

They ought to be (t)here! but ... : an intersectional study of racialised academic women's marginalisation in Australia, South Africa, and Sweden

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THEY OUGHT TO BE (T)HERE! BUT...:
AN INTERSECTIONAL STUDY OF RACIALISED ACADEMIC WOMEN'S
MARGINALISATION IN
AUSTRALIA, SOUTH AFRICA, AND SWEDEN

By
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Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the School of Social Science and Policy
And the Women and Gender Studies Program, University of New South Wales

August 2005

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and to the best of my knowledge it contains no materials previously published or written by another person, nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any degree or diploma at UNSW or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgement is made in the thesis. Any contribution made to the research by others, with whom I have worked at UNSW or elsewhere, is explicitly acknowledged in the thesis.

I also declare that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work, except to the extent that assistance from others in the project's design and conception or in style, presentation and linguistic expression is acknowledged.

ABSTRACT

The main aim of this study is to understand why racialised women academics remain marginalised in the Australian, Swedish and South African academies despite the existence of progressive anti-discrimination legislation and social policies, and what role professional academics in the field of women and/or gender studies (WGS) play in that marginalisation.

The 'levelling of the playing fields' aimed to counter historical and traditional gender imbalances has not benefited all women equally. Gendered-racialised stratifications evident in the broader labour market is also evident in the academies of the three countries in this study and 'ethnic minority'/(im)migrant/Indigenous/Black women can be found ghettoised at the lower levels of academic employment despite reparative legislation even in spaces where it could be expected that a greater awareness of the disparity exists.

The multiple case study design of the thesis utilises multiple data gathering methods and utilises an intersectional analytical framework that is informed by Black feminist, African feminist, womanist, and postcolonial feminist perspectives, as well as whiteness, cultural and critical 'race' studies. The cartographic tool, intersectionality, produced by Kimberlé Crenshaw is experimentally used and expanded in this study as it addresses the focal areas of the study which are the geopolitical compositions of these three countries incorporating the structural and contextual in relation to affirmative action and equal opportunity (corrective) legislation and racialised women; the experience and perception of marginalisation; the factors proposed as instrumental in shaping the marginalisation of racialised academic women; how effective corrective legislation is perceived to be in relation to addressing racialised academic women's marginalisation; how institutionalised feminism in the form of women and/or gender studies has or does address this disparity; and, the transformative strategies proposed by professional academics in or associated with women and/or gender studies.

The Swedish and Australian contexts have no specifically directed interventional programs in place with which to counter racialised academic women's marginalisation unlike South Africa, where this inconsistency is addressed in a multi-levelled way from government to university to university unit and where the situation is also closely monitored. Each context does however have its own specific polemics and these are presented and discussed in the thesis. The study proposes a theory of perpetuation, which holds that over and above those factors stipulated as necessary for an intersectional understanding of multiple discrimination there is a need to understand intersectionality by way of identifying the pervasiveness and resistance of whiteness, which has to be dealt with collaboratively for noteworthy transformation to be achieved.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADB	Anti-discrimination Board
DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
EMU	European Monetary Union
EOO	Equal Opportunity Officers
EU	European Union
FECCA	Federation of Ethnic Communities' Council of Australia
HREOC	The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission
NESB	Non-English Speaking Background
NZ	New Zealand
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
UK	United Kingdom
UNSW	University of New South Wales
USA	United States of America
WGS	Women and/Or Gender Studies

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION AND THESIS OVERVIEW

Look up wrong-raced woman,
the left is not your refuge,
and the right has never been.

Look back much-raced woman,
beyond where they say you've come from
to a place you know is home.

Look ahead pain-raced woman, to where your
intentions soar and
Go nonjongo go!
for you've won the race against much wrong pain.

Nonjongo (aka Ingrid)

In a previous work on discrimination in the Swedish academia, I opened the discussion with the questions

Do you know what it is like to be discriminated against? Have you ever been discriminated against because of your ethnicity/"race"? How did you know that it was ethnic/racial discrimination? What could you do about it? (Tufvesson, 2001:15)

It was my own personal answers to these questions in the South African, Australian and Swedish contexts, together with the marked nominal presence of racialised women academics as mentors, tutors, lecturers and professors that eventually formulated the main question dealt with in this thesis.

This thesis is an investigation of racialised women¹ academics' marginalisation in professional academia within a multiple case study design.

The collation of empirical components for this study was informed by theoretical contentions discernible in the broad body of literature I have read; but particularly those brought to the fore by counter mainstream (or '*difference*') feminist theorists with

¹ The definitions and use of the term 'racialised woma/en' is presented later in the discussion but at the outset it needs to be clarified that it does *not* imply that 'race' is not a 'white' issue or that it is an embodied signifier solely owned by 'non-whites'.

intersectionality perspectives aimed at collaborative yet candidly reflective feminist epistemology for more meaningful inclusive transformation.

Many theoretical studies have explicated the shortcomings of mainstream, also known as 'malestream'², feminism's inability to address adequately racialised women's oppressions specifically those positioned in academe.

This particular study has taken up the gauntlet about racialised women academics' marginalisation, because it is often alluded to, but not often researched for a complex number of reasons (Potgieter, 2003; Maboekela, 2003; Essed, 1991), in an attempt to explicate answer/s to the questions why, and how.

Theoretical knowledge was obtained from a broad variety of documentary sources and feminist literature, specifically those in postcolonial, critical 'race' and whiteness, and intersectional paradigms.

The study is positioned in and underpinned by Black feminist, critical 'race' feminist, postcolonial feminist, womanist, and African feminist perspectives intimately related to these mentioned paradigms, like cultural studies. At times even the works of male critical 'race' and postcolonial theorists are used.

In this work theory building and theory testing are combined to explicate central contentions presumed to be appropriate for this study. After presenting the aim and research questions, the ensuing discussion broadens to provide a background discussion in relation to the polemic. Thereafter, the significance, concepts and terminologies, demarcations and structure of the thesis is presented.

1.1 Aims and Research Questions

The principal aim of this study was to understand why racialised women academics remain marginalised in the Australian, Swedish and South African academies despite the existence of progressive anti-discrimination legislation and social policies, and what role professional academics in the field of women and/or gender studies (WGS)³.

² A nomenclature used as a result of exclusively selective feminist epistemological praxes and perspectives that affirm the parameters of white/non-racialised women's experiences as the norm against which all other experiences by 'Othered' women are affirmed or dismissed.

³ Throughout the thesis, Women and/or Gender Studies will be abbreviated to WGS except in direct citations.

The aim of the research was articulated in the following key research questions:

- How do the geopolitical, socio-political, and legislative developments and contexts of South Africa, Sweden and Australia, relate to racialised women academics' marginalisation?
- How do professional academics perceive racialised academic women's experiences of marginalisation?
- Why, according to professional academics, are racialised academic women subject to marginalisation in professional academia?
- How is the effectiveness of affirmative action and anti-discrimination legislations perceived by professional academics in relation to addressing the marginalisation of racialised academic women?
- How does institutionalised feminism in the space of WGS address academic racialised women's marginalisation in curricula and employment within this field?
- How do professional academics propose to counter the marginalisation of racialised women academics?

The articulation of the central research questions was informed by specifically identifiable occurrences in 'society', using the term in its broadest sense. These identifiable occurrences have been addressed in theoretical ruminations as individual or collective phenomena in relation to racialised women's situations, namely, racism, sexism and classism (mainly though not exclusively).

Historical, traditional and everyday events not only identify the racialised marginalisation of certain academic women as a problematic area but also draw attention to the interconnectedness of these events with structural, systemic, institutional and ideological aspects. The rationale for this statement is later explicated.

Elements that extend beyond gender-only related aspects that influence racialised gender marginalisation are pivotal in this study. Therefore, it heeds the importance of analytically including traditional and historical oppressions like racism, sexism and classism.

1.2 Background

The dilemmas of women within and aspiring to academia have occupied feminist theorists long before the terms feminist and feminism were coined. Support for this statement can be found in most WGS programs, where westernised historical perspectives dominate, or where the foundations of 'feminism' are defined as western euro-american.

Mary Astell (1696, reprinted in 2000), Mary Wollstonecraft (1792, reprinted in 2000) and Francis Power Cobbe (1894) were among the first prominently documented women advocating for the education and academic participation of white western women.

Wollstonecraft (1792, reprinted in 2000) and Power Cobbe (1894) used the Judeo-Christian notion of 'virtue' to illustrate, in terminologies appropriate with the time, how the interplay of stereotypic gender norms, patriarchy, and power excluded white/non-racialised girls and women in the continental western world, and in western colonised spaces, from the fundamental right to education.

Power Cobbe (1894), however, did not see education as a fundamental right for women of all classes, and advocated strongly against education for 'workhouse' or socio-economically deprived girls, whom she saw and spoke of as property to be owned.

In 1851, Sojourner Truth contended (albeit not in these exact words) that whiteness, maleness and hegemonic normative 'woman' are subjugating and marginalising tools, which therefore have to be challenged at all costs. Although Truth challenged patriarchy, her contentions nonetheless reverberated a broader logic that upon interpretation is seen to hold the adage that 'if you profess to have a social conscience you have to admit that they ought to be (t)here and if you then deny them their share then your social conscience is questionable'.

Connecting with Truth, it is apparent that oppression and marginalisation can be racialised and, as Freeman (1995) adds, is often legitimated through anti-discrimination law. Despite concerted efforts to deny or devalue it, the nexus of 'race', sex, class and policy has always been problematic (Crenshaw, 1995; Palley and Preston, 1979).

Some would have it that the findings of studies that 'rationally' provide statistics on supply and demand in conjunction with racialised women academics ought to be sufficient to account for their marginal inclusion in professional academe. Often this is accompanied by the claim that the supply of racialised women academics is low but the demand is high, or that demand is low because supply is low. But is it that simple?

Zuberi (2001), Akeroyd (1995), and Jacobsen (1994) warn against unquestioningly accepting economic rationalisations and statistical 'facts' that explicate why discrepancies exist in the workplace, or in relation to marginalised group participation. Rather, we need to be wary of "the elusive and treacherous nature of statistics in general, when used

uncritically" (Sowell, 1994:181) because it is not uncommon that often "only 'safe' or ideologically congruent researchers are funded" (Pettman, 1992:129) and higher education institutions are not only sites for sometimes producing "revisionist or oppositional knowledge" (Pettman, 1992:129), because they

...are also an employer of people, and a deliverer of (education) services. They are a key site in the reproduction of racism and sexism/....connections between academics and policy makers are many, various and uneven (Pettman, 1992:129-130)

Quantifications of racialised women academics' participation in the academic labour market are difficult at best. This seems largely related to quantifying praxes in macro and mezzo level explications on academic women, which subsume numerical attestation regarding racialised women's participation in professional academia.

Academia has a responsibility, is accountable, and ought to be held accountable because it produces knowledge that includes the reproduction of the ideological make-ups of societies through the education and training of the future elite. Therefore, the intellectual productions of academic institutions and their chosen representatives have far-reaching effects on the entire society (Moghissi, 1995).

The possibility that racialised marginalisation, as an example of social exclusion, might exist within academia as a reflection of contexts in society in general, is not easily exposed, or acknowledged (Pettman, 1992). To the contrary, it is more likely that such conjectures are ridiculed because of the existence of legislation that outlaws sexism and racism (Rothenberg, 1988; Young, 1990).

Academia is charged with a responsibility that includes a professed resistance to racism and sexism, the exposure of marginalisation, and social, political and economic deprivation in society, whether these exist in micro, mezzo and/or macro forms (van Dijk, 2002). Particular accountability and responsibility ought to be held by WGS because it professes, more than any other institutionalised discipline, to advocate for knowledge about and the pursuit of justice in relation to all women.

It is therefore a gross oversight, for example, when investigations on why there are so few women academics in the professional academia are devoid of the noteworthy inclusion and/or reflexion on racialised women academics in the discussion.

Given the negligible number of racialised women academics in academia, this research draws on theoretical, primary and secondary empirical data to address this oversight.

Both Sweden and Australia, long lauded for their egalitarian politics and progress in relation to the improvement of 'women's statuses', still fall short when it comes to addressing the issue of women and 'race', including in academic settings (de Los Reyes, Molina and Mulinari, 2003; Ang, 2003; Haggis, 2003; Moreton-Robinson, 2000; Pettman, 1992). This omission is commonly evident in relation to validated discussions that presuppose the inclusion of racialised/Black academic women (Essed, 1991).

In South Africa, a country in transition, similar tensions exist but engagement with racialised academic women's issues appears to be more frequent. Examples of such studies include those by Potgieter (2003); de la Rey and Quinlan (1997); Hassim and Walker (1993); and Bentley and Brookes (2005).

The institution of 'equalising' legislation and policy has however not resulted in a significant increase of racialised women academics in South Africa either and this is still a matter that requires in-depth study and monitoring (Potgieter, 2003; de la Rey, 1999).

Social exclusion varies from context to context and academia has been variably occupied with this eventuality from space to space and time to time. For racialised women academics engaged in such research it is not uncommon to nevertheless still experience the exclusion that accompanies the 'inside-outsider' or 'outsider within' subject position (Spivak, 1993; Hill Collins, 1990).

This research does not aim to gather statistics. What this study is concerned about is the unreasonably limited insight into racialised academic women's marginalisation in the Swedish, South African and Australian academies; and an apparent validation of the continued lack of active awareness of academic racialised women's marginalisation, which appears to subsist 'top-down', that is, from government to university to institutional to individual level.

This study is limited to the marginalisation of racialised women academics because so much more is already known and accounted for in relation to non-racialised/white women academics' experiences in professional academe.

Despite being limited to the polemics of racialised women academics' marginalisation, the actual diversity of participants of this study is unavoidably unbalanced, since predominantly non-racialised women are employed in the WGS programs and units at which the fieldwork for this study was conducted.

While this imbalance in the employment of racialised and non-racialised women is possibly not an indication of all universities in each of the three countries, it is an identifying characteristic at those universities most prominent in Sweden, South Africa and Australia. Simultaneously, this imbalance presents the opportunity for further studies to ascertain whether the discrepancy is or is not a country-wide state of affairs in each country.

This discussion limits itself to 'race'/ethnicity, gender and class but does not propose that other factors of oppression be ruled out or ignored. Rather, it will, where pertinent, address aspects like religion, physical and cognitive impediments, age, sexuality, as and when it arises.

Academic disciplinary spaces other than WGS are not included in this study because they are not or do not particularly confine their academic focus to addressing 'women's issues'. 'Women's issues' is the specifically professed focus of WGS, and I believed that this space would be where gendered-racism would be least likely to exist, and where it would most likely be addressed. I also presumed that WGS is an academic area where knowledge regarding racialised women academics would be the broadest and also the most considered amongst academics employed in this field.

Why this study? The issue of racialised academic women's marginalisation as a multi-locatable problematic influenced by intersectional factors is presupposed in this study. While substantiating quantifications are not readily available, indications of racialised marginalisation can be found in macro level statistics and studies. For example, subsequent to the 'levelling of the playing fields', in favour of women, academia has shown a noteworthy, albeit possibly not an overwhelming, increase in the number of white/non-racialised women academics (Wienecke, 1989; Wilson, 1997) but where are the racialised academic women?

There are many other reasons for this study beyond the fact that I perceive it to be of major import due to personal experience or political interests. Possibly the foremost reason is that despite dominant egalitarian contentions and faith in legislation, as well as postmodernist and poststructuralist contentions about identity, differences do matter (Ahmed, 1998).

The inclusion of racialised women has however always been problematic and feminist studies of racialised women academics' experiences of oppression within academia are still deficient (Moghissi, 1995; Essed, 1991). Particularly overlooked are the perceptions of non-

racialised/white academics in relation to racialised women academics' marginalisation. This study aims to disclose some of the perceptions and contentions of non-racialised/white academics with regards to the marginalisation of racialised academic women and to challenge what Stoltz (2000) has called the paradox of (in)visibility to which racialised women are subjected in white dominated spaces.

Also often disregarded are the factors, beyond gender-only related aspects, that influence racialised gendered marginalisation. Among these is the often overlooked significance of contemporary echoes of historical developments and events in Australia, South Africa and Sweden, which persist despite contemporary countermeasures like affirmative action and equal employment opportunity legislations.

In feminist research, the personal is political, and for research to be feminist, it has to address the disparities of women for the transformation of 'women's' experiences of injustice (Du Bois et al, 1985; Harding, 1987). In this way, albeit cautiously, this work is a study in the feminist tradition on racialised women academics', who are often overlooked by validated feminist and politically motivated accounts on women.

Mainstream feminist theorists who dominate feminist publications in most countries would have it that the absence of racialised women academics is a function of the general oppression of women by men. Most often, however, the matter is just completely overlooked or subsumed under the normative monolithic notion of w/Woman/en (Moghissi, 1995; Ang, 2003).

The absence of examinations on the noteworthy participation of racialised women academics has to be corrected in order to, amongst others, show that statistics can perjure for the benefit of hegemonic 'truth'. Statistics have traditionally and historically also been used in this way to stigmatise racialised/Black people's intellectual capacities (Zuberi, 2001).

The university and academia is a space of and for intellectual struggle, where political battles on inclusion and women have often been fought (Hassim and Walker, 1993). WGS, as a specifically relevant academic space, is therefore a crucial academic area of investigation in this study.

Knowledge is a significant element of power and there are different ways of knowing and understanding women's oppression (Duran, 2001), and racialised women's 'knowing'

perspectives are still only nominally included (Maboekela, 2003). Feminism and the agendas it chooses to give prominence have to be examined and restructured if the institutionalisation of feminism, irrespective of institutional nomenclature, is to be valued as a positive development for all women (Steyn, 1998). Unfortunately, however, the male/female binary has traditionally dominated all understandings of academic women's experiences of disadvantage in the academic labour market. This study breaks with tradition in that it 'speaks with' academics across identity boundaries.

Racialised women academics, their ways of knowing, and their situations in academia are, like that of non-racialised women, a global issue of concern (Wichterich, 2000) and therefore warrants examination.

The localised manifestations of global disparities and parities are a matter of keen concern in this study because despite common presumptions about the egalitarian and enlightened nature of academe, it is not uncommon for academia to host many discriminatory dimensions (Westin, 2001; Tufvesson, 2001). Often these collude with broader agendas that underscore global injustices.

It is also argued by Duran (2001) that women are globally oppressed and marginalised. This said, however, the most oppressed and marginalised are racialised peoples; as Indigenous peoples, 'mixed race' peoples, (im)migrants, asylum seekers, etc but more so women than men (Duran, 2001).

Disparities in global education markets, including the academic labour market, are entrenched by the global ownership of political, economic and educational power by white-western nations within which racialised disadvantage is common (de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2005). As a result of economic rationalisation and unbalanced trade possibilities in the process of globalisation and the internationalisation of education, increased local awareness would help to ensure that those who are already most marginalised in the academic setting do not have their situations exacerbated by internally unreflexive economic zeal.

Concurrent to increasingly diversified societies, education has also progressively entered the economic arena as a national export and import commodity. Academia has increasingly become a market driven space of economic and global political interest (Smyth, 1995); often without any apparent concern for how this affects already marginalised local groups.

Does the globalisation and internationalisation of education for economic reasons not also hold the possibility for local racialised academic staff to be even less frequently employed than both local white/non-racialised staff and internationally recruited white/non-racialised academic staff under the guise of 'international competitiveness'?

Furthermore, traditional and historical oppressions, like racism, sexism and classism have not been obliterated. To presume the opposite would be foolhardy, counterproductive and possibly dangerous given historical evidence.

The continuing 'reality' of racism-sexism-classism means that women, racialised women in particular, and the socio-economically challenged, still have to live and attempt to progress amongst, alongside, and, in the midst of those by whom they have historically and traditionally been oppressed.

Racialised/Black⁴ academic women remain marginally present as professional academics, often despite their overwhelming participation as undergraduate and postgraduate students (Carter, Modood and Fenton, 1999). Racialised women ought, given student numbers, to be more notably (t)here as professional academics, but they are not – why? This study engages with this dilemma.

The inclusion of understandings about why racialised academic women are marginalised is also necessary as part of the establishment of trust and the empowering of voices (Williams, 1998). To expose the factors that play a role in the marginalisation of racialised women academics also underscores the importance of the nexus of justice and politics in defining the opportunities available to racialised women (Young, 1997, 1990) and the part that WGS, as a space for change, plays in subsuming or excluding what ought to be is a significant question (t)here too.

Furthermore, as Frankenberg and Mani (2000), Ware (1996) and Pettman (1992) have illustrated, whiteness can be found in the perceptions held by white/non-racialised women and men in relation to the marginalisation of racialised peoples.

Because interrogations of whiteness and European colonialisms are still minimal, they entrench and normalise white privilege (Cooper, 1892, reprinted 2000; Mudrooroo, 1995;

⁴ The term 'Black' is used in the South African context to identify all within the populace that were traditionally disenfranchised and disadvantaged under the apartheid regime due to their racial subordination, and who as a result still remain locatable in underprivileged positions.

Goldie, 1995; de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2005). Racism, which is embedded in colonialist thinking and its surviving ideologies and structures, exists alongside of sexism in the academe and its practices, and therefore necessitates explication (Moghissi, 1995).

The belief that what happens outside of any specific country does not affect what is happening within it is fallacious. The imbalances between so-called 'developed' and 'developing' nations are intimately linked to global power, economic, political and social imbalances (de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2005). These imbalances impact on the lives of people and define the opportunities and possibilities available to them in relation to education in general and academia in particular (Woodward and Ross, 2000).

There are strategic possibilities that WGS professional academics in these three countries can share with each other in order to reach a better understanding of the marginal participation of racialised women academics and methods by which to bring about transformation of the status quo. Therefore, the 'managing' of equal opportunities in higher education demands that attention be paid to the ways in which academic institutions advance global inequalities through localised inequalities (Woodward and Ross, 2000).

Paradoxically, the racialised imbalances in global political and economic power are accompanied by international and national political, social and legislative discourses that proclaim beliefs in non-racism, egalitarianism and anti-discrimination. These discourses, often presumed to be reliable because of the level from which they are propelled, are expressed, assumed and presumed to also guard against ethno-racial social stratification (Young, 1990; Afshar and Maynard, 1994).

Too frequently, the role played by corrective legislation and policy in the lives of racialised women is overlooked, as are the intersectional realities of women's positions of oppression and marginalisation (Crenshaw, 2003) even in academia. There is also a resistance to engaging with non-racialised or white feminism's own implication in the marginalisation of the racialised populations of the countries, as is evidenced in Molina (1997), and in the marginalisation of racialised women in particular (de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2005).

While studies on academic women in the academe in South Africa can be seen to have increasingly focused on gendered-racist marginalisation in the academic workplace subsequent to the change of political regime, the same is not immediately evident in Sweden or Australia.

Additionally while this disparity is addressed more frequently in South Africa, such studies tend to provide insight from the specific subject position of racialised women, which is understandable, but also holds it captive to a 'victim status', and reduces the possibility for multi-logue, while also keeping the veracity of the topic hostage to a one-sided narrative that always remains subject to the acknowledgement of non-racialised/white women and men.

In order to broaden the space for dialogue and to illustrate the interconnectedness of white/non-racialised perceptions and actions in the racialised marginalisation of academic women, it is necessary also to obtain their narratives together with those of racialised academic women. Frankenberg (1993), for example explicates how whiteness is constructed by and in conjunction with the perceptions of white/non-racialised women.

In the event where racialised academic women are absent and their input cannot be obtained, white/non-racialised academics can give insight into why racialised women academics are indeed absent; not possibly through lived experiences but by way of their approaches to the topic.

The way white/non-racialised women in academic employment approach the topic of racialised academic women's marginal presence in academic workplaces, further permits for examinations and insights into how reflexive white/non-racialised women are to the significance of 'race' in the marginalisation of racialised academic women, and to how they analytically explicate this disparity.

Furthermore, the role of non-racialised/white academics in the continued marginalisation of racialised women is most often subsumed in the cycle of building theory through more theory on racialised women rather than empirically including white academics in such examinations and in such a way, that phenomena like whiteness can be brought to the fore. Simultaneously, the intersections of academia, feminist politics and the broader social, political and economic contexts of, in this case, Sweden, South Africa and Australia, remain matters of individualised universalistic theoretical examinations and explications.

1.3 Significance of the Research

Given the thrust of corrective legislation, the institutionalisation of feminism and the commitment evident in the social and political 'speak' of the Swedish, South African and

Australian governments and their agencies in relation to diversity, equity and equality, the focus of this study is topical and important.

The tri-national approach used to examine racialised women academics' marginalisation without limiting the study to racialised women only also allows for intersectional understandings of how that marginalisation is shaped. Additionally, it also permits for a broader dialogue than those common to dichotomised discussions in studies of this kind.

The serious dearth of studies on racialised women academics in Sweden and Australia is a challenge for further study and this thesis attempts to meet that challenge. This study is possibly amongst the first of very few done by racialised women academics in the actual disciplinary field of WGS in these two countries. It hopes to be counted among those which construct a foundation upon which future studies in South Africa, Sweden and Australia can address racialised women academics' contexts as an area of special concern.

This qualitative multiple case study, with a feminist perspective and intersectional mode of investigation, hopes to strengthen feminist research, and enhance the practical applicability of the findings to policy making, further research, and activist strategising. The intersectionality theoretical framework which shapes the study could therefore be a means by which openness and greater inclusion improves the possibility of amplifying voices and perspectives that are involved in this area of research.

The study is a significant means by which academia, WGS and equity and diversity agents at higher education institutions can be sensitised to the main problematic of the research in the hope that strategies and transformative programs would be formulated in conjunction with racialised women academics in order to change the status quo.

By focusing on the insights and views of professional academics in or associated with WGS this thesis also confirms the importance of this field of study, while also addressing the shortcomings for which institutionalised academic feminism has been critiqued in relation to racialised women's issues in academia.

Finally, this study wishes to be counted among those works done by South African, Australian and Swedish women theorists, who pursue collaborative academic women's activism without sacrificing the oppressions of some under the pretexts of logicity that only supports hegemonic expediency.

1.4 Concepts and Terminologies

Below are the key concepts that I use in this study.

Equality and equity - In anti-discrimination legislation, the term 'equality' dominates. Reference to the notion of 'equity' has increasingly been used as a replacement for equality but is not used as such in this work. These terms are used in accordance with their 'real' contextual use in texts, everyday discourses and as used by participants in this study.

Intersectionality (using Kimberlé Crenshaw, 2003) is an instrument with which to capture structural and dynamic aspects of multiple discriminations and thereby affects both theory and practice, revealing the active aspects of disempowerment. It is also a means by which the diversity of factors within any given context of subordination and domination can be accounted for without risking essentialist reductionist arguments.

Marginalisation is related to those praxes/practices, policy dynamics, pedagogies and perpetuating elements that individually and collectively block access to opportunities and possibilities and disfavour specific groups of people on many fronts, where the same are most often also not able to wield political, social, economic and judicial power.

Policy is understood as a response to discrepancies within society and as such, it intends to implement the will of the people thereby politicising that will and giving significance to how it is formulated as it simultaneously also exposes the will of the people and the predominant ideologies that inform that will. It is also seen as an interactive process that incorporates policy networks, organizations and events, and as such, can be expected to have consequences for the political, social and economic situations of racialised women academics. Policy is not included in this study as an element of investigation within itself, that is, it is not the measurement of policy in a statistical way that occupies this study. Rather, policy is considered as one factor among many that forms part of the intersectional moments when racialised women academics are marginalised, and is appraised through the qualified evaluations of professional academics.

Postcolonial does not espouse a notion of a past era. Rather, it refers to a way of examining contemporary social polemics nascent from an interactive international historical encounter whereby racialisation socially, politically, economically, and legally validated the marginalisation of colonised peoples, and whereby this activity endures through global neo-colonialist interactions. Where the discussion has particularly engaged women and the

explication of women's locations, this way of viewing, expounding and analysing is understood as feminist postcolonial epistemology.

Praxes/Practices describes those formal and informal, covert and overt, 'unintentional' and knowing practices that impact on the realities of racialised women academics' lives and includes factors like stereotyping, selection process, employment prerequisites, etc.

Professional academia represents the employed academic community irrespective of individual income or other quantifying status, as they are seen as decision makers, policy informers and originators, agents of inclusion and/or exclusion, as well as co-inhabitants of the epistemic community with power over the formulation, supply and dissemination of knowledge thereby also validating the same. The epistemic community (a term coined by Diane Stone: 1996) refers to the key location of policy research units and key actors like researchers, intellectual activists, decision makers and scholars, etc, where knowledge is its most valuable currency, and where solidarity and survival necessitates shared agendas and consensual knowledge.

The term *racialised women* is linked to the process of racialisation, whereby subordinated and dominant groups within the Australian, Swedish and South African societies are ethno-racially identified as racialised or non-racialised, that is non-white/white. Racialised is a political term that indicates racially subordinated or super-ordinated subject positionality. In this work, it also describes those women who are obscured, or forced to "play hide and seek", in universalistic and egalitarian everyday discourses.

Racialised women speaks of a gendered-racial position of subjectivity and identifies those women who only become visible when suffixes like 'of colour' or prefixes like 'Indigenous', 'Black', 'Asian', 'ethnic (minority)', etc are affixed to the word/s 'woman/women'; and, whose socio- and politico-economic situations are intimately linked with the abstraction of the diversity of their bodies. Where the term 'Black' is used as synonymous with 'racialised', it is done in the South African understanding of the term, which speaks of those traditionally disenfranchised and disadvantaged – socially, politically and economically – due to their from-elsewhere-prescribed attributes related to 'race'. The term is seen as a political indicator of racialised subjectivity.

While this term is still a complex and variably employed one, it is not used to imply that the social construction of 'race' is only applicable to 'non-whites'. Rather it is the taken-for-

grantedness of the privileges of whiteness – owned by white men and women, and sometimes enacted by racialised peoples - that renders 'white' an unchallenged normalisation and perpetuates the marginalisation of racialised women and men.

Non-racialised women (and men) refer to those who overwhelmingly occupy positions of privilege and where this location is not racially named as is the case for those overwhelmingly present in subordinated subject positions. Non-racialised speaks of a subject position from which 'race' has been erased and whereby white privilege is normalised.⁵

Contextually racialised refers to those women (and men) who in the Australian context are generally from white-western non-English speaking backgrounds (NESB) and who in the Swedish context have white-western non-Swedish speaking backgrounds. For these women (and men) marginalisation tends to be associated more with cultural and lingual factors and less with physical attributes.

Whiteness is the social construct of raced privilege which remains invisible in analyses and rhetoric whereby 'race' remains the catchments reserved for 'Others' who are ethno-racially labelled, and whereby 'white privilege' remains unchallenged and is naturalised. Whiteness is therefore a political category.

'Women's' epistemology refers to the validated collective curricula, collated accounts, proffered reports, dominant discussions and utilised knowledge or epistemology produced, taught and disseminated particularly within women's and/or gender (or similarly purposed) studies.

'Race' and *ethnicity* are used as two parts of a whole in this thesis, is often written as 'race' /ethnicity, and are sometimes used interchangeably. The rationale for this is later explicated in the theoretical framework chapter.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis comprises nine chapters, commencing with the current introductory Chapter 1 that includes a background to the study, the aims and research questions, the significance of the study, the central concepts used and their definitions, and the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on the nature, roles and purposes of epistemic communities, and academia as a gendered space in relation to institutionalised feminism. WGS is made discernible as a significant part of this institutionalisation. The chapter continues with the presentation and discussion of mainstream studies and theories on academic women's experiences in the academic workplace prior to identifying the gaps that are evident in mainstream accounts in relation to the 'race'-gender nexus. The chapter also engages with the inter-group and internal complexities that shape racialised women academics' contexts in relation to group belonging and racialised notions of authenticity, which also influences workplace dynamics. Furthermore, it presents and discusses studies that have addressed racialised women academics' experiences in the academic workplace.

Chapter 3 provides a theoretical framework that engages with the phenomena of marginalisation and racialisation and their interconnectedness with historical developments related to colonialism-neo-colonialism. The theoretical perspectives of feminists from the postcolonial, critical 'race', Black feminist, whiteness, womanist, African feminist and related paradigms are included in this discussion. This theoretical outline is envisaged as an informative background to the sub-sections on intersectionality, which draws these together to complete the elucidation of the theoretical framework and underpinnings of the study. This chapter is also intended to inform the reader of the way in which the primary and secondary data are considered in pursuit of the main aim and research questions submitted.

Chapter 4 describes and discusses the multiple case study design of the research within a racialised women-centred qualitative feminist paradigm; how the primary input of professional academics was collated from open-ended interviews; information on the participants; the multi-method approach; and the politics of research. Secondary information sources comprised of written and electronically disseminated documentation disclosing curricula, governmental and university policy statements, and legislation. As the thesis espouses intersectional understandings of experiences of marginalisation and discrimination, the chosen methodological framework is aimed to reflect this. The methodological aspects that shape this study, my journey towards obtaining, interpreting

⁵ I am aware that this term could cause confusion for the reader but would like to emphasise that the term ought not to be understood in terms of a biologically determined ontology but rather as a subject location that is linked to ascriptions of biological markers or the normalisations of the latter.

and presenting, knowledge on, and about, the marginalisation of racialised women academics in the professional academia is accounted for.

Chapters 5 to 7 present the 'findings' of the study. Chapter 5 deals with the first research question and engages with the structural aspects that shape the geopolitical and academic contexts pertinent to racialised women in South Africa, Sweden and Australia. The inclusion of this chapter annexes itself to the summoning of structural elements into investigations of multiple discriminations which is a major component that proposes an intersectionality perspective. The chapter therefore addresses the demographics of each country; legislation pertinent to racism and sexism as prohibited offences; an overview of women in the academies of each country; each country's national statistics on racialised women academics; and the formalities and dynamics related to the professional academic spaces in each country, which includes the matter of WGS curricula.

Chapter 6 engages with the social phenomena of racialisation and marginalisation as these are/were experienced, observed and perceived by professional academics. The chapter attempts to answer the second research question, and engages with the way in which the disparities related to racialised academic women's experiences of marginalisation are understood and verbalised by academics.

Chapter 7 addresses the last four research questions, which are considered to be inextricably linked through and by intersectional interaction. The chapter engages with the intersectional dynamic/active factors of marginalisation; the effectiveness of affirmative action and anti-discrimination legislation as structural responses to racialised academic women's marginalisation; and the role of WGS in relation to mitigating or exacerbating the inconsistency. The chapter interpolates mainstream feminist notions on 'women's' experiences of marginalisation in the academic workspace and proposes strategies for change.

The findings of the study are discussed analytically in Chapter 8 which revisits the study by reflecting on the intersectional relationship between structural and dynamic aspects of the interactive effects of discrimination in relation to racialised women academics' marginalisation in the professional academia in Australia, South Africa and Sweden.

Chapter 9 concludes by addressing the aims and research questions of the study. It reflects on the study itself and proposes a theory of perpetuation, as the study's contribution to theory, as well as future study possibilities in regards to the subject area.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: Women and Academia

Analysed, philosophised, and
hypnotised by the promise of
Belonging.

A lukewarm promise,
A knowledge promise,
A promise captured by words
and denied by action.

Whom to believe?
When all is only about
Camouflage women –
Vagina owning, egg producing.
When all is only surface bound
And knowledge has an unnamed
colour.

Nonjongo (aka Ingrid)

One of the earliest quests of the women's movement and feminism is women and education. Feminist examinations of history, like Wallach Scott's (1988) describe how being a woman and pursuing education caused and still causes a stir because it was/is considered incommensurate with the places and spaces normatively ascribed to women.

While debates regarding the educational participation of half of humanity, namely women, have occupied women theorists and community activists for an extended period of time, focus on their situations within academe appears to have emerged more strongly since the 1970s (Brooks, 1997).

This chapter is a two-part account. In the first part, the discussion explicates the significance and roles of epistemic communities, and academia as a gendered space in order to institutionally place studies of women, gender and academia as these have been theorised by mainstream feminist studies, and also highlights the gaps in such studies. In the second part, counter mainstream developments in feminist thinking, which partially address the gaps in part one are discussed

The discussion includes reflections on the role of institutionalised feminism as a significant informer of policy and educator of scholars destined to disperse further the knowledge they have acquired in relation to women, gender, and academia.

2.1 Epistemic Communities: Institutionalised Feminism

Women's contexts in the academe are shaped by the nature of academia as a community – an epistemic community (Stone, 1996). Epistemic communities have shared normative and principled beliefs, shared causal beliefs or professional judgements; common notions of validity, common policy enterprises, and have often used a common vocabulary, which consisted and still consists of consensual knowledge (Stone, 1996). That consensual knowledge, which is shared by members of a contextually locatable epistemic community, is protective of its shared agendas since solidarity is pivotal to its continued existence (Stone, 1996; Stone, 1994).

Despite a common insistence by individual epistemic communities that they enjoy independence from government or that they have no “vested interest” in government projects but are rather only involved in government directed research because of their “expert knowledge” (Stone, 1996:87), the epistemic community decidedly influences policy-making (Stone, 1996; Moghissi, 1995; Stone, 1994; van Dijk, 1993; Pettman, 1992).

For example, Susan Ryan, leading Australian senator in the 1980s, self-admittedly drew extensively on the printed knowledge of Cass, Dawson, Temple, Wills and Winkler (1983), who are all senior and long tenured Australian academics. In the Foreword to Cass et al's compilation entitled *Why So Few? Women Academics in Australian Universities*, Ryan not only lauded their academic prowess but also mentioned how important their work was in informing government and policy, as well as sensitising universities in New South Wales.

The potential influence of academe on its immediate and extended societies indicates that as such, academia, which houses the epistemic community, has agendas and these can be covert or overt (Stone, 1996).

In the process of preserving its existence, the epistemic community, which differs from context to context, relies on and utilises modes of context-based communication to facilitate the interconnections between the various levels of the community (Hammond, 2004).

The basic units of academia are departments, which collectively shape colleges or schools, and most often conclude in faculties (Hammond, 2004). Epistemic communities pursue their activities under the auspices and with the support of government because academia is understood to be civic trusts, occupied with the progress of the public's common welfare (Kaplan, 2004).

'Women' engaged in advocating for their participation in academia, and their influence upon many governments by way of the 'women's movement' resulted in policies by which the playing fields were 'levelled', boosting the confidence of 'women' (Wilson, 1997). Developments in the ways feminist, and other women theorists, explicate the contexts and experiences of academic women therefore also indicates the importance of academe in addressing socio-political imbalances.

Laws and policies in relation to levelling the playing fields have had variable effects and this has been discussed in feminist works on women in academia but such studies remain limited. Brooks (1997), for example, conjectures that there has been a significant reluctance by theorists to investigate this area and by universities to encourage such investigations.

Institutionalised feminism, as an inhabitant of epistemic communities, equips scholars at various levels with feminist tools by which policies, structural and systemic, and inter-group dynamics are shaped and informed (Donaldson, Donadey and Silliman, 2002). Once equipped with various ways of examining power and structures of power, the studies pursued by women on women's situations include being faced with choices on how to explicate the areas and subjects that they examine (Harding, 1987).

Important to remember then is that academic institutions produce and disseminate knowledge, and they "reproduce the ideological make-up of every society" (Moghissi, 1995:223). WGS is also often an academic institution that is part of, and separately constitutes, an epistemic community, and, it too is involved in "educating and training the future elite of every society (and) their intellectual produce has far-reaching impacts on the whole society" (Moghissi, 1995:223).

How have prominent, validated feminist research, chosen to examine academic women's experiences in the workplace, and in which terms have they chosen to explicate these experiences? Which factors have they chosen to document and which have they not?

2.2 Academia: A Gendered Space

One of the first topics feminist research occupied itself with in relation to higher learning was to challenge the masculine domination of the disciplines and the gendered constrictions of academia (Du Bois et al, 1985). Comprehensive historical accounts of women's participation in academe in Sweden, South Africa and Australia are however still very limited.

Available literature argues that universities are gendered structures (Brooks, 2001; Berggren, 1983) with gendered working cultures (Currie and Thiele, 2001). Literature also illustrates that the inclusion of women in the labour market has most often been opportunistic (Waldén, 1983). When feminisation of certain areas of employment takes place, the result is most often the devaluation of such occupational areas (Brooks, 2001; Munford and Rumball, 2001; Göransson, 1983).

Women's subordinated positions in academia are historical (Brooks, 1997; Berggren, 1983) and are intimately related to gender (read male) power and structures of power (Martin, 2003; Davis, Leijenaar and Oldersma, 1991; Göransson, 1983). Academia is primarily fashioned and formed around 'man', and is furthermore premised upon the often insidious notion that "men and women are fundamentally the same" (Hirdman, 1983:54).

Hirdman is concerned about the way gender egalitarianism favours men at the expense of women. This is somewhat ironic since Hirdman passionately and at times scathingly advocates against racialised women arguing that the idea of all women being 'fundamentally the same' is just as sinister as the claim that women and men are fundamentally the same as it allows for racially shaped social, political and economic imbalances among women to continue unchallenged. The very vigorous debate that took place in the public media space in Sweden during 2002 about Hirdman's ascription of racial-cultural symbolism on "immigrant" men regarding so-called honour killings exemplified this factor.

Wilson (1997) contends that although education has traditionally been the most open professional area to women among the learned professions, it took the growing confidence of the women's movement together with "high profile international pressure" to compel national governments in the 1970s "to create the conditions which would remove barriers to

sex equality and give individuals equal access to education, training and employment” (Wilson, 1997:1).

The corrective legislation aimed at dismantling the traditional barriers that excluded women from academe and curtailed their meaningful participation, was

couched within the framework of a liberal-democratic concern with creating a 'level playing field' to enable girls and women to compete on equal terms in the educational and employment arenas (Wilson, 1997:1).

Policies at individual universities and other institutions of learning formed part of the corrective action proposed by legislative decree.

Today, the large numbers of women completing degrees at universities is no longer an exception and their numbers are increasing (Upton, 2000). This said however, gendered employment patterns in professional academia generally, and specifically in regard to appointments at upper levels of the academe, are still areas of tension (Woodward and Ross, 2000, Maboekele, 2003).

Sex/gender still appears to be the main explanatory focus - women are disadvantaged because men dominate the academic space and they collectively ensure that women are kept outside. Brooks (1997) provides evidence that contradicts glowing government and media reports that boast of 'equity' and 'equality' triumphs in the UK and Aotearoa⁶ (New Zealand - NZ).

Instead, it is still possible to contend that proportionally speaking, men continue to remain the most identifiable academic 'in-crowd' and women the parenthetically present (Brooks, 1997; Wilson, 1997; Cass et al, 1983).

The dynamics that buttress this disparity are related to a number of factors which include how systemic and structural factors are significantly instrumental in curtailing women's ascendant progress.

[W]ithin the present hierarchical, patriarchal structures which pervade higher education institutions, it is unlikely that women will enjoy the true equality of opportunity with their male colleagues – although more opportunities are certainly being generated by EEO to allow women greater access to a range of organisational benefits, such as staff development, committee membership, child care, various leave entitlement and so on (Wienecke, 1989:23.).

⁶ I use the Indigenous name for the country known in modern times as "New Zealand" to show respect and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Maori peoples.

In the process of maintaining hierarchical, patriarchal structures within higher education institutions, by which academic women are discriminated against, certain pivotal factors of import including the temporal and spatial, have been illustrated in mainstream feminist studies.

Mainstream reasons for the exclusion and impeding of 'women' in academia have been variably discussed. Views have included contentions relating to the inculcation of Judeo-Christian thinking regarding 'natural' differences between the sexes (Radford Ruether, 1991; Christ, 1994) which expanded to justify the socialisation and imposition of dichotomic gender roles and stereotyping (Connell, 1987; Jay, 1991).

Others related discrepancies regarding 'women' and education to the question of patriarchal power (Maling, 1990; Aniansson et al, 1983), socio-economic class and 'respectability' (Kaplan, 1997; Skeggs, 1990), the abuse of discursive and lingual power (Corbin, 1992) and the economics of gender (Jacobsen, 1994). The 'glass-ceiling' or invisible, indefinable barrier beyond which it is difficult for women to progress or develop is a more recent explanation (Smith, 2000).

Encapsulated then, mainstream feminist studies insist that men have established the validated academic disciplines (Du Bois et al, 1985); men have ownership of economic power (Jacobsen, 1994), political and social power (Summers, 2003), and academic power (Wilson, 1997; Jones and Davies; 1990; Wienecke, 1989; Aniansson et al, 1983; Cass et al, 1983).

2.3 Academic Women's Marginalisation: Factors and Issues

As mentioned earlier, studies on the experiences of women in the academic workplace are still limited but increasing. Mainly however, these studies have chosen to focus predominantly on those academic women aspiring to the upper levels of academe. In the process of their studies, these mainstream explications have identified valuable information in relation to the points at which discrimination is most likely to occur, the factors that shape this discrimination, and how these experiences have affected the women academics made subject to discrimination.

Wills' (1983) analysis of the perceptions of women academics' experiences of discrimination in the academic workplace allocates significance to certain points at which

discrimination occurs, namely, the time of appointment, promotion and in everyday life within academe (Wills, 1983:100). This is corroborated by Woodward and Ross (2000) and Brooks (1997).

2.3.1 Productivity – the conflict between teaching and research

Cass (1983) contends that

the most highly evaluated form of productivity in the academic labour market is published research, which has become the major criterion for recruitment and promotion (Cass, 1983:71-72).

Publications of scholarly books and articles in professional journals are valued more highly than those written for popular audiences, mainly because the former are status-conferring for individual academics and more importantly for individual universities (Cass, 1983; Brooks, 1997).

The contradictory demands of teaching and research affect the status of women in the academic workforce. Their entry into the academic labour market in the twentieth century was premised on women being teachers, a feminised area of education. This is why women are overrepresented in this area (Cass, 1983). Subsequently, academic women's engagement in research, as an area of their academic productivity, is affected by being contained in teaching positions (Brooks, 1997). This further bears on their opportunities to publish, which are hence significantly reduced.

While there certainly are shared areas of responsibility, women academics listed a large number of tasks for which they were made accountable and which extended beyond those generally shared among academics (Brooks, 1997; Wienecke, 1989). Though academic women's productivity at universities is stringently defined by lecture preparations, peak periods of examinations and marking, administrative and counselling responsibilities; men, who are overrepresented as researchers, are able to publish more frequently and have academic women carry their administrative and teaching loads (Brooks, 1997; Wienecke, 1989; Cass, 1983).

Thusfar, the discussion in this sub-section indicates how the productivity of white western academic women has been and is hindered by gender divisions in academia that impact on their ability to enter and progress in academia. De la Rey (mentioned earlier), has been increasingly occupied with these issues in the South African context since 1997 and has indicated that all academic women in the country – racially privileged and racially

subordinated (racialised and non-racialised), are affected by gender discrimination in academia (http://www.skk.uit.no/WW99/papers/De_la_Rey_Cheryl.pdf). De la Rey elaborates that for racialised women however, the situation was and is exacerbated by 'race' discrimination but that the question of class often extends across racialised boundaries of privilege or subordination.

In De la Rey's study of South African women professors, the matter of entering and progressing in academia, particularly for racialised women is not only linked to their ascribed gender roles and 'race' but also to the question of class, which has shaped racialised subjugation and/or subordination in unique ways. Over and above the gendered limitations to which white women are subjected despite their non-racialised location of privilege, racialised women academics are not only accountable to the immediate family.

As can be seen in Moreton-Robinson (2000), it is also apparent in De la Rey's discussion that for racialised academic women, unlike their non-racialised counterparts, their gendered roles as carers and role models extend beyond the immediate family to the broader family and further to their communities at large. This affects the extent to which they are able to pursue careers, as well as their productivity levels within the workplace. Furthermore, as can be seen in Walker (1998) it is not uncommon for carers' responsibilities to extend to academia.

2.3.2 Social background and qualifications

Woodward and Ross (2000), Brooks (1997), and Dawson (1983) argue the importance of social background, the education of parents, family demographics, social class, religion, political affiliation and the existence of feminists in political parties and governmental structures as instrumental in deciding the likelihood of women entering academe and progressing there.

Dawson (1983) describes 'social background' in terms of 'country of birth' and does not clarify this in terms of 'race'/ethnicity. Brooks (1997) translates 'race'/ethnicity to refer to Maori/Indigenous women only and Ross (2000) discusses gender and ethnicity as two separate issues and also does not clarify what she means by 'ethnicity'.

Families in which females are supported and encouraged to educate themselves most often do and are additionally advantaged if their parents have academic education, and if their fathers have statused occupations (Dawson, 1983).

The roles of mothers are also significant in influencing how women are educated and how they attempt to progress within academe. Dawson (1983) also found some evidence that particular religious faiths correlate with one or other discipline. Generally, however, males tend to enter academia as part of shaping a career (Wills, 1983), while women are primarily motivated by intellectual interests (Cass et al, 1983).

Dawson (1983) also proposed that the reasons why women entered the university in the first place, as well as, their choices to enrol in postgraduate degrees, are often different to men's. Factors that played a significant role at this time were women's access to scholarships, the attitudes of partners, the kind of preparation provided at undergraduate level, home circumstances, whether or not women had gainful employment, whether they were married, their financial situations, and at times the situations of extended family members. Wills (1983) asserts that most of these factors are also operative once women have obtained tenure.

Women were often more likely to not complete postgraduate degrees than men and as a consequence more men have doctorates than women do. Dawson (1983) expected to see this gap diminish. The factors of age, children and domestic responsibilities impacted not only on whether women completed postgraduate degrees but also whether they could benefit from promotions and skills training as professional academics.

2.3.3 Discrimination and sexual harassment

Academic women's perceptions of discrimination revolved around subjection to covert and overt sexism. These included being ascribed jobs fashioned around traditional gender roles that subsisted upon stereotypic notions of 'feminine virtues', and being the 'natural' choice for carrying out 'carer' roles.

Role ascriptions and labelling of women are also part of what Brooks (1997) calls 'violence' in academic life. Women who are assertive and/or ambitious often find themselves subject to negative labelling. They are 'aggressive', 'shrill', etc and can be subjected to verbal and physical harassment, which is often part of men's, and sometimes women colleagues' attempts to remove them from their positions.

Another typically restrictive assumption that was considered sufficient to "relegate them to untenured position[s]" (Wills, 1983:99) was the possibility that women might marry and/or have children. The conditioning of women within academia exists prior to them entering

academe, as women and men have been socialised into, and have internalised gender roles and notions of what women and men are supposed to be and do (Woodward, 1997).

In situations where women academics worked in contexts where they were outnumbered by men, it was not uncommon to find that they were excluded from informal staff get-togethers, like at lunchtimes (Wills, 1983). Women spoke of being aware of an 'all men's club' and found that they were hardly ever consulted about staff or other university matters relating to their areas (Brooks, 1997).

Possibly most alarming, according to Wills (1983) were the perceptions of academic women and men about whether or not they thought that women were being discriminated against at all. Many denied that the problem was widespread, and many felt that there was more discrimination in favour of women rather than against them.

Often women academics, who have been subjected to sexual harassment and indeed many other forms of discrimination, are hesitant to speak out (Brooks, 1997). Fear of being ridiculed, disbelieved, and put to shame often enforces this silence.⁷

Motivations for claims regarding the favourable (positive) discrimination of women included references to the fact that women can retire earlier, are generally treated with more consideration, and are paid accouchement (childbearing/parturition) leave for the purpose of having children. Ironically, regressive sentiments negating that women academics were victims of discrimination were expressed by women more so than by men (Wills, 1983).

According to Brooks (1997) varying approaches to whether or not academic women are discriminated against is not surprising, since her study shows that

Some academic women will accept, some challenge, some resist and some reject, the discourses of academe and their position within it (Brooks, 1997:32).

Institutional discrimination was also a serious obstacle for academic women, since often formal provisions to assist women in the academic workplace, like childcare facilities, were negligible or unavailable.

Since women were more likely to have to take time off in order to care for dependent children, negative values are attached to those women who do have children and unreasonable demands are often made of those who do not have any children.

⁷ Women are however not the only victims of sexual harassment, male academics have also been known to be subjected to sexual harassment by female colleagues.

Additionally, the implementation of equity policies did not often uphold the aims and directives of such policies (Wills, 1983; Brooks, 1997; Woodward and Ross, 2000). Citing the 1990 Report of the Hansard Society Commission on Women at the Top, Brooks (1997) posits that universities, as 'bastions of male power and privilege', survive and persist because men in positions of power also establish patterns of control to maintain their power and these permeate university institutions.

An important insight by Wienecke (1989) is the role of 'merit' which comes into play at the time of prospective appointments. Selection processes and 'merit', its pivotal yardstick, renders many other factors namely gender, marital status, pregnancy, etc as irrelevant even though it is well known that 'merit' is not easily defined (Wienecke, 1989:24).

Merit is always subject to who defines the parameters of 'merit', argues Wienecke (1989). How these definitions are worded and which perspective frameworks ascribe its gradable characteristics also decide which qualifying features are favoured and which are less valued.

