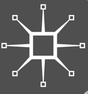

PALGRAVE STUDIES IN RACE, INEQUALITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN EDUCATION

Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education

Redressing Structural Inequalities in the Academy

Edited by Dave S. P. Thomas · Jason Arday

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ISSN 2524-633X ISSN 2524-6348 (electronic)
Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education
ISBN 978-3-030-65667-6 ISBN 978-3-030-65668-3 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3

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This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG.
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

DJB Dedication

Professor Chris Mullard, CBE

It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that Dame Jocelyn Barrow (affectionately known as DJB) contributed significantly to Britain's eventual realisation that its inequalities in general and its race and community relations in particular were an insidious societal problem that needed to be tackled and resolved. The title of this book could not be more befitting to commemorate the work of one of the most significant Black women of our time. If this were not recognition enough of a life which has inspired so many, then to dedicate to her *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education* reaches beyond commemoration, for it confirms and seals the acknowledgement of her career as a teacher, lecturer and public figure as that of a 'doer'. For DJB was above all else a firm believer in 'doing'; in Chap. 2, her conversation with the editor is a testament to that. But describing her simply as a 'doer' would be to neglect her understanding that her practice of 'doing' was founded upon three pillars.

The first pillar was her keen observation—through experience—of what constituted the problem that needed to be addressed. To a great extent, this came about as a result of her early years in colonial Trinidad, where, as a member of Eric Williams' People's National Movement, she supported the fight for independence. On arriving in Britain in 1959, the year after the Notting Hill Riots, she observed and later experienced first-hand the scale and depth of racial discrimination in the UK.

For DJB, this was both traumatic and revelatory. For like so many of the Windrush Generation, she considered imperial Britain in the late 1950s/early 1960s to be the 'mother country', where social equality and democracy reigned supreme, alongside equal opportunities for all; where the streets were paved with gold and there would be a welcoming acceptance for the thousands of West Indians invited to migrate and work here. Her response to the reality of the Britain she found on arrival culminated in a series of 'doings', from helping to found and becoming the National Secretary of CARD (the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination) to undertaking research and chairing inquiries into racial discrimination and inequality in schools, colleges and universities, as discussed in conversation in the pages that follow.

Traumatic though they were, however, her own observations and experiences were not in themselves sufficient to galvanise DJB into 'doing'. For the second pillar on which her 'doing' was founded was the conscious emergence of a changed orientation to the world, the development of a profound comprehension of the problems she observed and experienced.

For DJB, a proper grasp of what was commonly called 'colour prejudice' in the 1960s required a realisation that the problem of discrimination was inherent not only at the level of the individual, but rather, it was systemic and institutional throughout society, if not, as some of us argued, institutionalised. Thus, it was not just about prejudice or even discrimination but, instead, it was about racial and social inequality. Even more sociologically persuasive, it was about power: who holds it, who does not, how it is constructed and distributed; and for DJB particularly, how the views of those in power permeated the curricula and modes of operation of secondary and higher education.

Although she never formalised this thinking into a coherent philosophy, she nevertheless understood it in an intuitive and creative way. This led her to reject, for instance, the assimilationist notion of what in the 1960s and 1970s was known as 'immigrant education' in favour of 'multicultural education'. Not only did this shift in orientation display an understanding of the importance of culture and diversity, it also acknowledged the claims of the powerless and discriminated against, the socially and educationally deprived groups in society. It was an orientation which

supported a vision of not only a multicultural, democratic and egalitarian education system but also of society at large.

This is easily detectable in all DJB's research and writings, particularly after the 1970s when she openly began to identify the problem as one of racism, and thus saw racial discrimination as a consequence and manifestation of that. It was particularly evident in the report of the investigation she chaired into secondary schools in the Borough of Brent, between 1980 and 1984, where she concluded:

> Brent is almost two kingdoms – a prosperous middle-class North which is more White than Black … a South which is more Black than White.

For our purposes here, the third pillar on which 'doing' is founded necessitates a practice: a going beyond observations, experiences and the formation of a critical orientation, to the carrying out of actions. And as if waltzing into the steps of a graceful foxtrot, almost imperceptibly DJB did just this. The actions she took were oppositional; that is to say, they were deliberately structured towards combating racism, institutional or otherwise. Yet at the same time, they were fully supportive of the aspirations of the BAME communities and the criticisms they levelled at the educational, policing, political and corporate establishments in particular.

Working within a strategic framework of a 'bottom-up/top-down' approach, DJB practised—and bequeathed to those who follow in her steps—the notion of what she termed 'pincher politics': a set of practices aimed at 'pinching' individuals and institutions in order to change their values, beliefs and behaviours.

Perhaps more than anything else, this approach and set of oppositional actions—forms of 'doing'—characterised her work as recorded in this book. Often quietly, but always purposefully, Dame Jocelyn Barrow ever abided by the maxim that it is not enough to understand society—what is necessary is to change it.

So, as I stated earlier, it is more than befitting that this book should be dedicated to her memory. For what arose out of her observations and experiences, out of her unique perspective on racism and equality, was an impulse which continued throughout her life towards 'doing equity and diversity – for success'.

Acknowledgements

This book would not have been possible without the support of my dear friend and mentor, the exceptional Dr Jason Arday, who entertained what seemed to be an aspiration and a far-fetched idea at the time.

Dave would like to express his sincere gratitude to Professor Robbie Shilliam and Professor Robert Beckford for their guidance and support that enabled him to extend his thoughts beyond his immediate capabilities. He would also like to thank the following friends and colleagues who have supported and inspired him throughout this process: the late great Dame Jocelyn Barrow, Professor Sir Geoffery Palmer, Professor Sir Hillary Beckles, Dr Miranda Brawn, Professor Toni Williams, Dr Carlton Brown, Marika Sherwood, Professor Lez Henry, Professor Heidi Safia Mirza, Professor Kevin Hylton, Professor Marcia Wilson, Professor Olivette Otele, Nathan Ghann and Professor Paul Phillips. Most importantly, Dave would like to thank his amazing family: Shauna, Malik, Deja, Mum (Merle), Brian, Craig and Andrea for their patience, inspiration, understanding and unconditional support.

Jason would like to express his sincere gratitude to Dr Zainab Khan, Michael Cobden, Stephanie DeMacro Berman, Dr Muna Abdi, Micheal Roy Hobson, Izram Chaudry, Beth Thomas-Hancock, Professor Vikki Boliver, Dr Anthony Maher, Dr Dina Zoe Belluigi, Delayna Spencer, Ammara Khan. Jason would like to extend a huge thanks to his

exceptional family: Debbie-Ann, Taylah, Noah, Mum, Dad, Simon, Joseph and Sandro. Finally, a special thanks must go to the brilliant Dave Thomas, a truly wonderful human being and one of the very best people I have had the privilege of meeting in my life.

We also wish to thank the Palgrave Macmillan Editorial Team, particularly former Chief Editor Eleanor Christie and Rebecca Wyde, for providing this opportunity and for believing in us and in our ability to realise this important project.

We acknowledge the contributors to this publication for their generous intellectual capital that is contained within these pages. We have been honoured to build relationships with you throughout the course of compiling this book. And to all those who have negotiated the spaces of the academy in search of academic sustenance and intellectual liberation; be the change you want to see, so that these spaces can become welcoming spaces for all people to do, be and become in striving to achieve their dreams.

Praise for *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*

"In this meticulously curated and wide-ranging volume, Thomas and Arday perform the crucial task of setting today's movements for racial justice in their historical context, as well as offering examples of concrete and practical strategies that contemporary activists and scholars are adopting. Bringing together veterans of the struggle from around the world with younger thinkers and practitioners, the volume examines questions of equity and justice in their many interconnected dimensions."

—Dr Meera Sabaratnam, *SOAS University of London, UK*

"There has never been a more critical time for this collection of incredible academics and thought leaders to come together to voice their experiences and ideas on equity and diversity. The range and variety of perspectives expressed are refreshing and insightful and reflect the complexities of race and racism in the higher education sector. This book should not just be read, it should be used as a tool for action. If it is utilised in this way, it could have a huge impact on the sector and change the way that we work within institutions."

—Paulette Williams, *University College London, UK*

"For this wide-ranging and inter-disciplinary book, Thomas and Arday have curated a stunning group of international scholars to critically address the equity and diversity agenda in higher education. With recent developments decisively puncturing myths of meritocracy and equality of opportunity, this collection is more timely than ever."

—Professor Robbie Shilliam, *Johns Hopkins University, USA*

Contents

1 Introduction: The Owl of Minerva Has Flown: Can Equity and Diversity be Done for Success in Higher Education Now? 1
Dave S. P. Thomas

Part I A Review of the Past and a Look into the Future 19

2 The Myth of Academic Underperformance and Notions of Truth 52 Years After the Passing of the Race Relations Act 1968: In Conversation with Dame Jocelyn Barrow 21
Dame Jocelyn Anita Barrow and Dave S. P. Thomas

3 A Diverse Society Needs Diverse Solutions 37
Sir Geoffery Palmer

4 What We Don't, but Should Know 49
Marika Sherwood

5 Decolonisation or Empowerment in Higher Education? 65
Hakim Adi and Dave S. P. Thomas

6 Travelling Between Historical Memory and the Current Predicament of Educational Reforms in Higher Education: A Transnational Perspective 77
Amina Mama and Dave S. P. Thomas

7 Fencing the Race: Responding to the Past to Help Shape the Future 87
Olivette Otele and Dave S. P. Thomas

Part II Equality, Diversity, Inclusivity or Decolonisation: The Big Conundrum 97

8 Decolonising Academic Spaces: Moving Beyond Diversity to Promote Racial Equity in Postsecondary Education 99
Frank Tuitt and Saran Stewart

9 Towards the Unmaking of Canons: Decolonising the Study of Literature 117
Sandeep Bakshi

10 "Merit", "Success" and the Epistemic Logics of Whiteness in Racialised Education Systems 127
Harshad Keval

11 Decolonising the Academy: A Look at Student-Led Interventions in the UK 139
Ilyas Nagdee and Azfar Shafi

12 On the Fallacy of Decolonisation in Our Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) 151
Nadia Mehdi and Maryam Jameela

13 Diversify or Decolonise? What You Can Do Right Now and How to Get Started 161
Michelle Grue

Part III Big Data: Am I a Name or Number? 173

14 The Unknown Student, and Other Short Stories: An Ethical and Methodological Exploration of Students as Data 175
Liz Austen

15 Turning Big Data into Informed Action 201
Nathan Ghann

16 Using Data-Driven Approaches to Address Systematic Awarding Gaps 215
Katharine Hubbard

Part IV Identity and Belonging for Outliers, Space Invaders and Others Within the Brick Walls 227

17 Recruitment, Retention and Progression: Navigating the Flashpoints of Gender, Race and Religious Discrimination in Higher Education 229
Heidi Safia Mirza

18 Reflections on Redressing Racial Inequalities, When Teaching Race in the Sociology of Sport and Physical Education 241
Michael Roy Hobson and Stuart Whigham

19 Fighting Back While Black: The Relationship Between Racialised Resistance and Well-Being 249
Rianna Walcott

20 In Whose Interest Is 'Training the Dog'? Black Academics' Reflection on Academic Development for 'Access and Success' in a Historically White University in South Africa 265
Dina Zoe Belluigi and Gladman Thondhlana

21 Understanding Critical Whiteness Studies: Harmful or Helpful in the Struggle for Racial Equity in the Academy? 277
Michael Cole

22 Who Feels It Knows It! Alterity, Identity and 'Epistemological Privilege': Challenging White Privilege from a Black Perspective Within the Academy 299
William 'Lez' Henry

23 Many Rivers to Cross: The Challenges and Barriers Facing Aspiring Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) Leaders in the Academy 313
Jason Arday and Marcia Wilson

24 Understanding and Interrupting Systemic Racism: A 'Race Equality Receipt' as a Mechanism to Promote Transformational Conversations and Stimulate Actions to Redress Race Inequality 325
Dave S. P. Thomas and Malik Mikel

25 Sowing the Seeds: Embracing and Re-imaging a More Racially Inclusive Academy 345
Jason Arday

Index 351

Notes on Contributors

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Jason Arday is an Assistant Professor in Sociology at Durham University in the Department of Sociology. He is a Visiting Research Fellow at The Ohio State University in the Office of Diversity and Inclusion, a Research Associate at Nelson Mandela University in the Centre for Critical Studies in Higher Education Transformation and a Trustee of the Runnymede Trust, the UK's leading race equality think tank. Arday is also a Trustee of the British Sociological Association (BSA). He sits on the Centre for Labour and Social Studies (CLASS) National Advisory Panel and is a School Governor at Shaftesbury Park Primary School in London. Arday's research focuses on Race, Education, Intersectionality and Social Justice. He sits on the following trade union equality committees: Trade Union Congress (TUC) Race Relations Committee, University and College Union (UCU) Black Members' Standing Committee and the UK Council for Graduate Education (UKCGE) Working Group on BME Participation

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Dame Jocelyn Anita Barrow DBE (15 April 1929–9 April 2020) was a British educator, community activist. Born in Trinidad, Barrow pioneered multicultural education in England and was a founding member and General Secretary of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD), the organisation responsible for the Race Relations Act of 1968. She was the first Black woman to be a governor of the BBC and was also Deputy Chair of the Broadcasting Standards Council, Trustee of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside and a Governor of

the British Film Institute. Awarded the OBE (1972) for work in education and community relations, she was later made DBE (1992) for broadcasting and worked with the EU on the Economic and Social Committee.

