The European University of Post-Industrial Cities (UNIC)

Superdiversity in Higher Education Settings: A State-of-the-Art Report

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Co-funded by the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union

March 2021

The European University of Post-Industrial Cities

Deliverable number:	D55 (D4.3)
Deliverable title:	State-of-the-art-report of the literature on superdiversity and higher education
Due date:	31.03.2021
Work package number:	4
Work package leader:	KU
Dissemination type:	Report
Dissemination level:	Public
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Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the distinguished scholars within our UNIC group of experts for the development of this report, including Caitriona Ni Laoire; Charlotte Venema; Elina Lehtomäki; Elsa Mescoli; Kate Kirk; Koraljka Modić Stanke; Marco Martiniello; and Piaras Mac Éinrí, who provided continuous support and feedback throughout this process. Their engagement and involvement enabled us to develop a true UNIC state-of-the-art that speaks to key issues of relevance to our partners.

We would also like to thank the various other scholars and academics at UNIC partner institutions who provided essential feedback and commentaries to the report including but not limited to Claire Edwards, Eduardo Javier Ruiz Vieytez, Gorka Urrutia Asua, Johanna Lampinen, Margaret Scanlon, María José Bezanilla, Tijana Vukojičić Tomić and Çetin Çelik. The members of the *UNIC Sub-Group for Superdiversity and Inclusion,* provided crucial survey information about their institutions and essential readings and resources which have been included in the report.

Least but not least, we would like to thank our director at Migration Research Centre at Koç University (MiReKoc), Ahmet İçduygu, and our colleagues Burcu Yakıcı and Esin Aksay Aksezer for their support throughout the process.

Executive Summary

The European University of the Post-Industrial Cities (UNIC) is an alliance of eight European universities: Erasmus University Rotterdam, Koç University, Ruhr University Bochum, University College Cork, University of Deusto, University of Liège, University of Oulu, and University of Zagreb. UNIC was established to promote mobility, inclusion and impact. UNIC aims to foster a new generation of students who have knowledge and the skills to generate societal impact not only within their own universities and cities but on a European level. This state-of-the-art report is the initial research output of the *UNIC Superdiversity Academy*, which aims to combine teaching and research expertise, for developing and applying an innovative model of superdiversity in teaching and learning. The goal is to contribute to the practical and policy making aspects of social, economic and cultural inclusion in superdiverse post-industrial university and city lives. It will serve as a handbook for upcoming UNIC activities on superdiversity, a first step towards developing a model of practice for *transforming* higher education institutions and cities in superdiverse settings.

Superdiverse student communities are already present and included in teaching, research and administrative practices of higher education institutions. There is a gap between higher education institutions' superdiverse student populations, marked by multi-dimensional complex identities, rapidly changing needs, and activist mindsets; and institutional strategies and policies which large still rely on single-dimensional identity markers, gradual policy responses and identity politics. By reviewing studies on existent policies and practices, this state-of-the-art aim to address this gap between the reality and institutional practices, by introducing a superdiversity lens to the analysis of higher education. The report presents a snapshot of where higher education institutions are currently at in their approaches to and engagement with diversity; thereby demonstrating the need to explore and envision how university policies can be developed to become responsive to the changes and growing complexities of their superdiverse populations, and to activate the universities' power as agents of change for societal transformation (Gallagher, 2018).

This state-of-the-art begins with a review of the literature on superdiversity, establishing a partly chronological narrative of its conceptual development as well as introducing preceding relevant concepts including multiculturalism and interculturalism. The shortcomings of these two preceding concepts, including their dependence on organized ethnic minority groups, group-based categorization, and the predictability of socio-cultural traits for each category, such as language, religion and social practices; undermined their conceptual, theoretical, methodological and practical value. The need for a new concept has emerged to explain a changing social condition, that arose with the multiplication and complexification of multiple, as well as temporary and fluid, identities. Initially introduced with a migration focus, superdiversity was developed as a summary term to unify and systematize the literature against the single-dimensional perception of diversity. Superdiversity is a

multi-dimensional approach that extends beyond a focus on ethnicity or immigrant status, where several identity variables like country of origin, migration channel and immigration status, human capital, religious affiliation and practice, gender, age, language and space/place multiply, combine and differentially converge (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1025; Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). These multiplications, combinations and differentiated convergences lead to new social statuses and stratifications, entailing new patterns of inequality and prejudice, especially in an urban context (Vertovec, 2019). The state-of-the-art establishes a setting to implement the superdiversity frame beyond the urban context, and comments on the conceptual, descriptive, methodological and policy-oriented implementations of the superdiversity lens, which are key to bringing superdiversity into dialogue with higher education. Higher education is an ideal space to apply this lens with its focus on the complexity of identities, given the multiplicity of relations and interactions that engender the university space. Moreover, the variation across UNIC partner institutions provides further grounds to explore higher education through a superdiversity lens.

Accordingly, the third section of the report evaluates the linkages and gaps among the UNIC higher education institutions in their attempts to cater for diversity, thereby demonstrating the reality of UNIC superdiverse populations, and the "superdiversity-ready" qualities of university policies directed at these populations. Similar to many international documents addressing diversity, this section too depends on and is structured around some categories of identity variables. These variables are extracted from a UNIC-wide survey and based on UNIC institutions' respective definitions of non-traditional students, as well as the categories of diversity accounted for in university wide policy responses including: country of origin, language, migration channel and immigration status (as three components of migrant and minority background), socio-economic and first-generation status (in lieu of human capital), gender, age (mature status) and special needs status. A panorama of UNIC institutions show that UNIC HEIs' inclusion policies are directed at: needs-based support especially for socio-economically disadvantaged and first-generation students as well as mature students; positive action/discrimination initiatives specially to achieve gender equity; and policies to reduce structural barriers to access HE for all categories. The cases demonstrate awareness of inclusivity issues and the areas of action in the learning, teaching and research environments of UNIC HEIs. However, except for some, university policies often adopt a single-dimensional configuration to cater for diversity, instead of a multi-dimensional one that would be more responsive to their complex populations. Some intersectional policies exist with regards to social complexities among socio-economic statuses, staff training and curriculum management, but university practices concerning diversity often act to address single-dimensional categories.

To bring a superdiversity lens to higher education, it is necessary to examine core themes and discussions, concerning diversity, internationalization and higher education as a social good. Moreover, superdiversity presents an additional scope to intersectional approaches to identity as it gives space for temporary or transient identities that are relevant in current superdiverse post-industrial contexts.

The focus on HE as societal good opens possibilities to explore institutional limitations or barriers preventing the inclusion of under-represented or non-traditional students as well as examine institutional efforts and programs to increase these groups' access, their retention and attainment by addressing diversity concerns on campuses, among faculty and staff, in classrooms or curricula. Existing literature diversity and inclusion in higher education, presents a range of complex factors, evaluating and assessing diversity and inclusion from different methodological and analytical perspectives. The available scholarly work analyses the role of institutions, structures, and agency with an emphasis on the institutional, staff-related and student-focused levels. Therefore, the *fourth* section of this state-of-the-art explores the higher education literature under four main themes: *1) inclusion and diversity in HE 2) institutional strategies, settings and policies; 3) intersectionalities and structural inequalities; 4) social and relational aspects of student experiences in higher education.*

Debates on the widening participation and increasing inclusion in HE focus on four key areas: *access, attainment, retention and outcomes or progress*. The literature on students' *access* to HE highlights the critical connection to fostering inclusion and access from schools rather than merely focusing on the HE sphere. Beyond this need, programs and initiatives to widen participation in HE for non-traditional or under-represented students are needed. Attainment emerges as an area that requires further research to evaluate the impact of interventions to develop evidence-based policy approaches. For retention, in addition to the significant role played by curricula and pedagogical perspectives', studies suggest that there are non-academic, complex factors that impact students' retention. Regarding outcomes, existing strategies implemented through centralized career services, extra- and intra-curricular activities, and associated agendas targeting non-traditional and under-represented groups suggest promising results; however, it is necessary to widen or reassess these strategies relying on a superdiverse approach. In sum, existing strategies across HE contexts highlight that for the most part only certain components of multi-dimensional aspect of inclusion and diversity are targeted, and HEIs are less proactive in others. In many contexts, actions also remain experimental and are insufficiently shared across HEIs to share good practices. Similar argument can be made for scholarly productivity's turning real actions in HEI.

The *fifth* section of this state-of-the-art brings a superdiversity perspective to higher education by putting these two literatures in conversation under a four-fold conceptualization of current trends in the literature, theory and policy. The section begins with a discussion of the ever-evolving missions and functions of higher education institutions, with a perception of universities as spaces and reflections of their cities. It proceeds to examine higher education institutions' capabilities to respond to the speed, spread and scale of superdiversity's changing dynamics, in their respective cities as well as in a global scale. It then introduces policy implications of intersectionality and complexity theories for superdiversity and higher education by recognizing the significance of an intersectional superdiversity approach, to achieve institutional level transformations with a wider impact. Higher education institutions require more complex policy governance processes to respond to the ever-changing needs

of their superdiverse populations. As superdiverse spaces, universities are sites where students mobilize around diverse issues of concern, contesting policies, practices or events. Awareness among students about the specific challenges facing groups of "non-traditional" or under-represented students due to their race, gender, disability, legal status and the like, have resulted in students' mobilizing and organizing activities to demand changes within the university and beyond it. Viewing student mobilization and activism as contributing to citizen activism, a superdiversity lens becomes further relevant in higher education, to contribute and present an avenue for students to develop awareness of their influence on politics and their futures.

The *concluding remarks* of the report focus on the possibilities afforded by a superdiversity lens in an analysis of higher education, with its multi-dimensional and multi-layered approach. These multiple dimensions and layers, their various combinations and differentiated convergences enabled the analysis to encompass new social statuses and stratifications as well as show new patterns of inequality and prejudice. Superdiversity is also methodologically relevant for establishing linkages between population diversity, diversity of knowledge, and the relevant policy processes. Conceptual, methodological or policy-oriented frames of superdiversity are promising for an analysis of new debates concerning the future of higher education institutions and establishing connections with the cities they are located in. The authors hope to have shown the possibilities of a superdiversity approach in higher education may bring with the aim of fostering further future research.

Implementation of a superdiversity lens to higher education institutions also enables researchers to establish consistent connections between urban and university spaces. There are many intersecting debates between cities and higher education institutions, such as the tension between social justice and entrepreneurial agendas. Higher education institutions have contributed to and can continue to contribute to ease these tensions by seeking local, national and private partnerships that support both entrepreneurship and social justice. Moreover, urban policy, and its contemporary sub-headings of urban renewal and urban resilience, influence, are affected by and reflected in the way universities perceive superdiversity. Universities also take as part of their mission the tasks of mirroring and responding to the superdiversity of their urban settings. In this manner, universities contribute to the development of tools for enhancing the contribution and representation of superdiversity, in policy development processes on the societal issues. Beyond their urban-level contribution, superdiversity responsive universities can contribute to social justice agenda within the wider scope of global sustainability. Problems such as social injustice, inequality and climate change require reappraisal of the relationship between universities and societies.

Abbreviations

ASHE	Association for the Study of Higher Education
DISCs	Disciplines Inquiring into Societal Challenges
EC	The European Commission
EDI	Equality, Diversity and Inclusion
EU	The European Union
EUR	Erasmus University Rotterdam
ESU	The European Students' Union
FHSS	Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
GPA	Grade Point Average
HE	Higher Education
HEA	Higher Education Academy
HEAR	Higher Education Access Route
HEI	Higher Education Institution
IAU	The International Association of Universities
IT	Information Technologies
KU	Koç University
LGBTIQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex and Queer +
NSP	National Scholarship Programme
OECD	The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PSP	Personal Study Plan
RUB	Ruhr University Bochum
S-L	Service-Learning
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics
TEAM-Science	Training and Education to Advance Minority Scholars in Science
UCC	University College Cork
UD	University of Deusto
UDL	Universal Design for Learning
UN	The United Nations
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
ULiège	University of Liège
UNIC	The European University of Post-Industrial Cities
UniZG	University of Zagreb
UOulu	University of Oulu
USA	United States of America
UK	United Kingdom

1. Introduction

The European University of the Post-Industrial Cities (UNIC) is an alliance of eight universities from eight European countries: Erasmus University Rotterdam (EUR, the Netherlands), Koç University (KU, Turkey), Ruhr University Bochum (RUB, Germany), University College Cork (UCC, Ireland), University of Deusto (UD, Spain), University of Liège (ULiège, Belgium), University of Oulu (UOULU, Finland) and University of Zagreb (UniZG, Croatia). This long-term alliance of universities establishes a UNIC Institution, consisting of four main pillars. First pillar is a *UNIC Governance Structure,* providing a truly European collaborative structure of governance with the involvement of students and various other stakeholders. Second pillar is the *UNIC Inter-University Campus*, referring to virtual, real and blended mobility for students and university staff, through an innovative, differentiated approach. Third pillar is the *UNIC Superdiversity Academy*, developing models of practice within and between UNIC university teams to address superdiversity through research, educational and outreach programmes, executive training, and the provision of lifelong learning programmes. And final pillar is the *UNIC CityLabs*, pop-up locations of UNIC in the cities to confront the challenges and exchange knowledge. With the joint mission to promote mobility, inclusion and impact, UNIC aims to foster a new generation of students who have knowledge and the skills to create societal impact not just within their own universities and cities but on a European level.

This state-of-the-art report is the initial research output of the *UNIC Superdiversity Academy,* which aims to combine teaching and research expertise, for developing and applying an innovative model of superdiversity in teaching and learning, to eventually contribute to the social, economic and cultural inclusion in superdiverse post-industrial university and city lives. It will construct a structural platform for excellence in achieving inclusive universities; and introduces a model of practice for transforming HE in superdiverse settings. The activities of the UNIC *Superdiversity Academy* include university peer-review assessments; preparation of a guideline for transforming university practices; superdiversity trainings for university staff; educational content and modules; role model talks and buddy couples; and collection of practice-oriented case studies. All these activities require a detailed comprehension of superdiversity. Superdiverse student communities are already present and included in teaching, research and administrative practices of all UNIC institutions, albeit at the moment without consciously using superdiversity as a reference point. Thus, by combining theoretical and practical expertise obtained in the *Superdiversity Academy* and involving superdiverse students to co-create superdiversity teaching and learning scenarios and reach out to the cities, UNIC will be a leader in European superdiversity research and education; by *developing a structural platform for excellence* on realizing inclusive universities. This state-of-the-art report will serve as a handbook for upcoming UNIC activities on superdiversity, a first step towards developing a model of practice for *transforming* the higher education institutions (HEIs) and cities in superdiverse settings.

The need for this transformation has emerged as a response to two main changes in HEIs. First, for the last three decades, universities have become increasingly superdiverse. This is mainly an outcome of the internationalization of HE due to growing emphasis on the global profiles of the universities. Increased immigration and inter-European mobility are also significant factors impacting the diversification of universities and cities. Universities' increased concern with societal challenges has resulted in more engagement with under-represented student groups and "non-traditional" students which has also contributed to diversifying universities as well as compelling them to adopt policies to address diversity, including cultural differences, varying age groups, socio-economic classes, genders and ability statuses (Thomas, 2016). In addition, post-industrial cities are distinguished by their superdiverse compositions which directly impacts universities and university-society relations and engagement.

The second change has been the increase in the awareness of superdiversity in universities and in the society as a whole (Geldof, 2018). Identity politics surrounding race, ethnicity, language, immigration status, gender and disabilities are also present within the universities; and the intersections of these identity politics are growing increasingly visible. For HEIs, changing societal dynamics and processes require universities to develop in-built flexibility or capacities to adapt to changing social environments and emergent needs. Currently, in HEIs across Europe, North America, Australia and elsewhere, growing awareness of superdiversity is gradually becoming the norm rather than an exception. Research has sought to examine transformations in HEIs especially with a focus on "non-traditional" students and staff such as students with disabilities, from minority cultural groups, refugee status and/or students from a low socio-economic origin among other categories (Claiborne, Cornforth, Gibson, & Smith, 2010; Leyser, Greenberger, Sharoni, & Vogel, 2011; Weedon & Riddell, 2016).

While universities have been developing and implementing policies to engage with and address inclusion issues for "non-traditional" and under-represented students, in many cases, the policies tend to focus on a specific identity marker (e.g., ethnic or minority group membership, socio-economic class, refugee status etc.) rather than addressing the intersectionality of these elements. The convergence of superdiverse realities and HE policies on diversity, highlight a gap and a need to develop comprehensive and flexible policies that equip universities to respond to the acceleration and scale of changes occurring within society. By reviewing studies on existent policies and practices, this state-of-the-art presents a snapshot of where higher education institutions are currently at in their approaches to and engagement with diversity; thereby demonstrating the need to explore and envision how university policies can be developed be responsive to changes and growing complexities of their superdiverse populations, and to activate the universities' power as agents of change for societal transformation (Gallagher, 2018; Salmi, 2018). This state-of-the-art will contribute to expanding university managements' perceptions on the relevance of such policies to enable universities, students and society to benefit from sustaining superdiverse contexts that encourage complex thinking (Antonio,

Chang, Hakuta, Kenny, & Levin, 2004), enhance work processes and develop intergroup relations (Schmid, Hewstone, & Ramiah, 2012).

Within the scope of the UNIC alliance, and hence this report, the concept of superdiversity is understood in a manner close to its original description, to capture the increasing social complexities of diversity in contemporary societies in Europe and beyond (Vertovec, 2007). The intersectionalities of ethnicity, race, gender, sexuality, culture, religion, socio-economic and legal status, and many others in our societies, manifest the growing prominence of superdiversity. For UNIC universities, the concept of "superdiversity" is expected to allow a shift away from a singular lens, albeit ethnic, religious, or citizenship, and adopt a broader social perspective for intercultural understanding. With a research-led approach to superdiversity and through its engagement with an international knowledge community of scholars and urban stakeholders, UNIC aims to re-centre universities' relationships with their cities to achieve greater urban equality and productivity. The post-industrial cities where UNIC universities are located foreshadow developments to respond to increasing diversity throughout European society. The UNIC universities are then perfect laboratories to address and harness the transformational potential of superdiversity for the future of not only European universities, but also European cities. According to Gallagher (2018, p. 339), HE in the European area faces a growing need to develop "next practices" or new and innovative approaches that go beyond existing practices to address existing and emergent challenges.

As of its nature, this state-of-the-art report embraces conventional and critical approaches to superdiversity, inclusion and HE. It presents a conceptually diverse literature, informed by various socio-political and ideological contexts, promising practices, innovative ideas, and different understandings of the qualities and purposes of HEIs. At times, this leads to the co-appearance of conflicting theoretical and philosophical perspectives within the report. This is an informed decision made by the authors to develop a state-of-the-art report that is representative of the field and provide readers with ground to decide how to conceptually frame superdiversity in a HE context. In addition, while the report benefits from the vast literature from North American and Australian contexts, it will mainly embrace European perceptions given the centrality and implication of European specificities to the UNIC alliance of European Universities; in the process, the diversity of specificities among our UNIC partners is recognized.

Accordingly, this report aims to answer the following research questions:

- *How can the concept of superdiversity help to understand the contemporary dynamics of and challenges for the higher education institutions?*
- *How can higher education institutions adapt and respond to their superdiverse future, and transform in their core functions?*
    - *How can HE institutions respond to reflect the superdiversity in their student and staff populations?*

- *How can academic research respond to superdiversity?*
- *How can teaching and learning in HE respond to superdiversity?*
- *How will UNIC contribute to these transformative processes?*

- *How can the concept, lens and policies of superdiversity in HE benefit wider societies in urban, national or global contexts?*

Many overlapping terms and concepts emerge throughout this report, and various descriptions and framings are introduced, but the authors refrain from providing strict definitions. This decision is both due to the nature of this literature, as well as the nature of the UNIC Alliance. The literature presented on superdiversity and HE draws on research from various disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, geography, migration studies, pedagogy, education sciences, higher education studies and even linguistics. Each discipline has its own framing for these terms, and each has conceptual, descriptive, methodological and practical value. Moreover, regions and countries have varying traditions of understanding superdiversity. For instance, traditionally migrant-receiving countries; countries with a colonial past; and countries that are relatively new migrant receiving states have respectively developed different understandings of diversity. Such distinctions can also be made among countries with, and without, ethnic or religious minority populations; or countries with, and without, a liberal tradition concerning gender or ethnicity. Even the disabilities-related diversity is framed in various ways with some countries favouring concepts such as special needs or functional impairments. The UNIC alliance celebrates the co-existence of these different traditions and perceives this as one of the main strengths of its Consortium. As such, sharp definitions of the relevant concepts may jeopardize the UNIC Consortium's aim to guide and achieve "superdiversity responsiveness" by learning from the best practices of each institution and developing relevant future practices. Thus, instead of presenting definitions for the below-introduced concepts, this report presents comprehensive descriptions and framings that are applicable to a variety of cases relating to the UNIC identity, built not only on its members' commonalities but also on their differences.

This report consists of five main sections. The *second* section is a review of the literature on superdiversity, establishing a partly chronological narrative of its conceptual development as well as introducing preceding relevant concepts including multiculturalism and interculturalism, continuing with the emergent need for a new concept, to explain a changing social condition. Here, superdiversity is explicated with regards to its added value to alternative concepts, most noticeably intersectionality. The sub-section discusses the multi-dimensional interplay of several identity variables like country of origin, migration channel and immigration status, human capital, religious affiliation and practice, gender, age, language and space/place, that constitute superdiversity. The section concludes with a comment on the conceptual, descriptive, methodological and policy-oriented frames of superdiversity which are key to bringing superdiversity into dialogue with HE.

The *third* section provides a panorama of UNIC institutions with a focus on superdiversity among their populations and select policy responses. The section is built from a survey distributed to UNIC universities about their understandings and practices concerning superdiversity. Accordingly, it identifies relevant identity markers for defining "non-traditional" and under-represented student groups at UNIC institutions including *country of origin, language, migration channel and immigration status, socio-economic and first-generation status, gender, age,* and *special needs status.* Structuring the section based upon these markers, the report presents UNIC and its superdiverse identities before embarking on a review of the literature on HE and inclusion. The discussion on HE and inclusion is tailored to refer to the key identity markers that emerged from the UNIC survey exercise.

The *fourth* section provides a four levelled analysis of the literature on HE, establishing its relationship with diversity and inclusion. It initially introduces concepts and policy implications of diversity and inclusion and establishes their link to internationalization. Afterwards, it introduces various institutional strategies, settings and policies implemented in varying contexts to assess their implications for transforming universities into inclusive spaces. The section then provides an understanding of intersectionalities and structural inequalities with regards to HE, with a specific focus on socio-economic inequalities and stratification. This discussion is concluded by a presentation of debates on the social and relational aspects of student experiences in HE, with emphasis on how to achieve equity in access, attainment, retention, outcomes and procession in HE.

The *fifth* section aims to bring a superdiversity perspective to HE by putting these two literatures in conversation under a four-fold conceptualization of current trends in the literature, theory and policy. The section begins with a discussion of the ever-evolving missions and functions of HEIs, with a perception of universities as spaces and reflections of their cities. It then establishes the relevance of the three main qualities of superdiversity, defined as spread, speed and scale of change, and connects them to contemporary HEIs. It then introduces policy implications of intersectionality and complexity theories for superdiversity and HE. The final component of the section explores the impact of current social movements, identity politics and increasing awareness of superdiversity on HEIs.

The *conclu*ding remarks refrains from repeating the comprehensive debates introduced throughout the report. Instead, it focuses on the possibilities a superdiversity lens offers in an analysis of HE, and how this may have implications for urban, and global settings. Conceptual, methodological or policy-oriented frames of superdiversity are promising for an analysis of new debates concerning the future of HEIs and establishing connections with the cities they are located in. It presents some intersecting debates between cities and the HEIs, such as the tension between the social justice, and entrepreneurial agendas and shows ways how HEIs have contributed and can contribute in the future to ease these tensions. The report is concluded with a mention of the possibility of the reflections of HE-led transformation towards superdiversity, in a global scale, contributing to sustainable development.

2. A Review of Literature on Superdiversity

A review of the literature on superdiversity must begin by highlighting the preceding approaches, most notably multiculturalism and interculturalism, which superdiversity is both a critique of and response to. The purpose of this introduction is not to incorporate all the fundamental and critical views against these approaches, but to establish a narrative of criticisms and contrasts, leading to the emergence of the superdiversity approach. In this section, superdiversity is explicated with regards to its added value to alternative concepts, most noticeably intersectionality. The section discusses the multi-dimensional interplay of several identity variables like country of origin, migration channel and immigration status, human capital, religious affiliation and practice, gender, age, language and space/place, that constitute superdiversity. It concludes with a comment on the conceptual, descriptive, methodological and policy-oriented frames of superdiversity which are key to bringing superdiversity into dialogue with HE.

2.1. Multiculturalism

For at least the last four decades, multiculturalism has been the policy response of numerous liberal states, including Australia, Canada, the USA, the UK, Sweden and the Netherlands, among others to promote respect for group identities. Perceived as an antithesis of assimilation, multiculturalism called for recognition, respect, and protection for ethno-cultural identities (Safran, 1994; Kymlicka, 2001). Provision of rights in multicultural settings refers to the protection and promotion of culturally distinctive elements that are peculiar to a specific group of people, rather than anti-discrimination against these groups and a denial of their human rights (Réaume, 2000). Rather than a laissez-faire approach, where cultural difference is merely accepted but not protected by the state, multiculturalism is accepted as a government policy with socio-political implications, including recognition and protection of minority rights and culture. Based on it, it is argued that inclusion within society can only be ensured through respect for differences and recognition of cultures (Kymlicka, 2010). Achieving this respect is expected to eventually lead to fair economic distribution and political participation.

Beyond this general definition of the multicultural approach to cultural diversity, multiculturalism and the concrete policies through which it is realized are shaped differently depending on the context. The most common examples of state-level multi-cultural policies include, representation of diversity in government positions; linguistic and cultural inclusivity in public services; measures to promote equality and respect; and resource provision for preserving minority cultures (Vertovec, 2010). For instance, in Canada, recognition of minority cultures has been guaranteed through policies such as the revision of the education curriculum to be more inclusive, the promotion of multilingualism in state offices and the media, respect for the culture and cultural rituals of all the groups and guaranteeing the political participation of all groups.

In scholarly literature, liberal multiculturalist approaches represented by Kymlicka (2001), and others such as Taylor (1992) and Parekh (2000) are criticised for their disregard on structural inequalities that prevail among ethno-cultural identities and the operation of power and oppression intrinsic to any societal division (Fraser & Ploux, 2005; Phillips, 2009). These theories are critical against the main premises of multiculturalism, celebrating difference, pluralism and acknowledging identity politics; pointing the problematic aspects of these divisions in political participation and representation. Malik (2014) specifically argues against harbouring dividend spaces for multiple identities and highlights the need to re-visit spaces for inclusion through confronting racism and inequality.

