RACISM, PRECARIOUSNESS AND RESISTANCE: DEVELOPMENT-AID-FUNDED PHD TRAINING IN SWEDEN

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ABSTRACT There is a growing interest from states in the global north and NGOs worldwide in building research capacity in countries of the global south through development-aid-funded research training (United Nations, 2015). In this context, little is known on the social and intellectual positioning of development-aid-funded students in relation to other groups of students that are studying in the global north under other social and economic conditions. This article deals directly with this issue by focusing on how Tanzanian and Mozambican students and Swedish supervisors participating in Swedish development-aid-funded programmes for building research capacity through postgraduate training in low-income countries make representations of academic work relations, compared to other students and supervisors in Sweden. In particular, the article focuses on the complex, shifting and sometimes dual layers of precariousness and resistance that are (re)produced and the lessons that can be learned from the perspective of policy development. In total, 91 interviews were collected, with those with women representing 26 per cent of the sample. The result show that the positionalities made available to students are constructed at the complex intersection between predefined parameters such as contractual agreements and how supervisors and departmental colleagues in Sweden manage and negotiate power structures relating to 'competition', 'production' or 'development'. For Tanzanian and Mozambican development-aid funded students, this means that their precariousness and resistance differs from Swedish students and other international students, particularly Asian students, and is constructed along a lack of recognition of their work as *academic* work. Their resistance is articulated through opposing the subject position of a passive object of capacity building. The lessons learned for policy is 'Situated policy development', 'Policy development from below' and 'Policy development through institutional responsibility'.

ABSTRAKT Det finns ett växande intresse från länder och organisationer i det Globala Nord för att bygga upp forskningskapacitet i utvecklingsländer genom biståndsfinansierad forskarutbildning (United Nation, 2015), men det finns lite kunskap om hur biståndsfinansierade doktorander är socialt och intellektuellt positionerade i förhållande till andra grupper av studenter som studerar i Global North under andra sociala och ekonomiska förhållanden. Denna artikel ger ett bidrag till forskningen genom att kontrastera prekarisering och motstånd bland biståndsfinansierade tanzaniska och moçambikiska doktorander jämfört med andra doktorander som studerar vid svenska universitet. I synnerhet fokuserar artikeln på de komplexa, skiftande och ibland dubbla lager av precisering och motstånd som (re)produceras genom arbete som utförs vid svenska universitet och som tar plats i intersektionen av forskningsbistånd, internationalisering av högre utbildning, rasifiering, postkoloniala kunskapsrelationer samt genusrelationer. Artikeln syftar även till att bidra till policyutveckling inom forskningsbiståndet. Totalt har 91 intervjuer genomförts, varav 26 procent med kvinnor. Resultatet visar att de positionaliteter som görs tillgängliga är ömsesidigt konstituerade av fördefinierade parametrar, såsom avtal, samt hur handledare och institutionskollegor i Sverige förhandlar globala diskurser i högre utbildning med avseende på "konkurrens", "produktion" och "utveckling" i sitt dagliga arbete. För tanzaniska och moçambikiska biståndsfinansierade doktorander innebär detta att deras prekarisering skiljer sig åt från andra studenters, framförallt studenter från Asien och svenska studenter, genom en brist på erkännande av deras arbete som akademiskt arbete. Motstånd formuleras från positionen 'The colonial difference (Mignolo, 2002) som upphäver en passiv och underordnad position som 'föremål för bistånd'. Med utgångspunkt från resultaten föreslår artikeln policyutveckling genom 'Situerat forskningsbistånd', 'Policyutveckling med utgångspunkt i underprivilegierade gruppers vardagliga erfarenheter' samt 'Policyutveckling genom institutionellt ansvar'.

KEYWORDS Postgraduate training, academic work, development-aid, postcolonial, de-colonial, racism, internationalisation.

Introduction

There is a growing interest from states in the global north and NGOs worldwide in building research capacity in countries of the global south through development-aid-funded research training (United Nations, 2015). These initiatives have been researched at policy level (Møller-Jensen & Madsen, 2015; Breidlid, 2013), at the level of teaching and learning (Silfver &

Berge, 2016; Silfver 2018) and in the context of how academic work relations are experienced from various and hierarchically situated participants (Kontinen et al., 2015). Less researched are the particularities of academic work relations taking place in development-aid-funded research training in the context of 'the increased globalisation of international education' (Riano & Piquet, 2016, p 1). This article deals directly with this issue by focusing on how Tanzanian and Mozambican students and Swedish supervisors participating in Swedish development-aid-funded programmes for building research capacity through postgraduate training in low-income countries make representations of academic work relations, compared to other students (national and international) and supervisors in Sweden. In particular, the article focuses on the complex, shifting layers of 'precariousness' (Courtois & O'Keefe, 2015; Lopes & Dewan, 2014) that are articulated in these work life representations. This article is inspired by recent research into precariousness among highly skilled workers and perspectives on precariousness as an 'activity' with a particular emphasis on modes of resistance (Shierup & Jørgensen, 2017; Berardi, 2012). Another central theme of this article is therefore also to produce policy recommendations from the perspective of participants of the program for capacity building.