Sir Hilary Beckles is the eighth Vice-Chancellor of The University of the West Indies (The UWI) is a distinguished academic, international thought leader, United Nations committee official and global public activist in the field of social justice and minority empowerment. He is the President, Universities Caribbean and Chairman, Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Reparations Commission. He has lectured extensively in Europe, the Americas, Africa and Asia, and has authored over 100 peer-reviewed essays in scholarly journals, and over 13 books on subjects ranging from Atlantic and Caribbean history, gender relations in the Caribbean, sport development and popular culture. For his outstanding academic leadership and public advocacy around these themes, in 2015 Sir Hilary was invited by the President of the UN General Assembly to deliver the feature address during the sitting in which the period 2015–2024 was declared the UN Decade for People of African Descent.

Dina Zoe Belluigi work relates to the agency and ethico-historical responsibility of artists and academics in contexts undergoing transitions in authority and in the shadow of oppression. Shaped in part by her experiences as a practitioner in creative arts education and later in academic development in her country of South Africa, she is concerned with the complexity of the conditions which may enable the development of artists and academics as critical consciousness. She is committed to the growth of pan-African and international networks for advancing Critical University Studies, where committed scholars, practitioners and policy makers across the globe actively pursue an emancipatory imagination for the future university.

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Michelle Grue interdisciplinary research in Education and Writing draws on Black feminism to investigate diversity issues in academia and in digital writing. Her current project focuses on the official structures that do or do not exist in Writing and Rhetoric doctoral programmes to teach graduate students how to research race and gender in Writing Studies. Grue earned her Bachelor of Arts in Creative Writing at Pepperdine University and her MA at the Gevirtz Graduate School of Education at the University of California, Santa Barbara. She gained her PhD at this university. She is joining the faculty in the Fall of 2020 as an Assistant Teaching Professor, also at UCSB.

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Amina Mama is a Nigerian/British Professor, feminist, academic and consultant whose professional career spans a variety of European, African and U.S. tertiary institutions. Founding Editor of *Feminist Africa*, she is an accomplished educator, researcher and writer, with a doctorate in psy-

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Chris Mullard CBE, DL Hon LLD, is the author of *Black Britain*; *Race, Power and Resistance*; and *Anti-Racist Education*. Mullard's former roles include Regional Secretary of CARD; Director of the Race Relations & Policy Research Unit (now part of UCL); Royally appointed Professor of Education & Ethnic Studies at the University of Amsterdam; Chair of London Notting Hill Carnival; and Deputy Lieutenant for Wiltshire. He is social entrepreneur, as well as Honorary Consul for South Africa and Visiting Professor at the Royal Agricultural University, Cirencester. He was awarded the CBE in 2004 for services to race relations, and in 2009, received an Honorary LLD from Exeter University.

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Dead Is the Empire: Buried, Its Pedagogy Should Be!

Had I known, I might have stayed. But how could I have known. Stayed where? Here or there? These were the questions that followed the invitation to prepare this foreword to a book that threatens to bury much of what is known. The practicing of equity in pursuit of diversity in the higher education system of Britain matters enormously to Black lives. Redressing inequality of a structural kind matters most. But, where do I begin to tell the story of what a Black life could be? I wish to speak about the university as I experienced it. I begin with an immigrant's invitation before this academic expectation.

I was placed on a plane and sent from Barbados to Birmingham. Just a teen, I was rushed with the wind from a colonial village to an industrial city where work was promised to parents at rates above those left behind. Back across the middle passage, I thought, from Little England to Great Britain, an internal journey. I was coming home; home sweet home, the motherland, God saved the Queen!

The names were the same. The plantations back there and the buildings over here had owners who were the same. The Blacks branded on their back, back there and the streets over here carried the same names. Everything was familiar. We were, after all, one big extended family—until the school bell rang.

The themes that hold together this collection of courageous essays have a great deal to do with what happened next. That was 1969 when Enoch Powell welcomed me to the Midlands of England. He was virulent knocking the stuffing out of the chickens he said were coming home to roost. Barbados was Britain's first Black slave society. It was invented in the imagination of these Isles and implemented as a crime against humanity in the West Indies, a long way away from home.

Two generations it took my kind to knock on the doors of colleges and universities and then to be told to hold. A Black graduate was not a gift—not required; so, why enquire about matriculation rules and pose a predicament for keepers of the enrolment keys.

Doing diversity in the university and redressing the indignity of inequality in ethnicity took its cool time in becoming an academic discourse. Today, they are at the core of the cursing about Black lives mattering. Institutions are insisting upon harnessing a new era in which cultural knowledge, historical awareness and moral reflection should have traction as content for the curriculum.

I was assigned to a school, a building, and told by a City Councillor that there I would find many of my kind. There was no test or assessment for the assignment. It was a long way from the grammar school back there. Here, no Latin nor literature, nor scripture; just endless hours of woodwork and metal work and pottery. The artisan was intended to snuff out and replace the academic. This was the expectation.

The factories in the vicinity were filled with men and women who came before, and most had passed through my gate. Two decades and no one noticed that the City Council had committed the sin of racial profiling. Children from the cane field were de-educated and doomed—from plantation to school prisons, and inexorably for many, to jail.

This research collection tells the academic allegory of where we have reached today. West Indians and East Indians pushing their professors and on graduation finding themselves rejected by private sectors. Racism isn't random. It is intuitive and institutionalised. It is popular culture and defines the national interest. Race ideology is embedded because the nation was built upon it. Empire gave it energy and profits provided the fuel. Universities and churches were nurtured by it and professors made

a science of it. It is everywhere. In the air we made. There is no escaping it. But now as then, here and back there, humanity finds its heroes.

From the history curriculum career education officers carved out the imperial content. This was necessary so as not to terrorise the White child raised to think in terms, every term, of its racial triumphalism. It grew to maturity believing that not knowing is not to feel accountable. No shame and no guilt. Just silence. But elites knew and continued to drink the devil's wine. The masses got cheaper sugar and finer cotton from the plantations. All was well within the realm.

There is no finer volume of scholarship that delves to the centre of these discourses. The cobwebbed culture of racism holds together the legacies of imperialism in which Great Britain did best in the business of selling Black souls and enchained bodies. With faster ships and better rates from the City of London, its merchants managed colonies in the East and West, North and South. They brought home the toxin, the racism that poisons the academic culture, leaving the future to figure out where exits exist. These academic discourses and the researches that give them legs are bound together here as testimony of the imposing truth, that racism is about the extraction of value and its transference to benefactors who believe in the notion that those with more are better than those with less. Whiteness was invented in this language and is spoken loudest in the laboratories of universities where history became heresy.

I wish I knew the content of this collection back then, before setting out from the Caribbean on a domestic journey against the winds that blew my ancestors to the bosoms of bondage. From the slum of my school with no suburb, I escaped by grace to a university, via a college for adult learning. There, I found no pedagogical peace. The curriculum in philosophy deemed every writer from Africa, Asia and their diasporas to be protest writers unfit to carry the title Philosopher! From there I fled once again to a Faculty that taught the things which mattered most to a Black life. It was the 1970s and none of my kind could be found conducting a class. With no further to run I fled—a one-way flight to freedom from Britain. But I did ask myself, who will clean up the imperial mess I left behind?

Thomas and Arday are calling for an end to the flying. They are empowering Faculty fighters, urging them to rise and take a stand! Universities must undo and sweep away the debris of the crumbling colonialism. They were critical to the creation of the racism that still suffocates the classrooms. But the truth is that the Empire is dead and its pedagogy should now be buried.

Kingston, Jamaica Professor Sir Hilary Beckles

List of Figures

Fig. 14.1	Categories of Institutional Research and Evaluation (IRE)	182
Fig. 15.1	UK Degree Outcome by entry level qualifications and ethnicity 2016/2017 (Office for Students 2018)	203
Fig. 15.2	Value-added scores of Kingston University, University of Hertfordshire, and Wolverhampton University 2012–2014. (Taken from Barefoot et al. 2019)	206
Fig. 21.1	Whiteness Infographic	285
Fig. 21.2	Anti-racism schema	287

List of Tables

Table 16.1 How institutional level awarding gap data masks local complexity 217
Table 21.1 The Educators' Anti-Racist Self-reflection (EARS) tool 293

1

Introduction: The Owl of Minerva Has Flown: Can Equity and Diversity be Done for Success in Higher Education Now?

Dave S. P. Thomas

> race is paradoxically, both everywhere and nowhere, structuring… lives but not formally recognized… in a racially structured polity, the only people who can find it psychologically possible to deny the centrality of 'race'[1] are those who are racially privileged, for whom 'race' is invisible precisely because the world is structured around them, whiteness as the ground against which the figures of other races –those who, unlike us are raced – appear. (Mills 2014: p. 76)

On Monday 23 March 2020, Prime Minister Boris Johnson placed the UK on lockdown in an attempt to arrest the spread of the coronavirus (COVID-19). Before that, face-to-face tuition had ceased in most UK universities. International students had returned home. Education officials and staff were scrambling to prepare material that could be delivered digitally. The financial outlook had become dire. Universities had become

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_1

tone-deaf and long-standing calls for redressing systemic inequalities and institutional racism in higher education (HE) were postponed. Similar scenes were being played out at other universities globally. Amidst growing concerns and unprecedented events as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, there was an upsurge of civil unrest. Overt, virulent acts of racialised violence against Black people, captioned by explosive footage, by way of bystander videos were being staged on virtual platforms in a similar manner to the epistemic violence that had become commonplace and enacted on a daily basis through the university curriculum. Minneapolis had become centre stage for a performance that was to receive viewership globally. The 'knee on the neck' had once again become the contradiction to the mattering of Black lives. People marched in the streets; statues were removed. The #BlackLivesMatter and #SayHerName hashtags were trending and solidarity statements were being hastily prepared and plagiarised. This was a moment not to be missed. Displays of solidarity and allyship would serve as currency hereafter. Performative allyship was again en vogue. While performative allyship often serves as a catalyst for social change in the short term, it should not be confused with real allyship, for example, *White Sanction* (see Miller 2016), which requires an acknowledgement and transfer of privilege by nonmarginalised groups to marginalised groups. Eager to return to business as usual without further disruption, universities were now forced to agree that this period effectively signalled the end of their current existence in the current state. Similar to a time when the social time bomb exploded in America, inspired by the fight for racial, economic, social and political equality, the seminal song in the civil rights movement, Sam Cooke's 'A Change Is Gonna Come', was reverberating once again. The long arc of history that bends towards justice was now bending even further. Change will now have to come to post-secondary education as we knew it. We were at a crucial moment. We hate to say this, but we told you so!

This is a timeless collection that immortalises the perspectives of anti-racist scholars-activists. What follows is bequeathed to those who have sought, seek, are seeking and will seek to do equity and diversity for success in education. *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success* is transdisciplinary/interdisciplinary and proposes that in order to redress structural inequalities in the academy successfully, a guarantee of the basic human

rights to all without regard to 'race' is a prerequisite. It warrants revisiting the past and a reflection on the present.

> Living in the wake means living in history and presence of terror, from slavery to the present, as the ground of our everyday Black existence; living the geographically dis/continuous but always present and essentially reinvigorated brutality in, and on, our bodies while even as that terror is visited on our bodies, the realities of that terror are erased. (Sharpe 2016: p. 15)

Doing Equity and Diversity for Success allows us to explore perspectives, reflections, methodologies, research and scholarship of activist-scholars and social justice advocates who challenge the seemingly immovable colonial and imperial structures of HE institutions. They bemoan institution's lack of flexibility to reflect on and review its policies, practices and processes in order to acknowledge its ever increasingly diverse residents and meet their moral and equality imperatives. In what follows, the exceptional authors advocate what I call hereafter an 'institutional deficit methodology'.[2] This should be viewed as a framework for illuminating and reconciling historical atrocities that promote inequitable outcomes for racially minoritised students and staff in post-secondary education, and for designing holistic strategies to redress disparities that maintain and exacerbate these structural inequalities. Dismantling these structures and effecting sustainable social transformations will resuscitate our ailing institutions. It is clear that there is no panacea, hence an ethical, holistic, person-centred approach, guided by an institutional deficit methodology seems plausible.