Despite its declining use in scholarly literature, multiculturalism has been, and in many ways still is, one of the preferred policy responses to multiple group identities, both at a macro level developed by the states, and at a meso level by public and private organizations. The multicultural policy approach to the management of diversities has however, also been the object of criticisms and discourses pointing at the failure and even "death" of multiculturalism (Gilroy, 2012). These critics and discourses highlight the alleged effect of multiculturalism in reinforcing ethnic boundaries and identity-based conflicts, its failure to promote intercultural dialogue, and its inability to keep up with the changing nature of global migration (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). The presumption of state-minority relations being a matter of social policy, immune from politicisation and securitisation is also cited as a weakness of multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 2015), especially in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, when diversity-management increasingly began to be perceived as a matter of national security. These aspects of multicultural policies, coupled with the financial crisis in Europe, have cultivated an environment for Eurosceptic, populist, anti-immigrant and xenophobic political parties to thrive, endorsing their discourse on the competition for limited resources, and harming a sense of solidarity (Hartleb, 2011; Leconte, 2015; Scholten, Collett, & Petrovic, 2016). Commenters from both right and left-wing mainstream socio-political formations also challenge multiculturalism, mainly due to the poor socio-economic standing of groups targeted by multicultural policies and its lack of attention to class-based inequalities (Vertovec, 2010).

2.2. Interculturalism

Interculturalism is an attempt at overcoming the segregationist criticisms directed at multiculturalism, on the basis that it did not address commonalities and contact among diverse communities, and thus held responsible for conflict-related to diversity, most notably in the form of social unrest (Cantle, 2012). Interculturalism is praised for overcoming the notion of culture based on national identities and race, and for its applicability to newer global trends of transnationalism and complexification of diversity. It promotes contact-based policies of active engagement, aimed at fostering communication among diverse communities (Zapata-Barrero, 2017). Actually, this contact-based approach was also present in the initial versions of multiculturalism, adopted in the early 1970s' Canada, especially in the Quebec region. Some scholars, including Modood (2018), are sceptical against the added value of

interculturalism as a policy paradigm, in comparison to the earlier, especially Quebec version of multiculturalism which had significant references to dialogue among communities. Interculturalism was coined in the 1990s as a reaction to the Western European versions of multiculturalism, whose implementation has varied with various newly-emerging impairments mentioned above, diverging further from the initial version of democratic multiculturalism.

Thus, it should be more appropriate to approach interculturalism as a new policy paradigm for the context of the Western European countries, who have been unsuccessful to implement a democratic version of multiculturalism, through promoting dialogue among the cultures, and led to segregation. At a policy level, interculturalist policies are not distinct from multiculturalist ones, but complement them, especially in the form of recognition of rights (Zapata-Barrero, 2017) and management of diversity in the form of providing equal opportunities for all, in all aspects of public life (Wood & Landry, 2008). Multiculturalism accepts the necessity of policy intervention in "managing" diversity, to eliminate socio-economic disadvantages among diverse social groups. Interculturalist policies perceive diversity as a resource rather than a challenge, and try to establish a culture of diversity, rather than a unique identity applicable to all elements of the community (Modood, 2016). Interculturalism stresses on the importance of specific policies, especially in the form of positive narration, promoting contact, and thus fostering intercultural citizenship and culture-making through socialization (Sarmento, 2014; Zapata-Barrero, 2016).

One of the main distinguishing features of interculturalism, especially at the European level, is the increasing significance of local-level governance structures, i.e., cities, in diversity management, in comparison to state-level approaches. In this context, Bousetta, Lafleur & Stangherlin (2018) conducted a study on urban interculturalism and migrant integration in the city of Liège to analyse the increasing significance of cities in interculturalist contexts. While findings indicate that local political actors generally managed intercultural issues with a relatively open approach by implementing measures to acknowledge diversity among residents. Moreover, local actors favoured intercultural approach as a means to produce conditions of integration and mutual enrichment, insisting on the fact that a positive cohabitation among culturally different people calls for all parties to cooperate in creating it. Despite this positive outlook, the continued existence of structural barriers creating precariousness or vulnerability especially among migrant groups as well as the dissonance between discourse and practice are raised as key considerations (Bousetta, Lafleur, & Stangherlin, 2018). A gap between political discourse and implementation has also been highlighted in Ireland, where government policy on migrant integration has adopted interculturalist discourse although its implementation has been characterised as closer to weak multiculturalism in practice (Bryan 2010).

As the above-mentioned case study on Liège also shows, the policy focus of interculturalism is directed to local shared spaces, where contact among diverse populations occurs, such as gardens, libraries and the like (Zapata-Barrero, 2017). Considerations of interculturalism in HE in general, and in classrooms and teaching methods specifically, have also emerged (Griffith, Wolfeld, Armon, Rios, & Liu, 2016; Gay,

2018). The intercultural approach in HE seeks to address the ways students engage, the teaching methods employed, curricula design and campus environment fostered. While much of interculturalism focuses on non-traditional students and the general student body, interculturalism has also entered into research on interaction or engagement between local and international students (Kudo, Volet, & Whitsed, 2019; Kudo, Volet, & Whitsed, 2020; Gay, 2018).

2.3. Superdiversity and its Added Value

The term superdiversity was coined by sociologist Steven Vertovec, when he considered conventional approaches to diversity have failed to accommodate the societal complexity emergent in Britain of the twenty-first century (Vertovec, 2007). These conventional approaches were adopting group-based criteria for diverse identities; and perceiving each diversity marker as internally homogeneous and mutually exclusive (Fanshawe & Sriskandarajah, 2010). Multiculturalism, for instance, was particularly dependent on organized ethnic minority groups, group-based categorization, and the predictability of socio-cultural traits for each category, such as language, religion and social practices, while undermining, especially power-related, differences within the groups (Baumann, 1996). However, such predictability is no longer relevant as people's identities are pluralized beyond a self-evident understanding of their nationalities (Favell, 2014). Moreover, conventional theories of diversity, including multiculturalism, were theorised for the cases of legally authorised and permanently settled cases of diversity, overseeing the cases whose legality is challenged and status is temporary (Kymlicka, 2015).

Superdiversity was initially introduced to explain a changing social condition, beginning in the early 1990s, with newly emerging patterns of immigration, most noticeably in urban contexts (Meissner, 2015). In comparison to the large migration movements, that were experienced in the 1950s and 1970s workers' mobility, this newer trend consisted of "smaller, transient, more socially stratified, less organized and more legally differentiated immigrant groups" (Vertovec, 2010). Thus, the distinguishing features of "super" diversity emerged as a dynamic interplay of multiple identity variables among and within these immigrant groups, including ethnicity, country of origin, language, religion, migration channel, immigration status, gender, age, space/place and transnational links in a larger scale than ever encountered in the history of humankind. Superdiversity was introduced as a summary term to unify and systematize the literature against the single-dimensional perception of diversity, previously emerged as a criticism to multiculturalism; and in feminist literature with intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; Hollinger, 1995; Parekh, 2000; Glick-Schiller, Çağlar, & Guldbrandsen, 2008; Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2009).

A relevant response to the term superdiversity has been questioning its added value in comparison to diversity, or intersectionality. Meissner and Vertovec respond to these comparative apprehensions by introducing three distinguishing characteristics for superdiversity, as increasing spread, speed and scale

of diversity (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). In superdiverse environments, multi-dimensional and multi-layered are the keywords to define changing societies. Albeit some essential similarities exist but superdiversity is distinguished from the notion of intersectionality with a wider spectrum of axes of differentiation, embracing both permanent factors of diversity, such as gender and ethnicity; as well as temporary ones, such as legal status and age (Meissner, 2018). Superdiversity is often referred to as diversification of diversity (Phillimore, 2011). Adopting a superdiversity lens has the potential to explicate the processes of social diversification through consideration of multiple variables and individual trajectories (Boccagni, 2015).

2.4. What Constitutes Superdiversity?

In the scholarly literature, the decline of multiculturalism as an analytical concept has mainly been due to its single-dimensional approach to diversity, adopting ethnic communities as its main unit of analysis (Baumann, 1996; Vertovec, 1996; Glick-Schiller, Çağlar, & Guldbrandsen, 2006; Fanshawe & Sriskandarajah, 2010). Ethnic groups as a unit of analysis are problematic for various reasons, including overshadowing more important forms of diversity; incorporating blurred boundaries with significant internal divisions (Fomina, 2006; Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009; Pecoud, 2010). Superdiversity is a multi-dimensional approach beyond a focus on ethnicity, where several identity variables like country of origin, migration channel and immigration status, human capital, religious affiliation and practice, gender, age, language and space/place multiplied, combined and differentially converge (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1025; Meissner & Vertovec, 2015, p. 545). These multiplications, combinations and differentiated convergences lead to new social statuses and stratifications, entailing new patterns of inequality and prejudice, especially in an urban context (Vertovec, 2019).

In a superdiverse setting, immigrants' countries of origin are multiple, new and diverse. In addition, immigrants' countries of origin may not necessarily have historical or colonial links with the country of immigration (Bousetta, Lafleur, & Stangherlin, 2018). Immigrants from the same country of origin may also differentiate among themselves based on ethnicity, religion, language, localities, kinships, class, political views among other factors. Beyond the countries of origin, migration channel and immigration status are also crucial determinants of group identification and of economic and social status and wellbeing; influencing places of habitation, duration of stay, autonomy to work, possibility of family reunification and access to public services. In many cases, religious affiliation and practices tend to be predictable from the country-of-origin data; however, there are relevant diversities among them as well. For instance, Islam is not practiced the same among all groups from a specific country. This similarly holds true for variations within Christianity or other faiths. Moreover, religious belonging may differ among people coming from the same country of origin. Religious practice may be indicative of networks or support structures available to individuals.

Migration channels and immigration statuses dictate the immigrants' rights and restrictions; thus, these are fundamental dynamics of superdiversity (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). Over the years, various channels have been relied on to arrive in Europe, affecting immigrants' statuses and access to employment, residence and services. The most common statuses are workers, students, family reunification migrants, asylum seekers and refugees, undocumented migrants, and new citizens. These statuses are not fixed; they may alter for each individual several times during the course of their lives and depend on the complex migration and asylum regimes each country adopts (Meissner, 2018; Sigona, 2012). The expansion of the EU and various forms of mobility within the EU add further dimensions to this debate. For EU citizens, moving within the Schengen space for study or work also has impact on European cities and institutions. In addition, for immigrants who gained EU member state citizenship, their mobility within the EU Schengen space highlights additional dimensions to superdiversity (Montague et al. 2021). Statuses also vary within the groups of same ethnic or national origin. This fact once more renders ethnicity-focused multicultural approaches inadequate to meet the realities of the twenty-first century, which require a "beyond ethnicity" understanding of the migrants' inclusion or exclusion from various rights and services.

Newly arriving migrants tend to move into places populated by other migrants or ethnic minorities, not necessarily coming from their own countries of origin. Various factors may underlie this decision from arrival infrastructures, location of social housing, renting cost, easier processes to rent to migrants and the like. Places of residence choices are impacted by structural barriers as well as opportunities. Segregation no longer happens on clear ethnic lines, but instead, there are areas with high degrees of intercultural mixing, often separated from more homogenous areas populated by majority populations. In many cities, this type of residential segregation, leads to separate schools and different places of worship, even among the members of the same religion. Space and place also impact the networks formed, associations joined, places of leisure frequented and the like.

Despite the organic growth of the term, the literature on superdiversity is still, to a large extent, focused on migration-related diversity. This is due to the available data, and the contents of the article where the term has been initially introduced (Vertovec, 2007). However, the notion is adaptable for the analysis of further diverse identities, and it cannot be understood as a mere concept and approach about new migration patterns. Meissner argues against limiting the scope of superdiversity, by supporting his argument from the research on intersectionality. (Herrera Vivar & Lutz, 2011), suggesting such limitation only "impede recognition of complex interconnections" (Meissner, 2015). A superdiversity lens is suitable to elaborate on all types of multidimensionality in diversity, and migration studies have just been a starting point. Further research needs to be conducted with a superdiversity lens, analysing complex interlinkages beyond migration-related diversities.

2.5. Framing Superdiversity

While superdiversity was initially introduced with a migration focus, to identify the changing social complexities of British immigrants, it has evolved beyond this framing. It has received varying receptions from a broad range of fields in social sciences, though excluded from some, including law and economics. In an analysis of academic publications across multiple disciplines, Vertovec (2019) has identified various understandings of superdiversity, including as a form of diversity; a scene-setting backdrop for a study; a methodological tool; a term for more ethnicity; a multidimensional reconfiguration; a call to move beyond ethnicity; or for highlighting the new social complexities. While the latter was promoted by the author, especially single-dimensional understanding of superdiversity as more ethnicity is identified as a misapplication (Vertovec, 2019). Beyond these understandings, various frames and uses of superdiversity, including conceptual, descriptive, methodological and policy-oriented, are worth a mention here.

The concept of superdiversity was developed and further consolidated through detailed demographic analyses of the European census data, showing the complex interplay of diverse identities, including countries of origin, language, legal status, educational background, and gender. Diversification, fragmentation, and complexification of diversity have been the defining characteristics of superdiversity (Deumert, 2014). Superdiversity is also a descriptive term, aiming to portray population configurations and their interlinkages arising from the global migration flows in the twenty-first century. It is applied to urban contexts that are even more impacted by these global dynamics. As a descriptive summary term, it stresses the interlinkages between the changing identity variables within the migration patterns and recognizes the new and unique “complexities in diversity” (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). There are socio-linguistic criticisms against the use of superdiversity as a descriptive category, mainly due to the problems of measurement on what constitutes “super” diversity. As the complexification of diversity in the twenty-first century is immeasurable, the term superdiversity cannot provide a definitive description, but has value as a conceptual device aiming to observe, rather than describe the contemporary societal complexities (Vertovec, 2012; Deumert, 2014).

Superdiversity can also be employed as a methodological approach, for a better understanding of the complexities in diverse societies. Adopting superdiversity as a methodological approach may provide insights on patterns of inequality, prejudice, and segregation, due to its emphasis on multidimensionality and intersectionality. The use of superdiversity as a methodological tool is also promising to liberate the researchers from dualisms in literature, most noticeably between transnationalism and integration (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015, p. 543). Especially in migrant-receiving societies, social research is often restricted into a cultural integration frame, which is insufficient for assessing the complexities of contemporary superdiverse cities. In addition, research demonstrates that for the European youth, multi-dimensional identities and the representation of intersectionality is more of a norm than not (Moffitt, Juang, & Syed, 2020).

There is a contemporary lag, or discrepancy, between the sociological reality of superdiversity, and policy making in all aspects of public life. Policy responses are still single-dimensional in most cases and neglect the intersectionalities and multi-dimensionality of diversity. In many superdiverse societies, multicultural policies with a focus on collective identities prevail. The legal frameworks for targeting discrimination also adopt this single-dimensional approach. The policies of multiculturalism are well suited for targeting organized communities to accommodate conventional differences, such as ethnicity, religion or language. This targeting is conventionally made through community associations, places of employment, media and other public spaces, often with a country-of-origin approach. However, this approach is not a suitable policy response for today's reality, and masks at least as important forms of diversity such as ethnicity, religion, language and locality (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). Policy makers should be aware of the new conditions of diversity exacerbated by global migration mobility (Boccagni, 2015; Phillimore, 2015). The sociological reality of superdiversity, highlights the transformative power of "smaller, less organized, legally differentiated and non-citizen groups" and the inability of conventional multicultural policy responses to coping with this multi-dimensional diversity (Kofman, 1998; Vertovec, 2007). Overcoming this lag can begin with policy makers' and practitioners' awareness of superdiversity, by recognizing the multi-dimensionality of diversity and co-existence of multiple affiliations in identities. A shift from solely "ethno-focal" or "community-based" policies and services, to pay attention to other identities should be promoted (Vertovec, 2010).

3. Superdiversity in UNIC Higher Education Institutions

UNIC HEIs reflect the superdiverse cities they are in. Their policy approach to diversity, or non-discrimination, also have parallels with international, especially EU legislation. Under its Equality Title, Article 21 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, prohibits "any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation" (European Union, 2012). The following Articles (22,23 and 26) of the Charter imply, non-discrimination is rarely sufficient to accommodate diversity, in issue areas such as cultural, religious and linguistic diversity; equality between women and men; and integration of persons with disabilities, specific policies are needed to ensure equity (European Union, 2012). A similar concern is valid of UNIC HEIs. All UNIC HEIs follow these non-discrimination rules for above-mentioned groups, but in most of the cases, recognition of superdiversity within student bodies or among staff has not yet been translated into policies to address and accommodate superdiversity. The universities have been developing policies in teaching, research and administrative practices to cater to the needs of their students by accounting for variation and complexity in identities; albeit these endeavours have so far been implemented without consciously using superdiversity as a conceptual framework. The discussion below presents these linkages and gaps within the UNIC HEIs; thereby demonstrating the reality of superdiverse populations, and the "superdiversity-ready" qualities of university policies directed at these populations.

Similar to many international documents addressing diversity, such as the above-mentioned Charter (European Union, 2012); Diversity, Equity and Inclusion in European Higher Education Institutions Report (Claeys-Kulik, Jørgensen, & Stöber, 2019); or the European Students' Union's Social Dimension Policy Paper (ESU, 2019); this section too depends on and structured around some categories of identity

Box 1: In Finland, HEIs are not allowed to collect detailed demographic data due to privacy protection legislation, and therefore, students are not required to report on ethnicity, refugee status, socio-economic background, disability/special needs. In Belgium too, the law on the Protection of Privacy prohibits the collection and use of personal data which would reveal the racial origin or ethnicity of individuals. Consequently, no data on these categories are collected at ULiège. However, there are some bottom-up cultural recognition attempts by the student groups. One example is the "Cercle des Étudiants Musulmans", whose aim is to improve academic success for university and college students; organise a set of activities for its members; and favour the role and representation of Muslim students in university and high school institutions.

variables. These variables are extracted from a UNIC-wide survey and based on UNIC institutions' respective definitions of non-traditional students, as well as the categories of diversity accounted for in university wide policy responses. Accordingly, the following identity variables emerged based on the survey: first-generation status, mature status, migrant or minority background, special needs status, socio-economic class and gender. While including these markers in this section, it is necessary to note that these are institutional, or in some cases, state-defined markers, so students may favour one over others, none of them or identify simultaneously with various markers (intersectionally), but at this time, it is not possible to ascertain these variations. The absence of race, ethnicity and religion among these categories is also noteworthy. These identity markers influence student and staff experiences within the universities, but for many UNIC partners collecting detailed demographic data goes against national privacy protection legislations. These data can only be collected through student surveys with voluntary participation. As such mostly due to the information collection methods relied on within the universities and the European Union, these markers are excluded from official university compositions. Thus, due to the absence of this data, they will be excluded as markers under this section, but discussions on race, ethnicity and religious affiliations will be incorporated into the next one.

3.1. "Non-Traditional" Students of the UNIC

In the HE literature, the term "non-traditional" and "under-represented" are used to define students in a HEI who do not fit its traditional profile of students or who do not form the majority of its student body. The term was initially introduced to refer to adult and mature students who encounter financial and institutional barriers to their participation in higher education (Bowl, 2001). The impetus to expand this narrow framing began increasing in the 1990s, with the expansion and global heterogenization of HEIs. Non-traditional was then also used to refer to students who have been traditionally excluded from HE due to social, economic and cultural reasons (Schuetze & Slowey, 2002; Chapman, 1999). With time, the term has developed as a frame to refer to students from socio-economically disadvantaged groups; ethnic minorities; based on gender; status as a first-generation university student; part-time or full-time employed students; having special needs (Merrill, Finnegan, O'Neill, & Revers, 2019). Depending on the institutional context, some or all of these enter into the understanding of non-traditional students (Rendón, Jalomo, & Nora, 2000; ESU, 2019). A more contemporary approach to non-traditional students puts emphasis on retention, or dropping out, factors, and frames students in this category as facing a higher risk of not completing programs (Gilardi & Guglielmetti, 2011).

Table 1: Superdiverse Identity Markers at UNIC HEIs[1]

Universities/ Non-Traditional Students	EUR	KU	RUB	UCC	UD	ULIÈGE	UOULU	UniZG
Ethnic Minority/ Migrant Background	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Refugees		X	X	X		X	X	
Disability/ Special Needs	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Mature Status				X	X		X	
Socio-Economic First-Generation	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Gender						X		X

Each UNIC university has different populations of traditional and non-traditional students, academics, and staff. Furthermore, each institution harbours different compositions of "traditional" social and economic capital. Within the scope of the UNIC alliance, a descriptive framing of "non-traditional" initially requires establishing what is traditional for each institution. For instance, Koç University traditionally attracts students from the upper-middle class and Turkish nationals including Turkish religious minorities. Thus, non-traditional within the scope of Koç University consists of students coming from lower-middle or working-class backgrounds, migrants and refugee status holders, with the addition of students with special needs. However, in Koç University's case, attendance of religious minorities cannot be considered as non-traditional. Thus, a framing description of this term has been built together with all UNIC universities, upon their responses to a survey that was distributed to UNIC partner diversity offices and international offices.

[1] The identity markers indicated are on the internal survey distributed to UNIC partners. Th to say that partners only focus on the markers indicated exclusively; but overall these were the key ones highlighted in their responses.

Box 2: EUR considers first-generation, migrant background and disabled students as non-traditional. Both UCC and RUB identify first-generation, migrant background and refugee status holders as non-traditional. UD considers students and staff with a migrant or a minority ethnic background; students with a special needs status and mature students as non-traditional. UniZG also considers disabilities and minority ethnic background as non-traditional but differentiates "non-traditional students" from "non-traditional staff" in a third variable suggesting that while socio-economic status and class identity prevails in the case of students, gender variation emerges as the primary concern for staff, especially in terms of senior or management positions. ULiège considers the category "non-traditional" students as highly complex, but non-full-time students; students with specific statuses or personal situations, including a handicap, socio-economic difficulties, professional or semi-professional activity, immigration status, gender identity; foreign students; and students having experienced mobility outside Belgium can be defined as "non-traditional". In UOulu "non-traditional" refers to mature students, students with refugee status or child welfare backgrounds as well as students with special needs or disabilities. In addition, as Finnish is the main language of instruction, non-Finnish speakers are a group of concern.

3.2. UNIC and Superdiverse Identities

Vertovec (2007) has framed superdiversity as a multi-dimensional approach where several identity variables like country of origin, migration channel and immigration status, human capital, religious affiliation and practice, gender, age, language and space/place multiplied, combined and differentially converged. These variables have emerged as meaningful in urban settings, especially in larger metropoles. In the survey of our universities, a similar picture has emerged with some differences. For the UNIC alliance, relevant identity markers include *country of origin, language, migration channel and immigration status (as three components of migrant and minority background), socio-economic and first-generation status (in lieu of human capital), gender, age (mature status)* and *special needs status.* These are not only relevant for students, but they are also relevant for academic and administrative staff. This section will be structured upon these markers and provide a panorama of UNIC before a review of the literature on higher education and inclusion.

3.2.1. Country of origin

Due to their institutional data protection arrangements, not all UNIC institutions can share the data related to the countries of origin of their students. However, an analysis of the international tertiary-level student populations of the countries UNIC HEIs are in, provides insights into the student populations in terms of countries of origin. According to data gathered from United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) website, UNIC countries, Belgium, Finland,

Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands and Spain host a total number of 711,696 international tertiary-level students.

Table 2: UNIC Countries' International Tertiary Level Student Populations[2]

	Total Number	1st Country of Origin	1st Country Number	2nd Country of Origin	2nd Country Number	3rd Country of Origin	3rd Country Number
Belgium	53,896	France	14,885	The Netherlands	3,125	Luxembourg	1,851
Croatia	5,014	Bosnia and Herzegovina	2,517	Germany	326	Slovenia	246
Finland	23,714	Vietnam	2,440	Russian Federation	2,344	China	1,556
Germany	311,738	China	30,023	India	15,473	Austria	12,549
Ireland	22,283	India	2,606	China	2,489	United States	2,197
The Netherlands	104,015	Germany	22,598	China	5,089	Italy	4,500
Spain	70,912	France	8,220	Italy	6,766	Ecuador	6,622
Turkey	125,138	Syria	20,701	Azerbaijan	17,088	Turkmenistan	12,247

Belgium, Spain, Croatia and Turkey mainly host students from geographically proximate countries, countries that speak the same language or countries where previous colonial ties or diplomatic arrangements exist. For instance, Belgium mainly hosts French, Dutch, Luxembourgian and Cameroonian students, all speaking one of the official languages of the country. Spain's international tertiary-level students' countries of origin are predominantly France and Italy, due to geographical proximity; and Ecuador, Colombia, Mexico and Peru, due to the language proximity and existing arrangements. Similarly, Turkey, despite the increase of Syrian student representation due to the refugee movements during the last decade, traditionally hosts students from its geographical and cultural proximity, including countries like Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Iran. An overwhelming majority of Croatian international tertiary students are from neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina, with small representations from Germany, Slovenia and Poland. The Netherlands is similar as it hosts proximate-European students from Germany, Italy and Belgium, though having an outlier Chinese student population as the second most populous student group.

Box 3: At ULiège, international students correspond to 42 per cent, among the graduates in the last five years. Members of the staff with foreign nationality represent 15 per cent of the overall staff (full-time engagement), of which most are researchers.

[2] Data compiled from UNESCO Global Flow of Tertiary Level Students database. *Retrieved in 29.03.2021, from* http://uis.unesco.org/en/uis-student-flow.

Box 4: UOulu hosted 1015 international degree students and 522 exchange students in 2020.

Among this international community, 94 nationalities were represented.

International staff represent 19 per cent of the overall staff coming from 80 different countries of origin.

Finland, Germany and Ireland have relatively more diverse tertiary student populations with an overwhelming representation of Asian students. Chinese students are among the top three nationalities in these countries. Indian students are also represented in the top-two in Germany and Ireland. Considering the four top countries of origin of international tertiary students, Finland is geographically and linguistically the most diverse, majorly hosting Vietnamese, Russian, Chinese and Nepalese students while Germany hosts a significant number of Austrian students and Ireland welcomes students from the USA, UK and Canada. This data is important for shaping organizational cultures and policies in UNIC institutions as students from different regions are expected to differ in their needs (Hanassab & Tidwell, 2002). Adjustment for "culturally distant" students tends to be more difficult due to the greater perceived cultural differences between their countries of origin and countries of tertiary education (Wehrly, 1988).

While data included in this section focuses on countries of origin, this state-of-the-art recognizes that variations among citizens from the same country exist including socio-economic status, religion, ethnicity or language background and the like. The diversities of markers are disguised when only country of origin data is considered. These markers influence student experience and engagement in HE and urban settings. However, without representative data about these markers, it is difficult to reach conclusions about these variations or the impact of these markers on student experience within UNIC.

Box 5: UNIC institutions' student populations are comparatively more superdiverse than their staff. For instance, UD estimates that students with a migrant background constitute around 10 per cent, and they estimate this number decreases to around 5 per cent for staff. UCC also estimate there is a large disparity between the proportion of students in non-traditional categories vis-à-vis the proportion of staff.

3.2.2. Language

The internationalization of HE has emerged in an environment where English language is perceived as the lingua franca of commerce, culture and education (Liddicoat, 2016). Varying responses to this internationalization have been voiced among the countries whose native language is English or not. The former's policy responses focused on the assessment of English language skills, with very little further interest in the language-related aspects of internationalization (Benzie, 2010). As a result, a monolingual, rather than a multilingual, habitus was slowly established where knowledge of English was perceived as the only linguistic requirement for the internationalization of HEI.