The contents of definitions of merit need to be 'unpacked' (Wienecke's terminology) and closely examined in order to analyse the ways in which such definitions harbour discriminatory assumptions and criteria when the 'best person' for the job is about to be selected and appointed.

Wienecke's (1989) survey revealed how 'merit' is a convenient smoke-screen for sexist selection practices. A significant number of the women participants were considerably better qualified than their male counterparts at the time of job appointments, yet it was their "lesser qualified male colleagues" who finally secured employment (Wienecke, 1989).

2.3.4 Women's representation and mentorship/role modelling

The gender imbalance of academics as representatives on committees as opposed to decision-making bodies often reflects the wider academic community at universities (Brooks, 1997). Women tend to be drawn on heavily for committee memberships in order to fulfil university equity expectations, while men tend to occupy spaces on decision-making bodies (Brooks, 1997; Woodward, 2000).

Much debate has surrounded the importance of mentorship or role modelling which Brooks (1997) claims is more common in the Australian, UK and Aotearoan (NZ) context. Despite many strong arguments against role modelling/mentorship, the values thereof are strongly

supported by those who believe that it is a beneficial resource for women academics (Brooks, 1997).

Given that there is a relative shortage of women academics, and that men have traditionally relied on their networks with obvious success, there are a number of reasons for women to establish their own networks (Brooks, 1997).

2.3.5 Gendered niches within gendered academia

While men tend to occupy tenured and high status positions within academia, certain areas are often overrepresented by women. For example, it is not uncommon to find a greater number of women than men in the humanities, while larger numbers of men can be found in the natural sciences, commerce and law (Cass, 1983; Brooks, 1997).

The culmination of various forms of discrimination within natural science disciplines are often instrumental to women academics leaving or remaining silent about their experiences for fear of losing their positions (Brooks, 1997; Temple, 1983). Inevitably this affects the participation of women in these fields and tends to cause distinctions between women who are lauded as 'one of the boys' and those who are not.

Despite the higher numbers of women in the humanities than those in male dominated disciplines, this does not however impact significantly on the fact that men are most often more likely to hold positions of power in both academic spheres (Wilson, 1997).

The paradox of female over-representation in certain academic arenas but the continuation of male over-representation in positions of power has been increasingly examined by another mainstream theoretical perspective on women in the workplace, namely, the 'glass-ceiling', which Wienecke (1989) explains as a barrier that is almost impenetrable and impedes women from passing through.

Glass-ceiling discussions are particularly related to discussions about development (Jacobsen, 1994). It has become an almost commonplace term of reference used to explain 'nearly-there upper echelon' 'women's' experiences of subordination and the obstacles they experience to their upward mobility. Initially this term was primarily coined to address the contexts of women in economic and business sectors (Smith, 2000), and while discussions have broadened to include women in medical and health care positions as well as academic women, those in commerce remain most prominent in glass-ceiling discussions.

Although glass-ceiling related studies are on the increase, few were easily accessible. Those I found easier to access were Wienecke (1989), (1993), Tannen (1994) and the compilation of Smith (2000). While not espousing any notable direct engagement with glass-ceiling, Cass et al (1983), Brooks (1997), Wilson (1997), and Woodward and Ross (2000), do actually emulate various elements of the discussions common to glass-ceiling theorists⁸.

2.4 Prevalent Perspectives on Women and Academia

While it is clear from investigations on 'women' in academia that there are still sex-gender disparities related to divisions in the academic labour market, and family and domestic role ascriptions (Cass, 1983; Flood and Gråsjö, 1997), as well as the ghettoisation of women into lower ranking and specific fields of academia (Wienecke, 1989; Smith, 2000), the parameters of the experiences of racialised women necessitates investigations beyond those traditionally presented by feminism (Potgieter, 2003; Kern-Foxworth, 2000; Woodward, 2000).

The subject position 'academic women' is not only constructed by patriarchal male-dominated hierarchies. For Young (1997), feminism means paying attention to

the effects of institutions, policies and ideas on women's well-being, and opportunities, especially insofar as these wrongly constrain, harm, or disadvantage many if not all women (Young, 1997:3).

WGS is shaped by three factors: firstly, by its location within educational institutions, and secondly by its relations with the women's movement (Wiegman, 2002). The integration of WGS into universities and into general curricula has at times been called 'mainstreaming'.

WGS often either completely exclude 'race'/ethnicity, or the inclusion of 'race'-gender is negotiated within a gender-first framework which makes the experiences of gendered-racism at best ad hoc, and 'invisible' at worst.

Thirdly, a general tendency for mainstream feminist studies is to not engage with the privilege of whiteness and its benefits to white women, or the latter's complicity in protracting whiteness, which is related to an arbitrary engagement with history whereby focus tends to be only on how 'women and men' have been socialised, and have

⁸ These theorists utilise the term 'glass-ceiling' variably and approach academic women's marginalisation in the way that Wienecke (1989) defines it, namely, as a barrier that academic meet that makes passing beyond almost impossible.

internalised gender roles, while ignoring how racialisation has operated to legitimate whiteness.

Below are examples which I have grouped in terms of “gender-only” and “‘race’/ethnicity as a function of gender”. It needs to be noted at the outset that mainstream feminist accounts also generally tend to focus on the contexts of women in higher ranked positions or those aspiring to spaces above the glass-ceiling.

This concentration on women in higher level positions of employment and the dynamics at play in the upper echelons has subsequently led to the relevance of the rapidly growing ground gained by glass-ceiling theories, to be questioned as arguments maintain that these are still very elitist and of minimal value beyond this elite narrow level (Jacobsen, 1994).

2.4.1 Gender Only – Total Exclusion of ‘Race’/Ethnicity

This perspective pays no heed to the differential experiences of women’s marginalisation in academia with regards to ‘race’/ethnicity but does often include the factor of ‘class’ and family demographics.

Cass, Dawson, Temple, Wills and Winkler (1983) do not include any reflection on ethno-racial differences, and how this causes intergroup inconsistencies and disparities amongst women. This oversight is worrisome given the saliency of ‘race’ and racialised disparities in Australia. The participants in their study were 43per cent foreign born and 57per cent Australian-born (Dawson, 1983). Other than this, it remains unclear what the percentage of racialised to non-racialised women academics participants was.

This oversight is repeated in the Swedish anthology edited by Aniansson, Borgström, Holm, Wikander, Winlund and Åberg (1983), where the only inclusions of Black women was framed within a theoretical discussion of how children in non-western countries were socialised into gender roles rather than a focus on racialised women in the Swedish academia.

These ‘gender-first’ perspectives contain no reflection on the absence of racialised academic women let alone a difference in experiences of marginalisation in the workplace. No ostensible engagement with whiteness or the historical in relation to racialised women academics can be found.

2.4.2 Inclusion of 'Race'/Ethnicity as a Function of Gender

In the late 1990s and 2000 two mainstream studies of academic women that partially included 'race'/ethnicity were those of Brooks (1997) and Ross (2000).

Brooks provides an important attempt at transition, namely, a response to a long-standing critique of mainstream feminism's exclusion of 'race'/ethnicity in its universalistic explications about 'women'.

Both Brooks' (1997) and Ross' (2000) attempts frame the experiences and perceptions of racialised women academics in terms and definitions of 'discrimination' that reflect traditional understandings that have also been established and authenticated by mainstream feminist theorists.

The insightfulness and vigour of these works notwithstanding, their discussions frame academic racialised women's experiences in the academic workplace primarily in terms of gender dichotomies. In Ross (2000), for example, the inclusion of ethnicity is restricted to one chapter that does not significantly address the nexus of 'race'-gender. A statement is made claiming that racism subjugates racialised women academics and the discussion ends there. The chapter only concedes that the author understands the interconnectedness of ethnicity with 'race' and its relevance to racialised women in academia.

Despite this however, both Brooks (1997) and Ross (2000), whether inadvertently or not, continue to constrain the voices and experiences of racialised women academics within the pre-existing hegemonic discourse of mainstream feminism, namely, 'gender-first'. Furthermore, since they largely avoid dialogue between women in order to exact an understanding of gendered white privilege and gendered-racialised disadvantage as part of a broader social context, no noteworthy light is shed on how white/non-racialised academics- men and women - might be complicit in the marginalisation of racialised academic women.

To explain, racialised women's progress within academia occurs in conjunction with other racialised trajectories prior to their entry into academia, within academia, and subsequent to their entry into academia. This remains hidden where the localising of the academic space is not placed in a reflexive historical context. In this study, the historical is viewed as

invaluable to the formation of understandings about racialised women, whether in academia or not.

Often the intersectional collisions of the structural, systemic and dynamic factors (like 'race'/ethnicity, religion, gender, etc) are framed or occur within the everyday establishment where racialised women often have been subject to extended historical and traditional discriminations beyond gender. These historical and traditional discriminations have also occurred as a result of the complicity of non-racialised/white men and women.

It is therefore necessary, to reflect upon 'race'/ethnicity and the experiences of racialised academic women by taking stock of the historical and traditional in order to explicate contemporary manifestations of racialised discrimination of which marginalisation is an example.

There is no doubt that Brooks (1997) and Ross (2000) proffer informative and lucid arguments and that their attempts to include 'race'/ethnicity does indicate a move towards more inclusive studies on academic women. In fact, it is interesting that while both these theorists attempted to address a significant area that has been ignored by feminism, other studies, like Wilson's (1997), which emerged at the same time, included comprehensive statistical accounts of women and academia in the European context, but still totally overlooked 'race'/ethnicity and its intersections with gender. It is necessary to expose the reasons for such oversights and the ensuing study hopes to be considered a meaningful contribution toward addressing this gap.

2.4.3 Challenges to Prevalent Perspectives

Within the feminist movement racial conflict between white women and women of colour continues to be one area of struggle (hooks, 1991:27)

The erasure of white western women's academic contributions and their preclusion from education is documented as a significant area of feminist research since the 18th century (Du Bois et al, 1985). Not so for racialised women academics, though.

Black women theorists like Anna Julia Cooper (1892, reprinted 2000) and community activists like Sojourner Truth (1852) have also attempted to illustrate racialised women's right to education prior to feminism becoming an ideology or field of learning. Their drastically limited access to resources, tempered by the historically oppressive circumstances and practices of the time, which continued well into the twentieth century,

ensured however that the matter of racialised women's place in academia remained overlooked until almost a century later (Hill Collins, 2001). To the mind of many, this disparity continues.

In the process of articulating the subsumed voices of racialised women, the social sciences and mainstream feminism in particular was thrown into turmoil from the late 1960s. Rapid developments in Black feminist, African feminist, postcolonial feminist, critical race feminist, whiteness feminist, womanist, and lesbian feminist reasoning challenged their traditional exclusion from mainstream feminism, its knowledge productions and depictions of white western patriarchy.

...feminists have always been vulnerable to the accusation that their concerns and priorities reflect those of white middle-class women, and socialist feminism too has tended to base its analysis on advanced industrial societies and to ignore the perspectives of 'non-white' women" (Bryson, 1992:254).

Mainstream feminists pose that all women's academic participation is subject to the parameters of an academia that is a resolutely male structure (Cass et al, 1983; Wienecke, 1989). Oakley proposes that concepts like gender, patriarchy, knowledge, and power are considered by some to "come tarnished with the ideological baggage of 1970s pre-postmodern politics" (Oakley, 2001:xi).

In Oakley's (2001) anthology a number of associated concepts are explicated, namely, globalisation, commoditisation, privatisation, corporatisation, managerialism, credentialism, and bureaucratisation, this on the level of personal experience has resulted in academics perceiving their workplace as

becoming more and more like factories; staff 'man' assembly lines in a tightly timetabled and controlled culture, supervised by managers and bosses whose prime concern is with discrete and easily quantifiable deliverables that roll off the assembly line; students are taught – whatever 'teaching' means; research is carried out – but valued for its financial, rather than intellectual contribution against 'overheads'; work is published – with the contribution of the publications noted to schema of assessment and 'performativity' rather than to knowledge (Oakley, 2001:xi).

To précis the statement, Oakley is confirming Cass et al (1983) and Wienecke (1989) but Oakley is also incorporating the factor of capitalism in academic industrialisation, sustained by mass production assembly lines and related economic structures of male design.

Oakley (2001:xii) posits that "[W]e know that whatever is represented as gender-neutral is likely to obscure the power relations of gender" and that "the 'people position' hides masculinity as the dominant agenda". In this Oakley echoes Hirdman (1983). Interestingly,

Oakley (2001) like Hirdman (1983) does not translate this argument to 'race'. Oakley does not pose that "We know that whatever is represented as 'race'-neutral is likely to obscure the power relations of 'race'" or that "the 'woman position' hides white femininity as the dominant agenda".

Even more confusingly, Oakley writes

[W]e know enough about the world we live in to understand that it is predicated on a whole range of 'isms': sexism, racism, classism, ageism, and so forth. The very institutionalization of these practices means that they will always happen unless there are conscious and concerned efforts to prevent them (Oakley, 2001:xiii).

How is this to be done when 'race' is made subject to 'visibility' as a function of gender?

Oakley's statement entrenches another view posed by mainstream feminism which argues that factors like social class, sexuality, and physical and/or cognitive impediments, 'race'/ethnicity, etc are collectively subject to patriarchal power structures facilitated by male domination and male networks (thus also separately discussed in Woodward and Ross, 2000). As a result, white women have often equated their own oppression with that of racialised peoples. Early examples can be found in the 1894 writings of Power Cobbe (Hamilton, 2001).

Huggins (1991) however speaks of racialised women's suspicion about the way the women's liberation movement 'attached' itself to the Black liberationist movement "in order to take advantage, for its own interests, of the momentum and attention that the blacks have recently achieved" (Huggins, 1991:6).

The deflection of complicity by non-racialised feminists is also related to the knowledge claims they make about racialised women, while simultaneously claiming that they do not understand racialised women's experiences.

In the process of moving the issues of 'women' from the margin to mainstream, women's studies (later variably called 'gender studies' or 'women and gender studies') was established with specific characteristics, namely, tenurable appointments in that field, the provision of accredited courses that constitute or contribute to recognised academic awards, and the disposition of a budget with a degree of administrative independence (Sheridan, 1991).

A common claim in relation to explicating racialised women's contexts has however held that including the specificities of their situations could not be done because non-racialised women could not 'understand' the specificities of racialised women's experiences.

Hill Collins (1991) contends that the claim made by white women that they are "unqualified to understand the "Black woman's experience"" (Hill Collins, 1991:10) has to be challenged because if mainstream egalitarian and universalistic theories on women and men propagate that 'women' – as a totality – share a common position of subjectivity and then simultaneously claim to not understand the experiences of certain women, then such theories are fundamentally flawed and misleading. The contention that "Educational institutions have...fostered this pattern of disenfranchisement" (Hill Collins, 191:6), is therefore not easily disputed.

Merit, as it is applied within white western dominated academia today, is based upon an androcentric canonical structure and theoretical purism (Blair, 1998). This characteristic, which is inherent to academia, has not come about by accident. Rather, in relation to the historical exclusion of racialised people, this has been premised on notions relating to their intellectual capabilities.

Thus far, what can be gleaned is that mainstream theorists are willing to concede that racism is an 'issue' but it is an 'outside there' matter caused by male domination and capitalism. Additionally, mainstream feminism purports it cannot understand racialised women's experiences but it nonetheless sees all women as 'one' – a sisterhood and therefore speaks about and for 'women's oppression' in an all encompassing way.

Morgan (2003), who advocates 'sisterhood', can be found to further this way of thinking about racialised women and non-racialised/white women co-habiting in a collectively experienced oppression, namely, the shared subject space called "sisterhood".

Wherever women are, we constitute, in effect a colony: low on (controlling) technology; intensive on labor, and often "mined for our natural resources" – e.g., sexuality and offspring (Morgan, 2003:xx, emphasis in the original)

In this statement that annexes the imagery of earlier white feminists like Power Cobbe (1894), Morgan (2003) proposes a nutshell rendition of what is perceived as the oppressions and abuse suffered by 'women'. It is the universalism and presumptive egalitarianism of this statement that has caused mainstream feminism's intellectual and political agendas to be

challenged on the grounds of cultural imperialism, and of shortsighted-ness in defining the meaning of gender in terms of middle-class, white experiences, and in terms of internal racism, classism, and homophobia (Mohanty, 1991:7).

Mainstream feminist understandings of 'women's oppression' has remained limited to a matter of white western women's oppression due to

the ways in which a particular tradition, white Eurocentric and Western, has sought to establish itself as the only legitimate feminism in current political practice (Amos and Parmar, 2001:17).

A common point of reference for dissenting voices in the feminist field is the lack of reflection on the past in order to understand the present, as well as contemporary collusions in the oppressions of racialised women (Gunew, 1991).

Often, it is considered backward thinking to 'harp on' European colonialisms, mostly by white non-racialised peoples – women and men. Equally often this is because individuals and groups believe that 'that time is over'. This can be seen in Oakley's (2001) statement above where an undisclosed "we" are no longer 'tarnished with the ideological baggage of 1970s pre-postmodern politics'. But is it that simple?

In unison, despite perspectival diversity, racialised women's feminisms have been occupied with the nexus of 'race'/ethnicity, gender and class as it is articulated in Black/racialised women's oppressions, and have resulted in proposals on new ways of locating and explaining their lived experiences.

Postcolonial feminists like Lewis and Mills (2003) therefore maintain that the colonial discourse and its agendas are alive; whiteness feminists insist that the colonial discourse still benefits whiteness (Rich, 2003; Moreton-Robinson, 2000; Ware, 1996). Postcolonial and cultural feminists contend that the dominance of whiteness which utilises colonial discourse confuses 'race' as a non-issue (Ang, 2003).

Black feminists uphold that mainstream feminist epistemologies have told, and continue to wield interpretive ownership of racialised women's issues and experiences (Hill Collins, 1991). Moreover, they contend that collectively these elements – structural, systemic, and mainstream feminist epistemologies - marginalise racialised women's perspectives (Davis, 2003), and that ultimately their marginality is entrenched through universalistic and egalitarian policies informed by institutionalised feminism (Crenshaw, 2003, 1995; Bacchi, 1996; Travis, 1979).

Representing the colonies as uncivilised laid the foundation for the colonised to be seen and treated as in need of being civilised, educated, protected for their own good and kept in services they were best suited to (Hill Collins, 1991). White privilege has had to manipulate appropriate symbols concerning racialised women in order to maintain hegemony.

To do this, dichotomous thinking gave meanings and bestowed powers, as racialised and non-racialised were placed in relational contexts, where their various assumed and prescribed attributes were capriciously valued. Objectification, according to Hill Collins (1991) is central to the process of oppositional difference. This is also related to the notion of 'gender'.

Gender as well as power is raced (Peterson and Runyab, 1999). The interrelatedness of gender with other factors is based upon dichotomies, which not only place 'masculinity' and 'femininity' in opposition to each other, but which also transpose these constructed oppositional differences in gender hierarchies.

Presumed 'masculine' traits are given a dominant status and postulated 'feminine' attributes are devalued and made subject. This is exemplified in the everyday in statements like "she has balls", "he's so motherly", "he's made of iron" and "she's as soft as marshmallow".

Gender also has a political nature as it is a construction of difference with a hierarchical structure that is constitutive of most societies today (Peterson and Runyan, 1999). Contemporary feminism presents itself as a challenge to multiple forms of power, which underpin the subjugation of women. This said, however, mainstream feminism failed to adequately include and/or address the issues of racialised/Black women. Subsequently it was this seemingly insurmountable oversight that necessitated postcolonial feminism, which emerges from "the experiences of women of colour, whether as Third World inhabitants, immigrants, or indigenous minorities" (Peterson and Runyan, 1999:172).

There appears to be assumptive myths that are used to sustain mainstream feminist approaches to women and academia. One of them is the presumption that racialised women academics is a characteristic of modernity. This is a fallacy because there are many indications that Black/racialised women knew academia and participated in it long before Judeo-Christianity impinged on white women's right to education. For example, Gage (1881 reprinted in 2000) informs that in ancient Egypt women were educated in

economy, medicine and literature 1,200 years before Christ. Furthermore, these women were priestesses and that they performed holy rituals, while also ruling over the populaces of Egypt (Gage, 1881 reprinted in 2000).

The Parsee religion, which taught the existence of a single God, was founded by an Egyptian woman hence first introducing monotheism into the country. Progressive relationships, unlike those commonly explained in patriarchal terms by mainstream feminists, existed between the sexes in Egypt (Gage, 1881 reprinted in 2000). Commonly, at the time, husbands promised obedience to their wives in marital relationships (Gage, 1881 reprinted in 2000).

Notions on 'original sin' as justification for the subjugation of woman arose out of western interpretations of Judeo-Christendom (Gage, 1881 reprinted in 2000) and gave substance to subsequent religious interpretations of what women's place in society is, as well as her socio-political positioning in relation to 'man' and deity.

Another mythical assumption seems to hold that as long as mainstream feminism repeats – mantra-like – that “we are all equal and we are oppressed together” ‘all round’ transformation for women will come about.

On the other hand, racialised women theorists argue that unless mainstream feminism actively understands that

(L)ike gender, class and race are the chisels that shape the contours of how we view the world and how we view ourselves (Vasquez, 1995:3)

significant understandings of the situations of racialised women academics will remain elusive, together with change.

European colonialist thinking by men and women has shaped contemporary understandings about women, 'race' and academe (Huggins, 1991; Moreton-Robinson, 2000). The continued resistance to locating and identifying where this kind of thinking ought to be challenged is a shortcoming that has also shaped feminist theorisation and foci about “the Other” (Young, 2001). Hereby the longevity of European colonialist discourses and stereotyping have been sustained (Amos and Parmar, 2001), even in academia.

Racialised/Black women are subject to a paradox of being-yet-not-being (t)here (Stoltz, 2000). Stoltz explains this as the paradox of visibility, and highlights the political implications of not taking 'difference', or the sensitive nature of the issue into consideration

in a meaningful way. This tendency has minimised the collaborative possibilities among groups of women who share a commitment to social change.

The impasse, which Stoltz calls 'the paradox of visibility' (2000:31) incorporates the relationship between feminist theory and feminist practice. This is illustrated by the statement:

In order to make claims that enable feminists to visualise women, in political theory as well as in practical politics, a definition of 'women' is made (women are x and therefore...) which is automatically exclusionary in itself. The definitions of women which are used never cover all women. Certain differences between women and thereby certain groups of women are always excluded (Stoltz, 2000:31).

Paradoxes have the potential for being proved and disproved and Stoltz's paradox is a semantic one because it depends upon the meanings and understandings involved. The tension brought into play by the latter end of Stoltz's statement undermines the intentions of the first. The encompassing 'x' includes but excludes simultaneously.

The process involved above requires the visualisation of woman and the dominantly chosen visualisation is what Moreton-Robinson (2000), Duran (2001) and Haggis (2003) identify as hegemonic 'woman', which excludes racialised women. There is a descriptive power at play and this goes further to influence consequences, potential benefits, and results. It also affects the power that is at play between racialised and non-racialised women per se and their respective and conjoint issues.

This universalisation and normalisation of 'woman' cannot effectively address the issues of racialised women's marginalisation in academia because universities are not independent of the rest of society (Lowe and Lowe Benston, 1991). Espousing universalistic and egalitarian views, reports, projects and discussions that discuss academic women's issues without the meaningful, and not ad hoc, inclusion of racialised women's specific experiences are only marginally useful (Duran, 2001).

Racialised women's marginalisation is to be found entrenched in euro-american praxes that espouse white-non-racialised privileging (McKay, 1989; Hill Collins, 2000; Davis, 2002; Bhabha, 2002; Balibar, 2002); in the policies that emanate from these praxes (Fernandez, 2002); in the 'invisible-ing' and 'Othering' of racialised women (Huggins, 1991; Bell, 1991; Root, 2002; Mohanty, 2003; Sandoval, 2003), through restrictive exclusive, denying and minimalising pedagogies (Spivak, 1995; Larson, 1995; Kincaid, 1995; Ang, 2001; Frankenberg and Mani, 2000; Haggis, 2003; hooks, 2003) and, the persistence of historical

patterns of oppression (Bhavnani, 1995; Skeggs, 1995; Senghor, 2000; Mishra, 2000; Minh-Ha, 2000; Petchesky, 2001).

It is therefore incommensurable to use “the tools of a racist patriarchy” in order to “examine the fruits of that same patriarchy” (Lorde, 2003:25) because “the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house” (Lorde, 2003:26) and can only conceal racialised women’s histories by the elevation of white women’s history “thereby giving the latter the definitive position” (Hudson-Weems, 1998:153). Furthermore, whiteness and the oppression of racialised women have historically taken place with the complicit knowledge and engagement of white-non-racialised women alongside racialised male intellectuals (Pettman, 1992).

Therefore questions like “Why so few?”, which should have perhaps been replaced with ‘How so many?’ (Cass et al, 1983:201) requires definitional and qualifying elucidations because who constitutes the ‘many’ they speak of? What is it about that ‘many’ that has protected their participation against apparently tumultuous odds? Which women are being accounted for? What is the ethno-racial composition of the ‘many’?

The question “Which woman/women?” then speaks of differences in women’s experiences of discrimination in academia, how are these (differences) perceived, and how are they included in discussions on the situations of academic women in the workplace?

2.5 Summary

Approaching an understanding of the subject position ‘academic women’ as a monolithic group that can be explicated within a unitary framework clearly cannot avoid doing so without also enacting significant exclusion/s, some of which are historical. The developments of theories about academic women’s experiences within academia have undergone significant changes but certain practices appear to persist. In the matter of racialised academic women, these exclusionary practices can be seen to hinge on whether, how and where their specific concerns are acknowledged or denied.

In this chapter, I have presented an outline of epistemic communities and academia, and mainstream studies that have attempted to explicate the issues of women’s experiences in academia. Approaches to the subject area of women in academia that espouse egalitarian

and universalistic explanations about 'women's discrimination' have historical and traditional foundations, which justify the critique that they are reifying deep-rooted racialised exclusions.

Contemporary theorists have therefore attempted to address 'women's' discrimination in new ways and have sought to explicate the racialised subjection of those academic women, who have not benefited from 'race' privilege. These inclusive attempts have however continued to frame academic racialised women's experiences within hegemonic gender-first frameworks rather than as complex phenomena 'inseparably connected to gender'.

Change therefore requires that the historical is evoked, that the phenomena that are rooted in history and tradition be exposed, and that examinations of women in academia and as academics engage in dialogues that more clearly explicate how their ideologies, contentions, etc intersect with factors like institutionalised power, policy and pedagogy in the everyday to mitigate or exacerbate academic racialised women's marginalisation and/or inclusion.

Counter mainstream theorists have addressed these oversights and have largely chosen to include racialised women only in their explications. These studies have however chosen to include racialised women only academics in studies of experiences of discrimination and marginalisation in academia.

While the sole inclusion of racialised women academics is understandable given their often total exclusion in mainstream feminist accounts, this does not permit for an examination of the role of non-racialised academics in the marginalisation of racialised women academics, or how their perceptions and understandings affect this marginalisation.

Chapter 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: Intersectional Oppressions, Postcolonial Realities and the Nexus of 'Race'-Class-Gender

It is a particular academic arrogance to assume any discussion of feminist theory in this time and in this place without examining our many differences, and without a significant input from poor women, black and third-world women and lesbians. (Lorde, 2003:25).

In its most direct application to the representation debate, challenging the underrepresentation of black women in academia requires a political challenge to the university establishment (Hassim and Walker, 1993:532).

Addressing racialised women's marginalisation has to be a collaborative political matter (Hassim and Walker, 1993). The racialised academic women are subject to everyday racism (Essed, 1991, 1987, 1984), as well as structural racism (Potgieter, 2003). But how would one, theoretically, go about trying to understand why racialised academic women are marginalised in the professional academia despite the existence of progressive legislation, and what does WGS have to do with it?

In this study, the theoretical platform from which the discussion emanates is framed by studies and reports about the racialised stratifications of the Australian, South African and Swedish labour markets. The platform is bolstered by reflections on marginalisation and its interactions with racialisation in relation to women as potential or actively participating academics.

The elected theoretical framework and analytical apparatus of this study – intersectionality – is presented and discussed. Despite all attempts to locate studies that have explicitly applied intersectionality empirically, these have remained elusive. Intersectionality has the potential to address the gaps disclosed in Chapter 2 with regards to studies of women, academia and marginalisation, specifically in relation to racialised women academics.

The chapter is presented in two parts. The first provides the theoretical platform and the second broadens the discussion to present the theoretical framework of the study, and how intersectionality has framed the thesis.

3.1 Racialisation and Marginalisation: Racialised Labour Market Stratifications and the Racialised Power of 'Women's' Epistemology',

It is almost a foregone conclusion that Black/racialised women in South Africa are the most beset, overrepresented in low paid jobs and employed at lower levels than white men and women, as well as Black/racialised men. Statistics presented by Budlender (1992) confirms this. The situations of Australia and Sweden in this respect could be expected to differ but they do not.

In each country, racialised women were and are consistently the most marginalised by gendered-racialised labour market stratifications (Lange, 1996; Castles and Miller, 1993; Budlender, 1992).

The Australian labour market according to Castles and Miller (1998), and the Swedish employment arena according to de Los Reyes (2001) are markedly stratified ethno-racially with racialised women significantly overrepresented at the lowest levels. "[D]ata on female immigrant employment in Australia revealed sharp segmentation" (Castles and Miller, 1998:173) as manufacturing industries showed "high degrees of overrepresentation" of non-English speaking background women and the under-representation of USA, Canadian, and Australian⁹ born women.

For Indigenous Australian women (and men), as for significant numbers of Black South Africans, this stratification is particularly severe. Moreton-Robinson (2000), for example, presents the primary existential factors that impede on the well-being and progress of Indigenous Australians. The extensive list of factors presented to the reader includes infant mortality rates, life expectancy rates, and homelessness, amongst others.

Only 33 per cent of Indigenous children will complete Year 12 of secondary school compared with 77 per cent of the rest of the population." and "In 1994 the unemployment rate for Indigenous people was 38 per cent compared with 8.7 percent of the rest of the population; of the 62 per cent who were employed, 26 per cent work for their social security benefits under community development employment schemes (Moreton-Robinson, 2000:158).

Furthermore,

⁹ By "Australian" reference is actually made to 'white' according to Moreton-Robinson (2000), who poses that the definition of 'woman' has been premised on a notion of white womanhood.

Compared with 29 per cent of white women only 17 per cent of Indigenous women are employed in administrative, professional or para-professional positions. Labour markets for Indigenous women are either in government departments established to fund programs for Indigenous people or government-funded community based service delivery organisations (Ibid.)

Racialised women are not a monolithic group and there are differentiations in their experiences too. This said, their globally evident positions of marginalisation are easily exemplified (Duran, 2001) and are intricately enmeshed in the intersectional geopolitical and economic developments that occur globally and locally.

While Moreton-Robinson (2000) calls specific attention to the plights of Indigenous women in Australia, Professor N. Chabani Manganyi, a South African interview participant in Potgieter (2003), cautions that apportioning victim status to Indigenous peoples cannot occur without also affecting the general sense of agency in society. A collective and collaborative effort is necessary to bring about transformation for women, and a significant step in attaining such an endeavour is the acknowledgement of the historically entrenched and persistent marginalisation of those women whose experiences of discrimination and oppression are racialised.

On the exclusion and marginalisation of racialised women in respect to work, education, income, etc, Cooper (1892, reprinted 2000), the 19th century Black American woman writer, ridiculed the practice of illustrating the economic and academic progress of racialised peoples, when statistical accounts of this kind do not address the gendered composition of the 'prosperous'. Real progress is growth argued Cooper (1892, reprinted 2000) and to this womanist 'growth' includes the meaningful acknowledgement of racialised women's unequal access to and participation in the socio-political and socio-economic spheres of societal life.

Cooper (1892, reprinted 2000) therefore implored racialised women to unite; not to be duped by the promise hinted at in legislation; to appropriate judicial promises actively; to understand the power of knowledge; and to contribute to it. "Our only care need be the intrinsic worth of our contributions." (Cooper, 1892, reprinted 2000:356).

Cooper's concern was later re-iterated by Huggins (1987) who insisted that

...if the white women who organized the contemporary movement towards feminism were at all aware of racial politics in Australian history, they would have known that overcoming barriers that separate women from one another would entail confronting the reality of racism; not just racism as a general evil in society, but the race hatred they might harbour in their own psyches (Huggins, 1991:7)

Why then, almost 115 years after Cooper and almost 20 years since Huggins' admonition, does the academic labour market continue to exhibit racialised inequalities? Theoretical explications have answered this question variably from time to time and space to space.

In the academic workspace, Mirza (1998) relates this continuation as part and parcel of the conforming meritocracy that legitimates and justifies academia. This is further related to the racialised power of 'women's epistemology'.

For example, from the USA there are dissenting voices advocating against women's studies and the significant inclusion of postcolonial, critical 'race' and standpoint debates in feminism, as exemplified by Patai and Koertge (2002), who express a mood of "sadness and disappointment" with contemporary developments in women's studies. Feminist pedagogy, according to Patai and Koertge (2002), has acquired a stronger hold on academe and on the inclusion of "diversity". While attracting a variety of new students, women's studies has not significantly reduced those traditional acts of discrimination (read sexism) and oppression that 'women' (read gender) have been subjected to.

Multi-disciplinarity is used as an excuse for a "lack of basic knowledge of the relevant parent disciplines" (Patai and Koertge, 2002:365) and partisan interests (among which racialised women are the most prominent among Patai and Koertge's concerns) are seen to be diluting the vigour and 'true' intent of women's studies.

This area of institutionalised study is, according to Patai and Koertge (2002), a convenient place for companies and universities to satisfy demands made for 'affirmative action hires'. Critical debate, they say, is thwarted by political correctness, and liberal feminism is illogically deemed a pariah, causing the deterioration of scholarly communication within women's studies.

Women teaching about difference, Patai and Koertge (2002) assert are mostly not teaching but indoctrinating. The worst about women's studies is

- its substitution of indoctrination for education, its ideological heavy-handedness, its intolerant prescriptions for how women should live and relate to men, its insistence on "support" and "comfort" as what women need and want in academe, and its attack on and dismissals of intellectual standards, "malestream" knowledge, and "Western" epistemology – will come to be recognized as marks of a debased education belonging to a particular historical moment, an education to be deplored and left behind (Patai and Koertge, 2002:370).

The near paranoia and defensiveness of their entire account, while bolstered with scientificity is troublesome.

Before racialised women have had the chance to even access academia, it appears there is a familiar backlash waiting to actively ensure that they are kept where they have traditionally been holed – outside the hallowed halls of academia and on a hopeful but near never-ending roller-coaster like escalator ride to the top.

The formula that deduces 'affirmative action + anti-discrimination legislation = the outlawing racism (and other -isms)' can effectively be found to not only divide 'woman' as an individual, but also makes access to justice practically impossible (Crenshaw, 1995).

Interpretation of the law is always relative and the unimpaired implications and implementations of policy are always subject to who is entrusted with the task to interpret (Tufvesson, 2001; Young, 1997; Crenshaw, 1995).

Labour market stratifications often conclude in forms of marginalisation that are also racialised. Marginalisation does not just happen but rather requires the interaction of people, structures and systems while nonetheless co-existing successfully with counter-marginalisation measures (Wheelwright, 1990)

Racialised women's marginalisation is an articulation of everyday racism (Essed, 1991) and is premised upon factors like lingual dominance and opportunism (McClintock, 1991). It is also cloaked with layers of 'race'/ethnicity and gender-neutrality in policies (Summers, 2003) that attempts to whitewash labour market disparities (Brah, 1994).

Experiences of marginalisation often impact intrinsically on the psychological – the ways racialised academic women view and perceive themselves to be viewed, as well as the way their marginalisation is viewed by others, saliently by white/non-racialised decision makers (Wetherell, 1996; Essed, 1991). Often these perceptions and the decisions taken support the centralisation of white/non-racialised women's issues while displacing those of racialised women to the margins, where agency is limited, and voices are silenced (Barker, 2000).

Marginalisation is sustained by ideological selectivity (Agarwal, 2000) and when aligned with the practice of denial of its racialised construction it also makes this marginalisation the problem of the 'Other', insisting that it is 'their' burden (Frankenberg and Mani, 2000).

Although not limited to racialised peoples, marginalisation as a racialised form of discrimination is predicated on ethno-racially ascribed stereotypes defined by whiteness that are entrenched in historical developments (Haggis, 2003; West, 2002; Balibar, 2002; Moreton-Robinson, 2000). It is possibly the most insidious form of oppression because whole categories of peoples are often 'justifiably' expelled from meaningful participations in all spheres of societal life, and defy the attempts to rectify marginalisation (Young, 1990).

Traditionally gendered and racialised occupations have posed possibilities and constraints for racialised women, with one of the results being the reproduction of employment stereotypes [Mirza, 1998:41]. Historically embedded racialised marginalisation justifies labour market exploitation (Vásquez, 1995) that subsists on the powerlessness it enforces, and the cultural imperialism it perpetrates. Carter, Modood and Fenton (1999) concluded that racialised women academics are not only significantly few but are also subject to the fact that racialised men are more frequently employed than they, but also that their experiences within academic workplaces tend to be more regressive and less documented.

Euro-american colonialist agendas and discourses continue through the domination of 'developed' nation over 'developing' countries, through policies influenced by the planning of advanced nations aimed to maintain their dominion through the continuation of past practices (Altbach, 1995). Methods used in the retention of the status quo include the manipulation of capital (Skeggs, 1997) per se, and capital's intersectional shaping of class, gender and 'race' (de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2005). There is nothing 'post' about the hegemonic agendas of colonialism (Slemon, 1995) and, whiteness and racism, its integral ideologies and *raison d'être* persist.

Formalisations of biological notions on 'race' are not necessarily required for racialisation to take place (Goldberg, 1993). Rather, it can be located in the internalisation of values, assumptions and representational significations that are not immediately tangible but which produce racialised asymmetries in the social, political and economic areas, and in relation to power.

Knowledge and discourse can be racialised due to epistemologically embedded racialised knowledge that is operative in the praxes and pedagogies of 'scientific fields' (Goldberg, 1993). Therefore racialised knowledge has to invoke the physical or biological (Ifekwunigwe, 2001), which complicates contemporary socio-political and socio-economic disparities while frustrating attempts to eradicate the same. This normalised racialised

knowledge is what identifies the functions of whiteness (Moreton-Robinson, 2000). Therefore, the body remains a site of racialisation and is identifiable as central to informing manifestations of discriminatory practices, ideological notions and behaviours (James, 2004).

Irrespective of international, national, regional and local gender equality and anti-racism legislation, racialised women academics are still internationally subjected to covert and overt everyday racism. This happens in conjunction with the misappropriation and displacement of their knowledges (Hill Collins, 2000, 1990), and mainstream feminism's failure to address the discrepancies that are instrumental to their racialised-gendered marginalisation adequately (Ang, 2003; Moreton-Robinson, 2000; Huggins, 1991; Bell and Blumenfeld, 1991).

3.2 Universities: A Historical Site of Racialised Struggle

The exclusion of racialised women from elementary and academic learning was a common practice historically used for gendered racialised subordination (Gage, 1881 reprinted in 2000). At best, racialised girls and women were educated for servitude to white men and white women in South Africa and Australia (Walker, 1990; Moreton-Robinson, 2000).

McKay (1989) claimed that Black women professors were a 'sensation' during the late 1980s and early 1990s and that they would continue to be so if the status quo remained unchanged. Many would argue that this is no longer the case, but is the racialised marginalisation of academic women not still identifiable as systemic and structural vestiges rooted in these historical practices and the ideologies that underpinned them. This study addresses this question as part of its quest.

The controlled and segregated education of racialised peoples, which disadvantaged racialised girls and women the most, ensured that even today racialised women remain subjected to a gendered-racist academe (Tamale and Oloka-Onyango, 2000). Furthermore, classist racialised education augmented inter-group tensions and hostility within racially subordinated groups, which deflected attention from the gross structural and systemic inequities perpetrated by racist governments. South Africa and the elitist education of racialised girls and young women was a point in case (Hay and Stichter, 1984; Malherbe, 1979).

There are specific issues that face racialised women in the academies in Sweden, Australia and South Africa according to racialised feminist theorists. We have already seen that European colonial discourses are still active and continue to shape the lives of racialised women in European contexts (Essed, 1991; Sudbury, 1998; de Los Reyes, 2001, de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2003).

Additionally, racialised women academics' training studying in white western dominated academies is subject to white western teaching and subsequent definitions of what validated knowledge is, which has also been influenced by European colonial discourses.

Therefore, Altbach (1995) warns 'developing' countries about employing expatriates to challenge neo-colonialist agendas in education because, he argues, they will invariably have internalised western modes of thinking and this serves to broaden the influence of euro-american colonialism. Altbach's call for caution is a double-edged sword for racialised women, who upon successfully attaining academic training, often under extremely trying circumstances in white western feminist arenas; aspire to returning to their home countries to participate in the development of their countries.

Lewis¹⁰ warns against Altbach's reasoning and insists instead that African women, for example, who theorise postcolonial encounters, give insights into parallels across spatial and temporal boundaries.

Kuumba also expresses her concern in this regard.

[T]he African woman experience, as it is expressed in all its particular locations, is and has been, intrinsically global and transnational in character (Kuumba, 2003:3).

Speaking of African women's diasporic, transnational and transgressive experiences of marginalisation "in the belly of the beast", Kuumba reminds that "the African woman identity" extends beyond essentialist notions of ethnic origin and/or geographic location" (Kuumba, 2003:5).

Kuumba (2003) and Lewis (2001) exhort African feminists to guard against practices and ideologies that advocate for 'African' authenticity related to geographic origins and geographically specific experiences. Gendered 'race'/ethnicity disparities affect racialised women wherever they are subject to white/non-racialised dominance, and each context has the potential for collaborative strategies to be exchanged.

Postcolonial feminists in particular argue that since western academics show postcolonial studies as an increasingly established field within their hallowed halls, it is essential for the dynamism and intellectual contributions of women thinkers and on-the-ground activists not to be overlooked (Lewis and Mills, 2003).

Another polemic which exists within the margins is related to the inclusion of racialised academic women, who have been trained in white western settings. This is related to the issue of authenticity and group belonging. Gilroy sees this quest as a modernist intellectual habit that even "black cultural history" is obsessed with (Gilroy, 1996:22).

The considerable migration caused by colonialism has left most nations changed. Migration is a transformative force that seems to always lead to the confrontation of existing contexts (Rex, 1997). 'Origin' excavations can be particularly exclusive, as it attempts to claim and delineate 'authenticity' and hence establish parameters for 'belonging'.

For so-called 'mixed race/ethnicity' peoples, this often means that they are not adequately accounted for by categorical Black/white labels; like Black/non-black or Blackness/non-Blackness (Ifekwunigwe, 2001). They remain subject to an uncertain acceptance and inclusion by the former (Black/Blackness) and totally excluded by the latter (non-black/non-blackness or white/whiteness).

Racialised women are also formed as 'women of colour', and other ethno-racialised categories within this academic location, as in others, whether in the United States or elsewhere (Lee, 2002). Spivak (2001) links this form of essentialising to the ways in which white-western ideological dominance has been naturalised, and has inserted itself into the thinking of the colonised. The internalisation of adumbral associations, language, and cultural productions interconnected with the naturalising power of whiteness can also be evidenced in the ways that racialised individuals and groups become complicit in their own racialisation and marginalisation (Kuumba, 2003).¹¹

¹⁰ Taken from an undated website on 23 June 2005 at www.codesria.org/Links/conferences/gender/LEWIS.pdf

¹¹ I have witnessed disturbing internal Black essentialism, justified by claims or demands in relation to 'origins', in a Black feminist work on feminism, whiteness and indigeneity in Australia. The author denied another Black feminist intellectual the right to be listed among Indigenous female writers because of her inability to authenticate Indigenous paternity. 'Belonging' might well be culturally established through paternal lineage but it requires examination if this form of 'exclusion' is to avoid serving the purposes of whiteness.

'Origin' authentication is also a hegemonic tool often used by those who are made subject to racialised oppression to justify internal exclusions and marginalisation, and it is an example of contemporary racisms (Mac an Ghaill, 1999). Distinguishing factors recalled in such cases include physical and geopolitical birth contexts, evidence of patrilineage contra matrilineage, and sometimes even lingual abilities.

For 'mixed race' peoples this can have particular significance and devastating outcomes in relation to identity and belonging (Parker and Song, 2001; Chambers and Curti, 1996). This polemic could have unprecedented impact in societies where Indigenous subjection is still unresolved and where inter-group progeny complicate dichotomic apportioning of accountability and/or vulnerability.

Worse yet, could be the situations where racialised Indigenous populations have been expanded by other racialised (im)migrant groups. How are racialised women's situations to be adequately described in such contexts if internal essentialism is practiced? The endeavour to implicitly re-establish the past is also linked to the desire for homogenised racial or diasporic delineation of 'Black' and or 'Blackness' which can be oppressive to many (Sudbury, 1998).

Racialised women have varying experiences of marginalisation, exclusion and vulnerability to social, political and economic developments. Therefore, the term 'B/black' cannot be understood as proposing a monolithic group or experience/s (Sudbury, 1998) – neither can the term 'racialised' that is used in this study.

Another significant polemic drawing on the trajectories of representation and feminism in WGS is highlighted by Hassim and Walker (1993). This field of study is only one part of the women's liberation movement and is linked to the enactment of the knowledges proposed by feminists. The South African women's agenda appears to have become split because of the debates surrounding 'race' and the negotiation of Black and white women's power.

Three specific issues are a) the under-representation of Black women in academia and their exclusion or marginalisation by white academics; b) the misrepresentation of Black women's position/oppression by white academics, who claim them as objects of study; and, c) the question of who has the authority to represent whom intellectually, in the sense of 'speaking for' (Hassim and Walker, 1993:524).

Hassim and Walker pragmatically caution against the tendency to equate 'Black' with 'activist' and 'white' with 'academic'. The common concern that relates to the power of academic knowledge and, the common context of society as shaped by white domination and power, is inextricably related to the pervasive awareness and internalisation of 'race' and difference.

For feminists to confront racism is necessarily a collaborative issue. The marginalisation of racialised women academics has therefore to be related to an awareness of this fundamental requirement for meaningful transformation (Hassim and Walker, 1993). Racialised women's oppression, if Hassim and Walker (1993) are correctly interpreted, is not an issue for racialised women only, it ought to be a politicised issue of concern for all women.

Whites/non-racialised academics – men and women – deny 'race' as an integral part of their own internalised knowledges and practices. These are not always consciously done but are conveyed through the way they perceive racialised women's marginalisations in their studies. The response to misrepresentations is often the 'taking up of arms' by racialised women in relation to who is doing the representation, namely, white women, and defining the discussion in terms of 'activism' and 'academe-ism' (Hassim and Walker, 1993).

The pitfalls of this binary are not clear. Firstly, it holds a potential threat for racialised/Black women academics always to be perceived as 'activists' and white women as 'academics'. Another probable pitfall is that divisions could result among racialised women, where the dichotomous activist/academic labels can be used to devalue or bestow esteem arbitrarily.

Feminist academics have to recognise and work with difference without needing to overstate it. Their work and projects of engagement need to be politically transformative. They have to accept that they cannot 'speak for' the oppressed in the sense of being their political voices, and should instead 'speak to' each other in order to construct their collective engagement as a political project (Hassim and Walker, 1993).

Challenging Eurocentric western definitions of women's oppression had occupied Black feminists, particularly in the USA and the UK, since the 1960s (Amos and Pamar, 2001). Also, as many have pointed out, racialised women did not wait for white western feminism before engaging in fighting for their liberation. Discussions relating to racialised women's

marginalisation in academia in Sweden and Australia are extremely restricted, while developments in the past 10 to 15 years in South Africa shows this to be an increasing area of academic research.

In 1991, Essed, who founded the theory on *everyday racism*, and is also one of the founding Black women theorists to theorise 'race' critically, published a groundbreaking study of Black academic women's experiences in academe in the USA and the Netherlands. For expediency, Essed (1991) motivated her specific focus on women in higher education (students and professionals) as a move to minimise indirectly the role of class exploitation because university women "indirectly participate in the collective experiences of class-based racism" (Essed, 1991:5). The nexus of gender, class and 'race'/ethnicity was therefore central to Essed's explication of everyday racism. Essed's proposal for incorporating the matter of class as part of the collective experience of class exploitation is annexed in this thesis.

Essed strategically essentialised the subject position of Black academic women, addressing what mainstream feminism and feminist theorists had failed to do. While Essed (1991) discloses that there are virtually no studies that expound Dutch¹² perceptions of Black women, the author herself does not directly include non-racialised Dutch voices in her study. Subsequently, the suppositions Essed (1991:31) proposes with regards to how Dutch people probably view racialised/Black women remains unsubstantiated by their own admissions and veracity is established through the perceptions and experiences of the Black women Essed (1991) included in her study.

Essed's main findings were that Black academic women, like their non-academic counterparts inside and outside of academia, are subject to everyday racism. Characteristic of everyday racism is the fact that because it exists as a part of the everyday, it remains unchallenged, is often overlooked, and those who draw attention to its perniciousness are often ridiculed (Essed, 1991, 1987, 1984). Black women academics' experiences of racism in the everyday at the micro level is magnified in order to illustrate how the taken-for-granted praxes, pedagogies, modes of speaking, etc of the everyday constructs racism as more than structure and ideology (Essed, 1991).

¹² Essed's use of "Dutch" is the same as the term "Australian" explained earlier in this chapter and means 'white'.

It is therefore imperative for the connections between the structural forces of racism and the routine situations in everyday life to be exposed because the ideological dimensions prevalent in daily attitudes and interpretations is the most prolific site for the reproduction of racism which inevitably flows from the bottom to the top of the societal structure and vice versa. The reproduction of everyday racism is an ongoing daily process, where individuals and groups on the macro, mezzo and micro levels of society are daily participants in its reproduction and sometimes its extinction (Essed, 2002, 1991, 1987, 1984).

A contemporary study that deals with a particular question relating to Black/racialised women's participation in academe was carried out by Potgieter (2003). This feminist theorist sought to understand why Black academic women are exiting academe in South Africa. The study, which formed part of a governmental project to which Potgieter had been seconded from her university, included 30 interviews of Black women academics at eight South African universities. The findings proposed four major combinative causal areas of concern, namely, racism, poor management or leadership, the political sphere and the personal sphere. Under the umbrella notion of racism, Potgieter (2003) presented institutional racism, racism under the guise of liberalism, racism in evaluation and expectations, and racism in the form of black 'essentialism'.

Potgieter posed, like Essed (1991) above, that it is not always the overt enactment of racist practices but also the endorsement of internalised racialised knowledges that marginalise and oust Black/racialised women. Potgieter (2003) chose to only include Black/racialised women in her study and this strategic and essential inclusion is understood but, like Essed (1991), obscures the possibility for the inclusion of non-racialised contributions to expose covert racisms and practices of exclusion that are entrenched in traditional biases and ideologies.

Furthermore, focus on the reasons for Black women leaving academia does not sufficiently account for why they are not there in the first place or whether racialised women academics are even considered to be marginalised by those professional academics occupied within academia and who are in decision-making positions. It also does not provide insight into whether taught epistemologies on women and gender, and/or whether those who teach these epistemologies might impact on whether academia is perceived as an inclusive space for racialised women academics or not. At the very least, what Potgieter's (2003) investigation and explication impresses is that diversity in academia in

relation to 'race'/ethnicity and women, demands new ways of looking at women's marginalisation. This study attempts to meet that challenge and includes an examination of authorised and taught epistemologies and those who disseminate, produce and negotiate the same.

So, how do we examine and obtain a more adequate understanding of racialised academic women's marginalisation in professional academia? An extremely flexible theoretical framework that encourages collaborative engagements for change can be found in Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality.

3.3 Intersectionality

In the process of theoretically examining how and why racialised women academics continue to be marginalised in the professional academic workspace, the multiple case study design used in this thesis lends itself to the combinative and interpolatory approach proposed by intersectionality.

Kimberlé Crenshaw was the first to introduce intersectionality to American jurisprudence during the late 1980s and early 1990s (Wildman and Davis, 1995). Crenshaw's theoretical contentions and analytical model contributed to the development of critical 'race' theory and analyses. Recent publications of her theorisations of intersectionality are reprints of earlier writings.

As a theoretical field, intersectionality is still a much-unexplored area; hence literature on intersectionality is still very limited. Intersectionality is however increasingly occupying the feminist academic space.

Crenshaw's explications are, as this study also is, decidedly influenced by the theoretical contentions of Black feminists, womanists, critical 'race' theorists, whiteness, postcolonial theorists, cultural studies theorists and other related studies. Foundational to Crenshaw's reasoning is that multiple discriminations are predicated upon multiplicities of dominance or hegemony that intersect to define locations of discrimination.

This metaphorical notion (intersectionality) of women's encounters with power, oppression, hierarchies, hegemonies, etc is given a functional explanation by Crenshaw (2003, 1995), which later racialised women theorists like Hill Collins (1998) and non-racialised academics like Young (1997) expanded upon. Iris Marion Young (1997) appears to have gained more

expansive validation for her interpretations and theorisations of intersectionality in mainstream feminism than Crenshaw has.

