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# D2.1 Intersectional policies in Higher Education and Research: a scoping literature review

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# Executive Summary

This scoping literature review maps the existing scientific literature on intersectional policies in Higher Education and Research institutes (HE&R). Intersectional policies aim to address inequalities and discrimination that occur along multiple, intersecting identity axes including but not limited to gender, race, ethnicity, disability, age and sexual orientation, and which operate on different levels. While there is a growing body of literature on intersectionality that deals with persisting intersecting inequalities in research organizations, less is known on how an intersectional approach can be incorporated into policies and practices to ensure a more inclusive HE&R (Christoffersen 2021).

The goal of this scoping literature review is to identify which scientific literature is available on the topic and what are the current knowledge gaps through well-defined research questions, systematic searches and clear inclusion/exclusion criteria (Arksey and O'Malley 2005; Peters et al. 2020). The following research question was formulated: *What is known from the existing literature on the use of intersectionality in equality policies of Higher Education and Research organizations?*

Systematic searches were conducted between November and January 2023 via Web of Science and Scopus within the time scope of 1989 (the year in which the concept of intersectionality was coined in academia by Kimberlé Crenshaw) and 2022. This search used the keywords "intersectional*" AND "policy", "higher education" OR "STEM" OR "science" in the databases of Web of Science and Scopus. The final sample consisted only of scientific articles that used an intersectional approach to study equality policies within the HE&R context. All non-scientific articles, articles that did not use an intersectional approach, were not situated in the HE&R context or did not have a policy focus were excluded.

The results show that the available literature on intersectional equality policies in HE&R is limited (n= 61) and that it primarily emerged in the last 10 years (n=57) with a significant increase from 2020 onwards (n=40). The results show that most empirical qualitative studies were conducted in the United States and the United Kingdom, with a smaller number situated in South Africa and the remaining countries of the Anglosphere.

Most empirical studies take the perspective of minoritised students and staff, documenting their lived experiences of intersecting inequalities in research organizations, and formulate policy recommendations based on their narratives (n=40). The results show high levels of a sense of not belonging, negative self-concept and feelings of deficiency, lacking skills, leading to isolation, the pressure to assimilate, and the underreporting of discriminatory behaviour in HE&R. Important hampering factors for inclusion that were described in the literature are the absence of recruiting and hiring minoritised staff, a lack of role models, curricula that do not reflect minoritised students' cultures and life experiences, high levels of microaggressions, the lack of support mechanisms (such as financial support for community building and safe spaces) and a lack of accountability of perpetrators of sexual harassment and aggressions. The main policy recommendations derived from these lived experiences were the need for empowerment. Policies and practices should increase the sense of belonging of students and staff by changing the narratives and work culture on who belongs in HE&R. A shift of the "ideal academic" norm can make HE&R more inclusive by giving space and support to minorities through policies.

A smaller, yet significant share of the empirical studies (n=12) analyses HE&R equality policy documents. These studies find an increased commitment to diversity and inclusion measures in recent years, yet point to the absence of an intersectional approach in these policies. Although both diversity policy and intersectional policy focus on differences and multiple strands of discrimination, they are not interchangeable. Only intersectional policies recognize and address the unique needs of minoritised

students and staff that result from the intersection of multiple forms of discrimination. Additionally, these studies argue that an absence of data collection on multiple discrimination grounds makes it harder to acknowledge different experiences and design effective intersectional measures that ensures true inclusivity. The main recommendations in this literature centres around increasing the organization's accountability by stimulating a dialogue between different stakeholders of diverse backgrounds and in different power positions. Policies should involve students, researchers, professors, specialized counsellors, (HR) managers, diversity officers, etc. from both minoritised and non-minoritised backgrounds, in order to avoid putting the burden of making HE&R structures accountable on minoritised individuals, as it is often the case. These policies encourage organizations to approach intersectional equality as a shared responsibility.

The remaining studies theoretically reflect on how intersectionality can be used as a critical theory in policymaking processes (n=9). Rooted in Black feminism and Critical Race Theory (CRT), these scholars start by questioning "who designs the policy and whom does the policy include?". They place giving voice, acknowledging and including the needs of minoritised students and staff at the heart of intersectional policymaking. They hold that the absence of data on multiple discrimination grounds not only leads to an absence of knowledge, it purposely neglects the intersectional inequalities. Moreover, policies predominantly focus on single-axis approaches to tackle one inequality at a time, often gender, but fail to address the inequalities that occur on the basis of gender, race, class, disability, sexual orientation and their intersections. Hence, many of the scholars raise the need for an intersectional approach to equality policies that are grounded in the experiences of minoritised students such as Black students, which can differ from those of protected groups such as white students.

Based on this review, we draw several conclusions. First, there is still a need for more research that goes beyond gender and that includes the experiences and intersectional needs of minoritised students and staff in the policymaking process of HE&R. Secondly, more research is needed that both acknowledges and goes beyond the experiences of minoritised individuals. Although lived experiences are crucial forms of expertise for developing intersectional policy making, they are in themselves not sufficient to eliminate oppressive structures in HE&R. Finally, there is a need for a deeper understanding of the interpersonal and structural levels of intersectional oppressions and how they mutually reinforce each other in policymaking processes, in order to envision policy design and implementation processes and ensure that they are constructive, collaborative and inclusive.

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# List of Acronyms

| | |
|---|---|
| BFT | Black Feminist Thought |
| CRT | Critical Race Theory |
| D | Deliverable |
| DEI | Diversity, Equity and Inclusion |
| EC | European Commission |
| EU | European Union |
| EDI | Equality, Diversity and Inclusion |
| EIGE | European Institute for Gender Equality |
| ERA | European Research Era |
| HE&R | Higher Education and Research |
| KSH | Knowledge and Support Hub |
| R&I | Research and Innovation |
| SES | Socio-economic status |
| US | Unites States of America |
| UK | United Kingdom of England |
| WP | Work Package |

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# Abstract

Gender equality has been one of the European Union's founding principles since its establishment in 1957. The European Commission recently adopted an intersectional approach to its (gender) equality policies in order to include those who experience multiple, interlocking forms of inequalities and discrimination yet remain invisible in these policies (Garcia and Zajicek 2022; European Commission 2020a). Despite a plethora of academic work unpacking intersectionality, the knowledge on how to design, implement and assess 'intersectional equality policies' remains scarce. This has challenged policymakers in research organizations on how to tackle these intersecting equalities in their policies and practice (Christoffersen 2021). This scoping literature review addresses this knowledge gap. Sixty-one articles retrieved from Web of Science and Scopus were analysed to identify the intersectional approaches used to study equality policies in Higher Education and Research institutes (HE&R). The goal was to map the existing scientific literature using an intersectional approach to the study of equality policies in a HE&R context, what policy measures are mentioned in these studies that are currently in place to target intersecting inequalities and present which policy measures the studies perceived as (in)effective. The results show that the available literature is limited. It predominantly consists of qualitative studies in the United States and the United Kingdom investigating the lived experiences of minoritised students and staff on inclusion and exclusion in research organizations. Although this individual level is crucial to include the needs of those experiencing intersecting inequalities into effective intersectional policies, there is a gap of research on the organizational and structural level of oppressive structures in HE&R and how they mutually reinforce each other in policymaking processes. To conclude, knowledge gaps and recommendations are formulated for scholars, policymakers and practitioners.

# 1. Introduction

Intersectionality has been defined in various ways [see for overview Breslin 2017]. A broad working definition was therefore developed for this review: intersectionality is a paradigm, theory, methodology, analytic or critical tool that focuses on the interlocking systems of oppression and privilege, power relations and social inequalities that occur on multiple axes including but not limited to gender, ethnicity and race, social and economic status, sexual orientation, disability and age (Breslin, Pandey, and Riccucci 2017; Collins 1990; Athena SWAN 2021; Council 2021; Crenshaw 1989).

## 1.1 Making Gender Equality Plans mandatory: EU's call to action

Intersecting inequalities which move beyond tackling gender inequality has become one of Horizon Europe's top priorities. The 9th Framework for Research and Innovation (R&I) of the European Commission (EC) increasingly considers intersectional equality policies as crucial for an inclusive organizational climate and countermeasure for multiple forms of inequalities and disadvantages (Garcia and Zajicek 2022). In 2015, the implementation of Gender Equality Plans (GEP) had been recommended and actively supported by the Council of Europe (Clavero and Galligan 2021). GEP's are a set of commitments and actions that aim to promote gender equality in an organization through the process of structural change (European Commission 2021a). As stated in its Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025 and its Strategic Plan for Research & Innovation 2020-2024 (European Commission 2020a; 2020b), GEP's are an eligibility criterion for funding for all public bodies, higher education and research organizations in Member States and Associated Countries of the European Union (EU). This requirement points to the intensification of tackling gender inequalities in R&I as a consequence of a historically persisting issue shown within and beyond Europe.

Results from the latest She Figures show that on average, female students outperform their male counterparts, with 59% of bachelor's and master's graduates degrees awarded to girls and women. However, this percentage decreases to 48% at the doctoral level. There are also large differences between scientific areas, with only 22% of female PhDs in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) compared to over 60% in Health & Welfare and Education. The share of women reaches its lowest point at the post-doctoral level (33%) and in full professorships (26%) (European Commission 2021b).To date, insufficient attention has been paid to other grounds of discrimination that go beyond gender and the gender binary and especially to the way different grounds of discrimination intersect. Moreover, there is a lack of (disaggregated) data on race/ethnicity, religiosity, (dis)ability, and sexual orientation (Fredman 2016), which could lead to the compartmentalization of multiple discriminations into separate anti-discrimination, gender equality and diversity and inclusion policies.

There is currently little theorization of intersectional approaches in policies, despite extensive work in the past 20 years on conceptualizing intersectionality among scientific disciplines such as health (Hankivsky and Christoffersen 2008; Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda, and Abdulrahim 2012), education (Gillborn 2015), politics (Simien 2007; Yuval-Davis 2006) and sociology (Choo and Ferree 2010; Collins 2015). Intersectionality, "the most important theoretical contribution that women's studies has made so far" (McCall 2005), is not being translated into public policies that proactively avoid a 'policy invisibility' of those disadvantages at the margins (Garcia and Zajicek 2022).

## 1.2 Intersectionality as 'great equalizer'

Intersectionality was coined in academia in the late 80's by US Black feminist Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) in Law and further developed by Patricia Hill Collins (1990) in the field of Sociology. Since, the notion of intersectionality has given recognition to a longer tradition of marginalized women raising issues of underrepresentation in different societal spheres and discourses. The concept started bottom-up and operates as a 'manifesto' to critique essentialist and homogeneous white feminist discourses (Bilge 2013) and the Black male anti-racist movement that obscured the experiences of Black women.

Intersectionality theory builds on the ideas of activists and scholars including bell hooks, Sojourner Truth, Audre Lorde, Anna Julia Cooper, Frances Beale, Deborah King among others who had been claiming the importance of gender/race/class analysis to reveal unique forms of oppression, and statements such as that of the Combahee River Collective (1977), a Black feminist lesbian organization, that proclaimed the need to pay attention to interlocking systems of oppression such as gender and race (Breslin, Pandey, and Riccucci 2017). Rooted in Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Black Feminist Thought [see glossary], these women plead for the inclusion of the experiences and interests of women of colour in law, policy and social justice [see Sojourner Truth's speech Ain't I a woman, 1851; Anna Julia Cooper's book A voice from the South, 1892].

In her seminal work *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*, Crenshaw (1989) states that single-axis approaches to inequality ignore intragroup differences and intersecting inequalities relevant for Black women. In order to understand how racism and sexism shape these experiences, she distinguishes between three categories of intersectionality that focus on power relations and the role of politics, policies and representation: structural intersectionality, political intersectionality and representational intersectionality [see glossary]. Structural intersectionality exposes power dynamics between concrete individuals and groups of people. By ignoring the structural power relations in a specific context and the overlapping structures of subordination, she illustrates why intervention strategies based on one group of women with a certain class or race are inadequate for others. Political intersectionality rethinks the race in sexism and the gender in racism. It describes how simultaneous membership in multiple subordinated groups, such as Black women being at once Black and women, can result in conflicting political agendas where one must choose one identity over the other. Systemic forces should be resisted and reshaped beyond universal and essentialist notions of single identities. Representational intersectionality finally discusses how narratives and images in dominant culture such as media, texts, and language marginalize the narratives of women of colour (Crenshaw 1991).

Collins' (1990) work on intersectionality rather reveals the Eurocentric masculine perspectives of knowledge production. She defines four domains of power which she describes as a 'Matrix of Domination': the structural, the disciplinary, the hegemonic and the interpersonal domain [see glossary]. In each domain of power, three levels of domination are unfold. The first level of domination manifests itself in the individual consciousness of 'victims' that willingly collude themselves in their victimization. This false consciousness, as she names it, gets reproduced and reinforced in the second level. The dominant group imposes the cultural context through mechanisms of control and reduces the knowledge of the 'other' to knowledge that is less valid, subjugating it (cfr. Gramsci's cultural hegemony and Foucault's subjugated knowledges). The third level of domination manifests itself beyond the interpersonal level and in social institutions through the transmission of Western knowledge in education, discourses or academia (Collins 1990).

To these scholars, intersectionality is about understanding how power relations (re)produce hierarchical intersecting inequalities and simultaneously encouraging forms of resistance. Hence, research and policies should not only pay attention to intergroup differences, but also focus on differences within groups to make silenced forms of oppression, privilege and agency visible (Crenshaw 1989; Simien 2007; Choo and Ferree 2010).

