

# Transnational digital networks, migration and gender

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## Thematic Report ‘Education and Knowledge’

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## 1. Introduction: Topic Area of Research

Within the general Mig@Net project framework, the goal of the research of WP6 is to investigate the relation between migration, gender, knowledge production and transmission, and the construction of alternative networks – digital and non-digital. In other words, according to the common theoretical and conceptual base of the project, we want to go beyond the dialectic between real and virtual networks. Particularly, we have focused on the relation between knowledge and institution. In this sense, the central question is: what happens when previously excluded subjects (migrants, and above all women migrants) enter in an institution that was not projected for them?

In our research and three case studies (Bologna, Athens, Utrecht), we tried to verify Nirmal Puwar’s hypothesis on *space invaders* (2004). Indeed, the postcolonial feminist argues that British institutions such as the parliament, judiciary, civil service and academia are territories that hold historically “reserved” privileged positions (2004, p. 144). In 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” (ibid, p. 141). Following this suggestion, the main hypothesis of the research is that the migrants are *space invaders*, determining challenges and changes in these knowledge and educational institutions.

In particular, we have tried to address the following questions: what happens when new subjectivities (embodying linguistic, ethnic, and cultural diversity) or new digital machines (embodying behaviours that sometimes disturb the existing hierarchisations of the school) operate within established educational institutions in a period of acute economic crisis? Which are the institutional strategies adopted for dealing with these invasions? How are the invaders (migrant students) affected by these strategies and what type of tactics do they pursue in order to contest them? What is the role of digital machines in the production of relations of tension between normalisation and contestation? What are the gender dynamics produced in the context of these tensions?

The common topics to investigate in the three case studies are:

- the upward mobility through education, focusing on the segmentation and hierarchisation through class, gender, ethnic and generational dimensions;
- how the presence of migrants change institutions, and create new ones;
- the digitalisation of education as a field of open contestation among formal and informal institutions and among different subjectivities;

- the construction of alternative networks of knowledge production and circulation;
- the relation and interplay between formal and informal education practices;
- how different processes of education and institutionalisation reproduce gender hierarchies.

The three case studies involved in the WP are Bologna, Athens, and Utrecht. The coordination of our research was not based simply on the comparison of national case studies, but it was immediately done on the transnational level. This is an important methodological aspect that questions the traditional idea of comparison. This does not mean that there are no longer specificities or differences among the various contexts, but that we have to highlight these specificities and differences (as we will see in the next paragraph) in a new common framework that is immediately European and transnational.

In the Bologna case study, the following institutions constituted the fieldwork: junior school, high school, and university. The Bologna team has chosen the specific institutions on the base of their relevance related to the topics of their research, first of all the presence of the so-called “second generations” in the junior and high schools, and the migrants in general at the university. Consequently, it situated the fieldwork at the junior high school “Saffi”, in the working-class and peripheral zone Pilastro; the technical high school “Aldini Valeriani”; and among some university migrant students, some of which are also members of foreigners’ associations.

The Athens case studies took place at the Kerameikos and Vathis primary schools located in central downtown Athens. Both schools have a high number of non-ethnic Greek students enrolled, both in terms of newly arriving transit migrants and also of so-called “second generation” children. Both schools have been experimenting with the use of student laptops (OLPC XO) in educational activities. Both are facing similar effects due to the austerity measures as they are located in downgraded urban areas of the city. The analysis draws from a mix of digital and non-digital artefacts created by ethnically Greek, newly arrived, and so-called “second generation” students inside and outside their classrooms, which we accessed due to the transformation of our role from researchers to temporary teachers in these schools.

In the Utrecht case study, the fieldwork focuses on the university in comparison with digital networks such as online discussion forums and news media such as national newspapers. First of all, the Utrecht team studied the presence of ethnic minorities and migrants at Utrecht University (UU) by looking at the student population and the personnel and, secondly, they mapped the fluctuations in the attention to cultural differences in the UU study curriculum of the last decade. In the comparison of the university with digital networks and news media, the researchers similarly consider the presence of

migrants and considered the intensity of their coverage of issues related to ethnic, religious and gender diversity over the same time period.

## 2. Contexts of the Case Study

The pictures of the presence of the migrants in our three different cities, and their presence in the schools and universities, show analogies and differences. The main common theme in the case studies is the definition of the migrant students (“foreign”, “foreign born”, “second generation”).

In Italy, in the statistical definition of “foreign students” it is important to distinguish between foreign born students, who can be inserted for the first time in the Italian school system depending on their age of arrival in Italy, and the so-called “second generation”, children of migrants living in Italy, often born in Italy and enrolled in the Italian system since the beginning of their school career. This distinction is quite important: if the first category’s problem concerns their inclusion in an alien system, the difference in the language and culture, etc. can be analysed, the second are only bureaucratically foreign students, while they often share the language, the imaginary and the culture of all other students, whether they are Italian citizens or not. The numbers are significant: Italian born foreign students are, nationally, 37% of foreign students: a number that increases enormously in the preschool, 73%, and in the primary school, 45%, and drops to about 7% from Junior high onwards. Significantly lower is the number of children recently migrated in Italy, only 1% of the total of students in Italy, and about 8% among foreign students. Only from the Junior high school onwards this number is slightly higher than the ones of Italian-born foreign students, with a percentage of 8,5%. These statistics indicate beyond any doubt that the presence of so-called foreign students is actually structural, and the definitions of the law are increasingly producing forced distinction among the Italian youth, dividing institutionally Italians and non-Italians, regardless of the common experience shared in the schools.

The last statistical data available on foreign students in the Greek educational system are very outdated, covering the 2006-2007 school year. The task of surveying the student population has not been assumed by any official authority to this point, although there have been efforts by non-state institutions to collect some scattered data (eg. the national teacher’s union). According to data collected from schools units for the 2006-7 academic year by the Center for Educational Research and IPODE, about 10% of students in Nursery Schools, Primary Schools and Gymnasiums are foreign (third country nationals and Greek repatriates). The percentage falls considerably in the Lyceums to 4,6% (KEE data), or 6,8% (IPODE data). The largest migrant group in Greek schools are Albanian nationals (76%), followed by students from the former Soviet Republics (10,5%), from Bulgaria (3,4%), and from Asia (2,2%). The majority of foreign students are located in the Athens metropolitan area (13,6% of total student population, 45% of foreign student population). We need to highlight, here, the absence of official EU statistics on this issue as well as the lack of unified guidelines on quantitative or qualitative methods and results.

Regarding the Utrecht case study, 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, Weko, Channon, Luukkonen & Ober, 2008). “Illustratively, the Dutch Inspectorate of Education has highlighted persistent unequal participation of Dutch ethnic minority students in higher education. Nation-wide, the proportion of minority students in higher education is 13 percent, while their share in the relevant age group of the general population (17 to 25 years) amounts to 16 percent. For the past ten years the gap has hovered around 3 or 4 percent” (Education Inspectorate, 2009, p. 6). In the words of Gloria Wekker: “the Dutch academy can be characterized as colour- and power- evasive” (2009, p. 151). Statistics Netherlands reports that 72% of the students registered at Dutch universities in the academic year 2010-2011 were Dutch, 14% were “Western-allochthonous”, 13% were “non-Western allochthonous” and 2% were of “unknown” ethnic background (CBS, 2011). In addition, the attention to intercultural issues in academic settings is significantly smaller in comparison with colleges and vocational training (Pattynama, 2000, p. 14).

A second main topic is the legal framework and its changes in the impact of the global economic crisis: it is important to consider the relevance of the immigration laws while considering the presence of foreign origin students. In Italy, it is an element that becomes crucial when looking at the last years of the high school and at the university. Indeed, the presence of foreign students is particularly relevant for the primary and secondary schools, while still low for the university. Moreover, among the foreign students there is a large part of Italian born, the so-called “second generations”, while most of the remaining part is, in any case, part of a migrant family. That means all this students have a residence permit related to the permit of their families, which guarantees their regular presence until the age of 18. After this threshold, the Italian law requires the choice between a labour permit and a study permit, and there is no guarantee of obtaining it. For a growing part of Italian students, then, the age of 18 is becoming a defining, and often problematic, moment, where they discover the meaning of being “foreigner” or “migrants”: something very different from the cultural differences, or the language and even the colour of the skin. For them, being a foreigner indeed means being out of place in their own home. This is something that is marked by the law and the bureaucracy that dictates the process to obtain and renew the resident permit. Part of the school drop out of non Italian national students results from the need to find a job before the age of 18, in order to obtain a work permit and thus help the family or maintain themselves. A major problem among foreign students is, in fact, the restrictions that prevent students with a study permit to work and maintain themselves. In order to obtain a study permit, in fact, the student must prove a financial capacity of about 350 euro/month, but he, or she, cannot work beyond 20 hours/week. As a consequence, it is almost impossible for foreign nationals to be a student worker, as many Italian students are, and maintain themselves autonomously, if not by working illegally. Once a student, after a difficult process where he, or she, also passes an obligatory Italian language exam – thus excluding most of

the students coming from working class families or those not living in Italy for many years – to get a study permit, it is nonetheless quite difficult to maintain it, because of the number of requirements, ranging from a minimum number of exams to pass every year, to economic and housing conditions.