Crenshaw's (2003) premise that racism and sexism are not mutually exclusive, and that those praxes utilising such an approach can be expected to result in injurious conclusions, is considered to be theoretically sound in this study. For theory to have practical value beyond the theoretical it has to be grounded in the 'real' lives and positionalities of women, and racialised women's real lives are affected - together with class, religion, ethnicity, cognitive and physical abilities and impediments - by 'race' and gender.

Crenshaw's (2003, 1995) frustration with the inability of the law to amply approach and manage difference can be seen as the basis from which she approaches the polemics of equality and/or equity aspirations and their failure to achieve such aspirations. The law, Crenshaw propounds, is incapacitated when it has to address 'race' difference in the context of gender discrimination, or gender difference in the context of 'race' discrimination.

While Crenshaw situates herself within the American framework, it is not inappropriate, given the similarities in texts, contexts and, socio-political structures, to extend this to the countries included in this study.

The paradox which presents itself is that in the process of eagerly pursuing 'race' equality, racial difference is denied and ignored irrespective of how this might reinforce historical inequalities, while sex equality advocates are markedly pre-occupied with that difference.

The 'we are all the same argument' poses on one hand that because 'races' are all the 'same', there can be no racial difference, while on the other hand women and men are measured in units of difference from zero to perpetuity. Furthermore, when difference within difference has to be dealt with, the law, is strained even further, most often resulting in chaos and it reverts to the perspective of either 'woman' or 'racialised person' (Crenshaw, 1995).

The simultaneous vulnerability of racialised women to more than one form of discrimination is not contained within group parameters. Some might experience the same multiple and intersecting discrimination(s) as others in their class, but might also not experience those related to others within the same class (de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2005, Crenshaw, 2003).

Common to groups that are subject to multiple and intersecting discrimination(s) is that the forms of these

are frequently marginalized, distorted, or wholly erased by the resistance politics of the very groups claiming them as constituents (Crenshaw, 2003).

Stringent essentialist group-based politics, particularly those addressing identity, tend to acknowledge consensually defined forms of discrimination, while rendering any or all others invisible (de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2005; Crenshaw, 2003, 1995; Sudbury, 1998; Young, 1990). A focal question then is, what difference does difference really make?

The state of incompetence that arises when the complexities of women and difference are encountered in relation to racialised women extends to resistance movements. Feminism and the women's movement, racial liberation movements and even more recently, according to Crenshaw (2003), movements committed to sexuality, (dis)ability, and age equality, are showing the same Catch 22.

In an earlier work (Tufvesson, 2001) I have illustrated the same in relation to 'race'/ethnicity in respect of students at Swedish higher education institutions, where not only this discrepancy but the very positioning of anti-discrimination law was incapable of providing justice and protection from discrimination to 'ethnic minority group' students in Sweden.

This state of affairs is possibly not surprising since western acknowledgements of 'difference' tend to do so primarily by differentiating the 'exotic' from the 'domestic' (Kaplan and Grewal, 2002).

The significance of differences and how they are valued and grounded in the articulations of feminism is an ongoing project, which seems to remain elusive despite the breakthroughs made by postcolonial, critical 'race', and whiteness feminists, to name a few. Intersectionality provides a tool by which this deadlock could be broken.

3.3.1 Intersectionality: The Metaphor and Its Functions

The main body of this subsection is drawn directly from Crenshaw (2003, 1995). Discriminations, interpreting Crenshaw, are commonly rendered invisible by the interactive effects of discrimination. This invisibility is most often purposeful and meant to bring about benefits to those perpetrating the subsumption of devalued or denied forms of discrimination.

The cartographic metaphor used by Crenshaw is very illustrative, relatively easy to apply, and adeptly gives substance to focusing on praxes, policies, and pedagogies in relation to racialised women academics' marginalisation in the professional academia.

Firstly, intersectionality captures the structural and dynamic (e.g. active) facets of multiple discriminations, in so doing intersectionality affects theory and practice. Secondly, it addresses how discriminatory systems (racism, sexism, classism, etc) create local (Crenshaw uses the term '*locale*', which is also used on occasion in this study) inequities that define the relative positions of women, 'races', etc. Thirdly, it takes in hand the dynamics, that is, ways that specific praxes and policies, and their implementation, construct the polemics that compose the active aspects of disempowerment. Succinctly, intersectionality addresses how discrimination is structured and how it works.

The metaphor uses the analogy of a chaotic system of vehicular conduits that is made up of *routes of power*, and frames junctures of these elements as a series of multiple intersections. Gender, 'race'/ethnicity, class, age, etc are these routes and the *thoroughfares* mapping the social, economic and political terrains.

These thoroughfares are also commonly misperceived as mutually exclusive, albeit that there are sufficient evidences to the fact that they are never fully distinct; that they affect the lives of people; and trap people in other systems. Ownership of dominating or highly valued routes of power hence facilitates passage.

The *terrain* on or in which routes of power are located is also interwoven and is constituted by the political, social, economic and legal. The geopolitical, socio-political and socio-economic contexts or milieu is in this way understood as entwined and co-existently constitutive of the terrain.

Convergences or multiple intersections are framed by intersectionality. The results of these convergences and multi-intersections conclude in diverse complex, criss-crossing moments where two, three or more routes or systems overlap - revealing hegemony and subordination.

The *activity of discrimination* is the *traffic*, namely, the decisions and policies that flow along these thoroughfares, causing the convergences and collisions. This is also the traffic that specifically identified groups have to negotiate at the intersections. Specifically identified

individuals and groups located at the intersections of the routes of power have to negotiate the traffic.

There cannot be any collision with only the intersectioning of conduits. Rather, it requires the traffic combined with the differential values ascribed to each route of power for collisions to take place. Where routes have high travel velocity and frequency rates, collisions are more prone, and hence such localities are particularly hazardous.

Briefly then, *patterns of power*, which are most often hierarchical, are the roads that intersect in multiple ways. Everyday decisions, and policies of regulation and control, compose the traffic moving along these roads, and these decisions and regulations collide with those located at the intersections.

This is no orderly cause1effect relation. Rather, it is contextually specific. One factor which appears to be irrefutably common is however that the shared characteristic of consequences is discrimination. At this specific point marginality and the racialisation of that marginalisation is identifiable.

The intersectional factors of 'race'/ethnicity, class, sex/gender are conducive to unbalanced global structures (de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2005). Also, structural and institutional conditions behind social and economic imbalances are significant in determining privilege and disadvantage (Fraser, 2002).

Identity and social order are intimately interconnected and further intersect with the cultural, historical and operational perceptions and practices of a society, and its notions related to the nation, and the expressions and manifestations of nationalism (Woodward, 1997, Wetherell, 1996; Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1993).

The results of intersections often identify the cultural, historical and operational perceptions and practices that are acceptable to and considered to be worth fighting for within and by a society (Young, 1997) and is used to ensure hegemony. Intersectionality moves away from the often too narrow focus of identity politics and the often resulting paralysis of agency that is associated with it. It is not unknown that instead of decisively enacting active change, identity politics can become elitist and essentialist (Ahmed, 1998). Furthermore identity politics without collaborative activist engagement often serve individualistic purposes only (Ahmed, 1998), which makes any eventual change on macro and mezzo levels a matter of chance.

Racialised women do not have the privilege of losing sight of their goals no matter where they are positioned (Zia, 2003; Acosta-Belén and Bose, 2003). To some these goals are positioned within the academe, which is reputed and purports itself to be guardians against discrimination but is found more frequently to harbour discriminatory practices of enormous proportions (Moghissi, 1995).

The central concepts and factors of this particular research respond to Crenshaw's (2003:43) encouragement for feminist theorists to pay greater attention to the "interactive effects of discrimination". In this, the notion of intersectionality is a synonym for the perspective from and through which analyses and discussions on women's issues are encouraged to emanate, and upon which methodologies can be based.

Crenshaw speaks mainly of 'women of colour' while the term 'racialised women' is used in this particular study mainly because I believe that prefixes, like 'non-white' and/or ethnic for example, and suffixes, like 'of colour' that have been used previously, tend to entrench the presumptive superiority of normative 'woman' and whiteness, and the invisibility of all 'Others'.

After all, if phenotypes were the only characteristic factor by which women are "positioned" then we would not only be justifying and acknowledging that mainstream biological notions and presumptions on 'race' are accurate, but we would also risk arbitrarily categorising those women who fall outside of the perceptions of Black/white dichotomous binaries.

Like Crenshaw, this study does not claim that the theoretical framework of intersectionality is exclusive to 'race'-gender-sex, but perceives it to be a more adequate analytical tool because of its potential for more expansive inclusion. Just recognising differences does not account for the saliency of such differences and does not effectively propose how mainstream feminism is to be re-articulated in order to fulfil its magnanimous claims.

In her explication of intersectionality, identity politics and violence in relation to 'women of color', Crenshaw (1995) separates structural and political intersectionality in order to expound how experiences of violence are enacted in differing locales but are nonetheless intricately inter-related to each other. By focusing on the crime of rape in the context of violence, Crenshaw (1995) traverses the terrain, identifies the intersections and thoroughfares, evaluates the significance of routes of power, and thus presents the

articulations of multiple discriminations that collectively constitute the violence perpetrated in relation to 'women of color'.

Crenshaw (2003) accounts for four related forms of discrimination, namely, targeted discrimination, compound discrimination, structural subordination, and, structural-dynamic discrimination.

Targeted discrimination refers to an intersectional collision that is simultaneous, direct, and intentional, where traffic seeks the precise crossroads where certain women are located – ethnic or 'race' based violence against women, sexualised racial propaganda against women, policies that curtail the reproductive rights of women from certain groups, to name a few.

Compound discrimination is where racialised women are excluded by virtue of their gender from jobs reserved for men, and also where they are excluded because of their 'race' from jobs earmarked for women.

Structural subordination, unlike other intersections, is most often not directly dynamic or active but because policies impact differently on certain women due to their structural positions.

Structural-dynamic discrimination is characterised by the way the intersectional nature of subordination goes by unnoticed because the contributing aspects of the problem is economic, cultural or social. These are so 'everyday' or in Crenshaw's words "The Invisible Hand" and an example is when the discriminatory process is perceived as solely sexist when a racial structure forms the backdrop, or it is seen as solely racist when a gendered structure forms the backdrop to the discrimination.

This study is mainly concerned with at least three of these forms of discrimination, namely, compound, structural, and structural-dynamic discrimination but does not limit itself to only these.

Targeted discrimination in relation to laws and policies proposes a number of challenging interpretations. For example, the White Australia Policy, historical Swedish lingual policies, and the South African *Group Areas Act No. 41* of 1950, had the express purpose of advantaging some racially and/or ethno-culturally at the expense of others. Equal opportunity and affirmative action, or 'positiv särbehandling' (positive discrimination), could also be seen as discriminatory, and is most often perceived as unfair by those traditionally

privileged (Crenshaw, 2003, 1995; Sterba, 2003; Freeman, 1995). Targeted discrimination does not then necessarily disperse into regression; rather, it could bring about the difference between rhetorical claims and actual results.

It would be incorrect, however, to presume that targeted discrimination can always be unproblematically implemented and therefore, the effectiveness of corrective legislation is part of the examination carried out in this study.

Of course, as in everyday situations, agencies, service centres and other forms of 'victim' assistance entities are also involved at the points of collision in the intersections. These include constituent communities, liberation movements, progressive activists, etc. But most often they do not reach intersectional collision sites and the injured on time. If at all, they might also not be sufficiently equipped to ensure a "full rescue or remedy" (Crenshaw, 2003:50).

Crenshaw (2003) identifies ineffective intersectional 'rescue traffic' (my terminology) as over inclusion, under inclusion and misappropriation. Over inclusion occurs where racialised women are specifically subject to certain forms of discrimination, but these are acknowledged as a gender-only problem and the saliency of 'race'/ethnicity and/or class is denied. Under inclusion relates to how certain discriminations are devalued as not being 'women's issues' because it does not affect those women from the dominant groups in a society but only one or more subordinated groups of women. Misappropriation occurs, for example, where the intersectional discrimination experienced by a 'woman of color' is acknowledged but as an injury to the community at large rather than to the individual woman herself.

Crenshaw therefore contends that rescue traffic quite often serve to entrench collisions at the intersections of discrimination rather than to challenge and change the discrimination itself. Equity units and policy implementers are examples of rescue traffic and this is how they are understood in this study.

Developments in intersectionality theory, though relatively new, are increasingly occupying feminists and producing diverse interpretations that seem to overlook Crenshaw's encouragement to examine women's real lived experiences by looking at the interactive effects of discrimination. It is, as such, an area of feminist theoretical debate.

3.3.2 Contestations within Intersectionality Debates

Most common critiques of intersectionality align themselves with Young's (1997, 1990) interpretations and applications of intersectional reasoning. Some level their critique at the diversity of intersectional factors arguing that to foreground intersections of 'race'/ethnicity, sexuality, etc and to increasingly draw it into the classroom and feminist discussions has "soured the stew" (Lykke, 2003; Patai and Koertge, 2003).

Patai and Koertge (2003), not directly critical of intersectionality, are however disturbingly and aggressively engaged with challenging the inclusion of non-heterosexual and racialised women's involvement in institutionalised feminism. These theorists appear to see this inclusion as a negative development because they perceive and hence elucidate current inclusions of 'diversity' as an oppressive trend within academia.

Preferentially using rationalisation and hypothetical terms and arguments, Patai and Koertge (2003) are perturbed by the number of women who have absented themselves from the WGS arena. These theorists are eager for institutionalised feminism in the form of WGS to realise that those "women who walked away" from the field did so because they were dissatisfied with the "unhealthy conditions and self-destructive tendencies that appear to be intrinsic to many Women's Studies programs" (Patai and Koertge, 2003:13). The self-destructive tendencies highlighted by these theorists include Black/racialised women's epistemological participation and contentions.

Among those who contribute to the establishment of intersectionality theories outside of the USA, there is a small but active group in Scandinavia. Among them are theorists like Nina Lykke, Diana Mulinari, Pauline de Los Reyes, and Irene Molina. The intersectional dynamics of these theorists and their chosen interpretations of intersectionality are engaged in heated debates.

While it is possible to claim that De Los Reyes and Mulinari are respected academics, with tenure, who are also forerunners in the Swedish academic engagement with intersectionality, their backgrounds, pathway to, and length of tenure differ from Lykke who has a white Danish background. De Los Reyes and Mulinari have Latin American origins and both have lived in Sweden long enough to know the society, its contexts and the contextual structures and the systems of Swedish feminism intimately, which they see as being closely related to postcolonial agendas and postcolonial reasonings (de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2005). Part of this is the enforced everyday identification to which they are all

subjected in the Swedish context which ethno-racially privileges Lykke. Furthermore de Los Reyes and Mulinari have experiential knowledge with regards to the direct impact of the nexus of 'race' and gender unlike Lykke.

Lykke (2003) argues that traditional Danish feminist debates (favouring gender) are now deemed "old-fashioned" with focuses on gender power systems and equality between men and women being replaced by "mångfaldstänkande" (multiplicity/diversity thinking) as those who wish to be perceived as "progressive" eagerly tend to cloud discussions by focusing on 'Other' areas of discrimination instead (Lykke, 2003:47-48). Lykke (2003) and Patai and Koertge (2003) express the same thoughts and apprehensions, while simultaneously having no proposals for how to address institutionalised feminism's persistent inability to reflect on its own privileged whiteness, as well as failed attempts to assimilate the nexes of 'race'/ethnicity and gender.

Lykke (2003) argues that de Los Reyes, Mulinari and Molina (2003) have misunderstood the 'essence' of intersectionality reasoning. Lykke devalues their contributions and accuses de Los Reyes et al's work and Danish feminist tendencies of being examples of the multiplicity/diversity tendencies that have sullied feminist perspectives by

not only problematising power relations and discrimination related to gender, but also a row of additional categories: ethnicity, class, age, sexual preference, nationality, etc
¹³ (Lykke, 2003:47 translated from Swedish)

This tendency, according to Lykke (2003), is in opposition with Sweden's otherwise praiseworthy fortitude, where the political struggle for women's rights has not been relegated to a refuse chamber (skräpkammare) cluttered with the abject remains from a time long past (Lykke, 2003:47).

One can safely interpret that Lykke wishes to deny the saliency of a postcolonial feminist perspective on how 'now' has been and is shaped by 'then'. Rather, Lykke would have us 'get on with it', 'look forward, not back' and keep sex-gender as the glue of 'sisterhood'. As can be gleaned from the previous chapter, Lykke is not the only authorised and validated mainstream theorist with this conjecture.

Lykke is of the mind that befuddling the Swedish, or any other geopolitically located feminist politics and agendas with this "Danish condition" de-genders discussions relating

¹³ In Swedish: "inte enkom problematiserar maktförhållanden och diskriminering relaterat till genus, utan till en rad ytterligare kategorier: etnicitet, klass, ålder, sexuell preferens, nationalitet etc".

to ethnicity, physical impediments, and etc. Ironically, Lykke (2003) bases her theoretical ruminations on Young's (1997, 1990) texts, and posits that the current feminist academic agenda is divided into "equality feminism" (jämslälldhetsfeminism) and "diversity feminists" (mångfaldsfeminism).

This division, according to Lykke (2003) is reductionistic and problematic and therefore she speaks strongly for her own interpretation of intersectionality, which is informed by the non-racialised or white interpretations of Young (1997). Lykke's argument is that while the nexus of 'race' and gender might be inextricable to the identities of racialised women, their experiences of gendered-racism must submit itself to prevalent definitions of what constitutes 'women's issues' in order to avoid the defragmentation of feminist activism. The enforced submission to mainstream labelling of racialised women's experiences of discrimination are manifestations of descriptors normalised by whiteness (Haggis, 2003; Moreton-Robinson, 2000).

Lykke argues that her interpretation, shared with many others, is being used increasingly internationally because it does not allow for discussions about 'women's issues' to slip into terrains where overlooking or 'forgetting' gender power systems are considered 'legitimate'.

Here however Lykke shows a lack of reflexivity, and twice exposes her own promotion of dichotomic thinking, which collides with her own desire for a consolidated feminist agenda based on collaboration. To explain, Lykke expounds intersectionality as a cultural theoretical concept related to a foundational verb – to intersect. She does not see it as a notion that perceives the interaction among exclusive socio-cultural categories as based upon an additive principle. Rather, interaction is dynamic and reciprocally influential within any given context.

After a lengthy exposé of how she interprets Crenshaw and other intersectionality theorists from the USA, particularly what she labels as "African-American" feminists, Lykke (2003) then insists that in keeping with parts of Crenshaw's thinking, there ought to be a difference between political intersectionality theory and structural intersectionality theory. This is a misinterpretation, as an earlier discussion on the subject indicates.

De Los Reyes, Molina and Mulinari (2003) therefore meet Lykke's devaluations in *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift* and point out how Lykke's wish to divide the complex yet cohesive perspective of intersectionality is self-contradictory. Furthermore, Lykke (2003) is

of course also ignoring the fact that this way of thinking and performing whiteness in the feminist epistemological space is also internationally contested by racialised and non-racialised feminists, who are concerned about the entrenchment of racism and processes of racialisation, that defy easy Black/white dichotomies and that make collaborations impossible.

Whiteness theorists in compilations like Schech and Wadham (2004), and individual whiteness theorists like Ang (2003), Haggis (2003), Roeddiger (2002), Moreteon-Robinson (2000), and Ware (1996) are only a few examples of such contestatory feminist voices.

Lykke's (2003) adept manipulation of Crenshaw's composite-whole intersectional contentions, and subsequent justification of separating the political from the structural, attests to a lack of awareness of the fact that Crenshaw (2003) sees the structural itself as constitutive of the political and vice versa.

The structural harbours the interests of the hegemonic political agenda. They cannot be divided without sacrificing one or other agenda. As for 'equality' and/or 'diversity', Lykke (2003) appears to be confused yet again – diversity is the equality of intersectionality. Experiences of discrimination and oppression are due to diverse reasons but are equal because they are related to social injustices shaped by political, social and economic elements.

Furthermore, as Mulinari and de Los Reyes (2005) insist, it is not the actual colonisation of countries outside of Europe that is given prominence in postcolonial analyses. Rather, they assert, it is the connections between colonising processes, and the creation of racialised discourses that aim to construct hierarchical depictions of the world, where 'the west' is prominently presented as the cradle of civilisation, then and today.

The ways in which the tensions between western and colonial declarations, and localised experiences are addressed by postcolonial intersectional analysis is related to the language of praxis, policy and, pedagogy. This is because the variety of textual, practical and educational forms used by white-western agendas to produce and codify knowledge about areas and cultures beyond the metropolitan, have and continue to control the possibilities and degrees of racialised people's access.

Racialised women's struggles against oppression are multifaceted (Lee, 1999). 'Blackness/whiteness' dialectical binaries are used as gendered and classist codes that

serve as markers of positionality (Ifekwunigwe, 2001; Lee, 1999). Therefore the erasure of 'white' as a racial marker has to be reversed for "white is also a color. It is NOT the absence of color!" (Lee, 1999:28, with emphasis). Racialised women have 'talked back and up' to mainstream feminism and informed it that feminism could never 'speak for' racialised women's issues. Even though caution needs to be practiced in relation to the essentialisation of activism and academism, as Hassim and Walker (1993) point out, collaboration and meaningful transformation is only possible when racialised women's marginalisation is a politicised 'women's issue'.

Hassim and Walker (1993) in the South African context are cautious about essentialised notions of representation and the strict divide delineated between Black/racialised women as 'activists' and white/non-racialised women as 'academics'. They agree with the posit about white privilege and the normalisation of whiteness, are supportive of women's right to 'name' their own oppressions, but are reticent to collapse the identity categories 'Black' and 'activist'/'white' and 'academic' into non-related spaces.

Instead, Hassim and Walker (1993) believe that the common concern regarding the power of academics and the academe to create and shape meanings and understanding be interrogated upon the admission that the forms of this power have long been shaped by white domination. Hence, if the debate is limited to numbers and statistics, the discrepancies are easy to demonstrate (Hassim and Walker, 1993).

There is however caution to be practiced, insist Hassim and Walker (1993), when attempting to understand the academic/activist relationship as mentioned earlier. For example, white South African women, like Ruth First, members of the Black Sash and others contributed to the fight against the racist separatist system of apartheid in the country with their lives.

Claiming 'ownership' of the fight for liberation in South Africa is therefore futile and counterproductive – liberation was a collective effort for a collective good; without necessarily meaning that this included the contributions of all people from all the groups in the South African populace¹⁴. This said, however, Loomba (1998) insists that it cannot be ignored that

¹⁴ Having participated in my first anti-apartheid demonstration against what we termed as 'gutter education' in Bishop Lavis in Cape Town at age 13, and having remained involved until serving on the Independent

White settlers were historically the agents of colonial rule, and their own subsequent development – cultural as well as economic – does not simply align them with other colonised peoples. No matter what their differences with the mother (sic) country, white populations here were not subject to the genocide, economic exploitation, cultural decimation and political exclusion felt by indigenous peoples or by other colonies (Loomba, 1998:9-10).

3.3.3 Intersectionality, Womanist Perspectives and Multiple Foci

Womanists, who include intersectionality theorists, also engage in the many-sided struggles of racialised women not only for their own gain but also for human equality. Being a womanist is explained by Lee, citing Walker, as not being colour-coded or even gender-coded.

[A] womanist is one who struggles against not only the injustices of gender, but also of race, age, class, sexual, and national hierarchies (Lee, 1999:29).

Hereby Lykke (2003), Patai and Koertge (2003), and Coward (1999) are refuted, when they equate the inclusion of 'race', class, etc as divisive feminist politics. Coward (1999) applies the notion of 'womanist' as a concept, which she posits as being singular to white-western feminism's initial narrow agendas. Hereby Coward not only misappropriates racialised feminists' knowledge and intellectual contributions but also misrepresents the intersectional focus of womanist theorists.

Coward (1999) is probably referring to separatist and radical feminist approaches, which espouse a separation of women from men, but her unreflective use of conceptual knowledge that has been hard earned supports a mainstream agenda which marginalises racialised women's perspectives. This is also evidenced in Lykke (2003), and Patai and Koertge (2003).

An intersectional-womanist approach would confront women's varying privileges frontally in established feminist discourse (Lee, 1999), as degrees and dimensions of privilege also defines the scope, and grades of oppressions, and awareness of those experienced by women outside of that range of benefit. The conceptions of social justice as presented and utilised by marginalised feminist voices confront and modify the traditional ways that this has been viewed by mainstream feminism (Young, 1990).

Electoral Commission as assistant to the Mary Burton the Cape Provincial Officer and her team at the time, this is a strongly remembered factor, of which the world beyond the South African borders appears to be unaware.

It is the unwillingness (wittingly or not) to address this issue that has tainted the first and second wave feminist movements (Lee, 1999) and is threatening to persist throughout what is often called the third wave or 'post' era. What is often presumed to be a clearly delineated boundary between black/white is in fact more complicated than such simplistic reasoning and it is this understanding – an intersectional-womanist non-essentialising approach - that shapes the theoretical background for consequent chapters in this study.

Amongst the writings of intersectional theorists like Crenshaw (2003), and womanist theorists like Lee (1999), there are a number of common crucial areas that are considered important to related discussions, namely, the role of European colonialisms (Brah, 1994; Loomba, 1998; Moreton-Robinson, 2000; Spivak, 2001; Haggis, 2003; and Mohanty, 2003, for example); the role of women's studies and feminist epistemology (Hill Collins, 2001, 2000, 1990; Suleri, 1999; Ang, 2003, for example); the role of social policy and legislation (Essed, 1991, 2002; Stoltz, 2000; Stone, 1996; Young, 1990, 1997, for example); and how these factors relate to each other and to the interactions between women (generally included in all postcolonial feminist, critical 'race' and womanist works).

An increasing number of women analysts who do intersectional and/or womanist examinations do this from the theoretical bases of challenging whiteness and/or postcolonial studies standpoints. Interpretations of such works obviate the overlap of contentions in significant ways more than they diverge.

This complex mode of thinking intersectionally is what underpins, nourishes and impels this particular study as it pursues an interdisciplinary approach, which is most often also utilised by postcolonial feminist and whiteness theorists.

This perspective is essential to counter theoretical marginalisation in relation to racialised women academics in the professional academic space and Smith (2000) is an example of why this ought to be a matter of grave concern. Smith's work contains statistics on the growing number of corporate board women, who ascribe their success to individual effort, occasional mentoring, and women's intellectual 'savvy', etc (Smith, 2000).

Summers (2003:1) too writes that "women are doing wonderful things, powerful things, innovative things"; they are "acting and achieving in ways that a generation ago seemed almost unimaginable". Women are cabinet ministers; they serve on Supreme Courts, run

major banks and large government agencies, etc. But problems arise when the question "Which women?" is posed.

Cass et al (1983) also had to concede, as mentioned earlier, that the actual question might more aptly be "How come so many?" albeit that they do not reflect on the privilege of whiteness as the possible answer.

Non-racialised/white women are sufficiently present in the academe to be able to fill statistical tables and be part of evaluation studies. But the picture is not as flawless as the universalistic veneer might present it to be. As Summers (2003) also adds, some women are certainly doing all of the things described but that does not tell the full story. Unfortunately, Summers (2003) also dons a mantle of egalitarianism and presumes the playing fields level in relation to all 'women'.

How does one diplomatically point out that yes, some women are 'doing those things', but if you take a closer look at them, the unquestionable conclusion can be drawn that the privileged are significantly non-racialised-white women - the kind that have been called 'white-anglo-saxon/european-middle-class-judeo-christian-heterosexual-unimpeded' by counter mainstream theorists.

Summers' (2003) exposition is vigorous and gives insight into a context that would otherwise pass off as "quite alright", "fair dinkum" and "no worries". Definitions and understandings of the welfare state differ and approaches to it vary over space and time too but, if Summers' statistics are correct and her contentions accurate, Australia cannot be endorsed with a position amongst the world's foremost welfare states at this point in time. What does this mean for racialised women – academics or not?

The focus in Summers' discussion (2003) reflects a pre-occupation with the oppressive features of power and resistance – something which also expresses a commitment to change and which has united women over time and from time to time.

It is this diversity that particularly cannot accept the constrictions of explications that elevate "woman/women" as an unchallengeable and monolithic nebula under the banner of whiteness. This study also challenges this notion, which is often used to legitimate an exclusive 'sisterhood' that insists on the supremacy of one common oppression (sexism) and one universal oppressor (men).

This 'sex/gender only' perspective is an applied and theoretical position that is held by mainstream feminists and which Coward (1999), calls a "sacred cow". One wonders whether Coward deliberately (mis)appropriated this reductionist and ethno-religiously laden term after careful thought or whether the author presumes impunity, since the position from which she propels the metaphor is economically, socially and politically powerful. Coward is a well-known UK columnist for The Guardian and a successful non-racialised author. Pedagogies are also thus disseminated and concretised as given fact.

It is with apparent nonchalance that a woman theorist like Coward (1999) shapes knowledge about and for women, propagates it through a powerful medium, interacts with the general public through the media - which also engages politicians and other decision makers - and selects to exclude a discussion on 'race'/ethnicity when this is still an issue in the twenty-first century. This is the kind of practice in modern day women's writing that engages postcolonial women theorists who advocate for a women's movement that understands and engages with their experiences from an intersectional viewpoint.

No doubt, considering the ease with which Coward (1999) uses the notion of "sacred cows", the author has not taken the time to reflect upon how this might be received by women of specific beliefs or persuasions alternate to her own, even if this were atheistic, agnostic, etc. This kind of unreflective and presumptive discourse is what necessitates new ways of exposing racialised-gendered discrimination and its entrenchment in whiteness. It is after all these kinds of works that have been allowed to present and document what, and who, are integral to the conservation of the patriarchal, male dominated status quo and power apparatuses.

In so doing, mainstream feminists have identified what they perceive as the most salient and essential to the ghettoisation of women at lower and middle levels within organisations, workplaces and society in general. Beyond what is happening, feminist theorists are describing, presenting, interpreting, shaping understandings, and proposing counteractions to a reality as they see it within the framework of their own understandings. They do this by way of drawing upon a specific field of knowledge that in turn is also shaped by the authorised and validated epistemologies which are produced, consumed and distributed in and through mainly Women's and or Gender Studies/Science. It is therefore logical to understand the foci of this field of study as being of paramount importance to the presentation of such theorisations: how it is informed, and how it is to be challenged.

Peripheral admission is mirrored by central exclusion and identifying who is positioned where is not always easily done. To this point, the theoretical framework of intersectionality has been accounted for and the elements of saliency to the intersectional factors and/or spheres of this thesis have been introduced.

Racialised women academics' negligible presence in the academe can therefore be likened to the proverbial iceberg. The political correctness and amiable jocularity of many contemporary academic spaces can hide the coagulated mass below the surface of visibility, where the various elements of the cement that holds the structure afloat is a complicated intersectioning, co-existent, and co-dependent dynamic of praxis, policy and pedagogy. These sometimes overt but most often covert links sustain and promote the status quo.

Without a lens focused on the interactive nature of subordination, we function with a partial view of what sexism, racism, homophobia, etc. really look like – as if we were squinting at the world with one eye closed (Crenshaw, 2003:56).

3.3.4 The Intersectional Framework of This Study

The three geopolitical contexts in which the eight universities included in this study are located are examined within an intersectional framework. In this study, the investigative elements proposed by Crenshaw's exposition of intersectionality are used.

This study identifies the operative elements of intersectionality as follows:

The *terrains* studied are the geopolitical spaces of Australia, South Africa and Sweden in relation to global and local geopolitical contexts; the eight universities; and the women and/or gender workplaces at each of these universities. This perspective is proposed to illustrate the interconnectedness of the macro, mezzo and micro levels in each case.

The *routes or thoroughfares of power* given dominant but not exclusive consideration in the study are 'race'/ethnicity, gender, and class. These are deliberated and investigated in conjunction with the *systems of discrimination* that are of concern in this study, namely, whiteness, racism, sexism, and classism.

Corrective legislation and policies, as examples of targeted discrimination, in relation to affirmative action and equal opportunity constitute the *structural* aspects of import to the ensuing investigation, and the *traffic or activities of discrimination* investigated by the study

are identified by the decisions and perceptions of professional academics, as well as the implementations of corrective policies and legislations.

In this examination, illustrations of compound, structural and structural-dynamic discrimination are considered inevitable due to their intersectioning with racialised women at the crossroads. In the process, the patterns of hegemonic power at the intersections can be identified concurrent to other active intersectional aspects, even where these are performed through the perceptions of informants included in the study.

Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality is interpreted as a complex grid, where the specific *locales* in which racialised women would be located as potential and/or actively participant academics. These sites, though separate in relation to space and time, are nonetheless understood as intersectionally linked through the attitudes and approaches of participants to racialised academic women's marginalisation.

The analysis of the data, while sentient to contextual specificities, is envisaged as overlapping intersectionally. The study does acknowledge the particularities of each location but also approaches the marginalisation of racialised academic women as a variably constituted form of discrimination that is singular in its articulation across the eight case study contexts.

To explain, the marginalisation or discrimination of academic women, though possibly changeably constructed at the intersections, are nevertheless united in this study by the characteristic that those women who are at or who are approaching the intersection within academia, where racialised marginalising discrimination is taking place, are identifiable as racialised women.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has accounted for the theoretical point of departure of the ensuing study. This theoretical foundation presupposes that the marginalisation of racialised academic women is related to racialised labour markets in Australia, Sweden and South Africa; the racialised power of 'women's epistemology'; the intersection of processes of racialisation with marginalisation; and the normalisation of whiteness and the unchallenged hegemony of white privilege.

The theoretical framework of intersectionality was analytically accounted in the chapter. A rationale for the appropriation of the analytical elements of intersectionality was proffered, and their equivalents as proposed in the ensuing study were identified.

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGY: The Quest for Knowledge and Processes of the Study

This chapter will outline the process of learning in the progression from the stage of tentative questioning to the point where possible answers to the questions have been obtained.

The theoretical thinking, namely intersectionality, by which this journey is shaped, is dynamic and multidimensional. In order to equal the flexibility of intersectional theories, I chose a multimethod research style in a qualitative feminist paradigm. Individually different research methods offer possible avenues to the acquisition of knowledge (Brewer and Hunter, 1989) but a combination of complementary methods offer the possibility of 'leaving fewer stones unturned'.

In this presentation and discussion of methods and methodological issues, I will address qualitative feminist inquiry as a research approach and way of interpreting data collected through the use of multiple methods. I also reflect on questions relating to the verification of data, the ethics surrounding the research relationship with the factors and people associated with the study, and other methodological issues pertinent to the study and the expedition of knowledge that this work has been for me.

4.1 Qualitative Feminist Research

In qualitative research it is the researcher's responsibility to find the best ways of studying how meanings and interpretations have been and are constructed within the particular substantive area of her/his research (Liamputtong and Ezzy, 2005).

Cresswell (1998) defines qualitative research as:

an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The research builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting (Cresswell, 1998:15).

This contrasts with quantitative research which focuses on gathering statistical data, monitoring variables and plotting graphs through the collations of such figures (Cresswell, 1989). Positivist and behaviourist research traditions, for example, have strong views about cause1effect relationships in their pursuit of verifying 'truth'. Mainstream feminist researchers and qualitative postcolonial feminist researchers in particular however decry the inability of quantitative research to engage with the human and social factors beyond the mathematical grid.

I chose to study the meanings and interpretations surrounding racialised women academics' marginalisation through applying a multimethod approach. I had nondirective interviews with informants and ploughed through curricula and employment application and selection documentation, and made personal contact with employees at the Australian, South African and Swedish national statistical bureaus.

The qualitative paradigm used is central to the way in which interview participants and informants were approached, the way discussions were arranged and expedited, and the way in which explications of my interpretations and gained insights are proffered.

I chose the postcolonial feminist qualitative research design because of the nature of the research question, the fact that the topic needs to be explored, and because I felt that, a detailed view of the subject was necessary. These are reasons that most often compel researchers to undertake qualitative research (Cresswell, 1998). Furthermore, this design and its perspective are based on postcolonial feminist theory which engages in a two-fold project.

...to racialise mainstream feminist theory and to insert feminist concerns into conceptualisations of colonialism and postcolonialism (Lewis and Mills, 2003:3-4).

Postcolonial feminist research challenges traditional canonical designs and methodologies and the research design is the entire process from the conceptualisation of the problem to the writing of the narrative, which identifies it as within a qualitative paradigm (Olesen, 1994; Cresswell, 1998). Employing a qualitative postcolonial feminist research design is not simply about the methods used in relation to data collection, analysis and report writing, it is also the blueprint of how the central factors of the study are fitted together.

Feminist qualitative research voices

...share the outlook that it is important to center and make problematic women's diverse situation and the institutions and frames that influence those situations, and then to refer the examination of that problematic to theoretical, policy, or action frameworks in the interest of realizing social justice for women (Olesen, 1994).

Expanding mainstream feminist methodologies and research design frameworks, qualitative postcolonial feminist research adapts and applies the four factors of mainstream feminist research, namely,

- The production of alternative origins of problematics
- The developing of alternative explanations and using alternative evidence
- The facilitating and understanding of women's views for emancipation and empowerment
- The developing of alternative purposes of inquiry and new recommendations for the relationships between inquirers and those they interact with in the process of inquiry.

In order to produce understandings of current polemics and dynamics related to the historical meeting of the colonised and colonisers (Lewis and Mills, 2003).

Feminist research is also an ontology (Hall and Hall, 1996) by which distinctive epistemologies are expressed and postcolonial feminist research plays a significant role in shaping mainstream ontology in relation to 'women's issues' and mainstream epistemologies.

Qualitative postcolonial feminist research reclaims the contributions that postcolonial feminists have made to postcolonial studies as a whole and feminism in particular. As part of its quest qualitative postcolonial feminism challenges the misappropriation and erasures that mainstream epistemologies have wittingly or not performed in regards to the knowledges produced and proffered by postcolonial feminists (Lewis and Mills, 2003).

Qualitative studies are used

as an alternative to opinion polls; and to examine causal processes at the level of the international, self-directing and knowledgeable actor which can be lost from view in the over-socialised conception of man [and woman] in sociology (Hakim, 1987).

The combination of qualitative and postcolonial feminist research was conducive to the natural environment in which the fieldwork took place. Interview participants preferred to meet with me at their workplaces and this also gave me direct access to the contexts in

which they worked. They could terminate discussions at any time, introduce tangential issues, and question me as the researcher if and when this was deemed necessary.

The flexibility and fluidity of qualitative research is however not without critique. Particular concerns have been raised by researchers, who argue that the interpretive nature of qualitative data lacks reliability and validity (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Kincheloe, 2003).

4.2 Multiple Case Study Design

According to Yin's (2003) typology of research strategies, this study is a combinative investigation integrating historical and case study strategies. This is characterised by the 'how, why' research questions; the lack of need for control of behavioural events; and, the focus on contemporary events. Case studies originate from the human and social sciences, as well as applied areas like evaluation research (Cresswell, 1998).

Case studies are empirical inquiries that "investigate contemporary phenomena within their real-life contexts particularly when the boundaries between phenomena and contexts are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2003:1).

When a comparative design is applied in relation to a qualitative research strategy it takes on the form of a multiple-case or multicase study and as the name implies, the study incorporates more than one case (Bryman, 2001). As part of the investigative process a uniform data gathering and data analysis procedure is normally utilised.

Skills required of the multiple case studies researcher, as for any qualitative research, are the ability to ask good questions and interpret the answers; should be a good listener and be as minimally trapped by her/his own preconceptions and ideologies; should be adaptable and flexible; have a firm grasp of the issues being studied; and should be unbiased by preconceived notions (Yin, 2003).

4.2.1 Selection of Cases

Broadly, the cases of the study encompassed a structure that indicates a macro (country), mezzo (university) and micro (WGS units) level. The specific cases examined are the WGS units.

The motivations for focusing on South Africa, Sweden and Australia have been presented in Chapter 1. Among the factors that stimulate a focus on these three countries are the polemics that racialised academic women are subject to racialised labour market trends in

these countries; that markedly little is known about their contexts and participation in academia in these countries; that mainstream feminism has not engaged significantly with this disparity; that less is known about the contexts of these three countries in relation to racialised academic women than others like the UK, USA and Canada; and, that the presumptions regarding the progressiveness of 'developed' countries contra 'developing' countries have not yet been significantly engaged with in relation to equality and equity issues regarding women.

Also, Sweden and Australia are often comparatively included in studies on women and gender and South Africa is not. I believed that the understandings South Africa provides in relation to racialised women, ethno-racial categorisation, collaborative women's activism and social transformation could help to understand the discrepancies experienced by racialised women in Sweden and Australia. The rhetorical multiculturalism of Australia and Sweden, and the specific notion of 'integration' in Sweden could be better understood by including South Africa in the study.

The WGS units were selected as cases because of their internationally and nationally acclaimed statuses for progressive research on equality and equity issues, and their reputation for informing governmental policies in the three countries.

Additionally, the universities in which WGS units were located commend themselves and are extolled for being avid anti-discrimination advocates in and outside of the academic workplace. In order to justify this reputation, these universities have instituted Equity and Diversity units or have individual academics in each faculty and/or school entrusted with the responsibility for monitoring and ensuring the equity and diversity aspirations and promises made by the university.

The WGS units at the universities in the three countries vary in size from country to country and from university to university. Some units employ relatively sizeable numbers of staff while others subsist on three or four academics and associated staff from other disciplines. Any rigid parameters regarding the numbers to be included in the study would therefore not have been feasible.

Gaining Access

Since I initially could not anticipate how many responses I would get to my invitation to participate in the study, my initial attempts at gaining access were broad. I subsequently

approached 12 universities on the basis of my expectation that those universities with the most prominent WGS units would also yield the largest number of responses given that the professional academics there are also very prominent within the field. This I hoped would cede two prominent universities in each country with high levels of comparability, which would mean six universities with close contextual parity in relation to their contributions to the field, their reputations, their statuses, and staff and student numbers. The numbers of responses however finally concluded in the inclusion of eight universities.

To gain access to universities and WGS units, letters informing heads of units about the study were sent to five Australian, three South African and four Swedish universities. This was also aimed to receive their approval for the study to take place at their units.

Most South African and Swedish heads of units responded while Australian responses were consistently very low. There were specific formalities regarding access at one of the South African universities that required me to not only write to the head of their WGS unit but also to the dean of the faculty.

Reasons for the lack of responses were many and included what some academics playfully called 'delete syndrome', whereby incoming electronic mail is 'scanned, spammed and deleted'. Others intimated that my being a racialised woman and the content of the study could have been considered confrontational.

In South Africa, I was unashamedly told that my initial letters did not disclose my ethno-racial, national or ethno-cultural identity, which is a prominent issue there following Black South African women's resistance to western inspection. This contention seems to be substantiated by the fact that most of the acceptances received from South African academics were forthcoming subsequent to my follow-up letter and personal presentation, which disclosed information about my ethno-racial and national background, political engagements and theoretical interests. I did not receive any insight into why Swedish but particularly Australian responses were so markedly low.

Three weeks following the letters to heads of units and the South African faculty dean, 125 letters of invitation were sent to potential professional academics to participate in interviews or focus group discussions (six to eight interview participants). Follow up letters were also sent when the response rate was low. This time a personal presentation of me as the

prospective researcher was added, and the the proposed focus group/interview discussion guideline.

I was also fortunate that academics who had for various reasons not been formally invited to participate contacted me while I was in South Africa and Sweden and requested for us to meet for unstructured nondirective interviews. I was also invited to do seminars at two universities in Sweden and one in South Africa, which also encouraged further discussions with more professional academics.

The selected cases for the study thus resulted in two South African, three Swedish and three Australian universities with a total of 11, eight and five participants respectively. The WGS units and the interview participants were geographically located in Pretoria and Cape Town (South Africa), Stockholm, Göteborg and Linköping (Sweden), and, Melbourne and Adelaide (Australia).

4.2.2 Multi-Method Data Collection

Multi-method approaches are investigative strategies that deliberately combine different types of data collection methods within the same investigation in an attempt to overcome the weaknesses and limitations of a chosen method (Brewer and Hunter, 1989). It therefore attempts to synthesise styles towards a more dynamic and accurate understanding of the phenomena being examined.

Using multi-method data collection processes is common to most single and multiple case studies (Yin, 2003; Bryman, 2001; Creswell, 1998). Among the types of information considered are documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observations and physical artefacts (Yin, 1989).

Interviews with professional academics

The primary source of the empirical data of this study was obtained from the interviews with 24 professional academics in the WGS units at the eight universities in Sweden, South Africa and Australia. The fieldwork component of the study was financially supported by a University of New South Wales Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences grant and the entire data collection exercise occurred during the fieldwork.

Doing fieldwork is not always suitable for all researchers and this was a test for me given the passion I have for the subject matter of the study. The feedback received from interview

participants following our sessions together convinced me that I had risen to the challenge and I would now embark on fieldwork with more confidence.

Access to other involved parties like students and the broader epistemic community in each of the three countries is also easier to negotiate when doing fieldwork research. Likewise, gaining access to context specific documentation and literature was also facilitated.

It was important to carry out interviews in face-to-face settings that were familiar to interview participants, thus the visit to the actual units became more valuable. Interviews were conducted at the workplaces of all interview participants; most often in their offices and sometimes in staff dining rooms.

The interview guide was not used rigidly but rather as a reference background for myself and contained bulleted points that focused on the research question areas. An initial guide, which was proposed for focus group discussions, had been sent to participants three weeks prior to the interview. Since it had to be modified for the face-to-face interviews, I handed each participant the modified interview guideline, which contained six bullet points indicating the area that the question was meant to address. The majority of participants had not read the first guide and only briefly skimmed the amended one.

Informal discussions with fellow women postgraduate students and colleagues in national and local postgraduate political organisations were another method of data collection. These were impromptu and took place at restaurants and at the homes of academics upon their invitations and subsequent to seminars that I did at one Swedish and one South African university.

My initial aim to conduct focus group discussions had to be changed as only two of the interview participants wished to participate in a group setting. Instead, I had to adapt my initial discussion guideline to suit single semi-structured and 'open ended' interview situations of one to one-and-half hour duration. Most interviews were recorded on an extremely modern voice recognition and computer compatible recording device.

The nondirective interviews took place at venues decided by interviewees as most appropriate. As a result, we met at their workplaces and then most often in their offices. This had both advantages and disadvantages. Among the advantages was the possibility for me to have a direct insight into the working context. It also facilitated the possibility of

collecting documents. A disadvantage was that most often telephones rang at any time and most often interview participants would reply and this would reduce the actual time spent in discussion.

Use of documents and secondary data

A secondary source of data are documentations – electronic and hard copies. Secondary data include statements by universities regarding equal opportunity policies and affirmative action programs and legislation; employment application forms, curricula documentation from the specific academic units included in the study; reports on gender equity investigations made by academics at two universities; statistical geopolitical electronic data on the internet; and, selection criteria in past job advertisements.

Documents are a stable, unobtrusive, exact source and can have broad coverage (Yin, 2003). It does however have weaknesses, which include the possibility of low retrievability, they can be selectively biased, can contain reporting bias, and finally, documents can have access to them blocked. I experienced this in Australia where access to ethno-racial categorisation statistics of members of staff at a university was denied because the practice is considered 'politically incorrect', and the information was considered to be confidential despite the lack of in-depth personal details relating to professional academics.

Information retrieved from the internet websites of governments, government agencies and officials are more easily accessible, are blatantly biased in regards to the image portrayed of ruling political parties, and are constantly updated. Nonetheless, at face value it has to be presumed that the information available on such official and public websites is accurate in relation to statistics, value statements and publicity of government projects.

The URL's used were: www.gov.za; www.statssa.gov.za, www.education.gov.za; www.abs.gov.au; www.avcc.edu.au; www.scb.se; www.regeringen.se; www.worldbank.org and <http://portal.unesco.org>. Data and information from these websites were used to inform the geopolitical contextualisation of the three countries.

In order to protect the anonymity of the interview participants, I am not including the URL's to their respective units at the various universities but am willing to provide this should it be required after discussing the issues with the professional academics who are likely to be affected by this knowledge.

Other sources of secondary data include postcolonial feminist, critical 'race', whiteness, Black feminist, African feminist, and mainstream feminist literature.

4.2.3 *Participants of the Study*

There were no hard and fast rules about which professional academics could participate as participants. The general characteristics sought included that they were professional academics occupied with the issues related to women and gender as a pedagogical field and/or as individuals responsible for the implementation of affirmative action and/or equal opportunity directives as instructed by university management and/or government.

Five of the South African participants firmly affirmed themselves as racialised/Black, two of the Australian interview participants were willing to identify partially as racialised (contextually racialised), while the remaining 17 identified themselves as non-racialised. Contextually racialised participants were singular to the Australian context and were willing to concede that their experiences of racialisation were limited because of their physical appearances which they defined as 'white'. In Sweden, a similar situation occurred but participants, who had variable ethnic backgrounds, did not see themselves as racialised at all.

In order to discuss the experiences and perceptions of interview participants in respect of the marginalisation of racialised academic women, it is feasible to have an idea of who is sharing what experiential and perceptual views on the matter. With this in mind, and in order to encourage self-identification, participants were asked how they identified the term 'racialised woman/women'. They were asked, where relevant, to replace 'woman/women' with 'man/men'.

The contributions of non-racialised men and women academics often did not extract a categorical 'yes' or 'no' answer in relation to self-identification as racialised/non-racialised. Mostly, the question was averted and responses were instead framed in referential terms like "I think that they....", "...their situations are", among others. Indicating that at the very least there is a basic awareness of 'difference' and that 'racialised women academics' might be part of the workplace group but are understood as not being part of the identified 'own' group.

Table 4.1 Profile of the Participants in the Study

COUNTRY AND NUMBER OF UNIVERSITIES				
	Australia (3)	South Africa (2)	Sweden (3)	Total
<i><u>Gender</u></i>				
Female	5	9	6	20
Male	0	2	2	4
<i><u>Academic Position</u></i>				
Researcher	0	0	2	2
Lecturer	1	3	1	5
Senior Lecturer	0	4	0	4
Associate Professor	2	0	1	3
Professor	2	4	4	10
<i><u>Tenure (Years)</u></i>				
1 to 5	1	1	0	2
6 to 10	0	4	3	7
11 to 15	0	2	0	2
16 to 20	2	2	1	5
21 and over	2	2	4	8
TOTAL	5	11	8	24

Participants were also asked to provide information on their backgrounds and academic career developments. Most of the non-racialised participants, more so the men than the women, had progressed relatively easy within academe, and reported minimal social, political and economic limitations en route to the positions they held at the time of our discussions.

Swedish participants were mostly employed in independent WGS units, units or centres, while even though Australian interview participants were also employed in similar units or centres, these were less autonomous and were situated within specific disciplinary fields, mainly history, which also set the tone for their curricula.

In South Africa, 10 of the participants were associated staff from all faculties and disciplines with one employed solely in a WGS institution. Resources ascribed to these units or programs varied from country to country, and participants in South Africa expressed a

specific marginalisation in this regard. The 21 women and 4 men participants were variably aged.

One of the Swedish and one of the South African male interview participants held top-level positions. The other two held a contractual researcher and a training management position respectively.

Participation was not limited to any category, namely, sex/gender, sexual orientation, physical and/or cognitive abilities, age, 'race'/ethnicity, religion, class, etc. In keeping with the characteristics and purposes of multiple case studies, I attempted to include all parties within each specifically demarcated contextual space and as a result, the interview participants comprised a very diverse group in relation to all the aspects mentioned in the beginning of the paragraph.

The diversity of the participants who have contributed to this study was unavoidably unbalanced, since predominantly white or non-racialised women and men are employed in the WGS programs, units and departments in Sweden, Australia and South Africa. This is also common across university faculties in these countries according to participants in each country.

Additionally, the individual and collective insights and perceptions presented by participants cannot unquestioningly be viewed as representative of all professional academics at all units and at all universities in these three countries. This said, it cannot be overlooked that these insights are proffered by validated and accountable academics in each country, and they are therefore the qualified contributions of endorsed individual representatives of the Australian, South African and Swedish academia.

I also carried out eight key informant interviews. The purpose for these interviews were primarily to gather statistical and official information, as well as to elicit the qualified opinions of these informants with regards to the processes of statistic collations; the effectiveness of government and university implemented equity and diversity programs; and, the legal value of anti-discrimination and equal opportunity legislation.

Among the key informants of this study, three were also interview participants (one in each country), two were librarians with specialist statistical knowledge (one Swedish, one Australian), one was a barrister (Australian), and two (one in Sweden, one in South Africa) were directors of specialised government bureaus dealing with gender issues.

4.2.4 Data Analysis

The data analysis strategy for this study is not an analytic induction, which seeks universal explanations for phenomena through testing all cases until none are found to be inconsistent with a hypothetical explanation of the phenomena (Bryman, 2001). Rather, the data analysis follows a grounded theory approach, which means that it is concerned with the development of theory from the data and the approach is *iterative or recursive* in that the data collection and the analysis are in a reciprocal relationship that are mutually affective.

