

The Left Bubble?

*(Political) Identity Formation and Moral Narratives within the Study
of Anthropology in Utrecht*



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A thesis by
Danique de Borst & Max Mišljenčević



Universiteit Utrecht

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Study of Anthropology in Utrecht

Bachelor Thesis Cultural Anthropology 2020-2021

Student: Danique de Borst

Student number: 6147180

Email: D.deborst@students.uu.nl

Student: Max Mišljenčević

Student number: 5877911

Email: m.misljencevic@students.uu.nl

Supervisor: Dhr. prof. dr. C.G. (Kees) Koonings

Email: c.g.koonings@uu.nl

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“The function of education is to teach one to think intensively and to think critically. Intelligence plus character – that is the goal of true education.”

— Martin Luther King Jr.¹

¹ [On Education That YOU Need To Know! \(ourlutherking.com\)](http://ourlutherking.com)

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Introduction

During our own time as students within the study of anthropology in Utrecht, we have experienced a certain change in ourselves when it comes to our own political views. We feel like we have different worldviews now than before we started this study, and due to the fact we are part of a community, in which feelings and opinions are shared, we noticed other students feel like this as well. As a result of this observation, we asked ourselves the question: Where does this change come from and what influences this change? This has been the inspiration and motivation behind our research, which we believe to be academically and socially relevant. This research contributes to concepts like habitus and theories like socialization theory. Besides this, it is also important to look at potential political influences and how these are perceived to make sure that education is fitting for everyone. Within our research, we make a distinction between the perspective of the student and the perspective of the professors. Taking all of this together, this leads us to our central research question, which is: *How are the identities of students formed through moral narratives and political ideas within the study of anthropology in Utrecht?*

Relevance

Our research is theoretically relevant, because it goes into the learning environment of a specific study program at Universities. For example, Van de Werfhorst (2019) states that “In various societies debates have arisen on the lack of political diversity among academics in universities. Critics have argued that one-sided political views in the university, particularly leaning to left-wing or liberal orientations, may prevent the teaching of a diverse set of opinions and worldviews, and may constrain academics who have unconventional views to express themselves and follow their own research interests”. (p. 48). Within the literature there has been little contribution to the subject we want to research, so it can add to the theories surrounding this specific area. Two theories that are especially relevant are the socialization theory and the theory of habitus. It is through the deeper level of socialization that “people learn how to adopt race, class, and gender identities that then shape the way they see themselves and others” (p. 198). This is a more explicit way of influence, while habitus is more an implicit way of influence. Habitus as agency is “potentially generating a wide repertoire of possible actions, simultaneously enabling the individual to draw on transformative and constraining courses of action” (Reay, 2004, p. 433). It allows people to

have individual agency, but it also leads individuals towards a certain way of behaving. Besides this, it is also a relevant research because it has the possibility to integrate multiple different theories, to unlock new areas of knowledge and to form a broader empirical basis. It is socially relevant, because it can shed light on how students are influenced by the study of anthropology in Utrecht and how this affects the decisions they make when it comes to politics, but also in other areas of their life like how they perceive their environment.

Methods

We have conducted our research at the University of Utrecht, in the Netherlands. We have focused on the bachelor program. Our research population are students and professors of the study of anthropology in Utrecht. For the students, the timeframe we will focus on starts at the adolescence of the students and ends when the students are in their last year of anthropology. When it comes to the professors, there is a distinction between professors and work group teachers and affiliates with a more strategic role, like the board, the director of the bachelor program, chair of the study program committee, chair of the examination committee, course coordinators, lecturers and supervisors of bachelor projects. We have done qualitative research with a complementary function. We specifically researched how students are influenced in their political ideas and worldviews through their study of anthropology and how they form their identity based on this. So we have researched the perspective of the students. Besides this, we have also looked at the perspective of the professors. We have researched whether they believe there is political influence and if there is, if they are purposely influencing their students with political ideas or if this happens unconsciously. With this research we hope that we can contribute to a possible improvement of the study, if this is necessary. We also hope that our research will make people aware of possible influences.

The methods we have used for our research consist of semi-structured interviews, life-history interviews, focusgroup(s), (participant) observation and a survey. The results explained below have come into being by using these methods. Semi-structured interviews are conducted through “thorough preparation”, which “results in a list of topics and/or questions to be asked at some point in the interview” (Boeije 2010, p. 62). A life-history interview makes “one’s entire life history the topic of inquiry” (Boeije, 2010, p. 63). According to Boeije (2010), Focus groups “represent a specific set of group interviews that particularly emphasize the interactive patterns among group members and how they come to generate mutual understandings and ideas (Duggleby, 2005; Morgan, 1997)” (p. 63/64).

Participant observation is “a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture” (p. 1). We have done semi-structured interviews with seventeen students, life-history interviews with two students and eighteen interviews with professors and teachers. Besides this we have done (participant) observation eight times within the *Djembé hok*, once during the staff meeting of the department of anthropology, twice during Djembé activities and six times within a workgroup. We have also done one focus group.

When looking at our own positioning, we can say that we have engaged in a form of autoethnography. Adams et al. (2017) state that “autoethnography is a research method that uses personal experience (‘auto’) to describe and interpret (‘graphy’) cultural texts, experiences, beliefs, and practices (‘ethno’)” (p. 1). Furthermore, autoethnography is about the belief “that personal experience is infused with political/cultural norms and expectations” (p. 1). Since we are students within the study of anthropology ourselves, we are part of the community our research is about, so we are also researching ourselves.

Ethics

While conducting our research, we have kept the code of ethics, drawn up by the AAA, in mind. We have made sure that we did every interview and participant observation with informed consent. Informed consent is the rule that “people have the right to know that they are the subjects of a research project” and “they must have the right to refuse to participate” (deWalt and deWalt, 2011, p. 215). Besides this we have also made sure that our participants have not experienced any harm. To do no harm means that you have “to avoid harm or wrong, understanding that the development of knowledge can lead to change which may be positive or negative for the people or animals worked with or studied” (deWalt and deWalt, 2011, p. 53). There has also been no deception in any way during our research. Deception is about making sure that you do not mislead the research population and that you are open about your purpose of the research. We have contained the privacy and anonymity of our participants by storing our data in a safe place and using pseudonyms where necessary. Privacy means that “individuals decide to whom they give information about themselves and that researchers may not disclose such information to others” (Boeije, 2010, p. 46). Anonymity is closely related to privacy, but it goes a step further. Anonymity “means that participants’ names and other unique identifiers (addresses, places, professions and so on) are

not attached to the data'' (Sieber, 2008; Boeije, 2010, p. 46). We have used Veracrypt to keep the files on our laptops in a safe place and also saved it on USB's, kept hidden in safes.

Overview

The first chapter of our thesis covers the theoretical framework. In this chapter, the various concepts will be discussed. We will be looking at identity and how identity is formed depending on one's environment. Additionally, we will focus on political identity and its formation. Furthermore, the concept of morality will be addressed. socialization, education, habitus and social contextual fields where our research will take place. These concepts offer the basis for the further course of the thesis.

After the theoretical framework we will look at the context of our research. From there, we will analyze our findings in two separate chapters, followed by our conclusion and reflection. The first ethnographic chapter addresses the perspective of students, the influence of primary socialization, the influence of secondary socialization, the moral narrative of anthropology according to students and the habitus within the study of anthropology. The second ethnographic chapter describes the perspective of the professors and instructors, their own background, their motivation to become a teacher and how it formed them to become part of the study of anthropology. We will also look at the convergence of political ideas and worldviews in relation to students, professors, lectures, workgroups and the curriculum. Furthermore, we will look at how professors define moral narratives within the study of anthropology. Lastly, we will end with a conclusion of this research. The end of the thesis includes the bibliography, and the multiple appendices that contain among other things, the summary of this research, the interview topic lists and questions lists.

Chapter 1: Theoretical framework

In this chapter, we will explain the theories and concepts we think are important and useful for our research. The concepts we are going to look at are identity, politics, morality, socialization, education, habitus and engagement. By explaining these theories and concepts, we hope to lay a good foundation for the remainder of this thesis.

1.1 Identity (Danique)

The type of identity formed is dependent on the cultural context, but the process leading to an identity is universal. Furthermore, humans develop themselves through multiple stages, in which they are influenced by, for instance, parents, peers or school. So the development of a human is dependent on its environment (Erikson, 1959). Within our research, we will focus on the influence of school, but also on the influence of parents, peers and media by looking at the upbringing and life history of the students and how this is still influential in their life. So in our case, the environment is the upbringing, but also the study. What is also important to mention is that an ego identity is not something static, but rather something that is adapted and changed during a lifetime (Erikson, 1959). Our definition of an ego identity is that it is the identity of the self.

Identity formation is only possible if someone is willing to work for it. Crocetti et al. (2013) make a distinction between exploration and commitment. Exploration means that someone looks at different identity alternatives before making a decision about the values, beliefs and goals someone wants to hold on to. Commitment is making the decision in which identity domain someone wants to engage. Within our research, we can use these concepts to see which one of these is most applicable to the situation of the anthropology students. Is their choice to study anthropology an exploration or a commitment? Did they already engage with the worldviews beforehand, or did they decide to engage with them because of their study? This brings us to the social identity theory. Social identity theory attempts to “explain intergroup relations from a group perspective” (Taylor & Moghaddam 1987, p. 60). Social identity itself is the knowledge that someone is a member of a social group and the emotional understanding connected to that membership (Ellemers & Haslam, 2011). Social identity theory consists of three psychological processes: Social categorization, social comparison and social identification. We will only look into social categorization, which causes individuals to be grouped in clusters (Ellemers and Haslam, 2011). So in short, the social identity theory is

about how people identify themselves within a certain social identity, like a group, and what the consequences of this are. Social identity theory is relevant for us, because it can be connected to the way anthropology students construct their social identity by identifying with the study of anthropology and everyone involved with it. When looking at identity from an anthropological perspective, we can say that anthropology sees identity as a non-essentialistic phenomenon. We have learned that identity consists of multiple layers and that one individual can have multiple identities, dependent on the context someone is in. This is something we also see within social psychology. Social psychology states that one person has multiple identities, for instance the worker identity, the academic identity, and the friend identity (Stets and Harrod, 2004). We can use this in our research by looking at the way the students, but also the professors, identify themselves within different contexts. We can look at their identity within university, with family and friends and within their work environment. Identity is always a choice (Golubovic, 2011). Besides this, identity is not only visible within the individual, but also within groups and the whole society. One aspect of identity that is important for our research is the political aspect. We will look into political identity in the next section.

1.2 Politics, Identity and Morality

1.2.1 Political identity (Danique)

When looking at political orientation within universities, we see that there are multiple critics who have argued that universities often have one-sided political opinions, which are often left-wing or liberal. This may prevent students from learning about different opinions and worldviews within their education. This causes a homogenizing process with a potential cause from the field of study on political orientations, which produces the thought that universities are left-wing institutes (Van de Werfhorst, 2019) . So, Van de Werfhorst (2019) believes this causes academics to be unable to break out of their leftist ideas. Even though Van de Werfhorst (2019) also states that universities are hostile towards other opinions, we believe this is a step too far. One of his statements we do agree with is that “occupational groups and educational background structure political orientations, causally and through processes of selection” (Van de Werfhorst, 2019, p. 48).

Research also found that professors in the social sciences and humanities are more left-wing than professors in other fields (Van de Werfhorst, 2019). This is exactly the group of professors we are going to look at. Van de Werfhorst (2019) compared the political orientation of professors with people in other professions and found that “professors and

artists stand out as having a more left-wing/liberal orientation than most other professions” (p. 60) and that “people with higher levels of education, and educated in the social sciences and humanities, identify typically more strongly as left-wing in the political sphere” (p. 62). This finding implies that education is important in the socialization with values, especially within the social and humanistic sciences and that harmony in orientations comes from scientific wisdom rather than bias (Van de Werfhorst, 2019). However, Van de Werfhorst (2019) also states that “overall graduates from the humanities and social sciences may be more left-wing and liberal (professors or not)”, but that “this is not an organizational feature of the universities” (p. 62). So even though most students and professors of humanities and social sciences are more left-wing, this does not have an influence on the way the universities are organized in general. In our opinion, this does not mean that there is no influence, because these results do imply that “intellectuals responsible for teaching the next generation have a more left-leaning orientation than the rest of society” (p. 62). We will use this theory to look at whether students and professors from the university of Utrecht have the same opinion or not. We will now look at the concept of morality.

1.2.2 Morality (Max)

If we want to understand the place morality takes on the field of anthropology, there is no doubt that we will have to look at the godfather of morality, Emile Durkheim. Morality as it is looked upon nowadays in the field of anthropology cannot be set apart from Durkheim’s vision of morality. In *The Determination of Moral Fact*, Durkheim (1924) makes a distinction between objective and subjective morality. Objective morality can be seen as the cultural moral standard. Subjective morality is extracted from that by every individual in the group interpreting this objective socio-cultural morality in a slightly different manner. People, for instance, might have a general objective set of moral rules. However, seeing as a society is not just a mere sum of its individuals, each individual member of this society perceives and executes these rules differently. Yet he does emphasize that individuals are, to a certain extent, bound to the social ideal.

Durkheim (1924) furthermore suggests that morality “imposes itself upon the individual, who is in no position to question it whatever form it may take, and must accept it passively” (Durkheim, 1924, p 60). This view implies that Durkheim (1924) leaves little room for the agent him or herself and explicitly implies the structural nature of morality, locating morality specifically outside the individual.

Because Durkheim is one of the founding fathers on how to look at morality, it is inescapable that there has been a debate on how to look at morality. Jarrett Zigon (2007) stated that morality, by Durkheim, is too much allocated to the social and structures that members of society are required to follow the moral roles outlined in society, due to the strength that society retains over the individual. According to Zigon (2007), due to Durkheim's assumption that morality is comparable to culture and society, it consequently resulted in morality as understudied and "vague" domain in the discipline of anthropology (p. 134). To overcome this assumption, Zigon (2007) suggests moving away from this perspective, as proposed by Durkheim, by the means of involving philosophical perspectives on ethics, morality and social life. In his framework, Zigon (2007) makes the difference between the conscious ethical tactics, which he calls the moral breakdown, and the unreflective state of everyday life (p. 148). Zigon's (2007) view upon morality makes morality a more concrete domain. Noticeably more than Durkheim's view on morality and moral facts.

The two main discourses in morality and how morality began in the discipline of anthropology is perfectly summarized by Didier Fassin (2012). He argues that two main analyses are dominant in the field of research of morality. The first one (mentioned above), by Durkheim, argues that moral rules of conduct are outside the individual and obliged because of duty and desirability. In other words, a certain awareness is necessary regarding agency. Michel Foucault on the other hand argues contrary that moral rules are a process of deciding what is right or wrong, inspired by moral recommendations from others. To put it differently, there is a role for intersubjective relations and how they form our moral world.

In our research, we tend to focus on morality as indeed, a dialectic process of intersubjective relations between actors and institutes and how they, subsequently, form our (moral) opinions, thoughts, beliefs and the world in which we perceive it. To be clear, we do not state that this view is absolute. Nevertheless, it is impossible to outline all the different (and detailed) distinctions in how morality is approached in the research inside and outside of anthropology. Additionally, reviewing all the different approaches is not the goal of our research and so, decisions needed to be made and have been made.

1.2.2.1 Moral Assemblages (Max)

This brings us to a very useful and applicable concept of moral assemblages. Assemblages are widely used concepts in different areas of anthropology such as geography. McFarlane (2011) defines assemblage as something that cannot detach "cultural, material, political, economic, and ecological, but seeks to attend to why and how multiple bits-and-pieces

accrete and align over time to enable particular forms of urbanism over others in ways that cut across these domains, and which can be subject to disassembly and reassembly through unequal relations of power and resource” (p. 652). Interestingly, in the field of morality, an assemblage is specified as moral assemblages. Zigon defines a moral assemblage as “all particular social contexts defined not by one morality and its ethics, but rather by a unique local, moral and ethical assemblage constituted by the various aspects we will describe below. Thus, if there can be said to be any morality and ethical practices that characterize any particular social context, then they are a unique aspectual combination of various institutional, public, and personal moral discourses and ethical practices.” (Zigon, 2010, p. 5)

For our research we will be looking at these moral assemblages and what the elements are of these assemblages so we can understand how moral discourses, political views, identities and moral narratives are constructed.