In the Dutch case study, upward social mobility through education is shaped by many dimensions. While one’s personal gendered, ethnic and generational habitus is of crucial importance to understand this process; for instance the ethnicisation process also impacts the educational opportunities and obstacles for young people (Cain, 2007). For example, in the Netherlands, 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” IQ-test (Pearson Netherlands, 2010, emphasis ours) has recently been re-assessed and scholars found a “quite severe” bias in the ways for instance “verbal meaning”, “learning names” and “storytelling” is tested, revealing a negative impact of the bias for “non-western allochthonous” people, mostly descendants of labor migrants and children of immigrants from former Dutch Colonies. 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, 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 the 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), 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), 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). Eoft, a Moroccan-Dutch interviewee similarly 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*”.

Not only are drop-out figures higher among ethnic minority students (Wolff et al., 2007), 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; Andriessen & Ingleby, 2002; Wekker, 2004, 2009). The literature indicates that social mobility of ethnic minorities is hindered and the increasing academic fees also do not really help in making higher education more accessible to ethnic minorities and migrant background students. In this report, we assess the current state of experienced processes of power relations and exclusion and inclusion among ethnic minority and international exchange students and we consider bottom-up initiatives across online/offline spaces where alternative knowledge is produced and circulated.

In Italy and Greece the impact of the global economic crisis – for migrants, proletarians, and impoverished middle classes – in the last years was particularly dramatic, and was partially different compared to the Netherlands. In Greece, state initiatives on ‘repatriated and foreign students’ have been lacking in the last couple of years in the midst of the growing economic crisis. The introduction, in the beginning of 2012, of the [Ombudsman for ‘migrants, refugees and Greek expatriates \(ομογενείς\)’](#) (whose mandate covers also foreign students - minor and of age) remains the only institutional effort that can still be found in the crisis, although its actual operation has been minimal so far - characteristically, its website features information, Q&As, practical guides for migrants only in Greek.

This impoverished situation is also highlighted in the latest declarations (11.2011, [www.ypepth.gr](http://www.ypepth.gr)) of the Deputy Minister of Education regarding the main policy guidelines on the integration of foreign students: a) utilizing the “Ulysses” program for teaching Greek as a foreign language, b) organizing the process for certifying the sufficient knowledge of Greek language, history and culture by foreigners, c) supporting voluntary groups that provide services for learning the Greek language through the provision of educational material and access to classrooms) d) building networks of cooperation with local government and migrants organizations, e) introducing a certification process for the introduction of professional intercultural mediators in the educational system.

Greece plunged into economic crisis with the hailed ‘transformation of the lives of migrant students’. This was embodied in the new Citizenship Law (Law 3838/2010) that aims to regulate the naturalization of foreign children born and/or educated in Greece. After fierce political infighting over the adoption of the law by the Greek parliament and its appeal to the Supreme Court which is still pending, the law remains but has been minimally effective. According to data from the Ministry of the Interior, only 2,653 immigrant children have benefited so far from this regularization regime. The ineffective implementation of the law has put into question the initial political declarations claiming that the law would normalize once and for all the status of the migrant population in Greece through the prioritization of the naturalization of second generation migrants, children and young adults, over adult migrants. In fact, we could say that the ineffective implementation of the Citizenship law, combined with the non existing resources for integration policies, have de-

legitimized the Greek educational authorities on proposing and implementing policies targeting migrant students.

The analysis of educational policies for migrant students during the crisis has become thus more akin to a story of disintegration or a cease in operations. One other educational initiative that has been put under pressure during the economic crisis is the “Tutorial Classes program”. Tutorial classes (involving 3 to 8 students) operate in after-school hours as extracurricular activities for students with continuing Greek language problems. Cutting funds for school infrastructures, teaching hours and the lowering of teachers’ salaries has ended in fewer Tutorial Classes. These measures represent the development of the previous, informal, system of instruction that aimed to provide teaching support, mainly, to children of Greek repatriates.

In order to paint a full picture of the impact of crisis on the Greek educational system we, finally, have to mention three major events: a) the heavy reductions of teachers’ wages particularly for newly appointed ones, b) the “school book crisis” of September 2011 and c) the continuously declining living conditions for students. Salary cuts in the educational system were designed as practically horizontal cuts at all levels of the system. They were implemented, however, in a way as to particularly affect newly appointed teachers, by also limiting their future opportunities to climb the educational system hierarchy.

During the fieldwork of the Athens team, the educational system experienced what was called the “school book” crisis. Due to limited and also not timely available funds at the beginning of the 2011 - 2012 school year, there were massive shortages in available textbooks for children, creating an uproar of public discontent for the government and austerity measures in general. One of the main government responses was the effort to digitise the formal educational content through dedicated web portals. This came under an umbrella project called Digital School where the main goal proposed is “knowledge from everywhere” and the result is the digitisation of already existing, hardcopy educational material.

In January 2012, a pilot program for food distribution was announced by the Ministry of Education, offering breakfast snacks to all students, in areas with economic problems, targeting 18 schools in Attica region. It was quickly coined as “soup kitchens at schools” by the press, following similar municipality-led and informal efforts that were taking place all over Greece. Although many of the informal and municipality-led ‘soup kitchens’ were in place until the end of the school year, the Ministry’s program never really operated due to its ‘incomplete design and the unavailable data on the schools who are in need’ according to the minister, or ‘sheer incompetency’ according to its critics.

In Bologna, our research sites were chosen for several reasons: the first is the high presence of migrants in the schools; the second is their location inside the city; the third is related to the specific intercultural experiences developed

in the schools for many years; the fourth is the relatively innovative use of technology and new communication tools thus enhancing the teaching experience and intercultural interactions. Following a survey conducted by the MIUR (Minister of the education, university and research) and published in 2009, data shows an increasing presence of foreign citizens students in Italy, reaching an overall 7% in the year 2008/2009, with a number of more than 629 thousand of the almost nine million students. Looking back over the last ten years, one can see how this number has increased ten times, almost proportionally every year. The distribution throughout different levels of school also depends on the difference in the years of study that are legally compulsory, from the age of 6 to the age of 16; preschool, which is potentially very expensive, and the last years of study after the age of 16 are not compulsory.

Data on the last three years are still not available, but it is reasonable to expect a diminution in this dynamic following the general contraction in migration movements in Italy since the beginning of the economic crisis. One can observe this tendency already in 2007/2008, where the increase in foreign students' presence dropped to 9,6% from the 14,5% of the previous year. Nevertheless, the growth is still high, as it is fostered by many reasons, including the demographic deficit of Italian citizens and the stabilization of older migrants families. The region of Bologna, Emilia Romagna, is the third in Italy with regard to the number of foreign students, following Lombardia (where we find more than 150.000 foreign students) and Veneto (about 77.000), with more than 70.000 foreign students. The figure changes if one consider the incidence of foreign students on the total, where Emilia Romagna is the first region in Italy, with a proportion of 12,7%, followed by Umbria, 12,2% and Lombardia, 11%.

The Province of Bologna is among the first twenty in Italy regarding the number of foreign students, with a percentage of foreign students in the Province of Bologna of 12,4%, and a number of almost 20.000 in 2009, following a survey conducted by the Observatory on Provincial Schooling (Osservatorio sulla scolarità provinciale). The distribution of these students in the different school levels is peculiar in the national picture, since, following a long tradition of immigration and consolidation of migrants presence in the Province, their numbers are higher in secondary school than in primary school in Bologna. As we showed, the citizenship of the migrants is often different from the country of origin that is, for many cases, Italy: in the Province of Bologna, 38% of formally foreign students are indeed born in Italy. The largest number of these students, 31,8%, are African citizens, especially from the Northern countries of the continent, European countries citizens are 22,7%, other EU countries citizens are 16,4% and Latin American citizens are 4,7%. The main nationalities are Morocco, 20,9%, Romania, 12,8% and Albania, 8,3%.

## 1. Research methodology

Our WP was based on the qualitative research and its various tools (interviews with key-informants, in-depth interviews, participant observation, analysis of various kinds of documentation, etc.), as well as some quantitative data. By combining these different tools, we have tried to construct differently situated, but complimentary “partial views” (Haraway, 1991, p. 183).