## 1.3 The shift from gender equality towards intersectional equality policy

In the mid-2000s, several European feminist scholars like Mieke Verloo (2006), Johanna Kantola (2009) and Emanuela Lombardo (2009) contributed key theoretical insights for the implementation of intersectionality into European policies and politics. Verloo (2006) uses the metaphor of 'unpacking a Russian doll' to depict how certain intersecting identities remain systemically hidden behind gender in policies. This causes women minoritised along intersecting identity axes to be stigmatized, rendered invisible and/or discriminated against in policies. She calls attention to intra-categorical differences to overcome the individualistic nature of gender policies and pleads against the hierarchy of different inequalities (van der Haar and Verloo 2013). Through the notion of multiple inequalities, Verloo (2006) wants to move from the assumed similarity between gender, race/ethnicity, social orientation and class towards policies that pay attention to the dissimilar nature of power struggles within organizations.

Some authors have warned that, as a consequence of intersectionality's popularity, this notion has in fact become a *buzzword* (Davis 2008) (mis)used by many and understood by few. Bilge accordingly writes of 'whitening intersectionality' (2013), Christoffersen & Emejulu about 'diversity within intersectionality' (2022) and Berger & Guidroz on the 'flattening of intersectionality' (2010). These authors also alert us for the danger of the co-optation of intersectionality by feminists that use intersectional theory but depoliticize and neutralize its critical potential. Lombardo and Meier (2022) address this issue by pointing out that an intersectional approach should go "beyond prioritizing the female component in gender" (2022, 105). While current gender and policy studies often prioritize a 'female' focus and the disadvantage of women, it might overlook the inequalities, marginalization and domination within diverse groups of women and which some men experience. Single-axis or additive policies may be preferred out of fear for the 'dilution' of gender, but cannot address the constitutive nature of intersecting inequalities (Christoffersen and Emejulu 2022). Hence, intersectionality offers a lens to expose both the white norm in universities and the male-dominated space to decentre the current essentialist and universalist agenda of inequalities (Atewologun 2018).

A second use of intersectionality which is often ignored is the importance of self-representation and participation of minoritised groups in policymaking processes (Fine et al. 2021). Agustín (2013) therefore claims that the turn to difference in feminist politics and policies should imply the self-representation of minority group's own interests instead of integrating them in existing policies. In her book, she pushes for an integrative and intersecting policymaking based on inclusive democracy instead of separated single-axis approaches. Bilge (2013) also pleads for policies that create interventions which do not only target well-known structural inequalities, but also include the specific interests of minoritised groups into the policy design and implementation.

A third warning concerns the assumption of a shared understanding of what an intersectional approach in policy is between actors even when such shared understanding is lacking (Chistofferson 2021b). According to Christoffersen, the ambiguity around the concept has led to discrepancies between policymakers and researchers, which hampers the design and implementation of intersectional policies (Christoffersen 2021). A recent study discussing the obstacles and enabling factors in implementing intersectionality in public policies, indeed identified the multiple and contrasting interpretations of intersectionality, next to the lack of legal frameworks and data monitoring, compartmentalized work structure and lack of training and guidelines on how to implement intersectional policies as key obstacles (Barbera, Espinosa-Fajardo, and Caravantes 2022). Although the open-endedness and accessibility of the concept is what makes it successful, it is important to uniformalised its meaning within each intervention.

# 2. Aim of the study

There is a significant knowledge gap on intersectional approaches to policymaking and practices in research organizations. The main purpose of this scoping literature review is to provide a knowledge base for the functioning of the INSPIRE Knowledge and Support Hub (KSH) on intersectionality. The main focus of this review is to map what is already known and what gaps there are in the literature on intersectional policies in R&I, with a focus on Higher Education and Research organizations. The initial aim was to include the innovation sector in the scoping review, yet due to the very limited results found in this sector concerning intersectional policymaking, the focus was redirected to academia and research performing organizations. The scoping literature review also answers the call of Evangelista et al. (2022, 30) for "a scoping review of existing HE policy and practice to ensure better inclusion of diverse and intersectional identities".

Higher Education (HE) as a field was chosen due to a growing participation of diverse social groups in tertiary education while at the same time remaining overrepresented by white men, especially in the higher echelons (European Commission 2021). Furthermore, current HE policies are repeatedly shown to create ineffective measures for historically underrepresented groups if their needs are not taken into account (Tauber 2022). Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) as a subfield remains systematically skewed among multiple axes of inequality. These persistent "leaky pipelines" push the agenda on how to make science and academia inclusive starting from its policies and practices (Bourabain and Verhaeghe 2022). The following research question was formulated to scope which scientific literature exists that uses intersectionality to study HE&R's (gender) equality policies, what policy measures are currently in place to target intersecting inequalities and present which policy measures are perceived as (in)effective by target groups:

*What is known from the existing literature on the use of intersectionality in equality policies of Higher Education and Research organizations*?

# 3. Method

## 3.1 Scoping literature review

A scoping literature review is a type of review that maps main theories and key concepts within a complex and heterogeneous research area (Arksey and O'Malley 2005; Peters et al. 2020). It provides a broad overview of the literature available on the topic and identifies the knowledge gaps within the field. Arksey and O'Malley identify four primary reasons to conduct a scoping study being "to examine the extent, range and nature of research activity, to determine the value of undertaking a full systematic review, to summarize and disseminate research findings for policy makers and practitioners and consumers who might otherwise lack time or resources to undertake such work themselves and to identify research gaps in the existing literature" (2005: 6). This scoping review specifically is situated in the last two criteria. Research questions guide the searches but, contrary to systematic literature reviews, it is important to acknowledge that the data collection is less a linear process and more an iterative one. The research question can therefore be formulated more broadly (Pollock et al. 2021) and key terms can be adapted if needed to increase knowledge on a certain topic during the search. The literature included in the final sample is selected through well-defined inclusion and exclusion criteria that eliminate and include literature in three phases: identification, screening and eligibility (Raitskaya and Tikhonova 2019). [fig. 1]

## 3.2 Search strategy

The systematic searches were conducted between November 2022 and January 2023 with the final search on 20 January 2023 via Web of Science and Scopus. The time scope for the search covered the period between 1989 and 2022. As the starting date, the year was symbolically taken in which Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) published her seminal work *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics* that coined the concept in academia.

The search terms focus on identifying the conceptual foundations of intersectional policy via Boolean operators AND as well as OR. The total outcome of 509 results was a feasible quantity to screen manually. Hence, there was no need for automation tools nor the Boolean operator NOT to exclude certain key terms. The first block of search terms included intersectional AND policy in Web of Science through Topic (Searches title, abstract, author keywords, and Keywords Plus) and in Scopus though Article title, Abstract, and Key words [fig. 1]. This ensured that the retrieved articles included both the derivatives intersectional and intersectionality and increased the probability that a policy framework was included in the identified articles. As mentioned before, the initial aim was to include the innovation sector as a whole by using "innovation" or "research and innovation" as an additional key term. With the scarce and irrelevant turn-out of results found with these keywords and the significant attention of intersectionality in HE and Research organization, it was decided to focus on these fields instead. The motivation for using "intersectional*" instead of "intersect*" as a keyword was to exclude "intersectoral", which was a finding throughout the process. The following block of search terms included "higher education" OR "STEM" OR "science" in Web of Science through Topic and in Scopus through Article title, Abstract, Key words. These keywords were used to delineate the boundaries of the scoping field of the review.

## 3.3 Inclusion and exclusion criteria

The first search with the given keywords produced 509 results of which 224 in Web of Science and 285 in Scopus. Within this sample of studies, all titles and abstracts were read through and all studies were excluded that did not fulfil the following inclusion criteria: (1) a main focus on the use of intersectionality as a theory, methodology or tool of analysis and an analysis of current policies or critique on lacking policies with policy recommendations or results leading to policy recommendations of Higher Education and/or Research organization (2) HE or Research setting (3) academics, scientists, staff of research organizations or (under)graduates as target group [table 3]. A first screening of the hits in both databases based on the title, abstract and keywords left a first selection of 178 articles in total, of which 61 duplicates were removed. The remaining 117 articles were read in depth. Most articles and books were available. A small sample was retrieved by contacting the author(s). After reading each article entirely, a fourth additional inclusion and exclusion criterium of study format was added excluding essays, tools and guides. In this phase, articles were mostly excluded due to the first criterium. Sixty-one articles remained as the final sample for the review and in-depth analysis. This final sample of 61 studies was imported in the reference manager Zotero. This selection process is schematically represented in Figure 1.

Data were collected and in a first place saved in the databases itself where the screening of title, abstract and keywords was conducted. After the first selection, results were exported to Excel and discussed among a team of three researchers. Here, the articles were coded via next categories: Author(s), Year of Publication, Article Title, Source Title, Abstract, DOI, Type of article, Type of policy, Study, Unit of analysis, Social identities included, Methodologies, Theories and concepts, Aim of the study, Main results and Remarks. These categories were based on the research questions formulated earlier. The Excel-file with the final coded sample of included articles was then exported and analysed on MaxQDA to identify the main theories and concepts, the main results of the studies and the policy critiques and recommendations. The analysis was based on three research questions:

*RQ1: What are the main theories and concepts on intersectional equality policy in HE&R?*

*RQ2: What are the policy critiques and recommendations on (intersectional) equality policy in HE&R?*

*RQ3: What are the main knowledge gaps identified on intersectional equality policies in HE&R?*

# 4. Results



## Identification of documents via databases and registers

**Documents identified from\*:**
WEB OF SCIENCE 224
SCOPUS 285

(intersectional\* AND policy)
AND
("higher education" OR "STEM" OR "science")

**Documents removed** *before screening*:
Records marked as ineligible by automation tools (n = 0)
Records removed for other reasons (n = 0)

**Documents screened** (n = 509)

Documents excluded (n = 331)
Duplicate records removed (n = 61)

Setting outside HE&R 235
No focus on intersectionality 18
No focus on policy 18
Wrong study unit 41
Wrong study format 19

**Full text articles assessed for eligibility** (n = 117)

Documents excluded (n = 56)

Setting outside of HE or Research 15
No focus on intersectionality 5
No focus on policy 30
Wrong study unit 4
Wrong study format 2

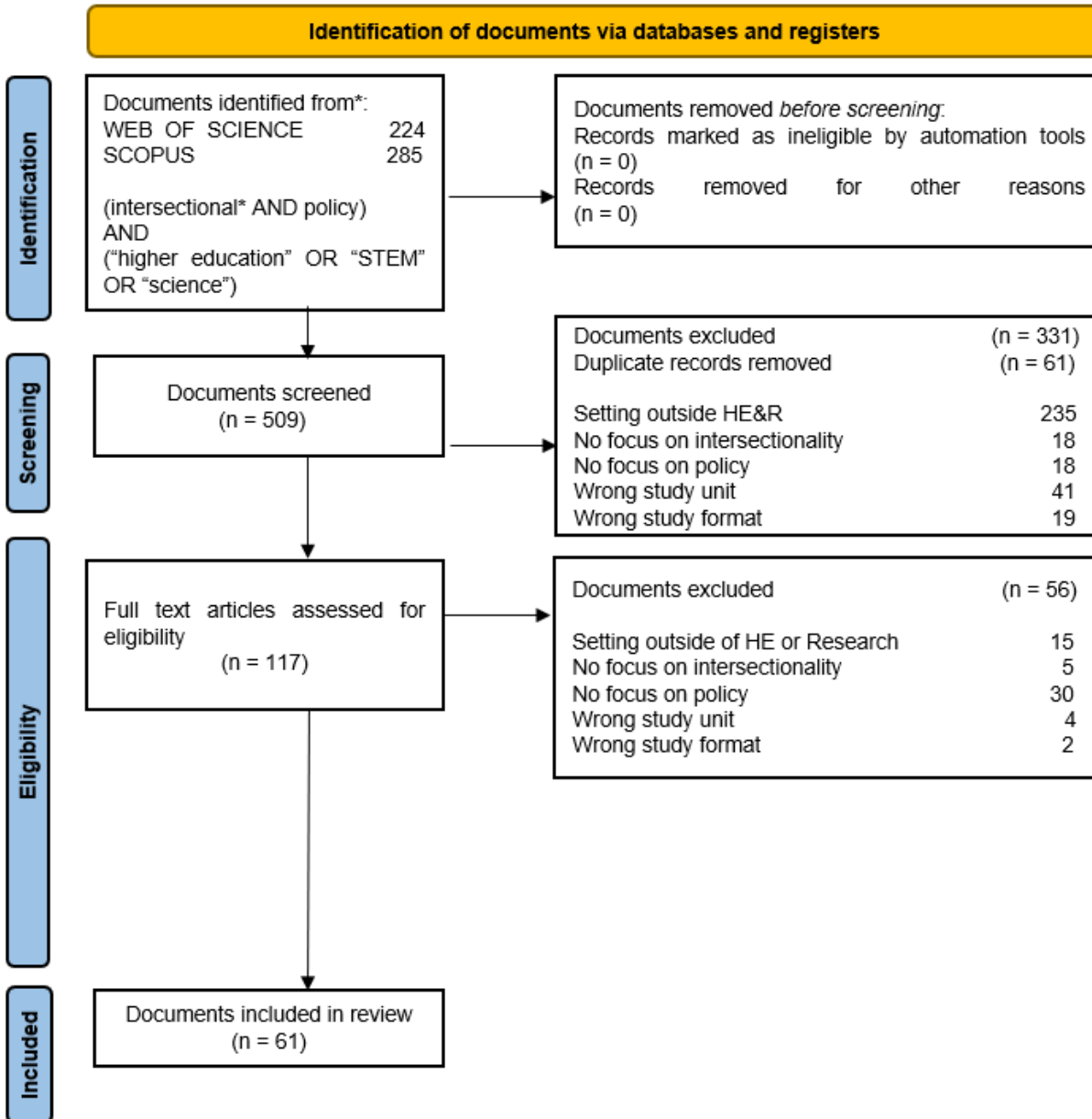**Documents included in review** (n = 61)

*Figure 1: Identification of documents via Web of Science and Scopus*

# 4.1 Characteristics of the included articles

A general overview of the 61 articles can be found in Appendix 1. The main information of each publication is provided, namely the name(s) of the author(s), the year of publication, the article's title, the study location, the intersectional approach, the social identities included in the article, the methodologies used and the aim of the study. Important to note here is that the social identities mentioned are the ones that the authors use themselves in their publications. This provides an insight into which social identities are more established and which identity categories still remain less theorised or even excluded (Tatli and Ozbilgin's 2012. In some studies, race and ethnicity were used interchangeably, while gender and sex are not. (Biological) sex was only seldom present and there seems to be a consensus on the use of gender as a social identity. Interestingly, gender identity and sexuality were only mentioned in studies of students and not of (academic) staff.