The essays contained within this volume draw on critical race theory (CRT), decolonial theory and post-colonial theories and proffer a contemporaneous insight into the development of vehicles and instruments aimed at driving sustainable institutional change in post-secondary education processes, policies and practice at the micro, meso and macro levels, while highlighting praxis in context, concepts and content. The tenets of racial realism, racial idealism, intersectionality, Whiteness as property, QuantCrit, DisCrit, WhiteCrit and BritCrit in CRT are used skilfully as analytical tools for examining how people who are racialised as minorities continue to be marginalised by the interplay between personal, structural and institutional factors. Additionally, the tenets of 'othering' and

'identity and belonging' within post-colonial studies offer leverage as analytical tools to highlight how the social and cultural effects of colonialism and imperialism disaffirm social justice imperatives. We seek to explore a range of perspectives and explore how the intersection/s of race and identities including gender, being LGBTQIA, religion faith, culture, age and disability can create further academic challenges and shape the outcomes and experiences of racialised minorities in HE, and how moments of empowerment have/can be created. In the words of Audrey Lorde (2003: p. 26), 'difference must not merely be tolerated, but seen as a fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark like a dialectic'. The incontrovertible consensus presented in this collection mandates a review of the past as a means of informing the future.

A Review of the Past and a Look into the Future

The groundswell of protests globally has served as a call to action for universities to acknowledge and reconcile with their imperial history and legacy of colonialism, in order to redouble their efforts to promote social justice and eliminate institutional racism. In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, global responses and solidarity for actions to address the global pandemic of systemic racism, the HE sector now finds itself at a watershed moment, where hindsight must stimulate foresight.

This collection commemorates the work of the late, great, Dame Jocelyn Anita Barrow DBE, one of the most significant Black women of our time, who dedicated her life to 'doing equity and diversity' for success. Fifty-two years after the passing of the Race Relations Act 1968, I had the extreme pleasure of conversing with Dame Jocelyn Barrow (see Chap. 2), where she debunked the myth of academic underperformance and illuminated notions of truth. Dame Jocelyn Barrow skilfully and meticulously outlined her methodology for 'doing equity and diversity'. This was undergirded by her philosophy of what she called *pincher politics*—a set of practices aimed at 'pinching' individuals and institutions in order to change their values, beliefs and behaviours. In a life that has inspired so many, Dame Jocelyn Barrow bequeathed an approach to

'doing equity and diversity' for success that reflected a counterhegemonic process aimed at reimagining, recurating and reconfiguring society in general and post-secondary education in particular.

Doing equity and diversity is about 'doing, being and becoming'. In the words of Stuart Hall, the question is not who we are but who we can become (Hall 2017). We are responsible for drawing attention to the injustices of our time. In his exquisitely articulated autobiographical account, the first Back university Professor in Scotland, Professor Sir Geoffery Palmer asserts that 'A Diverse Society Needs Diverse Solutions' (see Chap. 3). Drawing on the notions of cognitive dissonance, we are reminded of the mechanisms that maintain *academic amnesia* and '*institutional ignorance*' as falsehoods that sustain racism. This aligns with the comfortable idea that 'by adopting a "colour-blind" and "complacent" bureaucratic approach, [societies] can claim to be doing something, while doing nothing at all to change the status quo' (Mirza 2018: p. 7). Therefore, in order to do equity and diversity successfully, Professor Sir Geoffery Palmer implores that system consciousness becomes necessary, as this promotes an understanding of what can actually be done.

Marika Sherwood skilfully chronicles 'What We Don't, but Should Know' (see Chap. 4). In her forensic investigation, she highlights some of the effects of British colonialism in India and Africa and subsequent division of Africa by Europeans. Posing innumerable questions, all about the history that has been (under)researched and (over)reported, we are reminded of Chinua Achebe's warning of the dangers of not having your own stories. Quoting an African proverb, Achebe exclaimed 'until lions have their own historians, the history of the hunt will always glorify the hunter' (Achebe 1994). As Sherwood elucidates a juxtaposition between the colonial contributions and the lack of acknowledgement and research that highlights the profits made by those involved in the nefarious slave trade, we are provided with an entree that glances at the history of peoples of African and Indian origins in the UK and some aspects of discrimination.

Decolonising HE has been thought of as a post-colonial thought-revolution that unsettles and reconstitutes standard processes of knowledge production. Hakim Adi, in his chapter 'Decolonisation or Empowerment in Higher Education?' (see Chap. 5), explores contemporary struggles between decolonisation and empowerment in HE. In a riveting conversation, Adi dismissed claims that Britain is a post-racial

society, then accounts for the absence of Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) histories in the school curriculum. Adi then highlights practical strategies to shape praxis by highlighting how the process of decolonisation can be operationalised to effect sustainable change in the curricula in post-secondary education as a means of redressing structural inequalities.

In a fascinating conversation with the editor, Amina Mama takes us on a journey 'Travelling Between Historical Memory and the Current Predicament of Educational Reforms in Higher Education: A Transnational Perspective' in her passionate contribution (see Chap. 6). Mama explores the current knowledge systems employed in Westernised universities and the barriers that these epistemologies and ontologies present to people from racially minoritised backgrounds. Mama investigates the relationship between neoliberalism, capitalism and the decolonisation project and then importantly highlights how the praxis of educational policies and legacy of colonialism promote *Black Suffering*. Mama calls for a pan-African approach as a means of enhancing the decolonisation project in post-secondary education.

Olivette Otele in her chapter 'Fencing the Race: Responding to the Past to Help Shape the Future' (see Chap. 7) makes the point that the history of colonialism shapes and maintains structural inequalities in higher education institutions. As Otele points out, academic disciplines are based on methodological and ontological notions on *Whiteness* that render other philosophies inferior. Otele proposes that having benefited from the bequest of slavery, HE as a sector should seek to provide reparations to people who are most affected by the disreputable slave trade, as a means of redressing structural inequalities.

Equality, Diversity, Inclusivity or Decolonisation: The Big Conundrum

Education is a mechanism for promoting cultural integration, social mobility and egalitarianism; universities may be considered sites for hybridity of equality. Paradoxically, universities are also seen as sites for the preservation of institutional racism (Law 2017). Racialised attitudes that lead to institutional racism in universities also lead to the choking of minority ethnic people, subsequently precluding them from achieving

optimum attainment, progression and success. Some commentators believe that students are framing these expectations of post-secondary education with a consumerist and/or liberatory paradigm (Peters 2018; Grosfoguel 2012; Axelrod 2002). Allied to these demands are cries to re-curate and re-contextualise the curriculum (Shilliam 2015, 2016), by interrogating the formation of the 'Western hegemonic province'.[3] The contemporary university may be seen as the gatekeepers of the nation's consciousness in maintaining knowledge hierarchies. Despite the overwhelming number of inquisitions, the canons and subsequent curricula have not seriously been reviewed, in terms of its debates, policies, practice and praxis. A set of defences have been provided by critics, who accuse people who campaign to decolonise the curriculum of cultural policing, ineptitude to grapple with intellectually difficult questions and attempting to censor history, literature, politics and culture (Williams 2016; Phillips 2019). Others assume the role as gatekeepers of the traditional cannon and Lords of the Western hegemonic province, for fear of it being desecrated by vulgarism, identity-politics and narcissism. Ramon Grosfoguel declared that one of the major successes of colonial world systems has been to get people located on the oppressed side of power relations to think epistemically like the ones on the dominant side of power relations (Grosfoguel 2012). This is generally enacted in colour-blind ideologies, policies and practices that see 'race' being trumped by class, gender or sexuality, with a lack of appreciation for the intersecting axes of discrimination. Educational organisations seem to be faced with the conundrum of placating 'the consumers', maintaining the status quo, or defusing the decolonising incursion with more palatable alternatives. In the following chapters, the contributing authors interrogate concepts such as equality, diversity, inclusivity and decolonisation by unearthing their theoretical underpinnings of these concepts and the complex ways in which they are operationalised in post-secondary education. Our aim in this section is to establish robust means of demonstrating the efficacy of these approaches to redress systemic inequalities that catalyse and sustain inconsistencies in the curriculum.

In their chapter 'Decolonising Academic Spaces: Moving Beyond Diversity to Promote Racial Equity in Postsecondary Education' (see Chap. 8), Frank Tuitt and Saran Stewart skilfully present a conceptual framework for framing decolonised academic spaces. Tuitt and Stewart

address the concepts of (1) decolonising the mind through ways of knowing and knowledge construction; (2) decolonising pedagogy; (3) decolonising structures, policies and practices; and (4) reimagining the academy from a decolonised lens. Their framework moves beyond diversity to promote racial equity and inclusion by exploring what the framework may look like in praxis.

Extending reflections on University syllabi Sandeep Bakshi propounds the idea of unmaking canons in his chapter, 'Towards the Unmaking of Canons: Decolonising the Study of Literature' (see Chap. 9). Bakshi interrogates terms associated with decolonised curricula to clear the space for building a 'decolonial option' in canonical literary knowledges and proposes routes for their construction.

Harshad Keval meticulously explores the shifting landscape of what 'success' has come to mean in terms of meritocracy in education systems in his theoretically rich chapter '"Merit", "Success" and the Epistemic Logics of Whiteness in Racialised Education Systems' (see Chap. 10). Keval proffers 'racial-parallax' and 'epistemologies of ignorance' as instruments to excavate the myriad ways in which Whiteness and merit occupy central but often invisible positions of power. Through a decolonial lens, Keval proposes the ontology of racialised being and racialised knowing as means of deconstructing Whiteness and a pathway towards liberatory routes.

Ilyas Nagdee and Azfar Shafi present an ecology of the formation and crystallisation of the movement to decolonise education in British universities in their chapter 'Decolonising the Academy: A Look at Student-Led Interventions in the UK' (see Chap. 11). In their illuminating chapter, Nagdee and Shafi account for the contributions of student and faculty-led campaigns to contemporary discourses relating to 'race' and racism within UK universities, as well as the implications for practice of this approach.

Nadia Mehdi and Maryam Jameela explore the dichotomy between desires to decolonise and actions that impede the process of decolonisation in their chapter 'On the Fallacy of Decolonisation in Our Higher Education Institutions (HEIs)' (see Chap. 12). Mehdi and Jameela's critically reflect on two purported attempts of decolonisation in HE and the co-optation of endeavours to decolonise, as a means of personal career advancement. Mehdi and Jameela ultimately argue that efforts to decolonise should be underscored by an endeavour to achieve social justice.

Michelle Grue introduces a framework to trigger the process of change in making the academic curriculum more inclusive for BAME students in her chapter, 'Diversify of Decolonise? What Can You Do Right Now and How to Get Started' (see Chap. 13). Grue skilfully and meticulously explains the meaning of contested terms, such as equity, equality, diversifying or decolonising, and then poses pertinent questions to promote introspection by organisations and individuals who are interested in redressing structural inequalities.

Big Data: Am I a Name or a Number

The datafication of learning and teaching in HE to measure the 'distance travelled' by students on their academic journey is still exploratory. Consequently, the datafication of epistemic inequality as a statistical measure to identify and quantify disparities in academic attainment has proven effective in illuminating the size and scale of these inequalities, but not why they occur. Hence, the datafied student remains visibly invisible, with Administrators and faculty firmly transfixed on achieving success, based on their statistical metrics. There is little evidence to suggest that the current use of statistical measures to assess excellence in research, teaching, learning opportunities, assessment and feedback at universities and colleges, is with the intent of providing a satisfying, personalised learning experience for students. Rather, the datafication of students may be seen as a means of achieving institutional status and market positioning. This section provides insight into some of the complexities and inconsistencies associated with the use of data in advancing the interests of students and institutions in the academy. Drawing on research, theories, policy and vignettes, this chapter reflects on the current use of data in addressing disparities in student attainment and presents a plausible view of the opportunities available with the functional use of data to mitigate racial academic inequality in the academy. The implications of this chapter may prove effective in informing policy and practice within the academe.

Liz Austen skilfully employs the principles of QuantCrit in her analysis of an institutional research project in a UK university in her chapter,

'The Unknown Student and Other Short Stories: An Ethical and Methodological Exploration of Student Data' (see Chap. 14). Austen employs her typology of institutional research (2018, 2020) to discuss typical data collection approaches within an institution. Primarily, Austen illuminates the usually hidden voices of students through digital storytelling. Austen asserts that all those involved in institutional research and evaluation 'should engage in critical self-reflection to avoid perpetuating racist narratives through data' (Cross 2018: p. 268).

Nathan Ghann, in his chapter, 'Turning Big Data into Informed Action', reasons that the persistence of disparities in degrees awarded may be the resultant effect of the misuse of data as a standalone artefact (see Chap. 15). Ghann highlights the value-added (VA) approach to data analysis as a better approach to inform conversations related to redressing systemic attainment disparities in UK universities.

In her chapter, Katharine Hubbard advocates 'Using Data-Driven Approaches to Address Systematic Awarding Gaps' (see Chap. 16). In the absence of a consensus on the most effective means of mitigating against and addressing systemic degree awarding gaps, Hubbard presents a case for the incorporation of awarding gap statistics into national league tables and quality assurance exercises as a means of motivating institutions to act with due diligence to redress the datafication of epistemic inequality.