The first step – between the spring and the fall, 2010 – was to analyse each country’s policy, as well as the existing literature on the topics of our research (the intersection between migration, gender, education and knowledge, and digital networks). In the same period, after the kick-off meeting of the Mig@Net project, we elaborated the interview outline and the research tools, we collected quantitative data and held informal conversations, we established a network of contacts, we individuated sites for fieldwork (that is to say, the schools and institutions) and finally we established the general calendar and schedule for our investigation. The second step was the fieldwork, conducted between fall 2010 and spring 2012. The coordination among the various teams took place in the list created after the kick-off meeting, in videoconferences, and during the meetings of the project.

There is a common framework for the research, and different translations of the three case studies. Particularly, in Bologna two different outlines were prepared for interviews, one for students and one for teachers. The first one was on six parts: I) migratory biography and family background; II) education condition; III) evaluation on the school, education and knowledge transmission, and aspirations; IV) relations with other students and the city; V) participation to association, formal and informal groups, etc.; V) relationship with the digital technologies. The interviews with teachers concentrated on: I) the changes on their role with the presence of migrant students; II) the changes of the institutional programs; III) their evaluations and consideration; IV) their relations with the migrant students.

At the junior high school “Saffi”, the team conducted six interviews with teachers (all women: among them, the school headmaster, the deputy head of the school, and the former principal), eighteen migrant students between eleven and fourteen years (twelve girls and six boys, with parents from Kosovo, Albania, Romania, Tunisia, and Morocco), and three Italian students (all female). At the technical high school “Aldini Valeriani” we had two interviews with teachers (one man, who is responsible for intercultural interactions, and one woman, who is involved in intercultural pedagogy), and fourteen migrant students between fourteen and eighteen years of age (eight male and six female, from Bangladesh, China, Nigeria, Senegal, Romania, Moldova, Ukraine). At the university, we did eleven interviews (seven men and four women, coming from Albania, Macedonia, Russia, Estonia, Cameroun, Iran), including members of associations of foreign students.

Also, it is important to underline that during the trajectory, the Bologna unit grew, because some students took part in the research: the main researchers

are two white men, between 32 and 37 years; the collaborators are four white women, between 23 and 27. The work of the collaborators has been very important, both in the data collection, and in the participation in the fieldwork.

In Athens, after the preparatory work in order to identify the educational institutions where the fieldwork would take place (also drafting differentiated interview outlines for teaching staff, students, parents and establishing networks of contacts with educational institutions and migrant associations involved in informal or semi-formal educational activities), the first obstacle was overcoming the nearly impermeable official barriers for gaining access to Greek primary and secondary schools for research purposes. Access had to be obtained through a formal application to the Pedagogical Institute of the Ministry of Education, a process that is notoriously slow and strict, resulting at best in getting this official permission with a very long delay that may surpass 12 months after the initial application is filed. To counter this problem, the research team decided to circumvent this official process altogether and relied on contacts with teaching staff and educational institutions who participated in the OLPC in Greek schools project.

Although, initially, the intention was to attempt to gain access as observers to school classes and educational institutions, while also having the opportunity to interview members of the school communities, some school directors and teachers that we contacted proposed that we, instead, act as teachers in their schools. Although none of the members of the research team are officially qualified to teach, nor have any experience in teaching at the primary or secondary levels, this was never deemed as a question or a problem for the school authorities. More specifically, the researchers were invited to teach a 2-hour weekly course under the name “flexible zone” in the Greek curriculum. It was suggested that during these hours the researchers could organize and teach a class with the use of the student XO laptops and they received complete freedom in implementing it. This was a proposal based on a sort of exchange of services model: this phenomenon can only be understood in the context of the breakdown of social state institutions that is unfolding in Greece after the outbreak of the financial crisis of 2009 and the development of informal networks and services that account for a rapidly growing share of the total provision of social welfare. The breakdown of educational institutions has become a crucial factor of the analysis for the Athens fieldwork, and it will be discussed in detail in the next section of the report.

Following this proposal, the fieldwork was re-designed. The team decided not to do any interviews, dropped the interview outlines and centred the research, instead, on their teaching experience and interactions with “our students” and the other, official teaching staff of the schools. The research was based on four main tools: a) research diaries documenting in detail events and discussions taking place during class; b) informal discussions with teachers and students beyond class hours; c) participant observation beyond class hours and during some extra-curricula events where we were invited to participate; and d) analysis of journal entries of the student laptops (journal entries record all activities performed in each student laptop).

Overall, the research team visited Kerameikos 21 times and Vathis primary school 15 times. Most of these times, both of the principal researchers were present in class. The principal, official teachers of the class were intermittently also present, but not for the whole duration of the class. All classes lasted for 2 school hours (80 minutes of class plus a 10 minute break).

Both researchers of the Athens’ team have Greek nationality, are male, white and in their late thirties. Their role as teachers was discussed before the beginning of the fieldwork, but also re-thought and re-negotiated during and after each class we attended. In general, the attempt was to organize a diffused, leaderless class, where the teacher renounces the role of instructor, or of the one who possesses knowledge and merely transmits it and rather acts as a collaborator of the students, one who co-learns with them (Papert 1993). In practice, they never had a pre-established notion or a specific program on the learning material or on the thematic scope that should be taught in class. The classes usually started with a discussion with students on what that particular day’s class could be about. The class proceeded through this discussion in unified (all students working individually or collectively on similar projects) and diffused modes (students being involved in diverse projects). The only constant intervention related to suggesting themes and projects that could be interesting for the students as homework material. The researchers/teachers tried to keep these suggestions as open as possible in how they could be approached and on what type of projects they might relate to, and open also to criticism from the students as being boring, redundant, or uninspiring. Students were then asked to present these homework projects in class either individually or collectively. The research diaries that were kept attempted to record this diffused process, becoming patchwork recordings of a multitude of interactions that occurred during each class via digital (the XO laptops) or non-digital means.

From a methodological point of view, in all three case studies, the composition of the group was important: it constituted the first determination of the possibility in the relationship with migrants, and particularly with young migrants. In the Utrecht fieldwork, interviewees were invited via snowballing method, which resulted in 40 informants. The group consisted of students who follow or have followed Bachelor, Master or PhD programs, individual courses or summer schools at Utrecht University. This holds for all informants except Eoft, who was interviewed for her view on Utrecht University, she lives in Utrecht but chose to study at the Free University in Amsterdam. The 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. was one of the first students to study Geography in Utrecht in the late 1960s). All informants signed consent forms. Adapting the setting to the preferences of the informants, interviews were conducted face-to-face, 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 consisted of 29 (former) students who identified themselves as girl, female or woman, 1 student who identified himself as queer and 11 students who identified themselves as male. Furthermore, the group included 9 students who identified themselves as white, ethnic-majority Dutch (“white”, “autochthonous”), as well as 15 who emphasized an ethnic minority background (“allochthonous”, “Dutch born foreigners”, “non-white”) and 16 who joined the university 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. The team consisted of a white Italian-born female researcher in her 40’s; a white, Dutch born male in late 20’s and a Dutch born female research assistant in her early 20’s. They team 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 the team 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, the team intends to stay as close to those experiences the informants shared as possible.

Interview data were coupled and contextualized with general population figures, enrolment and academic personnel figures of Dutch universities and Utrecht University in particular on the topic of ethnic and gender composition. Additionally, Utrecht University policy documents such as year reports and strategic plans were gathered and considered. Interview transcripts and other forms collected empirical data including population figures and policy documents were analyzed from the perspective of “grounded theory” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) using the qualitative data analysis computer software package NVivo 9.2. Inductively the team looked for structures, categories and themes to sort the data rather than superimposing a pre-formed framework. Over the process of coding and analyzing, the data was increasingly ordered and interconnected. Concepts can be formulated by finding patterns, similarities and differences within categories and between themes.

All in all, as we see and wrote, there are different translations of the common framework. The common framework is the inquiry on the relationship between knowledge production and education beyond the traditional division between real and digital. The focus was on different institutions: elementary school in Athens, junior high school, high school, and university in Bologna, university in Utrecht. The choices were made based on the different migrant presences in the various institutions (for example, it is still low in the Italian university, otherwise it is quite high in the Dutch universities; instead, the Athens case of the elementary school is very interesting for the topics of our research). But in these three contexts we have posed two central common questions: what is the impact of the “space invaders” and the institutional changes? What is the role of the new technologies in this impact? During the development of the three case studies there was a continuous work of coordination and discussion about the elements arising from our research. Finally, we

elaborated the outcomes in three reports that are synthesised and further elaborated in this final text.

### 3. Fieldwork Findings

#### 1. Space Invaders in the Crisis

In this section we will summarize the findings of the fieldwork focusing on four aspects: the behaviours and hierarchisation of the space invaders within the crisis; the ethnicisation of the space invaders; their transnational practices and the forms of refusal of the standardization and disciplinarity in education; and finally we will investigate technology itself as a sort of space invader. We have chosen to include the directly cited materials from the interviews between quotation marks and in italics, and we only mention the names of the people we have interviewed when they have provided us with pseudonyms themselves. Among the rich materials that we have collected in the three case studies, the choice of the quotations is related to the four aspects that we have pointed out.