A first general characteristic of the included articles was the preference for qualitative methodologies that capture the lived experiences of intersecting inequalities of minoritised students and staff in HE&R organizations [fig. 2-3]. Twenty-five publications based on semi-structured and in-depth interviews that probe into the lived experiences of minoritised students, staff and academics were included. They form more than one third of the final sample of included articles. This is followed by eight empirical articles that conduct qualitative content analyses of (intersectional) equality policies and practices and formulating recommendations. Six articles were based on focus groups, in one case combined with in-depth interviews and in two other cases combined respectively with a survey and a survey and interviews. Five articles focused in-depth on the experiences of a small sample of academics via narrative inquiry. A total of eleven publications conducted quantitative surveys of which three as part of a mixed method approach including focus groups and interviews as mentioned before and two as part of a longitudinal study [4-5]. The remaining publications consisted of seven theoretical reflections on intersectional policies and six reviews: systematic, scoping and narrative reviews.



**TYPE OF STUDY**

- Mixed method 5% N=3
- Review 10% N=6
- Theoretical reflection 11% N=7
- Quantitative empirical study 13% N=8
- Qualitative empirical study 61% N=37

Legend: Qualitative empirical study · Quantitative empirical study · Theoretical reflection · Review · Mixed method
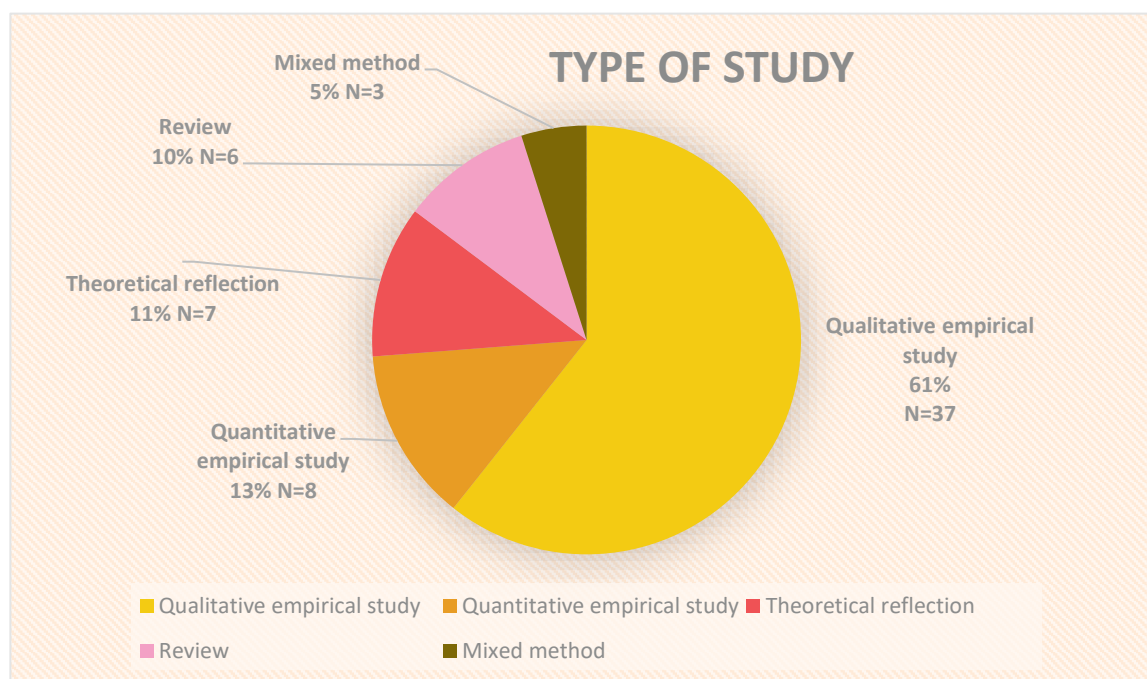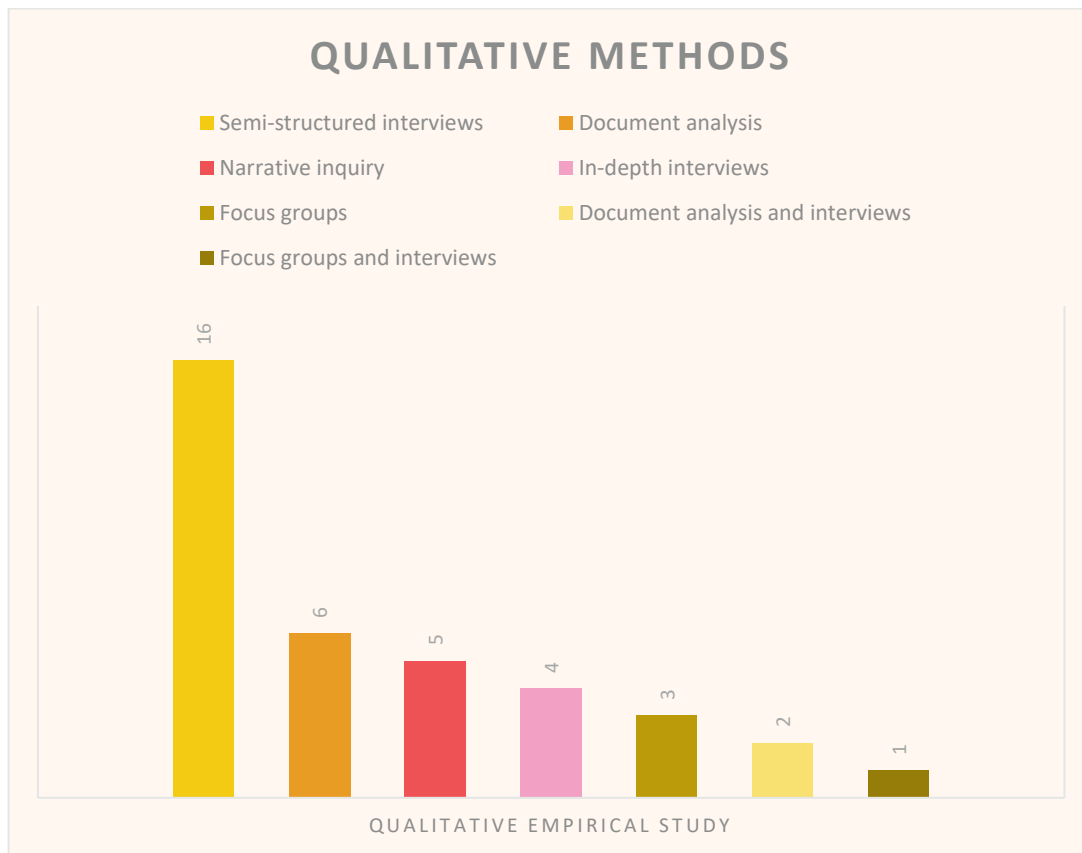
*Figure 2: Type of study total*
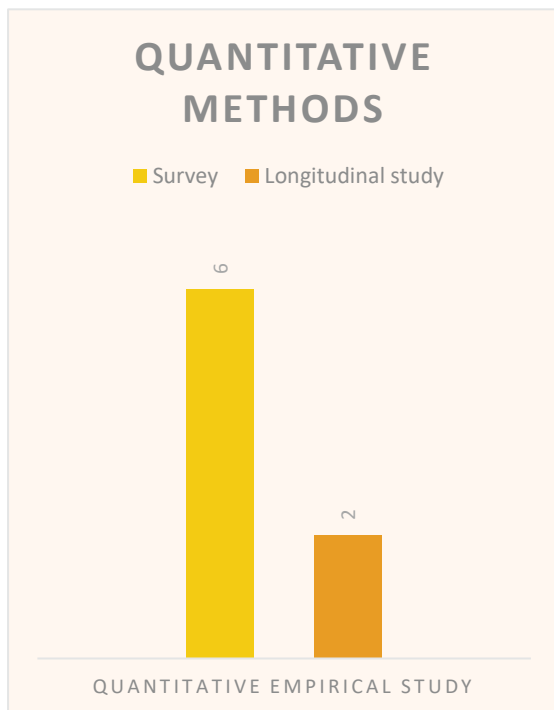
Figure 3: Type of qualitative methods



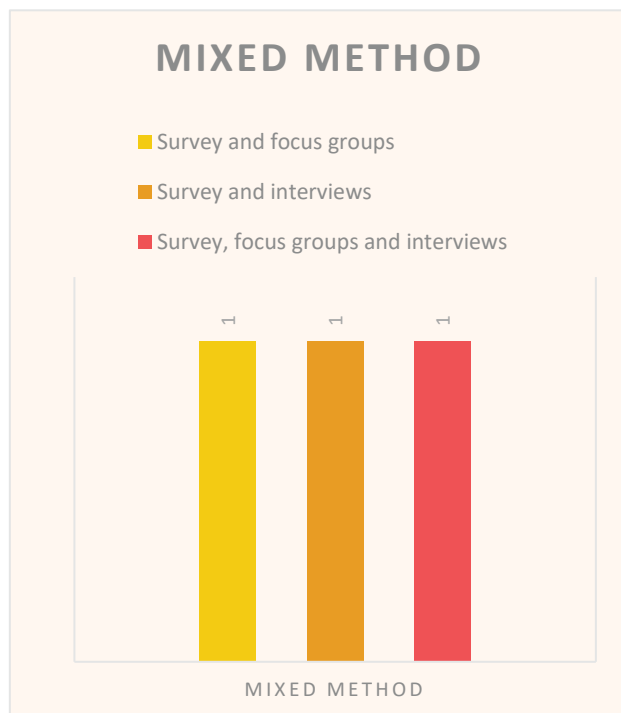Figure 4: Type of quantitative methods



Figure 5: Type of mixed methods

A second characteristic of the selected sample is that, although the starting date of the searches was set on 1989, the final sample only included studies published from 2007 onwards. This reflects the rather late adoption of the concept intersectionality in policy of HE&R [fig. 6]. If we take a closer look at specific time periods, a significant increase and evolving trend is visible between 2014 and 2020 with a peak in the last two years (n=40). Focusing on the theoretical versus empirical studies, we observed that the oldest included article of 2007 is a theoretical reflection and all but one of the quantitative studies included date from the last two years (2021 and 2022). The scoping literature review shows an increase in the scientific literature on intersectional policies in HE&R which emerged within more theoretical reflections, evolved in more qualitative studies and recently gained attention in more quantitative studies such as surveys and a longitudinal design.