The article is organised in three sections: firstly, the background and context of this article – a brief overview of Swedish postgraduate training which will explain why this article emphasises academic work relations in the context of postgraduate training. The aims and research questions are also outlined. Secondly, my sample, methodology and main theoretical concepts are presented. Finally, a joint analysis and results section concludes with a discussion focusing on lessons learned for policy in development-aid-funded research training.

Aim of the study and research questions
The aim is to investigate representations of precariousness and resistance in the context of academic work relations taking place in doctoral training of development-aid-funded Mozambican and Tanzanian PhD students in Sweden. This involves 'contrasting' (Ehn & Löfgren, 1982) representations of Tanzanian and Mozambican development aid funded students' positionalities to the positionalities made available to international Asian PhD students and to national PhD students. Integral to this is the

discussion of how the results can inform policy development in the assignment of development-aid to PhD training.

Three research questions have guided my investigation:

i) From a contrasting perspective - between Mozambican and Tanzanian development-aid-funded PhD students, international Asian PhD students and Swedish PhD students - what are the representations of positionalities made available in academic work relations in the context of postgraduate training in Sweden?
ii) Focusing specifically on Mozambican and Tanzanian development-aid-funded PhD students, what layers of precariousness and resistance are represented in i)?
iii) From i) and ii), what are the implications for policy development in development-aid-funded PhD training programmes?

Background

Sweden's support to research in low-income countries is channelled through the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). The support is organised through 'research partnership programmes' for research capacity-building in low-income countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In some cases these programmes have been in operation for more than 40 years – as is the case for Mozambique and Tanzania, where the programmes date back to 1978 and 1977 respectively. The main idea of the PhD programmes is that they are designed to sustain links with the home institution in the global south during training in Sweden. Here the students are supposed to move back and forth between a Swedish university department and their home university department during training and thus the mobility component in the programmes is mandatory. A long-term ambition of Swedish support for research capacity-building is that it should result in building research capacity in the global south and ultimately the establishment of local PhD training programmes (Fellesson, 2017; Fellesson & Mählck, 2013).

At the policy level, the operational frames of the PhD training programme are decided jointly by Sida (the

programme's funder), the HEIs offering the PhD training in Sweden (providing supervision, office space and research facilities while in the host country) and the research institutions in low-income countries, which provide the candidates and office space at their home universities. This article will provide additional information on how these policy discourses are managed and negotiated in practice and their implications for policy development.

Context

The dominant national policy recommendation in Sweden is that PhD students should be employed at Swedish universities under conditions which give them workers' rights to a pension and the social security system. It is in this aspect that undertaking PhD studies, doing coursework and writing a PhD thesis and receiving PhD supervision, are constructed as labour. Sometimes PhD students are also involved in various forms of teaching in Universities[1], but usually, teaching is a minor part. Currently, 75 per cent of PhD students are employed under these conditions. Only 7 per cent are funded by various stipends, preventing them from benefitting from the aforementioned rights despite their carrying out the same type of labour (i.e labour here means writing a PhD thesis and undertaking PhD course work). Currently slightly over 40 per cent of all PhD students enrolled are international; interestingly, these international students are overrepresented among those who are funded by stipends (Ministry of Education, 2016, p 68–71). In this context, postcolonial educational trajectories and diverse economic conditions during doctoral training, together with any payback arrangements after graduation, are important factors that impact on international students' social and intellectual positioning in Swedish academia. Students from Asian countries – at 50 per cent – make up the largest group of international students in Sweden. However, despite their numerical representation, little is known about the premise under which they are studying in Sweden and how they perceive their position in Swedish academia. However, it is well known that, often, the living expenses of international students are not covered by their stipends (Ministry of Education, 2016). In addition, from national statistics we find that there is a persistent gender gap among international

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1 Students funded by stipends are not allowed to teach.

postgraduate students compared to the majority Swedish postgraduate population.