Therefore, as we have just underlined, the research is based on the concept of space invaders. How does this concept work in our case studies? Above all, how are we to re-think this concept facing the current situation? These are the central questions of our fieldwork. In the Athens case study, the research team state that they were pushed to widen the scope and somewhat change its focus. For one thing, the initial question of “what happens when students invade educational institutions that were not originally designed for them” needed to be re-articulated in the face of conditions of acute financial and ensuing austerity measures that have been implemented in Greece from 2010 onwards. The reframed question that we have tried to address is this: “what happens when space invaders (foreign students) enter educational institutions that have not been designed for them, but that they are currently breaking down”?

In fact, the financial crisis became a lived experience in the schools where the team conducted fieldwork. For one thing, austerity measures have resulted in a dramatic reduction in funds for Greek educational institutions: budget cuts have mainly targeted the drastic reduction of teacher’s salaries and the termination of numerous supplementary educational programs that were offered beyond the minimal curriculum (music education, art education, multicultural education, and so on). The crisis has impacted some of the principal institutional strategies for dealing with the problem of the space invaders. In particular, the crisis has: i) exacerbated the institutional strategy of “ethnicising” space invaders (and this ethnicisation is coupled with gender hierarchies) and it has ii) reduced the effects of the practices of normalising space invaders.

In the Bologna case study it is quite revealing that intercultural education is linked with the necessity that the parents of the young migrants understand the value of education. For example, the deputy head of the

“Saffi” said: *“it is no longer possible to continue teaching as we did in the past, or ignoring what is happening; otherwise, we will never have a successful school system”*. The same deputy head of the school complains that the parents of the migrants and “second generation” students are not able – she says – to understand the value of education. We have to frame this complaint in the general situation of the school and university in contemporary society and in the global economic crisis. The question is exactly: what is their value? As we saw briefly in the previous paragraph, there is a backwardness of the education system from various points of view (we have concentrated our attention on the challenges faced by space invaders and new technologies). However, from a general standpoint, school and university are losing their traditional role in the modern era of elevators for social mobility. Today – and despite different declinations, this is a global trend increasing in the crisis (edu-factory collective 2009) – even the university degree no longer ensures access to a better position with regard to family background. Class downgrading and precariousness become more and more permanent and general conditions.

In this context, the initial question of how to change the institution has to be the material consideration of different values pertaining to the past of those very institutions. On the one hand, the school is no longer the main site of education and knowledge production and transmission: space invaders and cooperation through digital technologies show the excess of knowledge production and socialization. On the other hand, the value of the educated workforce is decreasing, thus there is a changing value of the school and university.

The University of Utrecht shows in a very clear way the process of the hierarchisation of migrants. Let’s consider the details. Already in 2003, the university promised to diversify its employees “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 Dutch Antillean and Aruban constitute 1% and Moroccan, Surinamese and Turkish-Dutch inhabitants each constitute over 2% 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 background personnel, those of Turkish background are most visible, but their presence only amounts to 0.29 % of the personnel.

The university similarly announced in 2008, when it organized information meetings for Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch parents in Arabic, Tamazight, Turkish and Dutch to demonstrate its engagement in an “active diversity policy, to attract more non-western allochthonous students, to ensure that the student population mirrors the society” (Utrecht University, 2008). The number of “non-western allochthonous” (In Dutch: “Niet-westers allochtoon”) students has doubled from 1119 in 1996 to 2422 in 2010, while the number of “autochthonous” (In Dutch: “Autochthoon”) has grown from

19,189 in 1996 (84% of the total student population) to 24,008 in 2010 (79% of the total student population). The increase of “non-western allochthonous” students meant their presence in the student population increased from 5% in 1996 to 7.9% in 2010. With its enrolment of 7.9% students from non ethnic majority Dutch ethnic backgrounds, Utrecht University ranks lowest among the 5 universities in the urban western part of the country (University of Amsterdam, Free University Amsterdam, Rotterdam University and Leiden University). The Utrecht University student population does 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.

Employees and students also do not mirror the composition of the city of Utrecht. The city boasts 311.405 inhabitants, which includes 9% Moroccan, 4% Turkish and 3% Surinamese-Dutch residents (Gemeente Utrecht, 2011). Moreover, 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, p. 119). Coordinates of differentiation thus impact the situation in various ways. For example, in terms of generation: 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, while in terms of ethnicity they found that young Moroccan-Dutch students withdraw the least. With regards to gender, they noted that women fare better than men, drop-out rates among men are higher (ibid, p. 119-120).

On the whole, Laura argues that she feels there is “*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*”. 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, p. 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, p. v). When comparing the ethnic composition of Dutch society with the number of ethnic minorities among the personnel, evident gaps remain observable. Almost 14 percent of the personnel are of a non-ethnic majority Dutch background, 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. This personnel mostly consists of international expat academics.

Going beyond the figures, interviews with ethnic minority and migrant background students provide insights to the personally felt experiences of diversity in the university. For example Evelien, an ethnic majority Dutch 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, an international student from Turkey 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 were 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, with Paulo de Medeiros, 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, who was born in Aruba, similarly adds, *"I would like to see more professors with a Caribbean background. I feel that the European ethnic background is well represented, but [professors from] the Caribbean territory, which is also a part of Dutchness, are few and far between"*. Marjolijn Verboom argues it is necessary to begin scrutinizing "colourblindness" and in particular "the blinding whiteness of academics" (2000, p. 25).

This, however, is not only a statistic matter; that is to say it does not only regard the number of migrants in the university. The fieldwork shows that it is important to understand what are the dynamics of hierarchisation within the process of inclusion of space invaders. The interviewees describe the discrepancies as follows. Several informants emphasized this aspect among the personnel. Whereas the cleaning, service and administrative personnel they encountered included members of Dutch ethnic minority populations, higher up in the rankings of the staff, among researchers, lecturers and professors, this diversity decreased. The higher positions are mainly filled with predominantly white, male ethnic majority Dutch and international people, 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 notes there is a *"bit of a hierarchy"*: *"it depends on 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".*

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" (Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1991), students note that when the teachers reflect heterogeneity they feel more welcome and better understood. In addition, ethnic minority students may find role models in teachers who are of non-ethnic majority Dutch descent. Maria 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, he felt that by considering his ethnic minority background in teaching new media, he felt "*students could learn to think differently about different media cultures*".

Ronaldo, a Chemistry PhD student from China 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, from Aruba, argued "*it makes you feel better when you see there are students and teachers of different ethnic backgrounds walking around*". Bernita Bagchi, an associate 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 promotes a "*shared sense of belongings*", she also notes it "*promotes the challenging of our own assumption and European assumptions to knowledge production*" and provides "role models".

AyDAH feels that the lack of diversity among the personnel does not set a good example: "*that is a pity*", she says, if there were ethnic minorities among members of the staff, "*allochthonous students would perhaps also begin to consider a job in the university*". Although Elizabeth rightly nuances that an exact mirror of society is difficult to obtain, she feels that a more correct distribution is increasingly "*important to overcome this gap between university and society*", as people of different backgrounds "*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 notes that the composition of teachers "*can be steered, for example, by means of positive discrimination. The question needs to be asked if 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 she also recognizes there is a danger in recognizing non-Dutch teachers solely on the basis of "*difference*". Non-Dutch teachers find themselves in a "*double-bind*", she notes between opposite poles of wanting to "*shake of their 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 ethnic minority and migrant teachers are being "*essentialized*" and "*ghettoized*" as an outsider to the mainstream of knowledge production and dissemination.

## 2. The Ethnicisation of Space Invaders

The perception of space invaders, mainly from those who have come from another country in recent times, is to be alien in the new context, at least at the beginning. The perception of invaders assumes language as one of its first forms of manifestation (Bargellini 2000). In the Bologna case study, problems with Italian are, in the words of the migrants interviewed, the initial barrier to create sociality with other students and teachers. But difficulties with the new language, that constitute a further complication beyond the problems of leaving friends in the sending country, as well as the general problems related with the choice of migration, is also a source of blame to make the migrants feel guilty about their lack of “integration”. For example, a young man of sixteen years, who arrived in Bologna two years ago from Romania, tells: *“When I arrived in Italy I was very angry, I had to leave my friends and I didn’t talk with anybody. Maybe it was my fault, I’m timid, and I was angry too. But maybe there are also other responsibilities. Various teachers said that, since the Italian language is supposed to be similar to the Romanian one, I had to learn it very quickly. So if I didn’t speak Italian, it was only my fault”*. Language was also problematic in the relationship with the interviewees during the interviews: people who speak quite fluently or at least had an understandable Italian still felt sorry and sometimes limited themselves during conversation.