*Figure 6: Year of publication*

A third characteristic of the included sample refers to social identities included in the identified studies. In all categories, the intersection of gender and race or ethnicity was prevailing. This intersection was complemented with class, sexual orientation and, to a lesser extent, disability [fig. 7]. This confirms Tatli and Ozbilgin's finding (2012) that intersectional analyses tend to build on identity categories of which most theorization is available on and leave other categories, in this case disability, ethnicity and sexual orientation as secondary categories or "add-ons" to the more traditional diversity strands. Although gender/race/class analyses are at the heart of intersectional pioneers, class or socio-economic status (SES) was rather marginally addressed. When taking a closer look at the differences between studies that focus on staff and studies that focus on students, it can be observed that the included identities are slightly different. In the literature focusing on academics' lived experiences, the main focus is gender. By contrast, in the studies where students form the unit of analysis, race surpasses gender as the most frequently studied social identity. This result was also indicated in Bourabain's (2022) study where she concludes that diversity policies often overlook the issues experienced by women of colour as academics.
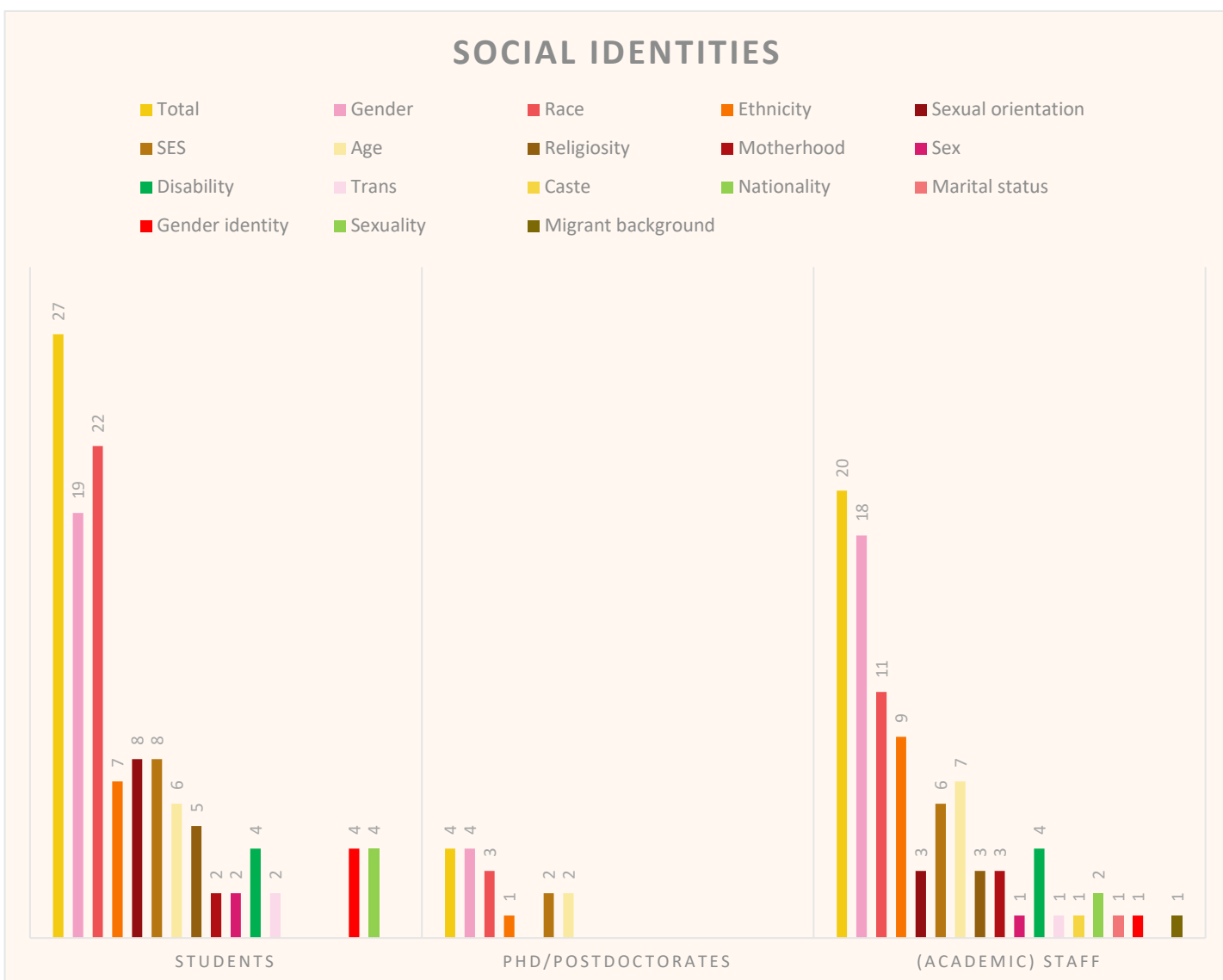
*Figure 7: Social identities included per target group*

A last clear-cut result of the scoping study was the geographical overrepresentation of studies from the Anglosphere, namely thirty-three studies originated from the United States of America (USA), followed by eleven articles from the United Kingdom (UK) and to a lesser extent Australia with four included articles and Canada with three [fig. 8-9]. South-Africa completes the top ranking with five articles. Although the EU is promoting the design of inclusive and intersectional GEPs, this scoping review shows that currently most literature is situated in non-EU contexts.

*Figure 8: Map of geographical distribution of studies on intersectional policies map*



*Figure 9: Geographical distribution of studies on intersectional policies*

## 4.2 Approaches to the study of HE&R equality policies
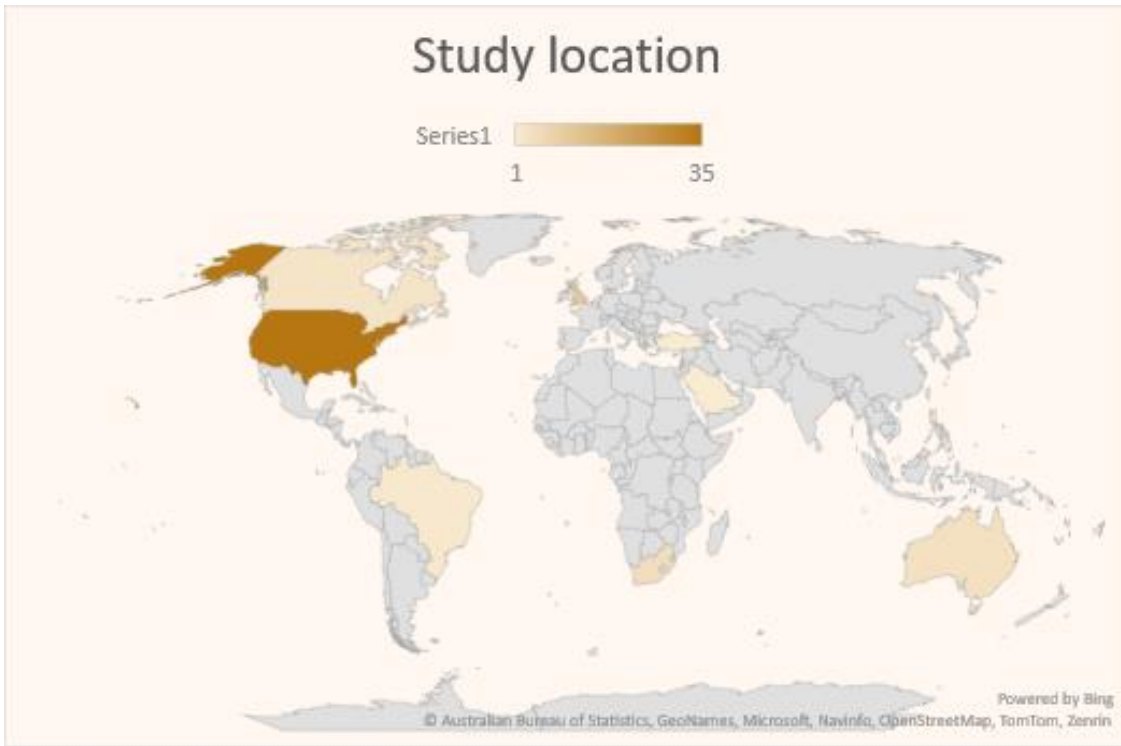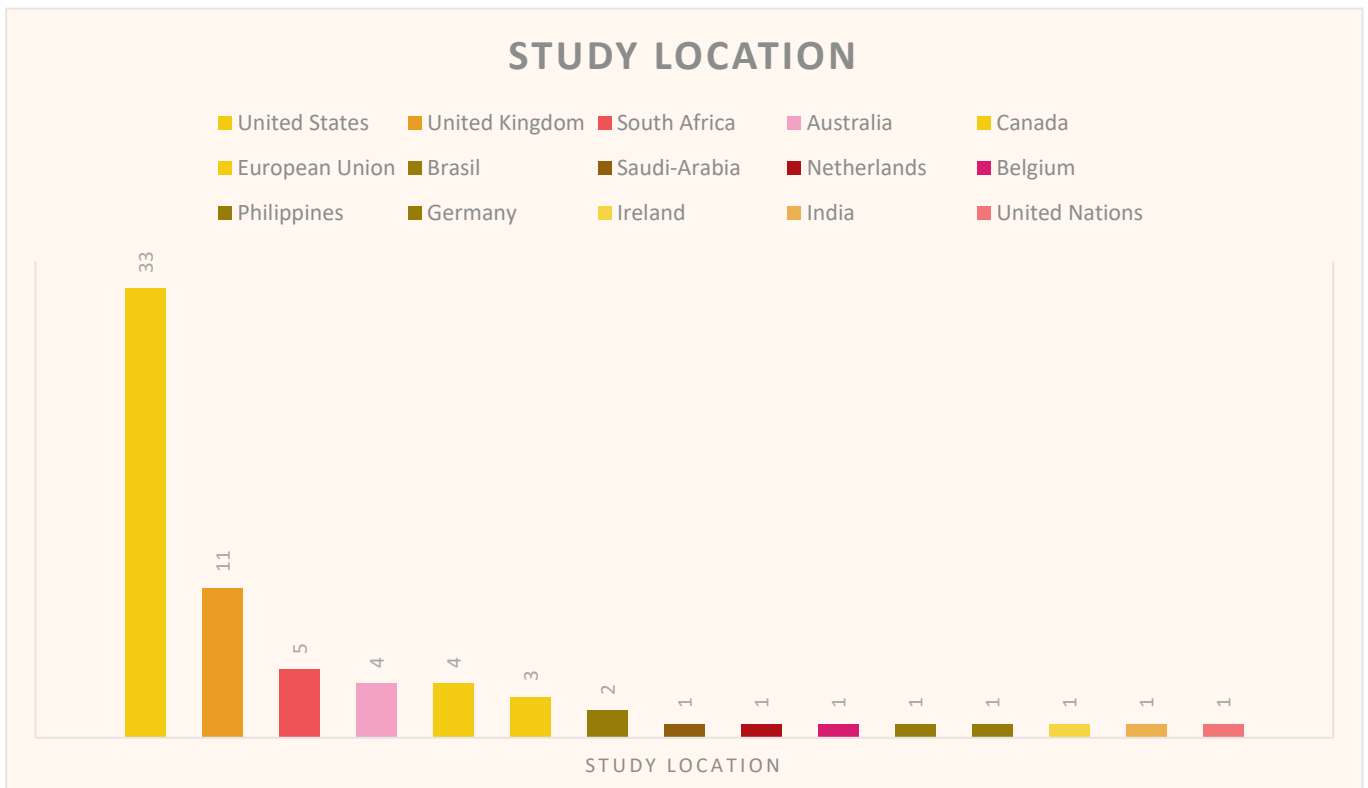
Different intersectional approaches were distinguished throughout the coding and analysing of the results in how scholars study the equality policies in HE&R. Forty articles approach intersectionality as a method to capture the lived experiences of intersecting inequalities and formulate recommendations based on these narratives concerning the (in)effectiveness of current equality policies. In twelve of the included articles, intersectionality was used as a critical tool to analyse equality policies in Higher Education and Research. Nine articles theoretically reflected on how an intersectional approach can be used to disrupt hegemonic ways of policymaking. Every approach ends with a section on the main policy recommendations and existing measures that were mentioned in the publications.

### 4.2.1. Intersectionality as method to capture lived experiences of intersecting inequalities

In the studies based on the lived experiences of students and staff from intersecting minoritised groups (N=40), intersectionality is predominantly linked to identity and sense of belonging. Identity is produced in social relations and connected to the interplay between individual and groups' intersecting identities. These identities can then form a base to experience systemic issues of discrimination when social relations create imbalanced power relations. Sense of belonging is closely related to one's identity and co-shapes a person's self-concept. The notion of self- concept often featured in the identified literature. It can be defined as "one's views of and beliefs about themselves that are shaped by their experiences and interactions with others and the ability to influence events that affect one's life and control over the way these events are experienced" (Parker et al. 2022, 2295). A sense of belonging is primarily linked to students and how feeling valued and encouraged can make them overcome barriers in Higher Education. Moreover, the more a student feels a sense of belonging in STEM or in academia, the more likely the student develops a science identity (Avraamidou 2022; Salmon 2022), rather than putting on the 'academic mask' to achieve success within these fields or institutions. The metaphor of masking is used to refer to the coping mechanism of Black women to counter stereotypes by complying to and assimilating with the academic culture (Rasheem and Brunson 2018).

One of the discrimination forms that was mentioned the most were microaggressions. Microaggressions, coined by psychologist Sue in 2007, referred in the publications to the different inequalities created by mutually shaping identity markers of race, class, gender, sexuality, nation, ability, ethnicity, and age. These differentiated experiences of inequality are shaped by whether and how they experience discrimination such as micro- and macro-aggressions and are directly linked to the sense of belonging. In a study focused on race and gender, Salmon (2022) defines microaggressions as "deniable acts of racism that reinforce pathological stereotypes and gender hierarchies". Rather than being overt and recognizable, they are covert and can be included in casual conversation. Although these aggressions may not rely on the conscious intent of the offender, they can be recognized as such by a victim who is aware of gender and racial stereotypes in that particular context. Microaggressions are cumulative, every day, and result in psychological and bodily trauma to victims (Salmon 2022, 3). Students and staff mostly experienced misrecognition (Belluigi and Thondhlana 2022; Salmon 2022; Blosser 2020; Porter et al. 2020) tokenization (Bourabain and Verhaeghe 2022; Cartwright et al. 2018) and sexist and racist stereotypical assumptions (Idahosa 2020; Mkhize 2022; Alwazzan and Rees 2016; Kalet et al. 2022). These microaggressions prove the interrelation of individual experiences and the wider organizational level that explicitly (dis)allow certain discriminatory behaviours, both covert and overt.

The lived experiences of minoritised students and staff are strongly dependent of the perceived campus climate. Evangelista et al. defined campus climate as "the cumulative attitudes, behaviors, and standards of employees and students concerning access for, inclusion of, and level of respect for individual and group needs, abilities, and potential" (2022, 4). As Ovink and Murrell (2022) show, universities have touted changes to improve student experiences through policies and programs. Nevertheless, many minoritised students still report challenging campus climates through the use of concepts such as chilly climate (Banda 2020; Ro and McIntosh 2016), male dominated culture (Alwazzan and Rees 2016), hostile climate (Jackson, Huang-Saad, and Mondisa 2021), sense of not belonging (Idahosa 2020) and feeling out of place (Avraamidou 2022). The respondents claimed that policies and practices can be a tool to raise awareness, but they cannot be approached via a single-axis analysis. Universities' structures were repeatedly experienced as discriminatory by individuals and groups with intersecting identities. Therefore, they must be connected to the larger social structures of privilege and power in which they are embedded and which policies currently reproduce and should eradicate.

