies (Ma)	27	Woman	Dutch ('white,' autochthonous)	Middle class	Interested in religion and spirituality
Fatima	Middle-Eastern Studies	27	Woman	I am Moroccan-Dutch	-	I'm a modern Muslim

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Pseudonym	Course	Age	Gender	Ethnic self-description	Class	Religion
G.B.	Social-Geography (Ba)	Retired	Male	Surinamese	-	-
Hope	Pedagogical sciences, Gender Studies summer school	52	Female	Born on Aruba from European and Caribbean parents	Working class	Catholic
Ilsa	Developmental psychology (rMsc)	1980	Woman	I was born and raised in Turkey	Upper middle class	I'm not religious
Isabella	Arts and culture, gender studies (Ma)	22	Mainly female	I am white, Dutch	-	-
James	Science and innovation management (Msc)	28	Male	I am half Surinamese-half Dutch	Middle class	Without religion
Julie	Gender and ethnicity (rMa)	25	Female	I would say Flemish, and we have a Jewish background in our family	-	Raised catholic, now atheist
Junny	Theatre, film TV (Ba) Gender studies (Ma)	-	Male	Others see me as an Antillean. I see myself as a child of an empire	Middle class	Raised catholic
Katherine Choi	International Business, Global citizenship summer school	24	Female	Canadian-born Korean	Middle class	Non-practicing Christian
Kiki	Gender Studies (PhD)	30	Woman	Taiwanese	-	Taoism
Ladybird	New media, digital culture (Ma)	24	Girl	I do not belong to an official ethnic group. I'm coming from Bulgaria.	Middle class	Eastern Orthodox (Christian)
Laura	Language and culture (Ba) Governance (Ba) Gender studies (Ma)	26	Woman	Dutch, white	Upper class	Liberal Roman-Catholic
Lal	Migration, ethnic relation and multiculturalism (rMa)	28	Female	Turkish	-	-
Lia	Gender and ethnicity (PhD)	26	Female	Taiwanese	Middle middle class	Taoist Buddhist background
Marcus	Law (LLM)	23	Male	Dutch, family of my father has Italian and family of my mother has Norwegian blood	-	-

Pseudonym	Course	Age	Gender	Ethnic self-description	Class	Religion
Maria	Gender studies (Ma)	26	Women	Here I can be considered Latin but with my peers back in Brazil I consider myself white.	Middle-class	Raised Catholic, but unsure
Martijn	Science and innovation management (Msc)	25	Male	Native Dutch	-	-
Marion	Gender studies (Ma)	-	Female	German, white.	Middle class	Protestant
Mounia	Law (LLM)	30	Female	I am a Moroccan-Dutch woman	-	Islamic background
Natalia	Gender and ethnicity (rMa)	check	Female	I am half Brazilian, half Dutch	Middle class	Not really religious
Neel	Hydrology (Msc)	29	Male	Indian	Fairly well off	Raised Hindu but not so traditional
Nuance	Sociology (Msc)	25	Male	Dutch	Middle class	Atheist
Ronaldo	Geo-sciences (PhD)	27	Male	Chinese	Just under middle class	-
Rose	Medicine (Ba)	19	Girl	My father's parents are from Indonesia, but he was born in the Netherlands so I'm fully Dutch. I do like the idea of having some distant bonds with Asia.	Middle class	I don't follow one
Sara	Gender and ethnicity (rMa) Gender studies (PhD)	35	Woman	I'm white, Italian born from Italian parents	Middle class	Not catholic myself
Patti	Gender studies (Ma)	30	Queer	I'm from the Philippines	Middle middle class	I have become agnostic
Vera	Arts and culture, history (Ba)	25	Woman	Dutch	-	Not associated with a religion
Yassira	Pedagogical sciences (Ba, Msc)	22	Woman	I was born and raised in the Netherlands. But I am of Moroccan descent.	-	Islam is my religion.

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