Identity and Belonging for Outliers, Space Invaders and Others Within the Brick Walls

Institutional somatic norms are challenged when Black and brown bodies come to inhabit, or seemingly invade institutional spaces within its 'brick walls'. Within the academy, White bodies are 'tacitly designated as being the neutral occupants of such spaces, with others marked out as trespassers' (Punwar 2004: p. 8). When these 'other' bodies enter institutional spaces (physically, epistemically or ontologically), they often provoke a level of suspicion, anxiety and super-surveillance. Paradoxically, these 'dissonant bodies' are now entering UK universities proportionally at a higher rate than their counterparts in the case of students, through

initiatives such as 'Widening Participation' (Moore et al. 2013) and 'Internationalization' (Knight 2008). In spite of this, they are perceived as '"space invaders", part and apart from… a society that grapples with [their presence]' (Punwar 2004: p. 23). In the case of staff, there is a severe underrepresentation of minority ethnic staff among the professoriate in UK universities, where there are 35 Black female professors among a cohort of 20,000 professors (HESA 2019). Intersectional disparities in pay between Black and White staff (Universities and Colleges Employers Association 2019) and the career pipeline blockage (Williams et al. 2019) are examples of institutional somatic norms that impact negatively on these seemingly 'dissonant bodies'. Taken together, these are all but some of the factors that compromise identity and belonging for students and staff from racially minoritised backgrounds in universities. Minority ethnic staff and students in universities are being asphyxiated by sustained pressure owing to the weight of Whiteness in unhealthy institutionally racist universities globally on a daily basis. 'Race' is a determinant of health (Marmot et al. 2020); racism is a matter of life and death. Writing in his seminal work in the history of sociology—*The Souls of Black Folk*—W.E.B Dubois aptly warned that 'the problem of the [twenty-first] century is the problem of the color line' (Dubois 1903). If universities are to move beyond its twenty-first-century anachronistic veil, there needs to be an urgent recognition that 'race' is a determinant of health, similar to education (Dahlgren and Whitehead 2006). The evidence amassed in this book unanimously proclaims that 'race' shapes inequality in post-secondary education. University leaders will need to engage with the inconvenient truth that racism and its offspring race inequality is a matter of life and death and that universities need to reconcile with the past in order to shape the future. The past is dead and the future is the present!

How issues of 'race', faith and cultural differences are recognised and addressed in exclusionary institutional spaces of elite White privilege, particularly in relation to students from minority ethnic backgrounds is an issue that concerns Heidi Safia Mirza in her chapter, 'Recruitment, Retention and Progression: Navigating the Flashpoints of Gender, Race and Religious Discrimination in Higher Education' (see Chap. 17). By way of meticulously crafted case studies, Mirza highlights the myriad ways in which White tutors support Black and minority ethnic (BME)

students on Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) courses, before skilfully and poetically presenting 'best practice' case studies in order to illuminate the everyday barriers to recruitment, retention and progression for BME students on PGCE courses.

In their chapter, Michael Roy Hobson and Stuart Whigham contribute 'Reflections on Redressing Racial Inequalities, When Teaching Race in the Sociology of Sport and Physical Education' (see Chap. 18). In their uniquely candid reflections on their privilege as White academics, Hobson and Whigham explore structural the impact of structural Whiteness on teaching in HE, before discussing critical practices and pedagogies aimed at decentring Whiteness. Hobson and Whigham tentatively proffer recommendations which may promote introspection and inform the pedagogical practices of White academics, in order to effectively and equally empower students of all ethnicities.

In her illuminating chapter, 'Fighting Back While Black: The Relationship Between Racialised Resistance and Well-Being', Rianna Walcott skilfully uses Black feminist frameworks to explore the effects of underrepresentation of Black female and non-binary scholars in British academic institutions (see Chap. 19). Walcott interviews four Black Caribbean scholars and illuminates the extent to which underrepresentation within the academy poses barriers to their progression, retention and mental well-being. Walcott evaluates institutional systems that negatively impact on Black participation in the academy and the extent to which these historical opposition to these systems has led to the identification of the radical potential of marginal communities. Walcott proffers recommendations to redress factors that promote racialised oppression and suboptimal well-being for people from racially marginalised backgrounds in the academy.

Situated against a historical narrative of academic development in South Africa, Dina Belluigi and Gladman Thondhlana in their chapter critically reflect, 'In Whose Interest Is 'Training the Dog'? Black Academics' Reflection on Academic Development for 'Access and Success' in a Historically White University in South Africa' (see Chap. 20). Within the context of post-apartheid South Africa, the critical reflections bequeathed here reveal fraught negotiations and resistances to transitions of authority and varying approaches to access, equity, inclusion, diversity

and decolonisation that were operationalised within a problematic, hidden curriculum of academic 'success'.

The hazards and benefits associated with a critical interrogation of Whiteness are of primary concern to Michael Cole in his theoretically rich chapter, 'Understanding Critical Whiteness Studies: Harmful or Helpful in the Struggle for Racial Equity in the Academy?' (see Chap. 21). Cole calls for an acknowledgement of a need for a symbiotic relationship between intersectional analysis and anti-colonial and anti-capitalist scholarship. Cole proffers a schematic framework that offers a mechanism to contextualise, navigate and unpack problems encountered by fixations with White personal shame, contributing to growth and eradication of anti-Black racism in HE that is served by individual grapples with *White privilege, White guilt and White fragility*. Cole generously offers insight into his attempts at anti-racist praxis in HE, before unearthing his anti-colonial schema of authentic engagement with Critical Whiteness studies in a manner that centres Black radicalism as transformational.

Lez Henry, in his chapter 'Who Feels It Knows It! Alterity, Identity and 'Epistemological Privilege': Challenging White Privilege from a Black Perspective Within the Academy' (see Chap. 22), considers some of the contemporary issues faced by Black academics, by deftly elucidating the constant struggles for equal and fair treatment, amidst the sheer weight of Whiteness. Henry's detailed and considered chapter locates, interrogates and exposes the nebulous concepts of Whiteness and White privilege with clear-sighted, forensic aptitude. Henry suggests that when negotiating identity through the lens of 'curricular decolonisation' or 'equitable inclusion', only White knowledges seem to matter, in a system which was deliberately designed in this manner.

Jason Arday and Marcia Wilson, in their chapter, 'Many Rivers to Cross: The Challenges and Barriers Facing Aspiring Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) Leaders in the Academy' (see Chap. 23), consider some of the challenges in relation to leadership trajectories and career progression for BAME leaders in universities. Arday and Wilson's treatise skilfully illuminates synergies between constructions of leadership and 'race' in HE and the interplay between these elements in delimiting pathways for prospective BAME leaders. Arday and Wilson outline

pertinent considerations for universities in advancing better mechanisms for mobilising and supporting aspiring BAME senior leaders. Arday and Wilson importantly explain that the ideas proffered throughout their exquisite treatise should serve as stimulus to unblocking the progression pipeline for prospective BAME senior leaders in HE.

Thomas and Mikel urgently implore us to recognise that transformational conversations pertaining to 'race' equity can only be productive if evidence-based mechanisms are instituted to reconcile proposed actions for redress, in their chapter, 'Understanding and Interrupting Systemic Racism: A 'Race Equality Receipt' as a Mechanism to Promote Transformational Conversations and Stimulate Actions to Redress Race Inequality' (see Chap. 24). Thomas and Mikel skilfully expedite an amalgam of socio-legal theory and CRT in an integrated fashion to provide a chronology of systemic racism that has manifested in myriad ways for at least 400 years, distorting and shaping the lives of people from BAME backgrounds and Black backgrounds in particular. Thomas and Mikel proffer a 'Race Equality Receipt' as tangible proof of delivery on commitments to promote 'race' equality.

In the final chapter, 'Sowing the Seeds: Embracing and Re-imagining a More Racially Inclusive Academy' (see Chap. 25), Arday declares that higher education seems eternally to be placed in a state of flux. Arday challenges the higher education sector to accept the responsibility for promoting social mobility and cohesion through penetrative and resourced interventions to advance diversity and inclusion agendas.

Has the Owl of Minerva Flown?

'The owl of Minerva flies only at dusk.'[4] Wisdom often comes too late, once the ship has sailed and the damage has been done. Will this be the fate of HE in relation to *Doing Equity and Diversity for* Success? Amid unprecedented changes and challenges, equity and justice in society remains elusive for people from minority ethnic backgrounds. Universities are a microcosm of a society whose foundations are built on colonialism and imperialism. Racism xenophobia, transphobia, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, homophobia and other manifestations of hate are poisonous

to our societies. Myriad consequences of inequality negatively and disproportionately affect people from minority ethnic backgrounds, who are now, more than ever struggling to breathe. An acknowledgement of these inequalities and their effect on people who are disproportionately affected may empower universities to take personal responsibility for their role in sustaining systemic inequalities, then make the necessary steps for redress and reparation. Those who ignore institutional racism and acts of racial discrimination because they are immune to it, and because of their privilege, are complicit in sustaining and reproducing these inequalities. Interrogating policies, practices, processes, experiences and philosophies are imperative in promoting equity and justice. Far from business as usual, universities now need to demonstrate an apetite and agility to engage with issues of racism, xenophobia, structural inequality and all forms of discrimination and disparate practices. To what extent can we individually and collectively demonstrate greater care about social justice within our society, in order to realise before it is too late?

Notes

1. I use the word 'race' in a similar manner to Professor Kevin Hylton, signposting that it should never be used or read uncritically.
2. An institutional deficit methodology promotes the use of a critical race theory (CRT) perspective as praxis to explore how societal racialised hegemony, re-affirm privilege and promote power relations that appear neutral within institutional structures, thus impacting on and influencing institutional arrangements, strategies, policies, processes and practices intersectionally in order to reinforce oppression and disproportionately marginalise staff and students of colour in higher education. An institutional deficit methodology interrogates transnational issues, challenges narrow ideologies, agendas and epistemological and ontological (in)consistencies in HE in agitating for social justice and the reduction of disparities that exacerbates these inequalities. An institutional deficit methodology is practical, liberatory and transdisciplinary in presenting mainstreamed discourses, processes, policies and practices in a re-imagined reality by repositioning causation from a deficit with the student/staff, to a deficit in institutional structures, strategies, practices, processes and policies that promotes and exacerbates inequality within the wider context where students and staff operate.

3. Western hegemonic province—A repository of knowledge systems, veiled in utilitarianism, by people from five Western countries (Italy, Germany, France, England, and the USA) as a means of maintaining colonialism through epistemologies, ontologies and social stratification.
4. G. W. F. Hegel, *Elements of The Philosophy of Right* (trans!' H. B. Nisbet, Cambridge, 1991), 23.

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Part I

A Review of the Past and a Look into the Future

2

The Myth of Academic Underperformance and Notions of Truth 52 Years After the Passing of the Race Relations Act 1968: In Conversation with Dame Jocelyn Barrow

Dame Jocelyn Anita Barrow and Dave S. P. Thomas

The Higher Education Statistical Agency declares that there has been a 15.7% increase in the number of students who identify as belonging to a Black, Asian or minority ethnic (BAME) background commencing an undergraduate programme in UK universities since 2013 (HESA 2019). However, UK universities face a significant challenge in terms of representation, pedagogy, curriculum reform and positive student experiences. The latest statistics for academic year 2018/19 show a 13% attainment gap (the likelihood of achieving a first or upper second-class degree)

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_2

between BAME and White graduates (Advance HE 2018). The gap between Black and White graduates was 23.4%. Regionally, the largest gap was among students in London (15%), with the smallest in East Midlands (9.1%).

In terms of BAME staff representation, in 2016/2017 there was poor representation at senior leadership level and in academic roles. Of the 19,000 plus professors employed in higher education in the UK at that time, approximately 0.6% (1140) were from BAME backgrounds, with 2.8% (532) identifying as being from a Black background. Among this group, 400 identified as female from BAME backgrounds and 25 identified as Black.

Given the aforementioned data, the Office for Students in England have set a target to eliminate the unexplained gap in degree outcomes (first or 2:1s) between White students and Black students by 2024–2025, and to eliminate the absolute gap (the gap caused by both structural and unexplained factors) by 2030–2031 (OfS 2018).

Meanwhile, students from Goldsmiths University, London have now been occupying the Deptford town hall for 109 days (as at 28 June 2019). This is because the university failed to respond adequately to the racist abuse of a student who was running as a candidate in the student elections. The student's election poster was scrawled over with racist graffiti mocking her accent and her campaign banner removed. The students are also complaining about harassment in classrooms, lack of mental health provision, a Eurocentric curriculum, everyday experiences of institutional racism and the persistent BAME attainment gap (18%). The students demanded an institution-wide strategy to tackle racism that they believe was undermining the experiences of BAME students who constituted 40% of the total student population.

The importance of presenting and mainstreaming more diverse perspectives in the higher education curriculum has been advocated in myriad ways. This started with critical pedagogy in the 1960s and proliferated into other analytical frameworks, such as the hidden curriculum, critical race pedagogy and more recently, decolonising the curriculum. This is also followed by student campaigns such as #RhodesMustFall where students at the Cape Town University protested for the removal of a statue of the imperialist Cecil Rhodes (which was defaced with human faeces in the process); #RhodesMustFallOxford, where students called for the removal of a statue of Cecil Rhodes at the façade of Oriel College, Oxford;

#GandhiMustFall movement at the University of Ghana because of his unrepentant anti-Black views during his time in South Africa and sister movements by students asking, #Why is my curriculum White?; and Why is my professor not Black? And #Decolonise. Given the importance of these issues, it is imperative to reflect on the past, in order to inform the future. It is with this in mind that I drew on the insights of Dame Jocelyn Anita Barrow.