1.2.2.2 Moral Narratives (Max)

The concept of moral narrative has been used in equivocal and various forms by different scholars. Anthropologist Dave Gow (2002) uses the term moral narrative by showing that developmental anthropology is a moral narrative by the means of the stories we tell ourselves to justify actions (p. 300). Rebecca Writter (2013) on the other hand, defines moral narratives as a way to reflect upon someone’s moral codes and ideas about what is right or wrong (p. 407). In other words, it could be a way of reflection. Gary Alan Fine (2019) writes in his review *Moral Cultures, Reputation Work, and the Politics of Scandal* about how scandals generally emerge out of a group or institutional interest to produce a moral narrative (p. 254). In other words, Fine (2019) sees a moral narrative as a process of construction from an individual, group or institution.

It becomes clear that, indeed, defining what moral narratives are is still ambiguous.

Nevertheless, for our research we will use the following definition as proposed by Tirole, Bénabou, and Falk (2018). They define a moral narrative as “any news, story, life experience or heuristic that has the potential to alter an agents beliefs” (p. 2). We will use this definition in combination with Fine’s (2019) view on moral narratives as a process of construction which emerges out of a group or institutional context. Thus, moral narratives, we argue, are always part or an element of a wide social field where different actors are part of, such as an assemblage.

Interestingly to note is that Lapsley (2010) sees that out of the moral narratives, moral agency is constructed. Lapsley states that “moral agency is constructed around narratives of

desires, beliefs, and emotions, what they seem to have in mind are narratives concerning the second-order desires, beliefs, and emotions of moral persons. A person constructs narratives around moral notions because a person cares about the sort of desires one has; a person cares about the desirability of one's motives, attitudes, and beliefs. What the authors call narrative moral agency is likely the craft of moral agents, of moral persons driven by second-order volitions" (Lapsley, 2010, p. 92).

It could be interesting to take this into consideration in our own research when we look into the formation of political identities and moral narratives. And if we see this in the light of our own research, moral narratives and how they are produced (consciously or unconsciously) by a group or institute, in this case the study of anthropology, are very relevant. It is noteworthy to explore what kind of moral narrative is dominant among students, professors and in interaction among students and professors and how this subsequently could have the potential to alter one's (political) view or identity. All of the concepts that are discussed within this section, political identity, moral agency and moral narratives, are formed through socialization and social learning, which we will discuss in the next section.

1.3 Socialization and Social Learning (Danique)

On a deeper level, socialization "involves the social construction of our realities" (Brenton, 2017, p. 198). It is through this level of socialization that "people learn how to adopt race, class, and gender identities that then shape the way they see themselves and others" (p. 198). This means that socialization teaches us how to act, what to believe and who to become. Furthermore, we develop a sense of self through the interaction with other people, through situations in which we see ourselves as both object and subject and in which we take the perspective of others (Brenton, 2017, p. 198). Socialization connects to identity development in the way that both processes are dependent on other people and that what is seen as appropriate behavior is culturally dependent, but the process that leads to this is universally the same (Erikson, 1959).

There are four agents of socialization: Family, schools, media and the workplace. We will only describe family and schools, because these are important for our own research. What is important to mention is that family is a process of primary socialization, while school is a process of secondary socialization (Brenton, 2017). Socialization through family is important, because it teaches children social norms, values and beliefs. This will make children "culturally competent members of society" (Brenton, 2017, p. 199). This also

connects to Bandura's theory of social learning, which is "mainly concerned with how children and adults operate cognitively on their social experiences and with how these cognitive operations then come to influence their behavior and development" (Grusec, 1994, p. 781). Socialization through schools is important, because it teaches children to "become familiar with what is expected of them in institutional settings" (Brenton, 2017, p. 200). Schools make sure children learn role-specific knowledge. Another important aspect is that socialization is not only about what is taught, but also about what is not taught. Important things that are left out within socialization, also have an impact on how someone is socialized (Brenton, 2017). In her conclusion, Brenton (2017) states that "to be socialized means to become fully human in the eyes of one's culture" and that "socialization is crucial for a society to be able to sustain itself", but also that "socialization is limiting.." (p. 203).

Reciprocal determinism is another important part of the social learning theory. Reciprocal determinism entails that "behavior, the environment, and cognition as well as other personal factors operate as interacting determinants that have a bidirectional influence on each other" (Grusec, 1994, p. 782). This means that the environment influences the person, but the person also influences reactions from the environment. According to Bandura, "people contribute to their own life course by selecting, influencing, and constructing their own circumstances" (Grusec, 1994). This is relevant for our research, because we can look at the way students select their own circumstances by choosing anthropology as a study.

Looking deeper into higher education and socialization, we see that according to John W. Meyer (1977) schools "are organized networks of socializing experiences which prepare individuals to act in society" and "such an institution clearly has an impact on society over and above the immediate socializing experiences it offers the young" (p. 55). Schools also have an impact on society in terms of political and moral orientation. Another important theory linked to this is the legitimation theory, which is one of the theories that looks at "the institutional impact of education on social structure itself -on the behavior of people throughout society" (Meyer, 1977, p. 65). We will now look into the concept of habitus.

1.4 Habitus, Social Field and Engagement

1.4.1 Habitus and the Social Field (Danique)

We see habitus as a form of advanced socialization, in which academia and student life can be seen as a social field. Bourdieu argues that it is "through the workings of habitus that practice (agency) is linked with capital and field (structure)" (Reay, 2004, p. 432). According to Reay (2004), there are four aspects of habitus. The first one in habitus as embodiment.

This means that habitus is a socialised body, it is embodied. The second aspect is habitus as agency, which means that habitus is “potentially generating a wide repertoire of possible actions, simultaneously enabling the individual to draw on transformative and constraining courses of action” (Reay, 2004, p. 433). It allows people to have individual agency, but it also leads individuals towards a certain way of behaving. The third aspect is about habitus as a compilation of collective and individual trajectories, which means that the more general notions of habitus are at the societal level and the more complex, differentiated notions are at the level of the individual (Reay, 2004). So not only the individual history has an influence on habitus, but also the collective history of, for instance family and class. There is, however, a distinction made between members of the same cultural group. Reay (2004) states that “habitus, within, as well as between, social groups, differs to the extent that the details of individuals’ social trajectories diverge from one another” (Reay, 2004, p. 434). The fourth and final aspect of habitus is habitus as a complex interplay between past and present. One meaning of this is that “habitus are permeable and responsive to what is going on around them” (Reay, 2004, p. 434). What this means is that habitus is a product of your own personal history. It is influenced by your childhood. But besides this, habitus is also constantly re-structured by encounters with the outside world. An example of this is school. According to Reay (2004), schooling acts to provide a general disposition, a turn towards what Bourdieu terms “a cultural habitus” (p. 434). Within habitus, there is a lot of choice, but these choices are also limited.

Habitus is only one aspect of all the concepts Bourdieu has come up with. According to Reay (2004), Bourdieu thinks the logic of practice is generated by the interaction of habitus, cultural capital and field. Reay (2004) believes that habitus and cultural capital are in interconnection in which “habitus lies beneath cultural capital generating myriad manifestations” (p. 435/436). Reay (2004) also points out that “the refractory and destabilizing implications that the notion of field has for the concept of habitus can produce nuanced understandings of power relations and political agency (McNay, 2000)” (p. 436). The notion of field is very interesting for our research, because we can look at the study of anthropology in Utrecht as a social field. Each field is different and has its own rules and plays. This means that when you are good in one field, this does not mean that you are good in another field as well (Calhoun, 2003). You can, however, make translation between different fields through, as mentioned above, capital. Michael Grenfell (2019) has provided a very good explanation of the concept of field. He describes it as “the objective element of the social environment” and he points out that it “is defined as a network, or a configuration, of

objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 97)” (Grenfell, 2003, p. 4). What is most important about this, is that it means that education is a field. According to Grenfell (2019) “the limits of thought are defined by individuals” positions within a particular field. The argument is circular: because an individual is at a particular position in the field, he or she thinks in a certain way, and because he or she thinks in a certain way, he or she is in a particular position in the field (Grenfell, 2003, p. 8). With this definition in mind, we focus on the field of higher education. In general, people are politically socialized between the ages of fifteen and twenty-three (Van der Brug and Rekker, 2020). Those are the so-called ‘formative years’ in which people “develop patterns of behaviour, basic values and attitudes” (Van der Brug and Rekker, 2020, p. 1). So the period in which most people that wish to study, still study, is a very important period when it comes to political attitudes. Students are influenced by a certain educational field, but they also have a baggage of categories of thinking, codes and dispositions which they take with them entering this field. They use this baggage to respond to the field, but the notions within the institutional, educational field always win, which causes individuals to either stay and adapt to them or the individuals leave the field. What this entails is that people formed by a certain study, like anthropology, have a certain way of thinking (Grenfell, 2003).

The way professors use their own experience within the field is very important. Their own perceptions of meaning within these experiences and the representation of experience through language, ideational discourses, directs them while teaching. They are represented “in curricula, assessment procedures, and official pedagogies—not to mention management principles—all of which have their logic of practice establishing the ideational field” (Grenfell, 2003, p. 13). The physical presence of professors causes these theories and practices to spread. This happens through “teacher/pupil interactions, lessons, classes, classrooms, school departments, schools, and the education profession” (Grenfell, 2003, p. 13). It is, however, the case that what happens does not only depend on the field, but also on the interaction with all these and the characteristics, views and beliefs of the professor, which have been formed in the course of their life, which is the *habitus*. So, the professor's professional practice can be explained in “terms of the interaction between their field

contexts and their own habitus” (Grenfell, 2003, p. 13). So, this shows us that the study of anthropology itself is also a field that is created by the habituses of the professors, but also the ones of the students.

1.4.2 Engagement (Max)

To what extent should anthropologists be engaged? To what extent should anthropologists be engaged in activism and to what extent should anthropologists seek change, social justice, activist-scholarship or a blend of all of these? In 2018, Marina Gold abbreviated these dilemmas by showing how the discipline of anthropology is too politically engaged which consequently influences the objectivity of the discipline. She draws on the example of the AAA boycott on Israeli academic institutions because of “the ongoing violations of Palestine rights” (p, 88). Gold criticizes Nancy Scheper-Hughes work (who argues that anthropology should be more politically committed and morally engaged) and illustrates the potential downside of a militant (politically committed and morally engaged) ‘barefoot’ anthropology. She argues that values are not always about right or wrong and that a certain risk lingers in a totalizing system of values (p, 91). Additionally, Gold states that the universality of human rights is a normative claim; that is, it refers to the institutions and organizations in charge of enforcing the respect of human rights, with democracy as its preferred political model. Therefore, human rights are also a legal, ethical, and procedural regime articulated by subtle structures of power (95-96).

With Gold’s article in mind as an example, how does engagement play a part within the study of anthropology in Utrecht? When the study of anthropology in Utrecht offers certain views and beliefs on its students, these students will use this knowledge in their following academic career. When these views turn them in a certain direction, they will engage in this direction as well. When, for instance, the study teaches a moral narrative with tones of a very feminist outlook on life, students beliefs might be altered due to the given narrative. Subsequently, this information can be used in their field of anthropology as a way to engage in feministic activism while doing research. Their perspective will become different than when what they learn is completely objective. Of course, anthropologists learn to be objective when going into the field, but it can cause a direction in what they will research. To sum it up, the habituses of the students, but mainly the ones of the professors, create the study of anthropology as a field. This field influences the views and beliefs of the students, which then will influence the way they will engage with certain activistic aspects of their anthropological academic career.

Chapter 2: Context (Danique)

Looking at the educational context of our research, we will focus on the study of anthropology, but it is possible that other social sciences come across as well. Social sciences consists of multiple disciplines. These are: anthropology, archaeology, economics, geography, history, law, linguistics, politics, psychology and sociology (Postgrad, 2020). Even though we will mostly focus on the study of anthropology, it is the case that a lot of anthropology students follow courses of disciplines like the ones mentioned above. In our opinion, the current academic environment is very interdisciplinary, so it can occur that other social sciences are mentioned by anthropology students as well. We have taken a dive into Google scholar to find out if there were any studies that were the same as ours, but as far as we know, there has never been any research that has had the exact same subject. We could not find research on this topic that had the same context as ours, namely the Netherlands. This makes our research quite unique, which means it can possibly give us new insights within this area. It is important to look at the context of the study of anthropology, how it is structured and what it entails, because we will focus on students that have chosen this discipline as a major. The website of the University of Utrecht describes anthropology as follows: Cultural anthropology studies the cultural diversity of mankind and the mutual differences and relationships between diverse societies. Understanding is the basis of all knowledge and experience in cultural anthropology. A fundamental insight into the motives of (groups of) people helps you to understand why promising young people from the Netherlands feel excluded from their own society, what leads people to take to the streets to protest, and why some population groups are more affected by a natural disaster than others. The study has a duration of three years, which is often extended to a four year period. Within the first year, students are taught the basics of anthropology and methods and statistics. The four core courses are the introduction, perspective and relevance, globalization and history and theory of anthropology. Besides this, students follow methods and statistics one and two, and the course scientific writing. In the last block, students can choose to either follow the course ethnicity and nationalism or anthropology of the state, conflict and safety. The second, and possibly third year, consists fully of electives. Besides this, students can choose to study abroad or to follow an internship. When looking at the website of the University of Utrecht, we can see the following electives: Postcolonial theory, anthropology of gender, seksuality and body, rejecting minorities: an interdisciplinary perspective on intergroup relations, key

challenges to the welfare state, criminal behavior during the life course, policy and evaluation research, religion, media and popular culture, cities and modernity: citizenship, inequality and violence, migrants and integration, anthropology and sustainability, anthropology of religion and mobilisation of violent collective action in an age of terrorism. Besides this, there have been more courses in the years we have been students. These include anthropology of morality and multimedia ethnography. In our opinion, the study of anthropology in Utrecht has had an influence on our (political) ideas and worldviews. When we compare our ideas now with the ideas before we started the study of anthropology, we see a shift to the left side of the political spectrum and other worldviews. This is why our research can also be seen as a partial autoethnography. We will explain this later.

When we look at the political situation within the Netherlands, according to Trouw (2021), we can see that there is a distinction between left, center, right, progressive and conservative. Within these different namings are also different groups. For example, within the left spectrum, there is also a difference between socialist left, with parties like PVDA and

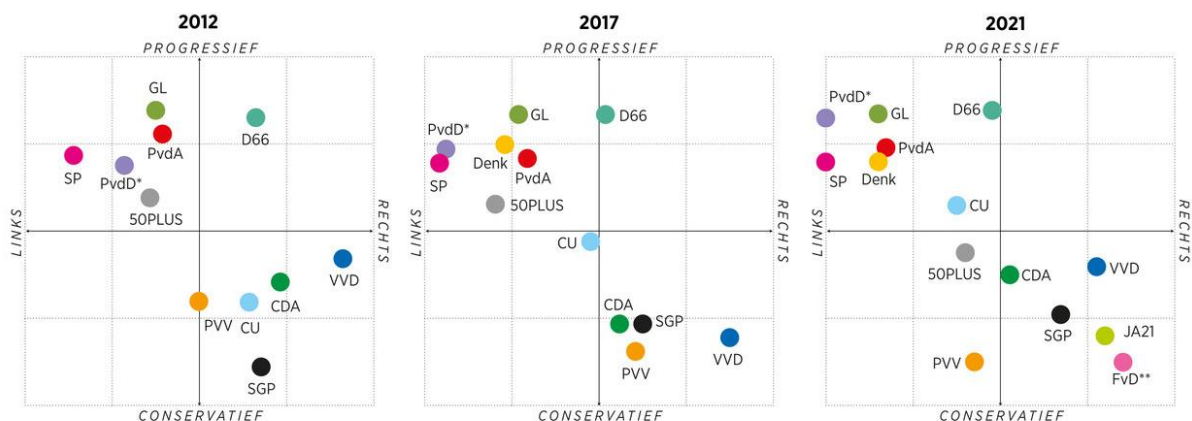


Image 1: Sander Soewargana, Trouw 2021

SP, and other left parties like GroenLinks and BIJ1. When looking at the right side of the spectrum, there is also a difference between conservative right, with parties like SGP and VVD, and extreme right parties like FVD. A party that stands out is the PVV, which is on the conservative, center-left side of the spectrum, but has some extreme right ideas when it comes to immigrants. Depending on which generation you ask, CDA and D66 are classical center parties, However, CDA has a Christian character and D66 has a more social-liberal character. Also, center can be nuanced with center right and center left. Politics are very complex and as seen in the image, very changing, so it is difficult to state that this is how it is

and how it will be. There can be endless discussions about it, but we do not have the time or resources to get into that, which is why we have decided to leave it like this. Because the political landscape in the Netherlands is so diverse, we will point out that when during this research, we talk about progressive left, we mean parties like GroenLinks and BIJ1, when we talk about center left, we mean parties like D66 and CDA, when talking about conservative right, we mean parties like VVD, SGP and ChristenUnie and when talking about populist/extreme right, we are talking about parties like PVV and FVD. Even though this does not match the image of Trouw (2021) completely, it is how we feel that, from our experience, people look at it within anthropology. During the interviews, we will simply use left, center and right as terms when talking about politics, but we will give the participants the chance to explain themselves, so that they can point out what they perceive as left and what they perceive as right and everything in between.