## 4.2.1.1 Policy measures and recommendations

Community-building turns out to be a first recommendation to counter exclusionary practices at campuses. Most minoritised respondents indicated that identity-based organizations help students to make friends with peers who share similar life experiences. Finding friends who can relate to their struggles brings recognition and can give access to resources that they may not be aware of. These examples were based of on students' experiences and not of staff, with a special focus on trans students (Seelman 2014; Evangelista et al. 2022) and ethnic minoritised students (Jackson, Huang-Saad, and Mondisa 2021; Ovink and Murrell 2022; Blosser 2020). Spaces that are gender-inclusive (Avraamidou 2022; Kim and Aquino 2017) and safe (Seelman 2014) were a second way to build community. They could operate as "counterspaces" from the often white, heteronormative norm and negative climate (Blosser 2020). They could offer a place where minoritised students and staff could "express experiences of marginalization, success, and/or resilience freely and authentically" (Jackson, Huang-Saad, and Mondisa 2021). The general idea is that in organizations where institutional support and representation is lacking, gathering with peers not only creates visibility, but also increases the feeling of being valid and accepted within these institutions instead of having to assimilate or isolate.

A second recommendation foregrounds the hiring and promoting of employees with intersecting minoritised identities. Evangelista (2022) describes how Higher Education should operate as a "microcosm of society" to represent the intersectional reality. This would create empowerment through role models (Ovink and Murrell 2022; Nachatar Singh 2022) and incentivizes to broaden the curricula to reflect minoritised students' cultures and life experiences (Idahosa 2020; Duran, Pope, and Jones 2020; Kim and Aquino 2017; Seelman 2014; Salmon 2022). The diversification of the narratives told in these institutions on who belongs and who does not ultimately leads to more inclusion. While representation is often a measure that is included in diversity policies, it is limited to increase visibility and does not translate into political intersectionality. A political intersectional approach pleads for a diverse staff in all academic levels in order to increase the chances to push through intersectional needs beyond a bottom-up approach and trickle-down to policy measures. Moreover, research organizations that recruit and educate specialized counsellors can support academic careers that benefit less from the myth of merit and the norm of an "ideal academic". Although the availability of these services does not necessarily translate into more accessibility, diversifying and specializing support mechanisms could increase resilience and higher levels of sense of belonging to counter the negative climate and isolation or assimilation as coping mechanisms (Bhopal 2020; Evangelista et al. 2022). Examples that were mentioned were a better work-life balance for academics of colour (Bourabain and Verhaeghe 2022; Liani et al. 2021) as well as the need for students to increase a student/faculty interaction with staff that resemble them (Ro and McIntosh 2016; Parker et al. 2022; Banda 2020).

Regarding the policymakers, a third type of recommendations concerns the ways in which universities and research organizations can create awareness about specific issues that are not always raised. Frequent ways to do this were presented such as increasing the knowledge and cultural competence on sexual diversity (Kim and Aquino 2017; Seelman 2014), gender inequities in leadership (Thomas, Thomas, and Smith 2019), motherhood (Alwazzan and Rees 2016), cultural diversity (Ovink and Murrell 2022; Ro and McIntosh 2016; Bullington et al. 2022) and microaggressions by educating (privileged) staff on how to recognize and act upon them (Belluigi and Thondhlana 2022; Salmon, 2022.; Banda 2020; Cartwright et al. 2018). Others studies mention how intersectional equality policies should be designed as a tool for enhancing the sense of belonging of marginalized groups. Although workshops, training and programs are frequently mentioned as a way to achieve these goals, recent studies have proven them to be ineffective for structural change on different levels and for different actors (Dobbin and Kalev 2018). Effective measures mentioned include concrete actions such as holding perpetrators accountable of the negative experiences faced, having a clear procedure on intervention and prevention measures and providing financial and formal support.

## 4.2.2 Intersectionality as critical tool to analyse equality policies

In the publications that critically analyse equality policies in HE&R, intersectionality is mostly defined as a lens (Tauber 2022) or analytical tool (Galindo and Rodriguez 2015) to highlight the power relations that cause discrimination, (dis)advantages and exclusionary practices (Sabharwal, Henderson, and Joseph 2020; Wolbring and Lillywhite 2021). Although diversity also focuses on differences between individuals and groups, diversity policies and intersectional policies are not interchangeable. Contrary to intersectionality, diversity originated from management studies. Both mainstream diversity management scholars (Cox 2014; Robinson and Dechant 1997) and more critical management scholars (Holvino 2010; Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop, and Nkomo; Nkomo et al. 2019) debate on whether diversity should be managed because it is beneficial for increasing the excellence and competitiveness of organizations by expanding its talent pool (the so-called 'business case for diversity'), or to foster institutional change and equal opportunities as the morally right thing to do (the social justice case). Intersectionality on the contrary originates as a critical theory in its own right. Hence, the design and implementation of intersectional policies is rooted in the critical objective to include the needs of students and staff in HE&R with intersecting subordinate identities. Such policies are currently lacking and causing them to have lower career prospects, precarious positions and leave academia or the research field.

To understand the heterogeneity of lived experiences, an intersectional "sensibility" is needed (Healy, Bradley, and Forson 2011). One of the problems that Ruggi and Duvvury (2022) encountered was the claim of policies to have an intersectional approach while the focus remained on gender instead of tackling intersecting inequalities. Harpur, Scucs and Willox (2022) also noticed this intersectional gap in their quantitative analysis of 106 diversity and inclusion policies of Australian universities. Merely thirty-five plans mentioned intersectionality from which a few demonstrated enactments of this. The lack of an explicit commitment to intersectional inclusion in their policies (Harpur, Szucs, and Willox 2022) causes "intersectional" policies to merely be an additive exercise instead of tackling the constitutive nature of inequalities. Galindo and Rodriguez (2015) also conclude in their analysis of Higher Education policies in the EU that the absence of collecting data on student's specific identity markers makes it harder to design a standardized system to measure inclusion. This was mentioned to reproduce the claims of white, middle-class women instead of being truly inclusive.

On the contrary, the UK framework for equality Athena SWAN is mentioned multiple times to be a good example for the translation of intersectionality into policy and practice. Specifically due to the introduction of intersectionality to its policy in 2015 as "people's identities are shaped by several factors at the same time, creating unique experiences and perspectives. These factors include among others age, disability, gender identity, race, religion and belief, and sexuality (Athena SWAN 2015, 35). Other success factors are ascribed due to the fact that their "intersectionality plans include

the presence of intersectional KPIs, intersectional action items, multiple diversity teams or leaders responsible for KPIs" (Harpur, Scucs, and Willox 2022, 11).

## 4.2.2.1 Policy measures and recommendations

Gender equality policies and gender equality work are established and in many countries, often due to existing legislation imposing them. This is less the case when it is about diversity and inclusion policies in research organizations. Although there is a rise of the design and implementation of diversity and inclusion policies, diversity is often considered as an endless list of differences (Klein 2016). This approach does not result in institutions' commitments and remains stuck in the HR-silo (Bourabain and Verhaeghe 2022). If policies are present, they do not always translate into (effective) action measures and zero-tolerance policies (Idahosa 2020; Tauber 2022). This negates the actual purpose and could cause reversed effects which favours the needs and opportunities of the dominant groups in the long term.

A first recommendation mentioned is how HE&R organizations need to conduct more evidence-based research on the specific "intersectional needs" in their institutions to develop their policies. As the results show, there is an increased awareness towards individuals' experiences of discrimination in HE&R, as well as increasing research and knowledge on their needs. What is missing, is the willingness to translate these needs into policy, leading to what Tauber (2022) names a policy-practice gap. The absence of a regular mechanism for collecting data on discrimination grounds of their students and staff makes it harder to design a standardized system to measure inclusion and translate this into policy (Galindo and Rodriguez 2015). Issues such as work-life balance was at multiple times mentioned, especially for mothers who stated that flexibility is needed for them to stay in academia or STEM (Westoby et al. 2021; Ruggi and Duvvury, 2022; Healy, Bradley, and Forson 2011).

A second recommendation formulates that workshops and training are insufficient if they aim for a one-size-fits-all approach. In the first place, building evidence-based knowledge should raise awareness on intersecting inequalities. Identified barriers such as a lack of diverse leadership positions (Wolbring and Lillywhite 2021; Ruggi and Duvvury, 2022), imbalances in representation (Sabharwal, Henderson, and Joseph 2020), and cultural competency (Roskin-Frazee 2020) cannot be limited to mentoring programs or trainings that encourage minoritised staff to leadership or management positions and increase cultural competency via workshops. Intersectional equality should be considered as and reflected in the policies as a shared responsibility that goes beyond targeting women or targeting minoritised students and staff (Klein 2016).

## 4.2.3 Intersectionality to theoretically reflect on how to disrupt the hegemonic policymaking

Previous studies show that intersectionality is used to both understand the lived experiences of minoritised students and staff in HE&R and to analyse HE&R's equality policies. In the theoretical studies, it is also described as a paradigm (Hancock 2007), perspective (Deem, Case, and Nokkala 2022) and a research framework (Zambrana and Dill 2009) that connects knowledge on intersecting categories of difference from academia, (public) policy and social justice. Attention is rising to include the resistances that occur in HE&R which were historically built to be hierarchical. Nevertheless, the growing attention to move towards an intersectional analysis to inequalities is a call to action. In the article of 2007, Hancock denounces that there is "an imbalance between the plethora of theoretical studies and the relative paucity of empirical work in intersectionality" (2007, 66). Despite the review's focus on intersectional policies rather than on intersectionality, there is an increase visible in the empirical work on intersectionality too.

As a theory, intersectionality expands beyond traditional paradigms that assume group uniformity logics based on identity categories. Intersectionality critiques this in-group essentialism. It aims to acknowledge the silenced intersecting forms of discrimination and oppression in structures such as science and academia (Deem, Case, and Nokkala 2022). CRT was at

multiple occasions mentioned as a theory that gains increasing attention in higher education research on what inclusivity means and should be in this context (Stewart and Nicolazzo 2018; Deem, Case, and Nokkala 2022).

CRT gained attention in the 1970's as a critical theory, when (legal) scholars and activists recentralized race to combat the more subtle forms of discrimination and colour-blindness that was gaining ground (Delgado and Stefancic 2011). Intersectionality is rooted in CRT as it exposes the power relations that are reproduced in the interplay between individual social identities and social structures and how they mutually shape themselves. CRT centres the experiences of Black students and how processes of multiple discrimination and oppression differs to white students. It challenges which narratives are dominant in a certain space and leads to both privileges and oppression, by questioning the meritocratic principle on which higher education is currently built on (Belluigi and Thondhlana 2022; Ovink and Murrell 2022; Blosser 2020).

Despite the increasing attention of intersectionality, theoretical reflections such as those of Deem, Case and Nokkala (2022) and Gibson (2015) show that the meaning of concepts  over time and new theories and methodologies become commonplace. The concept of inclusion is a good example of how its initial focus lied in disability studies yet has expanded to include other disadvantaged or discriminated social and cultural groups. Some have observed that it has evolved to align more with the aim of intersectionality and more critical theories such as Black Feminist Thought that in turn have established itself in higher education research (Stewart and Nicolazzo 2018; Coleman, Wallace, and Means 2020). Gibson (2015) also noticed the evolution from inclusion to an intersectional approach to meet the different cultural needs the education system now fails to engage with. It therefore remains crucial to stay reflective and aware of the main tenets of implementing an intersectional approach.

## 4.2.3.1 Policy measures and recommendations

As Hancock claims, "who is at issue matters as much as what is at stake" (2007, 65). A first recommendation was to design and implement intersectional policies that prevent practices to only strengthen the needs of dominant groups, leaving those on the margins excluded (Gibson 2015). Issues of Blackness and whiteness were especially described as non-detachable from the way HE&R is shaped by structural forms of oppression such as racism, xenophobia, patriarchy, sexism, classism, ableism, ageism, religious hegemony, trans- and homophobia, other forms of oppression, and the intersection of these oppressions. The studies put into question who makes the policy and who should versus who does benefit from it (Seelman 2014; Belluigi and Thondhlana 2022). By putting the 'blame' on the oppressive structures instead of the individuals, it tilts the accountability to the white, abled, middle class and heteronormative norms in institutions, avoiding to create a hierarchy of social identities between minorities – in intersectional literature labelled as "Oppression Olympics" (Kantola and Nousiainen 2009).

A second recommendation discusses the way in tackling intersectional inequality should not be reduced to an individual responsibility. The accountability of implementing intersectional equality measures should be considered as a shared responsibility. This reduces the burden that target groups mentioned when they feel responsible for raising awareness on diversity and inclusion matters. A third recommendation discusses how resistances from dominant groups in terms of gender, race and sexual orientation complicates the approach of power relations in HE&R. Examples that were given were the resistance of safe spaces for women of colour by white women who felt uncomfortable with the idea of exclusionary safe spaces (Ovink and Murrell 2022), or the difficulty for queer students of colour to be understood by white queer club organization when a racial incident happens that is both racial and LGBTQ+ related (Duran, Pope, and Jones 2020). Although these examples could easily be reduced to examples of "Oppression Olympics" where minoritised groups compete against each other, it is important to acknowledge these complexities. To counter this, the results foregrounded a dialogue between different stakeholders with diverse backgrounds and in dissimilar power positions (Gibson 2015; Deem, Case, and Nokkala 2022)

## 4.3 Limitations

The scoping review maps which scientific literature is available on intersectional approaches on the study of HE&R policies. However, some limitations need to be clarified in order to contextualize the results. A first limitation concerns the exclusion of sources that fall outside of the scope of scientific literature such as policy documents, tools and grey literature. Since empirical research on how to translate an intersectional approach to policies is rather novel, the primary focus was to investigate how broad the current research topic actually is. Due to the European Union's recent strategy to adopt an inclusive and intersectional approach to R& policies, it could be relevant to investigate the policy documents and tools that are already available. A second and third limitation are a consequence of the choice of keywords. The use of "intersectional*" as a keyword in the title, abstract of keywords could have excluded articles that analyse equality policies that are intersectional but do not name it that way (yet). A last limitation is caused by English keywords only, this could have created the Anglosphere bias that was explicit in the results. This is something to keep in mind despite the fact that two Spanish articles were included and contexts outside of the US and UK were included as well.