The majority of African students undertaking PhD training in Sweden are funded by Swedish development aid. These students are not part of the internationalisation agenda of Swedish Research Policy, nor are they represented in national statistics (Fellesson 2017). The only systematic mapping of them suggests that between 800 and 1,000 African scholars have gained their PhD through international training programmes which, interestingly, have existed in some countries for over 40 years (Fellesson and Mählck, 2013). From our previous research, we know that over 50 per cent of the population – and a higher percentage of women – had experienced discrimination in Sweden, the main trigger for which was skin colour. Importantly, this survey research focus on self-perceptions of experiences of discrimination among researchers whom have participated in the program 1990-2014. The parameters tested for comprise gender, age, family situation, position at workplace, ethnicity, colour of skin and socio-economic background (for detailed description see also, Fellesson & Mählck 2013, Mählck & Fellesson, 2016; Mählck, 2016). Currently, this research is the only large-scale investigation of experiences of discrimination on the grounds of skin colour in Swedish academia. In this context, it is worth noting that development-aid-funded students are employed by their universities in the global south and that the Swedish government covers their costs while in Sweden. From this perspective, some might believe that the financial situation for these students, while in Sweden, is better compared to that of many other international students. However, the employment conditions at their home universities in the global south can vary and sometimes their academic work position in their home university depends on their success in obtaining a PhD degree.

Methodology
The article provides a 'qualitative meta-analysis' (Screiber et al., 1997) of the research conducted for four different projects focusing on inequality based on gender and race/ethnicity in the context of new academic work regimes in Swedish, Mozambican

and Tanzanian academia between 2010 and 2017[2]*; I have been involved in the carrying-out and analysis of the interviews in all projects. The reason for choosing a qualitative meta-analysis is because it provides a methodology for conceptualising large numbers of qualitative data into a thick analysis of particular themes. Notably, there is a difference between a qualitative meta-analysis that derives from a comparison of different research results, where the findings themselves are considered to be the data, and *secondary analysis*, where the researcher has access to raw data and uses them to reanalyse his or her data and to answer a different question (Thorne, 1994).

This article applies a secondary analysis of the layers of pecariousness and resistance in the context of academic work relations taking place in international postgraduate training and the intersectional and translocational (Anthias, 2012) dimension of these processes and their implications for policy.

Sample
In total, 91 interviews were collected. Those with women represented 26 per cent of the sample. The majority of interviews were conducted with PhD graduates (Swedish, international and development-aid-funded), with a focus on academic work during their doctoral studies and after their graduation. The interviewees' age range was between late 20 and 65 years. The 41 interviewees in Sweden were selected from two academic disciplines representing a softer and a harder end of the social sciences. Interviewees in Sweden were distributed along four academic departments in two different universities. In Sweden, the interviewees were recruited using e-mail addresses retrieved through university home pages. The 27 interviewees in Tanzania and Mozambique were recruited through participant lists retrieved from the national program co-ordinators and through snowballing technique. Here, the scientific fields represented in the interviews ranged across the social sciences,

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2 The projects are externally funded and are as follows: Research policy and research practice in the global research economy (2009-2011); Modes and Narratives of Mobility and Career Paths among Ph.D. Holders in Swedish Supported Programs to Research Training in Mozambique (2014); Aid and Institutional Change: Modes and Narratives of Mobility and Career Paths among Ph.D. Holders in Swedish Supported Programs to Research Training in Tanzania (2015); Development of research supervision (2015).

medicine and technology. At the time of the interview, the majority of interviewees were working as university lecturers in Sweden, Tanzania or Mozambique, though there were also representatives of the Swedish Ministry in various political fields and the administration of the different universities in the global north and global south. Of the 91 interviews in total, 23 were individual interviews with supervisors in Sweden, of whom half were women.

Analytical design and limitations

The analytical design is inspired by poststructural research into equality in higher education (Thierney & Venegas, 2009; Thierney, 1992). This means acknowledging the significance of discursive representations and what they produce. Of less importance in poststructural research and in this article, are numerical representations[3].

In this article, the analytical focus is on representations of Tanzanian and Mozambican development-aid-funded students' positionalities in the total interviews, using contrasting (Ehn & Löfgren 1982) as the analytical method. In social science research contrasting is used to make patterns visible through comparisons of various and different cultural phenomena's (Ehn & Löfgren, 1982). Here contrasting is used as an analytical entrance for investigating the particularities of the discursive representations of Tanzanian and Mozambican development-aid-funded students' positionalities in academic work relations taking place in Swedish academia as compared to international Asian PhD students and to national PhD students. Contrasting is also used to explore variations of resistance among students and supervisors involved in development-aid-funded training.