When looking at our own experience, there are a few examples of how this study has influenced us. For example, the events that happened regarding BLM (Black Lives Matter) in relation with the prescribed book *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race* from Gloria Wekker (2016) which was required in the course of Ethnicity and Nationalism. The background information consisting of workgroups, the literature and lectures we had prior to the BLM events did heavily influence our perception, view and opinion regarding the matter of subject. What also influences our view is that often, right-wing and populist views are considered as extreme and not suited within anthropology. Speaking from our own experience, political parties like PVV from Geert Wilders and Forum voor Democratie van Thierry Baudet, are not fitting within a study like anthropology. We want to see if there are people that have these views or used to have these views before starting the study of anthropology. The willingness to know if these (political) worldviews within the study of anthropology in Utrecht have an influence on the students, is the inspiration for our research. We have used this to formulate the research question mentioned in the introduction. We will now try to answer this question by explaining theory and showing the results of our research.

Chapter 3: The student's perspective on (political) influences (Danique)

In this chapter we will look at the perspective of the students when it comes to the formation of their identity within the study of anthropology in Utrecht, on the hand of political ideas and moral narratives. We will look at this perspective through six different sections, constructed by the sub-questions we have used.

3.1 The influence of primary socialization

In this section we will look into primary socialization through family, which is important because it teaches children social norms, values and beliefs (Brenton, 2017). When looking at primary socialization, most students describe their upbringing as something that has had a big influence on how they act in daily life. This is mostly visible within their norms and values, but also in the way they handle certain situations or look at certain groups within society, this connects to the theory of Brenton (2017).

Almost all respondents have had an open upbringing with a central-left or left political climate at home. One respondent said about this: ‘Left! Really left haha. My parents have both been left-wing all their lives, so I grew up with that.’² Most of the respondents came to the conclusion that they were raised with the ideas of the more left-wing ideas. Besides being raised in a left climate, most students also point out that their upbringing has been very free. This usually meant that they could be who they wanted to be and that they had a lot of room to do what they wanted. This finding demonstrates the social learning theory by Bandura, explained by Grusec (1994), because the way these students were raised has influenced the way they look at the world in an open, accepting way and it might also have had an indirect influence on their choice for anthropology. One respondent said: "Quite free actually, and I think that's also because of what I just said, we were taken seriously as children, so quite free", while someone else pointed out: "I think my parents are quite free. They were fine with me doing things, but they did appreciate if I let them know, so to say." So they describe their upbringing as free, but with rules and trust that these rules were respected. Besides this, the free character of their upbringing is also visible in the way most

² We would like to indicate that the quotes and vignettes used within these thesis have in most cases been translated from Dutch, because we did most of our interviews and (participant) observation in Dutch. Some interviews have been in English, when this is the case, we will mention this. We have translated the quotes in the best way possible and in a way that they still capture the essence of the original quote.

students were raised to have an open gaze and to be accepting towards other people. One respondent said:

“I think they were indeed just accepting, thinking about others, trying to think of other people at least and not just yourself.”

This type of upbringing fits within the study of anthropology as well, so most students have a very smooth transition from their primary socialization to their secondary socialization, which we will discuss below. This connects to the theory of Erikson (1959), which states that the development of a human is dependent on its environment, with the environment in this case being their family.

For most students, family is the biggest influence on their identity until they start their study. When the students begin the study of anthropology, they experience that they start to think for themselves more than when they didn't study yet. They stop assuming everything their parents tell them and investigate what they themselves stand for. This is most visible in the lives of the two respondents who were raised in a climate that was not left oriented and in one case, very religious. The respondent who was raised with a strict Christian belief said that she at first voted for the same Christian party as her parents, but that this changed when she started her study. She has even decided to let go of her religion. This respondent was the only one who was raised with a strict religion. There were others who were raised with a religion, but in a much more moderate sense. Within the study, religion is not something that is highly visible, so the way most respondents are raised fits within anthropology.

However, most of the respondents who have been raised in a left or center-left climate, do not feel out of place within anthropology, because they experience a left environment within the study as well. These findings support the theory that most students of anthropology are already left oriented before starting the study, so the way they think influences their choice for anthropology. However, most students do point out that anthropology enforces these left oriented ideas and two students I have spoken to have changed their ideas towards a more left view. We will look into this below.

3.2 The influence of secondary socialization through high school

Secondary socialization is socialization through school, which makes sure children learn role-specific knowledge and get used to institutional settings (Brenton, 2017). In our findings, we see that secondary socialization through high school has had a more indirect influence on most respondents. Respondents struggle with the question about what the political climate at

their high school was, some answered like this: “But politically I don't know, I find that difficult to say.” There are many different answers to this question. Some had a very explicit left climate at high school, where LGBTQI+ rights were very important. One respondent gives an example talking about the political climate in high school:

“Yes, quite emphatically present. My high school has a very open gay straight alliance. That was quite a big thing from the school, so we had a lot of activities around it, always participated in purple Friday, we had openly LGBTQI+ teachers and students, so that was very present, so that was very political in that way if I can say so. They really advertised that on open days.”

Others describe their high school as a more central or right environment. One respondent pointed out: “I don't know what exactly the political climate was, I do know that they were just quite restrictive, so to be it”, which she later described as a more right-wing trait. Some respondents also call the political climate at their high school more neutral, with some implicit political views. One respondent points out that “at school not much attention was paid to it, like. In an explicit way.” The political climate in high school does have an influence on the students, but not as much as the primary socialization through their parents has.

What is most striking about high school is that almost nobody has been influenced by high school to study anthropology. Some were influenced by their parents and others found the study themselves, but anthropology is not a very common subject discussed within high school. One respondent pointed out: “I think I just got unaffected by high school for this study, because I really didn't know anyone else doing this.”

The respondents who point out that they have not been politically influenced by high school in a major way, explain that this is probably because they did not have a lot of interest in politics at that age. One of the respondents said: “Difficult, I'm not sure how to describe that actually, I think leftist, um, yes I don't know, I'm not really engaged with it, I think it's a very difficult subject so I'm not sure what to say to that.” Another aspect is that you have to be eighteen to be allowed to vote, so they are not that engaged with politics before that age, because it seems less important. In general, the moment people turn eighteen, is the moment most people go to higher education, can start voting and come out of puberty, which all falls together with a bigger interest in politics. We can state that the period of primary socialization and the period of secondary socialization in high school, is the period in which people are in the exploration state and are still figuring out what their identity is. When people start their study, they enter the commitment state, where they start to commit to a

certain identity domain. Of course, within anthropology, we do not believe in a static identity, but it is not uncommon for people to gain an increased awareness about their identity when they reach a certain age and start their study.

One of the factors that might have an influence on the different responses is the place the respondents went to high school. As one respondent pointed out:

“Also quite average I believe, yes we live in the green heart, but close to the peripheral cities, because we are exactly between Utrecht and Amsterdam, I think that also has some influence. There are religions, but it's not super religious, it's all quite free, of course this is present in other places as well, but I think it's also a bit typical here.”

The general notion coming from the different interviews, is that small villages tend to have a more conservative and right political environment, while cities have a more left en progressive political environment. Of course this is only based on the stories our respondents have told us, so we cannot generalize this information. We will now look at secondary socialization through university.

3.3 The political dimension of the curriculum

The political ideas and worldviews of students are mostly influenced by the themes within the study. One respondent says: “Yes, I don't know. they're just all themes that are just kind of politically left-wing, so I think everything is pretty political.” Most students point out that professors are mostly neutral when it comes to politics. They never explicitly say what their political opinion is, but there are remarks that make clear that they do not think in the more right part of the political spectrum. These are mostly cynical remarks about Thierry Baudet, Geert Wilders and Donald Trump. As one respondent points out:

“I have to say, I've had a lot of teachers who, for example, made a cynical joke about, say, Trump, so you know what their political ideals are, it's not that they bring it up very explicitly, but with those kinds of comments, for example about Trump, or when they say yes I'm not supposed to give my political opinion here, but.”

This is also something that comes forth within the *Djembé hok*. There were multiple moments in which it was clear that the students were definitely not a fan of these politicians. Mark Rutte, the Dutch prime minister, was also someone who was discussed in a negative way, especially after the surcharges affair (*toeslagen affaire*), which was seen as an example of institutionalized racism.

When it comes to the themes, the respondents mention themes like immigration, sustainability, human rights, inclusivity, diversity and activism, which are looked at in an engaged way. Themes that are discussed in a more critical way are racism, capitalism and globalization. One respondent gives an example of this negative framing. She says:

“I know, for example, I think it was CA3, so that is actually exactly a year ago that I took that course, that it was also about neoliberalism and also about capitalism and those were framed fairly negatively, and it just comes across as quite logical to me. As far as I am concerned, it is beyond political ideologies that capitalism destroys certain things in the world, literally and figuratively. But I also understand that for someone from the outside, again someone like Baudet, who is very much about the ‘leftization’ of education, that this could be cited as an example. That things like neoliberalism and capitalism are then framed negatively.”

The name of the course anthropology of sustainability itself already shows what the theme is, which is also a theme that is mostly seen as left-wing. One *Djembé* activity was about the usage of soil without exhausting it. We had to cook a vegan meal beforehand and watched a documentary which we discussed afterwards. Another activity was giving your clothes a second life. We learned different techniques to recreate something from old clothes, which was also about sustainability. Another interesting point made about the common themes within anthropology, during *Djembé hok*, was that many things are pushed into a left frame that don't necessarily have to be left, such as climate and equality. However, this is usually not how it works within society and this is also what most students realize. One respondent points out that “the themes and content of the study are of course very much focused on social areas and on diversity, so that goes naturally, that goes a bit to left-wing views.” This left-wing environment is also confirmed by the results from our survey. 26 students responded to our survey and to the question whether they consider themselves a left oriented person, nineteen people responded agree, five responded slightly agree and only two responded disagree. When it comes to whether they consider the study of anthropology in Utrecht left oriented, only one person disagrees and another one slightly disagrees. The rest of the respondents either agree or slightly agree.

Even though this is the case, most students do state that the study is not constructed to make them left. It is something that is inevitable, because of the themes discussed and the way anthropologists look at the world. This connects to the socialization theory by Brenton (2017), in which the author states that important things that are left out within socialization, also have an impact on how someone is socialized. What is left out within the study are right-wing opinions and views. There is no right-wing literature within the study and right-wing

opinions are very rare.. One respondent made a great statement about the inevitability mentioned before, saying:

“Yes, I think it's almost inevitable in a way or something, because they're themes that are pretty quick to engage in identity politics and identity politics is pretty political I think, but at the end of the day it's all about how you interpret things yourself, I don't think that all the literature we read, all the lectures, all the professional literature pushes you in a certain direction, only in the end it all falls within a certain spectrum of themes, that just push a little in that direction. And I also think that outside of the study itself it is also very much the atmosphere is present within such a study.”

It is also the case that some respondents think it is not necessarily the case that the department of anthropology comes up with the idea to engage in more left-wing activism, but that it is something that is generally constructed by the university itself. One respondent explained: “I think anthropology just adheres to the things that are also done by the university, such as diversity policy and sustainability, but not that they themselves are super activist as an education.” This contradicts the theory of Van de Werfhorst (2019) in which he states that “overall graduates from the humanities and social sciences may be more left-wing and liberal (professors or not)”, but that “this is not an organizational feature of the universities” (p. 62). So, even though Van de Werfhorst (2019) points this out, some respondents do feel like the university of Utrecht itself had a contribution to this left-wing character of the study of anthropology in Utrecht.

What these findings tell us is that the students are indirectly influenced by the professors, but more by the curriculum. This connects to the legitimation theory, which states that there is a “institutional impact of education on social structure itself -on the behavior of people throughout society” (Meyer, 1977, p. 65). In our case, the professors decide which themes are going to be discussed, and most themes within anthropology that are discussed in a positive way, are seen as left themes. Most students state that they were never explicitly influenced by their professors. This connects to the theory of the social field. The professors are represented “in curricula, assessment procedures, and official pedagogies—not to mention management principles—all of which have their logic of practice establishing the ideational field” (Grenfell, 2003, p. 13). This is also what happens within the study of anthropology. It is also the case that most students are already left when entering the study, so they agree with most things said within the study. We will look into this in the next section.

3.4 Changing ideas

A lot of students say they have changed towards the left when it comes to political ideas and worldviews. One example is a respondent who said: "Before, I voted fairly moderately, a bit in the middle, and as a result of my studies I have started to vote more and more to the left and more progressively." Yet another respondent explains a possible cause for this process very well, by saying:

"You get a different view on certain topics such as migration and sustainability, that of course also changes your opinion, because you are very much shaped by your surroundings and because your environment is mainly left-wing, I also become a bit more left-wing myself."

This whole process is described as gradual by most students. One respondent says: "I am really in favor of it being a process every time, because a lot of things also happen unconsciously." So it could also be about gaining knowledge about certain themes, and in this way becoming more left. Van de Werfhorst (2019) points out that "people with higher levels of education, and educated in the social sciences and humanities, identify typically more strongly as left-wing in the political sphere" (p. 62).

However, as said before, most students were already raised with a left or center left political view. As one respondent says: "I think a lot of people were already left-wing when they entered this study, so to say, because I don't think you're necessarily interested in this study otherwise." These respondents are talking more about awareness that they are a left person and about which points they find important. One respondent says:

"No, I mainly think what anthropology does very well is that you learn to see the broader picture and you really learn to be more aware of how things work, so I think that because you can put things in context much better, you can also figure out which political vision fits best."

Another respondent points out:

"In terms of politics I'm quite the same, but a lot more outspoken. I would not say radical, but I would say more radical than I was haha. I'm really coming out now about that, but that's because I can articulate myself better in that now, because I know more about it now than I used to."

A lot of respondents did for instance go from central left to left and there were two who made a more radical shift from central right or right to left. One respondent says:

"When I was in my senior year of high school I was still somewhat conservative and right, especially on socio-cultural aspects, on economic aspects I was a bit more left-wing. When I

was first allowed to vote, I voted for D66, I am also a member of that, now I am thinking about joining Volt. When I joined this study I still liked to be like I was in high school, to provoke people to engage in a bit of discussion, and then I noticed that that is less appreciated at uni haha. But I've become a bit more left-wing I have noticed.”

The respondent who was raised in a strict religious environment answered to the question whether she had changed in political opinion and worldview: “Yes, very strong. My worldview of a Christian has diminished very much.” This is also something confirmed by the social learning theory, which talks about the mechanism of modeling. This happens through the observation of events, which is then represented in memory and converted into appropriate actions that are based on the originally modeled behavior. Which means that you base your own actions and behavior on the behavior you have seen through interaction with other individuals. In our case, this happens with the political ideas through the themes within the study, but in the case of this respondent, also because there is a more secular environment within the study.