# 5. Conclusion

The scoping literature review identified a slow but steady rise of research on the use of intersectionality in equality policies of HE&R. The results were based on 61 scientific publications retrieved from Web of Science and Scopus between November 2022 and January 2023. From 2014 onwards, increasing attention is paid in the literature to diversity issues and sense of belonging, with a significant increase from 2020 onwards (n=40). This is especially the case in the United States, followed by the other countries in the Anglosphere with the exception of South-Africa. Race and gender are the most prevailing intersecting identity categories, followed by class, sexual orientation and, to a lesser extent, disability. This is slightly different between studies that focused on the experiences of students and those of staff. In the first studies, race surpasses gender as a category of analysis and gender identity and sexuality were mentioned whereas in the latter, they are not included and the main focus is gender. This shows that issues experienced by academics who are women of colour and intersecting identities which go beyond the traditional diversity strands are still too often overlooked (Bourabain and Verhaeghe 2022; Tatli and Özbilgin 2012).

Three intersectional approaches were identified to the study of HE&R equality policies. First, qualitative methods such as interviews and narrative inquiries reveal how students and staff who experience intersecting inequalities have different experiences of inclusion and exclusion than dominant groups on how HE&R is structured. Hence, despite the increased research on this topic, intersectional minoritised groups mentioned a high sense of not belonging in science and a negative self-concept, feelings of deficiency and the need to 'put on an academic mask', leading to isolation, the pressure to assimilate or underreporting of discriminatory behaviour. Through the lived experiences of those for whom the intersectional policies should be effective, high levels of microaggressions, a lack of hiring and retention of role models, unrepresentative curricula, lack of accountability measures towards perpetrator and lacking support mechanisms such as financial support for community building and safe spaces hamper the diversity and inclusion it claims to foster. Secondly, the studies which analyse equality policies advocated for a clear statement of what policy measures are taken to tackle the intersecting inequalities and to follow this up by concrete actions. Recruiting, hiring and promoting staff from underrepresented groups at all levels leads to a greater sense of belonging and empowerment. Yet, representation alone is insufficient. Clear financial and formal support mechanisms would increase the accountability of the organization and could be used for community-building. Thirdly, theoretical reflections question who designs the policy and who does the policy include. As Higher Education and Research organizations are knowledge gatekeepers and knowledge producers that inform the agenda of policies, there is a need to understand which discrimination processes occur in the policymaking processes. Too often, target groups feel like they are responsible for educating on diversity and inclusion via mentoring and trainings while it should be a shared responsibility. A recurring critique was the underexposure of a white norm in universities alongside the male-dominated space. Many scholars therefore denounce the assumed sameness of gender equality policy with intersectional equality policy.

Based on this review, there are three knowledge gaps identified. First, there is still a need for more research that goes beyond a focus on gender, and that includes the experiences and intersectional needs of minoritised students and staff in the policymaking process of HE&R. The first step is to increase knowledge on intersecting identities via evidence-based research in order to understand which specific discriminations they face such as microaggressions and which specific needs to include such as community-building in the design and implementation of equality policies. Since some Member States have restricting policies concerning this, the collection of sensitive data (Makkonen 2016) such as race/ethnicity, disability, religiosity, sexual orientation needs to be carefully discussed. If not, this could maintain the compartmentalization of multiple discriminations into separate anti-discrimination, gender equality and diversity and inclusion policies, leaving those on the margins excluded.

Second, there is a need for more research that includes and, at the same time, goes beyond the individual level. Individual experiences lie at the heart of an intersectional analysis. Black Feminist Thought underlines the prominence to include the voices of marginalized groups such as Black women and acknowledge their experiences of oppression as valid forms of expertise (Collins 1990; Rasheem and Brunson 2018; Porter et al. 2020). In addition to this, we argue that there is a need for an increasing understanding in the way (intersectional) equality policies are designed and implemented. While individual experiences are crucial to envision intersectional policies, only focusing on them does not allow us to fully grasp the interpersonal and structural levels of oppression, privilege and their mutual interactions.

Third, there is a need for more attention to the way policy design and implementation processes can be made more constructive, collaborative and inclusive. To make Higher Education and Research organizations truly inclusive, the results showed how a multistakeholder approach and dialogue (both horizontally and vertically) between students, staff and management of diverse backgrounds forces to take intersectionality as a shared responsibility instead of an extra burden to diversity students and staff. This tilts the accountability to the oppressive structures that (re)produce the "ideal academic norm" rather than on individuals. By better understanding the design and implementation processes of (intersectional) equality policies and practices, the complexities of approaching power relations from a intersectional approach and the need for within-group differences can be addressed and tackled.

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# Glossary

| Concept | Definition |
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| *Structural intersectionality* | "The analysis of the overlapping structures of subordination revealed how certain groups of women were made particularly vulnerable to abuse and were also vulnerable to inadequate interventions that failed to take into account the structural dimensions of the context. Structural intersectionality helps reveal how power works in diffuse and differentiated ways through the creation and deployment of overlapping identity categories." (Crenshaw 1989) |
| *Political intersectionality* | "This reflects a dual concern for resisting the systemic forces that significantly shape the differential life chances of intersectionality's subjects and for reshaping modes of resistance beyond allegedly universal, single-axis approaches. Political intersectionality provides a praxis orientation to the insights of structural intersectionality by offering a framework for contesting power and thereby linking theory to existent and emergent social and political struggles." (Crenshaw 1989) |
| *Representational intersectionality* | "How the production of images of women of color and the contestations over those images tend to ignore the intersectional interests of women of color. An analysis of what may be termed "representational intersectionality" would include both the ways in which these images are produced through a confluence of prevalent narratives of race and gender, as well as a recognition of how contemporary critiques of racist and sexist representation marginalize women of color. An intersectional analysis argues that racial and sexual subordination are mutually reinforcing, that Black women are commonly marginalized by a politics of race alone or gender alone, and that a political response to each form of subordination must at the same time be a political response to both." (Crenshaw 1989) |
| *Matrix of domination* | "Domination operates by seducing, pressuring or forcing African-American women and members of subordinated groups to replace individual and cultural ways of knowing with the dominant group's specialized thought. The oppressor is deeply rooted within each of us. Three levels as sites of domination. Firstly, individual consciousness and the willingness of the victim to collude in her of his own victimization. Secondly, the cultural context in which each individual biography is rooted in several overlapping cultural contexts. Dominant groups aim to replace subjugated knowledge with their own specialized thought to simplify control as infusion into the everyday cultural context of others. Lastly, the social institutions that expose the dominant group's standpoint and interests. While they offer literacy and can be used for empowerment, they require docility and passivity." (Collins 1991) |
| *Multiple inequalities* | "Multiple inequalities move from a predominant focus on gender inequality, towards critique on the assumed similarity of inequalities, the need for structural approaches and the political competition between inequalities." (Verloo 2006) |
| *Identity politics* | "Due to common experiences such as institutionalized discrimination, legalized marginalization, or sociopolitically sanctioned violence, political actors who shared the same racial, gender, or class identity logically envisioned these shared experiences as a basis for collective politics. From the normative point of view, intersectionality has emerged as a compelling critique of this group unity equals group uniformity logic. Marginalizing those group members who differ in other aspects of their identity, enforcing silence of sub-group members in an effort to present a united front." (Hancock 2007) |
| *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion (EDI)/Diversity, Equity and Inclusion (DEI)* | "The aim of EDI is to increase "research excellence, innovation and creativity within the post-secondary sector across all disciplines" to strengthen "the research community, the quality, relevance and impact of research and the opportunities for the full pool of potential participants" (Wolbring and Lillywhite 2021) |

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| *Diversity management* | "These discourse analytic studies make a major two-fold contribution to diversity research. First, they de-essentialize the notion of diversity by showing that demographic characteristics are not just given, but rather socially constructed. Second, they counter the rhetoric of diversity as a positive, empowering discourse stressing individuals' different capacities by illustrating how managerial discourses of diversity operate as control mechanisms. Specifically, they indicate that these discourses control by defining minority employees in terms of fixed, essential group characteristics with negative connotations and by deploying such differences to reach institutional goals." (Zanoni and Janssens 2007) |
| *Inequality regime* | "Intersectionality as a way to conceptualize the complex interweaving of analytically separated processes. Gendering processes could be expanded to combine it with racializing and class creating processes. Racial definitions, exclusions and inclusions, are created in the same organizing processes that also create and recreate gender inclusions and exclusions, resulting in a much more complicated picture of differences and inequities." (Acker 2012) |
| *Critical Race Theory* | "Critical Race Theory thinks about the relationships between social identity and social structures, and the ways in which power is re/produced in different forms through the coupling of race and space (Annamma, Jackson, and Morrison 2017). Within CRT, it is argued that identity differences (race, gender, ethnicity, etc.) are influenced by space – where one's social location, within varying contextual intersections of difference, can condition one's experience and interpretation of space (Gillborn 1995, Belluigi and Thondhlana 2022) |
| *Power relations* | "Power relations—the ability of dominant groups to assert their will or preferences—are central to our understanding of intersectionality. They are the means by which marginal social categories form and that which maintains them. The simultaneity (Holvino, 2010) of these processes—the production and institutionalization of inequality—is also fundamental. They are what distinguish intersectionality from approaches that acknowledge multiple categories but as parallel forms of inequality." (Breslin, Pandey, and Riccucci 2017) |
| *Agency* | "According to Giddens (1984), agency concerns an individual's ability 'to act otherwise', to intervene in the world or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs. In particular, agency refers to human beings' double capability to be reflexive about their situation – their 'discursive consciousness' – and to act upon it to 'make a difference'. It therefore entails the ability to exercise some sort of power, although agents are always and everywhere 'acting within historical specific bounds of the unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences of their acts' (Giddens, 1982, p. 222). In this perspective, agency and structure are linked in the recursive process of structuration, whereby rules and resources (structure) both constrain and enable knowledgeable human agents' action producing social systems. (Zanoni and Janssens 2007) |
| *Privilege* | "Groups with privileged identities are granted special rights or advantages in society based solely on the nature of their identities. Privileged identity groups establish norms for accepted behaviours, have access to greater opportunities for success, and possess power over marginalized groups. (Rodriguez et al. 2016) Privilege is not simply an absence of the disadvantages experienced by marginalized and minoritized persons; it involves distinct opportunities and benefits that only members of that group have full access to." (Cech 2022) |

# Appendix 1

| Authors | Year | Article Title | Study location | Social identities included | Methodologies | Aim of the study |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Alwazzan, L; Rees, CE** | 2016 | Women in medical education: views and experiences from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia | Saudi-Arabia | Gender, nationality and motherhood | Narrative inquiry | This study aims to explore women's views and experiences of academic medicine in the KSA. Specifically, it addresses the following research questions. (1) What are KSA participants' views and experiences of career progression and leadership? (2) What are their beliefs and experiences of gendered work-place cultures? (3) How do they talk about their career progression and leadership? |
| **Auad, D; Cordeiro, ALA** | 2018 | A interseccional idade nas políticas de ação afirmativa como medida de democratizaçãoda educação superior INTERSECTIONALITY IN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICIES AS A DEMOCRATIZATION MEASURE OF HIGHER EDUCATION | Brasil | Gender, race and sexual orientation | Semi-structured interviews and document analysis of affirmatve action policies | The objective of this article is to analyse factors that interfere in the permanence of lesbian quotartes black women and bisexual quotaters black women as well as reflect on the confrontation with the violence that affects them physically, materially and psychologically towards access to material and symbolic goods in the University and in other social spheres. |
| **Avraamidou, L** | 2022 | Identities in/out of physics and the politics of recognition | Netherlands | Gender, race, religious identity, social class identity (SES), and motherhood | Semi-structured interviews | In this study, I aim to examine the role of recognition in the formation of physics-identity, as a discipline-specific identity. Forming a discipline-specific identity deserves further attention because of the unique cultural characteristics of physics in comparison to other scientific fields, namely being the most male-dominated and the least ethnically and religiously diverse STEM field. I aim to examine how physics identity intersects with race, gender, social class, religion, and ethnic/cultural identity. My goal is to complement the existing knowledge base on physics identity with a broader intersectional exploration of recognition across time and place, which goes beyond gender and race to include religious identity, social class identity, and motherhood. |
| **Banda, RM** | 2020 | From the inside looking out: Latinas intersectionality and their engineering departments | US | Gender, race and socio-economic status | Semi-structured interviews | This study unveils how Latinas experience their intersectionality within their respective engineering department– this is what Latinas view from the inside looking out. |