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3 In the total interviews, the discursive representation of Asian students is strong, however, the numerical representation of interviewed Asian PhD students is limited, notably, only one interview has been conducted with an Asian PhD student. Most likely, the reason for the low number of interviews with Asian PhD students is that the interviews made with non –development aid-funded PhD students and researchers in Sweden have focused on fields in social sciences where the number of international scholars are less as compared to natural sciences and medicine. However, the interviews with supervisors and development-aid-funded students cover disciplines from natural science, medicine, technology, social science and humanities.

The quotations have been chosen since they represent a particularly clear pattern of an experience or opinion in the whole interview and for making variations of representations visible. It is not possible to generalise in a quantitative meaning. Rather the ambition is to produce new knowledge which can be used for theory building.

Following poststructural research presentation (Thierney & Venegas, 2009; Thierney, 1992) the interviews are presented in a joint 'results and analysis' section, where selected interview quotes will be continuously discussed in relation to various research frameworks central to this article and to facilitate understanding of the particular quote.

Theoretical framework

This article bring research from the fields of 'the globalisation of international education', 'postcolonial knowledge relations' and 'intersectional and translocational gender research' together into a meaningful dialogue in an attempt to produce a postcolonial analysis of layers of precariousness in academic work. This means acknowledging the already postcolonial world and the re-workings of postcolonial knowledge relations from the perspective of researchers and students. Therefore, understanding the relationship between people and places at a global level and that these relationships are rooted in localities are an essential part of the postcolonial perspective of this article (see also McEwan 2009).

There is a global tendency for economic interests to gain importance over academic values in higher education, research and postgraduate training (Olssen & Peters, 2007). Among other things, this turn has increased interest in international students for the interest of increased revenues; in research, this is labelled as 'the globalisation of international education' (Riano & Piquet, 2016, p 1). In this context, research has identified increased homogenisation and professionalization of doctoral training as dominant features of this development (Olssen & Peters, 2007). Within this setting, the global introduction of 'New managerialism' in academia i.e organizational strategies from the private sector, have increased precariousness in academic work lives. Notably, precariousness in academic work lives are characterised by uncertainty, flexibility, mobility and emotional stress (Takayama et al, 2016; Courtois & O'Keefe, 2015; Lopes & Dewan, 2014; Berardi, 2012)

For countries in the global south, which often are heavily dependent on international donors for their research, the research literature (Knight, 2013; Teferra & Altbach, 2004) indicate that there are two issues at stake:

i) the potential risk of cultural homogenisation/ Westernisation or neo-colonialism through donor-driven research training and the research knowledge produced therefrom; and
ii) the weakening of academic values in favour of work relations based on economic concerns.

In this article, these well-established theoretical and empirical insights are used to underpin the postcolonial analysis of layers of precariousness and resistance articulated in representations of academic work.

As mentioned previously, a postcolonial perspective on knowledge relations imply a critique of the view of the global north and the global south as separate entities with distinct histories and trajectories becomes important:

it [postcolonialism: my comment] demonstrates how the centre and periphery – the here and there – have always been interconnected and mutually constituted, often in highly unequal ways (McEwan 2009, p 28).

It is in this aspect that a postcolonial perspective stands in critical dialogue with development perspectives on knowledge relations and challenges dominant representations of the global north and south and the lack of perspectives which focus on relations between them (McEwan, 2009). From a postcolonial perspective, development has functioned as a way of representing the global south as lacking or lagging behind, constructing an active/passive dichotomy. As will become clear in the analysis, the active/passive dichotomy is used to theorise layers of resistance against precriousness in academic work lives in development-aid-funded research training.

The intersectional and multi-layered theoretical frame of this article is inspired by the theory of 'translocational intersectionality' (Anthias, 2012), in order to be able to research how the various and multiple positionalites of subjects shift

as they move between academic workplaces. Here the theory of translocational intersectionality is used as an analytical entry-point for understanding the complex power–knowledge relations that make some subject positionalities in academic work available to certain PhD students and render others unavailable, and the shifting and sometimes dual processes of precariousness and resistance that result.

On a cautionary note, this article pays particular attention to the complexities, negotiations and resistance that may evolve from the analysis of interviews with a broad sample of PhD students and graduates (whether development-aid-funded, international or national) and Swedish supervisors. It is in this respect that this article avoids (re)producing predetermined understandings of representations of academic work and translocational positionalities that are made available for development-aid-funded postgraduate students in Sweden.