Another point mentioned before is that you do not have just one identity, but you have multiple identities and you use a certain identity depending on the situation. As mentioned before, social psychology also states that one person has multiple identities, for instance the worker identity, the academic identity, and the friend identity (Stets and Harrod, 2004). One respondent explains how her identity is different when among students and among family. She says:

“I have a group of friends within anthropology that I talk to a lot and they are in my opinion quite left-wing and also idealistic in some ways and then I have a cousin who votes Forum For Democracy and really talks like Thierry Baudet and all that, and yes, so I talk to both of them a little bit and then I notice very much that within my friend group at the study I tend to be a bit more right-wing in certain things, because then I think I like your views very well, but I miss something and then I go a bit more the right way, and of course with my cousin I am extremely left-wing.”

We could say that the identity she presents with her friends from university is more her academic identity and the identity she presents to her cousin is more her friend identity. Just like Golubovic (2011) says: Identity is always a choice.

These findings show that students who had more central, central left or right political opinions and worldviews have changed towards a more left political opinion and worldview and that people who were already very left oriented, have become more aware of themselves as a left person and about which ideas they think are important. This could be explained by the theory of reciprocal determinism, which entails that “behavior, the environment, and

cognition as well as other personal factors operate as interacting determinants that have a bidirectional influence on each other” (Grusec, 1992, p. 782). This means that the environment influences the person, but the person also influences reactions from the environment. The way the students influence the environment will be discussed below. These findings also show that the identity of the students is very dynamic when it comes to politics. It is very context dependent. This is all influenced by the study of anthropology in Utrecht. We will now look into the moral narrative within the study.

3.5 The moral narrative of anthropology

A moral narrative is “any news, story, life experience or heuristic that has the potential to alter an agent's beliefs” (Tirole, Bénabou, and Falk, 2018, p. 2). When it comes to the moral narrative of the study of anthropology, the meaning of moral narrative gets interpreted in two ways. Some mention things that have to do with how you should do research, like “when you research things, people see you in a certain way and you see people in a certain way and that already has a lot of meaning”, and others mention more general ideas, like “mainly looking critically and not drawing conclusions too quickly, no generalizing, so understanding a little.” Trust within doing research is mentioned as well; “well if we're talking about doing your job, for example, then safely dealing with the trust of your respondents is very important.” Objectivity is something that is important too, although there has also been discussion whether full objectivity is even possible. One respondent says:

“But on the other hand it is also that certain concepts are rejected, for example subjectivity is a prevailing factor within the programme, but you cannot, for example, have a subjective opinion like this is this university because of this, because that kind of subjectivity is not appreciated, because one must be open to look at the individual and not necessarily at the collective, do not generalize.”

This also comes with the unwritten rule that you should not judge the subjects of your research or people in general.

Some ideas that are mentioned when it comes to the moral narrative of the study is that anthropology communicates that you should look with an open gaze, you should enlarge your horizon, you should see things in context, you should be aware that there are different situations, you should not generalize, that the world is Eurocentric and that you should look at things from different perspectives. One respondent points out:

“I think communicating that how we look at ourselves or at the world is very Eurocentric and that there is so much more and that how we think is not necessarily good because we come

from the west, for example, development is a strange word. Developing countries, what do you do with that, because every country is in modern times anyway. I think that these viewpoints see that bit of humanity in people, I think that's very important. Nothing is so crazy enough, or it is talked about with a positive outlook. A positive amazement at what else is there, without it becoming a fetish.”

When it comes to the open gaze, it is more about not finding anything weird just because it is different. You should be more accepting towards everyone. As one respondent points out: “I think you're a bit more accepting or at least don't just think from within yourself.” Often, the respondents state that this narrative of being more open and accepting to other people goes hand in hand with left-wing politics. One respondent states:

“They don't encourage you to vote left or be like that or necessarily be left-wing, they only teach you to have a perspective from someone else on how to look at that and how to learn that, but that doesn't mean you have to take it over. You often do, because you often agree with it and you see value in that perspective, but it is not that, often when you learn the perspective of others, you understand that, but you don't necessarily have to.”

What this respondent is trying to point out is that you are not made into a left-wing person, but because of the moral narrative present within the study of anthropology, you yourself automatically become more left-wing as well. Someone else talked about this left moral narrative as well, saying: “That you get a left-wing narrative and become more aware that you want to contribute to it, to create what we think is a better world within anthropology.” Another respondent points out that when talking about the moral narrative within anthropology, diversity is also a very important aspect within the study, but also within the university in general. This respondent says:

“I think diversity, there's always a kind of keyword in that. I think they promote this within the educational institution itself, perhaps not so much within anthropology, but I do feel that the university is working on a diverse policy and in addition, the themes they cite can be linked back to cultural diversity.”

What connects to this is ofcourse equality, in every way possible. One respondent states: “If you look at ethics, it is very important to have moral values such as equality, freedom to do what you want and that everyone also gets equal opportunities.” Besides this, another respondent points out that “you don't judge someone based on gender.”

Another aspect that contributes to the constructing of the moral narrative within anthropology, is that anthropology presents itself as a study that is different from other social studies, because you learn how to look at the world with a different view. One respondent says:

“I also notice when I talk to other people about my studies, that it is difficult to include my knowledge of my study in it and explain that or something else, because it is a completely different vision sometimes, that people do not understand and yes, I find it difficult.”

What differs anthropology from other social studies as well, is that you do not state that something is static and forever existing, things change. There is also more room for your own interpretation and theory. One of the respondents points out:

“I think that's also missing in some other courses, especially if you're not from anthropology and taking an anthropology course. It is not explicitly said everywhere that what you read does not necessarily have to reflect the truth.”

This respondent believes that this should be made more clear to the students, stating that: “I do think that's a kind of an unspoken rule within anthropology, but I think that can be better pronounced in different subjects.”

To conclude this section about the moral narrative within anthropology, we could say that there are a lot of different ideas about what the study of anthropology communicates, but most of the ideas given can be seen as left oriented ideas and worldviews with a lot of openness and tolerance. These ideas also influence the students, it motivates them to think about certain subjects and also look at things from different perspectives. It also gives them a sense of moral agency, which “is constructed around narratives of desires, beliefs, and emotions, what they seem to have in mind are narratives concerning the second-order desires, beliefs, and emotions of moral persons. A person constructs narratives around moral notions because a person cares about the sort of desires one has; a person cares about the desirability of one’s motives, attitudes, and beliefs. What the authors call narrative moral agency is likely the craft of moral agents, of moral persons driven by second-order volitions” (Lapsley, 2010, p. 92). We will look into what the students do with this moral agency below.

3.6 Habitus: The left bubble

This week Nina starts the Teams meeting of Djembé hok. Even though the Djembé board members usually have difficulty getting people to join the Djembé hok online, it is quite busy this week. During the two hour meeting, a total of nine people show their face. The elections are coming up, and Lucas says: “I saw a Forum van Democratie plane this morning when I stepped out and it ruined my day”. The whole group laughs at this and his little anecdote brings the conversation to Sylvana Simons, the party leader of Bij1, a left political party. Lucas tells us that “the ex of Sylvana Simons is now a member of Forum voor Democratie”. This is ironic, because Forum is known for its extreme right ideas. Vera joins the meeting, everyone is happy to see her. Vera always brings some interesting ideas with her, mostly because she is one of the most activist person within the study. The subjects discussed go from one thing to another, when suddenly we are talking about pancakes. It is a fun

conversation with a political twist, because Vera points out that premade packages of pancake flour are ‘a great example of how capitalism works’. Within the study, it is often the subject that capitalism is bad, so Vera’s point is very typical. Her explanation is that ‘you can just buy regular flour and mix it with milk and eggs. It will give you the exact same product’. She has a good point, but we all laugh, because she explains her argument with a lot of passion. It shows that something simple like pancake flour can bring up a whole discussion about the societal system when you are around anthropologists. It is a good example of how this particular group of people communicates in daily life. Like Evi says: ‘Sometimes it is better to know less about the world, purely for your own well-being’. We all agree.³

This vignette is a good example of what the habitus within the study of anthropology in Utrecht looks like. Habitus as agency means that habitus is ‘potentially generating a wide repertoire of possible actions, simultaneously enabling the individual to draw on transformative and constraining courses of action’ (Reay, 2004, p. 433). All of the respondents we have interviewed say that anthropology has a safe environment with friendly people, but that, most of all, the students can be very intense when it comes to the views they stand for. This intensity causes a lot of students to be very activist. This is also why most respondents also say that the study is most safe and friendly when you have a more left political view. One respondent says about this safe environment:

‘Yes, I don't know, I did experience it as very positive, I do feel like I've met people there who are very, very similar, yes, I don't know, I've also made friends that I think I still have, friends for a long time because they are very much in line with my ideas but at the same time critical of how things like that work. So I thought it was a very nice environment to grow up from my young adult days or something, which has just been positive for my development in that regard.’

Another aspect that was pointed out repeatedly, was that the study of anthropology is a left bubble. Students mostly realize they are in a left bubble when they talk to people outside of the study of anthropology and figure out that the way anthropologists think is not necessarily a very mainstream way of thinking. However, this bubble is still seen as a nice and safe space in which the students feel like they are in place. One respondent points out that ‘there is some kind of safety in this way, because you know that you agree on the core things and don't have to talk about them..’ Someone else says: ‘With anthropology I notice that a lot of people around me think left and vote left and if you look at it with political terms then I think yes you do go with that flow sooner.’ In general, the term ‘left bubble’ has been mentioned a lot. We give some examples below:

³ I used pseudonyms in this vignette to ensure the anonymity of those present.

“You often hear that a bubble is not good, but I really like my bubble, I like it so much that people have the same values so to say.”

“We're in a pretty left-wing bubble.”

“Yes, I actually think that the whole study with its students is just quite a left-wing bubble actually.”

During the interviews, I also asked students to place themselves on a political spectrum I had made. I showed it to them through a webcam and they told me where I should place a mark. I later placed all these marks in one spectrum (image 1). It is a small sample, but from what I have heard during participant observation and during my own time as a student, I do believe this is a good representation of the students within the study of anthropology in Utrecht, and also a good way to show the left bubble.

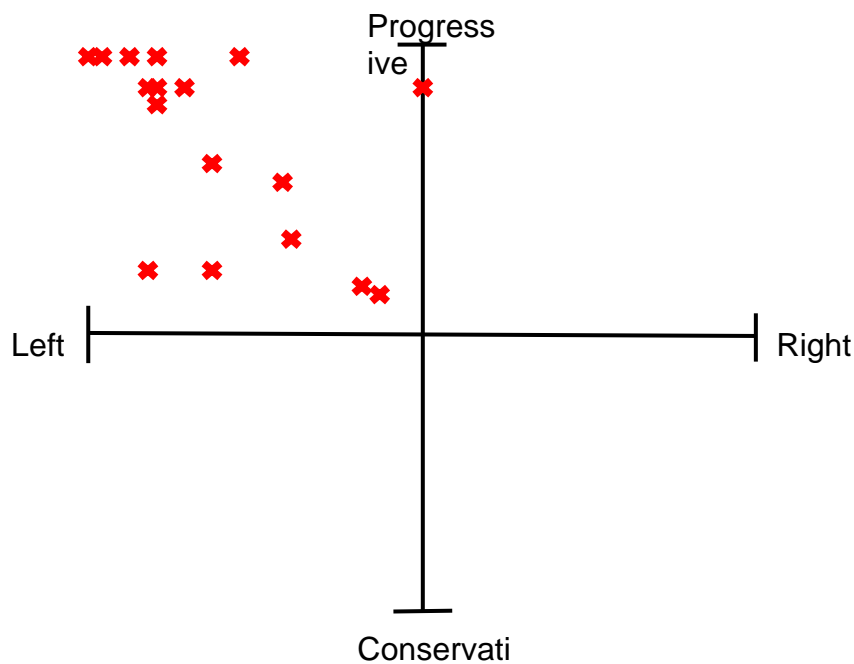


Image 2: Self-positioning of students within political spectrum, based on interviews

This left bubble automatically brings us to the discussion about how people from anthropology react to people who are more right-wing. The opinion on this subject varies. Some state that everyone is welcome within anthropology and that everything is open for discussion. One respondent states:

“I do feel like you can say anything, because certainly in the working groups, opinions differ a bit more than, for instance, within my group of friends, especially because there are often people from different studies that have a different view of things and I find that interesting.”

On the other side, there are also respondents who point out that right-wing opinions are not really taken into consideration within the study. One respondent says:

“Especially going to the left and supporting and no longer listening to what the right has to say, for example, if we read sources or something, we agree with left-wing sources faster than with right-wing sources and are therefore no longer really open to listening to them. I think that's a bit of a pitfall sometimes and I try very hard to filter myself and look for things that would not appeal to me so quickly, but maybe also have a piece of truth or at least learn something from and form an opinion again. I think that should be brought into the study a little more.”

Connecting to this, someone else points out: “If you really want to be objective, you have to look at multiple points of view.” This point connects to the theory of socialization being limiting, which has been mentioned before. Another respondent makes a good point about this as well, saying:

“That's a bit weird, because we're constantly talking about being open to other ideas, but as soon as they're far-right ideas then the door suddenly closes and I also notice with myself that when I meet someone who has such ideas, I just block myself, because I just don't get them. And that's why I agree with Respondent 52, you do miss that, because we are constantly talking about other ideas and trying to show understanding, but in that respect somehow not.”

Marina Gold (2018) abbreviated these dilemmas about objectivity mentioned by the respondents by showing how the discipline of anthropology is too politically engaged which consequently influences the objectivity of the discipline. Besides this, there are also respondents who are more fierce when it comes to right-wing people within anthropology. One respondent points out:

“I just wanted to say, I wouldn't understand what a real right-wing person has to do within anthropology at all, for example if you look at migration, the right is generally a bit more sceptical about that, but in anthropology if you take one course on migration you already learn all the nuances, then you learn why people flee and then it's not so complicated at all and it is clear that they come here for a better life, period.”

Someone else points out: “I do think that as a right oriented person you would feel less at home.” So when it comes to the response to right-wing people, most respondents say that when you are more right oriented, this might not be your study and that you can expect some resistance to your opinion. However, the degree of this resistance differs with each

respondent. Some say you will be completely torn into the ground; "I don't think you can get away with that so quickly." Others say that there is room for conversation;

"I think there is enough space, I think there is enough freedom that if you think differently about something then you can start that conversation. So I think there is enough room that it is not forced and you can ask critical questions."

However, since I have almost exclusively talked to people who were left themselves, it is difficult to state that right oriented people will have a more difficult time, because I do not have direct proof of that. It does connect to the theory of Van de Werfhorst (2019), who believes that in some cases academics are unable to break out of their leftist ideas and also that universities are hostile towards other opinions. As mentioned before, we do not believe there really is hostility, but maybe there is a little incomprehension towards people with more right-wing ideas. Within this research, this only applies to the study of anthropology, because we have not researched it among the rest of the university.

Besides the study of anthropology being a left bubble, it is also an activist bubble. Activism is something very normal and in some opinions, even something that is required. One respondent points out:

"Sometimes you do feel a kind of responsibility, also because very often that sentence comes along that if you don't speak out then you are on the other side and I agree with that, but yes, sometimes you have to think for yourself what is feasible, because you can't just say something and that's a bit of the culture that prevails in my opinion, say if you make it a topic for discussion, people will say yes, that's right, you can't do everything, but if it's not named, then I implicitly feel the pressure that you have to do something."

This respondent also states:

"What I do notice is that you can't do it right so quickly, so I'm a bit more reserved in sharing things about what I stand for, also because it sometimes goes very quickly and things often become more complex afterwards than they occur, so then you speak out very much and then you have to come back to that, while if you don't speak up for a while and wait a while, that you can determine for yourself where you stand."