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| **Belluigi, DZ; Thondhlana, G** | 2022 | 'Your skin has to be elastic': the politics of belonging as a selected black academic at a 'transforming' South African university | South-Africa | Gender and race | Mixed method: Online survey and focus groups | This study has aimed to identify the systemic nature of racism in these professional development initiatives in the South African academy, which have been mainstreamed despite the prevalence of current decolonising and democratising rhetoric in the sector. Emerging from this analysis of the experiences of macroaggressions within Fellows' experiences, are the consequences of a hidden curriculum of professional formation and socialisation in an HWI that by and large infantilises, domesticates, depoliticises and displaces the urgency for substantive change of the academy. |
| **Bhopal, K** | 2020 | Gender, ethnicity and career progression in UK higher education: a case study analysis | UK | Gender and ethnicity | Semi-structured interviews | The aim of the study was to use case study data to explore how gender and ethnicity had an impact on the career experiences of women (academic and professional staff) working in one university. The objectives of the study were: 1. To examine the impact of the 'glass ceiling' effect for women; 2. To explore the effects of specific support for women for promotion to senior levels and 3. To determine whether specific gender initiatives affected staff retention. |
| **Blosser, E** | 2020 | An examination of Black women's experiences in undergraduate engineering on a primarily white campus: Considering institutional strategies for change | UK | Gender and race | Semi-structured interviews | The specific purpose of this study is to explore the following questions: (a) How does the educational environment in engineering marginalize Black women in ways that are beyond their control? (b) How can institutions transform their policies and practices to improve Black women's experiences and participation in engineering? |
| **Bourabain, D; Verhaeghe, PP** | 2022 | Shiny on the Outside, Rotten on the Inside? Perceptions of Female Early Career Researchers on Diversity Policies in Higher Education Institutions | Flemish-speaking Belgium | Gender and ethnicity | In-depth interviews | The aim of this paper is to look into the experiences and perceptions of female academics with an ethnic minority and majority background on their university's diversity policies. We use the terminology of diversity policies instead of equality policies to make the transformations HEI have made in accordance to the content and connotation of equality explicit. |
| **Bullington, KE; Bills, KL; Thomas, DJ; Nuckols, WL** | 2022 | Above Average Student Loan Debt for Students with Disabilities Attending Postsecondary Institutions | US | Gender and race | Survey | With an increased reliance on student loans to finance higher education, this double-at-risk population is even more vulnerable than either Black or disabled students individually. This study examines whether there is an additional debt burden to this intersectional population. |

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| **Cartwright, AD; Avent-Harris, JR; Munsey, RB; Lloyd-Hazlett, J** | 2018 | Interview Experiences and Diversity Concerns of Counselor Education Faculty From Underrepresented Groups | US | Gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation | Semi structured interviews | The authors used transcendental phenomenology to explore the campus interview experiences and diversity concerns of counselor education faculty from underrepresented populations. In the current study, we used the term underrepresented to refer to faculty who identify with populations that are not considered majority identities or that have historically been less visible (e.g., women, ethnic/racial minorities, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender)in academic positions |
| **Cech, EA** | 2022 | The intersectional privilege of white able-bodied heterosexual men in STEM | US | Gender, race, sexual identity and disability status | Survey | This study investigated a foundational question of STEM inequality scholarship: Are White-abled heterosexual men (WAHM) uniquely privileged in STEM compared with those who occupy different gender, racial/ethnic, LGBTQ status, and/or disability status categories? |
| **Chambers, CR; Freeman, S** | 2020 | To Be Young, Gifted, and Black: The Relationship between Age and Race in earning Full Professorships | US | Race, gender and age | Semi-structured interviews | The purpose of this study was to investigate the experiences of seven young black faculty who attained the rank of full professor before age 45 and whether their pathways to full were challenged because of their age. |
| **Coleman, RD; Wallace, JK; Means, DR** | 2020 | Questioning a Single Narrative: Multiple Identities Shaping Black Queer and Transgender Student Retention | US | Gender, racial, and sexual identities | Systematic literature review | The goals of this inquiry were to disrupt the erasure of queer and transgender experiences from Black student retention discourses and to address the ways scholars have erased Black racial identity from broader queer and transgender student retention literature. |
| **Colpitts, EM** | 2022 | 'Not even close to enough:' sexual violence, intersectionality, and the neoliberal university | Canada | Gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation | Semi-structured interviews | This article responds to a gap in the existing literature by critically analysing how universities are engaging with intersectionality in their responses to sexual violence. While universities' responses have been characterised as progressive and inclusive based on these references to intersectionality, my findings demonstrate that they often fail to translate into practice. As such, I argue that these references to intersectionality are best understood as 'ornamental' (Bilge 2013) rather than as genuine commitments to addressing how sexual violence is produced and sustained through existing institutional power arrangements. |

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| **Day, JK; Goldberg, AE; Toomey, RB; Beemyn, G** | 2022 | Associations Between Trans-Inclusive Resources and Feelings of Inclusion in Campus LGBTQ plus Groups: Differences for Trans Students of Color | US | Gender and racial identities and trans students | Online survey | This study enhances understanding of both the broad impact of higher institutions' policies and practices for improving school climates for all students, and limitations of these approaches for trans, nonbinary, and gender nonconforming students of color. |
| **Duran, A; Pope, RL; Jones, SR** | 2020 | The Necessity of Intersectionality as a Framework to Explore Queer and Trans Student Retention | US | Gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, faith and social class | Theoretical reflection | In this article, we make the case for an intersectional perspective to promote a deeper understanding of the complexities of queer and trans students' experiences relative to retention. Limited research exists that specifically addresses queer and trans student retention, and the scholarship that does exist tends to treat queer and trans students as a monolithic group |
| **Evangelista, ZM; Lido, C; Swingler, M; Bohan, J** | 2022 | Exploring LGBT plus campus climate in the UK and Philippines: How prejudice and belonging shape inclusion in higher education | Philippines and UK | Sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) (smaller focus on ethnicity and religious affiliation) | Mixed method: Survey and focus groups and interviews | Through a mixed-method comparative study of two national contexts, the present research aimed to produce a nuanced picture of LGBT+ campus climates and provide recommendations for LGBT+ inclusive policy and practice in higher education. We examined LGBT+ campus climates across a range of HEIs in two different settings, the less-researched, traditionally religious context of the Philippines (UNDP-USAID, 2014) and the more widely researched, liberal context of the UK (ILGA-Europe, 2015-2018). |
| **Fay, DL; Fryar, AH; Meier, KJ; Wilkins, V** | 2021 | Intersectionality and equity: Dynamic bureaucratic representation in higher education | US | Race/ethnicity (White, Black and Latinx) and sex | Longitudinal study via survey | This study examined two theoretically central questions to the study of representation. First, does the match between intersectionality of the representatives (the supply of representative) and the represented (the demand for representation) matter in terms of policy outcomes? Second, does representation always seek advantage or might it pursue equity? |
| **Galindo, MZ; Rodriguez, RR** | 2015 | POLICIES FOR SOCIAL INCLUSION AND EQUITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN EUROPE | EU | Sex, age, disability, socioeconomic status, race or ethnicity | Document analysis of European policies | This paper offers a look at the current available data at the European level on the results of the implementation of European policies during the last decade concerning participation in higher education. Increases and possible decreases in access will be taken into consideration, as well as the economic and social factors that could affect access. The paper advocates for the use of an intersectional approach for the differentiated identification of specific groups at risk of |

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| **Gibson, S** | 2015 | When rights are not enough: What is? Moving towards new pedagogy for inclusive education within UK universities | UK | Disability (elaborating from gender, race, class) | Theoretical reflection | This paper engages with the ubiquitous and complex question of 'IE' in the UK with specific reference to the intersectionality of 'disability' and its location within the University. It will problematise the UK rights agenda of the 1980s–1990s, locate and reflect on the complexities and conflicts of Inclusion and consider the need for new pedagogic developments. |
| **Harpur, P; Szucs, B; Willox, D** | 2022 | Strategic and policy responses to intersectionality in higher education | Australia | Ethnicity, disability, first-in-family, region, carer, gender, SES, language, age and gender identity | Document analysis of EDI action plans through Bacchi's (2009, 2012) approach of 'What is the Problem Represented to be' (WPR) | Through analysis of university equity, diversity, and inclusion action plans, this paper considers how intersectionality is included and acted upon at the strategic and policy level. In this study, the diverse vulnerabilities that exist within higher education are examined to understand how they are constructed, portrayed, and positioned in university strategic plans. Specifically, how the siloing of attributes shows the way the 'problem' of intersecting vulnerabilities is represented. |
| **Healy, G; Bradley, H; Forson, C** | 2011 | Intersectional Sensibilities in Analysing Inequality Regimes in Public Sector Organizations | UK | Gender, ethnicity, race, religion and class (hierarchy) | Scoping literature review | The aim of this article was to show the utility of Acker's conceptual framework in understanding why inequalities persist even in public sector organizations with sophisticated equality and diversity policies, with particular respect to the workplace experiences of CBP women. Crenshaw's (1991) concept of intersectional sensibility sensitizes the analysis in revealing how gender and ethnicity divisions are mutually constituted and sometimes disrupted. |
| **Idahosa, GEO; Mkhize, Z** | 2021 | Intersectional Experiences of Black South African Female Doctoral Students in STEM: Participation, Success and Retention | South-Africa | Race, gender, age and class | Semi-structured interviews | This article is focused on the challenges associated with the retention and progression of women in STEM fields, from doctoral studies to academic careers. |
| **Jackson, A; Colson-Fearon, B; Versey, HS** | 2022 | Managing Intersectional Invisibility and Hypervisibility during the Transition to College Among First-Generation Women of Color | US | Gender, race and status (SES) | Semi-structured interviews | A primary aim of this study was to identify challenges and feelings of strength experienced by FGWOC, in hopes of further developing actions and policies that may best support FGWOC and contribute to their success. The overarching goal of this study was to engage an understudied group—FGWOC—in a qualitative study about experiences transitioning to college. A better understanding of how institutional climate may confer intersectional in/hypervisibility has implications beyond knowledge production. |

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| **Jones, S** | 2014 | Gendered discourses of entrepreneurship in UK higher education: The fictive entrepreneur and the fictive student | UK | Gender, ethnicity, class | Document analysis via a critical discourse analysis of policy-related documents | This paper explores the social reality of the field of HE entrepreneurship education, how this social reality is mediated through policy and research discourses and how these impact on the positioning of female undergraduates as potential entrepreneurs. |
| Klein, U | 2016 | Gender equality and diversity politics in higher education: Conflicts, challenges and requirements for collaboration | Germany | Racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age and sexual orientation and gender | Theoretical reflection | This contribution aims to further a conceptualization of diversity by focusing on diversity policies at institutions for higher education that are tethered to the idea of equity and social justice but view gender relations as one of the lingering inequalities in higher education. The discussion about diversity management can benefit from developing a conceptualization along the theoretical and practical framing of gender equality work in order to develop a stance towards diversity approaches in higher education, as will be shown in the remainder of the chapter. |
| **Liani, ML; Nyamongo, IK; Pulford, J; Tolhurst, R** | 2021 | An intersectional gender analysis of familial and socio-cultural drivers of inequitable scientific career progression of researchers in Sub-Saharan Africa | South Africa | Gender, age, marital status and presence of children (father/motherhood) | In-depth interviews | The goal of this study was to illuminate familial and socio-cultural drivers that contribute to intersectional gender inequities in scientific career progression in SSA to inform strategies that could promote career equity for African scientific researchers. |
| **Love, BH; Templeton, E; Ault, S; Johnson, O** | | Bruised, not broken: scholarly personal narratives of Black women in the academy | US | Gender and race | Narrative inquiry | This paper addresses the need to listen to and value Black women's stories. Using Scholarly Personal Narrative as a methodology, monologues and reflections from a conference on race in higher education were analysed and thematically situated to understand the vantages of navigating gendered racism in the academy. |
| **Mireles, D** | 2022 | Theorizing Racist Ableism in Higher Education | US | Disability and race | In-depth interviews | This article uses critical race theory (CRT), disability critical race theory (DisCrit), and racist nativism to develop a conceptual framework of racist ableism … to describe how particular forms of ableism, informed by racist attitudes and beliefs, oppress and dehumanize Black and Brown people based on actual or perceived (or, inversely, lack of perceived) dis/ability, thereby reinforcing the relationship between whiteness and ability. |