Analysis
The analysis is presented in two steps. The first step concerns analysing (from a contrasting perspective) the representations of the translocational positionalities which are made available for Mozambican and Tanzanian students in Swedish academia. The second analytical step focuses on representations of resistance against precariousness from the perspective of students and supervisors involved in development-aid-funded programmes.

Precariousness at the intersection between the globalisation of international postgraduate training and the coloniality of Western knowledge regimes
This first step of the analysis will begin with analysing the positionalities made available to Asian and Swedish students from the perspective of Swedish supervisors and gradually move on to contrasting these with Tanzanian and Mozambican students' positionalities.

Asian students produce - Swedish students know their rights too well!

In the context of a *very* competitive work culture, a male supervisor underlines that postgraduate supervision in his department is carried out in what he calls an 'industrial manner'.

He explains that, in his research field, there is a constant demand for 'production', whereby PhD students not only need to be able to ask the right questions but need, primarily, to contribute to 'production' in a very hands-on way: 'Students need to deliver data'. In this context he concludes:

> We almost only recruit international students, because they are performing much better than Swedish students.

Probing the interviews, it is well known that, within the international student body, many Asian students often are working in Sweden under very constrained conditions, as one supervisor notes:

> At our university, Asian students are tied to contracts that are often economically insufficient [...] and there are payback arrangements written into their contracts.

In this context, another supervisor explains:

- Well, I have chosen to work mainly with Asians students, yes.
- Why?
- Asian students produce – you can always e-mail them, at weekends, during the summer or other holidays – you know they will respond and do what you ask. Swedish students, I think they know their rights too well! This is why I prefer to work with Asian students.

Taken together, the interview quotations above suggest that Asian students' positionalites are constructed along representations of 'production' and 'competition' and how Swedish supervisors and colleagues manage and negotiated insufficient contractual agreements. At the same time, it becomes obvious that these representations also construct Asian students as valuable and hardworking academic subjects.

As regards Swedish students, they are not tied to the same type of contractual agreements. From the total interviews we know that Swedish students are represented as

knowledge producing subjects but are generally considered not working at the same pace as international students and Asian students in particular. One often mentioned explanation for that is that 'Swedish students know their rights' implying that Swedish students are more inclined to oppose labour relations that are against workers' rights in Sweden. Other explanations refer to the international competitiveness of Swedish basic education which is considered to be lower in some subject areas. Often various explanations are combined. From international research in higher education we know that those living precariousness in work lives are less likely to oppose to negative treatment out of fear from losing their work or encounter other forms of repressions (Courtois & O'Keefe, 2015; Lopes & Dewan, 2014).

The coloniality of power, racialisation and precariousness
Returning to Tanzanian and Mozambican students, as already mentioned in the introduction, the Swedish government tops up their salaries while they are in Sweden, so they have better financial situation in Sweden as compared to their home situation and compared to many other international students. However, from interviews with supervisors, some supervisors recall that development-aid-funded students are paid less as compared to Swedish students. Analysing differences in salaries between various student groups in detail would require other types of data, therefore this aspect is not probed further in this article. What is possible to analyse is how Swedish supervisors *talk* about the research contribution of Tanzanian and Mozambican development- aid-funded-students. The following quotation from a Swedish supervisor will expand on this:

> The underlying assumption of development-aid-funded students is that they cannot meet the academic standards of other students that are studying in our department. I mean, people assume that their work for their theses would be of lower quality. Towards these students, the attitude has been more like 'Ah, let them go on, they are funded by development-aid, we must let them pass our examinations although they don't quite meet up to our academic standards'.

The quotation above suggests that, in this Swedish department, development-aid-funded research from Africa

is constructed around representations of inferiority, more specifically a lack of recognition of their work as academic work. Importantly the interviewed supervisor is very critical against this discourse. Previous research on Laotian development-aid-funded PhD-students in Sweden supports this research (Silfver & Berge, 2016). The results also resonate with the discourse of the global north as a site of high quality research and universities in African countries as lagging behind (see Madsen, 2018). As regards precariousness in academic work relations, casual faculty in UK and Irish higher education experience their academic work lives in similar ways (Courtois & O'Keefe, 2015; Lopes & Dewan, 2014). Here receiving less payment for the same type of work as compared to tenure track staff, feelings of isolation and lack of recognition are main constituencies of precariousness in acadmic work lives. Importantly there was a lack of data from BME staff and international staff in the British and Irish research, further indicating the contribution of this research.