Something else this respondent points out is that sometimes you can feel like you are not left enough to fit in. He gives an example of voting for D66, a center left party in the Netherlands. When I ask which party he voted, he states:

"D66, but I have to say that sometimes even within anthropology I don't quite dare to speak up for that, because D66 too, I understand the criticism, but that sometimes that is not left enough for some people and that it is sometimes complicated to say, by the way, by which I

do not mean that it is not safe or anything, but more that that is just a personal consideration of I do not have to defend myself for that at the moment, or I don't feel like doing that.”

What is important to point out is that this respondent made a remark at the end of the conversation to nuance everything a bit. He pointed out:

“I have been very open in this conversation, but I have also talked about themes that I have not really figured out yet, because you keep developing and thinking about how it is, so there are also a lot of things where I have said something with the knowledge of now, but that might change in time and with which I also struggle about now, so I wanted to give that as a disclaimer that what I say is not necessarily the way it is or how it even feels to me.”

In conclusion to this chapter, we can say that because through socialization the students learn that the moral narratives state that you should have an open gaze, you should enlarge your horizon and you should look at things from different perspectives and the more left political views within the study cause the study to be a safe, friendly environment where everyone can be who they want to be, but that this is mostly the case when you are left oriented yourself and that we cannot say how this situation is when you have a more right oriented view. We can also say that there is a very activist environment, in which students sometimes feel the pressure to engage with.

Chapter 4: The Perspective of the Professors and teachers (Max)

In this chapter we will look at the perspective of the professors when it comes to the reason to become part of the team of anthropology, their motivation to become teacher and their own background, how it formed them to become professor of part of the team and to look at the question how professors/employees at the study of anthropology get involved with choosing cultural anthropology as a field to work in, what is drives or motivates them? We will also look at how the political ideas and worldviews percolate through the interaction with students in relation to lectures and workgroups and how the curriculum pertains in between. Furthermore, we will review how professors define moral narratives within the study of cultural anthropology. This will be outlined through the four following sections, constructed by the sub-questions we have used.

4.1 Identity formation of the professors

Looking at professors and employees in this research as “a static group of actors” who might “influence” students in how they develop and how their identity is formed, would be a complete methodological error in every way. In order to know how professors teach their students and how they possibly might affect anything at all, we need to know what motivates professors to become part of a team of people who want to educate and who want to inform young people (students) about their career. In this section we will exhibit the factors, drives, the forces and motivations of becoming involved with anthropology in the first place.

Looking at our findings, there are a number of reasons how and why professors and employees at the study of anthropology choose to work in this field. Throughout all the results, there is never one specific event that motivated a person to, for example, start studying a bachelor in cultural anthropology or to work at the study as a professor or employee. It moreover is a mix of events, upbringing, personality traits, values that parents cherish and that inspired them to do similarly good in the world, political climate at home, personal interests, family and studying. When it comes to the trigger of personal interest in anthropology and what attracted anthropology for, one of our respondents explained that:

“So when I was sixteen, I yeah, I was always a good student. And there was this research center close in to the village. [...] When you're sixteen and in high schools in (specific country), you just don't have this kind of research-oriented studying. It's basically just lessons and you're learning to repeat it and that's it. So yeah, that was interesting and basically, I just

found something that sparked interest. I actually I was always better than others, [...] it kind of gave me some maybe, not just knowledge but, confidence when I was that like first year or something like that. So that's how I ended up there studying it. And I've somehow, I've always thought about it as a discipline which is adventurous.”

This respondent noted that the interest in anthropology came with confidence of being good in something, like for example research. Besides this, the part of knowledge gained was important. Also, the adventure side of the discipline is something that sparks the interest. In the matter of this adventures side of the study, one our respondents noted that traveling was something that sparked the interest in certain facets that encompasses anthropology:

“I don't know why you went to study Anthropology Max, but I started traveling at some point. Traveling, which happens a lot. You know, backpacking. I went to Southeast Asia. I went to Colombia, Venezuela. Places like that, that's where I started to have an interest in the fact that people think differently there and live differently elsewhere. Things were so really fundamentally different in other countries. So yeah, that creates a kind of interest in trying to understand these people. Yeah, that is the reason why I went towards anthropology.”

This person pointed out that after the interest in anthropology was triggered, information about the themes and subjects in relation to anthropology was gained by “just going to the library, I just borrowed some scientific books about anthropology and I read them during my summer holiday. After reading the books I thought that it was extremely interesting. And when I began studying anthropology it remained extremely interesting”. The pre-fascination with other people who live differently than, for instance people in the Netherlands and certain topics relevant to the study of anthropology such as empathy, understanding how others live, equality and righteousness, is something that all the participants of our research unanimously share. One of the respondents formulates this as follows:

“I think that from a very young age I was very interested in other people. I just was so curious about other people too. I was also already reading about certain topics. I that know when I was still at school I was already reading English books about colonial times, about black authors who wrote about racism for example, or about slavery. I remember how fascinated I was about these topics. So from a very young age I had this interest in other people, especially for people who were different, people who were discriminated against, who were oppressed. So yeah, that is something where a lot of anthropologists are interested in.”

Most of the respondents point out that the interest in these topics began at a young age and that they kept this interest during their study and professional career. One of the

respondents makes an interesting comment about the urge to help people and how this drive and motivation continued flourish throughout the study of anthropology:

“I really wanted to help people with problems and this is also kind of the basis why I started studying Anthropology. That interest in people and yes, also a little empathy for other people and feeling of wanting to improve people's lives. That's what I found most interesting during my studies. Did come to really appreciate and like that, but it was more just yes, the bridge-builder between people that just having empathy for people and seeing what they have problems with to support in that. That was what I found interesting.”

It is interesting from an analytical point of view that similar responses recur frequently because it evidently says something about what deep-seated desires there are in people who eventually become part of the study of anthropology. It says something about the match between those deep-seated desires and how the discipline of anthropology facilitates in some satisfaction of those desires

As a follow-up to this, the interest in anthropology cannot be separated from how a person is brought up and what kind of values are important in a family. For example, one of the respondents explained that the norms and values in her family were that you should treat everybody equal, be inclusive with everyone:

“My parents have always brought us up very much with: take account of others, of our fellow man. And also: the strongest shoulders should carry the heaviest burden. You know, that's very much what I've been taught. So, um, yes, I don't really know, maybe it's just that it developed a little bit there. And I also, I guess it is in my nature, due to my upbringing that I can connect people with each other and that I also can connect with people as well.”

The answer that is stated above correlates with the answer of another respondent who states that

“I do come from a pretty socially involved family. So in a way I think I have inherited things from home. I also think it has to do with the school I went to. And yes, I'm sure there's also a personal aspect to it... Something that has to do more with personality, you know? I am sure that not everything is traced back to the environment I also think of a kind of critical attitude of never just accepting everything you hear and always determining your own position in something. And look, the viewpoints and the political ideas that I inherited were never expressed literally. But they clearly contained values like dealing honestly with the world around you and respecting nature. And it's just a bit of a spoonful, so to speak.”

However, not all the respondents were so to say affected by their family and how they were brought up: “I was always kind of an oddball in our family. Because my brother went to study law. And my father ... well his political preference, VVD. He also worked in a

bank, so I don't really think that my family, or certain aspects that normally would contribute to choosing anthropology, influenced my decision”.

In addition, not all the respondents were brought up in a very left sided political climate. Most of the respondents were but definitely not all. Some respondents mentioned that they were brought up with parents who voted VVD (like the respondent quoted above) or D66. Others with former CDA. For instance, one respondent mentions the following about the upbringing and politics at home:

“My parents were sort of slightly progressive Christians. Politics, yes, they are actually kind of products of a kind of compartmentalized society, I think. You go to a certain church and vote for a certain political party and question everything you do very little. At home politics wasn't really a huge issue, so that wasn't terribly discussed but my parents were open minded as far as other religions were concerned. Yes, they instilled that in me as well. It was just a different time. I was raised in a house where people voted CDA, for example. At that time there was no Christian Union but nowadays my parents tend to do that. It was somewhat progressive.”

Most of the participants were nevertheless brought up in a left sided political climate with parties like Groenlinks, Partij voor de Dieren and SP. Interesting to note is that the respondents whose parents voted something else than a left sided party, were almost all 40 years or older. When it comes to the respondents younger than 40 years and how their parents politically vote, it becomes clear that all of them vote for a left-winged party. The social learning theory by Bandura, explained by Grusec (1994), states that the way these people were raised has influenced the way they look at the world in an open, accepting way. Looking at the findings, most of the respondents were raised with an open and accepting way. These values were also not limited to a certain political side of the spectrum. The way the people in this research were brought up might indicate that the values and norms prevailing in a family may play along with interest in anthropology through the similar values, related to the study, named by the respondents. So, conclusively, all of the information above indicates that growing up in a non-left sided political climate at home does not necessarily mean that someone would not be choosing a study such as anthropology. The next section will focus on how professors are part of the learning process of students, keeping in mind that people have their own backgrounds and so-called baggage. We will also look at how prevalent political ideas and worldviews percolate through the interaction with students in relation to lectures and workgroups and how teachers see this process for themselves.

4.2 Political steering in teaching

After we brought into vision what moves and motivates professors and instructors at the study of anthropology in Utrecht to become a part of the learning process of students, the next step in our research is to see how they teach students, what do they find important when it comes to what a student learns and if they bring a certain political load with them (conscious or unconscious) in their practice. As aptly described in the previous sections, professors and instructors at the study of anthropology bring some kind of luggage with them. This luggage consists for example past research projects, their own upbringings, their political climate and the worldviews and ideas in which they grew up in, how these views change during the time (due to a mix of for example research projects, other life events and also working at the department of anthropology as a professor) which is completely normal and obviously evident of being human.

When it comes to the question whether and how the respondents look upon them bringing a certain political load in their teaching or a certain influence from how they see the world and how they take this with them in their teaching or lectures, most of the respondents struggle with answering the question. This could have several reasons. It may have something to do with a certain caution that professor implies when it comes to a rather open answering of personal information that the answer entails. However, this is just speculation. What is particularly striking is that a fair share of professors spends most of the answer speaking in the “you form” rather than the “I form”. Furthermore, it is also understandable that, from the perspective of a professor in the academia, professors are mostly preoccupied in their work with academic matters. When a question is not necessarily a reflection upon the academic work of the respondents but rather a very personal reflexive question, focused on a personal and maybe sensitive subject (such as this subject), it becomes clear that many respondents do not answer succinctly and to the point. Moreover, questions from another level than merely an academic one, appear to bring out the Arjun Appadurai in many. Countless words and reasoning, elliptic sentences, but a smaller amount of clarity and forwardness. To be clear, this is obviously not an offensive assault. Just an analytical observation based on the obtained data. An aspect that could possibly contribute to the vagueness of the answers could also be my own inexperience in asking the right questions at the right time.

Apart from this as mentioned already above in the first part of this section, when talking about the luggage professors take with them to the auditorium, past research is certainly something that can be considered as luggage. When I asked the question whether

and how the respondents look upon them bringing a certain political load in their teaching, one of the respondents mentioned their past research and how this an important part of the way in how this person teaches:

“So my personal political stance is informed by the things I read in our study. So, for instance, I spent a year in (specific place) and over there you can see how gender plays a great role in making inequalities. So like I could see that women do not have jobs and men do because that kind of environment, I can see different kinds of things. So my experience does tell me, hey, gender is an important thing. It obviously makes inequalities around the world that you where you live. But on the other hand, there's anthropology, which kind of informs me, hey, look at that. So it's both ways that I. So in a sense, my teaching is led by research. Yeah, it's led by it and it provides the students, let's say, state of the day, the state of art kind of debate. So that they know the debate. Right. My worldviews are formed. Together with anthropology, so anthropology formed my worldviews, together with my research.”

One of the respondents who points out and describes their influence is the following participant. This professor mentions that, when it comes to the influences this person has on students with their teaching and a possible political load that:

“It is almost inevitable. I remember that, a few years ago, Thierry Baudet mentioned that Universities are left sided strongholds and that they indoctrinate students with left sided ideas. At first it made me pretty upset but, if you look at the course I taught (name of the course), about development issues, social policies and social inequalities.. Yeah, then I cannot avoid talking about these topics from my own vision. And also, we are in the middle of our own bubble so we read related literature which criticizes neo-liberalism and so it is almost part of an automatism in the lectures that I give. I don't want to convert them into certain ideas. I want to leave them their room to think about it their own way. And I try to teach my lessons as nuanced as possible... but it does not always work like that.”

It is noteworthy how open this professor is about his/her own teaching and how inevitable it is to bring your own vision into the course someone is teaching. Which is completely logical. However, leaving room for students to think and to feel what they need to think and to feel leaves them with respect to develop themselves and their own identity. Afterall, and more respondents mention this, students are not merely or solely passive actors who swallow up knowledge without overthinking it for themselves. One of the respondents points out:

“it's not that a student is a passive actorlike great. A student can also think for itself. And it's not that I think to conclude everything due after all the interviews that I had, it's not something that teachers are like an extreme importance factor, for example, in how a student, of course, they communicate certain information, but it's not I have the feeling that it's not like in a very activist way. No. It's more that maybe the influence that they get is when they are in socializing in their group after reading certain literature, they get ideas, they get inspired. And maybe that is something that that influences how they look at look at the world

and how they perceive themselves in the interaction with the world and how they create, for example, certain identities.’

Overall, most of the respondents who could give a clear answer to the questions, did answer in a similar way. None of the respondents had the intention to convert students into thinking in a specific way. As one other respondent mentioned, thinking in a “left sided” way is not important. This person mentions, in line with other respondents, that critical thinking and critical reading are skills that are important and especially these kinds of skills and knowledge are important to communicate to students. Like someone finely points out that “the impact I want to have is also about giving students self-confidence, that I impart specific knowledge to them, that they believe in what they can do, they should see what they are good at, and that they should be able to develop further. I provide them with feedback so that they can use it. Yes, that they eventually become a sensitive researcher as well.”

4.3 The making of the curriculum

‘In terms of content, really, euh, euh, the primacy, the ball lies in the box of the euh the responsible teachers, especially the teacher with a permanent appointment and in particular I think the course coordinator. And often, not always, but very often that's also the teacher who does the most, also in the course and maybe is even the only one with a tenured academic appointment. These lecturers, once it is clear that a certain subject will be given, or once the subject is in place, then that person determines, I think for eighty percent, the content. If you work with temporary teachers or PhD students from the beginning, I can only speak from my own experience that I also involved cooperating teachers in the course (name of course) from the beginning. They were then just PhD students or just promoted. They also had input in several, more or less degree. But I think it is the course coordinator who does set the tone. The scientific content, the thematic literature that is read in the process, and the way in which testing is done. Uh, that's, uh, yes, I think in our practice that's the person who is listed as the course coordinator.’

Following the outlining of the motives and drives of professors and instructors at the study of anthropology in Utrecht to become a part of the learning process of students and how they teach students, what do they find important when it comes to what a student learns and do and if they bring a certain political load with them (conscious or unconscious) in their practice, the next step is the part of the analysis of the curriculum and the professors and instructors who form the roads we travel. After interviewing respondents for this research, the key aspects that came forward in relation to the formation of the curriculum are creating courses, choosing literature, discussing what is important and what matters. Literature, books, articles, documentaries, how courses are formed, who forms the courses, what are topics that are important and what are topics that are relevant in between the

group of professors (such as what they talk about with each other). All of it is part of the curriculum of the total study program.

When it comes to the professors and instructors, and their specific influence on the students and their identity formation, what becomes clear is that most of them are aware of the possible unconscious influence. One respondent states that:

“In my work I actually try to let students make their own choices, especially their own ideas. Partly, of course, because I steer in that unconsciously. It's really unconscious, sometimes conscious, but still unconscious, I think...”

However, all of the respondents are not motivated to consciously convert students into a specific way of, for example, activist left sided ideology:

“No, but I do give the students certain kinds of things to get familiar with different kinds of anthropology and we discuss it. So that's where I kind of I provide, and I do kind of give them things and these kinds of things to read. But it's not that I try to brainwash them or try to kind of, you know, change their world views. But I'm trying to what my goal is kind of like the outcome of the teaching is to have students kind of like be very to get an active and critical standpoint. So to be the researchers themselves and to learn how to argue so I can be a Marxist and you can be something else, but we can have a dialog. But the dialog, which is based on a form of some kind of knowledge that we have. So I'm there to provide you knowledge. I'm going to provide you tools to be critical by how you're going to use it. It's your thing, right? It's how you do it. So basically they do to us to just finish the question. So the world views do shape it, but they're just the beginning of providing this kind of platform which is set up for the students to react. I mean, students are not passive actors.”