Debates about grounded theory approaches are vibrant and its use is not easily contained or defined. The tools of grounded theory used in this study are informed by theoretical paradigms that form the framework of the study. As such the analysis of the data is grounded in postcolonial feminist, critical 'race', whiteness and related theory and is elaborated on and modified by the data collected for this study.

This approach enhances the multi-method data collection approach and the multiple case study design, while also bridging the gap between theory and empirical research. A purist approach to grounded theory is not aimed at by the analysis of data in this work, which is not inappropriate as developments in the use of grounded theory have been influenced by contemporary intellectual trends and movements like feminism, ethnomethodology, and strains of postmodernism amongst others (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

The primary interview data were transcribed. The transcripts were then reread has been read and reread to find answers to the central research questions of the study.

The data analysis involved identifying themes alloted to the analytical elements of intersectionality like gender, 'race'/ethnicity, class, etc (routes of power); evaluations of anti-discriminatory policies and legislations (traffic); perceptions and attitudes in relation to racialised women academics marginalisation (systems of discrimination), etc.

The findings from the interviews are then linked to the documents and archival data. The geopolitical factors of each country are also taken into account while analysing the data.

The interpretation of secondary data, namely documents and electronic media, has been guided by text analyses whereby, for example, lingual and cultural power and/or dominance can be discursively identified.

The secondary data source, which includes the literature on legislation, policies, curricula and institutional statements on equal opportunity and affirmative action were easier to access than key figures at governmental and university management levels. I chose to use this source to inform Chapter 5, which expounds the constructions of relevant literature in each country and at each university included in the study.

4.3 Addressing Research Issues

Research does not take place in a vacuum and the researcher is influenced by factors relating to her/his own socialisation and perceptions, which also impact on the research being carried out (Tashakkori and Teddie, 1998).

4.3.1 Ethics

The ethical questions reflected on in the process of collecting, collating and presenting this study included issues like informed consent, confidentiality, and bias, amongst others. I had to apply for ethics clearance from my university prior to contacting or organising my fieldwork. I received ethics approval without any incidences and the guidelines that accompany the ethics approval application form has remained something I refer back to whenever I am unsure about ethical issues in the research process.

Critical social science, which I see this study as a part of, also promotes self-reflection (Kincheloe, 2003). I have remained cautious when interpreting the contributions of informants and have tempered those interpretations with a conscious effort to be fair even when I felt I was most likely to be strongly affected by the contentions in such contributions.

Interview participants were not coerced or tempted to contribute to this study and their participation was not engaged through any deception. I remained eager to share information in relation to myself, the study and the theory related to the study, but was very cautious about not sharing information about interview participants to other interview participants.

It would be incorrect to presume that my background as a South African woman activist since age 13, and my experiences in Sweden and South Africa as a racialised woman did not play a role in the shaping of the study and the communication with participants. I was aware of levels of sensitivity within myself on occasion but since I had prepared myself for such situations, it did not get in the way of discussions.

On other occasions where white/non-racialised participants were particularly overtly cautious, the interview skills I had acquired during a short course at my university enabled the smooth facilitation of the interview. I was conscious about not pressuring interviewees and on three occasions accepted the requests of participants to postpone interviews until the next day.

A response from a participant in Sweden after our interview session gladdened and encouraged me to believe that I was indeed performing my task as a researcher appropriately. She informed me that she had had trepidations prior to the interview and had instead been very pleasantly surprised by my relaxed demeanour, willingness to allow interaction, and lack of aggression in relation to the topic. We are still in contact with each other and are looking at collaborations between South African and Swedish women academics. I was privileged to have the same response from most of the other participants as well.

I transcribed the interviews, guaranteed the anonymity of interview participants by using pseudonyms, and also kept the names of individual universities confidential. There were interview participants who did not wish for their contributions to be kept on file and I promised not to do so.

4.3.2 *Validity and Reliability*

Validity is one of the most important criteria of research (Bryman, 2001). It has to do with the integrity of conclusions generated by the research. Validity is often divided into measurement validity, internal validity, external validity and ecological validity (Bryman, 2001).

This study would be more concerned with external validity related to this study than the other three forms of validity and even then, I am cautious about taking on the premises of external validity. My caution relates the question of external validity and reliability as pertaining to the generalise-ability of the results and conclusions of the research beyond the research context.

This study has been shaped by dissatisfaction with universalistic pedagogies, policies and praxes. It would therefore be self-contradictory to propose that the conclusions and results of this study can be universalistically applied irrespective of context.

Qualitative research values the data obtained from opinions, narratives, etc. This study's validity is based on the fact that it has obtained the opinions of participants that have been given in a context where they had the absolute freedom to interject, terminate the interview, pose questions, etc. Additionally, these were people who are constantly engaged in the issues covered in the interviews and therefore they have informed opinions. Where responses could have been misinterpreted, I requested for participants to clarify these.

The reliability of the data in this study was ensured through verification techniques, and is dependable because I have exercised clarity in the entire process of the fieldwork, which includes the interviews.

It is not the aim of this study to provide conclusive answers or unquestionable truths. What this study does aim to do is to discuss the issue of racialised women academics marginalisation in the professional academe in Sweden, South Africa and Australia in order to address understandings of the issue in those contexts and to contribute to strategies for change in those countries. If similar circumstances are identifiable elsewhere and the study is found to be feasible to apply there then that would have to be the choice of whoever is doing the research.

Even the reference to 'racialised women' in these contexts is done with the awareness that it could be argued as unacceptable or incorrect from one situation to the next and applying it as a category in the study is meant to facilitate the process of learning and not to deny the diversity of which the category is composed.

4.3.3 Reflections and Some Limitations

This study would have been quantitatively strengthened if reliable statistics on racialised women academic numbers in the professional academia were available in the three countries. It would also have been strengthened if greater access to the space of WGS could be guaranteed. A higher level of participation would also have benefited the study.

Choosing a multi- rather than a strictly mono-methodological approach involves other complications like financial and time costs. It also affects the depth at which one is able to examine each case. I believe the work would have been advantaged if I had been able to stay 'in the field' for a longer period of time. Firstly, this would have facilitated a transitional period in which I could have introduced myself to prospective interview participants to gain their confidence and reduce the feeling of 'coming in from the cold'. Secondly, this would

have provided me with greater opportunities to revisit issues that required further clarification.

I was fortunate that at one university in Stockholm and the university in Pretoria those academics offered assistance with providing me with a work space, access to printing facilities and accommodation, which could not be finalised prior to my departure from Sydney due to social events that took place there at that time.

The question of power and status in the interviewing process has to be recalled as an influential factor in the interviewing situation. Moreton-Robinson (2000) explicates how the taken-for-granted normality of white women investigating Black women is not mirrored when racialised women are in the position of investigator and white women are the investigated. I do believe that despite the easy communication that took place in the interview setting, white academics were more prone to answer guardedly and with what seemed to be an underlying question – “Have I answered that right?” While I respected the caution with which I was received, I was concerned about the ‘honesty’ of the responses received. This was even so, when I met with racialised women academics in the South African setting, where my being a foreign trained academic was treated with suspicion at times and with dismissal at others. I found myself having to relax mentally and reflect on such occurrences instead.

On four occasions, two in Sweden and one in Australia, I felt as though the interviewees in those situations were somewhat disparaging of the subject. One especially strongly located mainstream Swedish academic mockingly wished me luck with the subject and pointed out that I ought not to forget that I was still hoping to gain my degree. What that comment was supposed to mean is still something that I reflect over.

Given the dearth of employed racialised academic women in WGS units and universities in the three countries in general, it would have been to the advantage of the thesis if there had been more time and resources available to expand my empirical context. This would have made it possible for me to engage with racialised women who are engaged with racialised women's issues outside of the academia, as artists, poets, writers, community activists, etc in order to elicit their views on why racialised academic women are so marginalised in academia. I considered this possibility on more than one occasion but had to put it aside since I was in Australia as an international student and the costs that would have been incurred due to extending my candidature and the empirical space of the thesis

were extremely exorbitant. Additionally, while invitations were sent out to all listed academics in WGS units, a sizeable number of those invited and who never responded were racialised academics. The reasons for this could include the same factors mentioned earlier in this chapter with regards to perceptions about me as the researcher. Instead, as presented in earlier, I had informal interviews with racialised women colleagues at my and other universities during my period as the Postgraduate Representative for the Council of Australian Postgraduate Associations (CAPA).

The research questions proposed for the study also proved somewhat limiting and sometimes too general albeit that I had no intention of utilising obtained information as 'proof of truth' or for the establishment of an expansive hypothesis. As my fieldwork was underway, it became apparent to me that a specific focus on 'identifying' whiteness in the marginalisation of racialised academic women at the outset would have provided more on the subject. It could be asked why *whiteness* was not more significantly explored in this study and why I had not focused more on elucidating it. Firstly, I remained unaware of the lack of reflection on whiteness in intersectionality discussions, where the term is occasionally coined but never elucidated. It was inadvertent that whiteness stood out as a specifically identifiable issue through the responses of academics (racialised and non-racialised). I had spent significant lengths of time looking for expansive academic writings on or investigations of whiteness in Sweden and South Africa like those of Moreton-Robinson (2000) and Frankenburg (1993) but remained unsuccessful. To exemplify, only one Australian contextually racialised participant (see 7.2.5 on Whiteness) made direct mention of whiteness. I elected to not foreground whiteness because it still needs theorisation like those of these two authors in the two mentioned countries. Whiteness is not easily translated to *vithet* in Swedish and proposes equal if not similar challenges in the South African context, where the term is not as broadly used. These are therefore areas that I most certainly look forward to pursuing more expansively in the future.

Chapter 5

THE GEOPOLITICAL TERRAINS: Australia, Sweden and South Africa

In Chapter 3, I presented the theoretical motivations that make clear the importance of enunciating the historical, structural and systemic dynamics, which intersectionally shape the complexities of racialised women academics experiences of multiple discriminations, in order to understand how discrimination is structured and how it works. The structural and dynamic facets of multiple discriminations have to be investigated, as well as how discriminatory systems create iniquitous locales for women that also function by praxes and policies that construct the polemics that compose the active aspects of disempowerment.

This chapter provides a multi-focal geopolitical contextualisation of Australia, South Africa and Sweden, including the socio-political and legal texts that relate to racialised women academics' marginalisation. This represents the first research question of the study.

A combination of data collated from official documents, government supported research, electronically accessible public information, organisational and institutional policy statements, and, the insights of key informants and some interview participants.

The chapter is divided into six sections – the demographics; political structures; the equal opportunity and anti-discrimination laws; developments in relation to women in the academics; available and undisclosed national statistics on racialised women academics; and the formalities and dynamics of the academic structures.

5.1 Demographics

Global dynamics, as de Los Reyes and Mulinari (2005) explain, affect local dynamics within countries and affect the opportunities of groups and individuals variably. Often, the economic, social and political aspects of global imbalances are patently reflected in local contexts. The population numbers, geographic dimensions and population spreads of South Africa, Australia and Sweden play a significant part in the distribution of wealth, employment possibilities and socio-political dynamics.

Table 5.1 Population and Geographical Areas: Australia, South Africa and Sweden

COUNTRY	POPULATION	GEOGRAPHICAL AREA (sq.km)
South Africa	44,819,778*	1,219,090
Australia	20,370,869**	7,600,000
Sweden	9,011,392***	449,964
Key:	* Census 2001 ** Projected population statistics, July, 2005 *** As at July, 2005	
Sources:	www.abs.gov.au www.statssa.gov.za/census2001/digiAtlas/index.html www.scb.se/templates/tableOrChart_132260.asp	

Table 5.1 shows the Australian population at 45 per cent that of South Africa. The Swedish populace is approximately 44 per cent that of Australia and roughly one-fifth of South Africa.

Australia's populace inhabits a country that is roughly six times larger than South Africa. The Swedish populace is almost half that of Australia and is located on a geographic space that is almost 15 times smaller than Australia.

Large portions of Australia are however mostly inhabitable and population concentration tends to be in or close to the coastal regions. In Sweden, there are sizeable forest regions in the north, which is snow bound most of the year, and is therefore far less inhabited than those in the south.

The intense concentrations of people in the conurbation (metropolitan area) and often suburban areas of these three countries vary but commonly rural communities often widely spread apart in Australia and South Africa (Moreton-Robinson, 2000; Henn, 1984), whereas Swedish rural areas appear to not be as isolated as those in the other two countries.

Additionally, the infrastructures and access to basic service provisions in Swedish rural areas appear to be of higher standard and frequency than those in South Africa and Australia (Petterson, 1999). For example, rural communities in Australia and South Africa experience serious shortages in regards to access to medical care, fresh running water,

sanitation, higher education facilities and employment opportunities (Moreton-Robinson, 2000; Henn, 1984).

Large variances can also be found in the national financial proportion of incomes among these three countries, which can be expected to saliently impact on their higher educational development as well.

Table 5.2 Population, Gross Domestic Profit (GDP) and Illiteracy Rates: Australia, South Africa and Sweden

COUNTRY	POPULATION	GDP (US\$ billion)	ILLITERACY (% of population 15+)
South Africa	44,819,778*	159.9	14
Australia	20,370,869**	518.4	<5
Sweden	9,011,392***	300.8	<5

Key: * Census 2001

** Projected population statistics July, 2005

*** July, 2005

Sources: www.abs.gov.au; www.statssa.gov.za; www.scb.se;
www.worldbank.org/data/countrydata; <http://education.pwv.gov.za>;
(Council of Higher Education, 2004)

What Table 5.2 shows is that the country with the largest populace (South Africa) also has the lowest GDP, which can be expected to influence education and the dynamics within academe, particularly for racialised women, who have an historic position of disadvantage that has only begun to be politically addressed since the change in governmental regime.

Another indication of fundamental access disparity in the documented illiteracy levels indicate that the illiteracy rates of two 'developed' countries, namely, Sweden and Australia, are disturbingly different from South Africa, a 'developing' country.

This variation between the countries in relation to illiteracy ratios indicates a specific challenge faced by South Africa, which does not, according to the international statistics, appear to confront the other two countries, where elementary education appears to have been obtained by the overwhelming majority of these populaces.

While the illiteracy rate in Sweden and Australia is less than 5 per cent, it is still a concern particularly in the case of racialised women in these two countries. Despite lack of clarity about Indigenous population statistics, the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare

(AIHW) reports the total Indigenous Australian populace at 2.2 per cent (410,615) of the entire population (<http://www.aihw.gov.au/publications/phe/aht01/aht01-c04a.pdf>; downloaded July, 2005). Considering the mortality rates and social inhibitive factors, many Aboriginal people could be among those <5 per cent-illiterate population. Bearing in mind, of course, that we are speaking about illiteracy in a white western sense in relation to formal westernised schooling regimes. Illiteracy and poverty also tend to accompany each other in hierarchically benefited societies.

World Bank statistics on international poverty lines for Australia, Sweden and South Africa are based on expenditure and/or income. These figures show that Australia and Sweden have not been surveyed in the last more or less 20 years.

South Africa was however vigorously surveyed nationally and internationally. The World Bank's 2001 survey (www.worldbank.org/data/wdi2005/wditext/Table2_5.html) reported that 10.7 per cent of the population are spending below US\$1 per day and the poverty gap is estimated at 1.7 per cent. The percentage of the populace expenditure below US\$2 per day equals 34.1 per cent and the poverty gap at this level is 12.6 per cent.

The specific economic disadvantages with which South African racialised women academics are faced can therefore feasibly be expected to differ markedly from those of racialised academic women in the Swedish and Australian contexts given that Sweden and Australia have a longer history of 'egalitarianism' and hence a longer period where access to academic study was available to racialised women.

Additionally, Sweden and Australia have higher GDPs, lower illiteracy and poverty levels. This said, however, it could be precarious to accept these statistics uncritically at face value. To explain, although Australia and Sweden seem unexamined since the 1980s in relation to poverty, this does not necessarily mean that members of the populaces of these countries are not subject to poverty. Possibly, poverty and illiteracy are just not being adequately monitored in relation to the population groups.

Swedish and Australian studies like Castles and Miller (1998) and the Swedish Government Investigation (SOU2000:47) confirm that racialised people and particularly racialised women are congregated in the lower income level brackets and are often overrepresented in welfare statistics.

In South Africa this has been a historical reality for racialised/Black women and change is slow (Budlender, 1992). It would therefore be feasible to expect that even the chances of racialised women embarking on academic study could also be inhibited in all three countries.

5.2 Political Structures

Political structures have been known to control access to education for women, for racialised peoples and for racialised women. Examples can be found in South African and Australian historical developments and in Sweden to a lesser degree.

All three countries have structures that are specifically characteristic of its societies but there are also convergences, particularly in relation to Sweden and South Africa that cede a more favourable picture regarding the potential to bring about transformation for racialised women academics.

The politico-social and historical constructions of these three countries also affect the chances of women affecting change within the academe because these representational elements assist in controlling whether or not policy is formulated and implemented, as well as how, by whom, and when this is done.

5.2.1 *Australia*

Australia has a three tiered Government: the Commonwealth (Federal), State and Local. The federalism of Australia is composed of six states (New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria and Western Australia) and two internal territories (Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory).

The country's constitution was adopted on 9 July 1900 albeit that colonial settlement of the country took place following Captain James Cook's landing on Australian soil in 1770 and the institution of a penal colony in 1788.

The Australian system of government is based on a liberal democratic tradition. It is a parliamentary democracy with three levels: Australian, State/Territory and Local. Parliament (Federal and State/Territory) is popularly elected and contains two chambers, the House of Representatives and the Senate (Jaensch, 2001).

While espoused to be uniquely 'Australian', the political and governing structures reflects those of the UK and emulates the USA's 'dual' federalism, which permits national and state

governments' defined fields of activity. The British monarchy continues to have political control over Australia although it is an independent nation, and Queen Elizabeth II of Britain is also the Queen of Australia. She is represented by a Governor-General on the national level, who is appointed in consultation with the elected Australian government. Governors are appointed to represent the queen in the States.

State and Territories follow a principle of *responsible government*, which implied that governmental representatives are supposed to be responsive to the will of the people within their constituencies and jurisdictions (Jaensch, 2001). The Commonwealth of Australia refers to the federation of States and Territories, which constitute the Australian nation-state.

The British Commonwealth comprises 53 'developed' and 'developing' nations across the globe and their total population of 1.8 billion accounts for 30 per cent of the world's population. Forty-nine of these nations are 'developing' nations. Australia is a member of the British Commonwealth and legislative power is located with the Federal Parliament, which is made up of the Queen (or her representative), the Senate and the House of Representatives. Parliamentary sessions are broadcasted and commonly reported for transparency and to generate public debate. Unlike Britain, Australia has a Constitution, which stipulates the powers of the government in three chapters. The Australian constitution is predominantly a document of directives and contains no value statements.

The three chapters of the constitution are relevant to the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. The complexities of Australia's dualistic politic system is paradoxical in many ways and has been accused of permitting 'buck-passing' because although State parliaments are subject to the national Constitution, they are also subject to the State constitutions. Weller (2002) expounded on the regressive intricacies of Australia's dualistic system.

Also, while federal laws override any State law considered to be conflicting with it, the autonomy, which is the right of each State, can be recalled if the situation arises (Jaensch, 2001).

In Australia the dualistic political system and absence of a Bill of Rights has allowed for many slippages and for the Federal and State governments to be accused of arbitrary justice (Wiseman, 1999).

An individual seeking redress for discrimination on the Federal level can attempt to do so on the State level if dissatisfied with the outcome, but vice versa is not permitted (Ronalds, 1998). Furthermore, the chances of overturning a Federal decision on the State level are very limited. Among the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) member countries, Australia is possibly the only one without a ratified Bill of Rights.

5.2.2 Sweden¹⁵

Sweden is a parliamentary democracy, where the people within the Realm are represented on the national level by the Riksdag (Parliament) and the Government implements the decisions of the Riksdag. The Government has three levels: national, regional and local, which also draft new laws and propose amendments to existing laws.

Representation of the people on the national level is the work of the Riksdag, as mentioned. Sweden's 21 counties have county councils, and the local level consists of 290 municipalities administered by municipal councils. Parliamentary laws are binding on all levels of the Realm.

The four foundational laws (grundlagar) that govern Sweden are *The Instrument of Government*, *The Act of Succession*, *The Freedom of the Press Act* and *The Fundamental Law on Freedom of Expression*. They collectively form the foundation for the country's Constitution.

Strongly influenced by German-Roman legal tradition, the Swedish legal system and laws have in recent years also been patterned to accommodate legislation that emanates from the European Union (EU).

Sweden practices a strong principle of public access which allows for public examination of all documents, records, etc by any citizen or permanent resident in the Realm. The country has had a valid constitution since the fourteenth century.

Egalitarian value statements regarding the right of all persons within the Realm are incorporated in all foundational laws but *The Act of Succession*. Limitations on female successors to the throne have been successively repealed at various junctures in the country's history and social development. (See www.sweden.gov.se for further information)

¹⁵ Information about the Swedish Constitution and laws are accessible on www.regeringskansliet.se

The adoption of the Instrument of Government in 1974 reduced the control and power of the monarchy, and while remaining the Head of State, current and future monarchs could not, since then, have any political power at all. Unlike Australia therefore, Sweden is no longer subject to political control by a monarchy.

Sweden's membership in the EU has necessitated changes within government and the economy. In the 2003 Swedish referendum when 56 per cent of the Swedish populace rejected participation in the EU's monetary union (EMU) and the adoption of the euro as a common currency, new dynamics in relation to Swedish government and its relation to the EU needed to be considered.

Despite the scrutiny and control of the Swedish Riksdag, which is its fundamental responsibility according to the constitution, the ability for individuals, small interest groups, etc to influence the Riksdag's decisions are much better than in many other 'developed' countries.

The Swedish constitution uses very broad egalitarian references. It instructs how "all persons/people" are to be treated and even provides recourse for individuals who are not citizens of the Realm but who reside in it.

The foundational paragraphs for the governing of Sweden were written and promulgated at a time when the country was racially homogenous. Sweden has however never been ethno-culturally homogenous. Sweden was also subject to foreign European rule for most of its history (Tufvesson, 2001; Pred, 2000; Westin, 1998).

From 1850 to 1930 Sweden was predominantly a country of emigration, with vast masses of Swedes migrating mainly to the USA (Tufvesson, 2001; Lundh and Ohlsson, 1999; Westin, 1998). In contemporary times, particularly during and since the Second World War, the expansion of the '(im)migrant' population of Sweden, most specifically those who variably originate from elsewhere than Europe, the USA and Canada, necessitated the construction and implementation of specific anti-discrimination laws (Tufvesson, 2001; Åsard, 2000; Lange, 2000; Molina, 1997).

Despite its egalitarian and universalistic approach to the freedoms and rights of all within the Realm, racism which incorporates ethnocentrism and ethno-culturalism and other forms of discrimination disprove the efficacy and strength of the promises and directives of the Swedish constitution (Lundh and Ohlsson, 1999; Molina, 1997; Diaz, 1993).

5.2.3 South Africa

South Africa recently celebrated its first 10 years as a democracy. The Government is a nationally, provincially and locally constituted body where these three spheres, although distinct, are also interdependent and interrelated. Parliament is the national sphere of government. Provincial legislatures administer the provincial sphere and Municipal Councils govern the local sphere. In many ways, the country shows a political structure that reflects the Swedish model more so than the Australian.

The South African Constitution is one of the most progressive in the world and incorporates a Bill of Rights to which all spheres of government are subject. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa took effect on 4 February 1997 replacing the segregationist apartheid instrument of government. The principle of co-operative government is followed.

Parliament is bicameral consisting of a National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces. Although the seat of Parliament is Cape Town, legal proxy exists to determine that this seat be positioned elsewhere within the country.

Unlike previous governing systems in the country, transparency, freedom of the press and freedom of expression is actively encouraged. The 11 official languages of the country (Sepedi, Sesotho, Susana, siSwati, Thieved, Existing, Afrikaans, English, is Ndebele, is Xhosa and is Zulu) are all influential in the political and social spaces of South Africa.

While English and Afrikaans are still broadly used in South Africa, it is enshrined in the Constitution that active practical steps have to be implemented by the South African government and its many institutions to advance the use and education of Indigenous languages.

National, provincial and local governments can use any of these given languages at any given time when in session. The Pan South African Language Board, which was established by the national legislature is also a constitutional body and includes the commitment to promoting and giving prominence to sign language as well.

This adoption of a multi-lingual political and social domain is unique amongst the three countries in this study. Australia firmly holds English as its paramount socio-political language, while Swedish is the unsurpassed tool of social and political communication. Australia and Sweden do however provide many of their official communications in other languages and provide interpreter services where necessary.

It could be expected that unlike the Indigenous languages of Sweden and Australia, the South African Indigenous languages will not suffer the same exodus from the public and official lingual arenas.

5.3 Equal Opportunity, Affirmative Action and Anti-Discrimination Legislations

Anti-discrimination policies in relation to racism and sexism have a varied history in South Africa, Sweden and Australia. The uniqueness of Australia and South Africa's developments is linked by a common though diverse connection to, and participation in, or subjection to European colonialism.

In Australia, the White Australia Policy was rescinded in the 1970s; and laws like the Racial Discrimination Act (1975) and the Affirmative Action (Equal Employment for Women) Act 1986 were enacted (Ronalds, 1998).

In Europe, Swedish law is a 'late bloomer' by European standards (Strömholm, 1988), and the country's ratification of the UN General Declaration on Human Rights preceded Sweden's general anti-discrimination law by almost 40 years (Göransson and Karlsson, 2000). Promulgation of the Swedish anti-discrimination laws as a 'package deal' followed its ratification in the 1990s and outlawed discrimination on the basis of sex/gender, sexual orientation, 'ethnicity', and cognitive and physical impediments (Tufvesson, 2001; Bogdan, 2000; Göransson and Karlsson, 2000).

Anti-discrimination and affirmative action legislation and policies have hence been variably gazetted by countries eager to be seen as progressive and sensitive to the will of their populaces. In Australia and Sweden, these have been variably inscribed as 'package deals' within the larger body of "the law". In contrast, South Africa maximised possibilities after successfully removing the debilitating apartheid regime in 1994. Drawing on the direct and indirect input of historically marginalised South African groups, the country enshrined human rights, anti-discrimination and egalitarian juridical and socio-political directives into its Constitution and Bill of Rights, making anti-discrimination legislation a fundamentally entrenched tool of prohibition.

In South Africa, anti-discrimination is generally and universally applicable. The paragraphs of the Constitution also serve as legal paragraphs and can be recalled in the event of seeking redress. Hereby, South Africa earned itself the reputation of having the world's

most progressive fundamental governing tools, aimed to directly and unquestionably protect the rights of all within its borders.

In all three countries, however, critiques have illustrated how the formulation and promulgation of legislation does not guarantee implementation or bring about hoped for results.

In Australia, Bacchi (1996) illustrates this with her posits on affirmative action in relation to women and category politics. In Sweden the positioning of the law has been shown to effectively bar access to justice for ethnic minority students and the unemployed prior to April 2002 (Tufvesson, 2001).

The questioning of mainstreaming in academic employment in South Africa has also provided concerns and it has been claimed that "in spite of such brilliant efforts, a lot of problems occur in the implementation and monitoring of such policies" (Welpé and Thege, 2002:28).

South Africa, Sweden and Australia have approached the correction of historical gender and racial inequities legislatively and through directives in relation to implementing measures to address these injustices.

As Table 5.3 indicates, racism and sexism are variably dealt with in the laws of the three countries. Most of the South African and Australian laws incorporate the area of education in its legislation but a particular law had to be implemented in Sweden in this regard in 2002, prior to which there was no recourse to ensure equal treatment for students in this regard (Tufvesson, 2001).

Additional to the Australian laws, there is also The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Act 1986, but the application of this law is drastically limited in comparison to all the others because it cannot be imposed through a complaints-based system that is also enforceable through the Australian courts (Ronalds, 1998).

The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC), which administers Federal legislation in relation to human rights, anti-discrimination, social justice and privacy is also not a constitutional body, has no authoritative legal power and is largely an advisory administrative body. Furthermore, anti-discrimination legislation is largely a matter of State or Territory control.

In 2003 and 2004, HREOC was under siege by the Australian Federal government which was threatening to infringe on HREOC's space of activity. The organisation Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation (ANTaR) opposed the Federal Government's proposed Bill and wrote:

The Federal Government produced draft legislation in 2003 to change the structure of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC). The Bill would result in the significant and unwarranted weakening of HREOC's capacity and independence to monitor and defend human rights, particularly for Indigenous Australians (<http://www.antar.org.au/hreoc.html>)

The States and Territories of Australia variably adopt Federal legislation and the UN Declarations and Conventions more broadly as an initial Schedule. By and large, however they have adapted these laws according to State and/or Territory interpretations and formulations (Ronalds, 1998; Ronalds, 1987). Each State and Territory monitors its own anti-discrimination legislation, which largely reflects the wording and intentions of the same policies found at the Federal level, but States and Territories interpret such legislation autonomously (Ronalds, 1998).

Anti-discrimination Boards (ADB) have been established to administer reported cases of discrimination but during 2004 even their powers were placed under added pressure as resource infringements cut financing to ADBs.

Unlike white/non-racialised Australians, the racialised populace of Australia have traditionally not been instrumentally or centrally involved in the formulations of any of these laws (Moreton-Robinson, 2000).

Conflicts between Federal discrimination laws and State laws, as mentioned earlier, are also not uncommon as definitions and interpretations tend to differ. While this has diminished in recent years, problems still persist (Ronalds, 1998, 1987). The point of contention, according to Ronalds (1998), occurs in relation to the method of identifying the grounds of discrimination and the separation of these grounds, which tend to produce more semantic than substantive differences.

Table 5.3 Corrective and Prohibitive Anti-Discrimination Laws: Australia, South Africa and Sweden

COUNTRY	CORRECTIVE and PROHIBITIVE LEGISLATION
Australia	<p><u>FEDERAL LAWS</u></p> <p>1975 Racial Discrimination Act 1984 Sex Discrimination Act 1984 Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act 1986 Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Act 1992 Disability Discrimination Act 1999 The Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act</p> <p><u>STATE AND TERRITORY LAWS</u></p> <p>These laws are additional to the Federal laws</p> <p>New South Wales: 1977 Anti-Discrimination Act No. 48 2004 Anti-Discrimination Amendment (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act No.79</p> <p>Victoria 1995 Equal Opportunity Act South Australia 1984 Equal Opportunity Act Western Australia 1995 Equal Opportunity Act Queensland 1991 Anti Discrimination Act Northern Territory 1992 Anti-Discrimination Act Australian Capital Territory 1992 Discrimination Act Tasmania 1994 Sex Discrimination Act</p>
South Africa	<p><u>NATIONALLY BINDING AND UNIVERSALLY APPLICABLE LAW</u></p> <p>1996 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, which includes the Bill 2002 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Second Amendment Act</p> <p><u>ADDITIONAL SPECIFIC LEGISLATION</u></p> <p>1998 Employment Equity Act 1998 White Paper on Affirmative Action in the Public Service 2000 Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 2000 Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act</p>
Sweden	<p>1991 SFS 1991:433 The Equal Opportunities Act (amended by SFS 2000:773 and new amendments pending July 2005)</p> <p>1994 SFS 1994:134 The Act Against Ethnic Discrimination</p> <p>1999 SFS 1999:130 Lag om Åtgärder mot diskriminering i Arbetslivet. (Law about Measures Against Discrimination in Work Life). Amended by 2005:477 to Lag (1999:130) om åtgärder mot diskriminering i arbetslivet på grund of etnisk tillhörighet, religion eller annan trosuppfattning (Law about Measures Against Discrimination in Work Life on the basis of Ethnic Affiliation, Religion or Other Belief)</p> <p>1999 SFS 1999:131 Lag (1999:131) om Ombudsmannen mot etnisk diskriminering (Law (1999:131) About the Ombudsman Against Ethnic Discrimination). Amended by SFS 2003:313.</p> <p>2003 SFS 2003:307 Lag om förbud mot diskriminering (Law about Ban Against Discrimination)</p>

Nonetheless, the law is subject to interpretations and although Ronalds (1998) pointedly mentions that anti-racism legislation has only ceded a small amount of litigation, it might be necessary to consider that this is due more to the complexities surrounding legal consideration rather than that 'there is no racism' or 'everything is fine'.

The decision to enact a legal process on the Federal or the State or Territorial level can be very decisive to the outcome and avenues available to a complainant – as an individual or group (Ronalds, 1998). Anti-discrimination laws in Australia have general applicability; are paragraphs within their own contextual right, and, are not constitutionally enshrined.

Largely, as the electronically accessible governmental histories of these laws attest, they have remained static and premised upon those definitional interpretations and formulations applied during the 1970s when Australia decided to abandon formally its White Australia Policy. Interesting too is that the Australian Attorney General's list of 'Popular Laws' (<http://scaleplus.law.gov.au/popacts.html>) also does not list anti-discrimination legislation in relation to 'race'.

An Australian barrister employed in private legal practice in Sydney, and whom I have spoken to in order to understand the Australian legal system, is not surprised that this law is not listed as popular because it dates back to 1975. This is important, according to her because the law emerged soon after the rescinding of the White Australia Policy, and is largely ineffective given the bureaucracy and cumbersome path that needs to be traversed in the event of seeking redress, as well as the restricted understanding and definitions of racism.

Furthermore, anti-racism policies tend to be extolled at mezzo (university and institutional) level as pertaining exclusively to the issues of Indigenous Australians and Torres Strait Islander peoples. This could be a new form of 'divide and rule' whereby a sense of cohesion between racialised groups is undermined and their combined political force cannot be amply consolidated for broad transformation.

Hence, the efforts of organisations like the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA) are curtailed and can instead be seen to further intergroup imbalances among ethno-racialised groups in Australia, where Aboriginal peoples are displaced the most.

Crenshaw (1995) particularly points out how paralysed the law becomes when faced with addressing the nexus of 'race' and gender within singular experiences of discrimination. The common trend is to separate 'woman' from 'race' albeit that these are inextricable and inseparable factors for racialised women.

Swedish anti-discrimination legislation is similar to that of Australia but the country's ratification and promulgation of these laws has been done specifically under the paragraphs of Labour Law (Tufvesson, 2001; Bogdan, 2000; Göransson and Karlsson, 2000). Traditionally, Swedish anti-discrimination laws have not been general laws, as it is in most other countries. Instead, a point-by-point approach has been applied (Numhauser-Henning, 2000). This displays itself in the Swedish anti-discrimination 'categories' – sex/gender, sexual disposition, physical or cognitive impediments and 'race'/ethnicity.

'Race'/ethnicity laws in Sweden had to be amended more often than most of the other anti-discrimination laws. All anti-discrimination laws are legal and binding across Sweden with no distinctions based on region or municipality. They are also all enforceable in a court of law. While 'women's' rights enjoys a long history and standing in Sweden, discrimination relating to 'race'/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and physical and cognitive impediments are very recent (Pred, 2000; Lange, 2000). The shortcomings and difficulties experienced with Swedish anti-discrimination legislation have necessitated constant re-formulations of the 'package deal' policies which relate to the three last mentioned (Westin, 1998).

The notion of a 'package deal' is broadly used in Sweden and aims to identify how Sweden has lopped together sex/gender, sexual orientation, physical and mental impediment, and, 'race'/ethnicity legislation in a four-part writ under Swedish Labour Law (Höglund, 2001).

A commonly held notion in Sweden is that '(im)migrants' are 'ethnic' and that ethnicity is something 'owned' by the visibly and often 'culturally' different (Daun, 1996). Anti-racism laws identify that the Swedish use of the term 'ethnicity' refers to skin-colour and other physiological and 'cultural' elements. Reflections of the Swedish model can be found in Australia as well, as can be seen from the wording of the Swedish and Australian legal texts and everyday discourse in the daily media.

Women across the ethno-racial and ethno-cultural spectrum of the South African populace were intrinsically involved in shaping sex/gender and 'race'/ethnicity related laws prior to the inauguration of the democratically elected government in 1994. They were also

involved in the formulation and implementation of the Constitution and Bill of Rights. This engagement of racialised women in laws pertaining to their experiences of discrimination makes the case of South Africa special.

Additionally, affirmative action directives have been inserted into South Africa's foundational laws. Subsequently equal opportunity and affirmative action legislation has to be actively enforced in all spheres and on all levels of society. The enshrinement of corrective and prohibitive clauses relating to sex and 'race' discrimination, as is extolled in the Constitution, has been specifically done to rectify the atrocities that have oppressed the racialised majority of South Africans for over 300 years and which regressively affected the development of the country.

Given the size of the populace of South Africa, the degeneration of the country in relation to human development due to apartheid has meant that intuitive and vigorous action for transformation is constantly being sought. On its main web-page the South African government presents the country as "Alive With Possibility". The recognition that racial and other disparities are also structurally sustained or promoted is probably what has caused the promulgation of the White Paper on Affirmative Action in the Public Service – 1998.

For change to penetrate society on all levels, the structural and systemic have to be addressed and duly changed, as well as the micro and mezzo levels of society (Crenshaw, 2003, 1995). Each of the three countries has governmental agencies that administer anti-discrimination and affirmative action legislation. In Sweden, for example, there are Ombudsman offices for each 'area' of anti-discrimination, namely, disability, sexuality, sex/gender and ethnicity/'race'.

Australia has a network of State and Territory based Anti-Discrimination Boards (ADB) that serve similar purposes to the Swedish Ombudsman's office and also addresses the same categories of discrimination as the Swedish model.

South Africa, still in the process of correcting imbalances that were institutionalised since the 1600s, has implemented a somewhat surgical and methodical approach to affirmative action and equal opportunities. The Constitution contains instructions on how prospective employers, educational institutions, etc are to apply affirmative action and equal employment opportunity methods, as well as other levelling praxes like those related to language use.

Despite in-depth investigation, cases of racialised women academics seeking redress in relation to racialised marginalisation in the academic workplace cannot be found in any of the three countries. Whether this lack of traceable cases is due to the fact that such cases just do not exist; or whether racialised academic women have just not considered this as a possible avenue of recourse; or whether the complexities of legal systems act as a deterrent remains a matter of speculation and indicates a significant area that requires elucidation.

Affirmative action in relation to 'women' has a much longer standing in Sweden and Australia and it is not uncommon to find specific directives in place at institutional level in this regard. The same is not the case for racialised groups, whether identified as (im)migrants and/or 'ethnic'; let alone for racialised women academics in particular.

At university level, it is not uncommon to find Equal Opportunity Officers (EOO) at Australian and South African universities. In Sweden, the establishment of university based instances for equal opportunity and affirmative action measures in relation to ethno-racial minority groups and individuals is still in the beginning stages.

There are specific procedures in place for hearing or the airing of grievances and cases in relation to discrimination. At universities it is most common for this procedural structure to encompass multi-level points of access and negotiation.

The process of presenting discrimination complaints and cases for consideration appears to be cumbersome in most instances, while the South African context does however seem to promise better facilitation and faster response periods between the time of lodging a complaint or case to the point at which a resolution or judgement has been passed.

5.4 Women in Academia

Women in Sweden were barred from Swedish universities for 400 years from 1477 to 1873. Prior to 1477 reforms relating to their inclusion had been discussed for 200 years (Westman Berg, 1983).

Developments following the 1873 reform, which repealed policies upholding women's exclusion from the university, impelled the establishment of Sweden's first Women's University, where for five intensive days in June 1982, professional academic women from

universities across Sweden met to discuss the terms and conditions under which they worked and their varying perspectives on 'women's issues' (Aniansson et al, 1983).

A similar work in relation to racialised women has never been done in Sweden and even though the country or academe was by no means ethno-racially or ethno-culturally homogenous in 1983 'invandrarkvinnor' ('immigrant women') as academics were not a notable part of the discussions at the time either.

Australia's first university, the University of Sydney, was established in 1850 almost a century after the continent was declared *terra nullius* ('no man's land') and occupied by European colonists (*Australia Through Time*, 2003).

Upper and upper-middle class, mainly Anglo-Saxon-Celtic women entered the universities and were later followed by (im)migrants to Australia from Greece, Spain and other European countries while Indigenous women were educated for domestic labour (Moreton-Robinson, 2000).

The first woman in Australia to obtain a law degree was Ada Emily Evans (in 1902), who had been born in North Wales (*Australia Through Time*, 2003:151). Until 1962, Aboriginal peoples remained disenfranchised in the country, where they have existed for over 40 000 years. However, for 30 000 Indigenous people, mainly women, from Queensland, the Northern Territory and Western Australia the wait was lengthened while evaluations of whether they were considered to be "not ready to vote" were discussed by the white majority settler government (*Australia Through Time*, 2003:390).

The dimensions of the Indigenous Australian population were decimated by historical practices of colonialist oppression and imperialism, affecting cultural practices, languages and gender relations (Moreton-Robinson, 2000; Huggins, 1991).

The complexities of South Africa's developments included the racial segregation systems and structures of apartheid which solidified 300 years of European colonialism. Women across ethno-racial boundaries remained subject to a white male domination with which white women colluded to exclude racialised women and men from participation in primary and higher education (Walker, 1990)

The categorisations of South Africa into so-called Africans, whites, Coloureds and Indians during the apartheid and earlier colonialist regimes also meant segregated education. As with Indigenous Australian females, the education of racialised women in South Africa was

aimed at preparing them for domestic work in white homes, businesses, etc (Cock, 1990). Special 'niche' educational spaces like Inanda Seminary did however also exist but these were predominantly for the elite African petty bourgeoisie (Hughes, 1990).

The traditional divisions between racially advantaged and racially disadvantaged universities also meant that South African universities were racially segregated with specific institutions like the University of the Western Cape allocated to "Coloureds", the University of Fort Hare assigned to "Blacks" and the University of Pretoria apportioned to "Europeans" (meaning 'white').

South Africa's oldest university, The University of Cape Town, celebrated 175 years in 2004. Historically this has been a liberal institution at which middle and upper middle class white South Africans obtained academic degrees. At various junctures, and subject to segregated resources, this was also where middle class elite members of South Africa's racialised populace acquired higher education (Council on Higher Education, 2004).

Higher education has gone through comprehensive restructuring in South Africa and targeted efforts have been implemented to correct historical and traditional discrepancies (Council on Higher Education, 2004). The 'equal but separate' policy of apartheid ensured that disproportionate educational spending markedly reduced the possibility for racialised women to enter academia and hence, in comparison to Australia and Sweden, racialised women academic numbers in South Africa did not show any noteworthy participation prior to 1994 (Council on Higher Education, 2004). This justifies the argument that the participation of racialised women in the professional academia has to do with more than their proportional numbers in the populace of a country.

One could therefore reasonably expect that since Sweden and Australia have long practiced forms of equal access that racialised women academic numbers would be more sizeable there than in South Africa.

5.5 National Statistics on Racialised Women Academics

Statistics provided by the Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee (AVCC) indicate an increase in female placements at Australian universities

(<http://www.avcc.edu.au/documents/publications/stats/Staff.xls#TableF.4!A1>) with the 2004 Full-Time Equivalent (FTE) Staff numbers, which exclude casual staff, accounting for

38,115 males and 40,074 females of which approximately 57 per cent are academic staff. These statistics do not disclose the ethno-racial composition of academic staff statistics as a whole and/or the ethno-racial composition in relation to sex/gender.

I was told by a librarian at the University of New South Wales, Australia (who is professionally responsible for providing information and support in relation to national Australian statistics) that with the exception of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, self-identification in respect of 'race'/ethnicity variables is not collated at the national or state level because "nobody thinks that way anymore" or that "people just don't give a damn – well, it's not relevant anymore is it?".

Another Australian example of gendered ethno-racial obfuscation can be found in relation to the Australian "Women in Leadership Matrix" of July 2003. This AVCC initiative illustrates how development programs for 'academic women in leadership' are actively supporting women and gender equity issues to the purported advantage of all women in this sphere.

The information provided by the AVCC indicates that there are 77 Senior Women Executives in Higher Education (www.avcc.edu.au/database/report.asp?a=show&committee=314), but like the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) there is no indication what the proportion of racialised women academics are in comparison with non-racialised women academics. Circumstances in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) were tenuous during 2004 and are probably the reason why statistics on Indigenous women academics could not easily be obtained despite electronic and telephonic requests. The National Tertiary Education Union's (NTEU) on-campus office at the University of New South Wales were unable to provide statistics on racialised academic women in general albeit that they had some statistics regarding Indigenous women academics.

A similar state of affairs exists in Sweden. Statistics from Statistiska centralbyrån (SCB, Statistics Sweden) record 32,332 women employed in higher education. I spoke to employees at SCB requesting the ethno-racial breakdown of this total and was informed that such statistics are not documented and/or kept. The common response was that

Swedes don't believe in 'race' because it has a different meaning in Swedish than in English¹⁶.

In stark contrast to Australia and Sweden, however, the official 2004 South African statistics document the racial categories of professional academics. The professional academic cohort comprises of a total of 22,227 presented as follows: 4,990 Black African; 1,510 Coloured; 1,807 Indian; 13,882 White and 38 'Other'. The same cohort, when divided according to 'sex', indicates 9,338 women; 12,888 men and one 'Other' (Council for Higher Education, 2004).

South African statistics on the composition of the group 'academic women' can easily be accessed through the Council on Higher Education (CHE), making comparisons possible. It also facilitates the possibility to determine statistically the progress made in relation to the participation of racialised women academics vis-a-vis white women and men, and racialised men.

The logic behind South Africa's racial categorisation in higher education employment concedes that historical racial inequality was structurally, systemically and ideologically shaped by 'race' and hence, to see change, these categories cannot be removed without also removing the possibility of clearly pinpointing changes within higher education as a result of addressing racial employment hierarchies.

5.6 Professional Academic Space Formalities and Related Dynamics

Academics in Australia, Sweden and South Africa are broadly similarly categorised – professor, associate professor, senior lecturer, lecturer, research assistants, junior lecturer, postdoctoral fellows and tutors. The positions that can be occupied vary as do the labels attached to these positions; their administrative and management elements; and the qualifications accepted in terms of each.

For example, a lecturer and/or an associate professor are not always someone who holds a doctorate. Sometimes they don't even hold a Masters degree. Professional academics

¹⁶ The general approach to 'race' in the Swedish context is quite complex and the term is rarely used because of Sweden's historical engagement with eugenics and 'race' biology early in the twentieth century and probably also because it is theoretically refuted as being 'irrational'. Preference is given to reference to 'ethnic minority', 'migrant/immigrant', etc despite the fact that overt forms of racism and racist expressions most often recall the use of physical attributes.

can be employed as guest, contract, casual and/or permanent staff. 'Fractional' staff denotes those academics that have contractual and/or time limited positions of employment, and Full Time Equivalent (FTE) is generally used to indicate tenure.

Table 5.4 Higher Education Institutions, Academics and Students in Relation to Population: Australia, South Africa and Sweden

COUNTRY	POPULATION	HIGHER EDUCATION		
		INSTITUTIONS	ACADEMICS	STUDENTS
Australia	20,370,869*	41	78,189	844,480
Sweden	9,011,392**	36	38,146	385,300
South Africa	44,819,778***	35	22,227	717,792

Key: * Projected population statistics July, 2005

** July, 2005

*** Census 2001

Sources: www.worldbank.org/data/countrydata; www.abs.gov.au; www.scb.se;
<http://education.pwv.gov.za>; (Council for Higher Education, 2004)

Table 5.4 shows the differences in population, total employed academic staff, total enrolled undergraduate and postgraduate domestic students, and the number of public higher

South Africa, which has a population almost five times that of Sweden, has 35 higher education institutions compared to 36 in Sweden and 41 in Australia, which has approximately 20 percent and half the population of South Africa respectively.

South Africa has a domestic enrolment figure of 717,792 that is only marginally less (8.5 per cent) than Australia. South Africa does however have the lowest number of employed academic staff servicing the largest domestic enrolled student populace among the three countries. Student to employed academic ratios are therefore approximately 10:1 in Sweden, 11:1 in Australia, and 33:1 in South Africa.

Interestingly though, sex/gender compositions of South African professional academics are on par with those of Sweden, while Australia (See Table 5.5) had a higher proportion of academic women than men employed during 2004.

Table 5.5 National Gender Distribution of Academics: Australia, South Africa and Sweden

COUNTRY	FEMALE		MALE		TOTAL
Australia	40,074	(51%)	38,115	(49%)	78,189
Sweden	15,904	(42%)	22,242	(58%)	38,146
South Africa	9,338	(42%)	12,888	(58%)	22,227

Key: * 2004 Statistics

** Unclear whether South Africa is intending to include multi-sexualities in its statistical databases

Sources: www.abs.gov.au; www.scb.se; <http://education.pwv.gov.za> (Council for Higher Education, 2004)

NB: The variance of "1" = "Other" (mentioned previously)

Another important factor that shapes academic employment praxes is the internationalisation of education, which affects global socio-political and socio-economic dynamics and imbalances in global education contexts (Marginson, 2005; Miller, 1995).

Table 5.6 Distribution of Domestic and International Students: Australia, Sweden and South Africa

Country	Total Student Population (under graduate) and post	Domestic Population	Student	International Student Population
Australia	944,977*	716,422	(76%)**	228,555 (24%)***
Sweden	405,844	388,266	(96%)	17,578 (4%)
South Africa	675,160	628,473	(93%)	46,687 (7%)

Key: * Total for 2004

** Includes Australian Citizens, New Zealand Citizens and Permanent Residents

*** Includes Temporary Entry Permit Holders and "Other" Overseas Students

Sources: www.dest.gov.au; Council for Higher Education, 2004:322-323); <http://web2.hsv.se/publikationer/rapporter/regeringsuppdrag/2005/0526R.pdf>
http://www.scb.se/statistik/UF/UF0205/2003I04/UF0205_2003I04_SM_UF19SM0401.pdf

Table 5.6 shows the international student populations of Australia, Sweden and South Africa as 24 per cent, four per cent, and seven per cent respectively. These figures, when

linked to global trade in education indicate the sizeable income currently being earned by Australia.¹⁷

The total income drawn by this industry globally is AUD40 billion (approximately US\$30.3 billion) earned from the full-fee paying education costs accrued from two million students worldwide (Marginson, 2005).

Australia is among a select few nations which provide education to overseas/international students on a full-fee basis, and conducts this as a commercial industry that cedes the nation an income of AUD5 billion per annum (Marginson, 2005:2). Marginson (2005) also estimates international students at 20 per cent of all enrolled students at Australian universities but the Australian Department of Education, Science and Training presents the latest percentage of overseas/international students at 24 per cent of the entire student population. These figures are higher than both the UK and USA in total, where international student numbers are 10 and four per cent of total higher education student population numbers respectively (Marginson, 2005).

Of course, since the USA has a higher student population than Australia, it is also the largest stakeholder claiming 30 per cent of the world's trade in education compared to Australia's 10 per cent. South Africa is one of the 22 per cent of undisclosed international education players labelled "Others" (Marginson, 2005). Of focal importance to this study, however, are the principles that govern international education trade of which very little is recorded in relation to Sweden and South Africa albeit that government and university institutions laud the importance of being competitive in this area.

The subject of Australia's internationalisation of education is however, a matter that has been of central import to many political and social parties in the country, and the debate is still a very heated one. For example, Marginson (2005) presents a stark picture of incongruity in relation to Australian economic aspirations and educational prowess. Referring to Australia's 10 per cent ownership of the world's international student cohort, Marginson informs that while the specifically directed marketing of Australian education attests to the country's economic prowess, this is not without controversy.

¹⁷ The total student numbers in Table 5.6 differ somewhat from those in Table 5.4 because the figures in the latter refer to 2004 statistics, while the figures in the former refer to 2004 statistics. Also, as the Keys for both tables indicate, these statistics were collated from different electronic information sites.

For example, although Australia chooses to forge global research ties with the UK and Canada, it lacks top-flight institutions. The country also has elaborate research collaborations with North America, UK and Europe, yet fee-paying students come from Asia and Australia. Australia is weak in international doctoral education where one would expect the optimum nexus between international research and teaching. This is a detrimental trend in Australian education because research "is the measurable indicator of status in higher education" (Marginson, 2005:8).

Australia and Sweden are among those nations performing better in research than in economic capacity, while South Africa is among those nations where the nation's research performance is about on par with economic capacity (Marginson, 2005). The country is not overspending on research and is therefore not accruing any debt above its economic capacity, which could pose a problem for Australia and Sweden.

There is no reflection on racialised academics or the effects of the commoditisation of Australia's education on those who are socio-economically or otherwise curtailed from academic study in Australia. Marginson (2005) does however mention that Muslim students in particular are most beleaguered by security issues. Women wearing the hijab are more likely than most international students to experience loneliness, isolation, and discrimination (Marginson, 2005:10).

As an example of the disparity that can exist in relation to the proportion of international students compared to Indigenous Australian students, the University of New South Wales (UNSW) showed a postgraduate student populace of 15,004 in 2004, of which only 11 were Aboriginal students (6 Masters and 5 PhD students (<http://www.dest.gov.au>)).