At the same time, there is a sort of diffused pride in having conquered a new context of sociality, that is a transnational context. Indeed, the students’ experience, school is an important space of socialization or, rather, it is an ambivalent space of socialization. Here students can find friends and relationships, despite a surrounding city that sometimes is perceived as hostile or mysterious. Both in the junior high school and the high school of our fieldwork, there was not a particular tendency of “ethnicisation” of the relationships: both boys and girls underline having friends from various countries, including Italian ones. As we will see in the next paragraph, ethnicisation is more a dynamic pushed by the formal and informal institutional actions than by students themselves. In this way – and this is the flipside of the school environment – it represents a constant normalization of the practices and behaviours of space invaders. This attempt can have the goal of integration or multiculturalization – or interculturalization, to use the official word in the Italian education and social system. And maybe it is better to say that interculturalization is a specific kind of integration.

In the Athens fieldwork, this process was confirmed, but it is situated in the specific case that was chosen. In fact, from the moment one enters the space of the two schools where our fieldwork was conducted, one is – in several ways – invited to realise that this not a “typical” Greek school. The teachers, regardless of their political or pedagogic views on migration and multicultural education, refer repeatedly to the non-Greek ethnicity of the students in relation to something that is lacking or that is in excess. For the Vathis teacher of our class, the ethnicity of the student is the cause of the fact that the

educational level of the class is not up to standard. Many of these students “do not know how to speak”, and most of them don’t know “how to write Greek properly”, as she confided during the participant observation. She did not seem, however, willing to do something extra so that they learn, but she just continued to tediously correct their “mistakes” with red ink as she did with those of the other students. When the multiethnic background of the students disrupted the normal operation of the class, when for example some of the students (mostly boys) spoke publicly in class in another language, Katerina did not seem to mind, nor did she attempt to treat this other language as an alternate communication medium within the class, but merely as an aberration to the normality of the class.

At most times, other languages were used for swearing, a practice that Katerina accepted as something that her male migrant students (because of their particular ethnic backgrounds and macho cultures) do excessively. Swearing was also a central feature in communications amongst students with their XO laptops. For Katerina, this was merely another clear piece of evidence of the inability of some of her students to write in proper Greek and cannot, therefore, express themselves in a civilised manner. She was tolerant even when some of the male students made racist remarks to non-Greeks (who were not represented in class), such as “blacks” (referring to African migrants), “pakistanis” (referring to South Asian migrants) or “gypsies”. The racist remarks were primarily targeting male migrants connecting them to criminality, dirtiness, or slowness of mind, and can be related a general shift in the public discourse on migration in Greece over the last few years. Katerina treated these racist remarks as reproductions of what the male students “hear from their families”, and commented on how the racial tensions have risen in the neighbourhood during the economic crisis. It seems, overall, that Katerina was at ease as long as her students behaved according to institutional expectations on how their subjectivities are shaped by ethnicity and the adoption of the gender roles.

In the Kerameikos school, the strategy of ethnicisation is articulated with an anti-racist, pro-integrationist educational agenda. Along these lines, ethnicisation is constituted through an ethics of care for the “vulnerable” migrant students, an ethics of care based on a certain feminisation of the students and on feminine practices of affection, solidarity and providing support. Georgia, the teacher, made clear to us that she sees her role connected to the fact that ‘all the families of the students are facing increasing difficulties’ because of the economic crisis. As a result, the “*students have lost part of their interest in school because of this, at least in comparison to the beginning of the school year*”. Georgia addresses this vulnerability of the students through affective practices. Constantly caressing her students, being worried and trying to make sure that they have enough and proper food to eat, that they rest when they feel tired, she attempts to heal this vulnerability. At the same time, however, the vulnerability of the students is ethnicised: it is related to the fact that they can’t go back to Albania, because “*they feel foreign there...the Albanian kids make fun of them*”. Or to the ordeals of Salman (of Afghan origin), who has to skip school on many occasions,

because, as Georgia supposes, he has to act as the Greek translator for his whole family in their dealings with state agencies or employers, because "*his parents don't speak the language*".

The students are actively called to express themselves, to talk about their vulnerabilities through the prism of their ethnic identities. They are supposed to select photos of themselves while visiting their "country of origin" in order to decorate the classroom walls. The "right" pictures for the decoration are predominantly folkloric – Sana in a traditional Indonesian dress during a wedding, Antonis on a donkey on top of a bucolic hill and so on. They are also invited to bring to class books and other material about their country of origin and its culture and to discuss them, to sing their "traditional songs", talk about their "traditional games", and so on. Georgia is determined to highlight the multicultural composition of the class, inviting students to assume the role of representatives of their traditional culture. Concomitantly, this multicultural approach is expected to facilitate the integration of the students in the Greek school system.

Georgia again treated the student's "mistakes" and "deviations" from formal Greek language with care. Even if she corrects them, this is done with attention not to hurt the students' feelings, and, at times, with humour. "Our Gogo, watches too much television, and speaks like an actress in a Brazilian soap opera" says Georgia tenderly, with everyone in class (including Gogo) giggling. In all these cases, the students are expected to act within the limits of subjectivities in need of care. When, however, the students deviate from these roles, their behaviour is discouraged or not given serious attention. Salman's more "masculine" behaviour seemingly prone to physical violence is always discouraged or attributed to his truly different (Afghan) ethnic origin. Antonis' "masculine" attraction to violent images and stories is also discouraged and attributed to the "problems he must have at home". The girls are treated as being naturally the ideal receivers of care. On this basis the girls' relationships with the teacher involve an increased theatricality (girls acting "like a girl" in public for the teacher to see and when the teacher is absent, adopting more aggressive, or sarcastic, or sexually aware behaviour and language).

All in all, the space invaders bring challenges to institutional programs, knowledge, and relationships, driving a process of transnationalization "from below", and the school responds in various forms that mainly assume – as we will try to illustrate – the form of the block, aimed at conserving the current situation. The language of this transnational socialization is what the Japanese scholar Naoki Sakai (1997; see also Sakai and Solomon 2006) called "heterolingual translation": he makes a distinction between "homolingual translation", a mode of communication in which "the subject of enunciation speaks to the recipients of his discourse assuming the stability and homogeneity of both his own language and of those listening to him; even when the two languages differ, the 'locutor' speaks as if the interlocutors belonged to his linguistic community, assigning to translation the task of rendering transparent the communication and reproducing in this way the primacy – the real sovereignty – of his language," and heterolingual translation, "which assumes the being foreign of all parties involved independently of their '*native language*'" (Mezzadra 2008, p. 108). Heterolingual translation is the new language that we observed in the relationships and interactions among the migrants, "second generations" and Italian students, and the

formation of new ways of life and socialization. In this way, the concepts of heterolingual and homolingual translations can help to highlight the tension between the space invaders challenge and the normalization process, aiming to affirm the primacy of the sovereignty of dominant knowledge, despite its necessary transformation.

#### 4. 2.3. Transnational Practices and Forms of Refusal

Ethnic and religious minority students report the offensiveness of having to occupy minoritarian positions. Following Louis Althusser, “hailing” or “interpellation” is a calling to participate in a particular form of ideology (1971, p. 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!” interacts with the addressed person as other, robs his/her individuality and fixes his/her inferiority (2008, p. 93). In the Utrecht case, the team of researchers found that Muslim students noted to have frequently experienced this dynamic first-hand. 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 colour. Constantly having to account for yourself, blegh!”*. When continuously feeling slotted as different and unlike the norm, feelings of belongingness 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, p. 48).

Mounia, a alumna with an Islamic background, shared this experience of 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”*. They feel the majority 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, p. 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 ‘80’s, 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 ‘80’s. Back then I felt like a fish out of water. I could not identify”*. Conversely, 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 Free University Amsterdam includes around 20% ethnic minority Dutch students, alongside another 10 percent of international exchange students.

The Free University head of 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” (Advalvas, 2009).

Similarly, among ethnic majority Dutch students, 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 “*native Dutch*” 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 with “*foreign blood but that is irrelevant*” 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” (Puwar, 2004, p. 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 themselves. Placed in a “deficit model” (Giroux, cited in Wekker, 2009, p. 160) minority students and teachers 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, p. 160).

Nirmal Puwar wrote about the disorientation occurring in the sphere of academia upon entry of ethnic minorities and migrants. She argues that while Western, white, male intellectuals are “identifying themselves with reason, modernity and the ability to enact the universal and not just the particular, at the same time others are dis-identified from these capacities” (2004; p. 46). Ethnic minoritarian and migrant bodies are absorbed by the “received stock of already-interpreted images of black bodies” (Gooding-Williams, 1993, p. 165). Racialised looks, gazes and frames abnormalise their presence, relegating them to the peripheries, as an unknown threat to white, male domains, they are made to belong elsewhere (Puwar, 2004, p. 41-42).