In countries where English is not the native language, which includes all the UNIC alliance HEIs except for Ireland where English co-exists with Gaelic, internalization necessitates multilingualism, as English is often incorporated into the academic curriculum and research, co-existing with local languages. Thus, adopting English language in teaching and studying is a pragmatic step towards internationalization while giving rise to various challenges for maintaining language diversity at universities (Linn, 2015). In the case of bi-lingual institutions, such as UCC with English and Gaelic, and UD with Spanish and Basque, maintaining this balance between internationalization and diversity is even more crucial, as universities, through teaching, archiving and research often undertake the mission of ensuring the future of these diverse languages (Molina, 2007). The balancing act is also at play when considering that the full adoption of minority languages as the language of instruction may lead to discontent and declining interest among local communities, who also select HEIs for their international reach (Nikosi, 2014). As such, the availability of linguistic research, degree programs and courses focused on these languages are essential for maintaining this balance.

Box 6: RUB offers an "Empirical Multilingualism" master's programme. This 2-years master's programme is unique as it is a research-oriented, cross-language and cross-philosophical joint course of study between RUB and Technical University Dortmund. The programme's core questions are: (i) how are multiple languages acquired at the same time or sequentially? (ii) how are multiple languages stored in the brain and handled daily (retrieval, activation, suppression)? (iii) what does multilingualism mean for an individual's identity? (iv) how does multilingualism affect the structure of the languages involved? (v) what are the social and educational implications of the factuality of multilingual society? This master programme is built on the awareness of the importance of multilingualism in our current society and its chances for individual development.

UNIC alliance members are not only linguistically diverse but through their various language programs and degrees, contribute to the development of multilingualism as well as transform diversity in languages into a resource. In several UNIC partner universities, most undergraduate degree courses are offered in the official language, Finnish (UOULU), Spanish or Basque (UD), German (RUB) or Croatian (UniZG) alongside providing courses or degree programs in various disciplines in English.

The Bologna Process, despite aiming to ensure comparability among European HEIs, includes indispensable references against homogenization or assimilation (Bologna Declaration, 1999). The celebration of cultural diversity is at the core of any European Union policy, including harmonization in HE. Language is an essential element of this diversity, and the management of linguistic diversity is one of the most significant policy areas for HEIs. There are close inter-relationships between HEIs' language policies, education, and

cross-cultural understanding (Brumfit, 2004). Thus, European universities are encouraged to adopt a perception for true multilingualism, rather than bilingualism through the co-existence of their national language with English, and only a peripheral role devoted to other languages. With the increasing mobility of university students and staff, a parallel increase in the number of languages used by university stakeholders is emerging, and the language policies of HEIs, aiming at affirming or altering their language dynamics, are becoming even more complex (Darquennes, Plessis, & Soler, 2020). These policies are developed depending on the needs of individual HEI to transform linguistic diversity into a resource and an asset, and universities into sites of multilingualism (Preece, Griffin, Hao, & Utemuratova, 2018).

3.2.3. Migration Channel and Immigration Status

Migration channel and immigration status, dictating individuals' rights and the limitations they face, are crucial variables in determining access, attainment and retention in HE. Asylum seekers, refugees and undocumented migrants especially emerge as the most disadvantaged groups. Despite the growing emphasis on incorporating these groups into HE, tertiary education is still not perceived as an organic component of an educational continuum and has not been integrated into the educational policies directed at refugees (Pherali & Moghli, 2019). Recent years have witnessed growing initiatives and programs to increase the access of refugees in Europe and elsewhere to HE (Berg, 2018; Salmi, 2018; Unangst & Streitwieser, 2018). Research has highlighted refugee specific

Box 7: ULiège supports refugees and asylum-seekers within the framework of an institutional policy aimed at helping displaced persons, promoting freedom of expression, tolerance, solidarity, mutual respect, civility and non-discrimination. Refugees and asylum seekers can access to study programmes and certificates, individual courses or as auditing students. The facilities provided concern fees and access to services such as tutoring for faculty integration, and course adaptation assured by volunteer students. Refugees are encouraged to enrol in preparatory actions for tertiary education. ULiège offers those students French courses and the possibility to reach the official B2 level required for admission. Accessing this training conditional on: refugee status (asylum seeker, recognised refugee, subsidiary protection or stateless person) with prior knowledge (A1 minimum) of French, holding secondary diploma or university degree, university training project in Belgium. These language courses are free, and students are compensated for their travel expenses for public transportation. During summer, when courses are suspended, members of personnel and students may, on a volunteer basis, conduct a few hours of individual conversation with refugee students in tandem. Additionally, ULiège is enrolled in an ongoing campaign, "Rendons notre université hospitalière" whereby universities adopt a motion for improving the life and studying conditions of migrants. Migrants are meant in a broad sense, including asylum-seekers, refugees, students in the framework of a cooperation programme and undocumented persons.

challenges negatively influencing refugees' abilities to enter HE, such as language issues, lack of sufficient knowledge about HE systems, financial considerations, documentation issues, especially concerning recognition or prior HE experiences, as well as the need for additional support in the form of counselling to facilitate the transition into HE (Streitwieser, Loo, Ohorodnik, & Jeong, 2018; Yildiz, 2019; Salmi, 2018).

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that only 3 per cent of refugees worldwide have access to higher education (UNHCR, 2021), while the rates for attainment and retention are expected to be even lower. The use of the language "expected to be" is intentional here, as academic literature concerning HE and asylum seekers, refugees and undocumented migrants tend to focus on access, or the lack thereof (Anselme & Hands, 2012; Kanno & Varghese, 2010; Schneider, 2018), and there is limited academic work examining refugee attainment, retention, and the ways in which their presence influence university policies for managing superdiversity (Salmi, 2018). Beyond accession, HEIs policy development for students coming from varying migration channels and holding diverse immigration status could be developed in ways that recognize their intersectional identities, including country of origin, ethnic background, language, first-generation status, gender, age (mature status) and special needs status, which may all co-exist with their migratory status. Following the 2015 migrations to Europe, several initiatives emerged in different European countries focused on increasing refugee access to HE, include language training courses in HEIs (e.g., HEIs in Spain and Germany), auxiliary support in the form of counselling, mentoring, and increasing knowledge of HE system (e.g., The Netherlands) among other interventions alongside scholarship programs (Streitwieser, Loo, Ohorodnik, & Jeong, 2018; Unangst & Streitwieser, 2018). The mass migration of Syrian refugees to Turkey resulted in the implementation of various strategies to facilitate access to HE (Ergin, de Wit, & Leask, 2019; Erdoğan & Erdoğan, 2018).

Box 8: UCC is a "University of Sanctuary", meaning it is recognized as a space encouraging learning about what it means to seek sanctuary and is committed to embedding a culture of welcome for students and staff seeking sanctuary. Since 2018, UCC has been a beneficiary of the Republic of Ireland's "University of Sanctuary Scholarship" program, providing tuition fee waivers to first-time higher education applicants who identify as a refugee, asylum seeker or a person in a refugee-like situation as defined by the UNHCR 1951 Refugee Convention. In the UCC, seven students receive this scholarship, covering full fees and tuition for asylum-seekers and refugee school leavers. The university also organizes an annual Refugee Week and has an active University of Sanctuary working group to oversee activity.

Beyond the integration of refugees into HE, there is little existing research concerning the ways in which superdiversity in legal status impacts access to HE or experiences in HE for various populations. In

addition, HEIs face the task of transforming programs targeting refugees, asylum seekers or undocumented migrants into long-term policies and components of superdiversity responsiveness strategies.

3.2.4. Socio-Economic and First-Generation Status

The literature discussed previously highlights issues of intersection for UNIC HEIs regarding socio-economic status. Socio-economic status impacts students' access, retention and progression after graduation. At the micro-level, it affects students' sense of belonging and connection to HE as well as influencing their interactions with their peers, teachers and campus environment. UNIC HEIs implement various programs and interventions to increase the access of students from lower socio-economic backgrounds as well as support them during their studies. Diversity in terms of socio-economic status among students and future researchers and faculty, not only achieves part of objectives to widen participation in HE, but also raises key issues concerning communication and relational skills.

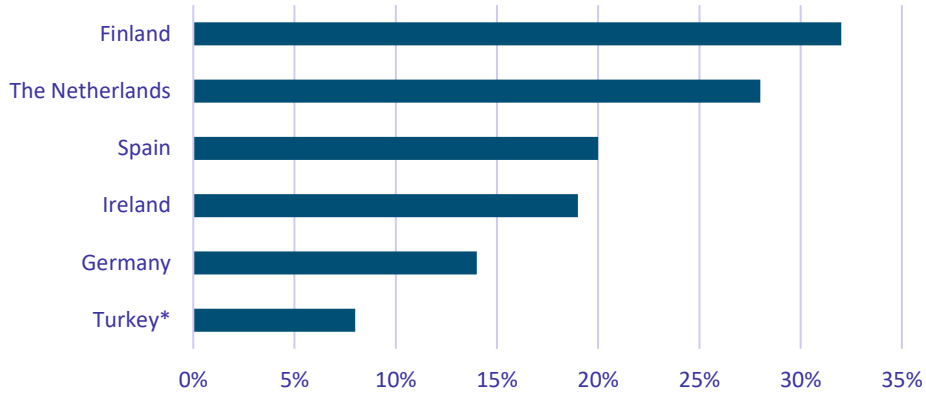
At the institutional level, UNIC HEIs may have data about first-generation students, but this data is limited to scholarship holders or recipients of other forms of support. Information is largely absent for other first-generation students. Existing research on first-generation students tends to focus on institutions, fields of study, cohorts or relations as it is difficult to access meta data on this topic.

Box 9: ULiège students in difficult socio-economic situations can access the institutional Student Social Service for social and financial assistance, including the reduction of registration fees, grants and scholarships, financial aid for course material, computer and connection, loans, food aid, support by an advisor and information on general social aids existing in Belgium. For students with a detainment or conviction history, ULiège, in cooperation with a local association, has implemented specific support and designated interlocutors to help these students to realize their training projects, including the clarification and facilitation of administrative procedures, providing accommodation related to courses and exams, and financial aids.

The EU aims for 50 per cent of all adults within the EU area between 30-34 years of age to have a HE degree by 2030. According to 2019 statistics, around 40.3 per cent of the population of the EU between the ages of 30-34 had a tertiary degree which includes HEI degrees, vocational degrees or professional certifications (Eurostat, 2020). It is noted that there are variations based on the region within member states. While Eurostat provides an overview of first and second-generation migrants' HE attainments, there is less data on first-in-the-family students (Eurostat, 2014). Older OECD data provides some insights for specific countries concerning first-generation students, relying on the International Standard Classification of Education 1997 (ISCED 97) concerning types of tertiary education. Based on this guide, Type A refers to "programmes that are largely theoretically based and are intended to provide sufficient qualifications for gaining entry into advanced research programmes and professions

with high skills requirement". Figure 1 shows the percentages of first-generation students who completed Type A programs whose parents have less than tertiary education[3].

Figure 1: Percentage of First-Generation Students who completed Type-A HE whose parents have less than tertiary education* (OECD Stats)



*Reference year for all countries except for Turkey is 2012, for Turkey it is 2015.

First in the family university students represent the accessibility and effectiveness of efforts to include broader segments of society in HE. Simultaneously, status as first-generation may intersect with other characteristics, including gender, socio-economic background, migration background, immigration status, special needs and the like. Beyond students, UNIC offers a possibility for institutions and scholars to learn more about faculty and staff who are first in the family university graduates which may open possibilities for wider discussion and debate about the impact of HE, limitations or challenges faced and efforts to develop further policy guidance focused on this group.

Box 10: UCC is a party to "Higher Education Access Route (HEAR)", a college and university admissions scheme for school leavers from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds. HEAR was established by several colleges and universities based on evidence that socio-economic disadvantage negatively effects student performance at school and whether they go on to university. As well as receiving a reduced points place, HEAR students may also receive various forms of academic, personal and social support while studying in university. They currently constitute around 5.6% of UCC's student population.

[3] Data compiled from OECD Stat, Retrieved on 28 Feb 2021 from https://stats.oecd.org/ .

3.2.5. Gender

UNIC HEIs assess gender diversity under four main headings: (i) impact of gender in access, attainment and in retention; and the experience of HE as students; (ii) impact of gender in experience of employment as academic and administrative staff in the HEIs; (iii) inclusion of gender studies in the curriculum and development of "gender-aware" curricula; (iv) development of gender-related sensitivities in an organizational setting, especially through staff training.

Box 11: At the ULiège, the proportion of women among BA and MA students remains stable and close to 58%. Women are represented the most in the Faculty of Psychology (81.6%), and least in the Faculty of Applied Sciences (24.8%).

The OECD Family Database for 2018 shows that, in the OECD member countries, the proportion of women attaining university has been steadily increasing, in all age groups, exceeding men considerably. On average, about 32 per cent of 45-54-year-old men and almost 36 per cent of women; about 39 per cent of 25-34-year-old men and 51 per cent of women from the same age brackets hold a tertiary education. In all OECD countries, young women are more likely to hold a tertiary qualification than young men (OECD, 2019).

There are studies aiming to analyse the differences in expectations from, and experiences of HE based on genders. For instance, a study conducted in Sydney, Australia, found that female students prioritized the university services and valued HE more than their male counterparts (Grebennikov & Skaines, 2009). The cases of sexism, heterosexism and cis-sexism experienced by students and staff from all sexualities and genders have negative implications for their lives in the HEIs (Asquith, Ferfolia, Brady, & Hanckel, 2019). However, the outputs of these kinds of surveys or studies are specific for regions, countries, and even universities, depending on the composition of their student populations, thus it is not possible to reach generalizations, and country and even university-specific studies are needed for policy development.

Box 12: According to Croatian Bureau of Statistics (2020), in 2019, a total of 33,704 students graduated from university, or completed professional study, and 60.2% were women. The highest percentage of women graduated from art academies, 65.8%, followed by university studies, 62.4%. In addition, a total of 680 persons obtained a Doctor of Science in 2019 with women representing 55.4% of this total.

Box 13: ULiège has adopted provisions allowing transgender individuals to use their social name in the institution and on their student card. The mention of "sex" is masked to allow discretion. Students and staff have the option when indicating their sex at enrolment to select: male/female/my gender does not match the one indicated on my identity card. In addition, the institution has assigned a contact person for all questions and/or difficulties encountered.

Despite the above-mentioned increase of women attaining tertiary education, the representation of women, in the same education institutions, especially in the senior positions of power, authority and high income, including full professorship and senior management level, remains limited. The promotion of gender equality in these positions has implications for social justice, research innovation, and economic growth (O'Connor, Carvalho, Vabø, & Cardoso, 2015; Smith, Smith, & Verner, 2006).

Box 14: EUR perceives gender equality for women, particularly in terms of their representation in higher levels of management and full professorships as their initial superdiversity-related concern. The university has support mechanisms and a financial compensation scheme called 25/25 initiative, for women academics aspiring to become associates or full professors.

Box 15: UOulu has organized equality and diversity work at different levels as Finnish institutions are obliged to follow the legal contents, and respect the roles and responsibilities set in The Act on Equality between Women and Men (609/1986), also referred to as the Equality Act, and The Non-Discrimination Act (1325/2014).

In HE, a culture of gender equity for senior positions is also an important factor for attracting the most qualified individuals to relevant positions and maintaining representative and qualified organizational and scientific decision-making processes (Santiago, Carvalho, & Vabø, 2012 (Peters, Schröter, & von Maravic, 2015)). Limited representation of women in senior positions in HE, has been explained by focusing on various levels. As such individual reasons, organizational structures and cultures, systemic gender relations at the state level, and cultural stereotypes at a wider institutional level have all been cited as issues (O'Connor, Carvalho, Vabø, & Cardoso, 2015; Timmers, Willemsen, & Tijdens, 2010).

Box 16: At UOulu, Gender Studies serves the whole university and it is available for students from all faculties. Gender Studies is an inter-, cross- and multidisciplinary field of studies and research that challenges traditional disciplinary paradigms. The basic task of Gender Studies is to plan, provide and develop gender responsible and norm critical teaching and research. Teaching is arranged in collaboration with various teachers and researchers from different faculties. Research and development collaboration is carried out within the university but also nationally and internationally by taking part to Nordic and European networks and by creating partnerships also more widely.

The inclusion of gender studies in the curriculum and the development of "gender-aware" curricula are interlinked issues of concern, referring to use of gender as a theoretical, empirical and methodological lens in the development of academic curricula, especially concerning political science. Currently, the inclusion of gender in the curricula is mostly dependent on the personal interests and efforts of academics who develop mostly elective courses on issues such as representation, democracy and governance (Goertz & Mazur, 2008). However, an institutional structural commitment to a gender frame, as an indispensable aspect of power relations in politics, is necessary, both due to its analytical value in academia; and also due to its practical value for enabling students to understand gender-related inequalities in their everyday lives (Bonjour, Mügge, & Roggeband, 2016).

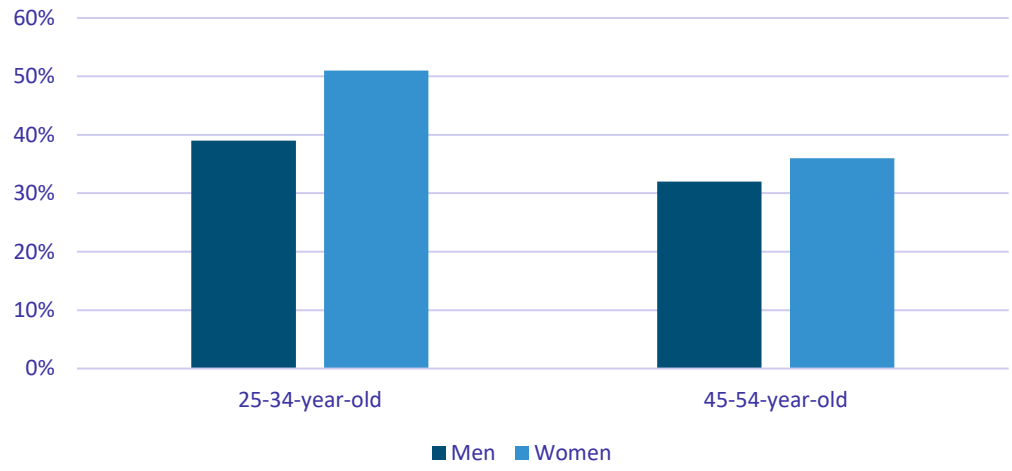
Box 17: ULiège monitors the gender variation trends concerning both students and staff, as a part of the missions of Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles' regional institutional framework which is in line with the European Charter of the researcher, the recommendations of the Helsinki Group on Women and Science, the Euraxess plan and the institutions' own HR Strategy in research. ULiège also implements various actions to favour gender equality and fight against discrimination, such as support seminars for new supervisors, providing inclusive writing guides, increasing the representation of women in decision-making committees, double lists for honorary doctorates, incentive grants in areas where women are under-represented, the institutionalisation of telework, the #RESPECT campaign which promotes 'self-respect, respect for others, respect for diversity and against situations of daily violence and harassment'. Moreover, in collaboration with the other universities of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation, ULiège offers a 60 ECTS Master's Degree in gender studies, with interdisciplinary curricula focused on gender and sexuality issues.

3.2.6. Age

Age-related diversity in HE mostly refers to mature students, dominantly consisting of "traditional students" with a delayed accession; persons beginning their education after a life-transforming event (Howard & Davies, 2013); such as single parents, especially women; persons already in employment and seeking tertiary education for career advancement; persons already in employment and seeking education for a career change; and a small minority seeking education for the sake of personal growth (Osborne, Marks, & Turner, 2004). In Europe, with population ageing and work life careers extending longer than before, the aims of HE is affected. In addition, to these factors, qualification requirements have changed influencing mature students' approach to HE. Growing emphasis on lifelong or continuous learning in countries across the EU has influenced not only universities' flexibility regarding accreditation (e.g., micro-credit) but also the appeal of HE for mature students (Siivonen & Filander,

2020). OECD data for 2018[4], for bachelor or equivalent level degrees offers indications of the degree of participation of mature students in HE in countries of relevance. Here, the focus is on students aged 25 years and older enrolled in bachelor level or equivalent degree and the charts show the distribution according to gender, age and country.

Figure 2: The proportion of men and women attaining university education in different age groups, OECD Countries



(The OECD Family Database, 2018)

Box 18: According to Croatian Bureau of Statistics (2020), for 2019, the distribution of students graduating from university or professional studies based on age is as follows (47.2%) are in the 20 – 24 age group, (30.3%) in the 25 –27 age group, (7.9%) in the 28 – 30 age group, (3.5%) in the 31 –33 age group, (2.2%) in the 34 – 36 age group, (1.7%) in the 37 –39 age group and (3.7%) in the 40+ age group.

[4] Data is compiled from OECD Family database, *Retrieved in 29.03.2021, from* *http://www.oecd.org/els/family/database.htm*.

Table 3: UNIC Countries' Bachelor level/equivalent students aged 25 years and older, OECD-Member UNIC Countries, 2018[5]

COUNTRIES	TOTAL PERCENTAGE	WOMEN PERCENTAGE	MEN PERCENTAGE
BELGIUM	0,4	0,5	0,4
FINLAND	2,4	2,5	2,4
GERMANY	1,1	0,8	1
IRELAND	0,9		
THE NETHERLANDS	1,3	1,3	1,3
SPAIN	1	1	1
TURKEY	3,9	3,2	4,7

Like other diversity markers elaborated here, this is not a homogenous group, and each sub-category experiences diverse positive and negative factors that influence their decisions or conditions for access, attainment and retention in HE, mostly depending on intersectionalities between age, socio-economic status, gender and ethnicity. For many mature students, economic adversities, including the costs for education, need for employment and domestic responsibilities like childcare were cited as key challenges while personal advancement was cited as the principal motivation (Davies & Williams, 2001; Woodley & Brennan, 2000). In addition, HE learning environments are not always structured for the needs of mature students who may have multiple roles in their lives. Recognition of mature students' distinctive circumstances is necessary for diversity management (Moreau, 2016).

Box 19: For adults resuming studies, ULiège's lifelong learning modalities are set by a specific office, collaborating with the different faculties and external partners for the elaboration of specific programmes. Pregnant students are entitled to rights concerning well-being and maternity protection, and they are provided with information to be guided in the necessary administrative procedures. Students have access to some points of contacts in charge of issues such as protection, well-being, advice and support.

[5] Data is compiled from OECD Family database, *Retrieved in 29.03.2021, from* *http://www.oecd.org/els/family/database.htm*.

3.2.7. Special Needs Status

All UNIC institutions are in the countries which are party to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities and aim to ensure that people with disabilities can access HE, without discrimination, and at least with the same conditions as the remaining students (UN, 2006). The European Commission's (EC) European Disability Strategy 2010-2020: A Renewed Commitment to a Barrier-Free Europe also calls for disabled students' improved access and inclusion into education, though not specifically in a higher education setting (EC, 2010). Many countries also have laws and regulations for disabled accessibility.

Box 20: All UNIC institutions have an office, or programs for staff and students with special needs; as disabilities emerge as the main form of diversity in which all institutions respond to with specific policy responses. For instance, UCC is committed to making the physical, social and academic environments of the campus more 'autism-friendly' by developing an Autism &Uni toolkit and the provision of a Calm Zone. UniZG's Tempus project EduQuality (2010-2013), educates the staff at Croatian universities on working with students with disabilities and ways to adapt the academic environment to their abilities. Twenty-two persons from all Croatian universities, involved in the work of university support services, were trained to conduct educational workshops, and they started conducting two-day workshops for teaching staff and one-day workshops for professional and administrative university staff. The UniZG continues to organize a series of educational workshops on students with the so-called invisible difficulties (dyslexia, ADHD, Asperger syndrome, and chronic diseases) maintained by experts in these fields. The workshops are intended for vice deans for teaching, coordinators for students with disabilities, but also for other

Inclusive education policies for students with a special needs status, whose cases might also be evaluated under "disabled" or "functionally impaired" categories depending on the institutional approach, were initially developed for younger students. The global increase in transition of these students to HE implied a success for these policies, and also a need to transform the policies for HE settings (Moriña, 2017; Pumfrey, 2008). Initial efforts included the establishment of university support offices for students with disabilities, and adopting non-discrimination policies, in line with the international, EU-level and state-level policies on disabilities.

Box 21: UOULU's Faculty of Education offers courses on intercultural and inclusive approaches in education and courses on special needs education which are open to all the students in the Faculty of education as a part of Educational Sciences courses. Despite these efforts, feedback from students indicated that they found the amount of studies on diversity too limited for their professional growth.

Box 22: During the pandemic, UD has encouraged the university community to wear special masks so that people with hearing impairments can read people's lips. Reforms have also been made in all the faculties, adding mechanical doors so that people with wheelchairs can get in and out more easily.

Despite these recognizable initial efforts, “non-discrimination” does not directly imply inclusion making it necessary to adopt further strategies to account for their education needs, student and staff awareness of disabilities and foster an inclusive campus environment.

Box 23: A good practice of curriculum management with a real-life implication is UniZG’s university elective course "Peer support for students with disabilities", directed at students who wish to help a fellow student with a disability. The condition for enrolling in the course is the knowledge of a student with a disability who needs peer support and who agrees that the student enrolling in the course be his / her assistant student (“couple”). For the purposes of enrolling in this course, a group of students with disabilities such as visual impairments (blind or partially sighted), students with hearing impairments (deaf, hard of hearing and deafblind) and students with physical disabilities (motor disorders and chronic diseases) are chosen. The course is held in two parts: the first part refers to the preparatory workshop, and the second to the provision of peer support and regular group consultations (supervision). A preparatory workshop (15 lectures + 30 practice) is held over two weekends, while peer support (75 practice) and group supervision (15 practice) takes place during the semester. The course is also available via e-learning.

3.3 A Multi-Dimensional Policy Approach and UNIC

With an increasing number of scholars approaching diversity beyond the classical binary of traditional and non-traditional students, the multi-dimensionality of superdiversity may then brought into the debates on equity and non-discriminative access to education (Claeys-Kulik, Jørgensen, & Stöber, 2019, p. 23-25; Basit, 2012; Morioto, Zajicek, Hunt, & Lisnic, 2013; Strayhorn, DeVita, & Blakewood, 2012). Adopting different methods or conceptual frames, researchers have examined diversity in HE in relation to needs-

Box 24: EUR responds to the challenges of superdiversity with an intersectional approach, by acknowledging the multiple threats of discrimination an individual may face due to the overlaps in their various identities, including race, gender, age, ethnicity, health and others. The institution pays specific attention to intersectionality in their communication methods, ensuring respect to the multiple identities involved.

based support, positive action/discrimination initiatives and policies to reduce structural barriers to access HE. Claeys-Kulik and his colleagues (2019) rely on an intersectional approach to examine diversity, equity and inclusion in institutional strategies and practices. Undertaking qualitative research with a sample of 159 HEIs from 36 European systems with follow-up interviews conducted with 12 HE institutions from 11 countries (Claeys-Kulik, Jørgensen, & Stöber, 2019), they included diversity, gender, ethnic/cultural/migration background, socio-economic background, sexual identity (including LGBTIQ+), educational background, caring responsibilities, religious background/beliefs, and age as dimensions of diversity in their interviews with students, academics, and non-academic HE related groups. Their analysis demonstrates serious limitations that prevent success in achieving diversity, equity and inclusion as university communities showed a lack of awareness about what diversity and inclusion are. Combined with limited funding and resources, this lack of awareness then results in institutions failing to identify certain target groups, further entrenching barriers to inclusive learning, teaching and research environments (Claeys-Kulik, Jørgensen, & Stöber, 2019).