Of the doctoral candidates, three were part-time students, who had family and community responsibilities that made full-time study impossible, and one was attempting to complete her PhD while working as a UNSW staff member running the Aboriginal Education Program at the Nura Gili Centre¹⁸.

An intersectional charting of the terrain, in which racialised academic women's marginalisation is articulated, also requires a focus on the academic area predominantly responsible for pedagogies about women, academia, and marginalisation. Documents and

¹⁸ Sue Green has since been employed as the Director for the Nura Gili Centre and statistics on Indigenous PhD candidates were obtainable from her office.

the electronic media of the eight universities in this study provide valuable insight what is being taught about racialised women's marginalisation, who is teaching about this issue, what the make-up of the curricula is, etc.

5.7 WGS Units, Curricula and Operations

Unlike the USA and Britain, the histories of WGS in Sweden, South Africa and Australia have not been written. Some indication is given however on the websites of the University of the Western Cape (UWC - South Africa) and the Swedish Secretariat for Gender Research that propose UWC and the University of Göteborg (Sweden) as the first established WGS units in those countries¹⁹. Similar information is not readily available in relation to WGS as a field of study in Australia. The emergences of WGS units appear to have taken place between the early 1980s in the case of Australia and Sweden and in the early 1990s in the case of South Africa. The switch to exclusively using the name "Gender Studies" or "Women and Gender Studies" appear to have taken place during the late 1990s or more probably during 2000 to 2004. In Sweden a more common name for these units was *Kvinnovetenskap/Genusvetenskap* (Women's Science/ Gender Science).

Any hard and fast claims about what conditions and agendas led to the emergence of the Australian and Swedish Women's Studies units cannot be made as the subject is one that has only recently seemed to draw the attention of researchers. In South Africa, as Mandy, Penny and Laura, all South African racialised women academics informed, the establishment of a Women's Studies unit in that country came about as a result of racialised women academics approaching the Vice-Chancellor at the time with regards to their experiences of racism and sexism. They were encouraged to organise themselves, which they did and became the founding members of what is called Women's and Gender Studies at the University of the Western Cape today.

The WGS units in Australia, Sweden and South Africa are largely autonomous, and curricula are decided by academic members of staff in consultation with institutions, schools, departments and programs. This is still a fairly new arrangement in Sweden, where the government used to be responsible for the content of curricula.

¹⁹ <http://www.uwc.ac.za/arts/gender/>, <http://www.genus.gu.se/english/journal/>

Most often WGS curricula reflect the disciplinary spaces in which they are situated, even when a 'trans-disciplinary' or 'inter-disciplinary' focus is purported. For example, where WGS units are located within a history department, the curriculum most often reflects the chronological development of white western feminism. Among the eight universities of this study, four were located in departments, centres or institutes in humanities faculties, two in arts faculties, and two were individual forums or institutes in thematic divisions or schools. Among those located in the humanities, three were administered or housed by a history department. In all eight universities, the curricular available on their websites indicated varied attention to racialised women's feminist developments, which were represented by one or two lectures on the more well-known Black, postcolonial and or critical 'race' feminists from the UK or USA only. Levels of inclusion of racialised women's feminist developments and contentions were mostly visible at the South African WGS units, lesser so at the Australian ones and even much lesser at the Swedish units.

Where individual programs or units focus on specific areas of society, like the workplace, public health, education, etc, the curricula foci of such spaces tend to have a broader spectrum of literature included but still show an overwhelming array of white western studies on these areas. A more diversely inclusive curriculum can also be found where WGS inhabits a physical space of its own within university settings and serves as a co-ordinating space for associated staff who teach diverse courses at the university.

Swedish and Australian women and/or gender spaces tend to focus primarily on related literature from western euro-american spaces, while the focus in South Africa tends to draw more from African literature albeit that this is an academic area that still requires in-depth study. Of particular import to WGS in South Africa is the relevance of diasporic African women's perspectives (de la Rey, 1999; de la Rey and Quinlan, 1997). It is not common to find curricula in Sweden and Australia that specifically include a national perspective that significantly includes the issue of Australian and Swedish racialised women.

Among the Swedish WGS units in this study, curricula tend to be overtly gender focused, with absolutely minimal inclusion of foci on 'race' and racism, and a marked increase in focus on masculinities and queer studies²⁰. The Australian units illustrated a similar state of

²⁰ "Queer studies" is the study of issues relating to sexual orientation and gender identity. It is often mentioned in conjunction with the infamous Stonewall Riots. Michel Foucault, Audre Lorde and Judith Butler are amongst the primary scholars in Queer Studies. It is often related to deconstructionist perspectives and, as

affairs, with an emerging interest in Indigenous women and Indigenous gender issues. Racialised women as a marginal group in the Australian academe, however, remain excluded in the curricula. The distinct exclusion of perspectives on 'race'/ethnicity is also surprising since racism and racial marginalisation in employment practices and the everyday still cause serious social, economic and political divisions among groups in Australia (Castles and Vasta, 1996) and Sweden (Lange, 2000).

The opposite of Australia and Sweden is operative in South Africa where 'race' is examined as one of a complex network of issues pertaining to women in the South African context. In South African situations where there was a substantial diversity amongst WGS staff, such units, programs, or departments displayed vibrant interactive academic spaces. These spaces showed collaborative work programs, and access to multiple proficiency academic resources for university-based foci, community based activism, and the sensitising of government to women's issues.

There is still cause for concern, however, as one South African racialised woman interview participant²¹ contended, because those who teach victims of racism about the subject have no personal experience in this regard; the perspectives from which they teach are questionable; and, they have no commitment to actively addressing racial oppression beyond the classroom because they are mainly concerned with earning their salaries and building careers.

The largest diversity of staff in women's and/or gender units amongst the three countries was displayed in South Africa, which is most likely related to the size of the racialised/Black populace of the country. This is however not a sufficient explanation for the diversity given that academic study, particularly in the field of WGS, only entered the South African academic arena in the late 1990s. Additionally, racialised women have only entered academia in any noteworthy way in the last ten years, since the removal of the apartheid

the titular label implies, it engages with language and discursive power by way of subverting taken-for-granted symbolic lingual meanings.

²¹ Laura is a South African racialised academic woman, who is a senior lecturer and her dissatisfaction with white South African academics teaching about 'race' and racism stems from the fact that most often these academics have no cultural sensitivity and are often in 'denial' (her terminology) of their role in the racial oppression of racialised peoples in the country. Furthermore, Laura is of the mind that with the affirmative action laws operative in South Africa, these are said to benefit 'women' yet the upshot is that it is predominantly white South African women who reap the rewards and who do not commit their expertise and knowledge beyond the classroom.

system. The more likely reason is the concerted affirmative action directives and programs that have been implemented by government, which also compels the universities in South Africa to diversify its professional academic cohort.

Likewise, it could be posed that the numbers of racialised women in Sweden and Australia are proportionally lower than non-racialised/white women but this is counter balanced by the fact that these countries have a long self-professed history of egalitarianism, as well as broadly proclaimed equity and equality aspirations. Proportionally speaking, however, it is plausible to expect larger numbers of racialised academic women professionals in the academies of these two countries given that their ethno-racially diverse compositions have existed much longer than racialised women have participated in the South African academia.

Sweden and Australia were among the first signatories of anti-discrimination UN Declarations and Conventions in relation to gender, 'race'/ethnicity, sexuality and disability. Hence, if racialised women have not had access to academia in Australia and Sweden hindered for as long a period as racialised/Black women in South Africa, the number of qualified academic racialised women in Sweden and Australia ought to be proportionally higher than in South Africa. The staff compositions at the eight universities in this study indicate however that this is not the case and that reasons for the discrepancy include the absence of affirmative action initiatives, the negligible attention given to the marginalisation of racialised women academics, and the decisions made by institutional heads in this regard during selection and appointment processes.

Furthermore, if concerted employment efforts have been made in these countries to address the historical marginalisation of racialised women, universities and WGS spaces in particular, ought to exhibit notable diversity in regards to staff compilations. If this is not the case then it ought to be a matter of concern to universities and units that are seriously committed to equal opportunity and equitable access.

5.8 Discussion

This chapter has accounted for the structural terrain or the contextual formations in which racialised academic women's marginalisation is shaped and articulated. How do the developments in each country relate to racialised academic women's marginalisation?

Undoubtedly, the demographics, national incomes and developments in the educational sphere affect all levels of racialised women's participation in academia. In Australia and Sweden, where economic limitations are not as severe as in South Africa, the racialised marginalisation of academic women appears to be related to other factors that are related to the global inconsistencies created by alliances between 'developed' nations and the consolidation of capital power, confirming the theoretical contentions of de Los Reyes and Mulinari (2005).

The political and legal structures and directives of the three countries also indicate that the opportunities for racialised academic women to address their marginalisation are either facilitated or impeded by these. The politico-legal structure of Australia is particularly complicated.

The interaction of the absence of a Bill of Rights, the dualistic politico-legal structure and the ethno-racialisation of political representation exemplified by government agencies like the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) and the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA) culminate in a legally validated form of ethno-racialised marginalisation.

As a new form of 'divide and conquer' this intersection resembles the politico-legal rationale of apartheid, which literally means separation or segregation and illustrates the validated political and legal (mis)representation, displacement, and exclusion discussed in Bacchi (1996).

Included in the Australian and Swedish contexts is the negligibility of corrective legislation vis-à-vis equal opportunity and affirmative action. While these laws and policies exist on the state and federal levels, none is specifically engaged with addressing racialised academic women's marginalisation. Universities are not monitored in this regard and neither are any initiatives evident in this regard at the eight universities in this study. Where the academic participation of racialised women is left to chance, the consensual epistemic chooses sameness (Stone, 1996; Spivak, 1993) and if this space is already a white western dominated space, it can then be expected to remain so if unchallenged.

Additionally, the lack of statistical records with regards to the ethno-racial and gender composition of professional academics might be an admirable attempt at dispelling the significance of 'difference' but this is a double-edged sword because this practice also

impedes the investigation of racialised-gendered marginalisation. It is impracticable to propose meaningful understandings about academic 'women's' experiences when this might very well only represent the experiences of white/non-racialised women academics, permitted at the cost of racialised academic women's absence.

Can it be possible that while non-racism is purported, racism in academic employment is thus left unchallenged? I do believe so because while there are no statistics the problem of racialised women academics can remain 'out of sight' and therefore 'out of mind'.

It is also important to examine those who are theoretically and epistemologically defining 'race' in the process of imparting knowledge on the subject to students, who will later take that knowledge and influence society. Defining 'race' ought not to be a matter of dominant lingual captivity without the ethno-cultural insight of those whose lived experiences and narratives have been or are subject to racism and racialised marginalisation.

One also has to ask whether the Australian and Swedish practices, admirable and 'progressive thinking' as they might be thought of, do not also subsume the specificities of racialised academic women's experiences in academe. Is this not a form of denying 'race' as a category, and does this not preclude the pinpointing of unequal employment participation, while simultaneously including the risk that racism is presumed to be extinct and therefore no longer of consequence?

The South African situation, while impeded by economic restrictions, appears to be the most promising for racialised women academics vis-à-vis annexing ratified politico-legal promises, accessing representation, enacting affirmative action and equal opportunity legislation, and influencing the formation of policy. At present, the situation is still such that non-racialised men and women academics significantly outnumber racialised academic women despite ethno-racial demographic proportionality. Nevertheless, the potential for change appears to be much higher in South Africa than in Australia or Sweden, where the political and legal structures have not been influenced by the participation of racialised peoples – men or women.

The availability of gender ethno-racial statistics in relation to professional academics, as is evident in South Africa, increases transparency and facilitates the process of addressing historical and traditional imbalances that were and are predicated on the process of racialisation and the ideology of racism. The marginalisation of racialised academic women

has to be addressed as a collaborative political matter that also challenges the politico-legal status quo and its construction (Hassim and Walker, 1993)

Drawing together the main elements of this chapter, it seems appropriate to conclude that over and above the structural composition of the geopolitical terrains, there are intersectional factors of import that emerge:

- the need to challenge the composition of the contexts in which racialised women's marginalisation is shaped, that is, the privilege of the normalisation of whiteness in the construction of national contexts has to be exposed;
- the implementation of directly interventional strategies like affirmative action and equal opportunity in relation to racialised academic women cannot be glibly dismissed as a tool for transformation;
- there is a need for examinations of universities and WGS units in relation to their commitment to addressing racialised academic women's marginalisation;
- the denial of racialised academic women's marginalisation has to be exposed;
- the lack of ethno-racial statistics of professional academics is not an indication that 'all is well'; and,
- the predominantly white occupation of the WGS units can be expected to influence employment patterns that are not easily identified or investigated.

To conclude, the geopolitical developments in Australia, Sweden and South Africa indicate that racialised academic women's marginalisation is related to the hegemonic ownership of capital (de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2003, 1995); the definitional and coercion-control power of whiteness in collusion with feminist epistemology and its institutionalised locations (Haggis, 2003; Moreton-Robinson, 2000); the limitations and possibilities of the law in relation to 'race' and gender (Crenshaw, 2003, 1995); the disguises of everyday racism (Essed, 1991); and the politics of invisibility (Stoltz, 2000).

Chapter 6

The Experience and Perception of Racialised Academic Women's Marginalisation

The second research question is addressed in this chapter. How do professional academics perceive racialised academic women's experiences of marginalisation? The discussion is informed by the contributions of participants from the eight universities. The chapter deals with how professional academics understood, perceived, and experienced racialised academic women's marginalisation.

Understandings of women's experiences of subordination necessarily draw on women's perceptions and memories of their experiences and their observations of the experiences of others. Individuals experience and observe things personally and as part of a group, which despite a 'collective' experience does not necessarily mean a collective perception of experiences and observations (Woodward, 1997).

Perceptions and experiences are valuable avenues of insight into women's experiences of oppression and repression, and are catalysts for transformation strategies (Maboekela, 2003). Failure to include these in studies of discrimination, according to Wills (1983) reduces the wealth of direct experiences to indirect reflections of experiences.

Despite this, it is not uncommon for the subjective aspects of discrimination to remain subsumed. (Wills, 1983).

The structural and systemic dynamics that influence multiple positionalities of discrimination that were elucidated in the previous chapter in keeping with Crenshaw's intersectionality typology are expanded on in this chapter by accounting for how locale (Crenshaw's terminology) inequities are understood, defined and manifested. These perceptions and observations inform the traffic or activity of discrimination, which are the policies and decisions that flow along the routes or thoroughfares of power.

So, how do racialised and non-racialised academics' perceptions of racialised women academics' marginalisation diverge and/or converge?

Marginalisation is a form of oppression, which in the case of racialised women is shaped by 'race', class and other factors beyond gender. The inclusion of the perspectives of women and men from the academic community within the space of WGS is valid sensitising data, which is otherwise easily hidden by statistics (Jacobsen, 1994). Statistical discrimination has also been central to the oppression of racialised peoples (Zuberi, 2001), and the marginalisation of other minority groups.

In the discussion to follow, I will be using pseudonyms for bringing out the voices of the study participants. With the help of special codes, I will refer to them as racialised/ racialised men (RW/RM), non-racialised women/men (NRW/NRM), or as contextually racialised women (CRW)²². Their country will be identified as Australian (Aus), South African (SAfr), or Swedish (Swd). Their levels of tenure in years will be presented as a (1 – 5), b (6 – 10), c (11 – 15), d (16 – 20), or e (21 and over). Finally, their academic positions will be indicated as R (researcher), L (lecturer), SL (senior lecturer), AP (associate professor), or P (professor). As an example, Terry, who is an Australian non-racialised female with 16 to 20 years tenure and was an associate professor at the time of the interview will be presented as Terry (AusNRW-dAP). Where the same person is mentioned or cited more than once on one page, only the pseudonym is used after the full initial presentation of the participant.

6.1 Experiences and Perceptions as Dimensional and Context Related

Interview participants were asked whether racialised women academics are indeed marginalised in their estimations, whether they have experienced or observed racialised women being marginalised, and to describe their experiences or observations.

Since the participants were within a gender and/or woman's studies unit, they are considered and consider themselves to be well-versed with WGS related issues, which include marginalisation and 'difference'. Also, since it is known to professional academics in this particular field of study that narrative input is a valuable element and source of

²² *Contextually racialised* was presented in 1.4 as referring to those women (and men) who in the Australian context are generally from white-western non-English speaking backgrounds (NESB) and who in the Swedish context have white-western non-Swedish speaking backgrounds. For these women (and men) marginalisation tends to be associated more with cultural and lingual factors and less with physical attributes.

insight in feminist methodologies, they most often did not need to be prompted to elaborate.

Generally all participants confirmed that racialised academic women are indeed marginalised or at the very least are negligible participants in the professional academia in each country. How these marginalisations per se are understood and presented did however diverge.

The contributions of participants tended to converge around two perspectives; one which discussed the issue in terms of dimensions and the other which favoured context related descriptions. Distinctions between these two categories were not always easy to delineate but singular nuances resisted an amalgamation of the two.

Dimensional understandings had a propensity for framing descriptions and explanations by evoking emotions or feelings about the marginalisation or racialised academic women in conjunction with group affiliated, hierarchical and lingual spheres.

Similarly, contextual reasonings also called to mind sentiments concurrent with issues related to time and space; acknowledgement and denial; and approaches to corrective action. The explanatory and descriptive contributions of interview participants finally converged and presented the issue as one that is broader than the parameters of the academe.

6.2 Dimensional Understandings of Marginalisation

6.2.1 Emotive Dimensions of Observations and Personal Experiences of Marginalisation

Racialised women participants used personal references to describe their own experiences of marginalisation. These were most often presented in terms of empowerment and or disempowerment. This particular group of women often expressed exasperation because they found it difficult to 'prove' the 'realness' of their subjection to marginalisation, which exacerbated eventual feelings of disempowerment.

Marginalisation is a form of induced isolation (Sara, SAfrRW-bSL).

Experiences of marginalisation are personal for Sara and they occur in the staff rooms; at meetings; and when decisions are taken. The way it occurs is very polite and politically correct but "you just know that no matter what you say, nobody's listening" (Sara).

Mandy (SAfrRW-dP) was familiar with academic learning due to her family background, where many of the male family members had academic degrees. Her middle-class racialised background allowed for a broader scope of opportunities than many other racialised women.

For Mandy the most frustrating and inhibiting was the racialised mothering and caring roles she was forced to play in her institution.

...all the Black students are sent to you – you become the mother of all Black students. You have to be the counsellor. If the student has problems, whether it's transport problems or money problems they say "Go to Mandy because Mandy understands Black women or Black men". Subsequently I sit with all issues related to Black students. You become the Black carer (Mandy).

While her non-racialised South African women colleagues were able to spend time doing research and preparing articles for publication, Mandy and other racialised women academics were occupied with mothering and caring roles, which impeded on their own progress. Often they were torn between compassion and empathy for students, and their academic goals. This carer's role ascription or 'mothering', sense of community accountability and resulting limitations to productivity have also been mentioned by theorists like Moreton-Robinson (2000) and is something that is singularly absent in mainstream accounts of women's marginalisation in the academic workplace.

Penny (SAfrRW-cSL), also in the South African context, spoke of her feelings of devaluation in relation to her academic contributions, which she perceived as extending to herself as a person. Penny spoke of how her written contributions were frequently subjected to the scrutiny and sanctioning of white, often female colleagues, prior to being accepted. As these women also shared the same employment and academic levels as Penny, she saw this as a very conscious diminishing of her work and of herself.

Maria's (AusNRW-eAP) institution in Australia does not have any racialised women academics employed there, which made the incidences she observed noticeable and confronting. The first was in conjunction with a visiting racialised academic woman, Veena (pseudonym), who Maria described as a strong, intelligent woman well versed in her field. Maria was embarrassed about the way her non-racialised colleagues at the institution viewed and treated Veena as "the little Indian woman". The stereotypic approach toward Veena also set the tone for how her contributions were viewed and often resulted in Veena withdrawing her active participation from discussions and decision-making. Maria was not

only embarrassed by this situation but also felt bound by her loyalties to her colleagues and her institution. Not only did she feel unable to confront the issue, which she felt would have been responded to negatively had she broached the subject. She also felt that she was ill-equipped to deal with the situation. She was also confused because Veena did not challenge the situation herself and appeared not to be particularly distressed by it.

On another occasion, which related to a racialised woman doctoral candidate, Maria felt discomforted and was dismayed by the responses of a number of her colleagues, and the institution to the candidate's work, which Maria described as 'different'. The final result was that the student left for another institution elsewhere in Australia and outside of WGS. Maria saw this as a loss for the institution.

In Sweden, academics were markedly cautious and unsure about describing racialised academic women's experiences of marginalisation. This was partly because "there are so few of them anyway, you know" (Gunilla, SwdNRW-eP); but was also linked to a lack of knowledge about the issue. As Magnus (SwdNRM-eP) said, "I'm sure they must be marginalised but I don't know how that must feel or how it looks. I mean, it has never been an issue of discussion".

6.2.2 Hierarchical Dimensions

Explanations of marginalisation in relation to racialised women academics, which involved comparative notions, were particular to Swedish and Australian participants.

The most apparent indication of the hierarchical dimension is speaking about marginality in terms of degrees or layers, which they linked to inter-group relations. Professional academics in Australia particularly tended to grade racialised women's marginalisation according to their national and ethno-racial groups. An interesting observation, which repeated itself specifically among non-racialised participants, is the contention that marginalisation can be graded. Marginalisations experienced by Indigenous (sometimes called 'Black women') are considered to be 'worse' than for other racialised women (which include women from Africa, various parts of Asia, etc) in Australia.

The histories and contextual factors of Sweden, South Africa and Australia appear to also impact on the perceptions of racialised hierarchies and the experiences of racialised marginalisation in each.

In South Africa, despite the collective grouping of that country's most marginalised peoples under the descriptive label 'Black', Indigenous South Africans were also perceived as the most marginalised.

All the Australian academics were unanimous in pointing out the specifically marginalised position of Indigenous women.

They are affected by other issues that are more immediately important, like mortality rates" (Terry, AusNRW-dAP).

Anna (AusNRW-eP) and Terry (AusNRW-dAP), for example, perceived Indigenous Australian women's marginalisation as predominantly aggravated among racialised/Black women. They related this to broader social and political factors and processes, which have a fundamental impact on whether or not Aboriginal women and men are able even to enter academe.

Unlike most other women who enter academe, Indigenous Australian women who are mothers and who have a fundamental accountability to their communities, are more concerned about getting their children to school at all and then with just being able to keep them there (Alex, AusCRW-aL). Their experiences of exclusion exist before they enter academia, if they indeed do so at all.

The invisibility of racialised women is another evidence of the hierarchical dimension although the plight of other ethnic minority groups has started to surface. Racialised women's marginalisation in Australia

is a matter of broader import than the possible experiences of racism between individuals within the academe...Look around in our corridors...people with different coloured skin tones are not likely to be here - let alone racialised women! (Terry).

Terry attributed this to the fact that racialised women were not likely to be found in high status positions outside of the university either. She perceives certain ethnic minority groups like those from the Pacific Rim and other closely connected 'Asian' countries as being more significantly present in the Australian academia. The academic choices of these groups were seen as most often directed toward acquiring commercially viable degrees rather than academic employment.

"[T]hey are smart – they get their degrees in commerce, law and medicine not in areas like women and gender studies!" (Terry, AusNRW-dAP).

The Swedish context presented the 'immigrant population' as variably marginalised with "people from Somalia, Ethiopia and other hard-hit African countries" as the most marginalised (Magnus, SwdNRM-eP).

On the opposite end of the hierarchy, according to non-racialised interviewees, the ethno-racially white in Sweden and Australia do not experience racialisation and marginalisation as a result of their 'race' at all. Terry, for example, is an Australian woman academic of high ranking status, and has held a number of management related positions. Terry freely admits her lifelong privileged status, and confirms that she has never experienced the same limitations as most other women – racialised or not.

Alex also confirms Anna and Terry's contentions, and mentions that she often experiences feelings of "paralysing guilt" because of not experiencing racialisation and marginalisation because she is ethno-racially white.

I don't look racialised. I'm white, which I suppose is the point that you are also mentioning. I don't suffer from race-based marginalisation. I don't suffer from racism even though I might have that background – that migrant background (Alex, AusCRW-aL).

Alex's experience is also reflected in Sweden by non-ethnic Swedish academics. Two examples are Linda (SwdNRW-eP) and Moa (SwdNRW-dAP). Both easily confirmed that despite their culturally different Nordic backgrounds, they were not significantly hindered from participation in the Swedish academia or progress within it.

Moa (SwdNRW-dAP), for example, explained that despite the occasional negative typecasting that she has experienced on the individual level in relation to her Nordic country of birth, she was generally privileged, and does not experience marginalisation in the same way as she has observed racialised women academics do.

I don't have any of the kinds of experiences of being a refugee or any such situation as an immigrant or ethnic minority woman or so... If I had been a person of colour then I think that that might not have been the case. That's what I was trying to say. I have seen very few people of colour during all the years I've been in academia – as a student or as a working academic - very few indeed! And the ethnicity thing – that Sweden is not white anymore - is a very recent topic of discussion. (Moa).

Another theme that is embedded in the hierarchical dimensions is the issue of class. Swedish professional academics also largely perceived racialised academic women's marginalisation as only marginally different to the general experience of being displaced to the margins by women in academe. They preferred to explain the decentralization of

racialised women's academic participation framed in terms of hierarchies related to class privilege.

The reluctance of Swedish participants to speak about marginalisation in racialised terms manifested itself in the way they automatically and consciously chose to make references to "ethnic minority women" and/or "immigrant women" rather than 'racialised women'. This choice of terminology also linked easily with their assertions that non-racialised or ethnic Swedish women from financially pressured backgrounds are marginalised equally to racialised women with severe economic limitations.

Frieda (SwdNRW-eP) mentioned her experiences of how certain racialised women were successful in the Swedish academia "because they have the money to enter the university in the first place". This frustrates Frieda, who is of the mind that because of class privilege many deserving racialised women do not therefore even consider entering academia, or equally often they 'disappear' prior to completing postgraduate degrees.

Hierarchical dimensions in perceptions and experiences of racialised academic women's marginalisation were also related to scepticism felt by some participants about casting groups in terms of hierarchies.

In South Africa participants tended to be sceptical and cautious about apportioning degrees of marginalisation among Black/racialised women. Sara (SAfrRW-bSL) thought that this was dangerous and was not pleased about these divisions because "we are working for everybody's good in South Africa".

Sara's claim was supported by Laura (SAfrRW-dL) who felt that to divide Black women in the South African context "leaves all the old networks and structures unchallenged because it is a divide and conquer strategy".

We need to be careful of differentiations and how we label ourselves. We don't use those kinds of terms because we are in this thing together. The future of our country will also be affected by how we continue our collective struggle. (Sara, SAfrRW-bSL).

This contention, posed by someone who speaks about 'race' in relation to culture, indicates racialised marginalisation as a personal experience. Sara saw her experiences as different to other Black/racialised women academics and posed that this challenged the 'levelling' proposed by the blanket political label 'Black' that is supposed to unite all those that had been subject to racist disenfranchisement by apartheid.

To speak about the marginalisation of women academics in terms of racialisation, was viewed by Swedish participants as questionable because it could, they argued, be used to promote and legitimate racist practices and ideologies (Gunilla, SwdNRW-e; Pia, SwdNRW-b; Frieda, SwdNRW-e). Furthermore, they felt that this practice detracted from a strong collective academic women's activism.

6.2.3 Lingual Dimensions

The importance of language as a means by which inclusion and/or exclusion is negotiated is often undervalued (Potter, 1996; Watson, 1996) and participants confirmed the significant role played by lingual proficiency.

"Language is such a powerful tool, and I've seen how the Swedish language can be used to exclude women in academe" (Linda, SwdNRW-eP).

In staff meetings and during staff employment processes, Linda (SwdNRW-eP) has observed how women with non-Swedish-speaking backgrounds were presented as not sufficiently equipped for positions at universities. She had learned to suppress her own native tongue, when she was first brought to Sweden by her mother and had first hand experience of how alienating it could be if the accent with which an individual spoke differed.

I can't say that I was racialised but I was "different" and I couldn't say "the" properly so my teacher at school shouted at me and said "You are not in now, you can't do whatever you want to here!" I quickly – too quickly I think – learnt to skip my accent and pronunciations" (Linda NRW-e).

At times, as Linda recalled, the lack of English proficiency affected how or whether the intellectual work of racialised women was accepted. She specifically mentioned a pioneering theoretical study produced by a group of racialised women academics in Sweden, which dealt with postcolonial disparities in the Swedish feminist arena. Linda mentioned the dismissive way Swedish feminists and other women academics in the country responded to the study and were bolstered by an attack on the racialised women academics in the most prominent journals on women's issues in Sweden.

Linda, who had conversations with all women and men involved in discussions and debates about the study, perceived the racialised women's experiences as 'unfortunate' and as a 'misunderstanding'. They were angered and felt specifically targeted. Linda, however, did not think that the apparent lack of respect and negative interest of white

Swedish academics was due only to its content but to lingual shortcomings evident in the work.

I wish that she (naming one of the racialised women academics) had let me read through it first" (Linda).

Apparently, the clarity of the study's discussions was marred by grammatical and other lingual errors. This aside, said Linda, it was not impossible to understand what the authors were about in the study; its contents were amongst the most progressive and contemporary in Sweden.

Similar contentions were expressed in Australia, and Anna (AusNRW-eP) was particularly perturbed by the lingual marginalisation of women with non-English speaking backgrounds (NESBs).

Well, I feel sorry for you if what you are hoping for assistance from someone with a knowledge of your Indigenous language or your non-English speaking background – you know NESBs. It is more likely that an interpreter can be found for NESBs than it is for Indigenous people though. It's not just that they don't have a clue about the languages but that there is no interest to learn any of them (Anna)

English is the only official language in Australia. Anna (AusNRW-eP) mentioned how no consideration for NESB women academics is taken in formal meetings, other decisive settings, etc. Rather, these women, often racialised academic women, are expected to have the same lingual acumen as those from English-speaking backgrounds. Where they have difficulties, NESB academics rely on each other for clarification or just mentally withdraw.

In South Africa, it is more a question of lingual hegemony. Lingual marginalisation is of special significance given that the country enshrines 11 official languages in its Constitution and Bill of Rights. Effectively what this means, according to South African participants, is that any of these languages can be used, within reason, anywhere in the country at any given time. Most often lingual preferences are utilised following negotiation. This said, the non-racialised majority in universities effectively often also ensures lingual hegemony.

Penny (SAfrRW-cSL), for example, mentioned how the traditional dominance of Afrikaans at her institution still permeated all facets of academia there and continues to have a stronghold.

Outwardly, I mean in official documents and statements and so on, English and of the Indigenous languages are used but Afrikaans is still the most dominant when it counts here at the university. Even when you make a point of asking a question or answering questions in, say English, they will ignore that and speak Afrikaans. You can't argue with them, you know, because they are the ultimate decision makers (Penny).

Emma (SAfrNRW-bSL) was more concerned about the uses of the terms racialisation and the categorisation of women as racialised and non-racialised.

References to racialised women have lingual connotations and I'm not sure whether lumping all people – all white women together and all women who are not white - helps to give answers (Emma).

The semantics of terms such as 'Black' and 'white' appeared to be of greater concern to Emma, who perceived these as words of power that are used to delineate groups of women

Karin (SAfrNRW-cSL), who works both inside and outside of academe in spaces that are dominated by women saw herself as an example of those lingually marginalised due to "speaking English instead of Afrikaans". Her experiences of marginalisation, she posed, were often similar to those of racialised women. A factor that has however facilitated her possibilities is her personal connection to a very senior male academic, "who is listened to with much greater respect than I am" (Karin).

6.3 Contextual Reasons for Marginalisation

6.3.1 Group Affiliation

Often participants' statements were framed by understandings that were specifically related to context in that they referred to the experiences of racialised academic women's marginalisation in terms of group affiliation in relation to time and space.

In South Africa, for example, where the oppression of racialised academic women is intimately linked to historical structures and processes of racialised marginalisation, these women often perceive their chances of establishing a space within academia as futile.

We can't win because we are competing with those women who have always been privileged in academia, society at large and globally (Laura, SAfrRW-dL).

Laura's perception is that the praxes of marginalisation are articulations of the historical characteristics of white western institutions in the South African context. In her estimation, the "same-same appointment practices" foster an "incestuous" relationship within academe

and leave racialised women powerless because they have to seek redress within and from a consensually closed community.

Group affiliation is however not always clear-cut and cannot necessarily be a determinant for whether or not all racialised women experience marginalisation. Dina (AusCRW-dP), for example, responded to the question about whether she perceived racialised academic women as being marginalised by saying "I think the short answer is "Yes!" but it comes with a qualification" (Dina). Her experiences of marginalisation and her observations of other racialised women's experiences did not allow for her to place herself, and she believes many other racialised women academics too, into a dichotomous racialised/non-racialised binary.

Instead, Dina felt that it changed "from time to time and space to space". This she believes linked with "how far up the ladder you are or trying to climb" (Dina). If a racialised woman were willing to accept remaining in the low levels of the Australian academia, the chances of experiencing specifically racialised hindrances are reduced.

The dynamics of racialised women academics and their experiences of marginalisation due to this specific group affiliation are also increasingly being challenged by particularly non-racialised women's concerns about racialised men and the theoretical issue of 'masculinity'.

For example, 12 of the 14 non-racialised female participants posed that racialised men, including racialised academic males, are a particularly beset group.

No one is paying attention to the lack of racialised men academics here or how developments are affecting their gender roles! (Terry, AusNRW-dAP).

Or, as Emma (SAfrNRW-bSL) in South Africa posited, "masculinity has to be considered if we are to counter racialised women's marginalisation".

Interestingly, statements of this kind were made at those universities where racialised male academics were visible albeit marginally, while racialised women academics were conspicuously absent. Furthermore, the racialised male academics I met at five of the eight universities in this study occupied positions on upper academic management and administrative levels.

Dina (AusCRW-dP) explained that group affiliation that has been defined and informed by time and space also illustrates that marginalisation in respect of racialised academic women is shaped by subjection to white men and women, as well as racialised men.

Micko (SAfrRM-bP) describes what he calls the multiple marginalisations of racialised women academics in South Africa, and links with Dina's contentions. Micko argues that despite universities and their management agents being "aware of the crap, the racist crap" the discourses of marginalisation remain unchallenged.

The uncontested status quo, according to Micko is related to group affiliation in relation to power. Those groups and ranks, which have traditionally wielded power, have remained unchanged as too have those women that have traditionally been affiliated with the positions of disadvantage generally and in academe specifically, namely racialised women.

Micko sees marginalisation as intimately linked with the disempowerment of racialised women academics. This in turn fosters further regressive attributes like apathy, superficial commitment to academic endeavours, and often to racialised women leaving academe for the commercial world.

Further, Micko points out that contributions that could have enriched academia are instead lost, leaving academe the poorer for it. Micko expresses an awareness of his privileged position and informs that it is also the marginalisation of racialised women that has made his position possible and white/non-racialised women were the main occupants of the space at the time of his entry into the professional academia.

Another issue of interest, which does not quite link with hierarchical dimensions mentioned earlier, is the question of essentialism and the marginalisation of racialised women academics. This is possibly most specific in (though not exclusive) to the South African context, where non-racialised women have long enjoyed access to academia unlike Black/racialised women.

The essentialism most mentioned by interview participants in South Africa and which displaced racialised women academics even further from the centre is related to the notions held by both non-racialised women and racialised women academics in the country in conjunction with notions about authenticity.

South African racialised academic women, more so than non-racialised women academics, who have gained their academic degrees abroad, are specific targets of what Laura (SAfrRW-dL) describes as nationalist academic essentialism.

Our sisters, who have returned home, and who wish to make a difference, are constantly excluded and barred from employment in academia here. It's not only the white women and men doing this but also the Black academics (Laura).

For racialised South African women who have acquired their formal education abroad, this marginalisation takes the shape of minimal and often pre-decided contracts that also have limited income possibilities. "They are employed by soft money", says Laura, who also claimed that economic disparities in relation to income and access to resources combine to marginalise racialised women on all levels.

Furthermore, Laura added, this marginalisation is also age-ist because most Black/racialised South African women academics have only recently been granted significant access to academe and many of them were mature women, who often had established families and were over 50. These women were not easily employed despite the human and experiential capital they owned. The employment market, Laura contended, was geared toward younger Black/racialised women who were less likely to question authority since many of them had not experienced apartheid in the same way and had not been part of 'the struggle' against it.

Another regulator of group affiliation is related to nationalist academic essentialist debates that hold that 'elsewhere educated' (meaning euro-america) women are 'tainted' because they have been educated and trained in a white western paradigm and therefore lack an Afrocentric understanding of women's issues.

Mandy (SAfrRW-dP) makes the same posit and adds that the essentialist notion of 'belonging' has caused many racialised academic women to feel the need to form their own groupings, as a result collaborative efforts are extremely difficult to co-ordinate. She added that ironically, "this marginalisation is even perpetrated here by those academics, particularly women, from other African countries!" (Mandy)

Indigenous group affiliation does not necessarily automatically mean being marginalised, as Magnus (SwdNRM-eP) informed. The Saami peoples (traditionally reindeer herders and hunters), indigenous to Sweden, and Finnish-Swedes have through the process of

assimilation become part of mainstream society and are not considered to be especially marginalised as a result.

This said, Magnus, who has also increasingly focused on Saami and Finnish-Swedish developments, describes their assimilation as an example of “internal colonisation and displacement”. It is however not possible to present them as a specifically marginalised group whether women or men. In his estimation, these minority groups have not experienced the racialised marginalisation that ‘immigrants’ or racially identifiable ethnic minority groups in Sweden experience today.

6.3.2 Acknowledgement and Denial

The positions we willingly or not occupy and identify with constitute our identities, and our subjectivities involve conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions that constitute our sense of self and others (Woodward, 1997). Is the marginalisation of racialised academic women acknowledged or denied? Participants acknowledged and/or denied racialised women's marginalisation variably.

Linda (SwdNRW-e), for example, was reticent to hold that racialised academic women were singularly hindered from participating in academia in Sweden or that they perceived themselves as such.

I don't think there's an actual hindering because it is very difficult to say in which ways it is hindering. This is something that women who feel themselves racialised should say and then they should try to point out in which ways they are hindered – if you understand? (Linda, SwdNRW-eP)

Often non-racialised academics also claimed a lack of insight into their racialised women colleague's experiences of marginalisation. Emma (SAfrNRW-bSL), for example, declared that she did not know how marginalisation “translates” for racialised women but “I expect it would do so in complex ways” (Emma). She was more concerned about categorisations, which she felt had to be resisted.

Emma repeatedly reiterated that she did not know anything about racialised women's marginalisation, or any other areas relating to the issues relating to racialised women academics. As a result, Emma's positioning appeared to deny racialised women academics' experiences of marginalisation.

Beryl (SAfrNRW-bL) says that her experiences reflect those discussed by glass-ceiling theorists, where her progress was obstructed by barriers that were not easily identified

because she was not 'outside' or excluded from academe but was ignored. Beryl did not feel that racialised women academics were particularly marginalised in the educational field because it has traditionally been a female dominated space.

You're mouthing words and they can see you but nobody's taking any notice of you. In many ways I believe that I have been subjected to a concrete ceiling because my experiences have included sex/gender and age...Yes, I think that racialised women academics are marginalized but in my field, which is dominated by women, it is not so comprehensive – there just are no men in sight. I do think that racialised women are marginalised, yes, but indirectly, and things are changing (Beryl).

Chloe (SAfrNRW-aL) was very emphatic that South African racialised women academics were not deliberately marginalised.

They are just not there and when we do employ them, they are poached by the private sector (Chloe, SAfrNRW-aL):

6.3.2 Experiences of Corrective Action

Black women appear to be set up to fail. Their token inclusion as members of staff is only as a result of over-eagerness to be seen to be doing the right thing (Karin, SAfrNRW-cSL).

Karin was of the mind that affirmative action directives have led to the physicalities or bodies of racialised women being valued as a means by which universities hoped to benefit and avoid government censure. Being Black/racialised has, Karin felt, displaced the value of activist intellectual capacities as often racialised women who have been employed for this reason often found themselves absent from decision making spaces.

Laura (SAfrRW-dL) was not too concerned about the employment of academic racialised women as a result of affirmative action. Instead, she opined that change was hampered by the fact that white/non-racialised people still controlled the economy and material resources.

It's not surprising that Black, or what you call racialised women, remain marginalised. After all the ownership of production and distribution hasn't changed. It is still in the hands of whites and those racialised peoples who have established themselves in the academia (Laura, SAfrRW-dL).

"Changes are taking place in Sweden" according to Magnus (SwdNRM-eP). His university had established a special gender equity and equality committee to advise and monitor the progress of equity and equality initiatives there.

In South Africa a vigorous equity and equality program is being implemented top-down (Mandy, SAfrRW-d; Chloe, SAfrNRW-a). Racialised women academics' marginalisation is

being addressed and affirmative action employment practices have been put into operation.

The inroads that have been made have often come at a price (Karin, SAfrNRW-cSL) and quite often this does not sufficiently address the subordinated positions where racialised women are ghettoised (Laura, SAfrRW-d; Sara, SAfrRW-b).

Karin urged that caution be practised when appointing racialised women academics as a purely tokenistic gesture because their marginalisation is exacerbated by the dissatisfaction of those women who feel unfairly by-passed because of such employment practices. South African women academics are eagerly brought in and then remain at those entry levels.

They would be brought in with a great amount of enthusiasm as tutor/lecturer and that's about where it would stop even if people had PhDs. The senior lecturer, associate professor and professor levels were generally very difficult to get into – even for white women (Karin, SAfrNRW-cSL).

“There are some forms of affirmative action programs or projects in Australia” (Terry, AusNRW-dAP) but “incongruities remain unaddressed” (Dina, AusCRW-dP). Anna (AusNRW-eP), who has long inhabited the Australian academe, informs that the denial of racism and the abstraction of ‘race’ from equality and equity debates have resulted in racialised women academics’ marginalisation even in the law.

Not all professional academics however thought that affirmative action or other corrective measures of this kind were propitious. This was specifically so for Rita (SAfrNRW-eP), whose academic tenure is secure and top-level. Rita insists that she is “absolutely against affirmative action”. Non-racialised senior level Australian academics, Maria (AusNRW-eAP) and Terry (AusNRW-dAP), and non-racialised Swedish academics Gunilla (SwdNRW-eP) and Linda (SwdNRW-e), echo Rita’s contention.

The main concern for these non-racialised women academics, who all held significant tenure and presided over significant management and administrative decision making spaces, was that of guaranteeing merit. To them, a racialised woman academic ought only to be accepted if she has the correct standards of ‘merit’.

Interestingly though all of these non-racialised women academics, who fervently spoke against specific interventions for racialised women academics by way of relevant affirmative action and/or equal opportunity strategies also challenged current meritocracy

which they believe controls the academe. Additionally, they all identify this 'regressive meritocracy', as specifically patriarchal and sexist.

Dina (AusCRW-dP) insisted that there are imbalances in the verbal ambitions and practical implementations of equal opportunity and affirmative action.

The universities are aware that this is a problem and it is out there in the public speak, and I do believe that there is good will out there at that level but these things work in very subtle ways. When you have a system that basically favours an elite middle class that is white, it is very difficult for those outside to enter. Basically, people will say: We'd love to have this type of persons – you know these racialised persons – but they don't have these and these things (Dina).

No mentionable programs to improve racialised women's participation in the Swedish professional academe appears to be underway as yet albeit that equity and equality "watchdogs" are increasingly forming part of universities and university colleges there, as Magnus (SwdNRM-eP) pointed out.

6.4 Discussion

This chapter addresses the perceptual and interpretational dynamics that are understood to be operative at the point of intersection or collision where racialised academic women experience marginalisation as a form of multiple discrimination.

The analysis of the data in this chapter is framed by postcolonial, critical 'race', Black feminist, African feminist and predominantly whiteness theories. The discussion connects with the element in Crenshaw's theoretical model called systems of power, which in the ensuing dialogue annexes the importance of what Cass et al (1983) called 'subjective knowledge' that exposes the ideological elements of perceptions and understandings. It has to be pointed out at this stage however that while Crenshaw's notion of systems of power is being utilised, Crenshaw does not explicitly refer to whiteness in her writings, which formed the theoretical framework of this study.

The main question guiding this discussion was to ascertain how participants perceived racialised academic women's marginalisation and this was accompanied by a reflection on how their contentions could plausibly be interpreted. To guide my interpretation, I focused on the referential terms they used; how they related to the phenomenon of racialised marginalisation; how they responded to situations where the racialised marginalisation of academic women took place; and, how they perceptually positioned themselves in relation

to corrective measures aimed at countering the racialised marginalisation of academic women's participation in professional academia.

In the process of analysing the data, I made five major observations, which relate to the psychological, the paradox of informed knowledge yet paralysed agency, the hierarchical understandings of gendered-racialised marginalisation, the negotiation of belonging, and, attitudes toward corrective action.

Psychological: Racialised marginalisation has a significant psychological impact that affects those who experience it directly and those who observe it being experienced and this was made apparent by interview participants. They also proffered that the psychological dimensions educed (drawn out or elicited) during and after experiencing or observing gendered-racialised marginalisation affected their agency, and in the case of white/non-racialised participants, this also challenged their perceptions about the progressiveness of their institutions and their colleagues.

Common responses in such situations were withdrawal and silence despite the tumultuous feelings of anger, dismay and/or frustration evoked by the racialised marginalisation of academic women, and participants did not reflect on why they did not openly and actively deal with the situation immediately. Collectively the psychological responses of participating academics exemplified and confirmed Wetherell's (1996) contention that marginalisation per se has an intrinsic impact on the psychological.

Paradox of informed knowledge yet paralysed agency: This observation has to do with how, despite the professional area of expertise and knowledge held by participants, their responses to racialised academic women's marginalisation indicated an inability or reticence to contend with it. Hill Collins (2001, 2000, and 1990) discusses this paradox and relates it to the misappropriation of racialised women's knowledges. Hill Collins refers to the universalistic contentions made in studies, in the classroom, at conferences, etc by mainstream feminists about the nebulous subject of 'women's oppression' while they equally readily claim to not understand racialised women's experiences of oppression, and to not have the tools with which to address it.

Moreton-Robinson (2000) connects with this and declares that this is not surprising, since racialised women (the author refers to Indigenous women particularly) are bearers of subjugated knowledges that are circumscribed by the cultural practices and material

conditions of whiteness, which also repudiates racialised knowledges and makes it subject to the moral and intellectual hegemony of whiteness.

Non-racialised/white participants are therefore, annexing Moreton-Robinson (2000), most often paralysed in situations where gendered-racialised marginalisation takes place because what they know about the subject is misappropriated and understood within ontological parameters far removed from the actual experiential knowledges of racialised women.

The hierarchical understandings of gendered-racialised marginalisation: The tendency for participants to hierarchise racialised marginalisation appears to co-exist with the paralysis of agency notwithstanding academic proficiency and knowledge. This propensity was particular among Australian and to a lesser extent among Swedish participants. Given Australia's historical developments, many would claim that the reasons for invoking a stratified understanding of racialised marginalisation are well-founded.

However, as Vassilacopoulos and Nicolacopoulos (2004) assert, the ways in which whiteness continues to inform the postcolonial world is predicated on drawing problematic boundaries around racialised groups and functions as a sophisticated form of separation that refutes any attempts at experiencing or seeking political cohesion. To these authors, such practices assign (im)migrants to a position of being 'perpetual strangers within'.

In the Swedish context, the 'enkraaling' of racialised groups is specifically interesting because the participation of racialised academic women there is significantly scant, as participants themselves pointed out. It elicits the question of how participants have been able to shape their knowledge about the racialised marginalisation of academic women at all.

It cannot however be overlooked that in Sweden and Australia, participants who defined themselves as ethnically different but racially reflective of the dominant populace refuted (partially or totally) that they were victims of racialised marginalisation, which confirms Ifekwunigwe's (2001) assertion that racialised marginalisation has to invoke the physical in order to function. This could also be found in participants' contentions about experiences relating to racialised stereotyping.

The negotiation of belonging: The issue of belonging and how it is negotiated is related to the previous point in that it also connects with racialised boundary drawing. The

experiences of and observations of participants confirm the power of language and the divisiveness of essentialised parameters that define group affiliation and which also relates to language, amongst others.

Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1993) and Mac an Ghaill (1999) caution against such predispositions because they argue that stringent ethno-racial boundaries can no longer be drawn as societies have been fundamentally changed by migration that was inexorably resultant of colonialism and imperialistic expansion. These theorists acknowledge the significance of self-identity and encourage vigilance where group affiliation is based on the authentication of identificatory elements because they perceive this practice as conducive to internal group turmoil that hinders consolidated action against racialised marginalisation.

Attitudes toward corrective action: My fifth observation relates to the way corrective action in the form of affirmative action and equal opportunity policies, laws and ventures were viewed by participants. White/non-racialised participants in the South African context in particular appeared to approach such corrective measures with particular reserve. Often they saw these as regressive while their racialised counterparts saw these interventionist instruments as progressive tools by which to counter gendered-racialised marginalisation.

Sterba (2003) seems to sustain the latter view as he points out that since 1994, subsequent to the first democratic election in South Africa when the African National Congress came into power, one million Black South Africans moved from poverty to the middle class due mainly to affirmative action job opportunities. In the process, Sterba contends, the country's affirmative action programs were more extensive than the USA and the European Union (EU) (Sterba, 2003:275). Nonetheless, he asserted, racialised women have not yet made significant inroads as a result of affirmative action or equal opportunity initiatives. He concluded however that there is sufficient evidence to indicate that non-'race'-based criteria for affirmative action measures, as exemplified by the USA, will fail.

In the Australian and Swedish contexts, where affirmative action and equal opportunity initiatives in relation to racialised women in particular are extremely negligible, participants were unable to provide elaborations in this regard but many (not all) were supportive of the notion.

A specific observation that I would like to recall is the question of age-ism which was mentioned by two of the South African participants (one racialised and one non-racialised).

This is a matter of particular importance to racialised women in the country because they have only recently started coming into their own. The privilege of whiteness in this situation is that the non-racialised participant had not been excluded from obtaining academic learning and training as a result of racialised marginalisation but as a matter of choice in order to raise her family. For her racialised counterparts however, entry was politico-legally and socio-economically barred, and they did not have the opportunity to be stay-at-home parents.

In conclusion then it is feasible to hold that racialised academic women's marginalisation is variably perceived and, though context specific, indicates a shared characteristic in the way that experiences of gendered-racialised marginalisation brings elements of empowerment and/or disempowerment to the fore. Furthermore, the way those within WGS perceive and elect to explicate academic women's racialised marginalisation in the professional academia also plays a significant role in whether or not the polemic is likely to feature as a matter of significant discussion or not within this space but probably even throughout the academic communities in the three countries.

Additionally, since WGS in all three countries indicate over-representation of white/non-racialised academics – male and female – their perceptions of the factors that cause and/or shape racialised women academics' marginalisation and the implementation of corrective measures, as well as how this is epistemologically approached, have to be examined. In the chapter that follows, this link is presented and discussed with awareness that there is an apparent lack of understanding and knowledge about the subject despite participants having the responsibility to teach and academically comment about 'race'-gender oppression.

Chapter 7

Intersectional Factors of Marginalisation

The voices of professional academics, racialised and non-racialised, have started to come out in the previous chapter as they start to talk about the views of the experience of marginalisation of racialised academic women. These voices will be further amplified in this chapter as they try to explain the factors of marginalisation and proposed strategies for addressing these.

This chapter accounts for the final four research questions. Why racialised academic women are subject to marginalisation in professional academia; how effective affirmative action and anti-discrimination legislations are in addressing their marginalisation; how institutionalised feminism in the space of WGS addresses this marginalisation in curricula and employment within this field; proposed strategies for transformation. The chapter also analyses how this is connected to the racialised marginalisation of academic women. These elements are inevitably linked to each other as they exist in intersectional interactive relations with each other.

The intersectional aspects of import, are how the elements of traffic (the activity of discrimination), namely laws, policies, decisions, etc, intersect together with routes of power ('race', gender, class, age, etc) and collide with racialised women academics who are located at the intersections. There are, of course, also others located at the intersections. Some are involved observers. Some are meant to control the traffic on the routes of power at the point of collision. Others might be involved in remedial or corrective action at the point of collision.

This chapter aims to describe the factorial points that constitute the collision or manifestation of discrimination in relation to marginalised academic women. Participants are variably located at the intersections of gendered-racist-classist marginalisation and their understandings of the factors to which collisions can be attributed often vary in relation to their positioning at intersections.

The trajectories of the interviews were directed by questions like "Why do you think racialised academic women are marginalised in the professional academia?" "Have laws and policies been implemented to address these discrepancies?" "Have such laws been effective in your estimation?" "Are there programs at your university and at your institution that utilise laws and policies to actively address the negligible participation of racialised women academics?"