When it comes to the possible influence of the curriculum on students, one person says the following:

“Well, I can imagine. Professors are also a product of how they were brought up, they have developed themselves professionally in a certain academic domain. And certainly, when looking at anthropology, in the last twenty years the average collective of ideas has possibly slightly moved a bit towards a left progressive way of thinking. That is something that you, unconscious, conscious or semiconscious, take with you towards the focus of your own work field. As a researcher but also as a teacher. And if the average way of thinking and what we see as normative, is slightly left progressive, with themes such as racism, climate, war, inequality, human rights etc. Then it is also something that is part of the average content of the literature we read, which is communicated with students, which they communicate with each other and which is something they think about for themselves. This could lead to affinity with topics. These topics are a reflection of the affinity of the professional community in the specific academic field.”

This is in line with what was mentioned by other respondents as well. Not all the respondents were this specific and not all the respondents were in the position to give a detailed description of the fold of the curriculum or its specific infill. When we asked the

question to one of the participants about how and students could experience a sort of influence of the from the curriculum, one of the respondents answered:

“I definitely think students experience that in some way. I think the answer you got to this is yes, that students experience that. I think it's partly inherent in the discipline of anthropology. Nevertheless, professors or lecturers and curriculum are all separate factors. I think Anthropology as a discipline uhm.... In fact, I think it's a way of looking at the world. And then within that you may still have influence from the curriculum and from specific professors. I think, no matter which course a student takes, it does something with the way someone will look at the world afterwards. And the political leanings that follow there. I do hope that this is never literally said in a certain way. I also think that as a student you draw your own conclusions from what you hear, read and learn. I do think that if a student draws their conclusion about specific themes within the study of anthropology, the conclusion would be that it is part of a specific political spectrum. But literally, literally political color in lectures... I don't think that that happens. But I think that the influence is there.”

Also, I did not always ask the same questions to all the respondents. Mostly to the more experienced respondents (those who were more experienced in relation to the years they were active in the work field of anthropology). Also, when I became more experienced with asking the right questions at the right time, I got better and more all-encompassing answers.

4.4 Moral narratives in the study of anthropology

In regard to what defines moral narratives, most of the respondents who I have talked to about the matter of subject all give similar visions towards what moral narratives in the study of cultural anthropology contain. To give a comprehensive idea of what professors thought about moral narrative, they mostly saw it as a collective and shared goal or a purpose of what to communicate to the outside world, what to give to the students. The moral narrative of the study of anthropology has almost something spiritual, something transcendent, something that is given along. It is like a shared narrative in which the purpose of the discipline is described that contributes to constructive actions and thought for a better and more honorable world. One of the respondents appealingly formulated that:

“I think Anthropology has as its main moral narrative as the indivisible diversity of humanity. Diversity because of all kinds of differences and differences in change of socio-cultural and institutional processes and fields within human society. But what lies underneath it is a kind of absolute inalienability of the human being, as a being and as a social being, with dignity and with rights. And that's what I mean by indivisible. I'm not a cultural relativist, but after all what we see as anthropologists is all recognizable and all explainable as part of beautiful and often not so beautiful human processes and choices and relationships. But also this shared humanity is more important than the antagonism that diversity might evoke. And I think that, quite apart from more concrete things like inequality, human rights, those are

important specific themes. This could indeed be the fundamental moral narrative of anthropology as a legislature, as a socially engaged legislature. For me personally, from my point of view, this does exclude certain political positions. All positions that have to do with declassification, with dequalification, stigmatization and with collective forms of hatred, with collective violence etcetera. That would then be a more applied moral next step for me. Nothing human is foreign to us. As the most famous Dutch anthropologist, Johan Cruijff, once said yes.’

The moral narrative also entails the idea that within the study one also wants to give something to students, not merely dry knowledge, but even more an attitude, a mentality with regard to how to stand in life and how to look at people and the world. As for the students, respondents talked about having an open gaze, not judging people and looking from different perspectives.. This is obviously shortened. But a more extensive (but still not complete) delineation of what moral narrative contains in our work field and what the study communicates with the world comes from another respondent.

‘I am convinced that, in the field of social science, the notion of value free science is utterly nonsense. [...] Certain movements in the social science are convinced that you can cover values with methodology and techniques, but I just do not believe that. The fact that social science is not value free is something that we should just accept and work with this fact in a sensible and constructive way. [...] The idea of the basics of philosophy of Liberal Arts and Sciences appeals to me... you know.. Creation of Critical Citizens. So moral and cognitive equipped people who can contribute to society, taking responsibility, citizenship. All from scientific responsible worldview point of view. And I hope that I can kindle a flame in the lives of students to be passionate about life, about searching for meaning, the curiosity. And I think that is essential and our field of work, in anthropology is benefits from kindling that flame.’

In the vision of others, the moral narrative was not just one thing, but “ I think there would be multiple narratives. If you define it that way. I think there's a lot of repeated narratives, images, views that students can influence in this case about the decisions they make so yes. But a rich diversity.”

What also was described as part of the moral narrative were certain topics that are mostly covered in different courses within the discipline, such as equality, diversity, inclusiveness, empathy and sustainability, equity, livability, resilience and respect. When it comes to a mixture of different narratives, a participant cited that:

‘I do think we share them anyway, the ideas of diversity and sustainability for example. Those are obviously normative ideas that you share, even if you have to the world, in which you don't do anything much harm to the world, but in which you go to develop things, the developments that make it livable after us. That kind of narrative and maybe a little narrative against big multinationals exploiting people or depleting land or causing pollution. That kind of moral to it stringency I think yes, if you missed it as under the moral narrative.’

To conclude, the moral narrative is not easy to grasp but sometimes quite clearly formulated. When it comes to the questions I asked, there were a few times that I did not dive into the moral narrative. This highly depended on the respondent I was interviewing and how the flow of the interview was going. Nevertheless, the answers given by those who answered give a good view on the moral narrative as defined by the professors.

4.5 The formation of the habitus

We enter the staff meeting early. It takes place online and the teachers and professors of the study of anthropology come in one by one. ‘‘Today we have two students who want to do participant observation, I have sent you an email about this’’, says the chairman of the meeting. After introducing ourselves, we sit silently, listening to all the discussions and observing the professors and teachers we know so well. When looking around the virtual room, it becomes clear that the majority of the staff members are white. This feels a little strange, since the study itself finds diversity very important. ‘‘We are now going to look at how we are going to organize the hiring of new staff members’’, says the chairman. It seems like the thoughts present in my mind during the meeting have reached the chairman in some way, because the meeting goes on about having more diversity within the department. The chairman says: ‘‘We are looking into how we can make sure that more diversity is made possible within our department. We already started this process by hiring some new people who will contribute to this diversity.’’ The other staff members available nod their head in approval. After this agenda point, all of the points have been discussed and the meeting comes to an end. We thank everyone for the opportunity and leave the meeting.

What this vignette shows us is that the interaction between the staff members is on a more practical and businesslike level than it is between the students. The meeting itself was more about checking off a list of what had to be discussed than about having conversations with each other. Of course this was an online meeting, so we do not know how the situation would be at a physical meeting.

During the interviews, there was not a clear image of what the habitus of the professors was or how they created a certain habitus for the students. The only aspects that became clear, were the aspects discussed above, about how they construct the curriculum, how they teach and what the moral narrative is. So what does this tell us about the habitus of the professors and teachers? It tells us that, in their case, the habitus is not as holistic as it is in the case of the students. It is more the case that the professors are part of the habitus of the students. They are part of a habitus with the other professors as well, but this habitus is more about the work environment than it is a friend environment, as it mostly is for the students. Still, the habitus of the professors can also be seen as a left-wing environment, since most professors have similar opinions when it comes to politics. This is visible within the curriculum, because as we have discussed before, most literature and themes

within the study are seen as left, making it highly likely that the people creating it are left as well. With respect to the interviews with the professors, the term 'left bubble' was also mentioned, which was also the case with the students. When I asked how this could be described, one of the respondents stated that:

“Well, I think the study of anthropology is not very diverse in terms of students and in terms of teachers. It's, um, I think mostly people who look like each other. Perhaps that's the way it is with every study and maybe that's desirable. But at the same time, it's kind of easy to agree with each other most of the time, so you don't really get to have those discussions with people who really look at things in a different way.”

When it comes to the formation of the curriculum, there is one thing that has to be said. After each course, students get the chance to fill in a course evaluation, in which they can tell the course coordinator what is good and what can be improved in the course. This shows us that indirectly, the students have some influence on the curriculum as well, which connects the habitus of the students and the habitus of the professors all together.

Conclusion

The goal of our research has been to research if and how students of the study of anthropology in Utrecht are influenced by the political ideas and worldviews within the study. With this research, we hope to contribute to existing theories and concepts on identity, socialization and habitus, as well as creating our own theory about the influence within this specific study, with the hope that it inspires others to expand this research to other institutes. Politics within the educational system, and especially within universities, has long been a discussion within society. This makes it an important subject to research. To make sure we do not only explain one side of the story, we have included the perspectives of both the students and the professors. We will now recap our main findings in order to give an answer to our central research question, which entails: *How are the identities of students formed through moral narratives and political ideas within the study of anthropology in Utrecht?*

Summary of our findings

When it comes to the students, there are a lot of things we can conclude. First of all, when it comes to the primary socialization of the students, most of the students have been raised with a free and open upbringing, with a center to center left political environment. When it comes to the professors and instructors, most of them were raised in an open and tolerant, socially engaged family. Looking at the political spectrum in which they grew up one thing stands out, namely, that the ones over 40 grew up in a, nowadays, more right-wing/conservative environment. For those under 40, all grew up in a fairly progressive left-wing family.

Second of all, we can conclude that besides the 'normal' influence most adolescents get from high school, their secondary socialization, there is not much political influence from high school. Besides this, when it comes to their choice for the study of anthropology, there has been little to no influence from high school in the case of most students. This shows us that it is important to create more awareness around anthropology at high schools.

Furthermore, we can state that the study of anthropology in Utrecht is left oriented. However, this does not show through the opinions of the professors and teachers, but much more through the themes discussed within the study. It is by discussing and reading about these themes from a left point of view, that students feel themselves influenced towards a certain opinion. It is however the case that, as mentioned before, most students were raised in

a left-wing or center left environment as well, which caused them to already be on the more left side of the political spectrum before starting their study. Because of this, most students have not experienced a major shift in their political opinion or in which political party they vote for. In the case of the professors, from what we learned during the interviews, those who are over 40 years old did not become more left in their later career in anthropology, whereas for those under 40 years old with the exception of one, all became more left after becoming involved in anthropology over the years. Even though most students have not experienced a major shift in their political opinion, they do feel like they have become more aware of the fact that they are left-wing. This does show the influence of the study of anthropology in the political ideas and worldviews of its students.

When it comes to the moral narrative of the study, we can make a distinction between an academic moral narrative, which students associate with doing honest research, and the societal moral narrative. One aspect of the moral narrative that fits both of these categories is staying objective. For professors, the moral narrative means a collective and shared goal or a purpose of what to communicate to the outside world, what to give to the students. The moral narrative of the study of anthropology has almost something spiritual, something transcendent, something that is given along. It is like a shared narrative in which the purpose of the discipline is described that contributes to constructive actions and thought for a better and more honorable world. The moral narrative also entails the idea that within the study one also wants to give something to students, not merely dry knowledge, but even more an attitude, a mentality with regard to how to stand in life and how to look at people and the world. As for the students, respondents talked about having an open gaze, not judging people and looking from different perspectives. Regarding the professors, what also was described as part of the moral narrative were certain topics that are mostly covered in different courses within the discipline, such as equality, diversity, inclusiveness, empathy and sustainability, equity, livability, resilience and respect. When it comes to the students, the respondents also stated that they struggle with this, because in their eyes, it is impossible to remain fully objective.

This struggle also becomes visible when the respondents try to describe their habitus. The habitus within the study of anthropology in Utrecht is mostly described as left and activist habitus, in which students struggle between staying objective and being activist. All students do state that they feel safe and at home within the study, as well as feeling open to say what they want, most of the time. We say most of the time, because there are students that struggle with being 'not left enough'. They have these feelings when they are among

other students of anthropology, not when they are in work groups or in presence of professors or teachers. Some students also experience some pressure when it comes to speaking up about certain social issues, like racism and gender inequality. With regards to the professors, all professors who were interviewed on this topic indicated that there is always the possibility and the room for a different sound, but that this sound is not always heard or present in the lecture halls. Two professors did indicate as a semi-condition that substantiation is an important part of reasonableness within these frameworks.

When it comes to people with other views than the views within anthropology, the students also struggle with how to approach it. A lot of students pointed out that people with a more right-wing opinion could possibly have a harder time within the study than people with a more left-wing opinion. This idea is in line with how the interviewed professors think about this matter. Since we have not spoken to anyone with a right-wing opinion, which in itself might say enough, we cannot say for sure whether this is really the case.

The theoretical connection

In order to answer our central research question, we have to look at the theoretical concepts discussed before, to see how they connect to our findings. When it comes to identity, we can say that the participants of our research do place themselves within a category of society. They place themselves in a higher educated, center-left to left, activist category within the Netherlands. They also feel like the study of anthropology in Utrecht is a homogeneous group, where most people have the same views, norms and values. They see themselves as left-wing students who have the potential to change the world with their knowledge. They feel like they have an open gaze towards the world, are tolerant and try to not judge people. This is consistent with the social identity theory, formed by Erikson (1959), Taylor & Moghaddam (1987) and Ellemers & Haslam (2011). Besides this, it is also the case that students feel like they have multiple identities, used in different contexts. This is more consistent with the anthropological view on identity, which states exactly this.

When looking at political identity, we can say that most of the participants of our research identify as center-left, left or extreme-left. This goes for the students, but also for the professors. In their opinion, this matches with the ideas within anthropology. Some also say that it is caused by the knowledge they have gained during their study. They state that it is impossible to not have left-wing views with everything you learn within anthropology. This connects to how Van der Werfhorst (2019) looks at universities as left-wing bastions, especially at studies within humanities and social science.

So, the identities of the students within the study of anthropology in Utrecht are formed through an mainly implicit left-wing influence through the curriculum and themes of the study, present within the habitus. Through the moral narratives, political views, worldviews and activist character of the study, students are engaged with left-wing politics. Besides this, it is also the case that most students are already on the more left side of the political spectrum before starting their study. However, their identity is still formed through the study, since most students feel like they have become more left, or more aware that they are left. Although professors also state to be left oriented, they do not directly influence their students with this view. Rather, through the course content, course readings, addressing key themes mostly seen as left, they indirectly influence the students to become more left-wing.

The interaction between social learning, socialization and habitus

For our research, we have used the social learning theory, the socialization theory and the concept of habitus to explain how the students are influenced and how these influences are constructed. When looking at social learning theory (Grusec, 1994), we can state that social learning through family has indeed been a major influence in the lives of the students. This has been their primary socialization (Brenton, 2017), which has taught them how they should act in society and what is important. However, we do believe that the secondary socialization (Brenton, 2017) through university is as much of an influence, especially when it comes to the adult life of the students. We can say that the primary socialization lays the foundations, which are then completed by the secondary socialization in university.

While socialization can be seen as a more explicit way of influence through actors in a certain setting, habitus (Reay, 2004) can be seen as a more implicit way of influence, in which socialization is an advanced, unconscious process that happens in a more structural manner. When looking at our findings, we could say that within the study of anthropology in Utrecht, there is an implicit way of influence that causes the students to be more left-wing. It is through the curriculum rather than the professors that students feel like they are influenced towards the more left-wing side of the political spectrum. The influence lies within the themes discussed in the study of anthropology, and not in direct influence from professors, teachers or fellow students. It is the whole social field in which the habitus is constructed, that students feel a certain influence, which they cannot always pinpoint to a certain moment within work groups or lectures. This does not only apply to the influence of political views and worldviews, but also when it comes to engaging in activism. It is not through explicit influence through socialization that students feel like they have to engage in activism, but the

implicit feeling that everyone is engaging in activism, and the notion that not speaking up is as bad as speaking up against, for instance racism, makes people feel some pressure to be an activist.