Notwithstanding the dismissive reflexes that seem to occur in the institution upon encountering dissonant bodies, in university policy documents, the university board repeatedly states that it seeks to promote its position in global university rankings by attracting international students (Utrecht University, 2009, p. 11). During the interviews, “*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*”. 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 the middle and upper class oriented population”* of Dutch and international teachers and students. The market logic results in bizarre constellations, Lal, an international student from Turkey for instance reflected upon the composition of the student population by comparing the international students with Dutch ethnic minority 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”*. In the words of Isabella, international exchange students are tokenized showpieces of diversity that are valued more in comparison with Dutch minority students.

Furthermore, the transnational dimension lives above all in the bodies and practices of socialization of the migrant students, questioning the identity of the migrants and the processes of ethnicisation. In Italy, the topic of the relation between migrants and education is focused first of all on the question of the so-called “second generation” (Callari Galli and Scandurra, 2009); sons and daughters of migrants unified in a category that involves different kinds of experiences: the children born in the parents’ new country of residence, and those born in another country and then have joined their parents. But the term “second generations” (Mantovani 2008) is very problematic, and it seems to draw a sort of condition of suspension in the “anteroom of the history” (Chakrabarty 2000), among the “no longer” (no longer foreigners) and “not yet” (not yet citizens).

In fact, the feelings of belonging are quite confused. In the junior high school, some of the youth said they perceived themselves as Italian (particularly the boys and girls who recently came to Bologna), and others said they belonged to sending countries, or the country of the parents (in the case of the “second generation”). Citizenship is not very clear in the perception of many of them, but – especially among the students of the high school – is quite clear that being foreign means more difficulties and less possibilities. At the same time, almost all the students of “Saffi” share a strong common feeling of belonging to their neighbourhood. This impression is confirmed by the deputy head of the school: *“Many young people are not able to define themselves as Italian or coming from the sending country; many times, if you ask to some of them ‘where are you from?’, he or she answers: ‘I am from Pilastro’”*.

Indeed, “Saffi” is situated in the neighbourhood San Donato and, mainly, at the core of the zone called Pilastro. Since the ‘60s and ‘70s, this has been the main settlement area for migration flows, first with people coming from the South of Italy towards the industrial cities of the North. In the ‘90s, Pilastro then became the main zone for international migrants, coming first from Albania, and then from Maghreb, Africa, and Eastern Europe. The demographical development of the zone was a result of a policy of “classist zoning” (Comune di Bologna) or, to use the words of the deputy head of the

“Saffi”, Pilastro has the form of a sort of “social first aid”. Mainly in the last decade, Pilastro was under attack by securitarian policies and an image portrayed as an unsafe zone with high criminality.

On the contrary, all the young students say they are happy to live in Bologna and, particularly, in Pilastro – or rather, Pilastro is Bologna for them. Parents generally share this opinion, with the exception of someone who’d like to return to the sending country. The only student who has a different opinion is a twelve-year-old Italian female: *“My parents are not satisfied with this neighbourhood, they say it is a bad place, dangerous and not good for us. We have always lived here, but they’d like to move to another zone. Anyway, we cannot, we don’t have the economic possibility. Anyway, I’m happy to be here, I’ve a lot of friends, I like Pilastro”*. Migrants and “second generations” overthrow the negative image of Pilastro: some of them say that it is a very safe and quiet place, and the dangerous area is the centre of the city.

The opposition between periphery and the centre is a recurrent theme in these conversations. The periphery is a source of identity that it is quite independent from “ethnic” belongings: Pilastro is a zone of transnational mixing, unified by a common class condition and with peculiar individual and collective behaviours. A young female, with parents from Morocco, explains this subjectivity production very well: *“My older sister does not live with us, she lives with her partner, but in the centre; she wanted to go away because she is very different, she is not like us; we are from Pilastro, and you know, here in Pilastro we are all ‘maragli’ [teddy boys]”*. So, we could say that the class is the common source of identity, and the condition of migrants or “second generation” is a specific articulation of it.

In addition, we did not observe any specific aggregation on “ethnic” and national base, nor particular differentiation of dynamics between boys and girls during our participant observation in the classes of “Saffi” and during informal moments like the recreation. At “Aldini Valeriani” we could say that the female students are the main objects of the process of “ethnicisation”: the teachers expect characteristic dresses, or subaltern behaviours from them. Also in this case, this expectation contrasts with the reality: independently of their “origins”, the female students dress or act very similarly. On the other hand, religion is not so crucial in the choices of the young people. A student of the junior high school, daughter of Moroccan parents, says: *“My father did not forced us into the religion, about the veil he said to choose: as you can see, I don’t have a veil. I like to be Muslim, because it is an occasion to go to the mosque with my uncle and see other people”*. Also, there is a gender difference in the process of canalization. Many female students in junior high school affirm that they want to become a cashier or a hairdresser, and they imagine school choices in this direction. But this device of normalization is continuously forced to face the students’ transnational practices.

The Athens fieldwork team also underlines that in many cases, and in spite of the power asymmetries between teachers and students in the school space, the students refuse their ethnicisation by adopting diverse tactics that subvert

it. The Kerameikos school students told us, unbeknownst to Georgia, that they were really bored with the ‘migratory birds’ program and that they didn’t see why they had to participate in it. Also, as Georgia confided to us, they “*never want to talk about their summer trips to Albania... it took me months to convince them to bring along photos from their trips there*”, although Georgia interprets this refusal, as evidence that the students “*have lost contact with their roots*”.

In both schools, the students showed an indifference to the question of migration and multicultural education, nor wanted to relate to a politics of ethnicisation. In the numerous projects that the researchers proposed, although most were open in terms of their scope, the students never picked a subject related to migration, even in cases when the connection was easy to make. The students never seemed to identify with the term “second generation” and in cases where we asked them to perform certain role plays in relation to several contemporary situations in Greece, they never chose to be, act or play the migrant or the second generation Greek. The only group discussion on the topic came months after our first visits to the schools. In the Kerameikos school one of the students, Gogo, mentioned that she might have to migrate from Athens due to the economic difficulties that her family is facing. She will probably go to Albania “*maybe during Easter, maybe in the summer. I do not want to go back there*”, she complained. When the researchers asked “*where is there?*”, in a moment of solidarity to Gogo, all the students stood up on their own initiative and started showing us on a world map the places where their parents were born. Gogo’s parent’s are from Berat, Albania. Elli’s and Antonis’ from Tirana, Albania. Sana is from Jakarta while Angela’s mother is from Tepeleni and her father from Agioi Saranta, Albania. All the students were born in Athens, apart from Salman.

Finally, in both schools, many student communication practices bypassed the dichotomy between integration (learning proper Greek) and culturalisation (being the bearers of the language of their country of origin). Take, for instance, the XO chat activity, which was extensively used by students. In these chat discussion activities, swearing had a central role, often embodying sexual connotations. Swearing was performed, in many cases, in a new hybrid language. Swearing exchanges were written in a mixture of English, Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian and Georgian using alternatively both the Latin and Greek alphabet. A hybrid language written acoustically, not following existing formal rules of written language. A hybrid language that does not simply divert from the existing rules, but tends towards establishing its own ground rules: its reconfiguring existing grammar, syntax, or spelling, mixed with a use of the computer keyboard: where for, example, ‘fffffak’ can play the role of the superlative of ‘fuck’ (stressed by the abundance of ‘f’s).

## 5. 2.4. Transnational Practices and Forms of Refusal

In a certain way, we can consider digital technologies as space invaders too. On one hand, digital technologies constitute the tools that improve the construction of transnational relationships and ways of life. In fact, when the students leave school and come back at home, the use of Internet is the main activity: they use first of all the social network sites (i.e., Facebook), Messenger and Skype. They are tools to maintain contact with the friends of the sending country and to improve and build up relationships in the new context. On the other hand, digital technologies could be space invaders in the schools. But diffused and knowledgeable use of Internet and social network sites remains to be taken seriously incorporated in official programs. This is the case of Bologna: it is not a coincidence that one of the claims of the mobilizations, occupations and demonstration of the technical high school “Aldini Valeriani” is the possibility to use the technologies and to have new machines. It is quite exemplary what a professor involved in the intercultural pedagogy says about Internet: *“I think that the use of the books are better!”* – thus reproducing a rhetoric opposition between the “old”, that is supposed to be the source of the good knowledge, and the “new”, that is supposed to be the source of diversion and ephemera.