Biographic Information

Born in Trinidad in 1929, of mixed heritage (with a grandparent from Scotland and France), Dame Jocelyn Anita Barrow (DJB) has been a lifelong campaigner for social justice, race equality, educational equity and promoting the heritage of Black people. Dame Jocelyn, while living in Trinidad was secretary of a Committee of Enquiry in Education. In London, she was a founder, General Secretary and later Vice Chair of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD), the organisation that was responsible for the development of the Race Relations Act 1965 and 1968. She was appointed to the Community Relations Commission in 1965 and in 1968 to the Commission for Race Equality. The main focus of the Race Relations Act 1968 was to establish race relations legislation against the colour bar and racism against African, Caribbean and Asian people in Britain. She was the first Black woman to be a governor of the British Broadcasting Commission (BBC) and Deputy Chair of the Broadcasting Standards Council. As an educator, Dame Jocelyn Barrow was the pioneer of the introduction of multicultural education in the UK. She was a member of the enquiry into secondary education in Newham and the Chair Person of the enquiry into secondary education in Brent. This exemplifies the wider use of her knowledge across education. She also chaired the enquiry into the equal opportunities education of the Council of Legal Education. This is the body is responsible of the training of Barristers in the UK.

Dave S.P. Thomas What was your experience of education like growing up in Trinidad, in terms of the composition of the curriculum?

DJB When I was growing up in Trinidad—remember I am a 90-year old now—the country was a British colony and the education was similar to that of the British education system. We had the Education Officer who was sent out from Britain. In my time, it was Mr Cuthridge. The curriculum was what Cambridge set for School's Certificate in those days and the Higher School's Certificate, which is now the GCSE, O and A-Level. So, my education had very little West Indian content.

We had some history books written by Mr Cuthridge. I'm happy they didn't give teachers too much of that because on reflection, as a person who has researched it and saw the impact it had on people, it had content that was misleading. It was written from a White perspective. So, the portrayal of Black people in the West Indies—they are called West Indian in history books—was inaccurate and not promoting Black people by giving them confidence or a positive sense of self. The calypsonian The Mighty Sparrow ridiculed Cuthridge's concept of education in the calypso song entitled "*Dan is the man in the van*." So, the English education system they gave us stood us in much better stead than if we had a West Indian curriculum because at that time there were not enough people that did enough in-depth research on West Indian history for it to be valid. I received an English education. I know everything about Wordsworth and Keats and Shelly. I didn't do a great deal of history but the geography that I learnt was European geography.

My father's attitude to education was that it was extremely important and therefore we had to know who we were. My father also told us that we had to be sure that whatever our potential was, we should fulfil it; and that was our responsibility, not other people's responsibility. This is something that I reiterate in lectures and talks that I have given over the years. To know our own history, to know who we are and to know why we are where we are. And so, in setting up the Liverpool Slave Gallery (*as a Trustee of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside*), I did it with that purpose in mind. Of knowing that a sense of identity is our responsibility, and I hope that the gallery will give us an understanding of our background.

Dave S.P. Thomas Brilliant! So, I note that you came to the UK in 1959 as a postgraduate student on a government scholarship. What were your initial perceptions of the UK's education system when you arrived here?

DJB When I arrived here, quite a bit of the work that I was doing was taking me into schools and that's why I am still here. I found that many of our children (Caribbean, African and Asian children) were being excluded from classes. Not excluded from school, but being excluded from classes. And that is why having taught in the East End (of London) for three years, I went into teacher education. Teachers didn't know how to cope with the children. Parents didn't know what the schools were like, and therefore parents didn't engage in the way they should have.

In the Caribbean, both the parents and teachers had the same expectations and ambitions for their children, so the parents didn't have to play too vigorous a role in education. Here in the UK, it is very different. You need to go to parents-teacher meetings to go and ask teachers "what is it you are doing?" I was able to start doing that in the college, but also to hold a series of conferences and lectures and courses for teachers who had to leave the school to learn about what it was that they had to do to learn what was the difference between Caribbean culture and Caribbean educational approach to what was happening here? And the truth is, that teachers are willing to help children there (in the Caribbean) to learn.

Children like you, if you were a child here in school in those days, you would be having problems and they wouldn't know how to deal with it. They wouldn't know how to break a class up into groups to deal with the various groups, and to spend time preparing stuff that you could do with these groups. Now, if you're not learning and not being fully engaged, any child is going to be disruptive. So, Caribbean children were being disruptive. They were chatting, they were drawing, they were pinching people, they were getting up and they were walking about because they were bored. And, to get that across, a lot of people had their backs up, because I kept saying to them, you have us here and we're going to get a proper education, and it is our responsibility as teachers to ensure that all the students fulfil their potential. I always tell people, I'm not asking you to like me and I'm not asking you to tell me that you accept me. Those things don't matter to me. I know who I am and I know why I am here

and I know my role here, and my rights. But they don't have many people talking like me and that frightens a lot of people.

Dave S.P. Thomas As a teacher and later a teacher-trainer at Furzedown College and the Institute of Education, as well as a Council Member of Goldsmith's College, University of London, what are your thoughts on multicultural education?

DJB I created multicultural education in this country. I'm the first person that started to talk about it and I was a Governor of the North East London Polytechnic when it became the University of East London. I was a governor of the West London Institute of Education. And in each of those institutions, I changed the approach to education and to students. And to get the students to cope, I introduced the degree for independent learning for adults. So people coming back into education after their children had grown up could set out what they wanted to do and a programme of work would be set for them to suit them individually. Other people have completed it. I've been given four honorary Doctorates for my contribution to education. They came from University of East London, which was really the North East London Polytechnic, Middlesex University, University of Greenwich and York University.

The Asian students had something that Caribbean students didn't get, because English was their second language. The language tuition they got gave them a huge advantage, and it is still a huge advantage to them. That is why they do so well in education, because they understand English and the structure of English from the foundation and that allows them to progress. They didn't do that for us (*people from the Caribbean*). Lots of parents would have been insulted and angry if we'd suggested it.

Dave S.P. Thomas How did you manage to navigate institutional structures and sophisticated racism in introducing multicultural education in the 1960s?

DJB Well, by the time I got to Teacher Education, I was a foundation member of the Campaign Against Race Discrimination (CARD) and we had gotten the legislation (*the Race Relations Act* 1968), so I had a public

profile. The fact that I had gotten legislation instituted and been put on public bodies, I had the status and the acknowledgement that I could contribute from the wider society and the government. So when I said that I wanted to run the classes, York University agreed and a number of other people such as the Inner London Education Authority and the Department for Education and Science, as it then was, also agreed to support all these initiatives. Various local authorities began to copy it. I didn't have a private life because I was always on the road doing X, Y or Z.

Dave S.P. Thomas Let's talk about the Race Relations Act 1968. What were some of the drivers behind the development of the Race Relations Act in 1968?

DJB Well, the first Race Relations Act we got was in 1965 and it omitted things like public places and housing which were two areas that were very important. So you could go into department stores and people could ignore you. And, if you ask for something, their attitude was hostile. And again, for housing, local authorities were housing people in what is now called part 3 housing. Well it was then called part 3 housing accommodation, which was the worst accommodation, furthest away from everybody else. We got that changed because I went into setting up housing associations and I said to two major housing associations to deal with that. Because of that sort of experience, I was then able to persuade the government, (and they were persuadable at that time), that we needed to have a really strong Race Relations Act with teeth. I wasn't the only person, I was just one person, I was the General Secretary of the organisation. There was Lord Pitt, who was the Chairman and a number of other people including the Barrister, Anthony Lester, who is now Lord Lester, and Hugh Gateskin's daughter Julia, who had influence, and therefore we could use that influence to persuade people that there had to be change. In 1965, the Community Race Relations Commission was set up and that was called the CRC. In 1965 they also set up the Race Relations Committee to deal with the legal aspect, and in 1968 the Commission for Race Equality was introduced. This combined the CRC and the Race Relations Committee. The act was further extended in 1971. During my membership of the CRC, I was able to begin to do things throughout the

United Kingdom as we had associations and committees in all the major towns and cities which made it possible for work to begin from the ground upwards. The Act was changed in 1968 and then again in 1971 and by that time, I was a member of the Commission for Race Equality. I could get the country to begin to do things because we had associations in all the districts and that made it easier for us to begin to work from the ground upwards.

Dave S.P. Thomas So in what way would you say racism and colonialism has shaped the UK educational system?

DJB Well I don't think that racism has shaped it. I think the fact that there were colonial powers and that everybody was given the same education and in very many of the colonial territories, that's what shaped the education system. For example, when I was in school in Trinidad, most people left school at age 14. They didn't go on to proper secondary education, they were in all age elementary schools. So they were deprived. They could read, they could write, they were literate. But one of the big problems with some of the people coming here (*to the UK*) was that workers who were immigrants lacked literary skills. This created huge problems. We started this scheme in Ford, because while I was the governor of the Northeast London Polytechnic. The chairman was the managing director of Ford in Dagenham. He kept questioning me; he said, "You know Jocelyn, I don't understand. These people have been working with us for years, they're good workers, they're punctual, they work all the time, but we can't get them to take promotion." And I said, "I could tell you why. They can't fill out the forms that are necessary when you take supervisory jobs." So we started a Caribbean Community Communications Project (CCP), and we got the funding for that from the literacy programme.

The government ran a literacy programme for the White working class who couldn't read or write and they based it on transport. They used lorry drivers because that was one way of not upsetting people by saying that they are ignorant, or illiterate actually. So they based it on people travelling long distances. Some lorry drivers couldn't read, but they could recognise numbers. And that's why roads have numbers, not just the road name. So all the major roads have numbers. So if you look at the map,

you may be told that you have to go along the A1 to the A5, until you reach the A6, or wherever. That was before we had major motorways. So I went to the government and said I need a share of that money for a CCP.

Dave S.P. Thomas Given the current data on academic attainment and representation in UK higher education institutions and contextual background that I shared at the beginning of our conversation, how might we advance the debate around race equality, equity and academic underperformance in the UK education system?

DJB We have to do it in two ways. First of all, we have to look at the BAME community itself, right, and what its aspirations and ambitions are. If you talk to any BAME person, parents would want their children to be, doctors, lawyers, accountant, computer scientists and maybe engineers, without realising what they have to do at the beginning of their child's life, to get them to that point.

So there's that side which is our responsibility, and then there is the responsibility of looking at what individual institutions including schools should be doing, because it has to start in the school.

You have to have teacher's expectations that matches the child's ambition and potential. We still have a lot of work to do, but it has improved enormously in my lifetime, in my work in this country, but we still have too much of it. That is because parents are not demanding of teachers. Too many of our children are getting excluded from school, mainly Caribbean and African boys, that's why girls are doing better in higher education than boys at the moment.

We also need now to look at the individual education authorities to start these conversations in schools and to look at their programmes. Quite a large number of them have programmes but that programme is just touching the tip of the iceberg, because it's not deep enough and it's competing with too many other demands of the school. If the student has mental health problems, each school should have specialised health and well-being teams, and that should be their responsibility, not the responsibility of the class teacher. You can't put all the burden on Teachers or Lecturers because it's competing with so many other demands, and because we had a league table for schools, people who were misbehaving

were excluded, so the results would look better. People who were not going to pass exams were excluded or sent to do something else. It is not just in higher education but in matters like apprenticeships are now getting poorer outcomes and that has to be tackled centrally with the department for Education, and then it has to go down to each Local Education Authority.

If we look at the curriculum, there is now enough literature, history etc., for us to be able to have diverse perspectives included in the curriculum. But the curriculum doesn't suit us, that's why you have a pool of people that don't achieve. It's not because they haven't got the potential, it's because they don't have the ambition. And because they don't have ambition and there are low expectations of them, they are not encouraged. I'm trying to think which paper it is that has begun to show an advertisement of teachers using a particular student, that did very poorly at school and this particular teacher helped the student to achieve. I've cut it out and brought this, I don't know if you saw it. This is from the *Daily Mail* in June "Cambridge to create places for poorer applicants" (Daily Mail, 8 June 2019).

Right, now Oxford has been doing it, Cambridge has been doing it. A large number of universities that are doing it are doing it purely from the point of view of socio-economic grouping in terms of finance. They are not looking at the fact that they have to be doing other things to encourage the Black communities to have enough confidence to participate. I got a young man into Oxford, and he and his mother told me he didn't want to go there because he didn't like the people there. You're not going there to be liked, or to like, you're going for an education. And it took me a good 12 months of solid work to get him to try and go.

There is a network and we're below the parapet and it's only a few of us that get through and rise to the top. That's a conversation that we have got to start to having. I'd like you to look at some of the work that we did, it's in the John Larose archive (John Rose who ran a book shop was also a publisher in Harringay).

Two things were introduced. Banding was introduced to distribute the Black children, to disburse them and not have them congregating. The problem was not the congregation, the problem was the skills that were needed to cope with the needs of those children, was not there. Whether

you have 3 or you have 30, you have to have the skills to deal with it. So banding had to be abolished.