An interesting development that emerged from the contributions of participants was the way in which racialised academic women's marginalisation was perceived in relation to 'women's discrimination'. The first section accounts for the attitudes and contentions of participants in relation to racialised women academics' marginalisation. Thereafter, the factorial areas related to structural, dynamic and systemic features operative around, at and prior to academic racialised women's multiple discrimination collision points are accounted for, as well as existing and proposed strategies for transformation.

7.1 Gendered-Racist Marginalisation of Women Academics: Attitudes and Contentions

At the intersection of race and gender stand women of color, battered, demoralized and often beaten by the lines of bias that currently divide white from nonwhite in our society, and male from female./.../ Their professional roles, women of color are expected to meet or exceed performance standards set for the most part by their white male counterparts. Yet their personal lives extract a loyalty to their cultural heritage that is essential to socializing with family and friends. At the same time, they must struggle with their own identity as women in a society where thinking like a woman is still considered questionable activity. At times, they can even experience pressure to choose between their racial identity and their womanhood (Kern-Foxworth, 2000:80).

The common practice to focus only on the contributions of racialised women in relation to racialised women's issues has meant that very limited direct insight has been obtained into the way white/non-racialised women view racialised women's marginalisation.

Omitting actors within a specific space of enquiry that aims to explicate racialised women's specifically lived polemics also obfuscates or conceals how white/non-racialised attitudes can further or curtail racialised academic women's experiences of marginalisation.

My interviews produced interesting patterns of attitudes towards racialised academic women's marginalisation, as well as the contentions offered in response to whether or not racialised women academics were in fact particularly marginalised and why this was so.

There was a broad consensus (75 percent) that racialised women academics are indeed marginalised; 75 per cent conceded that they are a specifically marginalised group among women academics; 25 per cent concurred that racialised academic women are not specifically marginalised; and 67 per cent agreed racialised academic women's marginalisation is related to 'race' and gender.

While it could be deduced that if only 25 per cent do not consider racialised women academics particularly marginalised this is a 'positive' sign; but it is notable that among the six participants who make this claim, all are non-racialised/white participants, all have significant tenure and all have high ranking positions of authority at their universities. They also have top-level decision making power in relation to employment selection and appointments, and they are entrusted with implementing laws and policies aimed at challenging sexism and racism in relation to women academics in the workplace.

Participants also had various ways of approaching the subject of marginalisation in relation to racialised academic women. Among the 16 white/non-racialised women participants, nine (two of the three in Australia; three of the six in Sweden; and four of the five in South Africa) chose to foreground their own experiences of gendered marginalisation in academia prior to addressing the subject area.

Occasionally this approach was combined with views on the study of women in general as well. For example,

I'm very interested in the way the sexualities of black men are constructed. I'm really tired of the way in which we talk about women: at the mercy of evil men that are blocking them in some way and I just think that it is a rhetoric that doesn't help us. The interesting thing to me is that I actually consider myself to be an African woman because I've never lived anywhere else, neither have five or six to ten generations of my family. We have always lived in this country and so what I find very interesting with the racial constructions is to know when it is legitimate for me to speak as somebody whose entire conscious experiences of growing up in Africa, and when it's not. (Karin, SAfrNRW-cSL)

Only two participants (one Australian and one Swedish) openly conceded their privileged statuses, albeit that they did not particularly reflect on their racialised privileged statuses.

Relative to the other women in the community, I've had all the advantages of a privileged woman in all manner of ways (Terry, AusNRW-dAP). I have **never** been out of work. I have worked here since 1981 – I have studied and worked at the same time, when I did my ground level education. I have always found a job and I have never been out of work. As a white woman, it has all been okay for me (Terry, AusNRW-dAP).

Six white/non-racialised participants (one Australian; two Swedish; three South African) made continuous attempts to forestall the topic of discussion; insisting instead that a re-evaluation of the notion of 'racialised and non-racialised/ white academic women' be carried out. Interestingly, they were also among the 21 to 25 per cent of 'unsure' or 'unknowing' participants.

Ironically, all the male participants, non-racialised and racialised, were well-informed and confident about conceding that racialised women academics are marginalised, are specifically marginalised among women academics, and that their marginalisation was due to 'race' and gender as inextricably linked aspects of their identities.

Male participants also openly admitted to their privileged statuses as men. One male interview participant posited that women were still second class citizens as they still have to deal with the "old guard" of which, he claimed, there were still significantly many who had also been enormously privileged by the old South African dispensation (Chris, SAfrNRM-eP). Policies and laws have not made them disappear and that had never been an issue because the transformation of South Africa was about ensuring the equal value of all peoples within the country. Nonetheless, Chris added, men have remained dominant.

He modified his contention and added that new psychological issues were now emerging among men, who were stuck and unable to move because of their age levels. They were

all dressed up and nowhere to go, no opportunities for us because of certain factors – we're not going anywhere. There is a great deal of debate going on about this in South Africa at the moment./.../although the policies are very progressive and we've made quite a lot of progress, I think it has mainly benefited (Black/racialised) males. But that is mainly on the lower levels. It is not on the middle-management or the departmental levels. /.../ because it is easier for the head of the department, if he is still a member of the old guard, to appoint a Black female or a so-called Coloured or an Indian than going far to the extreme and appointing a male, whose culture is totally different. (Chris, SAfrNRM-eP).

In Chris' statement there is a paradoxical 'equalising' gaze being enforced that does not recall a naturalised 'white female' gaze but instead evokes a notion about an equally shared 'culture' that transcends both 'race' and gender to place white South African masculinity on par with Black/racialised South African female-ness. This is a discussion not comprehensively explored in this study but certainly indicates an interesting area for academic research.

Micko (SAfrRM-bP), was also willing to acknowledge his privileged status, which he readily agreed was at the expense of racialised women academics, but also pointed out that he too was subject to the same subjectivity enforced by whiteness and racism.

At this point, I would like to relate two events that took place during the interviews when the issues of this chapter were being dealt with. One was the way non-racialised women tended to make sense of racialised academic women's marginalisation by discussing their own experiences of sexism. To explain, every white academic conceded that racialised women academics were marginalised but white academic women quickly followed this statement by downplaying gendered-racist marginalisation by referring to their own subjection to sexism as though it were analogous with gendered-racism. On one occasion, for example, a personal comment was directed to me by an interviewee who said

Well you might not have too much of a problem, I mean you're not really Black, are you? Anyway, you might have a problem because you're a *woman* more than because you're Black (Frieda, SwdNRW-eP).

The other incident was an informative example of how racialised women academics could be marginalised – even by other racialised academics based purely on commonly shared perceptions related to 'race' and racism. This occurred when Micko (SAfrRM-bP), who had been in the interview setting with me for about 20 minutes, suddenly referred to the way potential interview participants had responded to my request for them to participate in the study and my confusion about the low levels of responses. He claimed that the request was most likely to have been received through a 'race' sensitive filter, which was related to the way professional academics in South Africa (across the colour spectrum) respond to requests by euro-american scholars to engage in academic study or research. The suspicion with which white western epistemologies on women is regarded has historical roots and my details would have been taken as those of a white euro-american woman academic. Micko explained that situations like this were

hard and contain anxieties that no matter what you say about the fantastic constitution of South Africa no-one gave us a manual in 1994 about how to deal with this stuff. Ten years later, we still have the issues so when we hear "Ingrid Tufvesson from Sweden" well... So how do you deal with these things because the interpretation of the request also depends on what you think the name means... We judge people by their names, voices, skin colours,... We feel like we can't waste our time talking to white people (Micko, SAfrRM-bP).

Apparently, and as was confirmed by Micko, invited racialised academic women in the South African WGS units, judged me to be white, westernised, and euro-american, which

then further caused them to respond to my request with dismissal based on their preconceived ideas.

7.2 Factors of Marginalisation

Brooks (1997) investigated women academics in the Aotearoan (NZ) and UK academics and presented a list of factors pertinent to their experiences of marginalisation. These factors included age, ethnicity, marital status, nationality, class, parenthood (caregiving), and academic status (seniority, doctoral status, position in relation to professional networks, level of productivity, i.e. research publications, responsibility level/workload) (Brooks, 1997:119).

The theories which inform and frame this study present other factors of relevance. These include the racialised labour market stratification of the three countries (Castles and Miller, 1998; Lange, 1996; and Budlender, 1992). Theories also posit that racialised women are overwhelmingly clustered at the lower end of this hierarchy (Carter, Modood and Fenton, 1999) and that this is due to a historically embedded racialisation of the labour market (Vásquez, 1995).

Participants included in my study also cited various factors as instrumental to the marginalisation of racialised women academics and variably engaged with those proposed by Brooks (1997). However, while Brooks focused on the issues of a diversity of women examined within a male/female/gender grid, this study is particularly concerned with racialised academic women's marginalisation.

Most mainstream studies, Brooks' (1997) included, tend to frame racialised women's experiences within a white-gender framework that obscurely deal with the issue of 'ethnicity' while making claims with regards to racism. Such works tend to avoid examining how notions of 'nation' shape the marginalisation of racialised women academics and equally often, these discussions do not investigate the active agents and subjects in the institutionalised feminism space, namely, WGS.

Furthermore Woodward and Ross (2000), Brooks (1997), and other related studies have not interrogated whiteness among professional academics and the role it plays in the understanding of racialised women academics' marginalisation.

I present the functional factors of marginalisation submitted by interview participants within the spheres and on the levels, which participants have stated them - national and international developments in education; polemics associated with corrective legislation, the academic workplace, WGS, and historically and traditionally entrenched cross-cutting ideologies.

7.2.1 Developments in Education: Contextual Perspectives

Many participants in all three countries were singularly concerned with the way that global developments have shaped education on the international, national and regional levels. They saw these global trends as continuing historical and traditional exclusions of certain groups. The increasing global commoditisation/internationalisation of education has led to discrepancies in academic access, completion and employment in academia

Local manifestations of global developments: Women's education and employment prospects in the South African, Swedish and Australian academe were perceived as intricately enmeshed in global economic and political developments because women are globally accounted for as the most marginalised.

In Australia, the general consensus was that Indigenous peoples were the hardest hit by the commodification of education, which required enormous financial resources for its international upkeep, while significantly reduced resources were distributed domestically at the same time as high standards of quality were nevertheless expected.

Disproportionate expectations, commitments and resources used that accompanied educational trade were linked by participants to the regressive political changes in Australia since the 1990s. This was seen as a "modern development" (Terry, AUSNRW-dAP) that firstly, resulted in diverse student populations that were mainly composed of international students (mostly male) from other rich nations with no concern for existent social inequalities in the country. Secondly, the reduced domestic student numbers where traditionally marginalised groups were consistently unrepresented, albeit that female undergraduate students outnumbered males.

We appear to be inescapably directed towards generating income more than educating people because it has become a competitive marketplace. I mean, education is no longer a right in many ways. It's more of a commodity these days and academic women and men are consumers, and only those who can afford to pay can also buy the products. What chances are there of them [traditionally disadvantaged domestic students] becoming professional academics? And international students don't do courses like women and gender studies (Terry, AusNRW-dAP).

International students also tended to complete degrees aimed at future careers rather than for the enactment of knowledge in relation to the social inequalities experienced by marginalised groups. Remarkably often, according to most Australian interview participants, these students also chose to apply for permanent residency in the country in order to practice their acquired degrees in the country and then mostly for financial gain.

To some academics, like Dina (AusCRW-dP) and Anna (AusNRW-eP), however, the matter is more complicated. Their experiences have shown that quite often it is not that international students are wealthy or that they come from rich countries. Rather, it was not uncommon that families and sometimes entire communities have sacrificed for one or other student to be able to study in Australia because of the images created about the superiority of education there. Additionally, racialised international students often tried unsuccessfully to obtain permanent residency in Australia following their studies, causing them undue distress, over and above the injurious attitudes and opinions of Australians even in the academic setting to which they have been subjected on a number of occasions.

These students choose Australia because of the perceptions of higher quality education and expectations in regards to job prospects created by Australian education marketing agents. They don't reflect on how this impacts on students here – racialised or not, and they're [international students] not ready for what might be in store for them when they try to be employed here (Maria, AusNRW-e, insertion added).

South African and Australian academics were critical of the way nations like Australia and Sweden that have joined with the USA, Canada and the UK in the global marketing of their universities and other educational units, under the pretext that educations from these dominant economic nations are more superior to those in less affluent countries. Australian participants saw this as constitutive of global imbalances amongst nations that furthermore construct the same gender and ethno-racial imbalances found operative in the selection and appointment of students and staff in the country.

Local working class students, consistent with participants' claims, although not exclusively racialised/Black, are predominantly from Indigenous and (im)migrant groups, or what is

often termed as 'the ethnic community'. Australian academics perceive these students and prospective academic employees as being increasingly marginalised, which they also contend is a general state of affairs. Australian education exportation has meant a skewed student and academic staff population, increasingly identified as being from other so-called First World countries, particularly the USA. It was more common for women graduates from countries like the USA, Canada, the UK, Sweden, Norway, Japan, and China to be accepted as students and staff than for women who come from so-called Third World countries. This despite the fact that China is also often seen as a 'developing' country.

The issue of education export and increased international student numbers drew similar responses in Sweden, where a particular interview participant was very passionate about the issue. Frieda (SwdNRW-eP) was scathing about the pride with which increased international student numbers were hailed and contended that these students would naturally not have any problems in the Swedish society because they were "sons and daughters of ambassadors or big company leaders" with significant socio-economic resources. Their domestic counterparts however might originate from the same countries but were from the working class.

That's why I think that this class aspect is so important - if you come from the upper classes you can have any colour you **want** because you have all it **takes to make** it in society! (Frieda, SwdNRW-eP, emphasis in the original)

Repeatedly academics in Sweden and Australia conceded that in their units and departments there were either no racialised women academics at all, or that the only time there was any participation by a racialised woman academic, it was as a guest lecturer, visitor or someone coming in to do 'cultural displays'.

Validating knowledge: authenticity and essentialism: South African and Australian participants posed that the stigmatisation of non-euro-american education was one of the most insidious factors related to racialised women academics' marginalisation. To them, it not only incorporated superior notions of ethno-racial, cultural and lingual capital but it also meant that within countries, prominently in South Africa, this has led to tensions between women with local academic training and those with international degrees.

Participants in South Africa confirmed the suspicions with women with non-African degrees were viewed. Their marginalisation was consequently justified on this pretext as they were presumed to lack essential local knowledge. Laura (SAfrRW-dL) was singularly concerned

about this essentialised marginalisation of racialised academics, whom she perceived as vital to the country's transformation. These women had the odds stacked against them because their exclusion was a combination of exclusive white and racialised elites who were zealously guarding the privileges that they have built up over a long time. Laura contended that it was necessary to assist returning racialised South African academic women in the process of re-establishing themselves and rebuilding their foundations and networks.

In Sweden, the essentialisation of 'local knowledge' was framed in terms of which thematic areas racialised academics were permitted to do. Hans (SwdNRM-bR) mentioned the controversy caused by an Iranian doctoral candidate/researcher in the history department at his university, who chose to focus on a 'Swedish' issue rather than on a 'Muslim issue'. Subsequently this Iranian-Swedish academic's job and future funding was threatened. Hans contended that this was a typically nationalistic response that is reflected in the dominance afforded to focusing primarily on Swedish history coupled with the notion that ethno-racialised academics were incapable of managing this task. Strangely, he added, this misgiving was not extended to white euro-american academics.

Hans' account was confirmed by Gunilla (SwdNRW-eP), who had returned to Sweden after completing her doctoral candidature in the USA on a still prominent woman writer, and who was not Swedish. Her choice of focus was viewed dimly by the literature department and she soon understood that it was acceptable for undergraduate students to do "contemporary work" but that Swedish "stuff" were preferred at postgraduate level.

South African academics were more vocal about how they are perceived by western counterparts inside and outside of the country. The racialised participants in particular spoke of how their intellectual capacities were often understood and devalued by western counterparts as being limited to discussions about the HIV/Aids epidemic and Black women as victims.

You would stand or sit there, whatever the case may be, and feel encaged by this fascination with HIV/AIDS, like you're a guru on all that the subject holds just because you are South African. It's like they want you to confess to having the disease just so you can have an intellectual discussion about the subject. In the meantime you feel like saying to them "Hey, I was actually part of rewriting my country's constitution because we needed to address the racial imbalances caused by white people like yourself in health and education, you know! I mean the serious problem of illiteracy among women in our country is because of this kind of way they have historically thought and spoken about African women." (Penny, SAfrRW-cSL)

It would have everything to do with the fact that it is nice for USAID, it's nice for AUSAID, or it's nice for SIDA to be able to showcase and highlight where black women are succeeding because the rhetoric about women in Africa is all about victims (Karin, SAfrNRW-cSL).

Racialised ghettoisation and class: Swedish interview participants pointed out that global inconsistencies are also reflected in Sweden, where the so-called 'immigrant population' often lived in segregated racialised spaces, where unemployment levels and social problems are high.

...we might be a well-meaning society but we are a segregated city. Stockholm, for example, is a segregated city. The immigrants - they live in the suburbs and it is from the suburbs that the university has difficulties recruiting students and later this is the same when it comes to staff (Frieda, SwdNRW-eP, emphasis in the original).

Swedes from so-called 'Third World' countries are most stigmatised, and those from Ethiopia, Somalia, and Egypt most affected according to Magnus (SwdNRM-eP), who has also held many senior positions in the Swedish academia. Additionally, the women members of these groups "will hardly ever make it in academia here or at least they will find it very hard" (Magnus).

Australian participants also mentioned how residential ghettoisation tended to stigmatise racialised and/or working class staff and students. While Australian and South African interview participants mostly emphasised the racialised nature of disadvantage, Swedish participants underscored socio-economic class as the main reason for marginalisation in society as a whole and in academia in particular.

You have to have a mentor who helps you if you're a person of colour, or somebody else but it is also a class thing. I have seen so many of my generation, who are actually children of professors. Their parents are professors and they've done everything right. They've written the right books, they've edited the right kind of anthologies, etc because the mother, father, or both have said: Do this or that because now is the right moment for a career move. If you come from elsewhere - admitting that I can't take myself as an example because I've done well - but still it's not there! You can't ask anybody: What should my next move be? (Moa, SwdNRW-dAP)

Nonetheless, academics conceded in all three countries that academic employment in each was predominantly held by middle and upper middle class white/non-racialised men and women. Swedish participants were however overwhelmingly from working class backgrounds, which further indicated that they too were more likely to secure academic employment than racialised working class academics.

Reflections of broader racialised ideologies: The fundamental conditions of racialised peoples, the way they were generally perceived, the prevalent forms of feminism and the way these issues were presented in the everyday, were recalled by participants as those factors existent outside of academia that influence what happens inside it.

The marginalisation of Indigenous women academics was therefore explained by Australian participants as a manifestation of their situations in the broader society. Fourteen of the interview participants, mainly from South Africa and Australia, were of the mind that the marginalisation of racialised academic women is linked to the racial imbalances of aspects of power and public debate, which utilises egalitarian premises and makes evidence of racialised academic women's subjugation inaccessible.

Alex (AusCRW-aL) opined that because of the constrained political and academic debates within nations, which only spoke about issues defined as important to those who dominate the economic, political and social sphere, who are identified as principally white/non-racialised and most often middle class, deliberations were fundamentally disproportionate. This was confirmed by other Australian participants, who opined that there was no noteworthy debate about 'race' in conjunction with gender at governmental level and that this set the tone for the entire country.

Anna (AusNRW-eP) suggested that no matter the complications involved with the Aotearoan (NZ) racialised quota system in favour of Maori peoples, its implementation has forced universities and academic management to address actively the racialised exclusion of staff and students there. This has resulted in increased numbers of Maori women in Aotearoan (NZ) universities. The racialisation of gender equity in the Australian Parliament could, according to academics, be seen as an indicator of the way 'race' was overlooked from the macro to the micro levels of society.

Australian participants also saw racialised academic women's marginalisation as a product of the racism that is evident in the individual political make-up of universities and the lack of attention paid to its existence, as was posited by Terry (AusNRW-dAP) earlier.

'Race' and its importance in shaping the inclusion and exclusion of racialised Australians is professed to occupy political attention, and this is enunciated in official public ways but is thwarted by whiteness and class ideologies and practices.

These things work in very subtle ways and I think when you have a system that basically favours a middle class that is white Anglo-Saxon, it is very difficult for those outside to enter (Dina, AusCRW-dP)

Mandy (SAfrRW-dP) and other racialised academics were convinced that the traditional lack of support by society for girls and women to write was markedly furthered by racialised oppression, which saw their servitude in the home to be extended to the workplace. The education of Black/racialised South African women-folk was aimed to prepare them for domestic servitude on the farms, and in the homes, businesses and factories of white/non-racialised peoples.

The point that I'm trying to make Ingrid is that we come from backgrounds where writing is not valued. Even now, I would be sitting and writing trying to do a book, an article, or whatever and I'd be seen as not doing anything because I'm not 'busy'. So you don't get the support. I think people are from different backgrounds and maybe it will change from being this class-thing but Black women don't have that luxury and the space to write (Mandy, SAfrRW-dP).

While white women were free to enter academia and were encouraged to do so, this was not the case for Black/non-racialised women, who were hindered because of their sex and barred from academia because of their 'race'.

Negative perceptions of feminism: South African participants mentioned this issue the most, while Swedish and Australian participants were more concerned that feminism has in some ways become an issue that is often dismissed.

Mandy (SAfrRW-dP) was particularly vocal about this issue. She claimed that in the country the dimly regarded big "F" word was not the four-letter expletive but rather 'feminism'. While she understood the gist of epistemological controversies that women have in relation to white western feminism, she was not eager to allow the definition of feminism to be held captive by dominant understandings of the term. Instead, Mandy would have it that Black/racialised women construct their own definition of their feminism.

There is the assumption that feminism grew out of Europe but that is not absolutely true. We have many examples of feminist activities in South Africa and if you are fighting for a tap in the rural area that for me is an act of feminism. There are also many examples where women from the west came to look at what was happening in Africa in terms of gender many years ago and if you look at the political struggles in this country, those are acts of feminism. People often say that "women have been marginalised" but at that point we needed to fight for both our women and our men. We wouldn't be where we are if we didn't deal with 'race' and I think that it was linked at particular points to the issue of 'women's discrimination' – maybe not enough but I do think that the efforts were made. Now, we've helped white women with the gender fight – why is it so hard for them to reciprocate? (Mandy, SAfrRW-dP)

7.2.2 Corrective Legislation

Interview participants voluntarily addressed four issues in relation to corrective legislation as factors that impacts on racialised academic women's continued marginalisation. These included awareness, implementation, and attitudes.

Awareness: 79 per cent of the participants confirmed that they were aware of the existence of anti-discrimination laws and policies in relation to 'race'/ethnicity (all the South African, four of the five Australian, and four of the eight Swedish participants). It is appropriate to note that the unanimous South African response is remarkable since it represents racialised and non-racialised participants. None of the Swedish or Australian participants were aware of laws and policies that exist whereby racialised academic women's marginalisation could be addressed, unlike the South African participants who were aware. The South African academics were also the only ones who confirmed that these laws and policies have been used to address racialised women academics' marginalisation, and that their universities and units have used these laws to specifically address the marginalisation of racialised women academics.

Although the Federal, State and Territory governments of Australia, and the government of Sweden, have promulgated legislation to prohibit racism in the workplace, participants in these countries were either dismissive of such legislation or refuted its existence in the academic workplace. They were also dubious about or completely contested the effectiveness of anti-discrimination legislation in relation to racism, academia and sexism. Others just had no idea about such legislations and had never considered the issue at all.

These responses appear to be related to the fact that specific equal opportunity and affirmative action legislation and strategies in regards to racialised women per se do not exist. This often led interview participants to reflect upon the question of implementation in respect of equal opportunity and affirmative action legislation.

Implementation: Participants who indicated an awareness of the existence of anti-discrimination legislation in Sweden and Australia were convinced that the implementation of such legislation at university level contributed to the persistence of academic women's racialised marginalisation.

Yes, yes, laws and policies are important because I look at the sexuality thing and now there are all these ombudsmen and so on, who are trying to do something about the issues but there are really small resources allocated to this. It is really ridiculous that they can't work effectively because of lack of resources. I'm also really curious about the law you mentioned, this Likabehandlings lagen i högskola because it does actually require all the universities to have a plan to address discrimination issues and I know that the gay students of Sweden- have reported thirteen or fourteen universities and university colleges as simply just not doing the plan. So they would need to be forced to do the plan. Of course, the plan will not solve all the problems but at least it is one step ahead and as a student with a different ethnicity or sexuality or with a disability, you can use this law. However, it takes a hell of a lot of force to do that. I mean if you are disabled, for example, you have enough problems let alone if you are disabled and an ethnic minority. So, it demands quite a lot from the individual (Hans, SwdNRM-bR)

Oh, I don't think these laws are effective – I'm afraid not. First of all, I think it takes a while before you see the effects of law and mainly our problem at this university and in this department, as in all departments, is that they seem not to attract people who are not middle class people living in middle class suburbs. It's sad to say but it's really hard to attract others to come to our department and the people who are in the department do not pay any regard to law when you are employing lecturers or other academic staff. I don't think about that when I'm employing someone for the undergraduate course, I don't even think about which race or anything like that – what I mainly think about is that it would be good if they had at least one man or one younger person or one older person. Probably because there are so few such [racialised] academic women that we actually meet (Maja, SwdNRW-b).

The inconsistencies presented by the discussions above are related to what Freeman (1995) explains as the legitimization of racial discrimination through anti-discrimination law. Freeman proposes that where decision makers practice, what they perceive as 'anti-discrimination' by way of ignoring the importance of 'race' these decision makers become enablers of discrimination. Often, he contends, they insist that by considering prospective employments without referring to 'race', the result is often that the aspirations of the law become null and void.

There was no uncertainty among South African academics about corrective legislation and the existence of specific directives in relation to addressing discrimination and punishing any eventual perpetrators. They were however not unanimous about what these laws and policies are or their implementation.

Racialised academics, in particular, were pleased that the laws and policies had been promulgated and actively implemented in South Africa. Most of the racialised/Black South African interview participants pointed out, however, that racialised discrepancies in employment patterns still continue and that this is often related to a commonly overlooked

factor, namely, that equity legislation used in favour of benefiting 'women' were never extended to comprehensively argue for equity in relation to racialised women academics.

Laura (SAfrRW-dL) was supportive of affirmative action but asserted that at present, these policies were advantaging white women, who have historically enjoyed 'race' privilege but who were now competing with Black/racialised women and were not willing to approach change with the same magnanimity as those who have traditionally been disenfranchised.

they had the opportunities in the past to teach at all schools, teach at all the universities, and be separate. Now they have the audacity to compete!? So, why are they so scared or afraid to say "Let us change the status quo?" After all that is the spirit of those women who have previously been politically, socially and economically marginalised by law (Laura, SAfrRW-dL).

Penny (SAfrRW-cSL) mirrored Laura's concerns and explained this by recalling her experience in the USA, where equality and equity initiatives in relation to the 'disadvantaged' often saw white women academics being more frequently employed than Black/racialised women academics were. Penny was disquieted by the possibility that the same trend would be followed in the South African context.

Others, like Sara (SAfrRW-bSL), were more hopeful and eager to magnify the positive inroads that anti-discrimination and other corrective legislation has wrought in South Africa but she added that the law was only a point of departure. In order for reparative laws to be better implemented and for decision makers to be sensitised to the marginalisation of racialised academic women, the latter had to be instrumental in the collaborative shaping of legislation.

One particular South African interview participant was convinced that the only way for laws and policies in relation to the participation of racialised/Black women to be effective was for government to stringently monitor the situation and intervene, where necessary.

I think that laws in terms of affirmative action are vital; I support it because it needs to be a starting point but it can only be a starting point. The problems at the universities I think require that the government be much more intrusive in forcing them to have quotas but it needs to be more than that. They need to force universities to show them how they are encouraging women and supporting Black women's careers in the academia. Appointing two women at vice-chancellor level and two at the dean's level does not mean anything; often it's only tokenistic. The other problem I have is not related to the government's policies but more so to the way they are implemented. What is happening is that all the white men have been replaced by white women. When they speak about diversity you have a certain expectation and then you walk in and you see all the white women. So what has happened to the Black women and the Black men? I mean there are still not even that many Black men in academia. You look at the statistics at the University of ...; I am employed, and look at the number of white women professors there in comparison to the number of Black professors. Laws and policies can only work if they are enforced (Mandy, SAfrRW-dP).

Others saw the South African legal and policy interventions as ineffective because it still requires further reflection and understanding, but that it has strong potential.

It's not effective but once you have people that stop and reflect: Ok fine, this is hardened soil how do we soften it up...well then we have a place to start (Rita, SAfrNRW-eP).

Implementation of laws and policies is what all participants across the three countries found most troubling and one of the most salient reasons that racialised academic women remain marginalised. South African participants were concerned about whether women there were even aware of these laws and policies, and whether they understood them.

Dina (AusCRW-dP) thought that it was almost pointless to have a discussion about policy implementation in relation to Indigenous Australian academic women, because irregularities spanned more than employment in academia because it was a "wider question of how public policies can determine and yet undermine efforts. And I think for individual women it is extremely difficult to work through the whiteness" (Dina, AusCRW-dP).

Most participants who were in favour of affirmative action implementation also felt that special efforts ought to be made where a racialised woman academic candidate were unable to fulfil all the requirements for a job. Greater value ought to be ascribed to their lived experiences, cultural knowledges, and community-based feminist activism.

Attitudes: Racialised women participants in South Africa pointed out the significant role played by the attitudes of those entrusted with the implementation of policy. Participants in Sweden and Australia opined that since these two countries were often aggrandised as

exemplary egalitarian welfare states, with widely alleged progressive equality and equity laws, the polemic of racialised women academics continues to be ignored from government to university management and hence the polemic persists.

Attitudes towards affirmative action and equal opportunity legislation and programs can also feasibly impact on the participation of racialised women in the academic workplace. It is therefore interesting to note the attitudes of participants in this regard. Some were categorically opposed to it – “I am **not** in favour of affirmative action” (Rita, SAfrNRW-eP), while some were categorically for it.

I think “Yes” – absolutely. I think otherwise it's like the old arguments about getting more women into the professions anyway. If those affirmative action arguments and implementation could be used for gender then you can make the same argument for racialised women – actively encourage and exercise the necessary strategies – otherwise it's just not going to happen. Unfortunately, academia is governed by certain ideas and modelled on a certain notion about “What is a scholar?” And I think it [affirmative action and equal opportunity praxes] challenges all of that stuff and the short answer is “Yes, absolutely!” (Dina, AusCRW-dP – insertion added).

Others feared the devaluation of academic women's proficiencies as a result of affirmative action employment practices. In South Africa, this was a concern shared by particularly white/non-racialised academics, who mentioned that Black/racialised women academics who were affirmative action placements were often ill-equipped or unprepared for the responsibilities handed to them and for which they were accountable.

There appeared to be no concern about applying affirmative action and equal opportunity goals in relation to ‘women’ as a general group and this praxis enjoys the particularly broad support of white/non-racialised women in all three countries. Unease appeared to enter when the same was applied to racialised academic women.

Say, for example, you wanted to employ someone and you've got a prominent racialised scholar, who really is very good, plus you have a white scholar, who really is good, it can be very difficult. How is the final choice made? /.../the barriers to having a broader intake of students and staff with diverse backgrounds are after all often linked to bureaucracy and the parameters in place (Anna, AusNRW-eP)

So, inconsistently, there was a pointedly more cautious attitude that prevailed among white/non-racialised women in relation to duplicating gender-based affirmative action and equal opportunity goals and principles in relation to racialised/Black women academics. The apparent concern was that racialised/Black women could be subjected to tokenism or be ‘out of their depths’, and thereby be destined to fail. Non-racialised academics and one racialised academic recalled specific experiences of this kind.

Karin (SAfrNRW-cSL) posed that Black/racialised women academics, who were “being pushed simply to give the university a good image” were generally employed at the lower levels and hardly ever reached the senior lecturer, associate professor or professor levels despite holding doctoral degrees. Karin added that white women academics were subjected to the same gender stratifications. “So I think that the interesting question is whether black women were treated worse than white women were or whether it really was the same for both” (Karin, SAfrNRW-cSL).

Chloe (SAfrNRW-aL) was particularly perturbed by similar developments but added that she was against the “window dressing” that took place at management level where racialised women academics were employed only because they were racialised women. She was willing to “make allowances” but that such appointments ought to take place in relation to “entry level jobs” only.

I don't think that you should consider someone for a job, who is ill-qualified or who stands out as a bad choice on paper, just because of their race. Because I think the point of an integrated workplace is to not only have integrity in terms of the content and the right work context but the problem, as I understand it, is that situating people in a job that they are not qualified for or that they don't have the potential for, just accentuates racial stereotypes. Women feel exactly the same way about this in regards to affirmative action appointments (Chloe, SAfrNRW-aL)

There are a number of things in Chloe's statement that would lend itself to in-depth deconstruction. Most prominent, however, is the presumption that racialised women academics are necessarily unqualified or ill-equipped because of their ‘race’. Additionally, there is a clear notion that ‘woman’ and ‘race’ are separable, as well as that ‘woman’ is a universally shared normative subject position. Furthermore, the assertion that affirmative action that included sensitivity to the matter of ‘race’ ought only to address employment at “an entry level job” is confusing. Possibly most notable however is that Chloe proposes that “Women feel exactly the same about this...” and uses the notion of ‘women’ as a blanket term based on white woman as norm. Racialised women might not agree with Chloe's contention. The academic workplace seemed to provide significant insight into why racialised women academics remained marginalised in professional academe in the three countries.

7.2.3 Academic Workplace Dynamics

Dynamics associated with the academic workplace were avidly recalled by interview participants as fundamentally instrumental in controlling racialised women academics'

access into professional academia. They primarily linked this to universities per se and the 'nature' of universities and included gender, institutional cultures, commitment to change, productivity and racialised multiple disadvantages, and, affirmative action.

Gender: An opinion specifically held by Swedish and Australian participants was that universities were sexist domains dominated by men.

We are subsumed as women by white men mostly! (Terry, AusNRW-dAP)

Men are already quoted into their positions because men only recognise a knowledge that they formulate themselves and produced by someone who looks like themselves (Frieda, SwdNRW-eP)

What I think is at play though is that it continues to be that universities are very male dominated, they are very white, the politics, the structure, the whole thing is very much still based around the model of a male (Dina, AusCRW-dP).

Frieda (SwdNRW-eP) felt that racialised women academics were marginalised because they only look at the questions of racialised women, and that while this was understandable, it impacted on their ability to attract financial backing for their studies.

It is hard for women and it would probably be harder for racialised women – no doubt./.../ I would say that if a racialised woman is marginalised, she is marginalised as a woman and I suppose that she does the same mistake as many of us do: She looks at the questions of racialised women only! So, she sort of formulates a field of her own and that is a field that doesn't generate so much money (Frieda, SwdNRW-eP).

Interestingly Frieda does not reflect on why financial support is given to non-racialised/ white women academics, who deal with white western feminist issues, but not to racialised women academics who are academically engaged with the issues of racialised women.

To Frieda, the male domination of the university necessitates racialised women to see their subordination as framed by this male domination if any meaningful transformation is to come about in relation to the 'nature' of the university.

Frieda also seems to provide a variable position in regards to which sacrifices have to be made by women for the sake of inclusion in the academic workplace.

So I think that is a trap, it is a risk for us. I mean, in many ways we are happy – I don't mind to study different topics – I mean I like to study the situation of women during the 20th century, which is what I do mostly in the journalism field. I do that happily and I don't care if some professors think that I'm doing uninteresting things. I don't care - If I had had trouble with that then I suppose that I would have to leave the university (Frieda, SwdNRW-eP, emphasis in the original).

Other participants in Sweden echoed Frieda's posits and illustrated the reason why Lorde (2003) cautions women against using the 'master's tools' to bring down the 'master's house'.

Additionally, racialised women academics are also subject to traditional gendered role ascriptions related to the private sphere, Mandy continued. While this is probably true for non-racialised women as well, they have long been permitted to establish their social, religious, political and economic independence from men actively.

Many Black women like Mandy (SAfrRW-dP) have therefore consciously chosen not to have children, which decidedly influenced the academic and career choices she was able to make. Mandy and Laura mentioned how those Black women, who have been forced or have willingly, chosen to have children, enter academe as mature aged students subsequent to raising their children and are then often subjected to age-ism.

The choice to not have children has however come at a price and Mandy mentioned herself and other racialised women colleagues being dismissively told that "they have made it in academia because they don't have children" or that it was 'easier' for them to progress because of not having children. Mandy felt that this devalued the sacrifices she has made and gave impetus to male colleagues who allocated her tasks that they did not want to do themselves like teaching extra classes.

Often when Black/racialised females enter academia, they disappear after obtaining their undergraduate years to establish families while the men continue their studies, according to some racialised participants. This, Mandy contended, was the internalisation of "what it means to be at a particular point in your life" and was a salient reason why men had more "bargaining power at an earlier stage than women" had and could forge careers much quicker than women could.

One Black/racialised South African academic therefore asked that a statement be made to white/non-racialised academic women

for me, as a Black women, I do fight for equality at a macro level but at the household level, equality is not an issue for me there, instead it is equity because I want him to acknowledge me. That I have special needs that have to be taken care of because socially and culturally I was disadvantaged. So equity I believe should be addressed first in the household before equality because both my husband and I subjected to racist inequality in the workplace (Sara, SAfrRW-bSL).

Sara wished for white/non-racialised women academics to concern themselves with her equality outside of the home because there she and her husband share a common subjection that still requires attention.

Institutional cultures: Another view about universities is that they have 'cultures' that need to be changed. Racialised women pointed out that there were many other factors that caused them to leave academia or never to enter. Mandy (SAfrRW-dP) was convinced that the reason why racialised women academics remained marginalised or preferred to exit academia was due to the cultures of institutions.

It's got to do with institutional culture, lack of support within the structures, the defensiveness of white academics, and their disquiet with us Black women getting ahead in academe (Mandy, SAfrRW-dP).

Other reasons cited by Black/racialised South African participants included the lack of contextual knowledge that include networks and 'insider' knowledge. Three specific factors of marginalisation often cited by participants that relates to the 'culture' of institutions were the culturally and socio-politically insensitive meretricious demands made of racialised women; the ghettoisation of racialised academic women into certain areas because of what is perceived as their 'special competencies'; the lack of programs aimed at improving racialised women's academic progress in the workplace; and, the often unchallenged benefit of legacy²³

At some universities legacy includes, for example, free or minimal cost access to university education and resources, reduced or free health care, and the like, which maintained privilege from generation to generation.

In Australia, the marginalisation of racialised women was explained by academics as a reflection of the broader Australian society. The euro-american shaping of the everyday outside of academe, many posed, was operational in and through skewed and narrow evaluation praxes and parameters that are used as part of selection and appointment processes.

Commitment to change: Often, according to Australian academics, the existence of a policy statement declaring a university's commitment to diversity and all forms of equity remains inactive because there is the notion that a written policy is enough. Therefore, claimed

²³ Legacy is a term utilised in the USA to identify the privilege of access to academic learning for children and dependents of academics.

participants, engagement in actively recruiting racialised women academics was not even considered; but, as one interview participant asserted,

Another concern in all three countries was the paradox of having ethno-racially diverse student populations but that very few academics, if any, ever made it to tenure and that racialised women's experiences and cultural capital were undervalued and their alternate knowledges were seen most often to be devalued or dismissively acknowledged.

Participants mentioned that equity and diversity investigations had been carried out at their universities in Sweden and Australia but that these never addressed the marginality of racialised women academics. Alex (AusCRW-aL) mentioned that racism is not even considered an issue at her university or institution, and most Australian and Swedish participants echoed her sentiments claiming that racism in academic employment is not even considered during the times they participated as members of selection committees.

Additionally, attitudes towards racialised communities, particularly Aboriginal peoples, have hardened in recent years, even among racialised academics.

Before you could come out and say, "Well, ok it isn't a level playing field so let's look at what we can do". Instead, now one often hears questions here in Australia like "Well, why don't they keep their kids in school? We've done it so why can't they? Quite often, there is no reflection on the totally different premises that have governed their lives in comparison to Aboriginal people (Anna, AusNRW-eP).

Dina (AusCRW-dP) also mentioned that when statistics and situations related to racialised women were "picked up on the radar, it's on the radar for the wrong reasons". In relation to racialised academic women, according to Dina, the common attention given to their marginalisation is their 'lack of qualifications' and inability to carry out academic studies.

These contentions relating to racialised women's inability to complete academic studies and their lack of qualification are, according to Dina (AusCRW-dP) opportunistic, and obscured the need for serious engagement with why there still is such a low participation rate by racialised women in the Australian academia.

Many participants also saw protectionism and nepotism as characteristic of institutional cultures and related these academic employment parameters that influenced racialised academic women's marginalisation.

Well, it's also a kind of protectionism from those who have the steady positions because at the History Department, for instance, virtually all teaching is done by substitutes – not regulars! The professors don't go out and teach! I mean they all have research money; they want to have their research money. I don't mind that they have research money but the thing is that there is obviously room for at least one or two more lectureships to be announced at the History Department but they are so fucking afraid that: Next year I might have to come back and then? Well, I think then hire somebody! You can always release them when and if there's no work for them. I mean the situation we now have is a sort of proletariat of recently graduated doctors, who are working their arses off and don't really have the security! It's really not good at all. So I think this is part of the answer – it's protectionism for their own positions and also to have the choice. The importance of being able to make a choice, and if you don't want someone you can just choose not to have someone or to have someone else (Hans, SwdNRM-bR).
 ...and you can then make the choice amongst your own students because when you advertise, saying "We want to hire someone", then they come from all over Sweden. So then you might meet a stranger! And nobody wants that inside the academia! (Frieda, SwdNRW-eP)

Productivity and racialised multiple disadvantages: Racialised women academics, according to interview participants, were less likely to have publications than white women were; they were often socially accountable to a much broader group of people than their immediate families; and, often have experiences that white women academics have not even observed, or have failed to observe in the everyday.

At universities, the courses keep many women, especially Black women who are married and have children, extended families, community commitments, and etc excluded from participating in those courses and completing. Some of these issues are shared with white women but there are certain elements that are specific for Black women and the community and extended family accountability are two of them (Mandy, SAfrRW-dP).

The demands for publications and other formalised academic requirements are not easily acquired by Black/racialised women and hard won resources are not often accompanied by long-term job contracts or economic safety nets and perks (Laura, SAfrRW-dL)

Black women are saying: We cannot stay here because the institute says: write the proposals and we then have to work into that money that we are going to get so that we can afford a house, to send our children to school – we can't even think of our pensions – putting something away for your old age. Why would we then still want to work in academia? So, who is privileging from your payroll?... Then, when they speak about mentoring and such I recall that I had said "Between you and the next woman there is nobody because all your little managers of departments and sections are white women." So whose voices are being heard? If you're a token person in a position and you operate within that male masculine paradigm – how do you cope?... maybe in your government structure a lot of the appointments and so on have been de-racialised but it's at the top levels but nothing has changed (Laura, SAfrRW-dL).

White westernised academic employment prerequisites were too often accepted at face value as the most deciding appointment criteria and acted as automatic factors of

elimination. Publications were recurrently mentioned by racialised participants as being the most exclusive employment criterion because most often they have not been able to publish due to historical racialised limitations.

I have managed to publish but if I had not been an activist, it would never have happened. I think that if I was a white woman or more particularly a white man I would have had much, much more publications because of the work that I'm doing but I, as an individual, have learnt how to play the game. That does not mean that I'm going to be silenced but we need to know what the rules are and how to play them. (Mandy, SAfrRW-dP).

Sara (SAfrRW-bSL) did not refute the importance of having employment criteria and standards but was keen for universities to become sensitive to the fact that racialised academic women's academic accountability extended beyond the classroom and that the reasons for them being unable to fulfil the formal prerequisites related to employment needed to be taken into consideration by employment selection committees.

Karin (SAfrNRW-cSL) was concerned about the lack of reflection by universities in South Africa on the impact of HIV/Aids related dynamics in conjunction with women academics participation and the private sector.

What I find fascinating is that as the Aids epidemic gets worse, the biggest threat to academia – because industry will continue to poach the top people – will be what happens as their top people start dying. So what you're going to have is that you will have an attrition rate from Aids at the university but you are also going to have attrition rate of those people who have survived the epidemic and they will be absorbed into industry because industry won't be able to sustain itself unless it has these people. I see industry as the biggest threat to the universities at the moment because of their poaching policies and when the epidemic hits they will have the clout to poach at even higher stakes (Karin, SAfrNRW-cSL).

Karin was the only academic to bring this issue up for discussion and she did not elaborate more than the statement above. The reflection is really very interesting because the discussion was about racialised/Black women being poached from the university sector by the corporate world, and in that framework, Karin mentions the factor of Aids as further reducing the numbers of racialised women as though the disease itself is raced. This would, of course be erroneous or mythical as white women are also known to be affected by the disease, but that they most often have access to private health care and thereby remain more anonymous than Black/racialised women remain.

Affirmative action: A factor which thwarts legislative intentions in South Africa is related to the demands made by such laws and the fact that it is applied to the university sector in the same way as it is applied to the commercial sector. I have given this issue particular

attention because it only appears to have caused a problem in South Africa and offers an opportunity for Sweden and Australia should specific legislative intervention be implemented to correct racialised academic women's marginalisation there.

White/non-racialised participants claimed that as a result of reparative legislation being equally applied inside and outside of academia, the private sector was luring away racialised academics, men and women, to fill the quotas set by the government.

Since academia is unable to pay the high salaries offered by the private sector, potential academics and those employed by universities are exiting because it is more lucrative for them to do so. These participants claimed that it was only the dedicated who remained in academia and that most racialised women academics that left did so because they were offered better salaries by the private sector. Often, these participants added, these women and their acumen were wasted because the jobs they were appointed to were most often not challenging. The university was being drained of its human capital, according to non-racialised participants because racialised women were exiting academia and they related this to government monitored affirmative action and equal opportunity legislation, which caused the private sector to 'poach' these women from academe.

So there is a huge 'brain-drain' of women out of academe because, particularly in South Africa, if you are black and smart why would you go to a university unless you were an absolutely devoted and committed researcher or academic teacher and that commitment drove you. But that's got to be a passion that overrides the kinds of incentives that the private sector has to offer. They offer very good benefits and the thing that always amuses me is the dedicated parking bay (Karin, SAfrNRW-cSL)..

While this argument repeated itself in different ways many times by non-racialised academics, they were equally avidly refuted by racialised participants, who claimed that legislation in favour of racialised women academics was often being misappropriated for the progress of white women academics. This discussion is revisited further later in this chapter.

Once again, it was very interesting that all the male participants were supportive of applying affirmative action and quota systems for the improvement of racialised women's academic participation in the academic workplace. Generally, however, interview participants shared a common view which held that the existence of laws and policies were not solely sufficient, and that implementation at university and institutional level was imperative to achieve the goals staked by legislation. Furthermore, many participants also agreed that laws and policies ought to be monitored by government, and that clear

implementation action plans ought to be handed by governments to universities and institutions.

7.2.4 Women and/or Gender Studies Space Dynamics

Movements do not simply happen. They need strategic institutional assistance as well as numbers primed for action (Howe, 2003:72).

What then holds women's studies together so that we can call it a "phenomenon" or a "movement"? I propose two chief factors: conflict and vision (Howe, 2003:79)

One could, when reading Howe's statements, be seduced into viewing this area of academic study as the confirmed gateway to either the inclusion of racialised women's academic participation or the committed pedagogical area to the same.

Wiegman's (2002) compilation on women's studies includes 24 compelling discussions about the resilience of this epistemological field and the many dynamics that are operative within the space. Commonly, contributors recall the tenuous position held by women's and/gender studies at most universities in the USA.

Structural factors of women and/or gender studies units: In Australia, Sweden and South Africa, specific variances could be seen from the USA model. In Australia and Sweden, financial and other resources appear not to be a major concern, even when threats of reduced funding have been made. On the other hand, South African WGS units, as interview participants there posited, are not the best financed among university units. Often what did appear to make a difference was the management and administration of finances, and the character of interactive dynamics in the workplace.

Pia (SwdNRW-bR), who does research as well as part-time lecturing, is a member of staff at two gender units in Sweden. Pia mentioned that marginalisation was almost inevitable as financial resources were being reduced for women and/or gender units. While Pia felt that it negatively impacted on the possibility to employ racialised women academics, she was hopeful that it would sensitise those women and men who currently manage and administer WGS spaces.

Interview participants mentioned on a number of occasions how very senior management and administrative level academic women were often saliently instrumental in closing down or downscaling women and/or gender units and/or programs.

The downscaling or closure of institutionalised feminist spaces in academe also functioned to define the range of courses and number of employees likely to be found in WGS units (Wiegman, 2002).

Generally, however, interview participants in all three countries were very forthcoming about the marginalised status of WGS as a whole, and the often tenuous nature of internal *relationships* within the institutionalised feminist space, and externally with other university units.

The tenuous internal WGS relations were linked to *physical dimensions* and *staff compositions* which were considered to be of salient importance. Some WGS units tended to be small, particularly in regard to the physical space they occupied within university settings. Many, however, occupied large premises. Staff numbers were primarily between five and ten people. Often WGS units also drew on the academic expertise of locally placed but from elsewhere financed researchers.

At the Swedish universities in this study, the gender departments or units subsisted on a management-administrative team of five people. They were located in premises three times that of the South African WGS units and, had offices standing vacant for days, sometimes for weeks on end as academics 'dropped' in monthly, weekly, or for varying periods of time daily.

Commonly, interview participants were of the opinion that the combination of WGS units' physical dimensions and resources impacted on staff compositions and employment patterns. From their accounts, it became apparent that the smaller the space, the more likely that racialised women would not be found employed in these spaces because those traditionally privileged with employment and epistemological access were white-western middle-class women. Having said this however, it also emerged that such smaller spaces where there were fewer full-time and broader associated staff numbers (particularly women) and networks, communication, collegial relations, epistemological exchanges and collaborative political engagements were stronger and external relations were good. One of the South African WGS units was a particular example of this.

Another outstanding feature was the broader knowledge about racialised women's contexts in general, which Sara (SAfrRW-bSL) ascribed as a vibrant space for collegial and

epistemological exchange. Sara's account was almost in direct contrast to Chloe's and Pia's.

Participants at Sara's WGS unit averred that the reasons why communication and collegial dynamics were so excellent there was attributable to a number of central factors. These were the personal investment of time and effort by WGS colleagues in each others' community projects; the sharing of resources; the respect for epistemological and ontological differences; the acknowledgement and support of each others' political activism and quests; the decentralisation of decision making power; and, the personal interaction beyond the confines of the university. As Sara claimed,

Here, you know that the relationship transcends even the academic environment because, for example, most of the steering committee meetings take place in one of the staff members' home most of the time. We bring and eat together or if someone has a baby, we rally around each other. We go beyond academia in terms of our relationships and we get involved with each other's community projects and so on (Sara, SAfrRW-bSL).

One of the Swedish WGS units which could possibly also be seen in this light was however not as diverse as the South African example. There was no ethno-racial diversity there, no visible engagement with 'race' and or racialised marginalisation, and no overtly manifested engagement in community projects whether related to racialised women academics' marginalisation or not.

Where WGS units occupied larger premises and employed larger numbers of full-time staff, had fewer or no associated staff; owned more secure resources; where staff had individual offices, and were in closer spatial proximity to each other, workplace interactions were often less functional, mono-lingual, extremely individualised, and epistemologically limited. Most often, activism was limited to the classroom and staff compositions were not diverse.

In this regard, Frieda's (SwdNRW-eP) attitude toward the potential employment of racialised women academics were resources to permit such an appointment was quite troublesome and repeated itself albeit in other words through other Swedish women participants, who were particularly sceptical about affirmative action in relation to women on the basis of 'race'.

We are only a couple of us who are employed here now.... Very few and when the happy days come when we could bring out an advertisement and say: "Hey! We would like to employ a new lecturer!" ... We are, of course, sort of obliged to pick one amongst those who try to get the job, but I suppose we could be better at looking out for other guests. (Frieda, SwdNRW-eP).

Interestingly, Frieda does not speak about the employment of a racialised woman academic should such a vacancy arise. Instead, Frieda refers to the potential employment of a racialised academic woman lecturer as “looking out for other guests”.

Generally, ‘guests’ do not become permanent fixtures. When we invite guests into our spaces, it is with the understanding that they have limited rights to presence and actions. Overstaying their welcome would be seen as inappropriate and cannot be done without them also being seen as inconveniences, interlopers and provisional insiders.

On the matter of external relations and the continued existence of WGS units, all racialised participants, all male participants, and one-third of white/non-racialised women participants held that the marginalisation of racialised women, in society and the university, has on occasion been used (partially or completely) as justification for the closure of institutionalised feminist spaces, or for their absorption into existing disciplinary areas.

Many participants were also convinced that the inability of institutionalised feminism to resolve the inequities within its intellectual ranks also enabled and validated targeted university and government strategies aimed at closing them down.