In the Athens case study, there was an effort by the team to discuss with students the “mixing” of materials and resources. These interactions produced some unexpected digital products. Towards the end of the year, Angela composed a song (duration 2:38) using a rhythm-sound platform called TamTam (<http://wiki.laptop.org/go/TamTam>). The lyrics were performed in English: *“Call me now baby because I am freaking out, I am looking for your keys but I can’t find these and my head turns around, I want to be with you forever cause I feel alright...”*. In general, children have grasped the concept of mixing melodies using different music layers and they are even capable of describing this procedure of ad hoc composition: *“you set the drums, later you can add other instruments and play with the results”* is their description of their efforts. Few of them had taken music lessons before, but this should not be considered as a fundamental factor when mixing music.

Another version of similar activities, that were produced under our proposal for “mixing” projects can be traced in Elina’s XO, this time with Elina and Angela singing (1:32) together in Greek lyrics with a rock style: *“this is our song, yeah, yeah, what can we do”*. This song is played in combination with a party photo where the main object is an Italian red wine box. Along with mixing techniques, discussed above in relation to Angela’s song, we have to add the collaboration procedure that took place with her best friend and classmate, Elina. A somehow alternate version of mixing objects can be found in the “making dancing hip hop dolls”, a project created by Stelios. It was filmed with a steady focus on six (6) dolls, dancing in a hip-hop circle, one or two dolls on each round. The event is 7 min long under the background sound of a rap melody. The main actors-dancers are a bunny, a spider man, a crocodile, a female piggy, a bear, and a rhinoceros. The music comes from a

home pc which is located behind the dolls, and where the song is played on YouTube.

All these digital artefacts created and included in practices of (re-)mixing are in clear opposition to the linearity of the educational curriculum that expects students to learn “certain things at certain moments” as Georgia, the teacher, often mentioned in class. In the context of the ethics of care practiced by Georgia in the Kerameikos school, the obvious irrelevance of the formal educational process when compared to the ways the students in her class produce their own material is addressed by her with a sense of compassion and fatality: “I see and understand the capabilities of my class, but the lesson is the lesson”. Her approach does not rest on practicing discipline compared to the one of the teacher, Katerina, in Vathis school. There, normalisation is largely practiced through the arbitrary imposition of her authority. At Vathis, the digital machines and making digital artefacts of the students are mostly considered by the educational institution as time management tools: in an institution deprived of its resources, digital machines simply keep students occupied.

Further pursuing the notion of the primacy of the space invaders’ tactics and inventiveness, the researchers came to discuss another project that we pursued in class. They proposed that the digital machines could help the students to become “storytellers”. In short, the recording, with the help of external cameras and mobile phones used along these lines, in order to produce video stories.

The variety of performances, techniques, and materials used by students in the production of these digital artefacts from children should be contextualised in relation to the dynamics in the processes of normalisation and ethnicisation. The garbage reporter, the colourful monster, the “yes” and “no” presentations all created moments of tension in relation to the themes that they were dealing with. Take for example the “yes” and “no” presentations: at the end consensus formed around a brief statement that adults, before deciding to punish students, should first engage in dialogue with them and try to understand their point of view. When punishment does become necessary, the collective body of students and teachers should collectively decide what measures should be taken. The argument seemed perfectly balanced to us and to Georgia, their teacher, so we tried to engage in a conversation with the school principle that was attending our class at that time. Our proposal, that the result of the referendum could become the school rule, was passed over with a smile. The students did not really engage with this refusal, nor tried to push the argument for adopting this referendum proposal further. It seemed that this was our, and Georgia’s desire, but not theirs. For the students, their storytelling on the issues of the referendum was not aimed at directly confronting normalisation practices coming from punishment by teachers or instigating the fear of it in school. Instead, for the students, the referendum project seemed to be an occasion to produce artefacts that encircle the institution of punishment, artefacts that occupied concomitantly differentiated positions in relation to the logic of punishment; simultaneously reproducing its

justifications, mocking it, criticising it in the form of argument, reproducing its logic to excess, and so on.

The students’ main articulated desire remains to “steal” or “find” Internet access in order to “check their social media, mainly Facebook, accounts”. This is what students declare to be their main motive for using the XOs or other computers during class or at home. The XO, through its Sugar OS (<http://wiki.laptop.org/go/Sugar>) can not handle flash pages and poorly performs on many popular web spaces, creating a sense of frustration for students: in their view these laptops *are not real computers*, no matter the activities they can perform through them.

In this framework, Jacqueliën van Stekelenburg, Dirk Oegema and Bert Klandermans rightly argue, “the social structure in society tends to be reflected in the social structure of the Web forums” (2011, p. 257). In the Utrecht case study, it must be noted that the search terms related to Islam and religion most prominent on discussion forums indicate that forums seem to function as an alternative space of knowledge circulation. On *Marokko.nl*, a forum setup and frequented by Moroccan-Dutch youths, ethnic and religious minority youth become the norm. Online discussion forums can be used by minority subjects to define their own identities in their own space. Yassira, a Moroccan-Dutch pedagogical sciences alumnus for example shared “*I only know of 1 forum, Marokko.nl. There, you can get a sense about how people of a specific background feel themselves for example about current events and politics.*” Fatima, a Moroccan-Dutch student of Middle-Eastern Studies explains that dedicated discussion boards are helpful to learn more about ethnic minority groups “*for example if you are looking for something about the Turkish community, you’ll probably end up on a site like Hababam.nl. I can locate such communities pretty quickly if I would like to know something about their background*”.

During the interview, Fatima continued to elaborate that she feels “*online communities are important, for example among the Turkish community to share experiences and create a shared feeling of belonging. At first, it may appear as a closed community, a homogeneous one. But also as an outsider, as a non-Turk, I feel I can go there for information and ask questions and learn about their culture*”. 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”. Forums, she adds: “*may provide an alternative resource*”, but nuances that “*it is not enough*” and they may also not always provide a “*representative*” picture.

Ilsa, who was “*born and raised in Turkey*” expands on the idea of how the Internet may be taken up to access additional sources of knowledge: “*I gain most of the information from newspapers (online) and other online spaces*

*(blogs, journals, SNS, etc.). The issues like diversity, migration, multiculturalism are very complex and they require multiple points of view to fully grasp. The Internet provides this multiplicity of voices better than other mediums (although for deeper understanding of a particular perspective or subject, books are still very valuable resources). When I'm online and reading about for instance 'Turkish youth in Dutch higher education', I have multiple tabs open where I can check an academic article, the author's blog or twitter, a newspaper article on the subject and occasionally chat with a Turkish-Dutch teen. You gain much insight from the Internet and in return you contribute to the discussion with your comments.”*

Not all is rosy across digital networks however, as for example G.B., a Surinamese alumnus in social geography, reflects on his experience with the Surinamese discussion forum *Waterkant.nl*: *“the answer I sent you was one of my last reactions on the forum, the increasing cursing and scolding starts to annoy me”*. While, *“half-Surinamese, half-Dutch”* James adds *“on public discussion forums and across social media, I often get the impression that you get an ever sharper image of how narrow-minded many people still are. You see so much hate, and religion, race etcetera are often referenced to offend the other”*. The informants emphasized the Internet should not be considered a panacea for social justice and equality; rather it is a tool that can assist in the dissemination of messages. For example Chumicha, who is *“Dutch, but of Moroccan descent, born in the Netherlands”* notes that *“what you can achieve with the internet depends on the message you have”*.

All in all, the correct understanding of the digital technologies seems to be quite absent from various representatives of the institutions. In fact, they are not only machines, but they are continuously vivified by networking activity; or in Marxian terms, dead labor is re-appropriate by the cooperation of living knowledge (Roggero 2011). Therefore, we could say that the practices and social behaviours of space invaders precede and exceed institutional rules and organization. The technological space invaders are embodied in the migrants practices and networking.

## 6. Conclusions

According to Nirmal Puwar, space invaders are considered bodies out of place that cross, trespass and invade institutional settings where the norm is populated by mainstream, white, male, élite bodies. Women and minorities have, however, permeated those through top down governmental practices (like the integration of minorities through multicultural policies) and bottom up approaches by creating countercultures and entering no-go spaces through social climbing, education and other tactics to decolonize dominant spaces (2004). With another approach, Maurizio Ambrosini (2008a) has defined migrants as actors of another globalization and the development of social institutions “from below”. In this process Ambrosini (2008b) analyzes the economic transnationalism of migrants, focusing on the circulation of knowledge, skills and information, as well as on the construction of links and self-help that are central sources in the labor market. The keyword is always network, which is translated in the most part of the sociological language through the category of social capital. This analysis is, at the same time, inspiring and problematic. In fact, from the fieldworks of our case studies we can see that the “ethnic sources” quoted by Ambrosini and other scholars are very ambiguous, because they work in complicity with the process of “ethnicisation” of migrants that is lead by integration/intercultural policies, chaining the subjects to their “natural” community. On the contrary, it is exactly this idea of a “natural” community that is questioned by the transnational practices of the migrants.