Besides this, it is not the case that, as Van de Werfhorst (2019) states, universities are hostile towards more right opinions. However, because right-wing opinions are not common within the study of anthropology, the students do not engage with those views and are not socialized with them. They also do not appear within the habitus of the study of anthropology, so there is also no implicit influence. It is even the case that some students have difficulty engaging with people who do have right-wing opinions, which clashes with their values of staying objective and not judging people.

Further research

When it comes to the methods we have used, we can say that all methods were useful for our research, but unfortunately the life-history interviews did not give us the data we hoped for and were therefore not as useful as the other methods. It was interesting to hear a little bit of background information from some students. When it comes to ethics, we believe that we have managed to keep us to code of ethics. One ethical dilemma we foresaw before starting our research was remaining objective, because we knew a lot of people we researched. In the end, we feel like we have been objective during the research. At least enough for our research to remain ethical.

For further research, it is important to go even deeper into how the identity formation of students works and what role their study plays in this. It is important to not only do this within anthropology, but also within other studies. Research on a larger scale, involving multiple universities and studies, would be an interesting next step. The insights gained with researches like ours are important when it comes to identity formation, but also when it comes to political influences within society.

Furthermore, we would like to state that it is important that anthropology gets more attention within secondary education. As mentioned before, a lot of students had never heard of anthropology before doing their own research online. It would be a good idea to create more awareness around high school students that anthropology is an option as well, as well as it being a social science. When it comes to the study itself, we think it is important to give the students more grip on how to engage with people who have a different opinion. We learn that we should look at different perspectives with an open gaze, but when it comes to more right-wing opinions, this idea lacks a little. Within anthropology, we realize that we are taught a

very specific mindset, which we are rightly proud of. However, it is also very important to realize that a larger group within society does not engage with or understands this mindset. Therefore, it is important to pay more attention on how to engage with people who think in a different, non-anthropological way, because after all, it is important to accept everyone for who they are.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Summary in Research Language

Ons onderzoek gaat over hoe studenten door hun studie antropologie worden beïnvloed in hun politieke ideeën en wereldbeelden en hoe ze op basis daarvan hun identiteit vormen. We hebben dit onderzocht aan de hand van het perspectief van de studenten en het perspectief van de docenten. We hebben onderzocht of de studenten het gevoel hebben dat ze beïnvloed worden en of de docenten geloven dat er politieke invloed is en zo ja, of ze hun leerlingen opzettelijk beïnvloeden met politieke ideeën of dat dit onbewust gebeurt. Met dit onderzoek hopen we een bijdrage te leveren aan het onderstrepen van het belang van de inzet van de discipline van antropologie voor onderzoek binnen de discipline zelf en niet louter en alleen het onderzoeken van “de ander”. Ook hopen we dat ons onderzoek mensen bewust maakt van mogelijke invloeden die niet eenvoudig zichtbaar zijn. Onze onderzoeksvraag is: *Hoe wordt de identiteit van studenten gevormd door morele narratieven en politieke ideeën binnen de studie antropologie in Utrecht?*

De methoden die binnen ons onderzoek zijn gebruikt zijn semi-gestructureerde interviews, life-history interviews, focusgroep(en), (participerende) observatie en een enquête. We gebruikten semi-gestructureerde interviews en participerende observatie voor zowel de studenten als professoren en de rest van de methoden alleen voor de studenten. We zullen nu onze bevindingen presenteren.

Als het gaat om de primaire socialisatie van de studenten, zijn de meeste studenten opgevoed met een vrije en open opvoeding, in een centrum tot centrum-linkse politieke omgeving. Het tweede dat we kunnen concluderen is dat naast de ‘normale’ invloed die de meeste adolescenten krijgen van de middelbare school, hun secundaire socialisatie, er niet veel politieke invloed is van de middelbare school. Daarnaast is er, als het gaat om hun keuze voor de studie antropologie, voor de meeste studenten weinig tot geen invloed van de middelbare school. De meeste professoren en docenten zijn opgegroeid in een open en tolerant, sociaal betrokken gezin. Als we kijken naar het politieke spectrum waarin zij opgroeiden, valt een ding vooral op, namelijk dat degenen boven de 40, opgroeiden in een, tegenwoordig, meer rechts-conservatieve omgeving. Degenen onder de 40 zijn allemaal opgegroeid in een tamelijk progressief links gezin. Hier is het geval dat de meesten van mening zijn veranderd sinds ze betrokken zijn geraakt bij de studie van antropologie.

Verder kunnen we stellen dat de studie van de antropologie in Utrecht linksgeoriënteerd is. Dit komt echter niet door de mening of ideeën van de professoren en docenten, maar veel meer door de thema's die binnen de studie worden besproken en hoewel de meeste studenten geen grote verandering in hun politieke mening hebben ervaren, hebben ze het gevoel dat ze meer bewust zijn geworden van het feit dat ze links zijn.

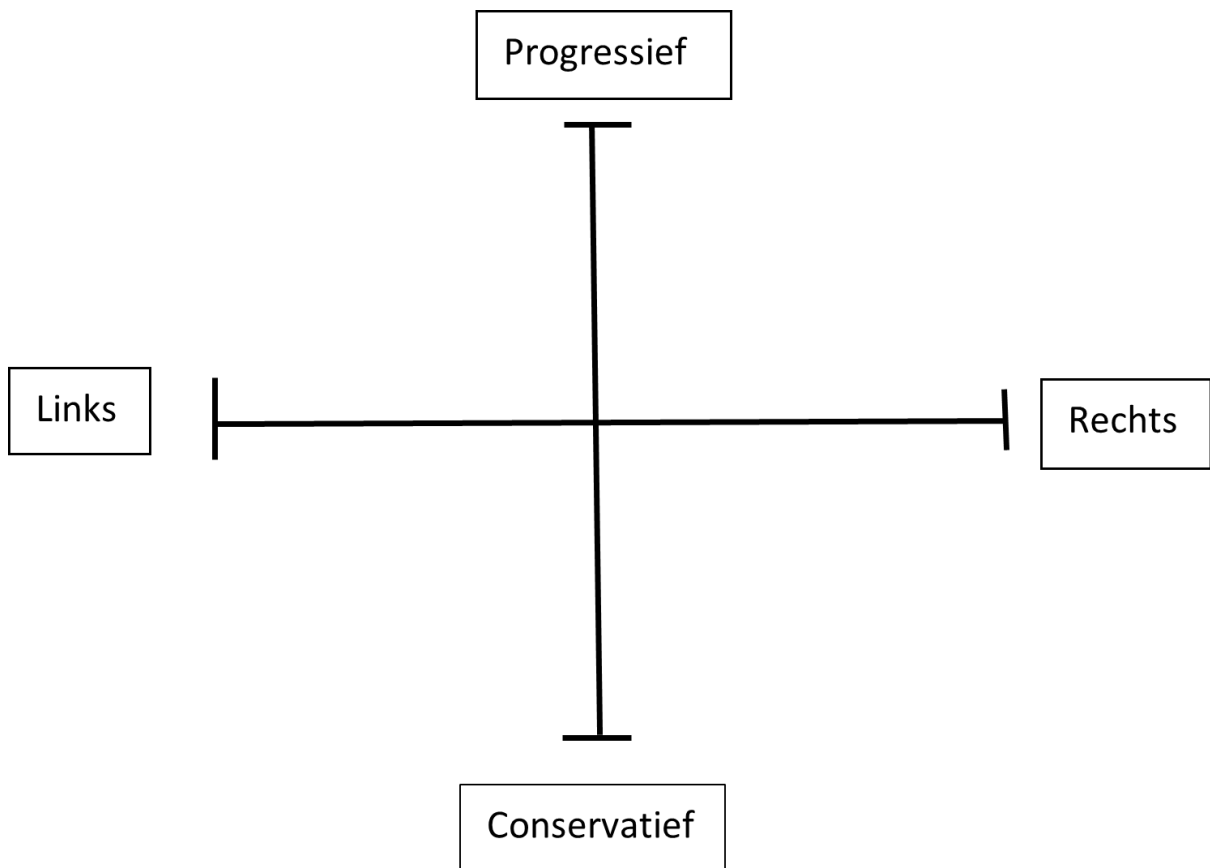
Als het gaat om het morele narratief van de studie, kunnen we een onderscheid maken tussen een academisch moreel narratief, dat studenten associëren met eerlijk onderzoek doen. Dit betekent dat het belangrijk is zowel de anonimiteit van de respondenten als de vertrouwelijkheid in acht te nemen. De andere vorm van het moreel narratief is meer een maatschappelijk moreel narratief. Respondenten spraken over het hebben van een open blik, niet oordelen over mensen en kijken vanuit verschillende perspectieven. Een aspect van het morele narratief dat bij beide categorieën past, is objectief blijven. De habitus binnen de studie antropologie in Utrecht wordt meestal omschreven als een linkse en activistische habitus, waarbij studenten worstelen tussen objectief blijven en activistisch zijn. Wel geven alle studenten aan zich veilig en thuis te voelen binnen de studie, en zich meestal ook vrij te voelen om te zeggen wat ze willen. Wel geven veel studenten aan dat mensen met een meer rechtse mening het binnen de studie mogelijk moeilijker kunnen hebben dan mensen met een meer linkse mening. Aangezien we met niemand met een rechtse mening hebben gesproken, wat op zich al genoeg zou kunnen zeggen, kunnen we niet met zekerheid zeggen of dit echt zo is.

Als we al deze resultaten samenvatten, is het antwoord op onze onderzoeksvraag dat de identiteit van de studenten binnen de studie antropologie in Utrecht wordt gevormd door een voornamelijk impliciete linkse invloed door het curriculum en de thema's binnen de studie, aanwezig binnen de habitus. Door de morele narratieven, politieke opvattingen, wereldbeelden en het activistische karakter van de studie worden studenten betrokken bij linkse politiek. Daarnaast is het ook zo dat de meeste studenten zich al aan de meer linkse kant van het politieke spectrum bevinden voordat ze aan hun studie beginnen. Hun identiteit wordt echter nog steeds gevormd door de studie, omdat de meeste studenten het gevoel hebben dat ze meer links zijn geworden, of zich meer bewust zijn dat ze links zijn.

Ons advies voor verder onderzoek is om dit onderwerp op grotere schaal te onderzoeken, ook met andere antropologische studies in Nederland. Daarnaast zou het ook een goed idee zijn om dit onderzoek te laten doen door iemand die onafhankelijk is van het onderzoek, zodat het gemakkelijker is om volledig objectief te blijven. Ons advies voor de studie zelf is dat het belangrijk is dat er meer bekendheid komt over de studie antropologie op

middelbare scholen, omdat veel studenten pas achter de studie kwamen door zelf online onderzoek te doen. Verder is het belangrijk om studenten meer handvatten te geven als het gaat om mensen met andere meningen. Binnen antropologie heerst een erg specifiek visie, maar een groot deel van de maatschappij heeft deze visie niet en sommige studenten hebben moeite om daar mee om te gaan. Het zou dus goed zijn om hier meer aandacht aan te besteden.

Appendix 2: Political spectrum used during interviews



Appendix 3: Forms with introduction, informed consent and question/topic lists used with the different methods during our fieldwork (students) (Danique)

Participant observation/Hanging out

Introduction

For our study of Anthropology in Utrecht, we are doing a bachelor project which entails a fieldwork period, followed by the writing of a thesis. This is our graduation project. The subject of our research is how identities of students are formed through moral narratives and political ideas within the study of anthropology in Utrecht. We think this is an interesting research topic, because we are anthropology students in Utrecht ourselves and we were curious about how this plays a role within our own group. We will look from the perspective of the students and the perspective of the professors of the study. We will use the results of participant observation during this class/activity to answer our central- and subquestion(s), which are mostly about the influence of the study, professors and fellow students on the political views and worldviews of students. All data gained from our research is confidential and will be handled that way and everyone participating in our research will remain anonymous. The data will only be used for our bachelor project and we will store our data in a safe place where nobody else has access to it.

Informed consent

Is the information that we have given clear? Does anyone have any questions? Is everyone okay with us being here and the subjects we are going to focus on? If everyone agrees with this, is everyone also okay with us recording this workgroup/activity? When everyone has given their consent, I will start the recording. Is it clear that anyone can tell us to stop this participant observation at any moment and that you can decide to not be a part of this research anymore at any moment as well? You can tell us this at any second during the workgroup/activity.

Topic list

- Political ideas
- Worldviews
- Influence professors
- Influence other students
- General notions anthropology

- Overall environmental influence
- Literature

Open and semi-structured interviews

Introduction

For our study of Anthropology in Utrecht, we are doing a bachelor project which entails a fieldwork period, followed by the writing of a thesis. This is our graduation project. The subject of our research is how identities of students are formed through moral narratives and political ideas within the study of anthropology in Utrecht. We will ask you about your own political ideas and worldviews and whether these are influenced by your study or not. We will also look at your upbringing and the political climate at the home you grew up in. Besides this we will also discuss the political climate and influence of your high school or other secondary schooling. We think this is an interesting research topic, because we are anthropology students in Utrecht ourselves and we were curious about how this plays a role within our own group. We will look from the perspective of the students and the perspective of the professors of the study. We will use the results of the interview to answer our central- and subquestion(s). All data gained from our research is confidential and will be handled that way and everyone participating in our research will remain anonymous. The data will only be used for our bachelor project and we will store our data in a safe place where nobody else has access to it.

Informed consent

Is the information that we have given clear? Do you have any questions? Do you agree with this interview and the subjects we are going to discuss? If you agree with this, Do you also agree with recording this interview? When you give your consent, I will start the recording and the interview. Is it clear to you that you can stop this interview at any moment and that you can decide to not be a part of this research anymore at any moment as well? You can tell us this at any second during the interview.

Topic list

- Upbringing
- Political climate at home
- Influence on choice for study
- Political climate secondary education

- Influence secondary education on choice for study
- Political views
- Worldviews
- Influence professors
- Influence other students
- General notions anthropology
- Overall environmental influence
- Changing identity since starting the study
- Moral narratives
- Habitus
- Literature

Question list

- How would you describe your upbringing?
- How would you describe the political climate within the home you grew up in?
- Did your family/caregivers have an influence on the choice to study anthropology?
- And did they have an influence on your choice to study it in Utrecht?
- If yes, how did they influence your choice to study anthropology in Utrecht?
- How was the political climate within your high school?
- Has this influenced you in the way you formed your identity? In what way?
- Has your high school influenced you in any way to choose the study of anthropology in Utrecht? How?
- Do you think there is political influence from professors and the curriculum within the study of anthropology in Utrecht? If yes, is this a lot of influence or not?
- How do you perceive this influence?
- What is your own perspective when it comes to the political ideas and worldviews within the study?
- What do you think are the general ideas within the whole study when it comes to politics and worldviews?
- Has your opinion changed when it comes to political ideas and worldviews when you compare yourself to before you started this study? If yes, in what way?
- **When second, third or four year student:** Do you believe that you have changed when it comes to politics and worldviews since starting this study? Why or why not?

- Have you experienced a shift taking place within yourself by studying anthropology? If yes, what kind of shift?
- How would you place yourself on the political spectrum within the Netherlands? Why? **Show figure with political spectrum.**
- **Explain moral narrative.** “we define a moral narrative as any news, story, life experience or heuristic that has the potential to alter an agent’s beliefs about the tradeoff between private benefits and social costs (or the reverse) faced by a decision-maker, who could be himself, someone he observes, or someone he seeks to influence. It may be received fortuitously, searched for and thought of by the individual himself, or strategically communicated by someone else.” (Tirole, Bénabou, and Falk, 2018, p. 2).
- What do you think are the moral narrative within this study? What is the study of anthropology communicating to you and the rest of the world?
- Do you think these moral narratives have affected you? Why or why not?
- **Explain habitus:** We see habitus as a form of advanced socialization, in which academia and student life can be seen as a social field. habitus is a socialised body, it is embodied. It allows people to have individual agency, but it also leads individuals towards a certain way of behaving. Habitus is a compilation of collective and individual trajectories. ‘habitus are permeable and responsive to what is going on around them’ (Reay, 2004, p. 434).
- How would you describe your own habitus?
- How does this habitus affect you in your daily life?