The introduction of the Educationally Sub-Normal (ESN) policy removed the confidence of some people, because it told them that their child has special needs when some of them did not really have special needs. It was because they were not catering for what pupils' needs because of their ignorance of the system. Under the ESN policies, they set up special schools which they in which they place some Caribbean children. We had to fight to get that policy changed. The archive is with the George Padmore Institute, which is housed at the John Larose bookshop in Harringay. Research that body of work, and you will see what the approaches were at that time and what we have to still change. They have taken away ESN and they have taken away banding, but, and the but is important, they have not done anything terribly positive while changing the situation. But we have a responsibility for doing that. You see, if your child goes to school without 2500 words and he's not in the Caribbean or in Africa where the parents and the teachers have the same ambitions and expectations for the child, they're falling behind before they even start school. The Labour Party tried to deal with that by setting up Sure Start centres. But that was just a token, and the people who benefitted the most were the people who needed it the least, and you get what I'm saying? So, we have to really get parents to understand their responsibilities. Now the present generation of parents will understand some of these better than other parents would. But we still need to be doing it, and doing it more vigorously.

Dave S.P. Thomas *In terms of representation, what are your views on the representation of different perspectives in the curriculum as authentic knowledge?*

DJB Well it is important but we have to make sure that the research that we are using is authentic because there is a lot of stuff that has been written about us by other people. We have got to do our own research. Another person viewing what I have done in this country and the methods that I have had to use would see me as a troublemaker because they would see that I was like an irritant. Other people viewing me from the Caribbean community would say that, well, you've achieved. I know that I have

achieved, I know that I have made a difference. But we have to overcome some of people's residual resentment and racism that they are not even aware of. But we need to do a lot more of our own research and authenticate a lot more of the things that are said in history books. And get the references, as David Olusoga is doing. We need more people like him doing more of that. And one of the things that we need to be promoting is getting our students that are doing PhD and Masters degrees to be looking at areas that concerns us to produce the right sort of documentation that can be used to enhanced the curriculum. We need much more of that. Don't tell them to deal with Australian aborigines. The Australian aborigines have enough aboriginal people to deal with the Australian aborigines. Seriously! It is more comfortable to deal with the Australian aborigines than to deal with the problems that are here. Much easier. You can write a good thesis, and get a good credit, but it won't have anything to do with your life or your children's life because we are not aboriginal Australian. We have to get our own communities activated at one level and then we have to get the people involved in education to get the local authority department, etc. and the universities to really be taking this seriously and making changes. Now they can't make changes overnight. It has to be a gradual change. But it has to be a measurable gradual change. If you say it is going to take 3 years, after the 3 years, how do we measure progress? We have to be extremely vigilant and we have to get the universities, the local authority and the educational authorities to accept that it is their responsibility, they are not doing us a favour. They're improving the standards of education because if we are allowed to do well, it will benefit a whole range of other people along the line.

Dave S.P. Thomas Given these global chains of events in higher education with ambitions of challenging its colonial foundations, what are some of the deeper issues facing race relations in the UK today?

DJB Goldsmiths university is my old institution. The things that are happening there now didn't happen in my time.

Now, concerning the Rhodes must fall movement, it is not about statues and monuments. Removing the statue of Cecil Rhodes will not solve anything because you still have people taking Rhodes' scholarships. What

you need to do is to get a footnote added to Rhodes' statue that says that what he did then is impacting on us now, and we want change. Taking down his statue won't remove the things that he did in the past and the damage that he did. What you need to do is to tell future generations about the impact it is having and although Rhodes left his money to benefit everybody, it is still impacting on us. And that needs to be known. Don't take down the statue, because you running the risk of the Rhodes scholarship folding and it is important for us to have that scholarship. And it is important for history. You don't wipe out history by removing statues. The history of what he did will always be there. The people who got Rhodes' scholarships should be the people helping to improve things like the curriculum etc.

Why your curriculum is White is because you are living in a White society. But your curriculum ought not to be White, but reflect the fact that the society that you are a part of and in is multicultural. There ought to be options you can take and choices you can make and to have people who are suitably qualified to supervise and teach those choices. That's important. The curriculum needs to be broadened to represent a multicultural society with adequate staffing and adequate funding and adequate research. You see, I praise David (David Olusoga) for what he does because he goes and he finds it. He doesn't get hysterical. You notice how he presents? Very calmly, very gently when he is saying those sorts of things about what has gone on. And therefore, people listen.

Dave S.P. Thomas So given some of these global chain of events in higher education and the ambitions of challenging its colonial foundations, what are some of the deeper issues facing race relations in the UK today?

DJB How long have we got? We live in a society or world where racism will always be experienced? And that's something we've got to face. What we have to ensure is that the racism does not disadvantage particular members from racial backgrounds. We need to have something that represents us all, so you need a wide curriculum, but you need people capable of teaching it and people who are researching it. So instead of sitting and doing nothing we need other constructive things that when faced with that sort of information, people will have to take note and take note

quickly. We also don't make use of the Race Relations Act satisfactorily. These are things that we could be doing. I know education is not the best paying area of work, but more able people from ethnic minority backgrounds should be going into education rather than in the city of wherever.

***Dave* S.P. Thomas** Following the Race Relations Act 1968, the subsequent Race Relations Act 2000 and the McPherson Report 1999, it is fair to say that race remains a problem in the British society. How then can we develop conversations around the presence of institutional racism and its impact on academic performance?

DJB Those of us that are inside the institution need to form a committee to begin to have that conversation. It is going to take time and at times it is going to be extraordinarily difficult and exhausting. And sometimes you will want to pull your hair out. For example, I went into the BBC as the first Black woman that was appointed there. They appointed Sir Learie Constantine, the famous West Indian cricketer, 20 or 30 years before me. But Sir Learie was ill and he was interested in sports. He had taken The Imperial Hotel to court on grounds of racial discrimination and won his case. He was aware and conscious of the racism that existed. He subsequently became the first High Commissioner for Trinidad. When I went to the BBC as a Governor I said to myself that I am going to leave a legacy. There were two areas. There was race and there was gender and this is what I did at the BBC.

If you look at the BBC now, I recruited Moira Stewart who was working at the BBC for 10 years on radio 2 reading the news. I was appointed the governor in February 1981 and in October 1981, she was on the screen reading the news. And that has multiplied. I got them to run courses on the various aspects, not offering guarantees, but offering the courses and paying for it and paying the expenses of the people doing it. Courses for Black people. You have to leave a legacy. I did the same for women. When you are in an institution, you have to find people that look like you and get together and see the ways you can improve the institution from a multicultural perspective. For universities, it means

more people from multicultural backgrounds on staff, better teaching, broadening of the curriculum, it has to come from inside.

Dave S.P. Thomas What are your perceptions on positive action?

DJB Well I'm not in favour of positive action because I don't want anybody to say I got the job because I was a Black woman. I want to be there on merit. I don't want popularity, I just want to get my fair share.

Dave S.P. Thomas *What are your views on the aims and purposes of education?*

DJB The body of knowledge has changed. We didn't have the technology that we have now. We have to educate people to be able to use that technology to be able to create that technology and therefore what we did previously in education has to have that as part of its responsibility as part of its curriculum. But we still need the pure education for education sake, because we need both things. We can't just educate people on a vocational basis because then, you're narrowing their perspectives and education should make you a fuller and better person, able to enjoy a whole range of things. Above all, education is a human right, we are entitled to education whether we have to pay for it through taxation or pay for it privately. You take these things into consideration and look at what is best for the individual students or the individual groups of students to see how you change within your institution. My definition of education has always been knowledge, skills, values and attitudes. Both of these are very important and we tend to forget that in Higher Education Institutions.

Dave S.P. Thomas Have things changed significantly since the Race Relations Act 1968? What is still left to be done?

DJB It has changed enormously, we have made a lot of progress, but two things that have happened have made us take a step back.

The Internet allows people to abuse us and to make all sorts of racist statements. Now the various organisations that have always existed and they continue to exist, Right Wing organisations. Then you have Brexit. They have people calling third generations children immigrants still. The

word immigrants mean people who just come into a country, people who are subject to immigration laws. If you are born in this country, you can't be an immigrant. There is still ignorance on people's part. We have to be vigilant and we have to keep working and pressing and demanding change so that we get true equality, because that is what we really want, equality. We specifically have an equality situation, that is nowhere near equal, so we have to continue to make specific demands to get our equality. We also have to participate in getting equality across the board. We have to use the Race Relations Act more carefully and more critically. And we owe it to ourselves that the situation improves and we have to take some of that responsibility. We have to be doing for ourselves the things that we did not do previously. Those of us who are in positions where we can make changes must accept that responsibility. It's difficult, it's exhausting, it is sometimes frustrating, but it is our responsibility to do that. We have to be agents of social change. It is something that you have to do continuously because you are never going to achieve perfection. You have to be vigilant and you have to teach your children the things that they should look out for. Teach them their rights and how to ensure that they enjoy their rights. And how they accept that it is their responsibility that people don't deny them their rights.

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3

A Diverse Society Needs Diverse Solutions

Sir Geoffery Palmer

We are responsible for drawing attention to and attending to the injustices of our time. Racism is an injustice; it is supported by slavery-derived attitudes of "entitlement". Racism curtails diversity, damages a sense of belonging and limits representation. In a diverse society, diverse management and progress go together.

To my surprise, in November 1969, I was invited by the British Psychological Society (BPS), Division of Education and Child Psychology and Division of Clinical Psychology to speak at a conference in London entitled "Immigrants and Psychologists". The topic that was given to me to speak on was "Human Reject or Useful Citizen". In a recent issue of the BPS Journal, The Psychologist, a Black academic, Dr. Bell, was asked by the deputy editor of the journal, "if there was anything that the BPS should be doing" (Brookman-Bryne 2020, p. 36). In general, the article referred to the importance of inclusion and the damaging consequences

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_3

of colonialism which I referred to in my 1969 lecture and in an article that I was invited to write for *The Times Educational Supplement*, August 1969 (Palmer 1969). I suggested that the racist consequences of colonialism were being misinterpreted as defects in the educational potential of Caribbean children. Patois was regarded as an educational defect. Historically, Black chattel slavery, colonialism and racism go together. Racism is a consequence of slavery and colonialism. Academic amnesia or excuses such as "Unconscious bias" and "Institutional ignorance" have caused racism to embed itself into attitudes which limit inclusion, diversity and progress in society. I was lucky that my education allowed me to contribute to society but luck should not replace rights.

I travelled on my own from Jamaica to Liverpool in 1955. I arrived on 3 March. I was 14 years and 11 months old. I asked how to get to Paddington Station where my mother was waiting. The last time I saw her was 1951 and had she not recognised me I would not have recognised her. My mother sailed from Jamaica to England in 1951. She left my brother and me with her sisters in Kingston, Jamaica. My primary and secondary school education in Jamaica (1945–1955) was church–school based and although I had never thought of work in Jamaica, the morning after I arrived in London, my late dear mother woke me early with the command, "wash, eat and get ready for work".

We left our single attic room at about 7.30 am. At the front door, a man, possibly from the education department, stopped us and after a long discussion with my mother, he told her that as I was not 15 years of age. I had to attend school for a month until 9 April when I would be 15 years of age, which was the school leaving age in 1955. My mother objected, with just cause, to me returning to school and frequently reminded me that I "owed" her my fares of £86 which constituted her savings from 1951 to 1955. However, we both laughed on these occasions because this £86 was not redeemable!

After a test, I was rejected by the local Comprehensive School and designated educationally subnormal (ESN). I was accepted by Shelburne Road Secondary Modern School, stayed until the summer term and played cricket for the London School Boys team. Mr. King, the Headmaster of Highbury County, the local Grammar School, needed a cricketer and engineered my transfer to his school. Surprisingly, my

mother did not mention my £86 fare-money to Mr. King. My academic career started at Highbury. Therefore, my education and all that I have contributed to society came from my mother, a member of the Windrush Generation who was threatened with deportation in the late 1990s.

I struggled academically at Highbury. My best subjects were Religious Knowledge, Biology and Cricket. The teachers were pleasant and I muddled through my schooling from 1955 to 1958 as the only Black boy in the school until another Black boy arrived. The teachers were unaware of the factors which limited my education. One teacher thought Jamaica was in Africa.

In North London, we lived three to one room; cooking was on a paraffin heater and I used the light from the street lamp to do my homework. I had two paper rounds, to help my mother financially, which made me late for school. I left Highbury in 1958 and was appointed as a Junior Laboratory Technician at Queen Elizabeth College by Professor Chapman.

My tube station stop for work was the Notting Hill Gate tube station and I was concerned about local race riots. However, Professor Chapman realised that my absence from work related to Court appearances where the landlord tried to evict my mother, younger brother and myself. Professor Chapman gave me time-off work to improve my qualifications and when I had done so in 1961. I was rejected by all the Universities to which I had applied. One University rejected me because I was an immigrant. I did not meet their Overseas student criteria. However, in 1961 I entered Leicester University with Professor Chapman's assistance. I gained an Hons Degree (2:2) in Botany at Leicester University (1961–1964). I returned to London in 1964 and the Local Labour Exchange offered me two jobs, one in a betting shop, the other in a restaurant at Nags Head, London, peeling potatoes. I soon realised that I needed a Postgraduate Degree to secure a better job.