The cases presented above show that UNIC HEIs' inclusion policies are directed at all three category types mentioned: needs-based support especially for socio-economically disadvantaged and first-generation students as well as mature students; positive action/discrimination initiatives specially to achieve gender equity; and policies to reduce structural barriers to access HE for all categories. The cases demonstrate awareness of inclusivity issues and areas of action in the learning, teaching and research environments at UNIC HEIs. However, except for some, university policies often adopt a single-dimensional configuration to cater for diversity, instead of a multi-dimensional one that is more responsive to their complex populations. Some intersectional policies exist with regards to social complexities among socio-economic statuses, staff training and curriculum management, but university practices concerning diversity often act on single-dimensional categories. UNIC activities under the *Superdiversity Academy,* will work to transform these practices to enable universities to become more aware of these intersectionalities and the multi-dimensionality. The review of the literature on higher education, diversity and inclusion below, and the attempt at linking them to current discussions about university, superdiversity and implications for the cities will determine the initial steps for a "UNIC" change in HEIs within the consortium and beyond.

4. Higher Education, Diversity and Inclusion

For the last two decades, recognition of diversity, albeit being rhetorical in some cases, is becoming the norm in the organisational cultures and arrangements of European welfare institutions and organisations (Faist, 2009). Management of diversity requires adopting procedures to transform the organisational culture into "culturally responsive" (Chow & Austin, 2008; Boccagni, 2015) or more representative ones (Peters, Schröter, & Maravic, 2015). With the rising interest in developing inclusive societies and reducing social inequalities, HEIs are perceived as key spaces to achieve societal change, in addition to their teaching and learning roles. Studies on the intersection of equity, diversity and inclusion in HE and the roles HEIs play in developing new cultural values and equipping graduates to better society are relevant for this discussion. Existing literature on diversity and inclusion in HE, presents a range of complex factors, evaluating and assessing diversity and inclusion from different methodological and analytical perspectives. The available scholarly work emphasizes the role of institutions, structures, and agency. Therefore, this section begins with the general review of the diversity and inclusion debates in HE, and different theoretical perspectives are incorporated in each sub-section. Debates about diversity and inclusion have been studied at various levels: institutional, staff and at the student, so the analysis presented here explores the intersections of the literature at each of these levels as well as across levels based on the common theme discussed. The interconnections and complementary nature of the theoretical approaches included in this state-of-the-art is expected to be present in the general discussions taking place in the HE literature related to diversity and inclusion. The literature analysed here, therein, begins from the institutional level of analysis, proceeds with examining structural systematic inequalities, and concludes with agency level experiences in HE. As followed throughout this report, these sections incorporate practical cases from UNIC partners and beyond to highlight that the analysis of the literature must be in dialogue with the realities of UNIC institutions and HEIs in general. Therefore, this section explores the literature in four main sub-groups: *1) inclusion and diversity in HE 2) institutional strategies, settings and policies; 3) intersectionalities and structural inequalities; 4) social and relational aspects of student experiences in HE.*

It should be noted here, that there are additional mechanisms that influence diversity and inclusion in HEIs as studies highlight that changing political, social and policy dynamics in respective contexts, impact HEIs. HE policies are affected by national governments' plans and economic ambitions and global competitiveness (Börjesson & Cea, 2020; Meng, Tian, Chiang, & Cai, 2020). The discussion of the internationalization literature brings to the fore the relevance of the national contexts and the ways in which internationalization both as strategy and imperative impact HE, diversity, and inclusion. Second it is necessary to note that the discussion below covers literature from diverse geographies, yet it mainly benefits from research and studies on North America and Australia as well as literature on Europe as, especially in the case of the USA, this literature is comparably rich in comparison to Europe.

While this report embraces varying perceptions of the overall literature, it should also be noted that the meanings attached to some concepts might vary across regions and national contexts. For example, concepts of race have a different historical connections and interpretations in European contexts compared to the USA. Therefore, this literature review, without entrenching the debate to the historical-political specificities of contexts, incorporates them in general discussions of the inclusion and diversity issues, benefiting from the insights they afford without perceiving the European context as identical.

4.1. Inclusion and Diversity in Higher Education

4.1.1. Inclusion in Higher Education

The transformation of HE towards inclusivity stems from reformist and progressive theoretical perspectives concerning HE's ontological nature as scholars argued for it to be approached as a liberatory process. In Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Paulo Freire (1972) is critical of the education systems' connections to political and social structures which reflect and perpetuate ideologies of oppression. Freire's theory of education argues that the purpose of universities is to pertain "the process of inquiry" in which education needs to be considered as a liberatory process that aims to nurture individual autonomy and critical thinking. Other theoreticians followed Freire's writings building on his subjectification of students rather than seeing them as objects and questioned the interconnected nature of social and political concepts such as race, capitalism, gender and oppression. John Dewey, who is considered as one of the founding members of progressivism, presented social reform as key to the liberatory process of education to advance in the act of freedom (Dewey, 1986; Williams, 2017). From the feminist literature, in her collection of essays, Teaching to Transgress, Bell Hooks (1994) focused on progressive education and engaged pedagogy in teaching, and supported the transformation of learning environments into inclusive spaces that allowed students to practice freedom. Hooks argued that inclusive spaces are keys to transgress boundaries that hinder marginalized students from achieving their potential which is possible only by creating education environments that embrace change, thereby resulting in the development of innovative ideas and enabling social transformation. Debates on progressive education practices, concerning both learning and teaching practices for inclusive education, have evolved extensively with the development of specialized innovative approaches and tools, such as the Universal Design for Learning (UDL) Guidelines.

With this overarching discussion on the need for universities to become inclusive spaces to enable social transformation continuing, it becomes necessary to examine the ways that inclusion and diversity in universities have been approached so far. In parallel with discussions on multiculturalism or interculturalism, studies focusing on inclusion and diversity in HE have developed simultaneously in various regions. Debates around inclusion are connected to the profile of non-traditional students which is highly contextual. Inclusivity and developing inclusive HE, or other institutions, stem from political considerations and demands for social equity. For universities and governments, developing and implementing inclusion policies is understood as a step towards realizing social equity (Basit & Tomlinson, 2012; Cyr, 2018). Where earlier research on inclusion explored inequalities in access to HE, implications of exclusion in terms of reproducing social class (Archer, Hutchings, & Ross, 2003) and the like; later research has expanded to focus on multiple themes and concerns ranging from non-traditional students' university experiences (Basit, 2012), differential access to older or prestigious universities or representation in specific fields of study such as science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) (Strayhorn, DeVita, & Blakewood, 2012) or law (Randall, 2021) among others. With the expansion of HEI and the diversification of programs and qualifications, debates around inclusion in HE have also shifted (Archer, Hutchings, & Ross, 2003; Thompson D. , 2012). Policies to broaden and widen participation; and profile of those entering HE have highlighted the need to analyse multiple factors that influence students' choices of HE and their experiences including class, race, ethnic background, parents' educational levels, and disability (Modood, 2012; Cyr, 2018; Basit, 2012). Additionally, much of the scholarship presents the connection between diversity and integration in the HE as influentially beneficial, with a positive impact on students. Evidence shows peer interaction among different ethnic and racial groups,

Box 25: According to the Non-Discrimination Act (2014), Finnish education institution of more than 30 staff and students must prepare a plan for ensuring equality and equity, and regularly assess its implementation. UOulu guidelines for accessibility in studies inform both students and staff: "Accessibility is of relevance to every member of the student body and the university staff. It is of particular importance for those members of the university community who have an impairment of some kind or who are elderly or belong to a cultural or language minority." Accessibility refers to the ways in which physical, psychological and social environments are designed to ensure that everyone can interact with others on an equal basis despite their individual characteristics. In addition, UOulu coordinates a project of seven Finnish HEIs on learning analytics that aims to provide students with information about their learning progress and needs, and to inform decision-making in HEIs about the study processes and needs for improvement. In 2021, students in the Faculty of Education had experienced the need for understanding accessibility and inclusion organized an international learning event to highlight the issue.

help to develop positive academic and social self-concepts; lead to higher rates of graduation; enhance leadership skills; increase civic involvement; and decrease prejudice after graduation (Bowman, 2011; Espenshade & Radford, 2009; Tienda, 2013). The US literature has especially documented the benefits of a diverse learning environment that increases students' analytical skills (Page, 2009) which is demonstrated in the design of interdisciplinary programs (Tienda, 2013). Yet, these areas are not the only connections made to the discussion of inclusion and diversity in HE. Beyond the learning environment and connections to diversity, scholarly attention has been directed at the connections between inclusion and diversity and internationalization which will be discussed in next section.

4.1.2. Internationalization as an Element of Diversity and Inclusion

With the growing emphasis on the internationalization of HE, the need for a discussion on the intersection between internationalization and inclusion has emerged. While there are various dimensions of and drivers for internationalization; fostering an inclusive environment for international and national students of diverse backgrounds, supports the aims of internationalization as well as the requirements for making HEIs "superdiversity-ready". Inclusion strategies adopted by various HEIs focus on the internationalization of education, although the implementation is carried out in different ways and for a diverse range of purposes.

In the last two decades, HEIs have increasingly promoted the exchange and mobility aspect of not only students, teachers, researchers and administrative staff; but also, the internationalization of curricula, teaching methods and cooperation with international organizations, to enhance the quality of teaching and learning (Knight J. , 2004; Knight J. , 2004; Soderqvist, 2002). A general definition is adopted by Altbach and Knight (2007), discussing internationalization through the policies and practices undertaken at academic, institutional, and even at individual levels to compete within the global academic environment (Altbach & Knight, 2007). While there is no fixed definition assigned to internationalization, several scholars define the concept under the organizational logic as a "process of integrating an international and intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution" (Knight J. , 1994, p. 7) and also "a complex, multidimensional learning process that includes the integrative, intercultural, interdisciplinary, comparative, transfer of knowledge-technology" (Paige & Mestenhauser, 1999, p. 515). Other scholars seek to distance it from the institutional-based definitions to expand its scope, and instead, suggest a definition that considers internationalization under "any systematic effort aimed at making higher education responsive to the requirements and challenges related to the globalization of societies, economy and labour markets" (van der Wende, 2002, p. 18). Another group of scholars take a practice-oriented focus and define internationalization according to observations from the field, as "the process of commercializing research and postsecondary education, and international competition for the recruitment of foreign students from wealthy and privileged countries in order to generate revenue, secure national profile, and build international reputation" (Taskoh, 2014, p. 158). The concept of internationalization of HE then includes multiple definitions that differ according to what internationalization is meant to target,

anticipated results and how it is practiced (Buckner & Stein, 2019). The definition of internationalization adopted is indicative of the underlying politics of the process at hand as the term is used to refer to competing agendas of genuine interculturalism and revenue generation objectives.

The spread and scale of internationalization differ among institutions across regions and socio-cultural contexts. Yet, there are some common qualities, such as the importance given to mobility, sustaining a welcoming campus environment, including curricular and extra-curricular learning experiences. There is also a growing trend of HEIs establishing campuses outside of Europe and North America which influences discussions about mobility as a component of internationalization and mechanism for promoting intercultural exchange. To this end, many institutions implement exchange programs by establishing links and offering courses in official and/or foreign languages to inbound students along with providing orientation and support during students' stay. For instance, starting from the Bologna Declaration (Bologna Declaration, 1999) that aimed at establishing the European area of HE by eliminating obstacles against free mobility and promoting the European HE system globally (Wende, 2000; Teichler U. , 2012); studies on HE began focusing on the components of internationalization with a wider emphasis on institutional strategies. Particularly within the framework of Erasmus+, these efforts are part of larger frameworks that institutions must comply with and support at the policy level. In parallel, cases from Japan and South Korea demonstrate that HEIs have well-established programs that provide other mechanisms for organizing mobility for HE. The literature from China, South Korea and Singapore highlights how Asian HEIs have pursued the goal of drawing international students and academic staff with diverse backgrounds in increasing numbers. In several cases, these HEIs worked with the premise that attracting foreign students and staff would play a key role in achieving the internationalization of their institutions; yet, critics argue that they failed to realize inclusion and diversity through these processes (Moon, 2016; Özer, 2016; Cho & Palmer, 2013). In process highlighting that the presence of international students or staff alone is insufficient to render HEIs inclusive or diverse and hinting for the need for deeper and more structural changes to achieve genuine internationalization.

Similarly, institutional perspectives have placed global mobility at the centre of their internationalization strategies as many HEIs prioritize the number of international students admitted, and their countries of origin (Aydinli & Mathews, 2020). The issue of mobility highlights another variation in the interpretation of the concept of internationalization. While much of the literature focusing on HE and diversity in Western institutions emphasizes language and cultural factors (Campbell, 2012), literature focusing on non-Western cases is critical of the institutional and policy-oriented aspects with a minimalist interpretation of internalization for strategic purposes and self-economic interests. These scholars argue that the connection between internationalization, economic innovation as well as the increasing demand for highly skilled graduates is assumed to enable a diverse university space, but it does not boost diversity since they are "driven by comparison and competition rather than cooperation and thus setting of curriculums, management of institutions largely follows

market rules" (Wadhwa, 2016, p. 240). Despite the limitations highlighted, there are significant efforts both at the institutional and research levels to address diversity and inclusion issues in HE internationalization debates. Existing scholarship has analysed institutional strategies and practices as well as their effect on attracting and understanding the experience of both traditional and non-traditional students in HE since their trajectory is also relevant (Padilla-Carmona, 2012). For students, questions of personal development, identity formation, social networks, citizenship and inclusion are key considerations when examining the intersection of internationalization and inclusion debates (Padilla-Carmona, 2012). Therefore, the internationalization of HE offers some insights into HEIs' institutional strategies to integrate diversity and inclusion.

Together with the increasing visibility and influence of an internationalization agenda on the HEIs, criticisms, mostly intersecting with debates on superdiversity, also arise. For instance, the ASHE Report (2012) raises several concerns on a mobility-focused internationalization, including studying abroad acting as a political tool or instrument of cultural and economic imperialism; exclusivity of programs in serving wealthy white students from elite colleges; it being an example and a tool of consumerism; and the ways in which it frames global citizenship. Other issues are also observed beyond these criticisms. For instance, across a wide geography, internationalization efforts are considered peripheral activities to HEIs' aims (Altbach & Teichler, 2001). While for many HEIs, internationalization is now an important element in their strategic planning (de Wit & Hunter, 2015); this planning element is questionable for others. Moreover, various authors also propose criticisms of internationalization discourses and practices (Teichler U. , 2017; Buckner & Stein, 2019). Teichler (2017) refers to "hegemonic internationalization" in HE, leading to gain financial, economic and political success at the expense of other countries, through smart internationalization policies and activities. Buckner and Stein (2019) explore the political underpinnings of internationalization relating it to unequal access and relations of power. Teichler (2017) also raises concerns about the mobility of socio-economically disadvantaged groups within internationalization schemes. Another issue raised by scholars concerns the linkage between internationalism and interculturalism.

Despite the increasing scope and scale of international efforts, a limited number of universities consider developing intercultural competencies as an intrinsic value and implements clear plans as well as assessments (Deardorff, 2006; Schmidt & Pardo, 2016; Griffith, Wolfeld, Armon, Rios, & Liu, 2016). From a consumerist approach, Bolen (2001) refers to study abroad programs resembling tourist packages that include preparations for food, lodging, and visits to popular attractions in the country whereby students 'buy' the experience as part of their education (Brooks & Waters, 2011). Such mobility programs have contributed in a limited manner, or not at all, to developing students' intercultural skills. A further criticism directed at internationalization programs concerns the ways it is counted, as statistical representations of student mobility do not necessarily translate into genuine international experiences or fostering acceptance and engagement. While this sub-section presented the varying interpretations of internationalization along with critical perspectives in the nexus of HE

internationalization and inclusion, the subsequent sub-section focuses on institutional strategies and policies implemented by diverse HEIs to realize inclusive and diverse universities.

4.2. Institutional Strategies, Settings and Policies for Diversity and Inclusion

Studies examining institutional strategies and practices, and the extent to which HE presents a diverse and inclusive institutional character is growing. Diverse HEIs are not simply achieved through the inclusion of non-traditional or under-represented students on campus; rather, the diversity element should also have equity in terms of educational outcomes. Tienda (2013) analyses inclusion strategies to examine the extent to which HE values diversity. She defines inclusion in the HE setting as "organizational strategies and practices that promote meaningful social and academic interactions among persons and groups who differ in their experiences, their views, and their traits" (Tienda, 2013, p. 467). Practically, successfully integrating diversity and inclusion components in all programs offered requires engaging with out-group members. Efforts to promote inclusion within all fields, are essential to avoid a learning environment compromised with homogeneity and promotion of like-mindedness (Tienda, 2013, p. 473). Beyond general questions concerning diversity, research has been undertaken to examine barriers to the inclusion of non-traditional students in particular fields of study; or to assess institutional strategies to broaden the profile of students in fields such as STEM (Strayhorn, DeVita, & Blakewood, 2012). In addition, some studies on HE, highlight the need to think beyond HEIs, and implement initiatives or policies that affect primary and secondary education as well. It is argued that a more holistic approach to the overall education system is required to address and influence inclusion concerns in the HEIs (McCoy & Byrne, 2011, p. 148).

Here, the responsibility of the institutions to rectify inequities by gathering evidence and examining data arise as important points of reference, in HE practices aimed at developing inclusive student, faculty and staff bodies. To help the institutions, studies develop and monitor comprehensive organizational changes in the form of new systems and practices. In some cases, performance measure scorecards are provided, such as the balanced scorecard (Kaplan & Norton, 1992) or the diversity scorecard (Bensimon, 2004) which identify areas requiring intervention and those areas which are progressing well (Williams, Berger, & McClendon, 2005). The idea of scorecards was developed in US HEIs to monitor their progress in achieving equity in terms of "access, retention, institutional receptivity, and excellence" for historically under-represented students (Bensimon, 2004). Scorecards are used to assess outcomes such as access and retention of organizational diversity as well as process receptivity and excellence (Williams, Berger, & McClendon, 2005). An example of the inclusive excellence scorecard involves four areas of focus: (1) access and equity defined in terms of "the compositional number and success levels of historically underrepresented students, faculty and staff in HE" (Bensimon, 2004; Hurtado & Dey, 1997; Smith, et al., 1997); (2) diversity in formal and informal

curriculum defined as "diversity content in the courses, programs, and experiences across the various academic programs and in the social dimensions of the campus environment" (Smith, et al., 1997); (3) campus climate defined as "the development of a psychological and behavioural climate supportive of all students" (Smith, et al., 1997; Hurtado & Dey, 1997), and finally (4) student learning and development defined as "the acquisition of content knowledge about diverse groups and cultures and the development of cognitive complexity" (Williams, Berger, & McClendon, 2005; Gurin, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002). The scorecard approach aims to provide universities with a macro view of diversity at all levels of the institution as well as evidence from meso (e.g., curricula; campus) and micro (e.g., student) levels that influence the university's overall progress to achieve diversity and excellence (Williams, Berger, & McClendon, 2005).

Beyond measurement mechanisms, Bauman and co-authors (2005) argue that achieving equity within HE requires raising awareness and changing policies to realize institutional transformation. While this starts with a commitment to diversity and excellence on an institutional level, it is necessary to then include actors at different levels in processes to develop a commitment to diversity as well as designing and providing diversity-sensitive training. In addition to these, increasing awareness on campus of inequities and mobilizing this awareness to become part of demands for change to achieve genuine equity in access and inclusivity are other crucial factors emphasized in the literature (Bauman, Bustillos, Bensimon, Brown II, & Bartee, 2005).

Box 26: The UNIC Superdiversity Academy will coordinate a peer review assessment of diversity and inclusion practices of each partner university to identify opportunities and best practices, as well as threats for inclusive and superdiversity-ready HE. Every university will be visited by a delegation from another UNIC partner university to discuss and assess its practices aimed at inclusion. Two of such visits will be conducted throughout the project enabling UNIC to assess changes and understand shifts in practices.

Box 27: UniZG is home to UniCulture which aims to develop innovative approaches for teaching suitable for use in diverse and intercultural HE environments. As part of the project, UniZG also aims to strengthen the access and active participation of students from vulnerable groups and minorities in educational and social processes at universities. In aims to strengthen social inclusion and fight discriminatory processes in society.

As part of efforts to broaden student profiles, organizational-oriented studies also focus on institutional mechanisms such as admission policies and financial barriers which affect access. Alongside these, retention and program completion rates effects are significant, especially in cases of non-traditional students (Strayhorn, DeVita, & Blakewood, 2012). Information about the application processes, assisting young people's choice and helping them identify where their interests lie also play a role in their successful engagement and completing a program. Financial

barriers include concerns about the cost of attending HE and getting into debt, as well as the loss of potential earnings while in college (McCoy et al. 2010; McCoy & Byrne 2011). In addition, research has demonstrated the ways race, ethnic minority status and socio-economic background may influence university required examinations as well as students' transition into HE (Strayhorn, DeVita, & Blakewood, 2012). Socio-economic background and young people's capital may also affect their access to resources that facilitate their transition to university (Smyth, 2009; Modood, 2012; Meeuwisse, Born, & Severiens, 2014). Related issues of capital and access will be explored in further detail in subsequent sections.

In terms of university responses and strategies to address these issues, studies have examined finance and tuition-related interventions to understand their impact on access, retention and diversity within HE (Gonzalez, et al., 2013; Vaade, 2010). Financial aid can be need-based, merit-based or a combination of both. Vaade (2010) and Gonzalez and colleagues (2013) assess financial aid's effect on attainment, and the results suggest questionable impact across demographic groups. With regards to tuition fees, some studies find a negative correlation between participation and tuition fees, and studies found that a 10 per cent increase in the tuition fees results in 1.1 per cent less registration of ethnic minority groups (Smith, Hurwitz, & Howell, 2015). Several studies show that financial aid packages are associated with persistence with small margins and for specific students (Bettinger, 2015; Davidson, 2015; Castleman & Long, 2013); and similarly, institutional level grants/loan programs in an elite university study also suggest a limited increase in the likelihood of student persistence in the first year (Horn, Santelices, & Avendano, 2014). Yet, targeted and timely aid packages are suggested to influence 'stop-outs', re-enrolment and graduation chances (DesJardins & McCall, 2010). With regards to state support, Chen and St. John (2011) present a US-based comprehensive impact of state financial policies on students' persistence and completion of degrees in their first-destination HE institution and find that the state-based aid is only marginally positive, and students with higher socioeconomic status are 57 per cent more likely to persist in their completion of degrees that those in need for state financial aid. Changes in government policy concerning scholarship or financial programs in other contexts where HE is largely fees-based highlight the mixture of agendas at play that in turn influence strategies to foster diversity within HE (McCraig, 2016). In the case of international students and non-EU citizens coming to study within the EU, opportunities for financial support are further limited. Overall international students pay higher fees than EU students when admitted to the European HE system and compete against a larger pool of applicants for financial assistance or scholarships.

Similarly, various studies explore the intersection between internationalization, scholarships and the different underlying aims of scholarships identifying a myriad of aims (Campbell & Neff, 2020; Dassin, Marsh, & Mawer, 2018). For instance, the National Scholarship Programme (NSP) in the UK provided a "government-backed scheme awarded £3,000 worth of support for low-income first-year undergraduates, comprising a maximum of £1,000 cash with the remainder made up of fee waivers, discounted accommodation. […] The NSP compelled HEIs to match-fund state contributions, albeit with

the choice as to how the additional monies were spent. HEIs also had the freedom to exert additional eligibility criteria with some prioritising applicants for under-filled programmes, care-leavers, and those from low participation neighbourhoods. The variance in how NSP operated between HEIs complicates evaluation. Nonetheless, at a macro level, (McCraig, 2016) notes stagnation in overall, HE participation. On closer examination, the author was struck by institutional behaviours; several post-1992 universities chose to fund continued support of the initial first-year recipients, during years two and three of their programmes. Despite a heritage of working with under-represented groups, for some post-1992 institutions, this decision may have coincided with a change in aspirations, from being a 'recruiting' university to a 'selecting' one. Consolidating financial support to attract the very brightest students from under-represented backgrounds might enhance metrics such as average entry tariffs, which "feed into sectoral league tables" (Webb, Wyness, & Cotton, 2017, p. 16-17). The example of the NSP programme in the UK is one example among others where HEI receive external funding for scholarships and develop their own strategies for distributing the scholarships thereby, altering the main purpose of scholarship programmes.

Another theme in this subgroup of studies takes virtual tools and distance education as key strategies to achieve development, cooperation and internationalization in teaching and learning (Pursula, Warsta, & Laaksonen, 2005). As virtual mobility has the potential to overcome barriers to physical mobility, the increasing access to information and communication technologies are key enablers to achieving virtual mobility programmes as part of an inclusion strategy for participants who cannot join on-campus mobility (Ubachs & Brey, 2009). The COVID-19 pandemic showed the importance and potential of online learning tools, although the e-learning and creation of virtual campuses in HEIs require further progress (Ogden, Streitwieser, & van Mol, 2020). It is necessary to include more comprehensive strategies, extend the possibilities for virtual mobility blended with real training possibilities and flexibility alongside traditional learning mobility (Ruiz-Corbella & Álvarez-Gonzalez, 2014; McCoy & Byrne, 2011).

Box 28: UOULU provides University pedagogy trainings to help teachers learn about the use of various teaching and learning methods, learning environments and the use of technology for teaching and learning in their alongside of student-centred focus and principles of constructive alignment and research-based teaching. University of Oulu University Pedagogy research and teaching team organizes university pedagogy training for UOULU teaching staff. The aim of the university pedagogy training is to support the development of teacher identity and practices and to reinforce the interest in teaching profession and teaching development.

The COVID-19 pandemic has forced HEIs to transfer online raises questions about the success of this experience for various actors involved from staff to students and information technology (IT). The International Association of Universities (IAU) survey concerning the pandemic indicated that almost all 424 respondents across the world explained they were relying on online teaching (Marinoni, van't Land, & Jensen, 2020, p. 24). Altbach and de Wit (Altbach & de Wit, 2020) highlight various infrastructural inequalities that affect access to and utilization of online teaching from disparities in university infrastructure to external factors such as the internet, electricity and availability of devices (Munck, 2021, p. 33; Mbodila, 2020; Mandal, 2020). While concerns about access persist, questions about students' participation and engagement also emerge as it is anticipated that students may be less willing to engage, and some students may postpone enrolment in HE to avoid online classes. For faculty, the transition online has necessitated that staff quickly modify and adapt curricula to be delivered online without sufficient time to prepare for this transition which may have negatively affected delivery for the initial period of the pandemic. With the gradual reopening of some universities or specific faculties, there has been a gradual shift towards blended teaching whereby lectures to large groups of students continue online combined with physical meetings in smaller groups where preventative measures can be maintained (Copeland, 2021). Various programs include courses that are not suitable for distance learning such as laboratory experiments, collaborative projects, contact (theatre, dance, etc.) or internships necessitating that universities either invest in technologies to allow online simulation (experiments) or reorganize programs to postpone experimental elements (Munck, 2021; Altbach & de Wit, 2020; Bilecen, 2020; Marinoni, van't Land, & Jensen, 2020). The shift online presents a challenge for student communities to connect, establish support or even mobilize (Bilecen, 2020). Concerns around modes of examination have also arisen both in terms of students' ability to plagiarise or commit fraud and concerns over violation of privacy with some universities insisting on using monitoring technologies to prevent cheating (Altbach & de Wit, 2020). While much of these discussions have arisen due to an increase in academia using technology in HE due to the pandemic, careful assessment of these debates may highlight possibilities to expand or contribute to better planning and strategizing of online educational programmes in the future. In addition, it is important to account for issues of inclusion within online educational programs and how they can become diversity-proof.