In this article, the lack of recognition of work as scientific work can only partly be explained by the explicit policy recommendation that development-aid-funded students should primarily contribute to capacity-building in their home academic departments (Fellesson, 2017). From this policy imperative, it follows that they are not expected to contribute to knowledge development in Swedish departments. However, the interview quotation above and interviews from other supervisors suggest that there are also other reasons. In this context, one supervisor explains that there exists a hierarchy among PhD students in his department, where those from Western European and Nordic countries are easily included into any social and research communities, whereas students of Asian and African backgrounds are not as easily integrated into research activities. Importantly, the supervisor is very critical about this hierarchy and regrets that his department has not done more to overcome it among doctoral students. The reason for the exclusion from the department's research relations, he suggests, is the students' differences in cultural background, with thoses from Asia and Africa being seen as different and deviant to the departments' research culture.[4] Talking explicitly

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4 In keeping with the wishes of this interviewee, this part of the interview is referred to but not cited.

on Mozambican and Tanzanian students, the same supervisor continues:

> 'Not even when they are the main contributors to a research orientation in a department or if they are working on similar topics as other researchers, they are invited into research collaborations at the department'.

From the interviews presented above there are a number of intersecting discourses relating to 'funding', 'development' and 'culture'. How can we understand this complexity? From postcolonial literature, the conception of 'Coloniality of power' is well known (Mignolo, 2002). The conception is the nexus through which historical power relations construct and maintain contemporary postcolonial hierarchies. The basis of Coloniality of Power is economic, political and above all, epistemic (Mignolo, 2002; Quijano, 1992). From this perspective, dependency relations in research funding and research training becomes an important way of (re)producing contemporary postcolonial knowledge relations.

How should we understand the reference to 'culture' in the interviews? In Sweden, processes of racialisation are often put into practice and legitimized through emphasising representations of 'cultural differences' between Swedes and those who are seen as deviant 'Other' (Tesfahuney & Mattsson 2002). In this article, I therefore propose that the hierarchy among doctoral students represented in the interviews can be read as the result of the intersectional and translocational workings of the Coloniality of power and processes of racialisation, which produce representations of the inferior and racialized Other and excludes Asian and African students from department networks in Sweden. Here the intersection of discourses related to 'funding', 'development' and 'culture' not only excludes Tanzanian and Mocambian students from department networks but also from the positionality as a valuable knowledge producing subject in Swedish departmental research networks. This reasoning suggests a possibly paradoxically situation. To expand on this line of thought: the exclusion from positionality as a knowledge producing subject and most likely, differences in contractual agreements, between Asian students and development-aid-

funded students, seems to protect development-aid-funded students from the neoliberal exploitation that Asian Students sometimes encounter.

However, in a broader perspective, the positionalities of development-aid-funded Tanzanian and Mozambican student (as important for maintaining a research orientation/research focus on Africa at Swedish departments but being neglected as research partners in department networks) resonate with a well-known postcolonial critique of development-aid (McEwan, 2009). From this perspective, development-aid discourses have neglected and, to some extent, are still neglecting, the connection between centres and periphery and how the wealth in the global north, both historically and to date, is built on resources from the global south (Ibid). This means that at an individual level, development-aid- funded students are protected from immediate neoliberal exploitation, however at institutional level, the workings of the Coloniality of power is still valid.

Importantly, however, we should note that there are variations in these representations. When African development-aid-funded students are included in departmental research networks and recognised as important knowledge producing subjects, there exists a long-term collaboration with African universities and African researchers that is *recognised* and *valued* by leading researchers in the Swedish department.

As regards Swedish students, from the section under the subtitle 'Asian students produce, Swedish students know their rights too well !' and official statistics from the Ministry of Education referred to in the introduction, we know that Swedish students are acknowledged as knowledge producing subjects (although not ascribed the same 'value' as international students and Asian students in particular); the majority of Swedish students are employed by Swedish universities and not depending on stipends; and finally, the quotations above suggest that they are racialized as 'White' (Bonilla-Silva 2011), thus, as belonging to the department research culture.

The last part of the first step of the analysis focus on structural barriers related to citizenship and postcolonial

positionality and representations of precariousness. Particularly the following focus on contrasting development-aid-funded student with Asian international students. In the examples presented, Swedish students are not included. This is because Swedish students working in Swedish academia have the privilege of not being negatively affected by intersections related to citizenship and postcolonial positionality.