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| **Mkhize, Z** | 2022 | Is it transformation or reform? The lived experiences of African women doctoral students in STEM disciplines in South African universities | South-Africa | Race, gender, class and age | Semi-structured interviews | This paper aims to contribute and extend the debates around transformation by focusing on what is occurring in STEM disciplines in South African universities, which is reform and not transformation. |
| **Moore, A; Laurent-Simpson, A; Moore, S** | | The experiences of foreign-born female academics (FBFA): a photo-elicitation analysis | US | Gender, motherhood and ethnicity | Semi-structured interviews | The article investigates ways in which intersectionality, social marginality, and resilience offer a framework for understanding the participants' lived experiences of being foreign-born, female, and academic in the United States. |
| **Parker, ET; Trolian, TL; Stolzenberg, EB** | 2022 | Student-faculty interaction and academic self-concept: the intersection of race and gender | US | Gender and race | Longitudinal study with survey | The purpose of this study is to examine whether academic self-concept is associated with students' interactions with faculty in higher education and whether students' race and gender moderate the relationship between student–faculty interactions and students' senior year academic self-concept using longitudinal panel data from the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) at UCLA. |
| **Porter, CJ; Moore, CM; Boss, GJ; Davis, TJ; Louis, DA** | 2020 | To Be Black Women and Contingent Faculty: Four Scholarly Personal Narratives | US | Gender, race and age | Narrative inquiry | The focus of this paper is less about discipline and institutional type, but more so about actual experiences serving in these type of full-time appointments. The researcher-participants described their motivations and socialization processes within the academy in order to illuminate how their faculty experiences were influenced by the intersections of race, gender, and contingent academic appointment (e.g., variations in title included Teaching Assistant Professor, Fixed Term Assistant Professor, and Clinical Assistant Professor). This study was guided by two research questions:(1) How do Black women in full-time, contingent/non-tenure track positions describe their lived experiences at the intersections of race, gender, and academic appointment?(2) What/Who influenced the experiences of full-time, contingent/non-tenure track Black women in the academy? |

| Rasheem, S; Brunson, J | 2018 | She persisted: the pursuit, persistence, & power of African American women in social work graduate programs at Historically Black Institutions (HBI) | US | Gender, race and education status | Semi-structured interviews | This article examines the impact of socially stratified identity at the intersections of race, gender, and education on the choices, pursuit, and persistence of African-American women in social work graduate programs. |
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| Ro, HK; McIntosh, K | 2016 | Constructing Conducive Environment for Women of Color in Engineering Undergraduate Education | US | Gender and race | Survey | Based on the sociohistorical context and realities of inequitable treatment in engineering undergraduate programs (Malicky, 2003; Sosnowski, 2002; Varma & Hahn, 2007), this study chose to address the gap in research by examining women students' s reports on climate experiences, such as treatment from their instructors and peers, witnessing offensive word usage, interaction with faculty members, and perception of career projections and the importance of learning/tutoring centers by sub-racial groups: Blacks, Latinas, Asians, and Whites. |
| Roskin-Frazee, A | 2020 | Protections for Marginalised Women in University Sexual Violence Policies | Australia, Canada, UK and US | Race, sexuality, class and disability | Document analysis of higher education institutions' violence policies | This article presents an international comparative policy analysis of how schools provide or deny women with marginalised identities social protection (systems and policies that reduce inequality) in student sexual violence policies. |
| Ruggi, LO; Duvvury, N | 2022 | Shattered glass piling at the bottom: The 'problem' with gender equality policy for higher education | Ireland | Gender, ethnicity, race, class, nationality, sexual orientation, generation, religion and disability status | Document analysis using Bacchi's (2009, 2012) approach of 'What is the Problem Represented to be' (WPR) | Employing Bacchi's methodology (WPR), this article demonstrates the problem of gender inequality has been gradually narrowed to address the lack of 'women' in senior positions. Competing problematisations were marginalised. The unequal distribution of care work in and out of higher education was ignored, silencing the gendered experiences of academics and non-academics, particularly precarious and outsourced staff. |
| Ruswa, AS; Gore, OT | 2022 | Rethinking student poverty: perspectives from a higher education institution in South Africa | South-Africa | Race, class, sexuality and religion | Focus groups and in-depth interviews | This study aims to provide an understanding of the nature of student poverty. The study adopts the capability approach that focuses on the wellbeing of individuals hence offering us spaces to explore poverty in a multidimensional and intersectional manner. |

| Author | Year | Title | Country | Focus | Method | Description |
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| **Sabharwal, NS; Henderson, EF; Joseph, RS** | 2020 | Hidden social exclusion in Indian academia: gender, caste and conference participation | India | Gender and caste | Mixed method: Survey and interviews | This paper focuses on the ways in which social exclusion which is already evident in overarching analyses of academia (Hyers et al. 2012; Pifer 2018; Stockfelt 2018) is specifically manifested in relation to access to conferences. ... This article therefore makes an original contribution to the international higher education research field by exploring the contextual specificities of social exclusion in the Indian context, but also contributes to wider debates on inequalities in the academic profession by highlighting the role of unequal access to professional development opportunities in perpetuating hierarchies in academia |
| **Salmon, U** | 2022 | It's wicked hard to fight covert racism: The case of microaggressions in science research organizations | UK | Gender, race, nationality | Semi-structured interviews | This study aims to compare individual experiences of micro assaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations with institutional responses, thereby outlining the disconnects between the perspectives of minoritised scientists and those in positions of power. |
| **Seelman, KL** | 2014 | Recommendations of transgender students, staff, and faculty in the USA for improving college campuses | US | Initially gender identity, age and race/ ethnicity, after conducting the first few interviews added socioeconomic backgrounds, spiritual beliefs and mental and physical health abilities | Semi-structured interviews | What specific institutional actions and policy changes do transgender and gender non-conforming people say are most needed to address the oppression they experience in higher education settings? |
| **Stewart, DL; Nicolazzo, Z** | 2018 | High Impact of [Whiteness] on Trans* Students in Postsecondary Education | US | Gender, sexuality, race | Theoretical reflection | In this article, we seek to intentionally speak to the ways in which Western European colonization and its creation of white identities have relied on multiple systems of oppression, beyond phenotype and lineage, to further white supremacist projects. We also recognize forms of power that name particular matrices of oppression, as well as how various, potentially disparate, forms of oppression coalesce to further the project of white supremacy across educational spaces. |
| **Tauber, S; Loyens, K; Oertelt-Prigione, S; Kubbe, I** | 2022 | Harassment as a consequence and cause of inequality in academia: A narrative review | EU and UN | Gender, class, sexuality and immigrant status | Narrative review | With this review, we aim to provide novel insights for how to overcome the observed impasse and move towards effective anti-harassment policies and a more equal, diverse and inclusive higher education sector. |

| Author | Year | Title | Country | Focus | Method | Description |
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| **Thomas, J; Thomas, C; Smith, K** | 2019 | The Challenges for Gender Equity and Women in Leadership in a Distributed University in Regional Australia | Australia | Gender, age, motherhood, disability | Narrative inquiry | This paper explores how working in a regional university, with distributed campuses, has an additional impact on women's career progression. Through auto-ethnographic accounts of four female staff members, we explore the intersection of gender and location through case studies of personal experiences, investigating the effects that distance and travel limitations can have on participation in work team and networking events, access to professional development opportunities and career progression within the institution. |
| **Westoby, C; Dyson, J; Cowdell, F; Buescher, T** | 2021 | What are the barriers and facilitators to success for female academics in UK HEIs? A narrative review | UK | Gender, age, motherhood, ethnicity and disability | Scoping literature review | Our aim was to conduct a narrative review of peer-reviewed, published studies to identify the barriers and facilitators to success for female academics in UK higher education institutions (HEIs). |
| **Wolbring, G; Lillywhite, A** | 2021 | Equity/Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) in Universities: The Case of Disabled People | UK | Gender and disability | Scoping literature review | The following research question was investigated: to what extent is EDI engaged with in the academic literature in relation to disabled people (students, academic staff and non-academic staff) at universities. To answer this question, we looked at the frequency of how often the academic literature engaged with EDI in universities in relation to disabled students, disabled non-academic staff, disabled academic, and in relation to disability and the words used to describe disabled students, academic and non-academic staff in the university in relation to EDI. |
| **Al-Saif B.M., Ghabra H.S.,** | 2016 | Higher Education and Contestation in the State of Kuwait after the Arab Spring: Identity Construction & Ideologies of Domination in the American University of Kuwait | US | Race, class, gender and sexuality | Survey and discourse analysis | We first explore the history of formal education in Kuwait, showcasing the interaction between local, regional, and global elements and the entrenched foreign presence since the beginnings of formal education in Kuwait. We then put forth our methodology and theoretical framework relying on open-ended surveys and personal communication through the lens of Whiteness, intersectionality, and hegemony. This is followed by an ideological rhetorical discourse analysis of AUK respondents that consist of students, faculty, and staff. We end with policy recommendations and a way forward that aim on mitigating the identified hurdles. |

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| **Corcetti E., Petinelli-Souza S.** | 2021 | Affirmative Action in Brazilian Higher Education [AÇÕES AFIRMATIVAS NO ENSINO SUPERIOR BRASILEIRO] [Medidas de acción afirmativa en la educación superior brasileña] | Brasil | Race/ethnicity and gender | Document analysis of affirmative action policies of HE | The aim of this paper is to examine affirmative action measures in Brazilian higher education, taking into account the perspective of race/ethnicity and gender. |
| **Deem R., Case J.M., Nokkala T.** | 2022 | Researching inequality in higher education: tracing changing conceptions and approaches over fifty years | EU, UK, US | Gender and race/ethnicity | Systematic literature review | Map 50 years of articles on inequality on higher education. |
| **Hancock A.-M.** | 2007 | When multiplication doesn't equal quick addition: Examining intersectionality as a research paradigm | US | Including but not limited to race, gender, class (SES),and sexual orientation | Theoretical reflection | This article closely reads research on race and gender across subfields of political science to present a coherent set of empirical research standards for intersectionality. |
| **Harris J.C.** | 2020 | Women of Color Undergraduate Students' Experiences with Campus Sexual Assault: An Intersectional Analysis | US | Gender, racial identities and heritages, gender identity | Semi-structured interviews | Guided by the concept of intersectionality, this research explores how intersecting systems of domination, specifically racism and sexism, influence 34 Women of Color undergraduate student survivors' experiences with CSA. |
| **Kalet A., Libby A.M., Jagsi R., Brady K., Chavis-Keeling D., Pillinger M.H., Daumit G.L., Drake A.F., Drake W.P., Fraser V., Ford D., Hochman J.S., Jones R.D., Mangurian C., Meagher E.A., McGuinness G., Regensteiner J.G., Rubin D.C., Yaffe K., Ravenell J.E.** | 2022 | Mentoring Underrepresented Minority Physician-Scientists to Success | US | Socio-economic status, race/ethnicity, gender, disability | Focus groups | The aim of our annual 1-day FRCS program leaders conference in 2018 was to generate recommendations to support b**est-practice mentoring** models for advancing the early-career physician-scientists with extraordinary caregiving obligations. |

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| **Kim E., Aquino K.C.** | 2017 | QUEERING DISABILITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION Views from the Intersections (Ryan A. Miller, Richmond D. Wynn, and Kristine W. Webb) | US | Wide range of disabilities, most commonly psycho-logical and mental health-related, gender and sexuality | Narrative inquiry | This chapter employs scholarly personal narratives (Nash, 2004) from three researchers who took up the question of how college students experienced the intersections and disconnects of disability, gender, and sexuality. We critically consider our varied disciplinary, personal, and professional backgrounds, as well as our positionalities along dimensions of race, gender, disability, and sexual orientation—and how these dimensions shaped the study we conducted (Miller, 2015; Miller, Wynn, & Webb, in press) and potentially uncovered and addressed (dis)connections between disability and diversity in higher education. |
| **Kim E., Aquino K.C.** | 2017 | "IT'S A VERY DEEP, LAYERED TOPIC" Student Affairs Professionals on the Marginality and Intersectionality of Disability (Annemarie Vaccaro and Ezekiel Kimball) | US | Disability, race, class, gender and sexual orientation | Focus groups | The main research question was, "What are the perceptions and experiences of student affairs professionals working with college students with disabilities?" |
| **Levin J.S., Viggiano T., López Damián A.I., Morales Vazquez E., Wolf J.-P.** | 2017 | Polymorphic Students: New Descriptions and Conceptions of Community College Students From the Perspectives of Administrators and Faculty | Canada & US | Biological sex, gender, nationality, age (i.e., natural identities), race/ethnicity, age, and socio-economic status | Semi-structured interviews and document analysis of federal, state, and provincial higher education documents | We aim to provide understandings of community college students that, collectively, reflect pluralistic and polymorphic identities of this population and are not wedded to dominant discourses on those students as a singular or narrowly defined population, such as underprepared, first generation, minority, or commodities. |
| **Mirza H.S.** | 2008 | Race, gender and educational desire: Why black women succeed and fail | US | Gender, race and class | Semi-structured interviews | Social commentators, academics, policy makers and political activists have debated the causes of endemic gender and race inequalities in education for several decades. This important and timely book demonstrates the alternative power of a black feminist framework in illuminating the interconnections between race and gender and processes of educational inequality through the debates on black British feminism, genetics and the new racism, citizenship and black female cultures of resistance. |

| Nachatar Singh J.K. | 2022 | Leadership challenges and opportunities experienced by international women academics: A case study in Australia | Australia | Gender and migrant (international/cultural) identity | In-depth interviews | Explore international women academics' experiences by providing an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. … and it is thus relevant to understanding the lived experiences of international women academics in regard to their leadership-related challenges and opportunities. Therefore, this study fills the gap and enriches the literature in the leadership space by asking: *What are the key related challenges and opportunities experienced by international women academics in gaining leadership positions at Australian universities?* |
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| Ovink S.M., Murrell O.G. | 2022 | University Diversity Projects and the Inclusivity Challenge | US | Gender and ethnicity | Focus groups | Our goal was to explicate students' perceptions of and engagement with diversity projects. ... We contribute new insights into why ensuring campus inclusion remains challenging at PWIs. We reveal a disconnect between institution-led diversity projects—which BIPOC respondents perceive as mainly symbolic—and minoritised respondents' desires to implement concrete, student-led diversity projects. |
| Rodriguez S.L., Lehman K. | 2017 | Developing the next generation of diverse computer scientists: the need for enhanced, intersectional computing identity theory | US | SES, gender, race (primary) class, sexual orientation, disability and religion (secondary) | Theoretical reflection | This theoretical paper explores the need for enhanced, intersectional computing identity theory for the purpose of developing a diverse group of computer scientists for the future. |
| Wood L., Hoefer S., Kammer-Kerwick M., Parra-Cardona J.R., Busch-Armendariz N. | 2021 | Sexual Harassment at Institutions of Higher Education: Prevalence, Risk, and Extent | US | Gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, age at enrollment, student status | Survey | Using intersectional theory to inform analysis, this study uses data from a survey of students across eight academic campuses in one state to examine differences in rates, risk, and extent of faculty/staff- and peer-perpetrated sexual harassment victimization. |
| Zambrana R.E., Dill B.T. | 2009 | Emerging Intersections: Race, Class, and Gender in Theory, Policy, and Practice | US | Race, class and gender | Theoretical reflection | This book exemplifies the need for and importance of an intersectional framework because it expands the narrow boundaries of traditional research approaches emphasizes the connection between research, public policy, and social justice and challenges higher education to support intersectional research and expand curriculum content to provide an education that links, knowledge, policy, and social justice. |