Box 29: For the UNIC Consortium blended, virtual and physical education exchange is a cornerstone of UNIC. UNIC seeks to expand on the traditional models of physical mobility within the Erasmus+ framework by designing and realizing different forms of virtual exchange. UNIC aims to for 50 per cent of the entire UNIC student population to have engaged in a form of mobility by year 3 of UNIC.

To carry on briefly with the effect of the pandemic, internationalization and the mobility of international students and staff are also relevant, though some geographies are affected more than others (Marinoni, van't Land, & Jensen, 2020). While many universities depend on the mobility of international students as key sources of revenue, the halting of inter-university mobility within Europe,

within the framework of the Erasmus+ framework, is expected to be less affected (de Wit & Marinoni, 2021, p. 234). Scholars estimate that student mobility in the near future may be negatively impacted by the pandemic due to continued travel restrictions, uncertainties about when campuses will be fully operational again. In addition, concerns about the new strands of the virus, possible resurgences as well as racism against migrants from Asia, China and the Black Lives Matter movement in the US may influence would-be students' decisions to pursue HE (Bilecen, 2020). For many scholars, the pandemic has come to represent an imperative to question and reassess the dependence on international student revenue sources to work on strengthening the Erasmus+ framework or develop "financially progressive and ethically sustainable approaches to international student participation" (Copeland, 2021, p. 286).

4.3. Intersectionalities and Structural Inequalities

The interconnected nature of the structure to the overall scholarly literature concerning inclusion and diversity suggest that a clear majority of studies on HEI, place socio-economic inequalities and various aspects of stratification at their centre of their analysis (Breen & Goldthorpe, 1997; Shavit, Arum, & Gamoran, 2007; Becker & Hecken, 2009; Archer, Hutchings, & Ross, 2003). The impact of socio-economic inequalities on access to university education and the perception of HE as an avenue for social mobility made socio-economics a key issue of concern for scholars working on social equity, and diversity within HE. With time, various studies diversified to account for other entities including, but not limited to race, gender, ethnicity, special needs and the like. In addition, there is growing studies relying on intersectionality or accounting the intersection of factors that influence access, experiences and outcomes of HE.

Developed by Crenshaw in 1989, and subsequently used in a diverse range of fields of study and inquiry, intersectionality has been adopted as a method and theory by a variety of researchers and scholars (Crenshaw, 1989; Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays, & Tomlison, 2013). As Collins (2015) explains, various interpretations and modes of operationalizing intersectionality exist whereby making it difficult to bound the concept within a singular definition. Intersectionality has been relied on theoretically and methodologically to analyse relations of power, inequality, institutions and to interrogate multiple forms of discrimination or barriers that individuals or communities may experience. By examining unequal relations or relations of power with an eye to the intersection of race, ethnicity, age, gender, social class and the like, studies relying on intersectionality seeks to give equal space to the impact of each of these entities rather than favour one over the others (Collins P. H., 2015).

In debates on HE, intersectionality has been used to critically examine various HE institutional settings and relations (Thornton Dill, 2009; Nichols & Stahl, 2019; Mitchell, Simmons, & Greyerbiehl, 2014; (Phipps, 2016; Morioto, Zajicek, Hunt, & Lisnic, 2013; Miller, 2015). Examining the experiences of queer students who identify with one or more disabilities, Miller (2015) describes participants' continual

perception management, contextual disclosure of identity and representation, and experiences of microaggression in interactions in a predominantly white, heteronormative HEI. The discussion highlights the ways disclosure and speaking up in classrooms around issues relating to queer experience or representations risked students experiencing marginalization or being subjected to forms of microaggression within classrooms. In addition, the research showed the ways stigma concerning mental health prevented participants from disclosing mental health issues as well as the ways expectations of students were incompatible with realities of mental health disabilities in some cases (Miller, 2015). Participants' comments extended beyond interactions and relations within classrooms to focus on the ways content in non-queer or ableism-related courses rarely included diversity of material or sources (Phipps, 2016; Morioto, Zajicek, Hunt, & Lisnic, 2013; Miller, 2015).

Using an intersectional approach to research the experiences of transgender students, faculty and staff in HE, Seelman (2014) develops a series of recommendations to address issues of discrimination and marginalization in HEI environments. Focusing on the intersection of gender and social class, Phipps (2016) explores the ways "laddish culture" emerges as well as seeking to explain variation in the manifestation due to social class, race, sexuality among other variables. In addition, the research examines the ways "laddish masculinities" emerge in university classrooms versus other settings (Phipps, 2016; Morioto, Zajicek, Hunt, & Lisnic, 2013; Miller, 2015). In a shift away from students and classrooms, Morioto and co-authors (2013) use an intersectional approach to examine a program to increase gender equity in STEM fields in the USA. By studying four cohorts of institutions that were awarded the ADVANCE grant, their study focuses on structural and institutional transformation processes to achieve gender equity. The research highlights the ways of transformation within institutions necessitates operationalizing change at multiple levels (Phipps, 2016; Morioto, Zajicek, Hunt, & Lisnic, 2013; Miller, 2015).

Various scholars have sought to examine the ways factors such as social class, race, gender and the like impact and affect students' access to and experiences in HE. While some scholars focus on one entity such as social class, others focus on multiple of intersecting entities. Discussions on these factors have not been limited to students' experiences but also has given rise to research on the impact of organizational culture, institutional barriers, criticisms of power dynamics and HE structures from a feminist or post-colonial perspective (Wainwright, 1994). As discussed in the previous section, various studies on HE and HEIs highlight the ways structural, gender, racial or ethnic inequalities are reinforced. In addition, there are growing calls to 'decolonize' or diversify curricula, reading lists (Schucan Bird & Pitman, 2020), institutions of knowledge and knowledge production to generate structural changes and make academia more inclusive (Bhambra, Gebrial, & Nişancıoğlu, 2018). Evidence from recent years suggests, increasing inequality in wealth and ownership in recent decades as neoliberal policies demise social welfare system (Harvey, 2005; Sayer, 2005; Modood, 2012) affects entry, academic success, retention and integration to their tertiary education.

Studies on HE and social class, mostly rely on two key theoretical approaches; the merit-based approach that argues that equalizing access to HE will eventually result in social mobility (Goldthorpe & Jackson, 2008); or Bourdieu's theoretical conceptualization of social capital and habitus. Merit-based approach is tied to historical transformations after the Second World War and shifts from industrial to service-oriented cities. It is heavily tied to democratic values that consider all individuals in a given society as equal and should be given the same opportunities. However, as Duru-Bellat (2008, p. 84) highlights while access to HE may have become increasingly available, the value of degrees has declined. With more graduates competing for the same pool of jobs, new graduates may have fewer possibilities of social mobility despite their pursuit of HE. With the increase in accessibility of HE, it is argued that "inequalities have shifted further on" rather than being eradicated (Duru-Bellat & Kieffer, 2000; Duru-Bellat, 2008; Jerrim, Chmielewski, & Parker, 2015). Simultaneously, it is argued that only focusing on the ways HE ties in with social mobility, decreases from recognizing the gains the increased participation in HE represents beyond economic gains or social mobility (Shavit & Blossfeld, 1993). As Atherton (2017) comments, "it is important to develop the policies and practices which emphasize that the content and purpose of post-secondary education should be to endow its recipients with the attributes necessary for fulfilment across non-economic as well as economic spheres in the twenty-first century".

The vast majority of studies refer to Bourdieu when analysing structural inequalities in HE. Briefly, Bourdieu's concept of "a cultured habitus" defined as "familiarity with the legitimate culture within a society" that seeks to explain the ways cultural knowledge serves as currency helping individuals navigate a cultural environment and alters experiences and the opportunities available to them has been incorporated into studies on HE (1967: 344). The concept is widely used prominently in educational research mostly with a comparative logic analysing social strata access and capacities (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). Habitus as learned through practice impacts various aspects of individuals' lives including their connections to institutions, relations with individuals, and their access to resources. For Bourdieu, educational institutions are key spaces where the practice of dominant cultural capital is learned and transmitted (Bourdieu, 1984). Studies of social class and HE suggested that young people and families from disadvantaged backgrounds regard HE as remote and alien from their own experience (Lynch & O'Riordan, 1998; Hutchings & Archer, 2001) while the middle classes tend to enjoy a greater synergy between their own life-worlds and those of dominant societal institutions and structures, "and hence benefit from a privileged ability to know, understand and play the game" (Archer, Hollingworth, & Halsall, 2007, p. 220; Collier & Morgan, 2008). Similar theoretical standing points have been made in other studies for first-generation and non-traditional students in HE. Collier and Morgan (2008) explore the experiences of first-generation students in the US in terms of their engagement with faculty, the ways expectations about 'student role' develops in HE and the difference in their understanding of expectations vis-a-vie traditional students. The study highlights the ways family environment and parents' educational experiences act as a key mechanism for preparing children/students for HEI environments. In a related theme, various scholarship demonstrates that

even prior to their transition to HE, students from middle-class backgrounds find it easier to secure more finances for private tuition to access an advantageous educational position in HE (Smyth, 2009; Bray & Kwok, 2003; Ireson & Rushforth, 2005). Basit (2012, p. 186-187) comments that the UK government allowing HEIs to increase tuition in the early 2000s, would negatively affect already questioned 'widening participation' policies given the additional financial limitation imposed on non-traditional students. Analysing the situation of non-traditional students in the case of Germany, Brandle (2016) examines the ways how different forms of capital, including social, cultural and economic, influence enrolment in the HEIs. Research undertaken exploring the intersection of parents' education and migrant background and students' pursuit of HE in the Netherlands, Germany and Austria highlights that parents' educational experiences were more influential on continuation into HE in some education systems than they were in other contexts (Crul, Schneider, & Lelie, 2013, p. 51).

While noting the importance of social and cultural capital theory in debates on under-representation, some commentators also caution against using these theories overly deterministically, overstating the internal homogeneity of middle-class and working-class experience or anticipating that relations and perceptions towards HE remains static. Additionally, other scholars highlight the need to address the intersections of class, race, ethnicity and the like in discussions around capital and HE (Modood, 2012). They seek to nuance and adapt Bourdieu's theorization to address the ways race, ethnicity and the like may impact habitus, and the different types of capital available. Exploring why some ethnic minorities in the UK are more successfully integrated into HE than others, Modood argues for adopting a nuanced articulation of social capital (Modood, 2012, p. 18). In his framing, he calls for examining cultural capital (relating to family) and social capital (relations and network) in tandem to ensure full representation of the various elements that may affect pursuing a HE. Studies have also shown that orientations to education can vary within, as well as across, classes and can change over time (Scanlon, Powell, & Byrne, 2019; Basit, 2012). Basit (2012) argues for examining 'aspirational capital' as a further form of capital where cultural milieu and educational institutions may not provide the necessary tools or support to engage in HE, but parents/family provide the aspirational support to their children to try to pursue HE. According to Crozier and co-authors (2008) there are disparities in confidence and expectations whereby young people from middle-class backgrounds exhibit a sense of 'university entitlement', which appears to be largely absent amongst their working-class peers (Scanlon, Powell, & Byrne, 2019, p. 354; Archer & Yamashita, 2003). In addition, various authors highlight the connection between social background and education outcomes as various empirical evidence suggests relations between retention and parent's social class and education (Shavit & Blossfeld, 1993; Breen, 2004).

International studies also point to class-based differences in HE choices/destinations. For example, research in the UK indicates that working-class and other non-traditional students are more likely to attend post-1992 universities (Leatherwood and O'Connell, 2003; Read et al. 2003) and make up only a small proportion of the student body at elite universities (Reay et al. 2009). Figures from the Office for Fair Access suggest that the relative chance of people from low-income backgrounds studying at

the most selective third of universities worsened from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s (Department for Business, Innovation & Skills, 2011: 56). This has led to concerns that widening participation in HE is doing little to address class inequalities. Similar patterns of stratification have been noted in the US (Alon, 2009, p. 732).

The studies suggest two trends for the working-class students incorporating into a different cultured habitus such as middle- and upper-class elite institutions displaying, imposing and producing similar class values. One trend stresses a successful academic experience even though there are tensions and ambivalences taking place in an out-of-habitus experience (Reay, Crozier, & Clayton, 2009). Another group of studies suggests that when students from low-income families encounter an unfamiliar field, the mismatch between the high-status university versus the low-status socio-economic backgrounds creates tensions and uneasiness (Sani, 2008; Jetten, Iyer, Tsivrikos, & Young, 2007), therefore, ambivalence, insecurity and uncertainty might follow (Reay, 2005). Yet, as Bourdieu argues, habitus can change and adapt over time (Bourdieu, 2005), in other words, the habitus has "its permeability and its ability to capture continuity and change" (Reay, 2004, p. 431). In a similar fashion, the habitus of HE can well be "restructured, transformed in its makeup by the pressure of the objective structures" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 47). In that context, studies suggest how middle-class universities adapt and critically assess the existing academic habitus in line with the realities of the working-class habitus and the middle-class university field for students to achieve academic success (Cohen, 1998).

While substantial literature exists on the ways race, gender, ethnic background or class may affect access to HE, there is less research focusing on disability and access to HE beyond providing guidance or recommendations. In addition, a discussion on disability and ableism in academia, i.e., among faculty or staff is largely limited (Brown & Leigh, 2020) . For instance, Brown and Leigh (2020) combine disability, chronic illness and neurodiversity within academia which are seen as different experiences for disability studies, yet the authors present their interrelatedness from an ableism point of view for discussions on equality, disabilities and inclusion. Previous studies have also emphasized the issue of special needs that is considered crucial for making mobility programmes and schemes accessible to all students (Padilla-Carmona, 2012). Existing research on the needs and problems of disabled students is also highly case-dependent. For instance, two studies conducted in HEIs in Canada, Czech Republic and the USA highlight academic staff's negative attitudes and their inability to transform the learning environment in favour of disabled inclusion which presented major obstacles for special needs students (Strnadová, Hájková, & Květoňová, 2015; Mullins & Preyde, 2013; Miller, 2015). However, other studies conducted in HEIs in various countries including Canada, Spain, United States, found that academic staff had positive attitudes to disabilities and valued policies of inclusivity, despite their inability to implement them in some settings (Collins, 2000; Cook, Rumrill, & Tankersley, 2009; Hong, 2015; Lombardi, Vukovic, & Sala-Bars, 2015). In HEI settings, transforming these arrangements into favourable environments for special needs students require policy responses to facilitate accessibility,

design and implement transition planning and train staff as well as develop strategies to foster discussions on and positive attitude towards disability on campus.

The discussion of socioeconomic inequalities and various aspects of stratification in HE, as presented above, is a multifaceted issue. Some areas such as social strata have been widely studied, yet there are still plenty of new room to direct both scholarly attention and institutional awareness and intervention to less focused or recently emerging inequalities. The part below will focus on the student experiences within the HE as complementary to the overall discussions presented so far.

4.4. Social and Relational Aspects of Student and Academic Experiences

HE is conceived as a positional good that should be available to all members of society; however, the approach adopted to achieve this availability may differ based on context. Theoretical discussions on how to achieve justice through HE vary based on the ways equity is conceptualized. The discussion begins with the question of whether equity is achieved through fairness or inclusion in HE (Marginson, 2011) where "fairness" focuses on and tracks "growth in the absolute numbers of underrepresented groups […] while inclusion considers the proportional representation of underrepresented groups" (Wilson-Strydom, 2015, p. 144). Various theoretical frames have been applied to HE contexts, to analyse the ways social justice in HE can be realized and how social justice through HE can be actualized. Rawls' (1999) approach to social justice argues for an equal distribution of goods, resources and opportunities; and "distributive justice" would result in realizing social justice. For Rawls, the only type of unequal access across society should be an inequality in access that serves wider society. In the context of HE, following Rawls' philosophy would necessitate adopting only a merit-based approach that ensures equity in the distribution of access to HE (Sandel, 2010). This approach to social justice is criticized by various philosophers and scholars for failing to account for structural barriers or challenges which may affect the ways individuals are able to utilize resources (Sen, 1979; 2006) as well as failing to consider an individual agency. Other critiques to "distributive justice" are relevant for HE (Young, 1990; 2001; 2006) (Fraser 1996, 1997; Young 1990 (Fraser, 1997). In Young's (1990) seminal essay on the "Politics of Differences", she argues that without focusing on the ways resources and opportunities are distributed (e.g., decision-making power, institutions, processes, etc.) any form of distributive justice cannot be achieved. Young (1990; 2001; 2006) theorizes the ways oppression and dominance operate in relations and society on the basis addressing aspects of hegemony and oppression will address social inequalities. In the context of HE, Young's (1990) approach necessitates instituting changes to different levels of HE such as curricula, staff hiring or promotion processes, positions of power and the like whereby oppression of groups, e.g., specific groups of under-represented students, to realize genuine social justice in HE (Eisenberg, 2006). One of the critiques levelled against this approach to social justice is its focus on groups without leaving sufficient space for the individual

agency (Wilson-Strydom, 2015). Fraser (1997) provides another theoretical framing for social justice that bears relevance for HE. With a focus on achieving social justice through "parity in participation", she argues that it is first necessary to realize justice along three key dimensions "redistribution", "recognition" and "representation" and by doing so, parity in participation can be achieved enabling social justice (Fraser N. , 1997; 2009). In the case of HE, each of these dimensions to ties in with different levels of HE and based on Fraser's (1997) approach it is necessary to redistribute access to HE opportunities, funding and the like; incorporate recognition of diversity in all aspects of HE such as curricula and staff-student relations; and address the ways students are represented, include them in decision-making processes that affect them and the HE. While Fraser's approach provides a holistic and flexible approach to theorizing social justice beyond resources or domination, it has been criticized for failing to give sufficient space for individual agency.

Another approach favoured in discussions on social justice is Sen (2000) and Nussbaum's (2003; 2011) capabilities approach which focuses on well-being, where well-being is understood as relating "to value being and doing" (Wilson-Strydom, 2015, p. 149). According to the capabilities approach, even if resources and access to resources are distributed equally, individuals' socio-economic situation, social class, gender, ethnicity, race, prior experiences and the like, referred to as "conversion factors", will influence the ways in which individuals utilize the resources and opportunities available (Sen, 2000, p. 70-72). As such individuals will not necessarily achieve the same outcomes even with the same initial resources or opportunities, but also by viewing outcomes in terms of well-being, there is more scope for an individual conception of well-being. The capabilities approach touches on every aspect of the HE cycle from access to retention and outcomes. Moreover, it shifts the focus from student enrolment figures as a means to account for the success of inclusion policies to an emphasis on outcomes: are graduates well-being improved? In addition, it identifies the need to address "conversion factors" to improve utilization of resources and opportunities to achieve social justice (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007).

While increased and expanded access to HE is expected to contribute to achieving social justice, it is necessary to consider how equity policies enter into different levels and components of HE. Discussing racism in the European context, Flecha (1999) argues that there are two types of racism in the European context, modern and post-modern, where the former refers to the hierarchization of race whereas the latter relies on recognition of difference among racial or ethnic groups which may reduce the possibility for "equitable dialogue among different races and ethnicities". Based on Flecha's (1999) analysis, the tools developed to counter the modern form of racism described are insufficient to address the post-modern form. With a focus on education, he argues for educators to adopt dialogical pedagogical approaches to challenge racism in educational settings. While the discussion does not focus on HE settings, his analysis of the ways racism emerges in Europe offers insight to key challenges facing HEs in their aim to achieve social justice. Approaching diversity without arguing for equality and

representativeness in decision making processes in education will not generate the transformational inclusion aimed for.

Moreover, there is a recognition that a singular model to achieve equity does not necessarily work for all students, requiring the development of multiple strategies for diverse types of non-traditional students; implemented at different levels of the HE cycles. Building on Webb and co-authors' review of the literature, the following section explores the four key identified areas in students' educational life cycle: access to HE; retention; attainment; and progression (HEA, 2015; Webb, Wyness, & Cotton, 2017; Lehmann, 2007; Maunder, 2018; Tinto, 1993; Wilcox, 2005). The following sections focus on non-traditional student experiences in each of these areas as well as on intervention models to address challenges and critiques to interventions.

4.4.1. Access to Higher Education

Access to HE refers to students' entry to HEI in which the literature from the US mostly assigns the relational aspect to tuition fees, access challenges, and intervention policies such as finance, support programs and application processes. Although this section is partially covered under the institutional strategies, further discussion was necessary here as some key studies present discussions of student experiences and their reflections on key interventions concerning their access to HE. Two key challenges to accessing HE are financial and relating to attainment at the school level. On the other hand, HEIs have developed different interventions to facilitate the access of non-traditional students to HE which may vary based on context and the ways HE is financed in the context.

Box 30: Koç University Summer Research Program consists of two parts: High School Research and Undergraduate Research. The Undergraduate Program is for motivated undergraduates from different universities who want to improve their research skills and plan to attend graduate school. The program offers undergraduates the opportunity to gain research experience that helps them decide if they want to pursue graduate education or a professional research career. High School Program helps students experience a university environment, gather information on the undergraduate area they would like to study, and learn how to conduct academic research. This program is for motivated high school students, who would like to study in universities that prioritize academic research and develop their research skills. Students will have the opportunity to work closely with the faculty at fully equipped laboratories. The program offers high school students the opportunity to learn new research techniques and gain experience that will help improve independent thinking and creativity.

For under-represented students and their families in many countries where HE is not free, the financial costs of HE is a key concern. In many contexts, pursuing HE necessitates incurring some, if not extensive, debt. Burke and co-authors (2013, p. 139) argue that while "the willingness to accept debt as an inevitable part of the pursuit of 'success' is tied to particular (white, middle class) values and

dispositions", for under-represented and non-traditional groups studies indicate that going into debt to pay for HE entails more complexity. Studies indicate that the expectations for better employment opportunities may underlie a willingness to incur debt or invest in children's access to HE where resources are scarce (Basit, 2012), and financial training for students and their families to balance their finances related to education may also impact willingness to pursue HE (Berumen, Zerquera, & Smith, 2015; Gonzalez, et al., 2013).

As discussed in the previous section, social class and social milieu are influential factors affecting educational attainment. Research in different contexts indicates that a smaller proportion of young people from lower socio-economic groups achieve the entry qualifications for HE (McCoy & Byrne, 2011, p. 148). Strayhorn and co-authors (2012) highlight the ways school location and resources available impact on students' secondary education grades, and by extension access to HE. Various research argues that increasing HE participation among non-traditional student groups requires interventions into pre-primary, primary and secondary schooling targeted at raising attainments and continuation to HE (McCoy et al, 2010: 6-7). In the case of Germany, studies conducted on the enrolment of traditional and non-traditional students indicate the ways different forms of capital influence students' decisions to pursue HE and when they pursued HE (Brandle, 2016).

Box 31: UOulu relies on tutor teacher training which includes practices related to superdiversity/inclusion. The tutor teacher is a member of the teaching and research staff of the degree programme who guides a student in their studies, monitors the progress and offers them support at the difficult points of their studies. The tutor teacher helps in preparing, checks and approves students' personal study plan (PSP). Students have tutor teachers at both BA and MA level. Tutor teacher training involves the following areas: First year experience; the guidance system and services in UOulu; counselling of study psychologists; accessibility in studies and individual study arrangements; information systems in studies and working life, skills and labour market situation.

Various research indicates that non-financial support to students and families in the final year of secondary schooling may positively impact association with HE and increase the perception of HE's accessibility to students from non-traditional backgrounds (Basit, 2012; Harvill, Maynard, Nguyen, Robertson-Kraft, & Tognatta, 2012; Gonzalez, et al., 2013). Harvill and co-authors (2012) highlight five key areas in support programs: counselling; mentoring; parental involvement; social enrichment; and academic enrichment. Developing other outreach programs at HEIs to provide non-traditional students with an early university experience such as academic classes (Ulate, 2011), workshops and sessions on campus life. Programs designed in the US, targeting high school students, proved especially successful strategies to promote interested student groups' access to STEM (Chang, Kwon, Stevens, & Buonora, 2016; Wilson, et al., 2012). Perez (2010) also found outreach strategies that included counselling and

attending classes effective in helping undocumented students decide if they wish to continue to HE (Perez, 2010).

Additionally, group-specific programs may target first-generation students (Ghazzawi & Jagannathan, 2011; Doyle & Griffin, 2012); students with low socioeconomic status; underprivileged (Nunez, 2009) or under-represented students. There are studies also focusing on programs to include 'undocumented individuals', as for instance in the case of the US where 18 states passed legislation removing obstacles to the application of students without status to HE as long they fit particular criteria concerning time spent in the US (Anderson, 2015; Perez, 2010); countering geographical factors prohibiting access from rural communities (Giles, 2012; King, 2012; McCulloch, 2014); and indigenous communities' access to HE (Keene, 2016).

Furthermore, in the admission process, some universities follow affirmative action such as accepting lower entry grades for under-represented groups; yet the policies have been controversial (Webb, Wyness, & Cotton, 2017, p. 26). For instance, the 'Texas' 'Ten Per Cent' rule guarantees a college place for students finishing in the top decile for GPA in their high school; the intention being that this will neutralise structural disparities in achievement between schools in privileged versus underprivileged communities, allowing bright students to access opportunity irrespective of background (Andrews, Ranchhod, & Sathy, 2010). Such approaches reflect evidence that access to tertiary education, especially prestigious institutions, is highly affected by secondary school experiences (Belyakov, Cremonini, Mfusi, & Rippner, 2009; Whitty, Hayton, & Tang, 2015). In tandem with the 10per cent rule, the University of Texas at Austin ran a support programme for 70 schools identified as having poor historic HE engagement (Andrews et al. 2010), with generally positive outcomes. The findings provide support for the benefit of multi-faceted interventions, whereby those students who do not qualify for financial aid or a guaranteed place in HE may still benefit from the auxiliary support provided" (Webb, Wyness, & Cotton, 2017, p. 27). Debates arise over issues of disclosure of student profiles and privacy concerns. Additionally, affirmative programs are based in many cases on applicants providing specific personal information and research has indicated that students with disabilities may in some cases choose not to reveal their disability (Newman, Wagner, Cameto, Knokey, & Shaver,

Box 32: The Anatolian Scholarship Program provides scholarships for studying at KU, to highly talented young people who have been unable to access quality higher education due to financial disadvantages. Designed to offer affordability and provide greater access to high-quality education, the Anatolian Scholarship Program was launched in 2011 providing scholarships for 14 students with the support of 6 sponsor companies. As of 2019, the number of students benefiting from the program has reached 606 and the number of sponsor companies has exceeded 250. In addition, more than 1000 individual contributors (mostly alumni) support the Program.

2010), and scholars also suggested that they should have the right not to disclose this information (Shaw, Madaus, & Banerjee, 2009).