In addition, Ambrosini and other scholars highlight a crucial aspect: to speak of transnational migration processes does not only mean speaking of physical mobility, that is to say, the processes in which people move from a country to another. It is also possible to be involved in transnational activities and relations without physical mobility, but with the mobility of knowledge and information, mainly through Internet, digital networks and ICT. They are used by migrants for economic activities, as well as to build and maintain transnational relations. In other words, this formation of transnational behaviours enable migrants to reverse the “double absence”, a term used by Abdelmaleck Sayad (1997), into a “double presence”. In Saskia Sassen’s words (2007), it represents the “digital transactions” that constitute an “electronic transnational space”. In this space, the “connected migrant” is the protagonist of a “relational activity in mobility” and is the actor of a “linked culture” (Diminescu, 2005). In connective transnationalism, there is the circulation of what Levitt calls “social remittances”, that is to say, the circulation of ideas, practices and relations used by migrants in their everyday lives. We also have to consider the very decisive feminist point of view on the transnationalism (Salih 2003).

The fieldwork shows us exactly this process of building relationships, cutting borders, and going beyond the exhausted dichotomy between digital and real. Therefore, “digital” and “real” spaces are places of translation, that is to say, of

the creation of new transnational languages and forms of interaction, as well as conflicts. The construction of these transnational behaviours is a resource to challenge practices of normalization. In fact, this is the cooperative context of formation of those we call space invaders, in the double meaning of the concept: on one hand, they are seen as space invaders by a part of the local population, teachers, and students; on the other hand, they invade the school, as well as urban and public spaces (institutional and non-institutional, formal and informal, public and private), re-thinking and re-signifying places that were not idealized for them. In this context of knowledge production, the school is more and more only a part and not the central place. Even more, as we have tried to show, the practices and social behaviours of space invaders precede and exceed institutional rules and organization. Again, the digital technologies constitute a good example in this sense.

Often, this process clashes with institutional behaviours, even of their progressive representatives. A great *murales* welcomes you at the entrance of the junior high school “Saffi” in Bologna. There is a book flying through the bars of a jail: “the education makes you free”. We don’t want to make any stupid parallelism with the terrible “Arbeit macht frei”, but the ambiguity forces us to think.

Then, in the Utrecht case study, hierarchy is observed among lower-ranked teachers and service personnel with diverse backgrounds but, higher up the rankings, staff was noticed as increasingly white and overrepresented by males. The default configuration of the student population at Utrecht University is also white, middle/upper-class Christian/secular Dutch. Gender distributions differ per faculty; the technological disciplines see an overrepresentation of men, while an overrepresentation of women is observable in social sciences and humanities. In Athens, we have seen the impact of the economic crisis, from the point of view of the young migrants, on the school and education. Therefore, in the context of the crisis, the school react to this space invaders’ excess, trying to normalize the “invasion” and reduce it to a process of “culturalization”. This is a part of the construction of “imagined communities” (Anderson 1983), that are at the same time built by migrant families often trying to escape the problems of their new situation.

In these three case studies, we have underlined that space invaders can build alternative, informal spaces, and their re-appropriation of the digital machines offers a potential bottom-up source of knowledge production and circulation. The digital artefacts, to use the words of the Athens team, embody the unrepresentability and untranslatability of the space invaders’ practices in the dominant discourse on education, interculturality, integration, resistance to assimilation, and so on. They also embody the primacy of the space invaders’ tactics to any kind of normalisation exercised by educational institutions. So, migrants themselves often create autonomous ways of sociality that can cohabit or conflict with institutional ones. In this framework, the question is: does this process improve the forms of participation and citizenship, as many authors suggest, or to create new institutions and organize collective autonomy?

For sure, the fieldwork has started to provide some answers to these questions: who are the space invaders? For the institutions and the juridical framework, they are “foreign”, “foreign born”, “second generations”, etc. In all three case studies, we have underlined a process of ethnicisation, genderisation, and “alienisation” that is produced and reproduced in schools and universities too. It assumes different forms, but creates stratification and segmentation (social, linguistic, behavioural, etc.). But this process does not act on the “bare life” of victims, because space invaders are productive subjects of forms of resistance and autonomous creation. In this way, we have reported various examples in the fieldwork done in Bologna, Athens, and Utrecht. Moreover, the process of ethnicisation and genderisation is situated within class relations. In the three case studies, we have seen that the behaviours of space invaders and their interactions with the “indigenous” are simply beyond the categorisation of their identity (of course this categorisation is not a neutral or technical one, but aims to create and reproduces social hierarchies). Maybe mostly in Bologna, migrant identity is internal to general class conditions.

All in all, in the three case studies we can see that the traditional borders of the city are changing: old borders are blurring, new borders are continuously enacted and questioned. The education system is a good standpoint to observe this process and its conflicts. The role of the school and university, mainly in the crisis, has to be rethought starting from the challenge of space invaders, and its material transformation – that is to say, their changing within a society where class downgrading and precariousness are evermore becoming a permanent condition of life for everyone, migrant and non-migrant, women and men. Rather, we could affirm that the condition of migrants and women becomes the paradigm that can illuminate the whole process of social transformations.

### *Policy Recommendations*

In the field of knowledge production and in the particular field of education, to enhance the potentials of migrants’ social capital is seen as a key point. A relevant problem is today the distance between migrants’ active citizenship, that one can see in the processes that are happening inside every level of the education systems, and their social presence, often hidden by bureaucratic obstacles.

It is thus strongly recommendable to encourage the role of migrants in the cultural domain, first through the support of migrants’ self-organization in every domain of social activities and political participation, with a large range of instruments. A part of the formal participation in the political process (i.e. local and general elections, associations, NGOs, etc.), it is considered important, and recommended, to improve migrants’ capabilities through public programs and public spaces open especially to young migrants’ usability.

To encourage the expression of migrants’ agency beyond any banalization, due to migrants’ growing demographic presence and social role, is considered

a strategic issue for all European countries. The case studies have confirmed a spread between social reality on the ground, and the public and media discourse, where migrants' presence is often discussed in racialised terms, especially in respect to the economic condition, on one hand, and the concept of knowledge and national history, on the other. Considering the specific role of education in the shaping of European identity, a large, open and transparent debate on the nature of European identity, citizenship and history that includes a critical analysis of the racialization of past and present cultural, social and legal institutions in most of the European countries, is strongly recommended. The rooting of this debate inside education institutions, as school, universities, as well as the use of the social networks in promoting this discussion, are considered as main assets.

In relation to the formation of networks and the use of digital instruments and languages, the fieldworks show a process of building relationships, cutting borders, that goes beyond the exhausted dichotomy between digital and real, where migrants create a new transnational language, with different forms of interaction and conflicts that includes digital as well physical languages. In this context, knowledge is produced in a larger space than the one formalized inside education institutions. Often they are only one part in this process, and their bureaucratic structure seems to prevent the full expression of this new social dimension. This is true also in the case studies of this survey, otherwise considered as progressive examples. For this reasons, new programs that can allow migrants and not European students to express themselves directly, included positive actions in order to attend their career inside the education system, are recommended.

In the context of the economic crisis, social and class relations become more tense. That affects the production of knowledge and education. Active policies with the aim to avoid a new social cleavage, potentially destructive of the feeble European cohesion, are strongly needed. In this respect, a common policy on the role of second generations' should be able to push all countries towards the adoption of the *jus soli* principle, that will affects millions immediately involved in the education system and foster European citizenship. On the other hand, one must recognize that this is not sufficient, due to the distrust that a large part of the European policies suggest towards migrants and not European foreigners, particularly by strictly linking visas to migrants' performances in schools, universities and the labour places. This bureaucratic distrust, if not radically changed, will weaken all the efforts made through innovative policies at every level.

It must be avoided an humanitarian approach to these problematic dimensions, as the study reveals that migrants can't be compared to pure victims of social conditions, but they themselves are building new form of social cohesion and knowledge production, often together with other European citizens belonging to the same social classes, school or university programs. On the ground, the strict distinction between Europeans and not Europeans is thus challenged in many instances, following a general pattern of transformation of the relationship between subjectivities, spaces and social

discourses (i.e., this involves the urban dimension of the towns involved in this survey, Bologna, Utrecht and Athens). This process is now confronted with the precarization of living conditions.

Overall, new policies must on the one hand, promote a simplification of the bureaucratic structure of the education domains, and, on the other hand, foster innovative participatory instruments that recognise the positive and active role that migrants are already playing in schools, universities and in general in the framing of a new European culture. Main goal of new policies should be to establish and encourage new and flexible administrative instruments, in order to allow local, national and larger communities to take advantage of this social composition.

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