The internal and external WGS relational factors mentioned in this subject are connected with the perceptions held and created in and by WGS units, whereby their eventual appeal to racialised academic staff and students, as well as respect for their academic contributions are formulated.

Perceptions and university treatment: The way WGS units per se was generally perceived, and the way it was treated by the university was mentioned by a sizeable number of participants (18) as the stimuli that also set the tone for how they are rated as academic areas, which could also influence how potential staff members found such units lacking.

Pia (SwdNRW-bR) was however firmly convinced that WGS units were instrumental in influencing university and community perceptions about WGS units in Sweden. She mentioned how it was common to find the “pampering” WGS students taking place at the same time as these students were expected to learn and display critical academic skills.

Pia’s concern was for the roles that these students would later be entrusted with in the broader society, where she maintained they would be allowed to reify the dominant feminist epistemologies taught at Swedish WGS units and would remain unreflective of their own

specifically privileged status as a social group. The problem for Pia was that "The students they are pampering tend to be white, middle class heterosexuals" Pia (SwdNRW-bR).

Chloe (SAfrNRW-aL) also confirmed her disquiet about perceptions of WGS units, which she related to the contextual 'atmosphere' of WGS units and her university in general, which she did not see as conducive to the production and dissemination of critical knowledge.

It's very much a happy family syndrome and in some ways it is quite a nice environment to work in because of that but on another level it just does not stimulate the kind of critical thinking necessary for a vibrant academic setting (Chloe, SAfrNRW-aL).

Chloe explained that the WGS unit and her university as reflective of a "cloistering religiosity" premised upon an "Afrikaans politeness" that could be misunderstood as patronisation but she claimed had actually empowered her. She did not see the 'protective' environment there as harbouring sexist intentions because of this background but mentioned that it was "not used to expressing any level of controversy or conflict. So there is this civil kind of cordial attitude about everything./.../ I think the real answer is that there's this everything's ok – I'm ok, you're ok bubble around here, and that it is not the kind of university that stimulates a kind of critical aggressive culture, which we actually need" (Chloe, SAfrNRW-aL).

The limited activism of WGS units and academics was also considered to affect how these were perceived according to many participants. Rita (SAfrNRW-eP) and six other South African participants expressed their unhappiness about present-day WGS units' low levels of activism beyond the classroom.

Often, they stated, WGS academics were teaching about social and community issues and transformation yet they did not involve the support of women across the university, and from local community organisations into the process of learning about racialised women and marginalisation inside and outside of academia.

Direct/indirect Women and/Gender Studies involvement in racialised marginalisation:

Participants recalled a number of direct and/or indirect factors related to WGS which they viewed as instrumental to racialised academic women's marginalisation.

Most frequently mentioned by non-high-ranking participants was that racialised academic women's marginalisation had always been a non-issue that had never been meaningfully

contemplated hence the continuation of the historical epistemological neglect of the subject.

Pia (SwdNRW-bR) contended that WGS *units' employment practices* reflected those in the broader Swedish society and they were among the most notorious for the most negligible employment of racialised women academics in Sweden. The natural sciences, according to Pia and other Swedish academics had much higher levels of racialised women academics than WGS units did or the humanities in general did. This, Pia linked the absence of racialised women academics from the WGS space to the overall marginal inclusion of theoretical perspectives on racialised women's contexts.

WGS' *academic inability or ineffectiveness* at looking beyond white western institutionalised feminism and white women's issues within society was often recalled as an indirect factor of influence. Connecting with this, Hans (SwdNRM-bR) added that it was self-deceiving for Swedish institutionalised feminism not to reflect upon its own involvement in the marginalisation of racialised women academics, which he, like Pia, connect to the narrow epistemological scope which characterises WGS units there.

He argued that it ought to be acknowledged that leading Swedish feminist scholars have only recently begun to show an interest for issues beyond gender. Furthermore, he contended that the *aggressive defensiveness* these scholars manifested toward epistemological questions regarding sexuality, 'race'/ethnicity, and post-colonial theory stifled debate and closed off WGS to other scholars.

Hans conceded that gay and lesbian rights issues have "sky-rocketed, exploded – everywhere!" but he added "you then have the problems at the local levels. I mean, even if the authorities love gays and lesbians we know that not all people do, and we know that people are rejected from jobs, restaurants and public places because of the colour of their skins" (Hans, SwdNRM-bR).

Curricula were also presented as one of the indirect WGS related factors many participants saw as being exclusive and influential to racialised academic women's marginalisation. This was an area of broad concern according to racialised and non-racialised academics who were dissatisfied about "gender first and foremost" stance of WGS units. Some participants argued that this standpoint, which is often presented as being "women first" was really a "white women first" ideology. They saw this as fostering the marginalisation of

racialised academic women, who were considered according to the parameters of white women's definitions. Among the examples cited in this regard was the exclusion of local racialised academic women's theorisations about mainstream feminism and its role in the racialised marginalisation of certain women, and the unwillingness to acknowledge racialised women's multiple oppressions as shaped by 'race'.

Another factor of import, according to some participants was the practice of tokenistic inclusion of 'difference', where one lecture or one article by a racialised woman is inserted into curricula in order to justify claims relating to inclusion. Maja (SwdNRW-bL) viewed this as an opportunistic insertion that reflected a specific characteristic often found in Swedish academia because academics there were overly conscious and cautious to not 'race'-ify (rasifiera) 'the others'. In the process however, Maja added, the practice of this caution causes 'race' to become a non-issue and therefore racialised women's matters become a non-issue. Maja ascribes this to the processes of normalisation that she perceives as part of the 'Swedish condition'. Difference, she alleged, was guarded against because it had the potential to upset "det svenska folkhemmets självbild" (the Swedish self-image of the people's home).

Contentions about the marginalisation practiced by WGS curricula were not commonly shared. In fact, the majority of participants with the longest tenure, highest employment ranking, and most senior academic levels at WGS units fervently perceived their spaces as epistemologically and pedagogically 'contemporary' and 'open'. These eight participants, perceived their units to be inclusive of all the 'issues' related to 'all' women, including racialised women. They also saw their units as being theoretically representative of 'all women's' literary and epistemological endeavours and refuted the possibility that their curricula were inequitable and hence a reason for the marginalisation of racialised women as students or academic staff.

I don't think that the numbers of lectures or books on our lists are the reason why there are not so many racialised women at our centre. I don't think that's the reason. I know that we are not doing too much about those questions, we have it on our basic level, and we have it on the next level. I mean we have this post-colonial studies and things like that but of course, it's not much. But I don't think that's why the racialised women and men students do not come to us. I think it is because they do not come to the university per se. I think that's the bigger problem (Frieda, SwdNRW-eP).

Pia (SwdNRW-bR) was however adamant that had she and one of the few racialised woman colleagues in WGS not been at their university the factor of 'race' and its interactive

connection with class and gender would probably not even be found as part of the basic WGS curriculum there. Rather, as she put it, "it would probably be a hidden inclusion in the form of an article or something in a list of suggested readings additional to the main course material" (Pia, SwdNRW-bR). She also mentioned her own sense of inadequacy when teaching about 'race'-gender-class nexes.

Pia was however unsure whether the English usage of the term 'race' could be easily applied in Sweden considering the country's history in relation to the practice eugenics and racial biological experiments, which was a source of acute embarrassment to most Swedes. It would be easier, she thought, if the dominant Swedish terms used to indicate ethno-racial difference, like (im)migrant and 'ethnic minority', were used instead.

People are starting to do it but I don't think that talking about 'race' in Swedish – ras – is a good way of understanding what's happening. I think one would have to talk about 'invandrare' and developments in regard to that constructed social status. So, talk about racialisation – actually mapping empirically how this is done and what kind of hierarchies there are and so on and how that ties in to the nation state and also the EU, Schengen and fortress Europe (Pia, SwdNRW-bR)²⁴.

Hans (SwdNRM-bR) confirmed that his experiences of the professional academics in the WGS unit at his university indicated that their inhibited approach to WGS issues was not localised to that university only. Rather, he claimed, they had "followers across Sweden, and they are all in management and top administration positions so they would be using the same employment practices and measures" and these reflected their regressive epistemologies and politics.

Additionally, the course parameters often curtailed the possibility for racialised/Black women to enter full-time academic study, even in WGS. To explain, as Mandy (SAfrRW-dP) and other South African and Australian participants pointed out, racialised/Black women, were often unable to attend courses because they needed to work full-time and university courses, especially WGS courses, were not often offered part-time. Therefore, when courses and job parameters were decided on and these were done unreflectively, the formal strictures of courses and employment aspects act as automatic factors of exclusion for racialised women.

²⁴ Pia is referring to the aversion that 'race' is responded to in the Swedish context. This has been explained in an earlier footnote. What Pia is trying to underline is that any theorist wishing to address the issues of ethno-racially marginalised people in Sweden would not be able to make headway by speaking about 'race' even though the quest might be to expound racism in the Swedish context.

Often, participants maintained, the management and leadership styles of WGS women superiors indicated an inability to deal with control and power and discouraged women to apply for employment in WGS spaces.

...most women I have worked for and I'm including the USA because I worked there as well, they all had issues of control and power. I think it related to issues of their histories and insecurities (Penny, SAfrRW-cSL)

The safeguarding of control and power, was keenly explained by 12 of the 24 participants as attributable to the 'fear' of current holders of power regarding the perceived threat of closures and job infringements within WGS that has caused them to vigilantly monitor the doors of access, whether pedagogically, epistemologically or employment-wise. As a result, racialised women were further barred from access to the one space within academia where a platform for their voices could be established.

Mandy (SAfrRW-dP) proposed that the reason for this 'paranoia' was because of the changes that have occurred in the South African context, where Black/racialised women have finally come into their own and have broader views about why they wished to work in academia and WGS in particular. To them knowledge has political value and they are mindful of utilising this for the benefit of traditionally disenfranchised women in the country.

For Black women, knowledge is a political thing. They are not in academia without a purpose. No, Black women, in terms of my research, are coming into academia and they are saying "We want to be academics, it's our political decision to produce and disseminate knowledge" but they are exiting... It's got to do with institutional culture and lack of support within the structure (Mandy, SAfrRW-dP).

Beryl (SAfrNRW-bL) mentioned her experiences of WGS academics' attitudes that conveyed sentiments that indicated that they were *anti-woman and anti-racialised women in particular*. She related this factor to control and power issues which she attributed to WGS units in South Africa, Australia and Sweden although it might be considered incommensurate with what feminism and 'feminist conscience' is all about, Beryl highlights this paradox because she found it most ubiquitous among high-ranking WGS women but also across the universities. Often, Beryl contended, the irony was that this tendency was most marked where equity and equality ambitions are broadly purported and promised.

Interview participants also saw the *political overtones* of WGS unit overseers as constitutive of the cultural makeup of the unit, and as being instrumental in whether or not racialised academic women would even attempt to work in certain WGS units let alone the university. The socio-political and socio-economic 'sameness' of WGS academics was

considered to be an endemic problem by Maja (SwdNRW-bL) because this coloured their epistemological perspectives and they way they related to each other and possible newcomers.

The problem is that there are so many women from the same kind of background...from the same kind of 'nevroses' – neurosis.. We all have this kind of middle class thinking about ourselves and when it is a very small department like this is, it becomes almost like a family. Some people like it and it gets on the nerves of others because you know families are supposed to stick together no matter what. Yesterday's working class people are the upper class in academia in Sweden today and often their political alliance is with the Social Democrats, and they are more like the right wing politicians today (Maja, SwdNRW-bL).

Related to this, Dina (AusCRW-dP) contended that the limited 'fleshing out' of *prevalent feminist politics* had a much broader impact than only within institutionalised feminist spaces. The imbalance in validations of varied feminist politics was presented by Dina as an integral and basic point of marginalisation for racialised women academics. "it's not on the political radar...it's not discussed as a political issue within gender studies and therefore it is also ignored everywhere else" (Dina, AusCRW-dP).

Additionally, the *racialisation of institutionalised feminist academic spaces* were perceived by many, particularly racialised women participants - including those who view themselves as contextually racialised - as spaces where white academics exercise subject and disciplinary territorialism without too much resistance and in so doing they ensured the exclusion of racialised women academics.

Speaking to me directly, Terry (AusNRW-dAP) asked what I was doing at my university (UNSW) anyway.

You ought to know what they are all about! Look at Australian universities these days; do you see any serious engagement with issues of racism, where the ethnic community is instrumental in running the show? I don't think so (Terry, AusNRW-dAP).

Laura (SAfrRW-dL) was more emphatic in this regard in the South African context and encouraged the critical examination of WGS spaces.

Walk into the classrooms and who is teaching? What are they teaching? And, even if they should teach about race and racism, from what perspective are they teaching? Who have they spoken to in order to confirm that they have understood things properly or that their knowledge is well-founded? (Laura, SAfrRW-dL).

To Laura (SAfrRW-dL) the lack of *meaningful representation* has made the epistemology and institutional framework of WGS at her university unrepresentative of the women in the community at large and appeared to be maintaining the historical and traditional racialised

privileging that had significantly disadvantaged Black/racialised women academics. She claimed that like these women she was also frustrated by the status quo and argued that

... for the past approximately six years people have said: My God, how come we only have two full-time staff members and they are both white women and then their main interest is masculinities! Now how the hell – if we haven't even properly heard the voices of black women – what the hell is this? White women haven't yet reconciled their theoretical and practical inability to collaborate with Black women and they're already speaking about our men and masculinity?! For whose benefit? (Laura, SAfrRW-dL).

Interestingly, Laura's contention referred to the one WGS unit that appeared to be the most functional and diverse.

Dina (AusCRW-dP) mentioned the *prescriptiveness of inclusion* "at the wider level" it was "more exclusive and prescriptive" as conducive to the exclusion of racialised women academics. She maintained that while WGS was maybe inclusive by 'nature' in terms of scholarships and other resources, this was not so at the upper levels because academics there had an "integrated relationship" - they knew each other well and "they have similar disciplinary interests". Dina added that this prescriptive inclusion was "a lot like western feminism that produced knowledge, which then created a discourse in the public space" which dominated and subsumed all others. This knowledge Dina described as having emanated decidedly from the universities as the women's movement became more open. This 'opening up' Dina insisted has however remained preferential.

Among the more direct WGS factors that encourage racialised marginalisation were those which participants asserted in relation to their own experiences in the workplace. They mentioned how they were often subjected to the patronisation of non-racialised/white academics, particularly by those teaching on sexuality who feel a need, for example, "to save the poor Indian prostitutes and the Indigenous victims of domestic violence" (Alex, AusCRW-b), or "are concerned about how misunderstood Black masculinity is" (Penny, SAfrRW-cSL).

7.2.5 Historical factors and entrenched cross-cutting ideologies

Participants were specifically asked to reflect on the role they perceived colonialism to have played in the current marginalisation of racialised academic women in their countries. Perceptions varied in interesting ways, and indicated somewhat polarised views on the subject and responses were voluntarily shaped around the phenomena of postcolonialism,

racism and sexism. Participants' references to postcolonialism sometimes included allusion to neo-colonialism. Only one participant mentioned the phenomenon of whiteness.

Colonialism, colonial discourse, racism, class: All the racialised South African and all the Australian (contextually racialised and non-racialised) categorically affirmed that racialised academic women's marginalisation was related to the historically entrenched traditions and discourses of colonialism.

I think the issue of the impact of colonialism on Black women's identity and careers in academe are irrefutable. Its obviously got to do with the fact that Black women were excluded from education at a point, and then as women we were not encouraged to achieve within the universities. I also think that at many of the universities at the moment, the culture of the institution is difficult for women to negotiate (Mandy, SAfrRW-dP).

It [racialised academic women's marginalisation] is directly linked to colonialism and its racism really... Well, it is shaped by a tradition of colonial thinking and acting (Anna, AusNRW-r).

Among the South African participants, four were willing to consider the notion but wished to modify it by pointing out that racialised women there were traditionally subjected to gender oppression. Two were non-committal.

I think that it is not only colonialism because that would be over-simplifying the discussion...even before Jan van Riebeeck's arrival women in Africa were not equally treated and if you take the Afrikaners' history, coming from a very paternalistic point of view with the male as the head of the family, that entrenched or supported the subordination of women. Later, with colonialism, at that point in time when the British were suppressing South Africa, the males were also very dominant in that Victorian times/.../when we come back to the situation of colonialism specifically, of course, it had a major impact but we cannot say that it's the only influence. There is what you call moderative variables that come into play (Chris, SAfrNRM-eP).

In Sweden, where colonialism is traditionally understood as a historical moment that took place "out there", reflections on the pursuing nature of colonialism could not be seen as directly linked to contexts in the country today. Swedish interview participants were however reticent to allow that European colonialism and the colonialist discourse was a factor that could be linked to the marginalisation of racialised women academics in Sweden.

Six of the non-racialised Swedish participants partially or totally refuted this notion;

I would link it more to the development of the Swedish welfare state that sees Sweden as a sort of isolated island. This is also a kind of colonial, post-colonial perspective together with the belief that we're doing good, and we have this agreement between capital and labour, blah blah blah and not seeing how Sweden is linked to the more increased exploitation of the Third World that is in a post-colonial society. But also, how the Swedish *folkhemmet* (people's home) is also producing the myth that Sweden is 'homogent' (homogeneous) and how that has been accentuated strongly during the 1990's (Pia, SwdNRW-bR).

No, I don't think that it's because of colonialism that racialised women are marginalised in academia. Of course racialised women are marginalised but this is because women are marginalised (Frieda, SwdNRW-eP).

Frieda's contention was held by the overwhelming majority of Swedish academics. Pia, Moa and Hans contested this notion, however, instead insisting that Sweden might not have been as pervasively engaged in the direct oppression of colonised peoples but that the country accrued economic and political gain from European colonialisms.

Well, historically Sweden hasn't had a very glorious colonialist history – except for the 17th century - when we can sort of talk about colonialism in Europe, which was of course the New Sweden including Delaware, and St Bartholemi. But on the other hand, economically, it has been a part of the colonial system- its economic arms have stretched far including the importations of cheap goods, labour, etc. In that way, Sweden has been part of and very much benefited from colonialism (Hans, NRM-b).

'Race'/ethnicity, according to Magnus (SwdNRM-eP) became a significant factor of marginalisation in conjunction with the Second World War, when Sweden's increasing need for human capital led to the country importing migrant labour.

Australian participants tended to link the historical entrenchment of colonialist practices and ideologies with the situation of Indigenous academic women only. None of them recalled the contexts of racialised (im)migrant women academics as an issue of concern. Somehow the link between Indigeneity and 'race' as interlinked factors of marginalisation was proffered as a more feasible consideration than (im)migrant women and 'race'.

The racialised polemics, participants contended, related to the White Australia Policy; the opportunistic importation of labour following the rescinding of this policy; nationalist notions; and, the racialised subjugation of those migrants to Australia without links to its colonial settlers, appear to be seen as dislocated from the racialised subjugation experienced by Indigenous academics.

Dina (AusCRW-dP), for example, presented Indigenous women as the most marginalised among racialised women and that this state of affairs ought not to be seen as surprising

because the colonialist and imperialist foundations of the country lived on because the Australian government was regressive and thwarted all attempts at correcting social imbalances, according to her.

Most Australian interview participants were also of the opinion that the way 'race' is treated as a non-issue in Australia also permits racism in units on the macro, mezzo and micro levels to subsist without noteworthy challenge. Alex maintained that no matter the terminology, it was the active function of racism that shaped racialised marginalisation.

You know people often talk about colonialism in current terms as neo-colonial issues but it is just plain racism too! I just think that people use those words but it is racism that causes it and you know how that's sort of a word that you're not supposed to use these days? (Alex, AusCRW-aL)

Four of the five Australian participants, like Mandy in the South African context, saw racialised academic women's marginalisation as related to their life situations prior to entering the academic arena, which is also rooted in historical developments

I'm actually wondering whether people get marginalised before the actual PhD process or after, when the jobs become an issue. In terms of Aboriginal women – there are Aboriginal academics out there that don't seem to have access to these or to the decisions, and they haven't been part of the process from the very beginning. I don't know because I find it all really complicated but I think they certainly are there but not here – not only racialised women but even racialised men in Australia are marginalised (Anna, CRW-a).

A commonly shared posit amongst interview participants, which links with Anna's statement entailed the contention that historically, entry and access to academe has traditionally been racialised, even in Sweden, where access is considered to be a common right. Despite the notion about a fundamental right to access, those who can afford to enter; those who have been raised with the understanding that they have a right to enter; and those who have existing networks through family; etc were more likely to progress within academia, and often these are not racially marginalised peoples, according to the majority of participants.

Non-racialised/white participants with working class backgrounds spoke of how their entry into academia was a combination of encouragement, mostly by their mothers, and the financial possibilities provided by either the state, family sacrifices, and/or their own efforts.

These factors they understood as historically entrenched and could therefore understand that the lack of these avenues would also impact negatively on racialised women who have

not had access to encouragement and financial recourse as part of the historical and traditional developments.

Whiteness: One participant wished to present the longevity of racialised marginalisation in terms of whiteness. Dina (AusCRW-dP) was convinced that whiteness was a permeating taken-for-granted part of the everyday and 'normality' and that challenging it was not an easy task. While the devastation caused by the historical and discursive manifestation of colonialism can often be tangibly illustrated, this is not so in the case of whiteness because even racialised people are forced to 'perform whiteness'.

I think for individual women it is extremely difficult to work through the whiteness in order I suppose to enter into this world. It's the way, it's the process, of how Indigenous women are marginalised. Whiteness in a certain way is the centre, like you construct class or any other organising category that defines 'the other' but whiteness doubles us and by understanding that category and applying it you come to an understanding of how and why marginalisation and other inequalities take place (Dina, AusCRW-dP).

A very interesting contention held by a few of the Australian participants, and that connects with whiteness, was that transformation of gendered-racialised marginalisation was at an impasse. A small number of white/non-racialised academic women, Alex (AusCRW-aL) in particular, ascribed this to the guilt paralysis of white/non-racial academics, and the fact that they do not engage with their own sense of guilt in order to move beyond it.

Alex explained how her position, as a contextually racialised woman, has earned her privileges that brought about a sense of guilt when she reflected on her privileged status juxtaposed to those of other racialised women.

Well, I do feel that I do get paralysed with guilt. I don't think that it is particularly helpful but you do need to, as a white person, feel guilty for a while but then how do you get to the next step where you start employing people – I don't know but I am searching (Alex, AusCRW-aL).

Alex's reflective comment is not unfounded and indicates a deep awareness of the fact that albeit that her background is not Anglo-Saxon, she does enjoy a privileged status that most Indigenous Australian academic women do not, which has also been expounded by theorists who claim that

While it is true that the oppression of impoverished and marginalized Euro-American women is linked to gender and class relations, that of Third World women is linked also to race relations and often imperialism (Johnson-Odim, 1991:314)

In Sweden, however, another argument is made with regards to so-called 'immigrants' and historical marginalisation, which was not seen as affecting the latter as much as white ethnic Swedes.

In demographic terms, the problem for Sweden has not been those peoples who want to move here. The problem we've had were those people who left Sweden because we were so poor. We couldn't support the working classes, so left for the America - you name it. I mean there were millions who left! (Frieda, SwdNRW-eP)

Whiteness is however also a permeating filter that contributes to the marginalisation of racialised women academics and it could be asked whether Frieda's response to an historical event in the current Swedish context is not an attempt to overlook what is happening to racialised people in Sweden today.

7.3 Proposed Strategies for Transformation

Most participants were eager to share their views and to be part of a collective effort toward bringing about change. Proposals were directed at action within and outside of academia.

Training for academic management and administrative staff: A recurring proposal by participants was that new, upgraded methods of inclusion at university level were imperative. These measures would preferably include the pre-education of university management and senior level staff members about the polemics related to racialised women academics and their participation in academia.

University staff and management were seen by interview participants to lack the necessary training and insight to be able to deal with the challenges posed by the diverse societies of Sweden and Australia. For South African universities, in keeping with participants there, political transformation has not yet been matched by social and economic transformations, which still appeared to be shaped by historical ideologies.

I don't think that it's sufficient for the university to go out and say, "Now, we have an affirmative action program" and then presume that that is the end of it. You have to do in terms of cultural diversity and I think that for Aboriginal people you could spell that out – that you have a particular responsibility to ensure that Aborigines are nurtured towards gaining the skills and being identified for inclusion (Anna, AusNRW-eP)

Training would replace suppositional knowledge about racialised academic women with grounded knowledge.

Active internal and external intervention: Many participants from all three countries also proposed that solutions had to be addressed outside of academia if the internal epistemic community was to reflect any noteworthy change.

It cannot be addressed by the university. It has to be addressed beyond the university (Terry, AusNRW-dAP).

Among the 24 interview participants, eighteen thought that the broader society in which universities were allocated ought to be educated about racism beyond the biological determinism by which it is commonly understood.

People think that as long as they don't use a 'racist term' they are not racist. They seem to have no idea that the way they vote, the projects they support and their use of 'politically correct' terminology are in fact avenues through which racism is enacted (Sara, SAfrRW-bSL).

Access for racialised women as students and more particularly as professional academics demands had to be addressed in order to facilitate equity entry for disadvantaged groups.

Nine of the 24 interview participants were eager for the enactment of positive discrimination (*positivsärbehandling*) in relation to racialised women academics. These participants were convinced that the marginalisation of racialised women would never end if "we had to wait for people to come – people don't come. We know that" (Moa, SwdNRW-dAP).

These nine interview participants, notably members of middle management, were convinced that the employment of racialised women academics, because they are racialised women and have the qualifications, ought to be employed even if they have slightly lower assessment points than others competing for the same job.

Not just the rhetorics – you've got to be positive, you've gotta be proactive – actively targeting certain groups of women – by a quotation system or whatever and embrace the spirit of that so that you do get a field – you do get applicants from a range of contexts. Because to wait for people- if you wait for people to come within the ranks – it's just too hard. I think you have to be actively seeking people out. Be very open about what you're looking for and your intentions. I think the beginning is – getting beyond the rhetoric. I mean the rhetoric is there – it's in all the stuff... and then, yea, you know that's there but there's just nothing happening (Dina, AusCRW-dP).

In Australia, participants felt that government policy and legislation ought to be improved to address the racially marginalised position of racialised women academics as a priority, and that universities ought to take the initiative more effectively and preferably with the collaboration of racialised women academics to guide them.

Employment selection criteria, outreach programs²⁵: Employment assessment parameters ought also to be reconsidered and made more culturally sensitive, according to ten interview participants. They proposed that the tendency to continue the entrenchment of euro-american constraints on merit has to be countered with new definitions and frameworks that recognise and acknowledge the diversity of the country.

Moa (SwdNRW-dAP) was very emphatic about universities and units actively 'doing something', like outreach programs, directed at high school students about to complete their final years. In addition, scholarships must be made more available to feasibly assessed students.

Moa was particularly concerned about the inactivity of WGS and encouraged this field of study to understand the importance of it being visible and vibrant because

If you have a sleepy department or very static centre, it means that you don't have individuals that move. You have to be productive...and never get out of touch with activism! Get out there – meet people, meet women – you have to be out there, learning about things otherwise you can become isolated here...Of course, you do get older but if you get sleepy in academia –students don't respect you. You cannot teach something that you don't have in you – you can't for example teach bell hooks if you've just read through her work just one night before you do so! If you read it at all! (Moa, SwdNRW-dAP).

7.4 Discussion

This chapter has accounted for the attitudes of interview participants in relation to racialised academic women's marginalisation as a phenomenon. The presentation included a description of four key areas of factorial import according to interview participants and followed this up with the strategies they propose as tools for transformation. What participants explicitly confirmed was that marginalisation does not take place spontaneously because it requires the interaction of people, structures and systems (Wheelwright, 1990) that reify and sustain everyday racism (Essed, 1991) because 'race' is rendered a non-issue in favour of justifying universalistic laws that produce the exact discrimination that it aims to erase (Freeman, 1995).

²⁵ As mentioned by interviewees and as presented earlier, investigations of supply and demand relations in WGS units do not often provide sufficient detail to enable expansive discussions on employment patterns because these units are most often comprised of very limited staff numbers. The dynamics, which this highlights, is that investigations of employment patterns in WGS units will almost always result in data colation from decision-makers in these spaces. This is evident in the study and has been presented in an earlier chapter.

Participants confirm that racialised labour market stratifications which disfavour racialised women are related to the marginalisation of racialised women academics. As theory also confirms, this is further related to postcolonial symptoms related to global economic and political dynamics that shape internal manifestations of racialised positions of disadvantage (de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2005, 2003, Duran, 2001; Skeggs, 1997). There is, as Slemon (1995) insists, nothing 'post' about the hegemonic agendas of colonialism.

Additionally, the marketing of education by so-called 'First World' countries like Australia and Sweden is premised on the image of the superior quality of their educational products which cheapens those of so-called 'Third World' countries like South Africa. This poses significant problems for domestic students who are displaced by international students, often because of financial reasons that are related to their already racially subordinated positions within Australia and Sweden.

Consistently, Indigenous women's situations in Australia were recalled by participants as being the most dire, which Moreton-Robinson (2000) expansively explicates as being related to the subsumption of Indigenous women's contexts to white women's and men's understandings of what it means to be marginalised.

Gender stratifications, though still suppressive of white women academics in the workplace, remain markedly oppressive in relation to racialised women academics, which is a probable reason for their almost total absence in WGS units in Australia and Sweden. This exemplifies why Young (1990) defines marginalisation as possibly the most insidious of all oppressions because the expulsion of whole categories of peoples from participation can be 'justifiably' enforced in this way.

The retardation of racialised academic women's progress in academia was also confirmed as a direct result of historical developments highlighted almost 115 years ago (Gage, 2000; Cooper, 1892, reprinted 2000) and has been highlighted in this century (Haggis, 2003). It is not easily disputed that the controlled segregated educations of racialised peoples is the historical cause that racialised women remain subjected to a gendered-racist academe today (Tamale and Oloka-Onyango, 2000), where the possibility of their existences remain a sensation (McKay, 1989).

The role played by corrective legislation is tempered by the awareness of those entrusted with implementing these laws and policies of the role that 'race' plays. As the chapter

indicates, where this awareness is subject to dismissive attitudes about racialised women academics' marginalisation, their numbers are fewer and active implementation of reparative legislation is negligible. Brah (1994) attributes this to the whitewashing of labour market disparities, and Agarwal (2000) adds that it is an indication of ideological selectivity that is aligned with the practice of denial which deflects responsibility for finding a solution onto the 'Other' (Frankenberg and Mani, 2000). There is a need to be cautious of displaying the same paranoia accompanied denial which resembles the logic found in Patai and Koertge (2003)

The dynamics of the academic workplace is related to all of the above and combines with the contentions made by Mirza (1998) and Moghissi (1995) who describe the reproduction of employment stereotypes has a marked longevity in academic labour settings. Added to this, the dynamics related to WGS is by no means unimportant to the marginalisation of racialised women academics, which appears to continue to fail to enact its professed activist character to address the discrepancies that define racialised-gendered marginalisation epistemologically and politically address (Ang, 2003; Moreton-Robinson, 2000; Huggins, 1991; Bell, 1991).

Furthermore, the essentialisation of nationalistic knowledge, which affects racialised academic women's participation in academia in these three countries appear to be arbitrarily valued. The academic acumen of racialised women is devalued in South Africa if it was obtained in euro-america and equally denigrated in Sweden if it does not focus on 'the motherland and her peoples'.

This kind of essentialism in the South African context, as one participant insisted, is counterproductive to the establishment of a strong collaborative activist academic platform for Black/racialised women and overlooks the value of the potential of racialised women who have unwillingly or not been educated in euro-america (Kuumba, 2003; Lewis, 2001).

As one Swedish participant posed, you cannot read the work of bell hooks fleetingly the night before you are going to teach the substance of her works. The exotification of racialised women's knowledges is part of the process of knowledge misappropriation expounded by Hill Collins (2000, 1990) and is evidence of internalised stereotypes. We need to avoid these kinds of divisive approaches which can be found connected to Hassim and Walker's (1993) appeal that activism not be held captive to semantic and essentialised understanding but that we address the issue of racialised academic women's

marginalisation as a political commitment in the same way as we did the question of 'women's rights'.

Chapter 8

Navigating the Intersectionality of Marginalisation: Discussion of the Findings

In this chapter, I will present an analytical interpretation of the data presented in Chapters 5 to 7. The discussion addresses those macro, mezzo and micro intersectional elements that are perceived to interact complicitly in defining racialised academic women's marginalisation.

While these intersectional elements are separately discussed here, the reader is encouraged to understand these as simultaneously and reciprocally active. The chapter addresses macro, mezzo and micro level traffic (in Crenshaw's understanding of the term) and takes it beyond Crenshaw's explication of intersectionality theory to include the complexities of history and internal convolutions that affect racialised/Black women academics as a group.

8.1 Macro Level Traffic: Racialised Academic Women, Politics, Economics and Legislation

'Traffic', in Crenshaw's understanding, is "the activity of discrimination: the decisions and policies" (Crenshaw, 2003) that flow along the thoroughfares of power, namely, 'race', gender, class, age, etc. This explication was predominantly addressed in Chapter 5 and then variably revisited in Chapters 6 and 7.

The routes or thoroughfares mentioned variably map the social, economic or political terrains but are never mutually exclusive, and are imperative for investigations to address adequately structural and dynamic (active) aspects of multiple discriminations, which in this case are mainly, but not exclusively, 'race'-gender-class.

The imbalances caused by the socio-economic activities of the three countries illustrate that free trade agreements and supportive notions about the free flow of capital are nevertheless affecting education and academia particularly in ways that are not always beneficial to all.

Some argue that capitalism has undergone a transformation from its modern to its postmodern stage, and the “ascendancy of a hegemonic neo-liberal ideology” (Hoogvelt, 2001:165) is one of the characteristics of postmodern capitalism, which also denies developing countries the completion of the dubious “project of modernity”.

The imbalance in developments among countries is inevitably affected by the way international capital appears to move without consciousness and at incredible speed from one low-wage context to the next. The results however indicate that this flow is not unconscious and is not undirected.

International capital is also ultimately attracted to cybernetic technology and postmodern investment opportunities, which is dependent upon academic prowess. This is however not without its own drawbacks, for the new international system also leaves very few countries able to “seal themselves off in order to modernize in their own time and at their own pace” (Hoogvelt, 2001:165). The entire process of international capital and the new international system is identified by theorists like Hoogvelt as the unavoidable ascendancy of a hegemonic neo-liberal ideology, which denies developing countries and their peoples the completion of this project, even when the latter is not located within the so-called ‘Third World’.

Racialised women academics are variably placed as “Third World Women’ dependent upon the geopolitical space in which they find themselves. For example,

The African woman experience, as it is expressed in all its particular locations, is and has been, intrinsically global and transnational in character (Kuumba, 2003:3).

As is upheld by professional academics in Chapter 7, the macro aspirations of the Australian government in relation to the exportation of its education is not without serious national implications that inevitably displace racialised academic women even further and affects both local and international students.

While spending on the exportation of education in Australia has reached astronomical proportions (Marginson, 2005) there is still no concerted effort made by Territory, State and/or Federal governments to address the marginalisation of racialised academic women, as can be evidenced by the validated input of participants in this study.

Disparities in the academic employment market are also related to the variable stereotypic values ascribed to ‘developing’ and ‘developed’ nations, which transcends macro level

imbalances to affect the way racialised academic women's abilities and intellect are perceived.

De Los Reyes and Mulinari (2001, 2003, 2005) particularly explicate how "postcolonial Sweden" manifests racialised imbalances as a result of notions regarding (im)migrants and their countries of origin.

Factors that specifically impact on global imbalances and hence on racialised academic women's possibilities are related to the contexts in which they reside. Therefore, the GDPs of each country, conjoint with population demographics and the locations of higher educations of learning affect whether racialised women would even consider academic education at all.

In the South African context, where illiteracy and poverty ratios are reported as being the highest amongst the three countries, and where Black/racialised peoples are over-represented in these categories, women have traditionally been the hardest hit. As a result, and as can be ascertained from the input of Black/racialised interview participants in South Africa, this state of affairs places additional demands on racialised academic women.

It can therefore be expected that if these women are not significantly present at universities in South Africa that the support systems for racialised women students would also be affected and would by default also affect their possible participation in the academic workplace.

The Swedish context appears to be the most promising for racialised women academic participation given the size of the populace and GDP, which is only approximately US\$220 billion less than Australia's despite its populace being 44 per cent of Australia's. Nevertheless, as Swedish participants confirm, racialised academic women are still not notably present as students or academic staff.

Among the three countries, the racialised populace of South Africa is larger than the total sum of "Asian" and "Other" groups in Australia, and larger than the entire populace of Sweden. It could therefore be expected that the participation ratios of racialised students and staff would be larger than in Sweden and Australia, and the statistics confirm this is so but that racialised academic women staff tend to be located at the lower levels.

As one South African racialised woman interview participant pointed out, there are only three Black/racialised women who are professors in the country at present. Macro level

factors evident in the contexts of Australia indicate that racialised women academics can be expected to have varying economic and access possibilities in all three countries.

South African racialised women, however, have to contend with a racially segregated economic history that has officially and purportedly extended well into the twentieth century unlike racialised women in Sweden and Australia.

Historically Sweden has always been seen as an egalitarian 'people's home' and Australia enacted its anti-'race' discrimination laws in the 1970s to coincide with its rescinding of the White Australia Policy, which interestingly further coincided with the country's targeted labour migration.

Despite the higher levels of racialised students in South Africa, as can be seen in Chapter 5, Black/racialised women academic staff numbers are still very negligible in comparison to their white/non-racialised counterparts.

As is confirmed by Australian and Swedish interview participants, in the field of WGS, racialised academic women numbers cannot be ascertained in this field because there are none employed in these units except on occasion as 'guests' or one-off lecturers.

This lack of insight extends itself to the macro Australian level, where statistics on racialised women can be found in relation to other labour market arenas, but where academia does not appear to maintain such statistics.²⁶

While demographic factors can plausibly be understood as instrumental in the participation of racialised academic women, the way this disproportionality is legally and practically addressed is therefore also of paramount importance.

8.1.1 Economics

The labor market dynamics of Sweden, Australia and South Africa indicate clearly racialised hierarchies. The disparities and convergences in the academies in relation to racialised women also illustrates the importance of general labour market proportionalities and how academic employment arenas in particular could be expected to be affected by broader national and international academic employment developments.

²⁶ I have emailed the Department of Education Science and Training on the New South Wales State level and the Federal level in order to access any possible statistics five times over the past two years and I have still not received any replies.

The Australian and Swedish labour market, for example, have six broad hierarchical segmented ranks, namely, white western males, southern European males, men from Asia, and Black/racialised men followed by the corresponding groups of women workers (Burton, 1985; SOU2000:47).

Racialised women fare the same in the South African labour market, where they are under-represented in most upper levels and are congregated at the lower levels in all spheres, including in academia (Maboekela, 2003).

The differences in methods of accounting for racialised academic women's participation in Sweden, South Africa and Australia indicate a number of complications with which one would be faced in the process of elucidating their marginalised statuses in the academies.

The best possible insight could be expected in South Africa, where no ethno-racial obfuscations are practiced in regards to academic women's participation and racialised categorisations are still used in order to evaluate statistically the results of politico-legal and socio-political changes.

As yet, it appears as though any expressly directed investigations or reports on racialised academic women's participation in Sweden and Australia is still largely overlooked. Possibly this makes a strong case for the South African practice of racially accounting for population groups in relation to other socio-political and socio-economic factors of import.

The economic and professional academic employment parameters in each country offer insight into the teaching and administrative loads that academic women in general are likely to experience. Student to teacher ratios are patently higher in South Africa than in Sweden and Australia; also proposing some idea of how academic women's 'productivity' could be influenced.

While academic women have claimed since the 1980s that their numbers were negligible in comparison to men, the 2004 Australian statistics indicate a higher number of employed academic women than men. The South African and Swedish academies still show sharp distinctions between male and female employment ratios.

What remains unclear in the Swedish and Australian higher education sector is what the participation rates of racialised women academics are in comparison to non-racialised women. This is a matter of concern given that obfuscations can conceal racialised

discrepancies, as the proportionality of Indigenous postgraduate students compared to other domestic and international student ratios at UNSW illustrated.

It is noteworthy that in Sweden and Australia, where the employment of racialised women academics in WGS is markedly wanting, no studies have been done or are underway to investigate whether this is a phenomenon that is evident across the university, State, Territory and/or national levels. As 'developed' countries with long-standing egalitarian ambitions and achievement claims, Sweden and Australia have a distinctly low participation rate of racialised women academic staff in WGS units, programs and departments, as was confirmed by participants, and the unavailability of statistics complicates any quantitative study in this regard.

8.1.2 Laws, Policies and Inequalities

Sweden and South Africa have governmental structures that hold the promise of possibly facilitating access and influence better in relation to corrective legislation because their constitutions contain value statements that can be directly recalled and because legislation is universally applicable on all levels and in all spaces of these countries. The South African constitution is by far the most progressive amongst the three countries.

The Australian situation is complicated by the dualistic political system and the arbitrary access to and, administration and interpretation of, political institutions and paragraphs. Furthermore, the need for 'voices' to be 'heard' politically in Australia demands, as in most other places, that marginalised groups are able to obtain collective support by way of pressure groups (Jaensch, 2001).

Obviously, if the discrepancy of racialised academic women's marginalisation is not considered to be a matter of interest and no collective support exists for the issue, it will remain a non-issue despite nefarious forms of discrimination like marginalisation.

While South Africa has gazetted 11 official languages in order to address the previous hegemony of the English and Afrikaans languages, lingual hegemony persists in Sweden and Australia, where Swedish and English are the only two officially acclaimed languages.

The law has traditionally been seen as an avenue through which social inequalities can be addressed but has also been a tool through which inequalities have been legalised - the apartheid, White Australia Policy, and eugenics policies of Sweden are evidences of this.

Anti-discrimination legislation relevant to racialised women, whether academics or not, have been variably enacted and are diversely administered in Australia, Sweden and South Africa.

The fundamental enshrining of anti-discrimination legislation and instructions for how historical and traditional discrepancies are to be addressed has been most comprehensively enacted in South Africa. As a result, it can reasonably be expected that access to the law and the attainment of justice for racialised women academics, who experience gendered-racist marginalisation would be better facilitated there.

Furthermore, since both Sweden and South Africa have nationally applicable legislation, unlike the Australian context, which is encumbered by a dualistic political and legal system, the former two are more closely related in regards to access to justice.

It is also interesting that Australia and Sweden, two countries which have long purported egalitarianism, do not have an equally long history of measures and directives for the assurance of equal opportunity and affirmative action in relation to racialised peoples.

Legislations tend to work on a principle of divisions in relation to discrimination causing distinctive polemics in situations where racialised women are subjected to the complex of 'race'-sex discrimination.

There are also, as yet, no accessible records of cases where racialised women have annexed legislation in the academic setting in the process of addressing marginalisation in the professional academies in these three countries.

Freeman poses that anti-discrimination and affirmative action legislation tends to pivot on the "perpetrator perspective". This perpetrator perspective "sees racial discrimination not as conditions but actions, or a series of actions, inflicted on the victim by the perpetrator" (Freeman, 1995:29). As a result, the focus is on what perpetrators have done or are doing rather than on the general life situations of the "victim class" (seen as 'casualties' at the intersections in this study).

The 'victim' or 'condition' perception of racial discrimination would focus on the conditions associated with racial discrimination in order to have it eliminated (Freeman, 1995) because of the conditions it creates. This is better exemplified by the South African focus on corrective legislation.

It is therefore understandable why participants in Sweden and Australia perceive anti-discrimination and affirmative action laws and policies in these countries as being 'futile' and 'ineffective' because these do not address the conditions that create the conditions caused by racial imbalances in the first place. These laws also do not specifically address gendered-racialised imbalances.

Rather, these laws are focused primarily on 'punishment' for actions taken. Given that people are less likely to practise racism overtly these days, the laws are limited in their use and implementation for the improvement of the pre-conditions of marginalised groups. Furthermore, a case can only be made in Sweden and Australia under limited parameters, where incidences have to be of a 'public' nature or have occurred in a 'public' space (Bogdan, 2000; Ronalds, 1998).

Many people in power have been known to abuse the law for their own gain, and as the application of legal principles is hardly ever neutral (Matsuda, 1995), those who therefore experience discrimination ought to have their own voices and ought to be listened to in order to 'understand' the 'condition'.

When those who are unlikely to be affected by the discrimination being outlawed, are also empowered with the right to decide the veracity of such claims, it is not uncommon that such agents also become the validators of racial discrimination (Marable, 2002; Crenshaw, 1995; Freeman, 1995).

The dilemma shared between these three countries is, however, exactly the factor which stimulated Crenshaw's theory on intersectionality, namely, the inability of the law to address interactive effects of discrimination, where multiple elements are operative in the context of discrimination.

This is inferred by the legislative writs which pre-suppose by their content that women (in this case) can be viewed as being separably subject to discrimination as sexed beings in one view and as racialised beings in another.

Racialised academic women participants refute the simplicity of this assumption and instead emphasise that the reality of their lives and their experiences of discrimination in the workplace most often involves gendered-racist marginalisation. This, as contextually racialised interview participants and Young (2004) in Australia point out, is not always the case for them given their physical attributes; the arbitrary values ascribed to various ethnic

groups in Australia; and, the hierarchical economic and political inroads variably forged made by (im)migrants to the country.

Implementation of anti-discrimination and affirmative action laws in South Africa is still in its initial stages and examinations of their effectiveness will provide better insight into how these have fared in comparison to Sweden and Australia at a later stage.

At present, however, it does appear that the cumbersome politico-legal framework of Australia will continue to complicate the application of legislation for the improvement of racialised academic women's contexts and will reduce it to the interpretations of those who already dominate socially, politically and economically.

Moreover, the apparent tenuous nature of macro and mezzo level government agencies entrusted with administering and implementing equity, equality and anti-discrimination legislation, like the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission (HREOC), and the Anti-discrimination Boards (ADBs) in Australia further distances the possibility of meaningful interpolation on behalf of racialised women academics.

A similar state of affairs can be witnessed in Sweden, albeit that the Swedish Justice Department appears to have tried to promulgate new legislation to address racialised social inequalities. The focus however is still on entrepreneurs. At universities, as Magnus (SwdNRM-eP), who continues to work with the Swedish government on related issues confirms, these laws have not yet reached full implementation stages and can still be circumvented.

Sweden's 'equality agenda' is limited to "positive särbehandling" ('positive discrimination') and to the matter of gender equity (Åsard, Runblom and Lindahl, 2000). As in Australia, Swedish academics also appear well-versed with gender equity (male/female) issues, and they are also actively engaged with debates related to equality between men and women.

The same engagement is not obvious in relation to 'race'/ethnicity and women though. In fact, there was a broad lack of knowledge about Sweden's engagement in colonial agendas and none of the Swedish interview participants mentioned the racist educational

literature that taught racialised stereotyping about racialised peoples until the late 1950s and 1960s²⁷.

South Africa's constitutionalisation of anti-discrimination laws and affirmative action, conjoined with clear methodical parameters for application of the same, is quite promising for racialised academic women.

Additionally, the South African government's White Paper on Affirmative Action in the Public Service (1998) extends related laws and policies to include specifically academia in a "hands on" approach to rectifying conditions of inequality and inequity there. There are also clear reporting mechanisms in place and ongoing data collation is taking place in this regard.

Among the three countries, the basic imbalances that racialised women academics face indicate that while Sweden and Australia might be among the world's leading economic and industrial countries, the perspective and legal discourse of South Africa's corrective legislation is more progressive in that it is directed by a concept of correcting the conditions and punishing the perpetrators of discrimination.

Interpreting the responses of participants, it is clear that in Australia and Sweden, where universalistic anti-discrimination and equity laws have a longer standing, thoughts about racialised women academics as a diverse group has not been given much thought beyond establishing that for Indigenous Australian women the situation is "absolutely the worst".

In *Sapphire Bound!*, the writer insists that the solution to the inconsistencies of laws and policies in relation to racialised women is for 'minority women' to advocate for and establish a minority feminist jurisprudence that should be "frankly acknowledged and energetically defended" (Austin, 1995:427).

8.2 Mezzo Level Traffic: Racialised Women Academics and Decisions about Inclusion

The developments of women's participation in the academies of these three countries indicate that racialised women in each country have had their participation variably delayed

²⁷ A family member has worked as a librarian in Sweden for almost 30 years and I had the dubious privilege of being shown a copy of a history book used for teaching students aged between 12 and 16 years in the late 1950s. This book was riddled with racist stereotypes and our family member informed that the book ought to have been destroyed but....

or impeded with the common result being their continued minimal inclusion and continued marginalisation.

In South Africa the situation is not as dire as in the other two countries, albeit that their inclusion appears to be accompanied by a ghettoisation of their participation at the lower levels of academia.

Interview participants in Sweden and Australia were unable to provide significant insight into racialised academic women's participation in the academic workplace; largely because of their overall negligible presence but equally saliently because this is still a markedly unaddressed discrepancy.

Histories of Black/racialised women's participation in academia in Sweden are least available, while those in Australia are more limited than in South Africa. Documented evidence that could provide the starting points for discussions are also overly inscribed with gendered-racialised normalisations.

To explain, in Sweden and Australia, it is not uncommon to find discussions that address the issue of 'women's' academic experiences and performances but these remain obscure about racialised women; instead choosing to subsume their specific experiences under the guise of egalitarianism.

It is therefore understandable that Australian women theorists, like Ang (2003), are scathing about the tendency to subsume further racialised women under the presumptions of shared female subjectivity as though 'race' were of no issue just because racialised categorisations have been removed.

This practice of subsumption is common to universalistic and egalitarian approaches to social inequalities and in relation to women; this subsumption is further fundamentally connected with developments in feminism, as an institutionalised epistemology and pedagogy; and, as a political agenda.

WGS, as examples of institutionalised feminism, has traditionally been an epistemological field and political engagement that has challenged the academic disciplinary status quo, as well as the socio-political and socio-economic (Wiegman, 2002; Du Bois et al, 1985).

This said, however, it is not uncommon that nowadays all students and all staff in this field are no longer 'founding members' of the women's movement, which seems to inevitably

cause tensions (Elam, 2002). In contemporary times those women, who enter positions of power within women's studies, often have very limited knowledge about the battles traditionally fought for by 'founding' women. Quite often, they also have no sense of loyalty to the premises of founding members of the women's movement (Elam, 2002).

One would assume that this changeover within the field would mean that racialised women's situations and areas of concern would be among the areas of interest of 'new' women in the field. This is however not the case.

In Sweden and Australia, as interview participants informed, discussions on 'race' and gender, Indigenous women's issues, etc, are still a matter of minimal inclusion in curricula. 'New' members occasionally also lack insight in regard to the battles fought among women within the space, just do not care, or would rather be dealing with Black/racialised masculinities (Donaldson, Donadey and Silliman, 2002).

For example, at the eight case study universities, 17 out of the 24 participants were personally familiar with the emerging 1960's and 1970's women's movement, when consideration of Black/racialised women's issues were not of primary concern to western feminism. In fact, this state of affairs was only seriously addressed once the inconsistency fuelled the Black feminist movement and later developments in counter-mainstream feminism (Huggins, 1991).

WGS units, according to participants, are however often under siege, with decreased access to resources often being the most common infringement. So while racialised women academics are marginalised by the ineffectiveness of legislation and policies, the situation is exacerbated by the threat of closure, and downscaling of a space that could potentially be used as a platform from which to have their voices heard.

This said, however, WGS in Australia and Sweden would have to undergo significant changes in regards to its approach to the inclusion of racialised women academics as members of staff.

The same government intervention and monitoring of these units that Mandy (SAfrRW-dP) enlisted ought to be implemented in Australia and Sweden as well and possibly this space will understand its role in addressing the issue of racialised academic women's marginalisation not only within WGS but in other university units as well.

As it is, it seems almost ludicrous but also extremely insidious that while macro level agents in Australia and Sweden do not intervene with programs to challenge the marginalisation of racialised women academics, the very academic field that self-purports to be concerned with 'women's' experiences of oppression, is also involved in ignoring this disparity.

The interconnectedness of events on the macro and the mezzo levels that intersect to shape racialised women academics marginalisation is, by way of the contributions of interview participants, more effectively understood when attention is paid to the micro level.

In order to understand how multiple discriminations are articulated and how they work, Crenshaw (2003) explains that "color-blindness" has been exposed as actually anchoring racial justice to norms of whiteness illegitimately, and has thereby foreclosed possibilities for racial transformation.

The political and theoretical have however been irreversibly challenged by the fact that there are differences between women, which relate to locations of discrimination where simultaneous vulnerabilities are not adequately addressed or acted upon.

8.3 Micro Level: The Dynamics of Systems and Traffic

The findings of the study identify the active or dynamic aspects of multiple discrimination or "ways that specific acts and policies create burdens constituting the active aspects of disempowerment" (Crenshaw, 2003:46).