In the process of application, especially for applicants from first-generation students, Brown and co-authors (2016) argue the role that social media facilitates communication and information sharing for prospective students who ask questions and share experiences. Yet, for students who have no access or limited internet access, or for the case of visually impaired students, the standard formats with regards to admissions need alternative models (Brown, Wohn, & Ellison, 2016; Mwaipopo, Lihamba, & Njewele, 2011). While there are third-party services assisting the application process, there are studies highlighting the risk of reduced applications when such support disappears (Hagedorn & Zhang, 2011). Woods-Giscombe and co-authors (2015) highlight the following as key elements HEIs need to increase outreach and make application processes accessible including: developing physical and virtual platforms for prospective students, providing feedback on inquiries about admission processes and designing a navigable and user-friendly website for the admission process. Additionally, it is necessary to support both faculty and administrative staff with training on awareness for the non-traditional group to minimize challenges to the recruitment of students of diverse backgrounds. Similarly, Basit (2012) argues for universities to develop more nuanced or targeted open days that cater to non-traditional students from lower socio-economic backgrounds or ethnic/minority groups as standardized open days may either been considered inaccessible for a variety of reasons. The access component mostly presents a comprehensive connection starting from schools towards access to HE with the engagement of key stakeholders, policies, programmes and administrative support to make students access and retain in HE. Family and community support also arise as other aspects motivating students to access HE (Bernhardt, 2013; Gonzalez, 2013; Coles, 2012).

4.4.2. Attainment

Attainment or achievement refers to scores and graduation rates and their overall fulfilment of students' potential throughout their educational life. Studies show that the risk of failing is widely studied from the perspective of scores and graduation rates/gaps between traditional and non-traditional students. While there is research carried out on non-traditional students' experiences of the academic transition to HE, and it stresses how well students adapt to independent learning, larger class sizes, etc. (Keane, 2011; Read, Archer, & Leathwood, 2003), the education 'gap' between traditional and other under-represented groups from non-traditional students suggests the need for interventions especially on the first year with developmental and pedagogical programs and student encouragement in the areas of race, ethnicity, social class background, and gender gap (Richardson J. T., 2015; Ianelli & Huang, 2014).

Literature from different contexts has explored the differences between traditional and non-traditional students. Studies from the US have examined the attainment gap between 'traditional' students and non-traditional groups including African-Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics, low income, first-generation and the like (Lodhavia, 2009; Skinner, 2013). The studies demonstrate that these students

are less likely to complete their degree programs and tend to complete the programs with lower grade-points (Swail, Redd, & Perna, 2003; Horn, Peter, & Rooney, 2002). While attainment gaps may change in nature, the academic attainment for other specific groups like ethnic minorities, students from migrant backgrounds, or women has persisted for many years (Klesment & Bavel, 2017; Richardson J. T., 2015). In the case of the Netherlands, the retention of ethnic minority students whose parents are from the Antilles, Morocco, Surinam or Turkey are argued to come from a lower socio-economic background and may take longer to graduate (Hofman & van den Berg, 2003; Severiens, Dam, & Blom, 2006). The literature shows that discrimination in the educational system, social distance and negative stereotypes about minority groups undermine their educational achievement and students showing a defensive detachment of the self from the educational systems (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Rothon, 2007; Shih, Pittinsky, & Ambady, 1999; Steele, 1997; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2004; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007).

For European countries, various studies examine educational inequalities for students with a migrant background within the scope of higher education institutions with the aim of reducing inequalities for students of different background, leaving a gap in cross-national comparative data (Collett & Petrovic, 2014; Dronkers & Fleischmann, 2010; Dronkers, van der Velden, & Dunne, 2012; Van de Werfhorst & Van Tubergen, 2007). Some of these studies overlap the migrant-specific disadvantages with those of social origin (Kristen & Granato, 2007) mainly controlling for social origin in their analysis without considering variations among migrant groups (Griga & Hadjar, 2014). Consistent with the literature showing immigrant students experiencing high levels of discrimination (Gillborn, 1997; Hermans, 2004; Kjerum, 2009; Leslie, 2003; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002), Kislev's study (2016) on the cross-classified multilevel analyses compares two types of education policies directed at migrants – intercultural and targeted support policies – measuring their effectiveness in terms of the attainment of students with migrant background in HE in 13 Western European counties. Kislev's study argues that policies advancing an intercultural environment have a stronger impact on attainment compared to targeted policies (Kislev, 2016).

Regarding teaching, learning and institutional interventions, one of the key interventions in this area is based on Social Identity Theory and applied as a method in HE. According to "Social Identity Theory" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995) individuals form their social identity based on their belongingness to different social categories/groups (e.g., ethnicity, socio-economic status, gender, religion) and, since social identities are not only descriptive but also evaluative, individuals tend to perceive their own "in-group" more favourably than the "out-group". This systematic tendency is known as intergroup bias and is related to three well-studied components - prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination (Wilder & Simon, 2003) that might pose a heightened threat of intergroup tensions and conflict in superdiverse settings. Intergroup contact has been suggested as an effective way to alleviate intergroup bias and conflict, but decades of research (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) demonstrated rather small beneficial effects of mere contact and substantially stronger ones when several conditions of the contact hypothesis were met (equal status between the groups, the pursuit of common goals,

cooperative intergroup interactions, authority support and long-term contact that provides opportunities for personal acquaintance) (Pettigrew, 1998). Interventions that meet these conditions focus on possibilities of discovering interpersonal similarities between members of diverse groups (Brown & Hewstone, 2005) which is closer to the concept of assimilation, but there are other intervention strategies (e.g., ingroup-projection model) that suggest the opposite, drawing attention towards diversity to reduce intergroup bias, which is closer to the concept of multiculturalism. However, studies suggest caution with proposed diversity-based strategy (Waldzus, Mummendey, & Wenzel, 2005; Bianchi, Mummendey, Steffens, & Yzerbyt, 2010; Roccas & Amit, 2011; Steffens, Reese, Ehrke, & Jonas, 2017) since it was demonstrated that it could both improve and impair intergroup relations, depending on some mediator variables (e.g., prototypicality, conservation values). Additionally, in line with current multicultural environments, some authors considered the effects of multiple categorisational intervention (Prati, Crisp, & Rubini, 2020), suggesting that increased usage of complex ways of thinking about "out-group" members might reduce intergroup bias.

On the construction of cultural identities, Hall and du Gay (2011) state, "entities are constructed through, not outside, difference. This entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relation to the "other", the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its constitutive outside that the 'positive' meaning of any term - and thus its 'identity' - can be constructed" (Hall & du Gay, 2011, p. 5). In discussing social identity complexity, Roccas and Brewer (2002) suggest people having multiple group identities is a generally accepted fact and understanding the structure of multiple identities is important because representations of one's ingroups have effects not only on the self-concept but also on the nature of relationships between self and others. Multiple social categories that individuals belong to can differ in the degree of convergence or overlap, which is the case for both actual and perceived situations - though correlations between those two are not necessarily high. The latter is the subject of social identity complexity (Roccas & Brewer, Social Identity Complexity, 2002) which suggests individual variations in the complexity of subjective representations of own multiple in-group; to achieve high social identity complexity one must be aware of more than one in-group category and recognize the multiple in-group categories do not converge or overlap. Superdiverse settings provide individuals with the opportunity to develop high(er) social identity complexity and reduce in-group bias and inter-group discrimination (Miller, Brewer, & Arbuckle, 2009; Roccas & Brewer, 2002), but the impact of superdiverse environment might vary across participants due to their different exposure to diversity - making this objective/actual superdiversity not necessarily sufficient for the development of complex subjective identity structure. According to Brewer (2010), a more complex subjective/perceived representation of one's multiple identities might be achieved by the active seeking of cognitive stimulation and experience. Since minority students may experience negative social and emotional repercussions due to negative inter-group relations, (higher) education institutions should consider promoting positive attitudes by encouraging interaction among (super)diverse groups in ways that diminish the boundaries between in-groups and out-groups (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2013).

Box 33: UniZG has extensive experience with service-learning pedagogy. S-L was first introduced by Mikelić Preradović in 2005/2006. At the Department of Information and Communication Sciences, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (FHSS) around 100 S-L projects related to different topics (e.g., social community visual identity, multimedia educational software, interactive databases with multimedia content, educational workshops for the broader population) were developed in diverse partnerships (e.g., NGOs, museums, schools, libraries) within last 15 years. Two actions significantly contributed to popularization and development of S-L in the UniZG: 1) FHSS participated in Erasmus+ project Europe Engage aimed at promoting S-L among students, academics, and wider community; 2) European Social Fund funded partnerships of 18 faculties and various NGOs within the "Support to the development of partnerships of civil society organizations and higher education institutions for the implementation of S-L programs" proposal. Since students' interest in S-L (Modić Stanke, Ružić, & Mindoljević Drakulic, 2019) was found to correspond to teachers and community partners' interest in S-L, UniZG has established the Office for Service-Learning aimed at supporting academics, students, and community partners in their service-learning experiences. Some of the S-L courses offered include "Career management" and "Entrepreneurial skills" – that developed sustainable service-learning programs by engaging students in employment support activities for marginalized groups; "Croatian as a foreign language and service-learning" – using service-learning methods in teaching Croatian language to refugees and asylum seekers; "Service-learning and social interventions" – designed to empower students for more active engagement in (and with) the community, addressing particular social problem/need.

In the context of (higher) education, service-learning (S-L) is an approach that has the potential to meet all conditions proposed by the contact hypothesis along with embracing the strategy suggested by multiple and counter-stereotypic categorization interventions, therefore presenting eligible pedagogical tools for reducing intergroup bias in superdiverse settings. More specifically, S-L is a formally supported method that enables balanced-power partnerships and long-term collaborations among students, teachers and community partners to co-develop a project (Aramburuzabala, McIlrath, & Opazo, 2019). Regardless, if the term superdiversity refers to students and/or teachers (e.g., different ethnic background, socio-economic status, disabilities, and the like) or the settings (engaging in projects developed and conducted in superdiverse environment with superdiverse community partners and beneficiaries) - engaging in S-L should lead to the beneficial effect of intergroup contact. Additionally, since "reflection and experiential learning strategies underpin the process" (McIlrath et al., 2016, p. 5), service-learning pedagogy is also in line with multiple and counter-stereotypic categorization interventions. Conner and Erickson (2017) confirmed the above-mentioned considerations by comparing the effects of service-learning courses in two different institutions that varied in terms of the amount of contact hypothesis conditions being met. The results revealed that "contact-theory" courses were most effective in reducing student's colour-blindness and improving

their awareness of racial issues but also suggested that the effect of S-L might be moderated by students' race and gender (Conner & Erickson, 2017).

A meta-analysis conducted by Celio and co-authors (2011) indicated that students who engaged in S-L benefited in five areas: attitudes toward self, attitudes toward school and learning, civic engagement, social skills and academic performance, and the effect was larger when S-L emphasized linking to curriculum, student voice, community involvement, and reflection (Celio, Durlak, & Dymnicki, 2011). As for the long-term effects of S-L, results of a longitudinal study conducted by Austin and co-authors (2000) demonstrate that participation in S-L leads to numerous positive student outcomes including academic performance, increased shared values, self-efficacy, leadership, the choice of a service career, and plans to participate in service after college. The research stresses the relevance of discussion and reflection; and suggests that due to S-L experience both faculty and students develop a heightened sense of civic responsibility and personal effectiveness (Austin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda, & Yee, 2000). Considering the impact of S-L on student diversity outcomes, Holsapple (2012) conducted a critical review of 55 studies and determined the six most commonly reported outcomes: stereotype confrontation, knowledge about served population, belief in the value of diversity, tolerance of difference, interaction across difference, and recognition of universality (Holsapple, 2012).

The literature approaches attainment from a student learning perspective where GPA scores, credit acquisition, and graduation rates are the main focus. Further interdisciplinary collaboration is needed, with the fields such as education and psychology, including non-traditional students and other sub-categories such as migrant students. Other scholarly works focus on the intervention models, but this area requires future research to evaluate the impact of interventions. Similarly, pedagogical models present promising results but there is still room to study their efficacy on reaching attainment and creating superdiversity in HE.

4.4.3. Retention

Retention refers to success in degree completion and likelihood of continuing or withdrawing from HE. In some cases, it is also connected to the aftermath process in securing employment. Strategies to improve student experience and retention have been explored in the literature, most notably by Vincent Tinto considered one of the key names in developing retention theory. Tinto (1973) famously paid attention to the role that institutions play in the process (Tinto, 1973) and one of his key arguments was that students need to be integrated into both the academic and social life of institutions to persist in HE (Tinto, 1987). While the literature also presents the psychological aspects of retention, Tinto's emphasis focuses on the structural and institutional levels. He highlights the significance of adjustment to the social and intellectual transition, difficulties students face in meeting academic standards, the incongruence between the student and school environment, and isolation as key areas of study (Wagenaar, 1988, s. 415). The structural and critical focus of Tinto's conceptualization of the ways in which these factors affect students of different sex, age, race, and social class, and how they operate differentially within institutions of various level, size, and residential character (Ibid). Tinto

outlines six principles as important: new students need to have basic academic skills; outside-the-classroom personal contact is critical; the systemization of retention strategies; early intervention to ensure retention; institutional commitment first and foremost to students; and overall education rather than completion statistics (Ibid).

Especially completion rates, including continuing or withdrawing from higher education, are assessed in different contexts for specific groups. The research on Irish and international figures indicates the link between socio-economic class and university completion rates. An analysis of completion rates in Irish higher education (Pigott & Frawley, 2019) found that students from higher professional and farming backgrounds have the lowest non-completion rates at 16per cent, while students from a semi-skilled socioeconomic background have the highest non-completion rate at 29 per cent. Retention is not only impacted by the demography or population under study, but by additional factors included but not limited to education funds, financial programmes and the like which continue to centralize retention as a key issue of concern (Webb, Wyness, & Cotton, 2017). In the case of non-traditional students, retention and graduation rates are key issues of concern (Merrill, Finnegan, O'Neill, & Revers, 2019; Christie, Cree, Mullins, & Tett, 2017). Studies indicate that minority groups' retention rates in the Western world have improved for specific disadvantaged groups in the past decade (Bragg & Durham, 2012). Completion and retention rates are also considered as measures of success in some HE assessments which entrenches the continued significance of the importance of the issue (Hillman, Tandberg, & Gross, 2014).

A key area of consideration regarding retention is the financial aspects of pursuing HE. HE involves financial pressures on students from low(est)-income families that affect enrolment rates and early withdrawals. Key disadvantaged groups are mainly students from ethnic minority groups, lower socio-economic backgrounds, and first-generation students. Yet, the literature on the impact of financial pressure and changes remains to be limited and understudied (Brooks, 2012; DesJardins & McCall, 2010). Furthermore, some studies present that financial assistance has an impact on specific targeted groups, especially first-generation students who are more likely to withdraw and in which women compose 75per cent of them (Johnson, 1997). Another study suggests that the importance of financial 'literacy' for women, students of colour to clarify reasons for high dropout rates (Eitel & Martin., 2009). The issue of finance yet presents a complex set of factors with a high chance of affecting retention and persistence; therefore, more comprehensive and innovative aid packages should be considered (Mayer, Richburg-Hayes, & Diamond, 2015; Carreira & Lopes, 2019).

The issues of integration and retention have significance for non-traditional students, whose experience of HE can be one of the struggles due to financial constraints, lack of familiarity with the HE system and lack of confidence in their academic ability (Leathwood & O'Connell, 2003) In the case of working-class students, concerns about 'fitting in' in a largely middle-class environment can impact upon their choice of university and experience of university life. For instance, Lehmann's research with first-generation students in a Canadian university found that they experienced "class–cultural

discontinuities, such as not fitting in, 'not feeling the university' and not being able to relate to other students" (Lehmann, 2007, p. 96). In Ireland, research by Lynch and O'Riordan (1998) and, more recently, Keane has highlighted the challenges faced by HE students from lower socio-economic groups, particularly in relation to 'fitting in' in largely middle-class environments (Keane, 2011; Lynch & O'riordan, 2006). There is also substantial literature produced in the UK. As the studies show, they are still at greater risk of dropping out in comparison to traditional students, due to the adaptation hardships they face in a new setting (Quinn, 2013; Thomas, 2016).

For various non-traditional students, preparatory training and additional support is highlighted as key areas in various HE contexts. Strayhorn and co-authors (2012) highlight a case from the US and stress the need to incorporate training for high school students from ethnic or minority backgrounds to prepare them for university environments. They argue that for many students in schools in lower-income areas, their schools are unable to provide them with the necessary tools to navigate university settings which then results in dropout or difficulties adjusting. Especially, first-year programmes in HE are critically important since students discover a new environment different than their schools or colleges. Carreira and Lopes (2019) highlight that in the case of Portugal, instituting preparatory courses for non-traditional students supports retention. In the UK and the US especially, universities target first-year programmes and course (such as how to reference, use the library), and design the learning environment and culture to prepare students for the level of study, independent and active learning, with inclusive assessment regimes and increased contact time, also promoting the sense of belonging among students, basically to ease students' transition into HE (Webb, Wyness, & Cotton, 2017). Example studies can be given from the summer bridge programmes. For instance, Murphy et al. (2010) look at the summer bridge programme which addresses low retention rates for underrepresented minorities of African American, Latino, and Native American background. In a sample of 2,200 students from under-represented minorities, they find that their participation in the bridge programme was associated with higher likelihood of graduation. Similarly, McEvoy (2012) finds that a summer bridge programme can increase retention rates among all students, but they are more effective for under-represented groups. The effect of the summer programmes right after the first year during the long summer break also argued to be effective for students who are at risk of dropping out (Webb, Wyness, & Cotton, 2017, p. 37; Attewell & Jang, 2013).

HE is a highly classed space and some of the literature is cautious about the delicate balance between democratic education aspirations as they promise individual social mobility, they might endure the class inequalities outside of HE (Finnegan & Merrill, 2017). While a considerable body of research points to the difficulties and discontinuities that working-class students face in HE, there are some notable exceptions. For instance, Reay and co-authors found that working-class students in one elite university had a greater sense of fitting in as learners in HE than they had at school, where they 'had been mocked for working hard' (Reay, Crozier, & Clayton, 2009, p. 1111). They argue that 'individuals are able to move in and out of different identity positions' (Reay, Crozier, & Clayton, 2009, p. 1115). Some studies

on non-traditional students' participation in HE, provide a mixed picture, identifying both the challenging and the rewarding dimensions of the college experience (Crosling, Thomas, & Heagney, 2008; Finnegan & Merrill, 2017; Scanlon, Jenkinson, Leahy, Powell, & Byrne, 2019).

Various areas also cover the issue of retention connected to diversity. One example can be given from the numbers of female students entering and completing engineering, and other STEM programs. Even though studies present that female graduates from engineering have a higher GPA, the retention issue signals that there are non-academic, complex factors connected to their retention (Hall, et al., 2015; Hartman & Hartman, 2006; Hill & Rose, 2010). Feminist and postcolonialism literature argue that the field is a male-dominated field with stereotypical roles assigned to both the profession and the education (Calabrese Barton, 1998; Harding, 2008; Riley, Pawley, Tucker, & Catalano, 2009). Other factors include that female students also feel isolated and different from their male peers as they experience the feeling of inadequacy due to stereotype threats that undermine their academic performance (Goodman, et al., 2002; Vogt, Hocevar, & Hagedorn, 2007; Ventling & Camacho, 2008; Marra, Rodgers, Shen, & Bogue, 2009). The interventions to increase the number of female students both to encourage enrolling and graduating are adopted through outreach programmes, summer camps, afterschool science clubs and technology classes but also some studies adopted frameworks that support female students in their undergraduate experiences and inclusive learning environments (Dell, Verhoeven, Christman, & Garrick, 2018). Franchetti (2012) reports that retention programmes geared towards female engineering students increase retention rates from 52 per cent to 73 per cent over a five-year intervention period in which the programme offered mentoring to first-year female students pairing them with senior students, proactive hiring of female faculty and staff with integrated and co-operative learning programmes and first-year designed introductory courses (Franchetti, 2012).

Another area is the curriculum and pedagogy that play a key role in addressing retention, although there are methodological difficulties of linking teaching reform to statistical metrics to quality assurance and retention (Crosling, Heagney, & Thomas, 2009). Although over the past decades, there have been adjustments making HE more inclusive, there is still an emphasis on more to be done in the curriculum changes. For instance, analysing cases from the UK, Malaysia, and Australia, Crosling and co-authors' study finds that the creation of a stimulating and supportive learning environment in a holistic approach through "student-responsive curriculum development" (2009, p. 11) can address retention as the curriculum is built attentive to include induction and orientation programmes, active learning, study skills, formative assessment, teacher-student relationships, and a greater understanding of student diversity, while negative faculty response to curriculum changes should also be considered (Jenkins, 2012). Yet, there is not much data and analysis with regards to the impact of such reforms (Jenkins, 2012; Webb, Wyness, & Cotton, 2017). However, there are studies focusing on the curriculum reform's impact on the students with disabilities as a key driver to the inclusion in HE (Denzin, 2017; Podzo & Chipika, 2019; Barkas, Armstrong, & Bishop, 2020).

Studies also look at other retention areas whether flexible learning addresses retention. For instance, hybrid models like combining face-to-face and online learning are claimed to raise retention and completion rates (Lee, 2012). Amaral and Shank (2010) evaluated a module called 'blended learning class guides' for an introductory chemistry course which "included learner and course goals/objectives analysis, design and development of learning activities, formative/summative student assessment, and qualitative and quantitative student course performance and satisfaction evaluation" with use in-class of a student response system ('clickers') (Amaral & Shank, 2010). Their study found that the module provides an increased impact on GPA and retention rates where pass rates were doubled.

Yet, it should be noted that the past years' experience with the COVID-19 pandemic also started to attract scholarly attention on online learning's effect on HE, although there is not much data revealed. Prior research was already cautious about the technological, digital skills and psychological 'readiness' to engage HE with online tools (Malik, 2014). As the global pandemic accelerated the transformation process to online education, a recent article by Barkas and co-authors (2020) mention some of the inclusion problems - although not specifically focused on the issue of retention - as the global lockdown also moved HE online (Ogden, Streitwieser, & van Mol, 2020). The sudden change to online education did not encompass "the variability and breadth of online accessibility" such as the right equipment, internet and broadband capacity of both universities and students. Therefore, the authors especially warn that such variables' can "create a toxic mix of barriers to inclusivity, the outcome of which, has been extremely high levels of stress and anxiety" (p.2). While support for students and curriculum transformations received less attention with actual changes in the content, digital transformation with IT support has been prioritized, and the entire process revealed the "cracks in the curriculum" (Ibid.). The deliverance of the full curriculum online might have led many students to consider this as a barrier due to "tacit communication where the unspoken feelings which exists within a 'classroom' are missed" (Ibid). The authors, therefore, warn HEIs to consider how to combine teaching styles and methods with technology and online learning while not excluding learners. For future research, therefore, more emphasis is expected to assess and focus on these hybrid modules' impact on the HE, including inclusion, retention and newer modules as a result of their experience in online education.

Following on the curricula, debates highlight that the significance of curricula extends beyond just list formal list of subjects or topics taught within a program or course. To start with the definitions of curriculum, it is firstly a dynamic concept used both in the narrow meaning in which it is merely a list of subjects taught in schools, but also it refers as the total experience inclusive of what is taught affecting learners and shapes their experience, but also the experience within a learning environment also influences what is learned (Gebrehiwot, 2015, p. 40). It involves varying areas including the planning and implementation of education programs, needs assessment and assessment of learnings, evaluation of the taught curricula, selection of approaches and methods of instruction (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1996; Schubert, Shubert, Thomas, & Carroll, 2002). Scholars also coin the phrase "hidden curriculum" or the "unintended curriculum" - as opposed to the "official" or "written" or

"intended" curriculum, referring to the formal plan implemented – whereby highlighting that the curriculum "experienced" is a combination of both these levels (Billet, 2006; Hafferty & Hafler, 2010). Moreover, students' experiences are influenced by the hidden "unplanned" or as "informal" curricula, which may or may not be viewed as consistent or even efficacious (Mckernan, 2008; Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1996; Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Therein, scholars are also interested in the curriculum's impact on retention, especially through specific support-oriented interventions mostly beyond formal or official curriculum. One of the usages is invested in the "learning communities" which are "designed to encourage interaction between faculty and students, and between students, to develop academic skills of critical reading and writing, and to build a culture of success and aspiration" (Webb, Wyness, & Cotton, 2017, p. 45). Studies that look at the learning communities through a curriculum where two or more courses are linked together, studies report the advantages of curricular-based learning communities increasing retention rates as students engage with faculty members and peers through the process of active learning. The creation of these communities is suggested to be "effective, cost-conscious, and flexible undergraduate curricular strategy" (Buch & Spaulding, 2011, p. 77). Building on Lave and Wenger's (1991) influential work on 'communities of practice', the off-official curriculum spaces also contribute to generating a sense of belonging and identity as groups get together through social events, mentoring, career talks, study groups, field trips and even a coffee with a faculty member, proved to have a demonstrable impact on GPA and retention, including case studies of diverging branches such as geoscience, chemistry and engineering (Cervato & Flory, 2015; Ricks, Richardson, Stern, Taylor, & Taylor, 2014; deProphetis, Driscoll, Gelabert, & Richardson, 2010). Learning communities are also suggested to be useful for groups at risk, such as minority groups (Hollands, 2012; Sandoval-Lucero, Maes, & Chopra, 2011; Purdie & Rosser, 2011).

Other non-academic support programs related to retention include career and counselling services as key predictors of degree completion (Driscoll & Holt, 2012). The literature review presented by Pearson (2012) concludes that the creation of a dedicated student support position such as through counsellor–mentors leads "to enhanced student ability to focus on research, more productive supervisory relationships, higher retention, and more satisfied students, whose attitudes and outputs contribute to an enhanced image for the institution, thus eventually increasing higher degree student enrolments" (Pearson, 2012, p. 188). In addition, studies have found that preparatory programs to facilitate the transition to HE may positively impact students' sense of belonging, engagement with peers and faculty as well as attainment levels in the Dutch context (van Herpen, Meeuwisse, Adriaan Hofman, & Severiens, 2019).

The issue of retention is complex in nature and involves the interplay of varying interconnected variables such as curriculum, economic status, disadvantaged groups, gender motivation etc. (Webb, Wyness, & Cotton, 2017, p. 50). This dynamism and complexity are also reflected in the literature. Forsman et al. (2014,2015) note that there is still not a fully applicable theory to perceive retention and their multilayer network correlated data argue that interventions in addressing retention needs to broader and systematic in scope (Forsman et al., 2014; Forsman et al., 2015). Grossman et al. (2015) argue that the systemic change should also include the response of the faculty and support the non-academic staff about their actions for successful education reforms (Grossman et al., 2015, p. 8). The literature outside of the US needs further research on the issue of retention, especially in transforming the theoretical approach on retention into a practical one with effective results, some of the issues involve benefits of financial assistance, use of technology, curricular reform and assessment, extra-curricular involvement (Webb, Wyness, & Cotton, 2017, p. 52).

Box 34: Uliège provides students with the opportunity to work within the university as student instructors. Student Instructors are students who are regularly enrolled in a first or second cycle, and responsible for organizing practical teaching. Since 2012, the status of student instructors is assimilated into that of student workers whereby they receive recognition for their labour and contributions.