Towards the end of 1964 I had two interviews. The first was with a famous politician at Reading University who told me to "go home and grow bananas." My response was that "it was difficult to grow bananas in Haringey". This was the beginning of my awareness of "sense of belonging" (BBC 2015). The second interview was with Professor Anna MacLeod in Edinburgh. I was accepted and started my PhD studies in

January 1965, supervised jointly by Professor MacLeod (Heriot-Watt College (later University)) and Professor Sir Edmond Hirst (Edinburgh University).

I gained my PhD in Barley Science in 1967 and completed Post-Doctoral studies in 1968. The first publication of my research work was in *Nature* in 1967. Subsequent research led to the development of the Barley Abrasion Process (1969) which accelerated the production of malt in industry (Palmer 1973; Tim 2017). This process was developed at the Brewing Research Foundation, Surrey where I worked from 1968 to 1977. My research on barley and the tropical grain sorghum was not well received in some quarters because it revised concepts of the science and technology of the processing of these grains. However, my "system consciousness" reassured me that providing my research and development work met the expectations of the industry, I was safe from prejudicial attitudes at work (see BBC 2015). System consciousness is awareness of the expectations of the system (Palmer 2007).

Professor MacLeod retired from the Heriot-Watt University in 1977 and I applied for the position and was appointed as lecturer covering her teaching in the science and technology of barley for Brewing and Distilling, and Biology for other students. I combined my teaching and research work which allowed me to produce graduates who had the capacity to use their science to perfect technology in industry.

I gained my DSc research degree in 1985. My mother travelled from Haringey to Edinburgh to attend my graduation. On her return to London, her neighbour asked her what her son was doing in Edinburgh; she replied, "He is a vehicle of the Lord's work but he is still at school!"

In 1987, the University warned us that certain departments required additional funds to survive. I contacted Mr. Ronnie Martin of United Distillers (now Diageo). Our discussions and his efforts eventually secured over £1 million to set up the International Centre for Brewing and Distilling in 1989. This is the Centre that has produced some of the most successful people in the Brewing, Distilling and Malting industries. I have had the great honour of supervising many postgraduate students from different parts of the world and I have travelled to many countries. One important technical trip was to Nigeria.

In the 1990s, the Guinness company asked me to investigate the possibility of using the tropical grain sorghum to make European style beer. We achieved this and Professor Taylor of the University of Pretoria, South Africa, informed me recently that our science and technology work on sorghum for food and in industry helped to transform the use of sorghum in Africa and that my view that South Africa should become an education hub for Africa has materialised.

I used the term “system consciousness” in my book *The Enlightenment Abolished* (Palmer 2007) to explain that we need to understand the system to negotiate it, and the system needs to understand diversity and its importance. Just before I gained my DSc in 1985 my Head of Department advised me to withdraw some of my scientific concepts because many important people questioned them. I replied that these concepts produced the Abrasion process which was being used by brewers… including the two largest breweries in the country and that the industry held the patent (Palmer 1973). Furthermore, no evidence has been published to show that my work was incorrect. I ended our discussion by stating that the majority thought the world was flat, they were wrong.

In the 1960s, it was racial prejudice that caused White teachers to say that the parents of Black children had unrealistic expectations as regards the education of their children. This prejudice was sustained by the IQ tests of psychologists such as Eysenck. His work has been discredited (Coleman 2016; Proctor and Murphy 2020). Recently, Watson of DNA fame stated, without evidence, similar views which have also been discredited (Hartley-Parkinson 2019). Eurocentric IQ tests do not have valid controls and lack scientific validity. Such racist teleological falsehoods are derived from eighteenth-century philosophers such as Hume (1748) and Kant (1780s). Lawyers, politicians and slavers used this racism to declare that the Black race was “framed”… created for the conditions of slavery (National Records of Scotland 2020; Edinburgh World Heritage 2018). Chattel slavery in the West Indies related to skin colour. Any attempt, to relate low-IQ test results and high Covid-19 deaths, without scientific evidence, to the genetics/biology of Black people is untenable and wrong (Coleman 2016; Hartley-Parkinson 2019; Whipples and Blakely 2020).

Some history-based prejudices can sustain racism and should be challenged. For example, the release of a Black man (Joseph Knight) from servitude in 1778 in Edinburgh has been described as the date slavery was abolished (Carins 2019; Whyte 2006; Morris 2012). This is a self-serving myth which must be challenged. The Scots were deeply involved in British slavery until its abolition in 1838. Many historians, for reasons of "false national pride", have tried to claim that Knight was a slave in Scotland. Knight's lifestyle did not match the lifestyle of any slave in British slave colonies where a Black slave had "no right to life or family", was compensable property and could be killed legally (Coddin 2003). However, to sustain the 1778 abolition claim it was stated that Knight was a perpetual servant, "in other words, a slave" (see lecture 3, Carins 2019). This ill-considered switch of meaning was designed to change Knight's position from a "perpetual servant" to a slave (Carins 2019), in order to maintain the self-serving myth that Scotland abolished slavery in 1778 before British slavery was abolished in 1838. However, in contrast to British slaves in the West Indies, Knight was not a slave. In terms of slavery in Scotland, a Scottish Judge said in 1687, "we have no slaves in Scotland" and I found a document in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh (May 2019), which stated that one of the Judges had proposed this precedent in the Knight case, a factor which is missing from information that I have read regarding the Court Cases of Joseph Knight.[1,2] In addition, Knight was not *owned* by Wedderburn his master who owned slaves in Jamaica. "Legal ownership" is an important part of the definition of slavery.

The evidence is clear that the Joseph Knight Case decision did not abolish slavery in Scotland in 1778, although not stated before, it *reaffirmed* that a Black person was a slave in British slave colonies,[3] where slavers were "entitled" to enslave Black people because they were owned as "compensable" property (United Kingdom Parliament 1833; also see the Emancipation Act 1833). Slavery-derived "entitlement" is at the core of White racism which must be challenged and removed. After the Joseph Knight Case 1778, Knight disappeared with the *credibility* of the 1778 Case. This case was associated with the Lord Advocate, the Solicitor General, many distinguished Lords as Judges, a slave owner (Wedderburn), Knight's master, family connections and Boswell and Johnson… all this

power and intellect to free a servant (Palmer 2007; Carins 2019; Whyte 2006; Morris 2012; Caledonian Mercury 1778)? This case must be re-examined to find its true intentions.

The racial (IQ) myths (Hartley-Parkinson 2019; National Records of Scotland 2020; Edinburgh World Heritage 2018) and historical (Knight) myths (Carins 2019; Whyte 2006; Morris 2012; Caledonian Mercury 1776; Caledonian Mercury 1778) have been used respectively to support racism which says that low representation of Black people in management reflects genetic/biological differences in intelligence and the myth that Scotland abolished slavery (1778) before the British abolished slavery (1838). The latter is used to negate guilt by balancing the "evils" of the benefits of slavery with the "goodness" of abolition. This concept of "balancing" the activities of slavery was proposed by Professor Biggar, Oxford University (Biggar 2017). Slavery in Africa is often used to "balance" British chattel slavery. Recently in a discussion, slavery in Mesopotamia (BBC interview by Beattie, Radio Scotland, 1/6/2020) was proposed as a "balance" to British chattel slavery, to try and negate the cruelty of chattel slavery. All slaveries are wrong and should not be compared. This self-serving deception has helped to maintain racism and can effect destruction as words or as a cruel "knee" (George Floyd's death).

"Institutional ignorance" and "Unconscious bias" are also falsehoods which sustain racism. Criticism is an important part of research activities but two comments in relation to the Joseph Knight Case are relevant as regards the dangers of a self-serving history of slavery. In his third lecture Professor Cairns (Carins 2019), stated that the *perpetual servant* Knight was… "in other words a slave". This convenient deduction of convenience did not turn Knight into a slave. An additional comment said, "some people deny Joseph Knight could have been a slave because he was married. This is a ridiculous argument which has not been thought through properly". Knight was not paid a wage and his education as a servant was limited. In addition to questioning Knight's capacity to pursue his case of leaving the service of his master in Scottish Courts, I stated that Knight was married (1773), with the support of his master, to a *White* wife which was outside the lifestyle of any Black male slave in the West Indies in 1773. It should be noted that the skin colour of Knight's

wife was not mentioned in Professor Cairns criticism. This approach to the history of British chattel slavery is unacceptable.

The benefits Scotland received from Black slavery cannot be *balanced* in any way by the Joseph Knight release. The objectives of this 1774–1778 case should be re-examined carefully, not in terms of the abolition of slavery, but in terms of its support for slavery in the West Indies. Therefore, while the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Henry Dundas' plea for Joseph Knight was singled out for "praise and elegance" (Carins 2019), it was not mentioned that Dundas also said that a Black man in Jamaica was a slave (Caledonian Mercury 1776). Also, it has not been mentioned that the Judges (Caledonian Mercury 1778) confirmed Dundas' (the Lord Advocate) pro-slavery position as following: "Their Lordships admitted that he [Joseph Knight] was a slave in Jamaica" (Palmer 2007). The evidence suggests that the Joseph Knight Case was designed to reaffirm Black slavery in British slave colonies and did not abolish slavery in Scotland (1778). In fact, Henry Dundas later delayed the abolition of the slave trade for 15 years (1792–1807).

In 2020, there is an impasse regarding the wording on the plaque for his 150 feet high statue in Edinburgh. A White historian, in defence of Dundas, has said that Dundas was a "gradual abolitionist". Pitt, the Prime Minister, said that Dundas' "gradual" meant "never" and another politician, Fox said that "gradual abolition" was "gradual murder". I have objected to the deception of this historian because Dundas' action caused about 630,000 Africans to be transported into slavery. Dundas (Palmer 2007; Whyte 2006; James 1938) used the word "gradual" in an Amendment to delay the abolition of the slave trade. Dundas' pro-slavery activity as a politician included the unjust transportation of Maroons from Jamaica in 1796, to promoting a devastating war in San Domingo (Haiti) where Britain lost about 40,000 troops 1798. Unless such deceptions in Black history are challenged, negative views of Black people will persist and damage efforts to promote the one humanity concept of diversity.

How can we develop diversity? This is an example. NHS Lothian, having specifically identified the professional support needs of BME nurses and midwives, designed and carried out a leadership development

training course between 2014 and 2019 (Atayero 2020). This BME Group included African, Caribbean, Asian and European ethnic minorities. The name of this course was *Leading Better Care: Leading Across Differences*. Mrs. Rakiya Suleiman of NHS Lothian invited me to participate in this course which has increased BME representation in management positions from 4 to 28. Evidence associated with this project showed that racial discrimination can cause under-representation which impacts on the ability of BME staff to work optimally.

Glasgow University, which was established in 1451, reported in 2018 (Newman and Mullen 2018) that it received significant financial legacies from British chattel slavery in the West Indies and that its reparative justice programme will involve academic funding for Black students in August 2019. I had the great honour of unveiling, in the University's Chapel, a plaque commemorating the lives of Black slaves who suffered chattel slavery. I hope that other institutions will follow the examples of these institutions which have been "system conscious" in acknowledging that, we cannot change the past but we can change consequences such as racism for the better. A diverse society requires diverse solutions. This is the view I expressed in 2019 in a Scottish government video called "We Are Scotland" (Wilson 2019). Racist incidents nationally and internationally indicate that appropriate anti-racist laws must be made and obeyed. In addition, racist attitudes must be changed for the better to reduce racial discrimination. We are one humanity… nothing less.

Racists attack people's sense of belonging. This unethical entitlement must be resisted because racist myths produce prejudicial attitudes and actions. For example, I informed a receptionist in 2019 that I had arrived to give my lecture. The receptionist asked me to state the time of my lecture. I said it was at 2.00 pm. The immediate response was "that time cannot be correct because Professor Sir Geoff Palmer is lecturing at 2.00 pm." This skin-colour racist profiling must not be allowed to damage progress in diversity that is changing our society for the better (Dixon-Fyle et al. 2020).

Notes

1. Caledonian Mercury, February 21, 1776.
2. Caledonian Mercury, February 21, 1776.
3. Caledonian Mercury, January 17, 1778.

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4

What We Don't, but Should Know

Marika Sherwood

> Welcome, says the Headteacher. "As you are new to this country, we'll just give you the lowest streams to teach. All you will have to do is keep them quiet." I'm not sure what 'streams' are and what he means by 'keep them quiet'. So I ask a fellow teacher, in this North London Comprehensive High School. "The ones that can't learn are put into lower streams. Too stupid." I'm confused. "Can't learn?" "You'll soon understand". All those with a different accent, nor from North London postcodes, with dark skin. Just keep them quiet. Stupid, all of them.