Structural barriers from various and intersecting positionalities

Policy research into the international mobility of students has highlighted structural barriers related to visa processes, seen as the main challenges for upward mobility (Oleksiyenko et al., 2013). In this context, hierarchical relations between the various groups of students are seen as an area in need of further research (2013, p 1099). The following sub-section responds to this call and focuses on structural problems related to possibilities for academic work in periods of international mobility. The following quotation is from an Asian doctoral student and is chosen because it represents a well-known structural problem for international students from outside the EU and the EES who are studying in Sweden:

> The thing is, we are employed by the university, but by the Migration Office, we are not considered as employees but as students, so we can only get student visas which means that we have to go to the Migration Office once a year to prolong our visas and that takes two months to get. If you have a conference during these two months that basically means that you cannot attend. For me it is not a big problem because conferences in my area are not related to publications but, in many other areas, if your paper is accepted for a conference it means that it will get published – but if you cannot attend the conferences then they withdraw it […]. Some people have questioned why they [*my comment:* the Migration Office] cannot take us as employees so we can get a working visa and so that they do not have to do so much paperwork […] we pay tax and we do the same things as other people who are working, so this is – I sometimes feel discriminated against.

From the interviews with supervisors and students, we know that being part of a Swedish funded development- aid program often facilitates the frequent visa requirements. However, the organisation of the PhD training programme, which requires constant mobility between Sweden and the students' home academic department, poses other and additional challenges, particularly for female researchers and those with families. The quotation, which is made by a male PhD holder, is chosen because it represents a common way of talking about obstacles in relation to the mobility component of the programme.

Yes, for those of us who have families, it is difficult. Particularly if there are kids involved. It is very difficult to leave everything and go to Sweden. And for women, of course, it is more constraining because a man can leave the house but the women will not leave the child until he or she is grown up. And when the child is grown up the woman will be too old to undertake PhD studies.

Importantly, the intersectional layers of precariousness articulated through these work relations seem to be both gendered and postcolonial. However, inherent in this is a paradox which need to be highlighted. As I showed in my previous research on this student group (Mählck, 2016): on the one hand, staying in Sweden created spaces for women to focus on research only while, on the other – and considering the burden of women as the main caregivers, putting them under enormous pressure to fulfil both their caring responsibilities back home and their research duties while in Sweden. Finally and at a more general level, the quotation names parental obligations and age relations as gendered relations, thus highlighting the disjunction between global policies of international student mobility and the layers of intersectional and translocal precariousness that are articulated from the various positionalities of international students.

It is in this respect that the intersectional and translocal layers of precariousness outlined above can be read as an important gender and postcolonial critique of the, most often, uni-dimensional and disembodied celebration of mobility currently dominating policy discourses on the internationalisation of Swedish higher education.

Different ways of reversing the active/passive dichotomy
This second part of my analysis will focus on the variety of the ways in which development-aid-funded students and Swedish supervisors who take a critical stance against their hegemonic position, represent resistance against the positionalities made available to the former. The following quotation is from a Swedish supervisor who describes how he sees the future of development-aid-funded postgraduate training.

- Well, my Swedish colleagues are not too happy about the system, with the double PhD degrees that are emerging in [African universities].
- Why?
- Because more and more work duties are being removed from Sweden to the African context.
- Ah, so Swedish universities are losing funding?
- Er, perhaps not so much funding – these programmes have never generated much funding to Swedish universities – no, the Swedish side is losing control, control over the academic process which is gradually being transferred to the African university system in terms of a double degree. Personally, I'm in favour of this and I do all I can to assist in this development – why not? They have the experience and the skills now. […] In our subject area, publishing articles in academic journals have not been a tradition but the pressure to publish is slowly entering our field […] For those supervisors who are in the middle of their careers it is very important to have many publications, but I'm retired now, I don't need more publications, I don't need to build a career, I have nothing to lose.

This quotation reveals that what is at stake for Swedish supervisors taking part in development-aid-funded training is not so much the fear of losing funding as the fear of losing power and control over PhD training and the possibilities for research that come with being involved in these programmes. In the system of double-degree PhD exams, the candidate will have a PhD from both a Swedish and from an African university. In this respect, control over the PhD process is gradually moving from Swedish to African universities. Interestingly, the Swedish supervisor quoted above situates his response within global

academic work regimes which emphasise competition and the constant pressure to publish. This indicates that, despite the philanthropic mission of development-aid-funded support for research capacity-building in countries in the global south, the academic work relations taking place within such programmes cannot be understood as operating *outside* the pressures from neo-liberal work regimes in academia. In this article, I suggest that the supervisor's active support for gradually transferring the power and influence over PhD training and research can be read as resistance against a postcolonial work order where African PhD students and researchers are constructed as the passive recipients of donor instructions and Swedish researchers occupies the positionalities of active and knowledgeable research subjects.

In the quotations below, two development-aid-funded PhD graduates reflect on their experiences of PhD training in Sweden. The quotations are chosen because they represent resistance differently as compared to the supervisor presented above.