4.4.4. Outcomes and Progression

With the expectation that HE education will result in better employment opportunities and eventually social mobility in the case of non-traditional students, various studies examining progression after graduation help to the situation whether greater access to HE achieves the expected societal impact and to what degree. In the literature on HE, progression can mean progress within a degree, or it refers to the successful transition to post-study life including further study or employment. Merrill and co-authors (2019) explain that much of the research on non-traditional students focus on access and retention and there is insufficient research examining the outcome of HE for non-traditional students. Based on research examining the employment of non-traditional students after HE, they argue that HE opens some possibilities for non-traditional students interviewed did not alter the socio-economic inequalities experienced once they entered the job market. Similarly, another study conducted with non-traditional students ten years after their graduation demonstrates the extent to which HE impacted employment (Christie, Cree, Mullins, & Tett, 2017). For Christie and co-authors' (2017) study, the research participants were non-traditional students who transitioned from college to elite universities in the UK. Their research shows that HE positively influenced students' personal development and by extension affected other aspects of their lives; however, in terms of the job market, the research demonstrated that other forms of capital continued to affect position and employment. Similarly, as emphasized in the literature (Merrill, Finnegan, O'Neill, & Revers, 2019; Heath & Cheung, Ethnic Penalties in the Labour Market: Employers and Discrimination, 2006), being a

member of an ethnic minority most of the time leads to high rates of unemployment, lower salaries, and worse opportunities for promotion in the workplace (Heath, 2007).

HEIs mainly target progression by implementing strategies through centralized career services (Dey & Crusvergara, 2014). There has been increasing pressure on HEIs to prepare students for the labour market and their careers in recent decades (Allen & van der Velden, 2011; Donald, Ashleigh, & Baruch, 2018). In the case of the European Commission's strategy on HE reform, employability is considered as one of the key areas to transfer the acquired knowledge and skills to the labour market (Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2014, p. 61). Although some scholars criticized the employability aspect of the EC's strategy seeing it as a threat to academic freedoms and quality, a transition to post-study life is an expected component of HEI (Broms & de Fine Licht, 2019). The terminology of employability skills has been debated in the literature as a wide range of terms are discussed from the ability to "gain initial employment" and "obtain new employment" (Hillage & Pollard, 1998) to more comprehensive terminology such as "capabilities students develop at university that goes beyond content" and "chances of acquiring and maintaining different types of employment" (Milne, 2000, p. 87). These skills or attributes include "interactive, interpersonal attributes (such as communication and teamwork abilities) and personal abilities (such as intellect, knowledge, willingness to learn, flexibility, self-reliance and self-motivation)" in addition to awareness of the range of employment opportunities (Baker & Henson, 2010; Harvey L., 2000, p. 8; Stewart & Knowles, 2001).

The progression element for students preparing them for their future study or employment can be divided into *three* areas. The *first* includes extracurricular activities mostly provided by career services, including counselling, helping students to write resumes and cover letters, preparing them for interview processes, organizing career fairs and other extra-curriculum activities (Eisner, 2010). Departing from the idea of prompting the ownership of their employability needs to students (Knight & Yorke, 2003), Baker and Henson (2010) developed an action research approach called the "Inside Employment" programme which is a student-centred and problem-based approach to employability skills. The authors argued that "the development and awareness of one's employability skills is increasingly viewed as a way of improving individuals' career prospects after graduation." (p.73). Yet, student-driven approaches present the challenge of risk balancing extra-curricular activities with academic endeavours, and additionally, there is a risk of excluding other groups of students, as specific student sub-groups may show a higher commitment to such activities. During the intervention, it is necessary to monitor the recognition of opportunities to ensure even distribution, as otherwise, examples can emerge such as male students dominating leadership positions as in the case of Thompson and co-authors' (2013) qualitative study. In addition, it is necessary to recognize that from students' perspective, they perceive their investment in HE to offer them a financial gain and they may express feelings of lower employability from a market perspective even though they might feel employable from a personal perspective (Donald, Ashleigh, & Baruch, 2018).

Box 35: In ULiège some courses and faculties invite their alumni to present certain aspects of their professions and experience to current students. This is an opportunity for the graduate to return to his/her alma mater, to share his/her career path and highlight the culture of his/her company/institution.

In relation to that, various research also demonstrates the intersection of gender and employability as key areas of focus in the literature, (Morley, 2001; Pinto & Ramalheira, 2017), in particular for graduates (O'Leary, 2017). For example, Donald and co-authors' (2017) study finds that male undergraduates' self-belief shows greater confidence of more employability than their female counterparts (Donald, Baruch, & Ashleigh, 2017). Few case studies show some interventions in career services for disadvantaged groups or for disparate individuals (e.g., pair counselling for shy or aggressive persons) (McClain & Sampson, 2013). Other studies suggest the effectiveness of group-counselling for minority groups (Berrios-Allison, 2011) rather than individual counselling (Choi, et al., 2013). However, the literature is also attentive to informational barriers in HE for specific groups such as refugees in which accessing professional support is a challenge (Bajwa, et al., 2017). Career support services need further development and research for specific cultural, identity, and other under-represented groups (Webb, Wyness, & Cotton, 2017, p. 73).

This connection to diversity in career services is what career development scholars and practitioners have also emphasized arguing that career counselling needs to do more to serve diverse populations (Evans, Kincade, Marbley, & Seem, 2005). These demands place greater emphasis on the roles and responsibilities of the university career staff, especially career counsellors, career centre directors, and the overarching institutional culture to achieve social equity (Fickling, Lancaster, & Neal, 2018; Hansen, 2003). While competency in career counselling is one issue (Heppner & O'Brien, 2006; Herr & Niles, 1998; Tang, 2003); available research indicates that institutional support and skills also need to value social justice and promote comprehensive participation and engagement (Fickling M. J., 2016; McMahon, Arthur, & Collins, 2008), especially of those who are "systematically excluded on the basis of race or ethnicity, gender, age, physical or mental disability, education, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, or other characteristics" (Lee & Hipolito-Delgado, 2007). Studies examining employment support services for students with special needs suggest the role that comprehensive vocational programs and vocational rehabilitation play in increasing employment rates among graduates with special needs (Oswald, Huber, & Bonza, 2015; Petcu, Chezan, & Van Horn, 2015).

Studies also focus on the interactions with non-career staff's role such as lecturers and family's role contributing to progression (Boettcher, 2009). In terms of decision-making on their careers in the UK, Greenbank's (2011) study found that working-class and middle-class students were more likely to consult parents and lecturers than friends and career advisors. However, a study conducted by Cheung and Arnold (2014) argues that career advice from lecturing staff is effective in self-efficacy where they found weak support from the family. Watts (2006) also presents the 'integrated delivery' model where

academic staff works together with the career supporters as one of the possibilities students get consultation outside of the career services.

The *second* area covers the curriculum integrated approach aside from central career services. Many institutions, such as business management and administration areas specifically embed progression aspect into the formal curriculum targeting the development of 'soft-skills' such as communication, team building, leadership (Winstead, Adams, & Sillah, 2009). For students who are more competent in engineering skills but lack language skills for their professional life, Clement and Murugavel (2015) suggest the use of teaching sessions as an interactive tool to address language gaps based on a study of the English language training needs of engineering students in India. For specific skills, such as academic writing experience in professional life, studies reveal that interventions embedded in the formal curriculum also aim to increase students' occupational writing skills (Coyle, 2010).

The literature is also attentive to different preparations for progression after graduation for specific programmes. Interventions in progression are notably involved in Business studies. For applied sciences like health, nursing, real-life working situations is already included in the curriculum (Webb, Wyness, & Cotton, 2017, p. 78). Yet, studies argue that progression in a non-academic career is problematic in critical areas like sociology and political science (Ashe, 2012). For political science students, for instance, Broms and de Fine Licht's (2019) study discusses the course 'The Professional Political Scientist' given at the bachelor's level at the Department of Political Science at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. One of the techniques proposed is to invite guest speakers and guest lecturers which also enhance students' career skills and increase students' understanding of relevant professions (Cummins, Peltier, Pomirleanu, Cross, & Simon, 2015; Riebe, Sibson, Roepen, & Meakins, 2013). These classes can also be taught as part of extra-curricular activity to increase 'opportunity awareness' for students (e.g., bioscience) whose career paths might be less clear than other students of vocational subjects (Willmott, 2011). Willmott's study also includes the use of social media such as LinkedIn and Facebook for prospective graduates to approach alumni as potential supporters (Ibid).

Another curriculum-integrated approach in progression is particularly relevant for students in vocational HE. While these approaches are also referred to as part of experiential learning embedded in the curriculum, Kuijpers and Meijers (2012) conducted a large survey in the Netherlands for vocational students in HE and argued that career competencies were linked to practice-based curricula. Other studies found little connection to labour market outcome such as attainment when departments teach employability skills (Mason, Williams, & Cranmer, 2009); and Moswela and Chiparo (2015), yet, making a reservation on the need for sufficient resources to be made available for experiential learning to be effective. Uhlich and Missler-Behr's (2013) study looks at a German case at Brandenburg University of Technology where students develop start-up/entrepreneurial skills in a classroom-based course. Especially on health-related disciplines such as nursing, or for STEM students, other strategies such as promoting their commitment to the profession or to a research can be encouraged such as through career-focused events (Yilmaz, Ilce, Can Cicek, Yuzden, & Yigit, 2016). Yilmaz and co-authors'

(2016) study present that interventions to Turkish nursing students' career plans such as avoiding employment problems and promoting their interest in a post-graduate study reports statistically significant enhancements. Similarly, for postgraduate students, an increase in their stipend and funding opportunities for their research and conference participation contribute to the progression element within their departments (Crede, Borrego, & McNair, 2010). Byars-Winston and co-authors' (2011) study focuses on postgraduate students from under-represented minority groups to increase scientific workforce diversity through proposing a framework for career development in graduate research training under a programme called "Training and Education to Advance Minority Scholars in Science (TEAM-Science)". Their study presents five core components addressing career training and strengthening the effectiveness of such interventions on participants' career behaviours, which involve: 1) mentor training for the research advisor, 2) eight consensus-derived fundamental competencies required for a successful academic career, 3) career coaching by a senior faculty member, 4) an individualized career development plan that aligns students' activities with the eight fundamental competencies, and 5) strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats personal career analysis. Integrating progression into the curriculum might require a longer time frame compared to what career services provide. Yet, curriculums can serve a crucial role in addressing progression, and the literature, though in need of need for further research, is responsive to each progression activity – whether curriculum-based or extra-curriculum or via the involvement of the career services.

The *third* realm in progression is directly linked to the professional experience and placement through internships or work-integrated approaches. An important aspect with regards to extra-curricular placements outside of the academic curriculum is the in-depth experience these placements provide for students (Bohlscheid & Clark, 2012; Eden, 2014). One critique reflects on such extra-curricular approach is that they are not reflected on the student's academic award (Webb, Wyness, & Cotton, 2017, p. 82). Yet, the involvement of the third sector can be influential for students' start-up ideas with financial provision and opportunities (Woodier-Harris, 2010).

It should be mentioned that progression in HE also can involve hybrid models amongst the ones mentioned above. A work-integrated model can coexist with career preparation training; or in the

Box 36: Center for the career development, founded by the members of the Department of Psychology at the UniZG combines all three realms of progression by S-L. It provides elective courses "Career management" and "Entrepreneurial skills" within which psychology students combine academic learning with real-life experience of providing career counselling and/or development of business plan to (potentially) underprivileged minority groups of non-students (migrants, asylum seekers, unemployed, victims of abuse) within local NGOs. It also organizes job fairs and career counselling days for students within the Faculty, with a focus on non-traditional students (e.g., student with disabilities, Roma students, mature students).

method of service-learning where community service is combined with academic learning through practical experiences, such as in a vocation field like automotive engineering (Hayward, 2012). The analysed literature on progression-themed studies mostly suggests a case-based approach to various thematic areas rather than providing a macro-level analysis. Additionally, on progression, it is clearly a need for further research and for intervention mechanisms, particular for less-focused programmes, especially from Arts and Humanities. For disabled and under-represented students, studies with regards to progression are mainly from the US and UK, and further research is needed from other geographies.

4.5. Towards a Superdiversity Frame in Higher Education

The literature on diversity and inclusion with regards to HE, highlights the ways inclusion and diversity are premised on a wide range of complex factors operating at different levels. The discussion on inclusion and diversity in HE, presented studies relying on different methodological and analytical tools, and included context specific variation for certain socio-economic, cultural and political attributes. Based on this examination of existing literature, it is possible to demonstrate key intersections where a superdiversity lens is needed and productive for the HEIs. The institutional approaches discussed in this report show that the idea of inclusion and diversity, as a part of the learning environment, is present as a principle, yet further significant efforts are needed to integrate inclusive agendas into the practices of HE, beyond global mobility and internationalization programmes. The spread and scale of these policies differ based on institutions, regions and socio-cultural contexts. The literature demonstrates the need to interrogate quantitative approaches of accounting for diversity or inclusion and highlight the need for qualitative large scaled in-depth studies of inclusion and diversity. While inclusive policies are in place in many HEIs, research shows the ways it is necessary to operationalize these practices at every level of HEIs thereby generating in-depth institutional changes. In addition, the review of the literature highlights the ways in which current practices and policies concerning diversity in HEI settings presents limitations in terms of the speed and the scale of change that HEIs can operationalize.

This section sought to explore the ways in which different forms of inequality based on race, socio-economic status, gender and the like have been discussed in the literature with respect to access to, retention in and the outcomes of HE. Moving from different theoretical approaches, studies on the experiences of non-traditional or under-represented student groups in HE have mainly focused on specific groups such as racial or minority group members or students from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds at the expense of other dimensions of non-traditionality or under-representation such as ableism, age and the like. However, key studies adopting intersectional approaches highlight the need to develop multi-dimensional approaches and policies that also give space for students' self-identification. The existing studies then present new avenues for further scholarly research as well as institutional awareness and active interventions on recently emerging or

less addressed inequalities. Developing "next practices" that address these superdiverse elements may offer HEIs possible ways forward (Gallagher, 2018). Achieving social justice is one of the key aims of HE, however much of the discussions on inclusion and diversity, fail to argue for the need to ensure equality and representativeness in decision making processes which is essential to generate transformational inclusion. Throughout this review of the HE literature, various resources highlight that while HE may have impact on addressing social inequalities, these inequalities also impact experiences and the effectiveness of HE. It then becomes necessary to consider the ways HEIs, society and government intersect and engage to develop holistic solutions to challenges. This will be discussed further in the subsequent section.

The debates on widening participation and increasing inclusion in HE focus on four key areas, access, retention, attainment and outcomes or progress. These phases in the HE student cycle are crucial sites of study as without addressing each of them, institutional inclusion cannot be achieved nor can HEs effectively contribute to social justice. The literature on students' access to HE highlights the critical connection to fostering inclusion and access from schools rather than merely focusing on the HE sphere. Beyond the need to connect schools with HEIs to expand access to HE, is the need to ensure programs and initiatives to widen participation in HE for non-traditional or under-represented students extend beyond access to develop effective attainment and retention strategies. Based on the literature, attainment emerges as a promising area that requires further research to evaluate the impact of interventions to develop evidence-based policy approaches. For retention, in addition to the significant role played by curricula and pedagogical perspectives', studies suggest that there are non-academic, complex factors that impact students' retention. Superdiversity as an approach that seeks to account for the speed and scale of changes may provide a new perspective for studies on retention that result in flexible, superdiversity responsive and effective policies. Regarding outcomes, existing strategies implemented through centralized career services, extra- and intra-curricular activities, and associated agendas targeting non-traditional and under-represented groups suggest promising results; however, it is necessary to widen or reassess these strategies relying on a superdiverse approach. In sum, existing strategies across HE contexts highlight that for the most part only certain components of multi-dimensional aspect of inclusion and diversity are targeted, and HEIs are less proactive in others. In many contexts, actions also remain experimental and are insufficiently shared across HEIs to share good practices. Similar argument can be made for scholarly productivity's turning real actions in HEI.

5. Bringing a Superdiversity Perspective to Higher Education

As of its nature, this state-of-the-art report has elaborated on different approaches and positions on superdiversity, inclusion and exclusion in HE. As explained above, there is an absence of consensus on the conceptual, descriptive, methodological and practical frames of superdiversity, and a decision on an "appropriate" understanding is beyond the scope of this state-of-the-art report. This section conceptually perceives superdiversity as the diversification, fragmentation, and complexification of diversity (Deumert, 2014). It also uses it as a descriptive summary term, to define the interlinkages between the changing identity variables within migration patterns and to recognize the new "complexities in diversity" (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). The discussion below highlights the contemporary debates on the new "complexities in diversity" with a HE lens. Its main purpose is to bring a superdiversity perspective to HE, and signal despite the absence of this direct link in the literature, the issues are connected on a conceptual as well as a practical level. By showing the connections and links, this section seeks to open the space for discussions and explorations on how to bring policy closer to the reality of superdiversity.

This section aims to elaborate, understand, and introduce grounds for new research on how superdiversity is shaping and transforming university and city spaces. It brings a superdiversity perspective to higher education by trying to integrate these two literatures under a four-fold conceptualization of current trends in the literature, theory and policy. First, a discussion is held on the ever-evolving missions and functions of HEIs, with a perception of universities as spaces and reflections of their cities. Second, HE institutions' capabilities to respond to the speed, spread and scale of superdiversity's changing dynamics are examined, with respect to their cities as well as in a global scale. Third, policy implications of intersectionality and complexity theories for superdiversity and HE are introduced, by recognizing the significance of an intersectional superdiversity approach to achieve institutional level transformations with a wider impact. Finally, as superdiverse spaces, universities are perceived as sites where students mobilize around diverse issues of concern, contesting policies, practices or events. Therefore, the section is concluded with a view on student mobilization and activism, and significance of a superdiversity lens in HE to contribute and present an avenue for students to develop awareness of their influence on politics and their futures.

5.1. Universities as Spaces

Philosopher José Ortega y Gasset has defined the main mission of the modern Spanish university as the formation of a "general culture" which is universal, timeless and adaptable to any national system of HE. For the universities in modern democracies, Ortega establishes four main missions, as teaching

professions, fostering research, training political leaders, and creating individuals with "general culture" who could interpret the world around them intellectually (Ortega y Gasset, 1944). Historically, teaching professions, and fostering research are perceived as the two core, and the oldest missions of the universities predating nation-states, going back to medieval Italian and pre-industrial German states. With the formation of nation-states, nationalization of the universities to serve the needs of the government, which began earlier in England, Spain and France, became a trend in Europe, though not in the US (Scott, 2006). However, in the US a democratization mission has prevailed with an understanding to meet with the individual and societal needs for a democratic society (Henderson, 1970). During the 20th century in the US, universities with a public service mission began to emerge, mostly with an urban or regional focus, educating its students to improve the standards in the city or the region it is located in. In the 21st century, with a focus on internationalization in a nation-state, and on a global scale, universities' missions are aligning closer to the last ideal of Ortega, related to individuals with a "general culture" (Ortega y Gasset, 1944).

Beyond an emphasis on universalization, HEIs are also linked to the economic development of the cities, regions and nation-states. Discussions on university-development linkage on a practical level are relatively earlier in the US. Most notably, in the 1960s, a group of scientists called the "Interdisciplinary Studies Committee on the Future of Man" attributed the function of guaranteeing the survival of present and future generations, with improvements in their daily lives. They opposed the idea of science for the scientists and supported the establishment of an interdisciplinary science community for the greater good of humanity (Potter, et al., 1970). This idea of science assisting to develop the society, is later theorized in the literature as an "entrepreneurial university" and emerged as a response to the transformation of 21st-century economies to a knowledge-based production. Here, an additional mission for the HEIs' was introduced as to cooperate with their governments and the industry, to commercialize technological innovation as intellectual property and improve the economic performances of their countries (Etzkowitz, et al. 2000). The concept of the "Triple Helix", connecting universities with governments and industry was developed as a model premised on the intersection of interests to address challenges such as poverty, climate change and the like at local, national and the international level (Gallagher, 2018; Ranga & Etzkowitz, 2013). The concept repositions HEIs as playing a pivotal role in addressing problems and developing solutions that affect society; the emphasis is most clear in the growing demand for scholars to demonstrate the social impact of research (Gallagher, 2018, p. 342). Despite the criticisms concerning traditional integrity and independent statuses of the universities (Krimsky 1991), the "entrepreneurial university" is a continuing trend, and universities are increasingly perceived as resources for enhancing innovation and fostering economic development, by the governments, industries and funding agencies (Gallagher, 2018, p. 340). The emphasis on the economic benefit of this approach generated criticism on the basis that it insufficiently addressed social and cultural concerns. The European Committee on Regions (2016) report argues for a "Quadruple Helix" approach that accounts for universities, government, industries and citizens, thereby ensuring

equal emphasis is given to social and cultural considerations with respect to the connection between research, innovation and transformation (Gallagher, 2018).

In its current phase, the "entrepreneurial university" is again experiencing a radical paradigm shift in its social functions, to respond global challenges at both a macro, planetary level such as climate change, environmental decay and global economic downturns; and also, in a micro, city level, with their infrastructural problems of energy, building, transportation and ecological degradation, and the like (Komiyama and Takeuchi 2006). The new, emerging mission idea is changing the priorities of university-society cooperation from economic development to sustainability; and its cooperation mechanisms from vertical contribution to co-creation (Trencher, et al. 2013). For the last two decades, cooperation mechanisms built among universities and various other actors including governments, local governance structures and industries, have been contributing to both local and regional level sustainable development (Stephens, et al. 2008, Molnar, et al. 2011, Trencher and Kharrazi 2013). The university of the 21st century, is engaged to the real-world sustainability problems and regional developmental needs as one of its main functions and missions (Crow 2010).

Located in post-industrial urban settings, UNIC universities have been contributing to their urban settings through policies and action to increase and widen participation in HE, expand life-long learning opportunities or through partnerships with local government. Goddard and co-authors (Goddard, Vallance, & Pukka, 2011) present research examining cooperation between HEIs and their local cities in three European cities (Berlin, Jyväskylä, and Rotterdam) which focused on addressing societal and economic concerns. The study discusses the main challenges and incentives for HEIs to engage with their cities and seek to cooperate on and develop solutions to achieve economic regeneration or social justice. In contrast to economic focused partnerships or activities, social inclusion activities found less support, were smaller in nature or bound to specific districts, raising concerns about this lack of recognition (Goddard, Vallance, & Pukka, 2011, p. 310). They argue for all actors involved in these processes (governments, universities and cities) to develop comprehensive and long-term plans if desired societal impact is to be achieved. In the case of UNIC, while the alliance universities have been actively contributing to their cities, the scope and scale of UNIC presents new opportunities in terms of the size of the activities and projects that can be implemented.

Reflecting the realities of their cities, UNIC universities act as laboratories for urban-level or state-level policies. This reflection is not often formed organically but requires support and recognition through university-wide policies to ensure equity in access, attainment, retention and progression. Through these processes, universities may help to foster wider urban-level or social policies that are superdiverse responsive; thereby contributing to societal and urban justice. The discussion in this report has shown that superdiversity is challenging teaching, research, nationalization, democratization, public service, internationalization, entrepreneurship and at last sustainability missions of the modern university, compelling the relevant actors to re-assess the function of their institution. This drive to realign the transformational role of HEIs is in the case of UNIC tied to the post-

industrial urban environments of UNIC universities. The concept of superdiversity and its link to urban resilience is part of broadening the perspective and perceptions of students' investments in HEIs, while employability is a concern, Ortega's (1944) mission of "general culture" is still pertaining its significance albeit being evolved into global citizenship. Here, it is also important to refer to the human development approach and thus the works of Paulo Freire and Amartya Sen who emphasize freedom, increased capabilities, and justice as well as education's role in achieving these (Sen, 2006). HEIs have not only a key role to play in achieving social justice, but also in innovating or developing solutions for current and future challenges.

From these perspectives, it is necessary to recognize that HE is expected to address both individual and societal capacities to sustain more diverse and inclusive environments at different levels of society and, while doing so, setting an example with its internal dynamics. In discussing universities, it is necessary recognize, "the differences between the university as an institution, a set of academic sub-groupings, and a population of students' resident in the city" (Goddard & Vallance, 2013, p. 3). As such, drawing on Massey's (2005, p. 9-11) conceptualization of space, the university as a space is approached here as always in the process of being formed through multiple, diverse and multi-scalar relations. Universities as superdiverse spaces that are continuously being constructed then opens the avenue to consider the varying agendas, experiences and tensions within HEIs. With this approach, it subsequently becomes necessary to acknowledge the ways in which superdiversity may cause tensions within the university space. Moreover, what superdiversity means within the

Box 37: All UNIC institutions offer various forms of staff training related to superdiversity. For instance, DU undertakes these trainings under the training category of "University Social Responsibility" and offers training on gender equality, disabilities and sexual harassment protocols. EUR has a focus on teaching, with its "micro-labs" under its "Centre for Learning Innovation" designed for inclusive teaching, creating a space for constructive communication and diversifying the curriculum. EUR also provides support to teachers to handle highly polarized debates on diversity and inclusion to promote "depolarization." At UCC, the Equality, Diversity and Inclusion (EDI) Unit is leading a teaching and learning professional development project titled Disciplines Inquiring into Societal Challenges (DISCs); to create a strategy and implementation plan for the development of teaching for social justice in Higher Education nationally, particularly in the areas of gender, interculturalism and community-based learning. The strategy is informed by the professional development experiences of staff who teach in HE. ULiège also offers trainings to teachers on gender, ethnicity, dyslexic disorder, universal pedagogy and student relations. Its life-long learning service offers training both to the university community and to the public, on migration, ethnic diversity and intercultural relations; innovative techno-pedagogical approaches; and pedagogical development.

university as space becomes more fluid rather than marked by strict categorical boundaries. For example, students may respond to inclusive policies or self-identify in an intersectional manner which may overlap with, contradict or contest institutional approaches to diversity. Adapting curricula, student and staff recruitment and advancement policies, research agendas, and the general management of the institutions to become "superdiversity-ready" may generally be perceived on a positive note, but it is necessary to anticipate tensions with taken-for-granted societal norms that are unreceptive to superdiversity. Approaching the university as space formed through relations necessitates accounting for the ways in which various external relationships with urban actors, funding bodies, research councils and the like which also affect the university and its priorities as an institution.

Policies or objectives concerning inclusive HE policies have resulted in debates about diversity or inclusion, extending beyond students, with a focus on the ways HEIs realize inclusion policies at all levels (Baltaru, 2019). It cannot be expected from the university-level policies to automatically generate a wider culture of equality and inclusion. As various research highlights, inclusive HEI requires structural and institutional shifts in policy and approaches, and teaching, research and recruitment practices (Crosling, Thomas, & Heagney, 2008; O'Donnell, 2016). Diversity alone does not result in inclusion (Lehman, 2004), rather it must be actively pursued and developed "through interactions that engage the diverse life experiences of students from different racial, geographic, religious, and political backgrounds" (Tienda, 2013, p. 470). For example, despite the widely available training activities targeting diversity in our UNIC universities, it is necessary not only to develop a broader superdiverse response frame but also ensure such trainings impact different levels of academic engagement. Moreover, considering HEIs are often more liberal spaces in comparison to their cities or states, the transformation of these university-level initiatives to city-level outcomes in diversity and inclusion is not expected to be straightforward, although it might still constitute a kind of example of good practice within the community.

5.2. Spread, Speed and Scale of Change

Characterizing superdiversity by the speed, spread and scale of changes in migration patterns and urban transformations, highlights the ways in which this extensive, rapid and substantial multi-dimensional diversification is applicable to various individuals in cities, who may or may not have migratory histories (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015, p. 546; Geldof, 2018). While the multiplicity of migrations to post-industrial cities continues, superdiversity is no longer limited to large cities but extends to smaller urban settings as well (Geldof, 2018, p. 49); for instance, refugees assigned to smaller cities or towns; international students selecting university cities regarded as technical or specialized hubs (Meissner, 2018). In addition, second or third-generation individuals of migrant background represent a further spreading of superdiversity in institutions, diverse fields of work and the like. Drawing on Appadurai's (1990) conceptualization of globalization aligns with the superdiversity approach regarding the spread, speed and scale of change as no sphere of life has not

been affected by technological advancements, migration, and also global challenges. HEIs are even more at the centre of these processes with the emphasis on inclusivity, internationalization, and mobility.