Life-history interviews

Introduction

For our study of Anthropology in Utrecht, we are doing a bachelor project which entails a fieldwork period, followed by the writing of a thesis. This is our graduation project. The subject of our research is how identities of students are formed through moral narratives and political ideas within the study of anthropology in Utrecht. Within this interview we will go in depth into your life. We will go through the way you were brought up, what the political climate was when you grew up and how this has influenced you. We will also look at other important aspects within your life, like schooling, the presence or absence of religion, health and friendships. We will also go into major events that happened in your life. We think this is an interesting research topic, because we are anthropology students in Utrecht ourselves and

we were curious about how this plays a role within our own group. We will look from the perspective of the students and the perspective of the professors of the study. We will use the results of the interview to answer our central- and subquestion(s). All data gained from our research is confidential and will be handled that way and everyone participating in our research will remain anonymous. The data will only be used for our bachelor project and we will store our data in a safe place where nobody else has access to it.

Informed consent

Is the information that we have given clear? Do you have any questions? Do you agree with this interview and the subjects we are going to discuss? If you agree with this, Do you also agree with recording this interview? When you give your consent, I will start the recording and the interview. Is it clear to you that you can stop this interview at any moment and that you can decide to not be a part of this research anymore at any moment as well? You can tell us this at any second during the interview.

Topic list

- Lifecycle
- Upbringing
- Family
- Friends
- Schooling
- Religion
- Hobby's
- Major events during the lifetime
- (Mental) Health
- Work
- Study
- Political climate at home
- Political climate at high school
- Literature

Question list

- How would you describe your upbringing?

- How would you describe the political climate within the home you grew up in?
- Did your family/caregivers have an influence on the choice to study anthropology?
- And did they have an influence on your choice to study it in Utrecht?
- If yes, how did they influence your choice to study anthropology in Utrecht?
- How was the political climate within your high school?
- Has this influenced you in the way you formed your identity? In what way?
- Has your high school influenced you in any way to choose the study of anthropology in Utrecht? How?

We will interfere as less as possible, this list is only to have guidance during the interview.

Focus group(s)

Introduction

For our study of Anthropology in Utrecht, we are doing a bachelor project which entails a fieldwork period, followed by the writing of a thesis. This is our graduation project. The subject of our research is how identities of students are formed through moral narratives and political ideas within the study of anthropology in Utrecht. We will ask you about your own political ideas, your worldviews and things that have influenced your political and world views. We will especially focus on the role of the study of anthropology in your lives. We think this is an interesting research topic, because we are anthropology students in Utrecht ourselves and we were curious about how this plays a role within our own group. We will look from the perspective of the students and the perspective of the professors of the study. We will use the results of the interview to answer our central- and subquestion(s). All data gained from our research is confidential and will be handled that way and everyone participating in our research will remain anonymous. The data will only be used for our bachelor project and we will store our data in a safe place where nobody else has access to it.

Informed consent

Is the information that we have given clear? Does anyone have any questions? Is everyone okay with the subjects we are going to focus on? If everyone agrees with this, is everyone also okay with us recording this workgroup/activity? When everyone has given their consent, I will start the recording. Is it clear that anyone can tell us to stop this focus group at any

moment and that you can decide to not be a part of this research anymore at any moment as well? You can tell us this at any second during the focus group.

Topic list

- Political ideas
- Worldviews
- Place on political spectrum
- Place of anthropology on political spectrum
- The choice for anthropology
- Learning environment
- Curriculum
- Influence professors
- Influence of other students
- General notions within study
- Personal development during study
- Change in political and world views?
- Moral narratives
- Habitus
- Literature

Questionnaire

Introduction

Hi! We are Danique and Max. For our study of Anthropology in Utrecht, we are doing a bachelor project which entails a fieldwork period, followed by the writing of a thesis. This is our graduation project. The subject of our research is how identities of students are formed through moral narratives and political ideas within the study of anthropology in Utrecht. We will ask you about your own political ideas and worldviews and how these are influenced by all aspects of the study of anthropology in Utrecht. We will give you different statements. You have to tell us whether you agree or disagree with them on the hand of a 5 point scale. You also have the option to not answer a question if you do not feel comfortable. The survey will only take 5 minutes.

We think this is an interesting research topic, because we are anthropology students in Utrecht ourselves and we were curious about how this plays a role within our own group. We will look from the perspective of the students and the perspective of the professors of the

study. We will use the results of the interview to answer our central- and subquestion(s). All data gained from our research is confidential and will be handled that way and everyone participating in our research will remain anonymous. The data will only be used for our bachelor project and we will store our data in a safe place where nobody else has access to it.

Informed consent

When all information we have given is clear and you agree with everything, you can start the survey. You can decide to stop the survey at any moment when you do not want to be part of the research anymore.

Question List

Agree disagree scale

Agree --- slightly agree --- neutral --- slightly disagree --- disagree

Also an option: I do not want to answer

The individual

I consider myself a left oriented person

I consider myself a right oriented person

I do not consider myself a left or right oriented person

I do not believe in politics

The study of anthropology in Utrecht

The study of anthropology in Utrecht does not communicate a certain political opinion

The study of anthropology in Utrecht communicates a certain political opinion

The study of anthropology in Utrecht is left oriented

The study of anthropology in Utrecht is right oriented

The professors

Professors of the study of anthropology in Utrecht have not influenced my political opinion and worldviews

Professors of the study of anthropology in Utrecht have influenced my political opinion and worldviews

Professors of the study of anthropology in Utrecht have influenced me towards a more left political opinion

Professors of the study of anthropology in Utrecht have influenced me towards a more right political opinion

Fellow students

My fellow students of the study of anthropology have not influenced my political opinion and worldviews

My fellow students of the study of anthropology have influenced my political opinion and worldviews

My fellow students of the study of anthropology have influenced me towards a more left political opinion

My fellow students of the study of anthropology have influenced me towards a more right political opinion

The curriculum

The curriculum of the study of anthropology has not influenced my political opinion and worldviews

The curriculum of the study of anthropology has influenced my political opinion worldviews

The curriculum of the study of anthropology has influenced me towards a more left political opinion

The curriculum of the study of anthropology has influenced me towards a more right political opinion

Anthropology as a social science

Anthropology as a social science in general does not communicate a certain political opinion

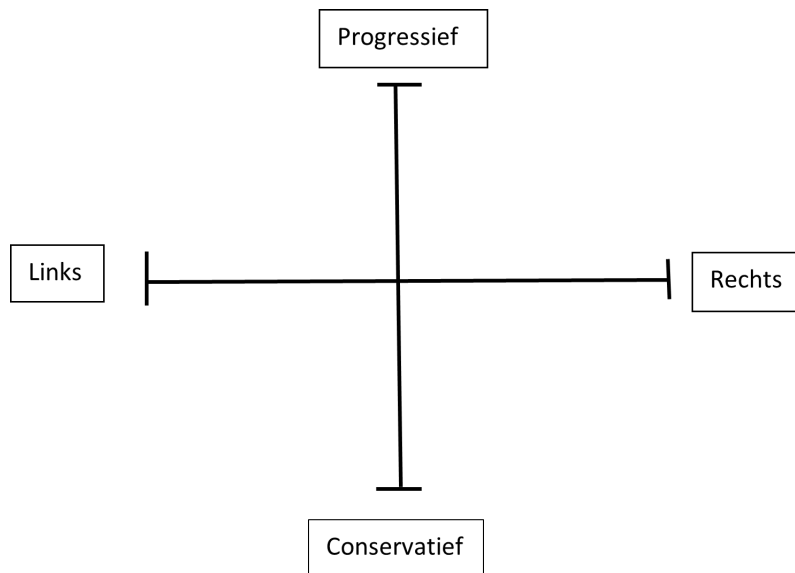
Anthropology as a social science in general communicates a certain political opinion

Anthropology as a social science in general communicates a more left-wing political opinion

Anthropology as a social science in general communicates a more right-wing political opinion

Picture of political spectrum

Where do you place yourself on this political spectrum?



Commentary

If you have any opinions/comments you would like to share, you can do that here.

Looking for respondents

We are looking for respondents to further conduct our research. We want to interview people to go deeper into this subject. If you are interested in our research and would like to be a part of it by getting interviewed, you can contact me through email: D.deborst@students.uu.nl or through Whatsapp/text/calling: 0629473838. Thank you very much for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire/survey!

Appendix 4: Forms with introduction, informed consent and question/topic lists used with the different methods during our fieldwork (professors) (Max)

Participant observation/Hanging out

Introduction

For our study of Anthropology in Utrecht, we are doing a bachelor project which entails a fieldwork period, followed by the writing of a thesis. This is our graduation project. The subject of our research is how identities of students are formed through moral narratives and political ideas within the study of anthropology in Utrecht. We think this is an interesting research topic, because we are anthropology students in Utrecht ourselves and we were curious about how this plays a role within our own group. We will look from the perspective of the students and the perspective of the professors of the study. We will use the results of participant observation during this class/activity to answer our central- and subquestion(s), which are mostly about the influence of the study, professors and fellow students on the political views and worldviews of students. All data gained from our research is confidential and will be handled that way and everyone participating in our research will remain anonymous. The data will only be used for our bachelor project and we will store our data in a safe place where nobody else has access to it.

Informed consent

Is the information that we have given clear? Does anyone have any questions? Is everyone okay with us being here and the subjects we are going to focus on? If everyone agrees with this, is everyone also okay with us recording this workgroup/activity? When everyone has given their consent, I will start the recording. Is it clear that anyone can tell us to stop this participant observation at any moment and that you can decide to not be a part of this research anymore at any moment as well? You can tell us this at any second during the workgroup/activity.

Topic list

- Political ideas
- Worldviews
- General notions anthropology
- Overall environmental influence
- Their possible influence?

Interviews

Introduction

For our study of Anthropology in Utrecht, we are doing a bachelor project which entails a fieldwork period, followed by the writing of a thesis. This is our graduation project. The subject of our research is how identities of students are formed through moral narratives and political ideas within the study of anthropology in Utrecht. We think this is an interesting research topic, because we are anthropology students in Utrecht ourselves and we were curious about how this plays a role within our own group. We will look from the perspective of the students and the perspective of the professors of the study. We will use the results of participant observation during this class/activity to answer our central- and subquestion(s), which are mostly about the influence of the study, professors and fellow students on the political views and worldviews of students. All data gained from our research is confidential and will be handled that way and everyone participating in our research will remain anonymous. The data will only be used for our bachelor project and we will store our data in a safe place where nobody else has access to it.

Informed consent

Is the information that we have given clear? Does anyone have any questions? Is everyone okay with us being here and the subjects we are going to focus on? If everyone agrees with this, is everyone also okay with us recording this workgroup/activity? When everyone has given their consent, I will start the recording. Is it clear that anyone can tell us to stop this participant observation at any moment and that you can decide to not be a part of this research anymore at any moment as well? You can tell us this at any second during the workgroup/activity.

Topic list

- Discussing the questionnaire results
- Reasons for choice for job as a professor
- Political views
- Worldviews
- General notions anthropology
- Their own perception on the matter changing worldviews since being a professor
- Vision on the climate/culture in the study/social field

- Moral narratives
- Habitus

Questions list

- How was the political climate within the family you grew up in?
- How did the political climate within your home influenced the choice to become a professor in the study of anthropology?
- Has it influenced you in the way it formed your identity?
- Do you think there is a normative political worldview that is shared and common between the professors? If so, what does it look like?
- What is your own perspective when it comes to the political ideas and worldviews within the study?
- What do you think are the general ideas within the whole study when it comes to politics and worldviews?
- Has your opinion changed when it comes to political ideas and worldviews when you compare yourself to before you started working here? If yes, in what way?
- How would you place yourself on the political spectrum within the Netherlands? Why? **Show figure with political spectrum.**
- **Explain moral narrative.** “we define a moral narrative as any news, story, life experience or heuristic that has the potential to alter an agent’s beliefs about the tradeoff between private benefits and social costs (or the reverse) faced by a decision-maker, who could be himself, someone he observes, or someone he seeks to influence. It may be received fortuitously, searched for and thought of by the individual himself, or strategically communicated by someone else.” (Tirole, Bénabou, and Falk, 2018, p. 2). •
- What do you think are the moral narrative within this study? What is the study of anthropology communicating
- What kind of narrative is communicated with each other and within the study?
- **Explain habitus:** We see habitus as a form of advanced socialization, in which academia and student life can be seen as a social field. habitus is a socialised body, it is embodied. It allows people to have individual agency, but it also leads individuals towards a certain way of behaving. Habitus is a compilation of collective and

individual trajectories. 'habitus are permeable and responsive to what is going on around them' (Reay, 2004, p. 434).

- How would you describe your own habitus?
- How does this habitus affect you in your daily life?
- How do you think that the literature influences students?

Life-history interviews

Introduction

For our study of Anthropology in Utrecht, we are doing a bachelor project which entails a fieldwork period, followed by the writing of a thesis. This is our graduation project. The subject of our research is how identities of students are formed through moral narratives and political ideas within the study of anthropology in Utrecht. We think this is an interesting research topic, because we are anthropology students in Utrecht ourselves and we were curious about how this plays a role within our own group. We will look from the perspective of the students and the perspective of the professors of the study. We will use the results of participant observation during this class/activity to answer our central- and subquestion(s), which are mostly about the influence of the study, professors and fellow students on the political views and worldviews of students. All data gained from our research is confidential and will be handled that way and everyone participating in our research will remain anonymous. The data will only be used for our bachelor project and we will store our data in a safe place where nobody else has access to it.

Informed consent

Is the information that we have given clear? Does anyone have any questions? Is everyone okay with us being here and the subjects we are going to focus on? If everyone agrees with this, is everyone also okay with us recording this workgroup/activity? When everyone has given their consent, I will start the recording. Is it clear that anyone can tell us to stop this participant observation at any moment and that you can decide to not be a part of this research anymore at any moment as well? You can tell us this at any second during the workgroup/activity.

Topic list

- Lifecycle
- Upbringing

- Family
- Friends
- Schooling
- Religion
- Hobby's
- Major events during the lifetime
- Study
- Work
- Political climate at home
- Political climate during their bachelor study
- Political climate at work (and the change of the political climate over the years)

Focus group(s)

Introduction

For our study of Anthropology in Utrecht, we are doing a bachelor project which entails a fieldwork period, followed by the writing of a thesis. This is our graduation project. The subject of our research is how identities of students are formed through moral narratives and political ideas within the study of anthropology in Utrecht. We think this is an interesting research topic, because we are anthropology students in Utrecht ourselves and we were curious about how this plays a role within our own group. We will look from the perspective of the students and the perspective of the professors of the study. We will use the results of participant observation during this class/activity to answer our central- and subquestion(s), which are mostly about the influence of the study, professors and fellow students on the political views and worldviews of students. All data gained from our research is confidential and will be handled that way and everyone participating in our research will remain anonymous. The data will only be used for our bachelor project and we will store our data in a safe place where nobody else has access to it.

Informed consent

Is the information that we have given clear? Does anyone have any questions? Is everyone okay with us being here and the subjects we are going to focus on? If everyone agrees with this, is everyone also okay with us recording this workgroup/activity? When everyone has given their consent, I will start the recording. Is it clear that anyone can tell us to stop this participant observation at any moment and that you can decide to not be a part of this

research anymore at any moment as well? You can tell us this at any second during the workgroup/activity.

Topic list

- Worldviews
- Political ideas
- Place in political spectrum
- Place of anthropology in political spectrum
- The choice for a career as a professor in anthropology
- Curriculum
- Relations with each other (the professors)
- General notions within study (what is the general tendency)
- Change in political and world views in the group of professors and the curriculum
- Moral narratives
- Habitus