> You see, there are two kinds of Swedes: those who have been abroad and those who have never been abroad. The first group made me feel very welcome, but the other group? Oh, they ignored me, made me feel like a thing.

> Researchers in Sweden are not used to Africans being researchers, you know, this is a common theme in postcolonial theory [laughs].

'Provincialising Europe' is an established method for the drive to decolonise institutional power structures in Western universities (Chakrabarty, 2000, 1992). Central in 'provincialising Europe' is the reversal of the gaze and the exploration of European University contexts and knowledge production from the perspective of the global south. In the context of the two last interview quotations, I suggest that, here, the researchers return their gaze towards Swedish academia and resistance is created through analysing Swedish academia from a postcolonial perspective and identifying exclusionary practices that can contribute to neo-colonialism. In this respect, these researchers articulate resistance by speaking

from the position of 'the colonial difference' (Mignolo, 2002). According to Mignolo, speaking from 'the colonial difference' means making the coloniality of power visible. Here Mignolo notes a paradox '[...] the erasure the colonial difference implies that one recognize it and think from such epistemic location [...]' (2002, p 85).

It is in this respect that the researchers' resistance differs from that of the Swedish supervisor in the quotation above. His resistance is articulated through opposing uneven power structures as regards the architecture of the program of research training and trying to reverse that by supporting a system of double degree – not, however, extending his resistance into proposing a postcolonial critique of what the programs produce in terms of research subjects and epistemologies and methodologies for knowledge production. A cautionary note is necessary here, in the PhD-program the research topics and methods, are continuously negotiated between the students and supervisors in Sweden, adding an additional layer of complexity to the analysis. This means that both students and supervisors are part of the relational process of producing subjects and objects of knowledge, albeit occupying different and hierarchical power positions.

Concluding discussion

In the tradition of critical poststructural research on equality in higher education, it is emphasised how research can and should be used to change inequality and prejudice against various and underprivileged groups in academia, as Thierney notes:

We need to go further by not only delineating the scaffolding for critical or feminist theories and the like but also suggesting how we might employ such theoretical orientations in the daily operations in our institutions. We need to consider how institutionally sponsored interventions function within the variety of different contexts that exists for different issues such as minority student retention [...] such horizons will enable us to consider the social conditions of power that give voice to some and silence others. (Thierney 1992, p 616)

I conclude by focusing on how the main results from this article can inform a different policy development in Sida funded

development-aid-funded research training. For future research, it is interesting to explore if and how these recommendations can be applied in other contexts where PhD training is funded by development-aid or other philanthropic missions.

Situated policy development

This article has shown that development-aid-funded research training cannot not be understood in isolation. While development-aid policy to some extent has problematized the unequal postcolonial power relations involved in these training programs from the perspective of the collaborating partners from the global south (Fellesson, 2017) the role and functioning of broader power relations that are currently impacting on Swedish academia in respect of global competition for funding and results and audits/pressure to publish have received less attention. Thus, a different type of policy development is possible through situating development-aid-funded training at the intersection of translocational historical and contemporary power structures related to 'postcolonial knowledge relations', 'development-aid' and 'globalisation of international postgraduate training'.

Policy development from the perspective of everyday experiences from below

Another main result concerns how development-aid-funded research training is lived, experienced, managed and negotiated by both students and supervisors. Importantly, the representations of subject positions made available to the students are the result of intersecting translocational, racialised, postcolonial and gender regimes and of how students, supervisors and colleagues manage and negotiate these power structures. Thus, policy development is possible if the lived experiences and particularly of the variety of ways in which structural obstacles are managed in the everyday are taken into account. Here processes of racialisation, gender relations and parental obligations, hitherto much neglected in policy, need particular and further attention.

Policy development through institutional dialogue on responsibility

The research results in this article highlights that the reception of the students at Swedish departments need further attention.

Here this article suggest that a different policy development could take place through an institutional dialogue on the mutual responsibilities between Sida and Swedish and African departments on what the reception of students in Swedish higher education implies. This dialogue should begin from the layers of precariousness that these students may encounter during training and what responsibility institutions should take for this. Another area concerns how the future of these programmes is imagined. In many countries, building research capacity through PhD training has existed for more than 40 years. Recent research has pointed to the lack of opportunity for further research that the students encounter after their graduation (see Zink 2018) or the uneven research collaborations with scholars in the global north that PhD graduates are offered following graduation (Fellesson and Mählck, 2017, 2013). It is in this context that an institutional dialogue on responsibility has an important and delicate mission.

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