Technological and communication advancements enter into debates on the pace of changes, as technologies have become more accessible despite continued infrastructural variation across geographies. With mass availability of the internet, life of academics and students are being shaped and transformed due to the availability of knowledge and research, and a sense of global connectedness with their wider communities. Accordingly, media tools of distant research collaboration and learning methods have also become more efficient (Powell, 2012). Web-based learning facilities, and even undergraduate and postgraduate degrees are expanding the influence of universities beyond their physical spaces, enabling them to communicate with an even more complex diverse population. However, this spread, speed and scale of change in the ways both academics and students experience universities brings its own problems as well. The COVID-19 pandemic has brought to the forefront already familiar issues of disparities across HEIs as it exacerbated these disparities with transition to online teaching and learning (Hazelkorn, 2021). While much of the focus on COVID-19 and the impact on HE, involves discussions of HEIs' coping strategies and a growing body of research examines the possible futures and changes for HEIs. For many HEIs, shifts in international mobility trends – and by extension reduced revenue from international students - and the growing emphasis on developing innovative responses to the challenges of the pandemic, raise questions about the futures of HEIs, especially non-elite institutions. Scholarship emerging from Europe argues for HEIs to approach the pandemic as an opportunity to employ "disruptive thinking" and use the pandemic as a ground to shift ways of working, "find a new moral purpose" for the university that centres universities' roles achieving societal impact (Munck, 2021, p. 35). It is expected that the HEIs will face increased pressure to develop innovative methods to achieve sustainability. According to Hazelkorn (2021, p. 53), "universities are likely to get a better hearing from the public and broader political system if they lead with innovative solutions and in genuine partnership with their regions". In addition, scholars highlight the existing frameworks and mechanisms to promote collaboration and cooperation and highlight the need for HEIs, and EU institutions, to consider how to modify frameworks and open further avenues for new or innovative forms of collaboration and partnership (Hazelkorn, 2021, p. 55). Based on an International Association of Universities (IAU) survey conducted in May 2020, 60 per cent of the HEIs that participated in the research claimed that the pandemic had given rise to increased online forms of mobility and teaching cooperation (Marinoni, van't Land, & Jensen, 2020). Others emphasis the need for HEIs to modify and develop their strategic policies with a focus on addressing the continued relevance of HE, the ways financing must shift or change and the continued need for innovation (Harris & Santilli, 2021).

HEIs are confronted with a foreseeable slowing down international mobility for a time accompanied by increasing demands for HEs to demonstrate their flexibility, innovative capacities and focus on societal

impact and engagement with communities. With certain forms of flexibility, the pandemic has forced, HEIs may face increased pressure to adjust programs further whereby maintaining certain aspects of virtual teaching and learning and perhaps reaching the stage where students "…tailor their entry, exit, assessment and qualifications to their personally determined needs with the introduction of competency-based education and micro-credentials rather than being required to fit a standardized model" (Hazelkorn, 2021, p. 57). The pandemic has pushed certain aspects of HEI organization concerning accreditation or the diversification of forms of mobility or exchange to be considered as imperative where previously achieving them was moving at a slower pace.

Superdiverse urban settings may shift change at an accelerated pace, but for the universities within these cities, their capabilities as institutions to respond to and match the speed of changes is a distinct consideration. This state-of-the-art report has shown the HEIs as key spaces and institutions within their superdiverse cities are part of these changes; university staff and student populations are both subjects and agents for these changes. Previous sections of this report have highlighted diverse strategies and policies UNIC universities employ to foster diversity on campus, in the student body and among staff as well as discussing key challenges to and limitations on existing practices. In addition, a key component of UNIC is engaging with local municipalities and communities to effect societal change. It then becomes necessary to ask: How will institutional policies develop further to address the growing super-diversities of cities? How can UNIC experiences engaging with cities and communities be translated to develop responsiveness to the speed, spread and scale of change that superdiversity engenders?

5.3. Complexification of Diversity

Throughout the report, a complex, intersectional and multidimensional approach to diversity has emerged as fundamental for an understanding of superdiversity. Such an approach is also suitable for advancing a transformative social justice agenda in the HEIs (Harris & Patton, 2019). HEIs are spaces reflective of the societies they are situated in, harbouring similar structures of inequality along racial; ethnic; socio-economic; ability, age and sexuality-related; and gender disparities (Crenshaw, 1989; Thornton-Dill, 2009). Providing a critical lens for an analysis of these societal disparities, and with a stress on radical and transformative social justice, an intersectional approach can be valuable for establishing a framework on transforming our universities to be "superdiversity-ready."

To harness the transformative power of an intersectional superdiversity approach, for knowledge and societies in general, and HE in specific, a social structural emphasis on inequalities is required, with policy implications focusing on the effect of institutional manifestations of power hierarchies on groups and individuals (Thornton-Dill, 2009). HEI diversity management policies, catering for a myriad of non-traditional learner cohorts, in a "targeted group" approach is not sufficient enough to fulfil a vision of justice and ensure egalitarian transformation. Albeit important, the university policies that are presented in boxes, mostly in the "UNIC and Superdiverse Identities" section of this report, have a view of "superdiversity in isolation" targeting specific groups and axes of diversity like gender, socio-economic status, and disabilities. Adopting an integrated and intersectional approach to superdiversity requires a structural and procedural transformation in all aspects of HEIs. The aspects of HEIs that are promising for initiating such a transformation are teaching and learning methodologies, curriculum management, student and staff recruitment and advancement policies, and the research agenda. Many HEIs aim to develop teaching and learning methodologies engaging with pedagogical matters caused by diversity.

Box 38: An intersectional outreach program called "Connecting our Future" is initiated by EUR, designed specifically for first-generation students. It aims to attract and retain students with an immigrant background, from socio-economically deprived areas of Rotterdam, and whose parents have not attended university. In the coming period up to and including 2024, EUR will invest almost 3 million Euros in this programme. UCC also has an intersectional access programme offering a model for coordinating initiatives and policy around widening access to third-level education to include participation from communities of socioeconomic disadvantage including Irish Travellers, students with special needs and disability and mature students.

A new up-and-coming literature, albeit being influential in many other natural, social and engineering fields, is currently being developed for the migration and diversity studies, is the complexity theory, supporting a complexity governance for complex problem situations. This refers to the development of policies, cutting across traditional policy lines. To some extent, complexity may also be perceived as a policymaking response, and provide a governance perspective to superdiversity. A complexity governance approach requires the involvement of broad actor networks oriented at diverse populations and which perceives policymaking as

Box 39: All UNIC institutions offer undergraduate and graduate courses covering issues related with superdiversity, such as international migration, intercultural communication, social inclusion, cultural diversity, and gender equality. A significant portion have post-graduate programs directly or indirectly devoted to these topics. These themes are also well represented in UNIC universities' research groups, projects and PhD dissertations with a multi-disciplinary approach.

a dynamic and emergent process, whose outputs and outcomes evolve and change throughout the process (Scholten, 2020). This approach is gaining further relevance as HEIs institutional endeavours to integrate diversity and inclusion involve an ever-complexifying multi-layered process that provides suggestions on how to engage diversity in the service of learning, student recruitments, faculty, staff as well as realizing it in campus environments, transforming curricula, and pedagogy to reflect and support goals for inclusion and excellence (Milem, Chang, & Antonio, 2005).

5.4. Social Movements, Identities, and Awareness of Superdiversity

An initial starting point for this state-of-the-art report was the question of why universities face a growing need to become responsive to superdiversity. While the first answer to this question is related to the changing populations and increasing mobility, the second one relates to growing awareness of superdiversity and changing attitudes among students and staff. This awareness extends to the mezzo level of institutional policies and practices; and the macro level as state and international policies also influence and be influenced by the awareness of superdiversity. In that sense, there is also a need to acknowledge the politics of recognition and representation of non-traditional or under-represented students in HEIs. A plethora of literature focusing on "student politics" has emerged from multiple disciplines, including political science, sociology and sociology of education over the course of the last half a century (Weinberg & Kenneth, 1969; Lipset & Altbach, 1969; Braungart, 1971; Zuo & Ratsoy, 1999; Weiss & Aspinall, 2012; Stromquist & Sanyal, 2013). Simultaneously, educational research scholarship addressing social movements is a growing literature, which must also be considered here although it has mostly remained isolated even within the educational scholarship (Niesz, Korora, Walkuski, & Foot, 2018). Discussions on student politics, recognition, representation and activism, highlight the ways in which these concern relations with majority populations and issues of power distribution both within and outside of HEIs. However, studies distinguish representation from activism, even they are highly interrelated whereby conceptualizations of representations focus on key activities including student associations, party-affiliated organizations or other interest groups (Klemenčič & Park, 2018).

Representation refers in many cases to the formal representation structures that relate to decision-making processes, on and off-campus, which students may be included in as decision makers. In contrast, student activism is mostly associated with contentious politics and non-institutionalized forms of voicing demands such as protests, boycotts, campaigns (Klemenčič & Park, 2018; Klemenčič, 2012; Barnes & Kasse, 1979). A similar distinction emerges concerning institutionalized versus non-institutionalized forms of student politics (Weinberg & Kenneth, 1969), or ordinary versus extra-ordinary student politics (Pabian & Minksová, 2011). Furthermore, student politics has been discussed to analyse various dimensions such as collective action against ruling regimes (Weiss & Aspinall, 2012), initiation processes, strategies and consequences of student activism (Braungart, 1971; Fisher, 1998; McAdam, 1990). Research on student activism has been conducted alongside studies on traditional

rights-based claims, demands for freedom of speech and equality among others. Socio-historical trends in student politics concerning underrepresented group politics have emerged focusing on specific groups' rights such as disability activism, LGBTIQ+ movements and other key intersectional areas for mobilization within HE (Frederick & Shifrer, 2019). Student mobilization around political issues, or decisions to join or establish student associations based on particular identification markers, also offers a contrast to the institutional categories presented so far in this state-of-the-art. In many ways, social and student movements or activism presents a different perspective and view on markers of superdiversity. While this state-of-the-art is only on the literature concerning student movements and activism, UNIC may later build on this awareness of student identification through movements, groups or activism, to complexify and complicate the conceptualizations of identification markers used.

The relationship between social movements and HE raises imperatives and questions concerning the transformative potential of social movements within HE, and HE's impact on concepts and frames of social movements. The emphasis on the liberating character of education found in reformist conceptualizations of the educational system bear similarities with the reform versus revolution debate in the social movement literature; however, recognition and representation politics on campuses are unsupportive of arguments that universities are catalysts for social transformation. On the contrary, a wide range of studies examining educational reforms across national and historical context have concluded that change has emerged as a response to social movements across different settings (Anyon, 2005; Apple, 2003; Anyon, Progressive social movements and educational equity, 2009; Beyer & Liston, 1996; Dewees & Klees, 1995; Morrow & Torres, 2007; Bellei & Cabalin, 2013). The literature suggests a mutually constitutive connection between educational processes and social movements. It is also argued that educational processes and contexts are considered to be "crucial to the ways in which social movements' ideas, identities, and ideals are generated and promoted, taught and learned, contested and transformed" (Niesz, Korora, Walkuski, & Foot, 2018, s. 2). The history of student politics and representation on and outside campuses suggests the adoption of both reformist and activist mechanisms and strategies to achieve social change and transformation. In other words, while education is considered to be fundamental to social movements, in a similar line of thought, social movements are considered to be fundamental to education (Niesz, Korora, Walkuski, & Foot, 2018).

In terms of the historical evolution of student politics, country specificities influence claims made within student politics and political discourse generated. Simultaneously, certain issues or rights such as women's rights transcend national boundaries. In many countries with colonial pasts, historical perspectives on decolonializing approaches are significant and continue to be influential in the contemporary agenda on HE and change (Mirza, 2018; Luescher-Mamashela & Mugume, 2014). For countries such as the USA with continued inequalities raising around race, mobilization and social movements continue to address these inequalities, and demand recognition as well as institutional, structural and societal change (Asbury, 2020; Wilder C. S., 2014; Smallwood, 2005; Mirza, 2018). In an effort to highlight the complexities of identities and intersectional forms of structural oppression,

intersectional theorist including Crenshaw (1989; 1991), Collins (2002) and Choo and Ferree (Choo & Ferree, 2010) have challenged both feminist and critical race studies pushing for interrogation and increased awareness of the ways social movements are developed and representation politics emerge. With this state-of-the-art's focus on superdiversity within HEIs, growing emphasis and visibility of demands to account for the intersection and multiplicity of identities within social movements, bears relevance for the ways recognition of superdiversity manifests itself on campuses.

One example of the ways how awareness of intersectional identities has influenced social movements is the "Black Lives Matter" movement organized and initiated by three Black women in the US after the murder of an unarmed black teenager, Trayvon Martin in 2012. The movement triggered nationwide movements including civil and radical protests, but also evolved into one of the biggest student protests on campuses of the 21st century with international influence (Ndemanu, 2017). The movement expanded its focus to black women, LGBTIQ+ communities, undocumented black people, black people with disabilities and minority students in HE (Asbury, 2020). The emerging demands from students within the movement highlight the ways in which mobilization opens space to question the status quo within universities, and society, and historical forms of oppression expressed by segments of society (Ndemanu, 2017; Stein & Andreotti, 2016).

In the earlier intersectionality literature, the analogy of "disability is like race" was a dominant narrative which scholars and activists relied on to highlight alignments between disability and inequality in terms of civil rights (Gliedman & Roth, 1980). Similar intersectionality have arisen in other contemporary movements such as race and disability, second-wave feminism, and LGBTIQ+ movement studies (Barnartt & Scotch, 2001). As mentioned in previous sections, critical disability frameworks emphasize that the disability is created as a result of social practices and inequalities (Shakespeare, 2006; Wendell, 1996). Historically the disability rights movements struggled to confront discrimination against the group as well as demand recognition (O'Brien, 2001). This validation is also applicable to disabled individuals' HE experiences (Overboe, 1999). Moving from her own experience as a doctoral student with cerebral palsy, De Picker (2020) argues that inclusive research in universities needs to extend not only to disabled academics' participation, but also to give more voice to disability activists to increase awareness of diversity and to initiate a pragmatic impact on equal opportunities.

Another aspect of student mobilization in universities is represented by student activism via formal channels from the point of active citizenship, and then on student politics of representation and recognition. While the "active citizenship" refers to a membership to a community (Marshall, 1950), it also refers an individual's sense of belonging to a group identity (Meglino & Korsgaard, 2004). While the literature emphasises on the right to participation and the means to participate (Barber, 2009), it is also taken as a life-long learning process, detached from the classical roots of citizenship, and involves engagement and self-enabling processes (Flynn & Vredevoogd, 2010; Knowles, 1975; Kuh, Cruce, Shoup, Kinzie, & Gonyea, 2008; Zhao, Kuh, & Carini, 2005). For some scholars, the HE experience covers a stage to experience while transitioning to "actual life" (Molgat, 2007) as students in adolescence

(Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 2004). University education, through both formal and informal learning, therefore, offers new opportunities for students to experience and become involved in activities which may relate to developing active citizenship practices (Benn, 2000; Wenger, 1998; Zellermayer & Ponte, 2005). Studies suggest that students who are involved in activism in their first bachelor years will become more active as adults (Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988). In addition to formal education, it is also argued that informal education and communal learning in HE is part of the activating citizenship practices (Littleton, Miell, & Faulkner, 2004). A study conducted in Finnish universities concluded that students' friend groups play an important role in fostering students' engagement in activism, and eventually, their active citizenship skills (Ansala, Uusiautti, & Määttä, 2016). The same study argues that university administrations and teaching personnel need to encourage, understand and recognize the importance of student activism by supporting the work of student organizations so that students develop critical skills to understand and actively work on today's global issues such as immigration, globalisation, exclusion and social inequality as active members of the society (Ansala, Uusiautti, & Määttä, 2016). In discussing student activism or mobilization around key issues of concern, it is necessary to note that in many cases staff may be involved in the mobilization alongside students.

Box 40: At UOulu, students can gain the sense of belonging in the UOULU community by participating in activities relating to their discipline of study or interest societies which are space to find like-minded people and inspiration for activities. Subject societies or guilds, as they are commonly called, provide a link between students and their study program and faculty. Interest societies, which are open to all students, actively contribute to the university community. In addition, different networks are organized around key themes including: games and skills, culture and music, sports, study program societies, international activities, student nations, religion, politics.

Student associations are other significant elements to bring students in contact with HEI administrations. Research from Europe focusing on student associations' organizational character (Stensaker & Michelsen, 2012; Day, 2012; Jungblut & Webe, 2012; Parejo & Lorente, 2012), highlights that associations also balance what Schmitter and Streeck (1999) refer to as the "logic of influence" and "logic of membership" and this affects their organizational characteristics and political agenda according to how they define political opportunities and resource (inter)dependencies. The structural and political setting in this interaction between the student association with certain formal and informal rules, can both enable or constrain the student associations' behaviour and actions (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010). As Klemenčič (2012) argues, as student associations try to represent student interests in institutional decision-making through certain structures and processes, their actions may attract state intervention to regulate the relationship between student governments and their respective HEIs.

While the intellectual environment in HE provides an opportunity for students to develop organizations and movements, by encouraging independent and critical thinking (Altbach P. G., 1992); students on campuses may choose to mobilize by joining student groups or associations mostly driven by their shared collective identity, focus on addressing global challenges, or they may choose to engage individually through on- and off-campus activities and online activism (Klemenčič & Park, 2018; Weiss & Aspinall, 2012). Studies highlight the impact of varying issues on mobilization including social, political and university-related considerations (Heineman, 2001; Loeb, 1994) such as campus diversity, sense of inclusion among minority group members (Rhoads, 1998); student welfare issues, opposition to the increase of tuition fees, promotion of better living conditions, opposition to neoliberal measures and cuts in public spending for HE, e.g., Chilean student movement (Bellei, Cabalin, & Orellana, 2014; Cini & Guzmán-Concha, 2017; Klemenčič, 2014), or leftist and conservative agenda (Munson, 2010; Binder & Wood, 2013). The intersecting and diverse grounds for mobilization, highlight the recognition of superdiversity as well as manifesting demands for universities to either respond to larger societal challenges or realign their position to contribute to societal good.

Box 41: At KU, a student-initiated group called "Sympathy" was formed by students to create an inclusive environment for non-Turkish students. The group organizes cultural events, and group members help one another when needed. The initiative is a positive addition to the university as many migrant students stated that being involved in Sympathy enriched their social lives in Turkey. Members of the group believe it is necessary to encourage similar group formations to create a genuinely inclusive space for all and make further use of the platforms utilized during the pandemic.

Diverse types of student activism or involvement in university governments, highlight the ways in which mobilization to fight inequalities or recognize the rights of specific groups within university settings, is a step away from only recognizing diversity upon demand of universities to respond to these changes. Moreover, in many cases student mobilization on global issues relates to local actors, institutions and actors. In many ways UNIC Citylabs will seek to tap into student mobilization energy and desires to address major challenges through action at the local level. Involving the various partners in UNIC including municipal actors, civil society organizations, UNIC students and staff, the CityLabs seeks to give space for co-creation to address urban and global challenges. Moreover, the CityLabs will engage with urban residents through a series of Pop-Up Citylabs that will be organized across UNIC cities. UNIC will then not only connect institutions, staff and student bodies but also urban residents in bid to address key challenges, develop and share "next" practices.

6. Concluding Remarks

Superdiversity, initially introduced to explain a changing social condition in urban settings, has evolved beyond migration studies with its multi-dimensional and multi-layered approach to diversity issues. These multiple dimensions and layers, their various combinations and differentiated convergences led to new social statuses and stratifications and shown new patterns of inequality and prejudice. These qualities of the superdiversity approach made it relevant for an application beyond but also interlinked to the urban contexts (Geldof, 2016). HE settings are especially relevant for widening the scope of superdiversity to a field beyond migration studies and to a context other than the cities. The debates on the spread, speed and scale of diversity, has also extended beyond a demographic understanding. Superdiversity has emerged as a fresh lens to analyse university spaces by establishing linkages between population diversity, diversity of knowledge, and the relevant policy processes including the production of new forms of knowledge. At the same time, HEIs have shown to be particularly good venues for analysing these linkages and processes, mostly due to them being relatively controlled environments where the implication of the policies are easier to track, and thus promising to reveal the best practices towards multi-dimensional and multi-layered nature of diversity in these institutions. The authors hope to have shown the possibilities for implementing a superdiversity lens to HE and foster further research using superdiversity as a conceptual, methodological or policy-oriented frame.

This report has presented a discussion of superdiversity as an approach to highlight the key elements of superdiversity that are most visible within UNIC HEIs. While for the most these are institutional definitions, they help to build an understanding of the current situation among UNIC universities in terms of diversities and inclusion policies. Across the world, HEIs face the urgency to ensure that HE is widely accessible and to develop policies to ensure not only access but also participation, retention and the like. A comprehensive discussion of these considerations sought to highlight the multiple and varied policies and approaches implemented to increase access, retention and outcomes to HE for non-traditional and underrepresented students as well as their experiences in HE. The literature demonstrates that various policies have been implemented in UNIC HEIs and beyond to address specific diversity markers but there is a need for a comprehensive approach. In addition, universities and societies both face changes at different levels necessitating flexible and adaptable policy approaches that can respond to the speed and scale of these changes. As argued throughout this report, superdiversity presents a productive framing from which to develop such a responsive approach. As such, the final section of the report focused on key emergent themes and areas of focus for superdiversity in HE including HE's changing role and engagement with society and urban settings; the effect of the acceleration, speed and scale of changes within society and universities necessitates the development of the "next" policies; the ways the complexification and superdiversity is a reality for HEIs and society; and explores how self-identification and non-institutional definitions of superdiversity

elements emerges in university settings mainly in student associations and mobilization, of students and staff, on issues of high social and political concern.

This state-of-the-art has sought to show the gaps between the reality of superdiversity in HEIs, current HEI policy responses, and the need to transform the institutional culture to become superdiversity-ready. The need for superdiversity responsive policy emerges most clearly in discussions about the transformational missions of universities. The internationalization of HEIs is a key area of focus in this regard. While UNIC universities are already superdiverse institutions, inclusive policy responses to promote internationalization have not always been for the benefit of the existing populations and, in many cases, failed to generate structural changes. The perception of the universities as spaces of socio-cultural enrichment is promising for structural embedment of an inclusive strategy; however, evaluation of both universities, and affiliated academics, through more measurable and "tangible" qualities, such as the international rankings, number of international students attracted and the number of projects or publications, are some of the main obstacles hindering the adoption of this perception. In addition, universities serve a crucial role in developing and responding to existing and emergent global challenges through research and education, raising questions about universities as transformational forces in society.

Implementation of a superdiversity lens to HEIs also enables researchers to establish consistent connections between urban and university spaces. The review of the superdiversity and HE literature has shown that the debates about superdiversity in urban spaces is also reflected and addressed within university spaces. Critical concepts that are often applied to urban settings also have implications for universities; similar to urban settings; campuses, classrooms and even virtual spaces are gendered and racialised. The patterns of socio-economic, cultural or gendered diversity, and their consequences in the form of disadvantages and marginalisation, are expressed in a similar manner in cities and universities, especially when the university as a concept is evaluated with a wider understanding of its missions, and processes including access, attainment, retention and progression. The tension between social justice or redistribution-oriented policies, such as the promotion of educational and labour market opportunities for disadvantaged groups; and entrepreneurial or market-driven policies aiming to generate capital accumulation, emerge as considerations in both spaces. However, as this report has also sought to show this source of tension does not necessarily need to be a win-lose situation as for HEIs, an emerging mission of sustainable co-creation is developing. As such HEIs are finding creative ways to eliminate dualities, and seeking local, national and private partnerships that support both entrepreneurship and social justice.

Urban policy, and its contemporary sub-headings of urban renewal and urban resilience, influence, are influenced by and also reflected in the way universities perceive superdiversity. Universities have a significant role in the marketing and branding strategies of many cities, with an emphasis on innovation. Within this context, universities' emphasis on their position as superdiverse spaces increases as cities pride themselves on their diversity. There are various outreach programs with

diversity and inclusion themes that connect university spaces and the cities they are embedded in. Working with superdiverse HEIs and developing inclusivity approaches based on the interaction of people from different ethnic, religious and linguistic backgrounds, socio-economic status, age and gender, among others; contributes to European cities' appreciation of urban diversity and helps to build a sense of pluralistic identity. Universities also take as part of their mission the tasks of mirroring and responding to the superdiversity of their urban settings. In this manner, universities contribute to the development of tools for enhancing the contribution and representation of superdiversity, in policy development processes on the societal issues. For instance, active educational methodologies such as challenge-based learning, project-based learning, service learning, placement learning and the like developed in superdiverse settings serve as excellent mediums for collaboration among HEIs and cities, in order to build trust, cohesion and solidarity, and thus realise the creative potential of superdiversity for the solution of real problems. UNIC universities and their cities then experience a symbiosis as the transformation of universities occurs in parallel to their cities; and they contribute to the elaboration of responses to this transformation with an emphasis on equity.

Going beyond the level of cities and universities, in a larger level, inclusive university policies towards superdiversity, respond to social justice agenda within the wider scope of global sustainability. The task 4.7 of the UN Sustainable Development Goals is "by 2030 ensure all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including among others through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship, and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development" (SDSN, 2012). This task has links to the discussions presented throughout this report, as one of the main missions of universities has evolved to ensure the incorporation and recognition of diversity initially within their institutional settings, and then through an expansion of their influences to transform their cities and societies. Simultaneously, this approach is multi-directional as superdiverse cities may equally provide HEIs with approaches or methods to consider within their superdiversity policies. Problems such as social injustice, inequality and climate change require re-checking the relationship between universities and societies (Gallagher 2018).

As the initial research output of the ambitious *UNIC Superdiversity Academy*, this report has established the state-of-the-art on how universities are and can be further transformed into significant agents of change to ensure sustainable development by developing societal responsiveness to the complexification and increasing spread, speed and scale of superdiversity in contemporary societies. It has sought to highlight possible pathways for further research and complexification of policy approaches to respond to the superdiverse realities of our universities, cites and societies. As such, it raises key questions for researchers and practitioners going forward to explore how to address the dissonance of policy and realities, and how to integrate a superdiverse lens into policy making approaches in ways that enable universities to respond to accelerated changes of varying scale. In this setting, this state-of-the-art has laid the ground for how UNIC may transform HEIs and their modes of

engagement with their respective urban settings and societies. By increasing their responsive to superdiversity, UNIC will facilitate HEIs contribution to emerging societal needs. UNIC and other HEIs must then seek to respond to this challenge not only by applying a superdiversity lens to HEIs, also doing so in a manner that contributes to the resilience of their cities and even sustainability on a global scale. Complementing UNIC's challenge-based approach, this report has brought the state-of-the-art expertise to UNIC. With this base, UNIC can then more towards addressing existing problems and fostering flexible and adaptive mechanisms in HEIs and enable them to face future challenges and changes of varying scale and speed.

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