Macro level intersectional dynamics indicate that racialised academic women have to engage with factors related to global imbalances that are reflected locally, where laws and policies have been implemented to address historical and traditional disparities related to the issues of 'race' and gender.

There are, as yet, no laws that specifically address the discrepancies created by socio-economic class, which impacts across gendered-racialised boundaries. This said, in Sweden, South Africa and Australia, socio-economic hegemony is owned by white/non-racialised people, men and women, irrespective of whether they might constitute an ethnic majority group (as in Sweden and Australia) or an ethnic minority group (as in South Africa).

The ownership of hegemonic power, as discussed in an earlier paragraph, is reflected on the global plane, where Sweden and Australia, unlike South Africa are listed amongst the world's most progressive and egalitarian societies. This has however, as theorists and the participants in this study confirm, not meant a significant improvement in racialised academic women's situations in Sweden and Australia.

Interview participants have also indicated that it is possible that it is not the laws and policies themselves that are inadequate. Rather, it is probably more significant to understand how racialised academic women are marginalised by examining how these laws and policies are addressed in the academic space at points of collision or intersection, and/or how they are perceived and explicated by those responsible for monitoring, managing and administering these laws and policies.

Anti-discrimination and affirmative action laws, and academia, are in reciprocal relationships with the social, economic and political terrains outside and within its boundaries (Crenshaw, 2003, 1995; Freeman, 1995).

8.3.1 Denial, Disregard, Subsumption and Women at the Intersection

An awareness of the policies and laws outlawing racism and sexism or racist-sexism is not synonymous with implementing them in accordance with the intentions of such laws and policies.

Furthermore, the interpretation of 'the law' is always relative because it is subject to the value systems of those managing or administering laws and policies (Crenshaw, 2003, 1995; Tufvesson, 2001).

As participants repeatedly confirmed, many of them and their units have never actively sought to address the fact that they have none or negligible numbers of employed or associated racialised women academic staff. Very few have even considered the use of legislation to improve the participation of academic racialised women; and, even fewer in Sweden and Australia thought that laws and policies could make a difference within current contexts.

These oversights and perceptions are not uncommon according to theorists (Essed, 1991; Hill Collins, 2001, 2000, 1990; Moghissi, 1995) because the inclusion of Black/racialised women has generally never been addressed as a significant issue in euro-american spaces.

What was also perplexing, however, was how participants eagerly recalled their frustration with the way their claims about sexism were often deflected as being a 'thing of the past' because of the existence of laws and policies, and yet many of them willingly used this same argument in relation to racism.

It is however possible to argue the continued existence of both (Westin, 2001), and in academia, this is indicated by the fact that racialised academic women are tendentially fewer than white/non-racialised men and women, as can also be deduced by way of the empirical contributions made to this study.

Among the 24 participants between 21 and 25 per cent, which constituted almost the exact group who denied that racialised academic women are a specially marginalised group of women, were unsure or did not know whether racialised academic women are marginalised at all, or whether this was related to 'race' and racism.

Even more disturbing, half of all were in the top academic employment levels. Among these, many were unsure about the significance of 'race' and racism to racialised academic women's marginalisation, as to whether they are indeed marginalised or not.

There is a potential pedagogical and epistemological dilemma connected to the above, which has immediate and future implications because these professional academics are also teaching students about women and marginalisation. How are they able to handle adequately discussions about oppression, discrimination, and strategies for change in relation to racialised women?

How, given the tenure and statuses of these participants, is it possible that the question of racialised academic women's marginalisation has remained a deficient area of knowledge and/or awareness for these individuals?

Hill Collins (2001, 2000) dismisses this kind of claim regarding a lack of knowledge and/or understanding about racialised women as one that is farcical, opportunistic and simultaneously misappropriating of Black/racialised women's knowledges, since these same people teach, write, theorise, and present at conferences about 'women', including Black/racialised women.

What becomes apparent immediately when separating the contributions of participants into geopolitical units is that the chances for dialogue are significantly increased, when the

compositions of contributors are not uniform or when one or other perspective is not overrepresented and hence dominant.

As a result of the composition of participants in South Africa and Australia, perceptions and experiences provided diverse insights whereas in Sweden a somewhat uniform discussion became noticeable.

It is not possible to prove statistically the marginalisation of racialised academics in Sweden and Australia because such statistics are not kept. It can however be established that they are negligibly present in WGS in both countries.

Despite this, it does not appear that any investigations of the disparity have occupied any of the non-racialised academics, who are responsible for staff employment and development, in these two countries. This is a discrepancy that ought to be addressed forthwith.

The debate about racialised statistics has been central to many racialised academics' examinations of academe and often, as can be seen in Zuberi (2001) the polemics surrounding the issue are ignored and a tendency to focus on racialised peoples per se obscures the issue.

This oversight, as Laura (SAfrRW-dL) and Terry (AusNRW-dAP) in the South African and Australian contexts posit, has dire implications because if powerful and strategically placed academics also fail to acknowledge racialised academic women's marginalisation and deny the veracity of their claims, transformation is not likely to take place easily, if at all.

Perceptions of racialised women's marginality are most often expressed in terms of binary oppositions evident in we-us/them phraseologies. Non-racialised women academics present marginalisation as something that 'they' or 'those women' experience in ways that 'we' do not possess sufficient insight.

This notwithstanding, non-racialised academics are often able to cite examples of overt praxes of racialised marginalisation that are known to them but which happen 'elsewhere' and not in their own units. This is an extremely interesting point because equally often, this perception is held in situations where there are no racialised women academics any way. How have these participants acquired this knowledge in the workplace?

It is also not uncommon that non-racialised participants' perceptions are that if the discrimination of racialised women is taking place, it is doing so elsewhere more so than in their own units (Wills, 1983; Brooks, 1997). So the 'problems' are 'over there' and are happening to 'them' but not 'here' because, "things like that don't happen where people are liberal minded" (Beryl, SAfrNRW-bL) and "it occurs in other universities not mine, or in other departments, not mine" (Wills, 1983:94). So for example, it was interesting to note the vehemence with which particularly non-racialised women responded to the concept 'racialisation', which they presumed referred to whether or not people (and they) were 'raced'.

It was also predominantly non-racialised women academics, who insisted that the marginalisation of racialised women, whether in academia or not, be complemented by increased studies of masculinity, particularly in relation to racialised men. This is a troublesome development because the divisions between racialised and non-racialised women remain unresolved. It is therefore feasible to insist that this rift be attended to first and the means by which that can be obtained is for collaborative platforms to be established first, and that these include women academics from WGS and women from the community.

Is it not necessary to establish collaboration between women, in WGS and the broader society as a basic platform first? Clearly, this denial of the need to correct historical wrongs amongst women is a point of contention that irks and frustrates racialised academic women in the field, as one interview participant indicated. Perceptions of racialised academic women's experiences of marginalisation in academia converge, diverge and are parallel at times and this is to be expected given that interpretations and understandings are affected by our individual experiences, how we have been socialised, and how and what we have allowed to become part of our internalised knowledges (Woodward, 1997).

This said, those at the point of collisions, where they are casualties and not onlookers, own a liberatory knowledge that those who are formulating and implementing knowledge would do well to tap into. Otherwise, it is a case that they are constantly using questionable knowledge and insight to deal with an issue that they have never experienced themselves or needed to give active attention to.

The findings have also shown how racialised women are perceived as a group, and how they sometimes understand themselves as a variably marginalised group. Hereby they also

indicate that the normalisation of marginalisation to the theoretical and agency parameters of mainstream thinking is inadequate as a platform for action.

This said, as a group, despite diversity, they remain subject to a hegemonic whiteness that controls the South African, Australian and Swedish societies (Potgieter, 2003; Moreton-Robinson, 2000; de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2005, 2003).

There appears to be positive directions towards mitigating racialised women academics' marginalisation in all three countries. Professional academics view these corrective strategies differently but seem eager to present a picture of progress rather than regress.

Patriarchal paradigms are still presented as prominent obstacles to academic women, according to non-racialised women, and a combination of this with 'race'/ethnicity is still cited by racialised women academics as a dominant catalyst of marginalisation for them.

Without acknowledgement, dialogue and collaboration, it can be expected that the negligible numbers of racialised women in the Swedish, Australian, and South African academia will continue to be problematic and a significant point for the implementation of this change to be rooted is within academically institutionalised feminism, namely WGS.

8.3.2 Collision Casualties at the Intersections – (T)here No Matter the Denials or Dismissals

Regardless of the fact that some would laud egalitarian laws and policies, as well as denounce the existence of racialised marginalisation regarding certain academic women, their voices refute such claims as they insist that they and others have and continue to be (t)here at the intersections where they often are casualties of collisions.

Racialised academic women, no matter in which of the three countries they are located in, are experiencing marginalisation in professional academia despite denials or dismissals and they identify the elements of their experiences in terms of structural, systemic and personal dynamics. Participants also saw the experiences of academic racialised women as predicated on enabling factors connected to the dynamics of power like language and socio-political and socio-economic status, which is at play within universities and their units.

Racialised women theorists also indicated that often experiences of marginalisation are linked to an internalisation of external occurrences and from elsewhere prescribed symbolics (theoretically confirmed by hooks, 1981, 1981a; and Spivak, 1993, for example). As an experience, the effects of marginalisation impose on the individual's sense of identity

(Wetherell, 1996). In conjunction with structures and systems that are either ineffective in dealing with situations at the points of collision, or resistant to acknowledging the definition of marginalisation proposed by the affected person or persons, hegemony can therefore be expected to persist (Moghissi, 1995).

Contemporary experiences of marginalisation by racialised academic women are time entrenched and are related to stereotypes propagated and internalised through various racist discourses, including the colonial (Essed, 1991). Eliciting understandings of academic women's marginalisation in terms of racialisation is a sensitive topic, as the resistance by many non-racialised participants attested. The sex/gender-race debate which remains unresolved amongst feminists extends to involve professionals in academe.

Often this debate entailed nearly antagonistic approaches to the word 'race', which despite participants' verbalised castigation of 'race' as a biological deterministic notion, still appeared to affect their assumptions about physical attributes. An example of how this can display itself occurred during my fieldwork.

On four occasions, the participants from all three countries that I was about to meet, and who had not read the personal presentation I had sent earlier, were surprised that I was not "blonde and blue-eyed". This included racialised and non-racialised academics.

They even expressed this verbally and took time to justify their misconceptions basing their arguments on markers like my name and surname and the universities from which they knew I had come. One interview participant even walked past me to the only white woman in the office area where we were due to meet, and asked her whether she was Ingrid Tufvesson.

Essed (1991) exemplifies how marginalisation is experienced by Black/racialised women as isolating and conducive to self-doubt due to the lack of acknowledgement of their experiences. Crenshaw's (1995) contention about the salient role played by management and administrative agents is prominently informed by their acknowledgement and/or denial of oppressive intersections.

Consensual epistemic communities employ sameness (Stone, 1996), and further gendered racism which is "structured by racist and ethnicist perceptions of gender roles" (Essed, 1991:31). This was corroborated by Australian contextually racialised academics, who

could speak of the employment of sameness from the personal experience of being part of employment selection and appointment teams at their universities.

This employment of sameness also demands the monopolisation of language and the establishment of what van Dijk (2002) calls an elite discourse that conspires to deny racism. As a tool of power in academia, language cannot be ignored and therefore new methods of addressing possible lingual imbalances ought to be taught and learned by professional academics to mitigate already isolating circumstances.

Additionally, university employment parameters have to be made more sensitive to the ethno-cultural pluralities in Sweden, South Africa and Australia. If not, as Moghissi (1995) and Donaldson, Donadey and Silliman (2002) point out, the university will remain integrally involved in the marginalisation of Black/racialised women and their knowledges.

It is not logical, as racialised women participants pointed out, for universities to apply the same 'merit' and 'production' parameters to Black/racialised women because university managers and administrators cannot ignore the reality of racialised women's fundamental marginalisation without actually denying the authenticity of their lived experiences and realities.

8.4 Beyond Geopolitical Boundaries

8.4.1 Systems and Ties that Bind and Separate Academic Women's Unequal Contexts

The historical developments of South Africa, Sweden and Australia have impacted on Indigenous peoples in each country in varying ways and to diverse degrees (de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2005; Potgieter, 2003; Moreton-Robinson, 2000).

As can also be seen from contextually racialised and non-racialised interview participants, racialised women academics experience marginalisation variably. This said, however, while there appears to be a strong desire to separate racialised academic women by compartmentalising Indigenous women separate from other racialised women in Australia, this is not the case in South Africa, where a strong sense of cohesion seemed to exist despite 'differences' and contestations. The common perception is that transformation for Black women is a collective goal.

The preferred term 'Black' in South Africa which includes all those groups traditionally marginalised by racist colonial and apartheid regimes, namely, so-called Black Africans, Coloureds and Indians, is explicated in the country's foundational laws (Potgieter, 2002; Maboekela, 2003). As a result, there is no significant reticence about engaging with the notion of 'race' or the existence of racism.

The levelling effect of this term (Black) does not always sit easy however because the stratified system of apartheid informed and shaped by imperialist and colonialist thinking, was most ferociously applied to subjugate Indigenous South African peoples – particularly women. History attests to this and shows how they were distinctively designated to the lowest political, social and economic levels (Henn, 1984).

The Indigenous peoples of all three countries have also been subjected to the suppression of their languages. Migration – compelled and voluntary – has expanded the lingual structures of most modern societies (Rex, 1997). This does of course not mean that universities ought not to have lingual requirements but it does demand that the ways in which lingual diversity is addressed at universities requires investigation

This lingual marginalisation also necessitated an acceptance of this stratification of lingual inclusion by other racially subordinated groups positioned above Indigenous South Africans and Australians even though the first mentioned were significantly disenfranchised too at earlier periods in these countries' developments.

English, which is entrenched as the only official language in Australia, is however not Indigenous to the country and has been brought there through migration. In Aotearoa (New Zealand), the Indigenous language and dialects of the Maori people are incorporated into that transitional society together with the settler language, English. The officially promulgated lingual diversity of South Africa provides the possibility to reduce the isolation and inaccessibility often associated with lingual dominance.

In Sweden and Australia, however, where Swedish and English respectively are the only formally enshrined discursive tools of communication on the macro levels in official

spaces²⁸, racialised academic women can be expected to not only be excluded by way of their lingual acumen but it is also likely to influence other areas.

For example, lingual constrictions affect perceptions of inclusion, (Wetherell, 1996), and also raises the possibility that important political paragraphs in relation to the inclusion of racialised academic women might not always be freely accessible, understood or broadly known.

While all groups under the label 'Black' were oppressed, the dynamics involved were more complicated than might appear at face value. This complexity still shapes interactions between South Africans today.

Clear racial delineations of South African and Australian peoples show an interesting variance. Unlike the purposeful thieving of children with 'mixed race origins' in Australia, which led to what is called the 'stolen generation' (Moreton-Robinson, 2000), the group 'Coloureds' (peoples of mixed racial and cultural descent) emerged almost as a ridicule to easy colonialist 'race-ing' of the South African populace.

So called 'Coloured' children were not removed from their families but like Indigenous South African and Australian women and girls, they were used as indentured labourers and often raised for domestic slavery in white homes (see Walker, 1990 and Moreton-Robinson, 2000 for more comprehensive reading).

The intricacies of racialised marginalisation in South Africa and Australia is therefore intimately linked to the parrying of distance between essentialised notions of 'race/s' and belonging. Often the consequences perpetrate internal exclusivity, which appears at odds with one of the ultimate goals, namely, inclusion.

The processes of inclusion and exclusion are defined by ascribed group affiliation characteristics that define belonging (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1993). Sometimes this is saliently divisive and paradoxically discriminatory when used by a marginalised group to perpetrate internal marginalisation. This inconsistency often requires the unlikely collusion of, in this case, already marginalised racialised women with non-racialised women and

²⁸ Both these countries do provide various forms of 'home language' teaching; translate many official documents; provide language interpreter services; and, permit diverse newspapers in libraries but within official spaces communication is limited to Swedish and English respectively.

men, as well as racialised men. hooks (1990) poses that this is not uncommon and serves the purposes and goals of hegemony.

It therefore becomes understandable why Black/racialised South African, and contextually racialised participants in Australia, are perturbed by internal marginalisations and the quest for authenticity that are based upon essentialist understandings of group affiliation and cultural identity.

This essentialisation of ethno-racial boundaries is part of what forms contemporary models of racist exclusion (Mac an Ghaill, 1999). Presenting explanations about the experiences of racialised women's marginalisation in hierarchical terms might serve to indicate where action is most necessary but it does not justify overlooking those racialised women considered to be slightly further away from "worst".

In order for racialised women to significantly impact on current inconsistencies, one of the first points of action would be to propel their collective albeit diverse voice from the periphery to the centre (Stone-Mediatore, 2000).

As experiencing 'subjects', we encounter the world and process what we meet with ideologically inured lenses but there is a danger in identifying experiences with a particular social group in a naturalising and exclusionary fashion (Donaldson, 1992).

Arguing the hierarchical intra- and inter-group marginalisation of racialised women academics as a group is not the same as arguing their collective subordination as being synonymous with normative 'w/Woman's' repressions because the social, economic and political power of whiteness remains beneficial to non-racialised peoples – women and men.

Divisions among racialised women academics in relation to group affiliations are also pivotally important to whether or not they subject associated internal group members to further marginalisation and thereby strengthen existing racialised marginalisation.

The nationalisation and globalisation of culture due to spatial displacement through migrations has decisively affected how 'culture' has been re-ethnicised at the sub-national levels (Castles and Davidson, 2000). In the process, contemporary racisms and ethnicities have emerged to complicate simple Black/white binary understandings of oppressions, which include marginalisation (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1993; Mac an Ghaill, 1999).

Irrespective of the reasons for essentialist exclusion of 'insiders' the end result is the significant displacement of racialised academic women to the outside and beyond the outside. The related 'real' life experiences of certain racialised women academic participants in this regard illustrated how the pursuit of purist validation defeats the purpose of improved participation by this particular group of women.

Black/racialised women academics in South Africa are often subject to regressive symbolic values ascribed to them because of where they earned their educational achievements, as one of the participants pointed out. Theory has also corroborated that this is an important occurrence in postcolonial times.

Justifying the exclusion of so-called non-Afrocentric racialised women academics in South African universities, for example, is exacerbated by the presumption that they have been 'privileged' to have been educated elsewhere.

Studies like Essed (1991), Modood and Acland (1998) and Sudbury (1998) argue the contrary. Racialised/Black women in the Diaspora are subjected to marginalisation that directly speaks of racialisation and extends beyond academe to their access to social, economic and political resources.

It is paradoxical then that these women, who have by choice or force been educated outside South Africa, are judged as privileged, when they are subjected to castigation within those societies where they have obtained the degrees as well as where they aspire to be part of educating racialised women and men for a more equal and just society.

Rather, it could be expected that their experiences would also serve as sources of knowledge about diasporic contexts and be utilised for a broader transformation of racialised academic women's situations, as Lewis (2001) and Kuumba (2003) highlight. To furthermore use this argument of 'privilege' to define group affiliation and belonging in order to legitimise marginalisation serves to demoralise and disempower from the inside, which can be expected to result in an implosion.

In this way, the marginalisation of certain racialised women by those defined as more 'authentic' is intimately linked to Gilroy's (1996) notion of spatial dislocation which renders the issue of 'origins' problematic. This is not meant to be seen as legitimising the argument that all women share an equal oppression. To explain, it is not universalism that is being advocated. Rather, it is the understanding that historical divisions cannot be rectified by

using historical tools. Or, to annexe Lorde (2003), you cannot use the master and mistresses tools to bring down the masters' and mistresses' house.

Postcolonial theorists like Ang (2003) and Brah (2003) pose that the multiplicity of modern day societies, resultant from colonialist imperialisms, obfuscates easy 'race'/ethnicity group boundary drawing, as ethno-racial categories are tempered by multi-situated identities.

The marginalisation of racialised women academics, as it no doubt also is for many other marginalised groups, involves very deep-seated and often disquieting emotions as attested to by many of the interview participants. This is so for racialised and non-racialised women who personally experience or observe discrimination. How they choose to explain what they experience or observe is therefore important for identifying strategies for transformation.

For this reason, when refuting the notion of 'race' and instead invoking the matter of 'class' to identify racialised academic women's marginalisation, Swedish participants might indeed be able to argue that to a certain extent they have found a more acceptable explanation but it has to be grounded in the former's explanations if meaningful change is aimed for.

The senses of demoralisation, isolation, resistance, anger, frustration and disempowerment, with which racialised women academics identify their experiences of marginalisation tell one side of a story that refutes the observations of many non-racialised academics on the other side, who wish to downplay the rancorousness of women's discrimination related to 'race'. De Los Reyes and Mulinari (2005) presents this as an insidious element of new forms of colonisation.

The unease caused by the term 'race' in conjunction with academic women's marginalisation and the fervid desire to erase the critique that mainstream feminism is founded on racialised power and the normalisation of whiteness, supports Lykke's (2003) discontent with what she calls the "contamination" of the feminist space. This same discontent appears to have a broad support which aggravates rather than assuages academic racialised women's marginalisation.

Contemporary developments in the process of understanding the continued subjugation and marginalisation of racialised peoples are challenging the privilege of whiteness by interrogating whiteness itself. As Dina (AusCRW-dP) contended, whiteness is a process of

marginalisation. It is the centre that defines and doubles racialised women to enable and justify their continued marginalisation.

8.4.2 Whiteness as Justification

Whiteness, as Tascón (2004) explains, relies on a fantasy and a concealed relation that produces material effects, which illustrates whiteness as a mirror with two faces that allows those who are a part of it to feel righteous and noble about how they perceive and define oppressions, while simultaneously unreflexively practising harm.

Moreton-Robinson (2000) warns about white social and natural scientists utilising an authority, or power, that fuses their gender and underlines their whiteness by enacting a 'naturalness' to their statements and perspectives as though it were fact.

Not surprisingly either, Gray (2004) contends that 'naturalising' discourses are not only staking the constraints in which the (in)(ex)clusion of racialised people is to be negotiated, but that these are also defined within the constraints of whiteness.

Evidence of whiteness permeated the findings of this study. One example was the way a South African non-racialised/white interviewee equated the disease HIV/AIDS with Black/racialised women.

To explain, the discussion was about the polemics surrounding government directives in relation to affirmative action legislation, and how private businesses, and the universities, were vying to employ Black/racialised academic women. The interviewee pondered about how the private sector and the universities were going to fill their quotas if the disease continued to decimate the South African population. In other words, Black/racialised academics are already a 'rare commodity' and would, according to the inflection of the interviewee, become even more so with the spreading impact of Aids.

Whiteness is characterised by this racialised equation; by the insistence that racialised women academics ought to limit their work so that it pleased university management and attracts finances. It supports the dogged culturally insensitive university parameters in regards to what is deemed to be validated 'merit'; and the stereotypic job and gender ascriptions visited on racialised academic women (Wadham, 2004; Tascón, 2004; Young, 2004; Ang, 2003; Moreteon-Robinson, 2000).

This tendency to erase the normalisation with which mainstream feminism has imbued itself is a function of whiteness (Moreton-Robinson, 2000). 'Race', in the estimation of Swedish professional academics ought to be discarded as an analytical term because it is believed to validate racialised practices and ideologies. The dirty four-letter word 'race' recalls a period of Sweden's history which often brings the country's liberal-ness into grave disrepute.

White women come to feminism with already formed subjectivities that are linked to different histories, discourses, privileges, power and oppression. They are socially situated subjects who are implicated and enmeshed in power relations where whiteness remains invisible, natural, normal and unmarked (Moreton-Robinson, 2000:125).

Often, as Moreton-Robinson (2000) explicates, white feminist academics, and I would like to add white male academics, who advocate an anti-racist practice, also unconsciously and consciously exercise their race privilege. A means by which to access an understanding of this practice is to disclose the deployment of the subject position of middle-class white women and men in professional and personal practice in order to indicate its implication in the marginalisation of racialised academic women.

Sweeney (2004) points out however that

while social constructions of whiteness can be academically discussed at length, day to day decisions regarding whiteness might constitute the relative consciousness of a hunch...whiteness is highly subjective and deeply personal, and impossible to describe objectively (Sweeney, 2004:156)

Whiteness has benefited by averting interrogation (Schech and Wadham, 2004; Moreton-Robinson, 2000). Therefore, explicating whiteness rather than investigating racism as a singularly owned product associated with Blackness, saw Frankenberg (1993), for example, interrogate the social construction of whiteness by interviewing white women in a similar way to what has been done in this study albeit that my interview discussions, unlike Frankenburg's, were influenced by my being a Black/racialised woman.

In this instance, if an intersectional perspective were to be applied to a prospective employment situation, it would indicate that the intersection of 'race' and gender (routes of power), policies and laws (traffic) and the dynamics of decision making could very well culminate in gendered-racism (systemic) that would collide with the individual/s located at that intersection.

The multiple discrimination to which a racialised academic woman or women is/are subject in the example above would then be visible as collusion between perceptual values ascribed to the subjectivity of racialised academic women, and to the routes of power, which would then be subject to the arbitrary control of traffic.

Whiteness theorists, postcolonial feminists, Black feminists and womanists, to name a few, have often critiqued the ways in which white women tend to address the subjectivities of racialised/Black women within the semantic frameworks of the former's experiences. hooks (2003) presents a discussion on the oppositional gaze and how white gazing has traditionally been validated as 'the' gaze through which even the gazes of Black/racialised women's have to seek authenticity. hooks (2003) therefore encourages racialised/Black women to resist the constructions of totalising white representations of blackness, and to remain conscious that this resistance will not go unchallenged.

By approaching the subjectivity of racialised women academics through the unfiltered lens of white-gender oppression, which then concludes in a gender-only construction of oppression, inevitably then also demands the obliteration of a fundamental route of power ('race') relevant to certain women, namely, Black/racialised academic women. This practice is closely related to power, privilege and the project to maintain dominion (Haggis, 2003; hooks, 2003; Moghissi, 1994).

The framework in which the factors of marginalisation are collated and accounted for in this discussion reflect an attempt to explicate the incongruity of certain women's experiences of marginalisation within an intersectional framework, using the reflective tools connected to this perspective, and calling to mind specific routes of power.

These routes of power are 'race'-ethnicity, gender and class, which are envisaged as constitutive (though not solely so) of discriminatory systems, namely, racism, sexism and classism that furthermore are pertinent to the definitions or manifestations of multiple discriminations in respect of racialised academic women.

The normalisation of whiteness in language is premised on constructing the everyday in self-identifying ways. For example, the way general references like 'people' and 'human beings' are used and considered the standard against which all others are measured (Moreton-Robinson, 2000; Ong, 2001; 2003; de Los Reyes and Mulinari, 2005) shapes the experiences and perceptions of racialised women's marginalisation even in academia. "The

terms used to identify and explain marginalisation are white and hegemonic" (Laura, SAfrRW-dL).

For those racialised women to whom Afrikaans is a reminder of traditional oppressions, the negative connotations and its continued use in such spaces particularly by non-racialised academic colleagues and superiors re-awakens those associations and engenders anger as it excludes their meaningful participation in discussions where often salient decisions are being made.

It is not unreasonable to expect that the same situation would manifest itself with women from non-English and non-Swedish speaking backgrounds in Australia and England. Subjection to the lingual sanctioning of non-racialised colleagues is not the same as sharing collegial resources.

8.5 Discussion

This chapter set out to discuss analytically the findings of this study, which also examined the intersectional aspects of import in relation to racialised academic women's marginalisation. The chapter addressed the elements of traffic (or activities of discrimination) exemplified by corrective legislation and decision making in the workplace.

These elements of traffic were intersected with routes of power, 'race', gender, class, age, etc and illustrated how systems of domination like whiteness, sexism, age-ism, racism, classism, amongst others collide with those women who are subjectively positioned as racialised women academics and who are located at the intersections.

In this discussion, it has not only been those at the intersections that have been explicated but also those who are variably involved as observers and judges of what the collision at the intersection actually is or has been.

Some observers have the power to control the traffic on the routes of power at the point of collision. In this discussion, these structural observers are exemplified by senior level professional academics, which have decision making power in relation to whether or not the collision to which racialised academic women are subject is denied or acknowledged.

These structural observers are also the judges of whether or not remedial or corrective action is to be implemented for the noteworthy transformation of inclusion for racialised

women academics. The former are also responsible and accountable for the efficient implementation of equity and equality legislation at the institutional level.

The chapter has shown that there are no hard and fast rules about which factors are the most instrumental in the marginalisation of racialised women academics. It has however shown that various dynamics intersect to define the locales of multiple discriminations in relation to racialised academic women.

What does, however, appear contestable is that white/non-racialised academics are not influential to the perpetuation of academic women's racialised marginalisation; that national and international developments in education do not play a salient role in the same; that corrective legislation is the only or best answer to transforming the status quo; that academic workplaces are non-gendered-racist spaces; that WGS is necessarily the most sensitive to academic racialised women's marginalisation; and that historical and traditional factors, which include the racialisation of subjugation is indeed a thing of the past.

Senses of 'belonging' are tempered by experiences of marginalisation, which are also being perpetuated by denial, ineffective implementation of legislation, unbalanced workplace expectations and frameworks, as well as entrenched historical and traditional modes of exclusion.

Mainstream feminism has traditionally used its own theories based upon examinations of gender in relation to social, economic, political and legal power to illustrate the ways in which praxes and pedagogies inherent and instrumental to these components are salient factors in the disadvantaging of women. As a result, and as accounted for in the literature review in Chapter 3, the factors extracted by mainstream feminists tend to legitimise the exclusion of 'race' and the lack of reflexive investigations of disparities among women, in particular racial disparities.

It could therefore be presumed as being eristic (controversial) to indicate that WGS can be implicated in the marginalisation of racialised women academics through the attitudes and approaches of professional academics to racialised women academics' marginalisation can be implicated in the marginalisation of racialised women academics. Conjoint to the dynamically operative factors of marginalisation are the points where the occurrence of marginalisation can be located. These tend to be prior to and at the time of appointment, promotion, and often in the everyday.

The intersectionality of structural and system dynamics; routes of power; traffic; and systems of domination, implicates all within the academic space as epistemological, pedagogical and societal representatives within the space.

Since racialised women academics are conspicuously few in the professional academia, and since this issue has been discussed in the frameworks and in relation to white/non-racialised women as the normalised subjective position, the system of domination and discrimination most feasible to illuminate is that of whiteness.

Subject related theorists like Brooks (1997) espouse the rejection of the concept that there is a unitary model of subjectivity and 'experience', and accusingly relegate this to a perspective that is "advocated by feminist theories and methodologies of the 1970s" (Brooks, 1997:119). Nonetheless, what has validated this study is that studies like Brooks' and others have neglected and continue to disregard the need for reflection upon the historical privilege of whiteness in the intersectional formation of racialised academic women's multiple oppressions.

The subjugation of racialised/Black/of colour/ethnic (minority)/(im)migrant women is premised on racialised marginalisation and occurs specifically in spaces where the domination of discourse, modes of understanding, methods of control, and notions of 'woman/women' is owned by whiteness. Theorists who bolster this include Afshar and Maynard (1994), Matsuda (1995), Moghissi (1995), Blair (1998), Mirza (1998), Moreton-Robinson (2000), Bhavanani (2001), Ong (2001), Mohanty (2003) and, Acosta-Beleén and Bose (2003). The contentions of these theorists, who approach the issues of racialised women from various analytical perspectives, were indubitably corroborated by South African and Australian participants , who confirmed that the continuing influence of colonialism is pivotal to the persistent marginalisation of racialised people, particularly women, within the broader society and hence within academia as well.

While focusing on the intersectional factors that constitute racialised academic women's marginalisation clarification is still required in regards to why the discrepancy persists. Understandings of how this particular marginalisation is reiteratively perpetuated regardless of legislation and supposed greater awareness among academics were however conspicuously absent. This is a discrepancy that theorists like Haggis (2003) and Moreton-Robinson (2000) relate to whiteness, which defines marginalisation in terms of white women's experiences of marginalisation. These definitions subsequently discourage self-

reflection and resist self-transformation when certain experiences of marginalisation do not fit into the confines of those dominantly established definitions.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSION:

Toward a Theory of Perpetuation

The principal aim of this study was to understand why racialised women academics remain marginalised in the Australian, Swedish and South African academies despite the existence of progressive anti-discrimination legislation and social policies, and what role professional academics in the field of WGS (WGS) plays in that marginalisation.

The background to this study indicates that the problematic of racialised academic women's marginalisation is evident in their negligible numbers in Australian, South African and Swedish academia. Studies on the subject are still very few and those that can be accessed originate in the USA, UK and Canada, and are most often contextually inadequate. Furthermore, the role of WGS in racialised academic women's marginalisation is empirically under-explored. The polemic is also variably approached by means of corrective legislation in the three countries and strategies for transformation do not appear to be forthcoming.

In this chapter, I will present a summary of the research findings; the implications of the study; the limitations of the study; my contribution to theory; and, suggestions for further research.

9.1 Summary of the Findings

The findings are summarised according to the research questions related to how various active aspects of marginalisation intersect to shape the articulation of racialised academic women's marginalisation. Through the works of racialised women theorists like Moreton-Robinson (2000); de Los Reyes and Mulinari (2005); and Kuumba (2003) it is apparent that academic racialised women's marginalisation is never just a problem 'over there' but more frequently also 'right here'.

The Contextual Terrain: The geopolitical, socio-political and legislative developments of each country are significant to how racialised academic women's marginalisation is shaped. These dynamics also decide whether the polemic is afforded any noteworthy

attention. The example set by prominent political, social and economic leaders of these three countries set the tone for how racialised academic women's marginalisation is viewed and approached on all other levels and in universities. As the South African example illustrates, a vigorous approach to the implementation of affirmative action and equal opportunity legislation ensures that the problem is not subsumed and/or left to chance. In Australia and Sweden, where laws exist but have not been specifically directed to address racialised academic women's contexts, reflections of this neglect is evident in the absence of racialised academic women in the institutionalised feminist space. Additionally, the complicated Australian legal system and variably enacted anti-discrimination and affirmative action laws implies that the problem of marginalisation in regards to racialised women is legally dependent upon location and time. Generally, the Swedish and South African structures promise better access to justice and future studies could serve to address this issue. The historical developments of each country have also shaped their structural, socio-political, socio-economic and legal contexts.

Understandings of Marginalisation: Perceptions of racialised academic women's experiences of marginalisation in professional academia, where these are self-lived or observed experiences, indicate how they impact on the sense of empowerment or disempowerment of the observer or the victim. These perceptions are significantly context specific in that they are informed by the historical developments of each country. While Australian and South African perceptions were closely linked with regards to an understanding about colonialism and its agendas, Swedish participants' perceptions about marginalisation denounce the importance of colonialism and imperialism, instead choosing to recall the importance of socio-economic class as central to marginalisation. Racialised academic women perceive themselves, and are perceived by observers, as having variable experiences of marginalisation. Marginalisation is perceived as a lingual issue, which is further connected to how group affiliation is decided. Furthermore, perceptions of the veracity of the polemic also vary, and in some cases even denied. Corrective legislation is either perceived as a categorical failure or is cautiously understood as a possible mitigating tool.

Factors of Marginalisation: The intersectioning of diverse factors form the underpinnings and points of emanation where marginalisation is articulated in the lived experiences of racialised women. The local connects with the global in postcolonial conditions reminiscent

of the past, whereby racialised economic, political and social imbalances are constructed on the global level and are reflected on the local level. These imbalances are reflected in the racialised dynamics on the local level, where positions of subordination and superordination can be racially illustrated. Attitudes of decision making professional academics toward racialised women's marginalisation in academia in the three countries either forestall or facilitate change. Mostly, in the Swedish and Australian context, the problem is considered and treated as a non-issue, which is justified by egalitarianism and universalistic understandings about women. Active engagement with the issue is however evident in South Africa. Awareness and concern about the polemic appears greater in Australia than Sweden and neither country appears to have potential programs in place for addressing the problem. Corrective legislation has also not been used to engage specifically with racialised academic women's marginalisation in Sweden and Australia, while universities and their units are monitored in this regard in South Africa. The implementation of reparative legislation does require closer attention since the denial of racialised marginalisation in regards to academic women can lead to the problem being 'buried' as there are no checks and balances in place. Furthermore, corrective legislation can and is often used to address gender and 'race' discrimination in ways that further favour white academic women and disfavour Black/racialised women academics. The activism for which feminism is renowned is not evident in relation to racialised women's marginalisation in academia in women and/or gender study spaces in Australia and Sweden whereas it is a matter of deliberation in South Africa. Engagements with the historical foundations of racialised marginalisation are more readily conceded as factors of import in Australia and South Africa but not so in Sweden, where notions of 'race' seem to confine themselves to the biologically determined definitions. Class is more readily conceded as a universal factor of discrimination for all women in Sweden and racialised women's self-determined definitions appear to be overlooked in favour of dominant understandings of the problem. Strategies for change are contextually specific but are also boundary crossing in that they engage with shared causal factors apparent in all three countries.

Effectiveness of Prohibitive and Corrective Legislation: The effectiveness of policies and laws are subject to their position and wording within legal texts. In Australia and Sweden, where racialised academic women's marginalisation is negligibly acknowledged and taken in hand, laws and policies are less effective. While the matter is more actively

and dynamically tackled in the South African contexts, there is evidence that disparities continue to exist probably as a result of how laws and policies are interpreted in regards to the nexus of 'woman' and 'race' as two inseparable parts of racialised women's identities and the values traditionally ascribed to these. Additionally, these laws and policies are subject to arbitrary application in the Australian context, and are complicated by the dualistic political system of the country. Although laws and policies in Sweden and South Africa are directly applicable on all levels of society in universally worded and applied forms, the monitoring of the implementation of these laws and policies culminates in varying results. In Sweden, where reparative legislation addresses employers, particularly in the commercial sector, implementation is still done at the discretion of business owners and/or academic managers and administrators. This is not an issue in South Africa where universities are subject to government monitoring, which would apparently be enhanced by a more interventional approach in regards to racialised academic women's marginalisation.

Women and/or Gender Studies Dynamics: There is clear indication in Australia and Sweden that curricula at the three case study universities do not significantly include the issue of racialised women and their marginalisation from a historical or contemporary perspective. The occasional lecture and singular article inserted into course literature is conducive to similar limitations with regards to discussions about the issue. Staff compositions, despite sporadically indicating the presence of contextually racialised women, also impact on this eventuality, and in both these countries WGS units are predominantly occupied by white academic women. Despite the greater ethno-racial diversity at South African universities, as well as the vibrancy of curricula, the issue of racialised women's contexts and experiences of marginalisation are being displaced, as they are in Australia and Sweden as well, by fervent interest in masculinities, particularly in relation to Black/racialised men in the South African context. Collaborative political engagement with the issue is not visible in WGS units and as a result, polarisation in relation to racialised women academic's marginalisation appears to have become entrenched, with those interested in transformation constituting a marked minority.

Proposed Strategies for Transformation: Change would necessitate more concerted and specifically directed efforts in Sweden and Australia, while caution needs to be enacted in South Africa that it does not conclude in reflecting the current state of affairs in the other two countries. Legislation needs to address the issue beyond the prohibition of racism and

sexism and ought to take stock of the conditions that sustain racialised women's generally marginalised position. Outreach programs ought to be formulated and enacted and legislation ought to be ratified to facilitate and monitor these. Essentialised parameters that define belonging and group affiliation, particularly in the South African context, ought to be challenged in order to make the matter a collaborative political engagement involving all women. This would also apply to the Swedish and Australian contexts. Mentorships are necessary and the culturally insensitive selection and appointment parameters used for employment purposes have to be engaged with as they currently serve as distinct tools of exclusion and devalue the experiential knowledge of racialised academic women. Traditional gender-related oppressions are furthered by formalised inhibitive regulations.

9.2 Contribution to Theory

Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality proposes a practicable explanatory model that uses a cartographic metaphor to expound the facets of multiple discriminations, and proposes that 'race' and gender are not mutually exclusive. Intersectionality has three specific functional elements: it captures structural and dynamic (active) facets of multiple discrimination, which affects theory and practice; it addresses how discriminatory systems (racism, sexism, classism) create situated inequities that define the relative positions of 'races', women, etc; it engages with how specific praxial and policy dynamics construct the polemics that constitute the active aspects of disempowerment.

This theory has five shortcomings that I encountered during its application. Firstly, the theory does not explicate the automatic presuppositions that exist about the authority of the law, where racialised women have not been part of its formulation. These presuppositions are indicative of privilege because it involves the power to define. Because of the differing approaches to the issue of racialised academic women's marginalisation in Australia and Sweden contra South Africa, I was able to address this shortcoming through the analytical application of whiteness. Intersectionality does not adequately address whiteness, and even the semantic use of 'intersection' holds many interpretations.

Secondly, the cartographic notion only serves a purpose when there are women at the intersections in academia but does not account for those who are never afforded the opportunity to enter academia. Therefore, in the Australian context where there were contextually racialised women who could not fully identify with racialised marginalisation,

and in the Swedish context where there were no racialised academic women at all, understandings of intersectional factors remained subject to the understandings and perceptions of those within the space. To overcome this I focused on interrogating verbalised white privilege framed in the articulations of participants and the referential parameters they chose to make sense of their perceptions in regards to racialised academic women's marginalisation.

The third issue was that intersectionality presumes that the multiple factors of discrimination are accessible for explication but this is not always the case I found with regards to the considerable number of WGS units that for one or other reason these factors were not open to investigation. There was no transparency and the deflection of examination could be justified. This was less easy to circumnavigate or penetrate and proposes a fundamental issue that requires attention.

Fourthly, intersections do not exist in isolation and traffic is not only on the ground quite often the greatest dangers come from the skies above. Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality, which is terra firma in its typology, needed to be expanded to include the intersection in a broader co-existentially salient context. I therefore included a global perspective to address this gap.

The fifth point, which is most important however, is that intersectionality does not explain perpetuation – why does racialised women's marginalisation per se and/or racialised academic women's marginalisation in particular persist regardless of legislation and the expected greater awareness among academics in the institutionalised feminist space.

My proposed answer to this question in particular and incorporating the other four is detailed below. My proposal is a theory of racialised perpetuation that annexes the ontological and proposes that racialised women's marginalisation is dependent upon the intersection of an unchallenged normalisation of whiteness that denies its privileged status and invalidates contentions about the subordinated status of racialised women in ways that remove them from the section and/or intersection and displace them to a roundabout around which white privilege traverses irrespective of class, gender, etc. This mobile privilege perpetuates itself in the structural and systemic, which are examples of its metamorphosed self and is therefore not repelling but familiar and safe.

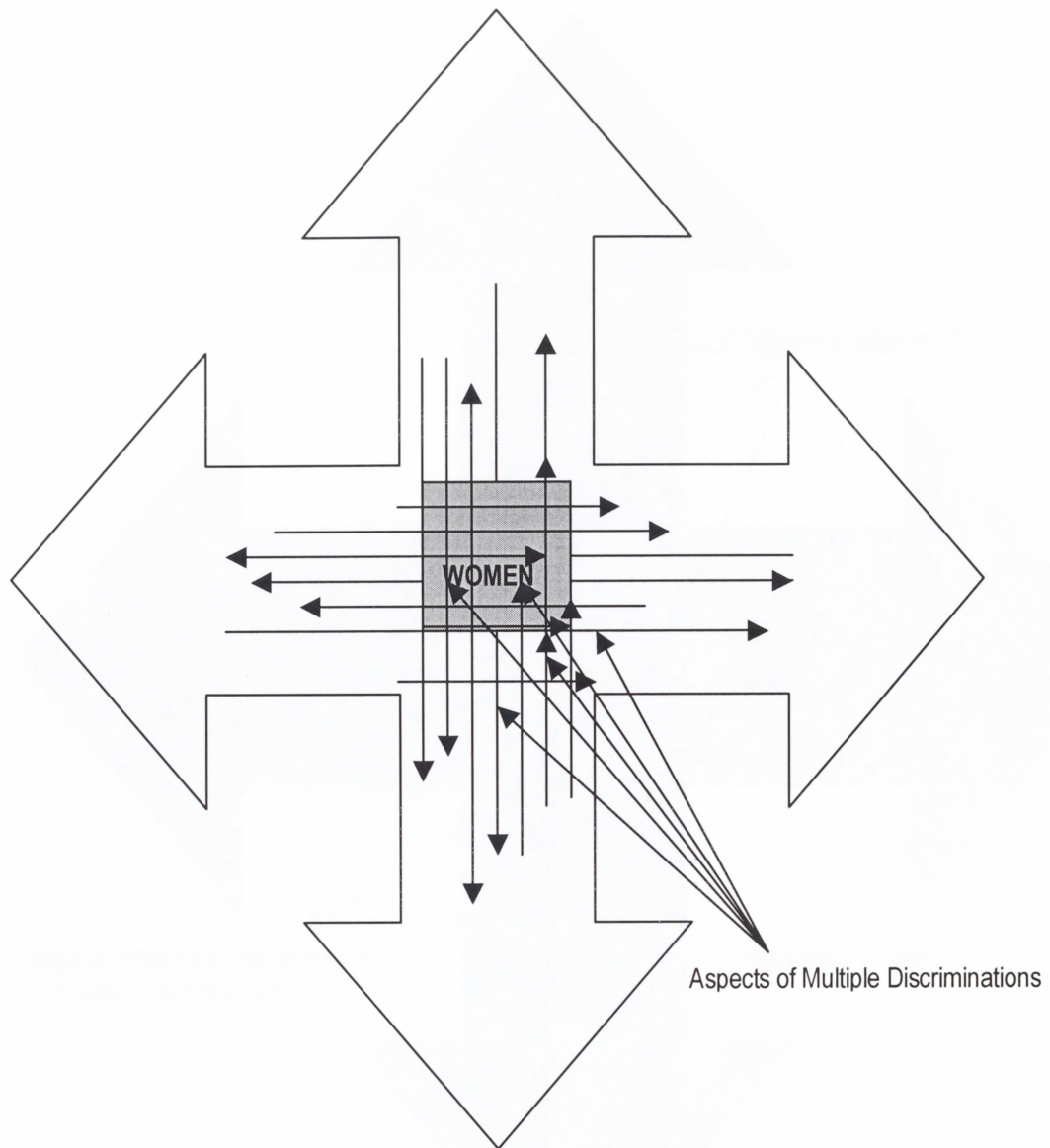


Figure 9.1: Model of Crenshaw's Theory of Intersectionality

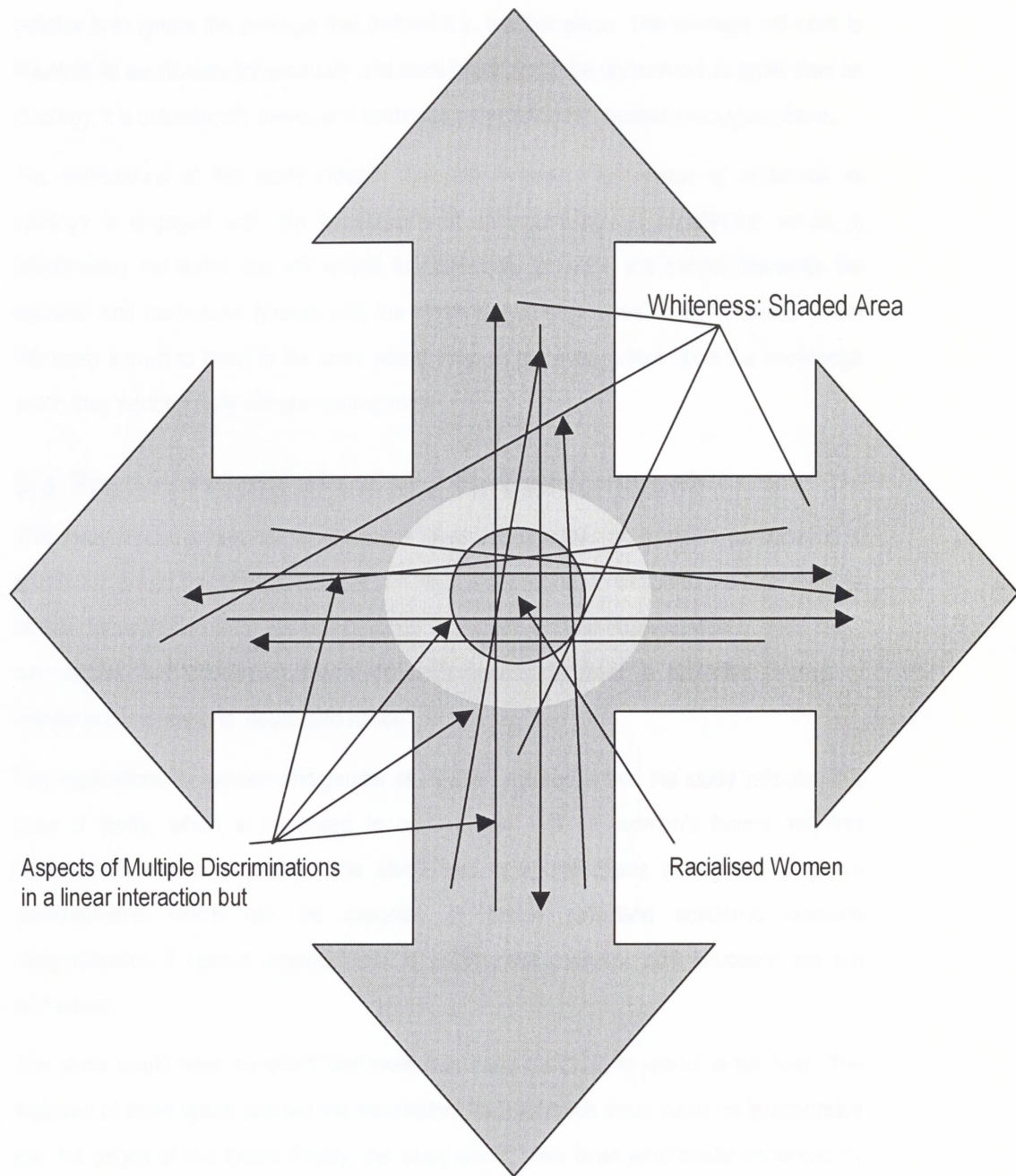


Figure 9.2: Model of A Theory of Perpetuation:

The multiple facets of racialised discrimination are in constant interaction with whiteness which also defines the understandings of the intersections. Perpetuation is only possible when multiple discriminations are subject to its understandings according to the definitions of whiteness. To understand racialised academic women's marginalisation by accepting the pre-existing dominant understandings of what this marginalisation entails in laws and

policies is to ignore the privilege that defined it in the first place. This privilege will work to maintain its equilibrium consensually and therefore it has to be understood as more than an ideology, it is ontologically based and continues perpetuation in multiple ontological forms.

The implications of this study indicate that until a basic interrogation of whiteness as privilege is engaged with, the formulations of understandings of racialisation aimed at transforming the status quo will remain fundamentally flawed – you cannot dismantle the masters' and mistresses' houses with the masters' and mistresses' tools. These tools are intimately known to them to the point where they do not even reflect upon the knowledge which they perform daily without interrogation.

9.3 Practical Implications and Further Research

This study implies a need for future studies on racialised academic women's participation in academia. It also has specific political and legal implications in relation to the effectiveness of anti-discrimination and affirmative action legislation and its implementation. This study also implies that 'developing nation' does not necessarily mean a subjected position of debate in comparison to 'developed nation'.

The implications for women and/gender studies are marked in that the study indicates this area of study, which is supposed to occupy itself with all women's issues, requires introspection and examination. The study also has implications in regards to global developments, which can be expected to further racialised academic womens marginalisation if current developments in politics, the economy and education are not addressed.

The study would have benefited had more time been available to spend 'in the field'. The inclusion of three cases also set the parameters for how much detail could be incorporated into the pages of this thesis. Finally, the study would have been additionally enhanced by larger numbers of participants.

Proposals for future study include the statistical measuring of racialised women academics in the universities of Sweden and Australia, as well as a documenting of how they have obtained access and/or prospered within academia. It would also be of singular benefit to study how variations among racialised women influence their academic progress and entry. Studies that aim to understand how dominant inhabitants of academia understand the absence of those not in the space could also give some insight into why this absence

exists. I believe that it would also be beneficial to study more closely how the Australian, Swedish and South African governments address marginalisation in relation to racialised academic women – whether they perceive it as a problematic that requires attention and how they propose to do so. Increased investigations of WGS units would have salient value and could even assist in 'showcasing' those that have successfully combined theoretical activism with practically applied activism. Finally, I believe that research on the issue of racialised women academics in the African context, which aims to draw together those not traditionally elevated on the continent itself and which does not aim to draw internal boundaries, could be a means by which to empower themselves and their Diasporic sister-folks in contexts that are foreign to those contexts of Africa. Furthermore, if it has at any time seemed in the study that the use of the category 'racialised woman' was aimed at disguising the real differences among racialised localities or subject positions and the way these are governed, this was most certainly not the intention. To the contrary, the central idea of proposing an intersectional approach is meant to recognise and acknowledge this fact.

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