And that is what I find in my classroom—girls and boys not with a North London accent and many with dark skins.[1] Do not expect to be taught. Of course, I do teach. Get to know my pupils. Ask the dark-skinned ones about their origins, their families. 'I was born in Jamaica.' 'My Mum is from Barbados; my Dad is English.' 'My family is from Trinidad.' I went to the school library, searching for books on these islands as I had never heard of them. Nothing. I searched in the local library. Nothing. So I visited many at home, as I needed to learn. Not only about the islands,

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_4

but about England, often referred to as the ‘Mother Country’. About their experiences. About the attitudes of English people. After all, I am *White*, but not English…

That was in 1966. Have things changed? How long have Africans and people of African descent lived in the UK? And from India? How have they been treated? How are they treated now? How much of their history has been researched and published, not only for academia? What are schools teaching about this history? Just who are the ‘Brits’?

Let us at least glance at some aspects of this history and the relevant situation in Britain today.

Africans in Britain up to c.1900: A Glance at some Issues

Let us begin by looking at the presence of Africans on this small island—Britain. As far as we know, the first Africans here were the African troops/regiment in the conquering Roman armies almost 2000 years ago. The Romans, as the British did millennia later, used troops form their whole Empire—and their huge empire included North Africa. An African unit was stationed with the Roman military garrison at Burgh-by-Sands at the western end of Hadrian’s Wall. We know from tombstones that some African soldiers when discharged settled here, and married local women. Archaeological scrutinies of skeletons in the past few years have found African men and women buried 1500+ years ago in East Sussex, in Fairford (Glos.), in Stratford-upon-Avon, in London; and in York, a woman with a vast amount of expensive jewellery.[2] *What we now need is for all skeletons to be searched for African DNA. How many others might be found? And can anything more be discovered about their lives?*

Of course, there must have been troops from the rest of this vast empire who settled here. And not only troops, as we know of a Syrian, Barates Palmyrenus—from Palmyra—a trader, who died in South Shields.[3]

Thus, the Roman conquest added to the multi-ethnicity of the islanders. As some of the Africans married local women, it would appear that they were accepted. Did Africans continue to arrive after the Romans

departed? There is a skeleton of young Black girl in a tenth-century Anglo-Saxon burial at North Elmham in Norfolk![4] But books on that era never refer to Africans. What does that indicate about our universities? I once suggested to the Institute of Historical Research (IHR) that much research should be carried out about contacts between Britannia/Anglia and Al-Andalus (Spain and Portugal). Ruled by North and then West Africans from 711 till their final expulsion in 1492, Al-Andalus was a Muslim country, and Córdoba became the largest city in Europe. Christians and Jews were not ostracised and could retain and practice their religion. It became the major centre of learning in Europe: people from everywhere flocked there to study mathematics, astronomy, anatomy, surgery, pharmacology, agronomy and much else. A 'translation institution' was established to help interaction between scholars, and tens of thousands of manuscripts were copied/translated. *How many Brits went to study there? How many scholars from Al-Andalus visited Britannia? Did any Brits try to employ experts from Al-Andalus?*[5] *Was there trade with Al-Andalus?* The IHR was interested, but could not get any funding!

The Tudor period—so over-taught, over-researched, over-filmed! All those superb queens and kings! *What about the workers?* In 1581, the Levant Company received its charter from Queen Elizabeth to further trade with the 'East'.[6] *How did the Brits exploring this world new to them report on it?* [Company morphed into the East India Company (EIC) some 20 years later]. And what about the presence of Africans? Almost totally ignored until very recently. We now have two important books: Onyeka Nubia's *England's Other Countrymen: Blackness in Tudor Society* and Miranda Kaufmann's *Black Tudors: The Untold Story.*[7] These books are very long: 350 pages, so probably not appropriate for school use or even for most non-academic readers. Local libraries have some interest: I checked libraries in Kent and found ten copies of Kaufmann's book, scattered around the county. Local universities? There is a copy of Kaufmann's book at both the University of Kent and Canterbury Christ Church University. The University of London's Senate House Library website states a copy of Nubia's book has been ordered. *Will the two Kent universities order copies of the book by this non-English author?* These two books could be used as a source for TV programmes, for plays and books for children. Africa prior to the arrival of Europeans must also be publicised

and taught. I wish the books excited further research, both by universities and by local history associations!

Was it in 1660 that fiefdom was ended? *Did attitudes to fiefs/villeins/ serfs affect attitudes to Africans? How did they relate to each other?* No research. However, recent explorers found 800 advertisements for runaway slaves in English and Scottish newspapers for 1700–1780. Does this indicate that the Africans hoped/expected help/support from White fellow workers?[8] This research leads to other questions: just how many Africans were here in the eighteenth century; what work did they do; how were they treated? How/why did they arrive here? There are a few books telling the long history of African presence; some focus on particular times/places.[9] Some written by academic historians, some by non-academics. There is no space here to recount the presence of Indians in Britain: they began to arrive in the seventeenth century, some as household servants, some as discharged seamen usually called 'lascars'.[10]

Britain's Empire in India and Africa

Britain now began to explore and exploit the wider world. It followed Portugal and the Netherlands to trade with India. Trading posts were established and the rulers of the many states were contacted/manipulated/supported/defeated/overthrown. By the later eighteenth century, Great Britain and France struggled for dominance, partly through proxy Indian rulers but also by direct military intervention. For example, Napoleon Bonaparte helped Tipu Sultan's army in its struggles for power with its neighbours. In the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War, the imperial forces of the British East India Company supported the Nizam of Hyderabad and defeated Tipu, who was killed on 4 May 1799.

Britain now gained direct or indirect control over almost all of India. The most populous and valuable part of the British Empire, India became known as 'the jewel' in the British crown. The 'jewel' was never peaceful: struggles between peoples continued as did opposition to the rule of the EIC. In 1858, the British government took over control from the EIC. *Do we know what the EIC members did with the fortunes they accumulated? How did this help Britain's 'development'?*

Both the EIC and then the colonial government enlisted tens of thousands of Indians into its military to ensure 'peace'. And into the various companies' workforce. For example, to grow opium. The drug was exchanged in China for tea, silk, porcelain and other luxury goods for sale in Europe.[11] The wide-spread weaving of cotton cloth was almost destroyed, as it was necessary to reduce competition with Britain's growing cotton industry.

The effect of British control over India's economy is much disputed by historians.

Is the influence/manipulation of culture perhaps as, or even more, important than influence on the economy? Lord Macaulay, a Member of Parliament, was appointed to the Supreme Council of India in 1834 and served there till 1838. In his Minute on Indian Education in 1835, he argued that schools should teach in English as:

> Sanskrit and Persian texts were of little use for useful learning… A single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia... We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, – a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.[12]

So Indians were inferior to the superior Brits. How was this communicated to 'ordinary', illiterate Brits? And to the upper classes?

By the late seventeenth century, Britain had followed Portugal also to Africa and had become a major participant in the trade in enslaved Africans. The Royal African Company received its Royal Charter in 1672. This incursion of Europeans, very similar to that in India, was even more destructive. Africans, collaborating with the Europeans setting up forts along the West African coast, fought wars with each other for about 300+ years to obtain prisoners of war (POW), to sell as slaves. Historians searching all available records, found 12,521,336 men, women and children were placed on board ships 1501–1866; 1.8 million died prior to disembarkation.[13] There is no data/information on the millions who died in the process of enslavement, the march to the coast and while

imprisoned there awaiting shipment. And, of course, not all ships' records have been preserved. Britain was the main exporter.

We do not know nearly enough about the devastation caused by these wars and kidnappings. And, however, painful for Africans, we need research on the role/position of these collaborators, during and after the colonial era. We also need to know what information/mis-information on Africa was propagated in Britain and this trade, for both the illiterates and literates. Who were the informants/teachers? The missionaries were the earliest temporary settlers—did they all report on 'the raw savage negro and his evil life'?[14] *What was taught when free schooling was introduced in the 1880s? What is being taught now in our schools, universities and by 'popular culture'?*

Britain's Parliament passed an Act in 1807, making the slave trade illegal. Little was done to enforce the Act for about 40 years. Most other European governments eventually agreed but the 'nefarious trade' did not really stop until Brazil made slavery illegal in 1888.[15]

Britain decided to make slavery illegal in all its colonies (except India) in 1833. The owners of slaves, mostly in the colonies in the *West Indies*, had to be compensated for losing their unpaid labourers. 20 million pounds was needed for this; the Rothschilds loaned £15 million to the government. What the terms of the loans were and what the relationship was/is between the Rothschilds and the government has not been possible to discover. As the loan was not repaid until 2015, surely, we should know just what was going on behind the scene, so to speak.

The Compensation Records have now been digitised, but we have no such records for the participants in the trade and for those who sold their plantations prior to the ending of slavery. This should be researched by area, for example, and for banks, insurance companies and ship-builders.

Some of the raw materials which were needed for the industrial revolution developing in Europe could be obtained from Africa. The European powers met in Berlin in 1884–1885 to ensure that access to these minerals (including gold and industrial diamonds) were 'fairly' distributed, as they did not want to have to fight each other. So they agreed and drew borders, ignoring Africans' history, ethnicity, languages, traditions and others. Colonial rule was imposed. Manufacturing in the colonies was not permitted.

Peopling the Empire

We now need a very brief glance at emigration from the UK. From about the mid-seventeenth century, though not all were counted, it is reported that at least 11 million emigrated—to North America, to Australia, to New Zealand and then to South Africa and also to Kenya. Some paid their way, and some received financial assistance from charities and at times even the government. Some went as indentured servants—were sold on arrival for seven years. Some were convicts/prisoners, also sold on arrival.[16] And about 150,000 were children, some just rounded up from the streets, others sent by the charities supporting them.[17]

The settlers' guns and diseases, to which native peoples had no resistance, resulted in the extermination of most indigenous peoples. The survivors were pushed away from the productive lands to ensure that the settlers could cultivate enough land to feed themselves, and then to export produce—and then also minerals. Effect: for example, no indigenous people survived in Tasmania and very few in what came to be known as the *West Indies*.

There is now a claim for some form of compensation by people from the Kericho County in Kenya. They are among the 115,000 people forcefully removed to enable the British settlers to make fortunes from growing tea. In March 2019, Kenya's National Land Commission ruled that they did suffer injustices and their land had been unlawfully seized, recommending that the UK should apologise. Their lawyer reported that the multinational tea companies had been unapologetic and failed to engage in talks. As had the British government. They reported this 'gross violation of human rights' to the UN special rapporteur on the promotion of justice.[18] Should the tea companies be required to make compensation payments? How many more people from all these ex-colonies should be seeking some form of compensation? What is important here is:

(a) that this emigration, including the reasons for it, is very seldom if ever included in 'popular' history,
(b) that the effects on the native populations are also ignored and
(c) that it was the need for more and more labourers in the Americas that led to the massive increase in the trade in enslaved Africans.

How should Britain, the Commonwealth and the USA be reimbursing the remaining indigenous peoples? And the descendants of the enslaved?

After World War II (WWII) the government offered very cheap tickets on ships going to Australia—perhaps to ensure that the many immigrants from mainland Europe did not negatively affect Australia's relationship with its 'Mother Country'.

WWII and the Empire

Much is written about, and there are so many memorials of both WWI and WWII, but the colonies are almost always omitted.[19] So it is very important to at least outline the manifold contributions by Britain's colonies.

Troops were raised in all the colonies. According to official statistics, about 372,000—or was it half a million?—Africans joined (some were conscripted) the military, including the Home Commands in the colonies. How much they were paid varied from colony to colony but was seldom, if ever, more that 25% of that which was paid to a White soldier of the same rank. Another inequality was that African troops could still be flogged for 'misbehaviour'. Until the training/appointment of Seth Anthony of the Gold Coast in 1942, all officers were European.[20]

The pay inequalities in the military became almost front-page news in 2019. *The Guardian* reported on 1 March 2019:

> The former head of the British army has called on the government to pay compensation to African veterans of the second world war who were paid three times less than their white counterparts.... General Lord Dannatt described the discriminatory policy..., as 'hugely inequitable and wrong'. He urged the defence secretary, Gavin Williamson, to meet surviving ex-servicemen in Africa and issue a retrospective apology.[21]

Two and a half million served in the Indian Army and c.70,000 served in various Home Commands. India paid for them all and for any British troops and officers serving in India. About 82% of India's budget was spent on the war in 1943–1944. As the records are incomplete, it is

estimated that about 3 million Indians died in the famines of 1943–1944, caused mainly by the war. Prime Minister Churchill refused to allow food to be shipped to the devastated areas and continued to demand food for the troops.[22]

Some West Indians were recruited for the Royal Air Force (RAF): a few with the much-needed qualifications as air crew, then about 5500 were imported as ground crew at air bases in Britain. Some were imported as forestry workers.[23] As they were not deemed a 'robust race', it was not until 1944 that 1200 men were recruited for a Caribbean Regiment—they served in Italy and Egypt. There were about 80 women, as light-skinned as possible, recruited for the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS) in Britain. Thousands served in their Home Commands.[24]

It was not only troops that were contributed by Africa, India and the West Indies in both WWI and WWII. Essential raw materials came from the colonies—for example, rubber, tin, manganese, coal, bauxite and palm/vegetable oils from Nigeria and the Gold Coast; sodium from Kenya; copper from Rhodesia; diamonds and cattle from Tanganyika; oils, bauxite and 'spirits' from the West Indies; manganese, fish, grain and clothing for the military from India. In many colonies, Compulsory Native Labour Recruitment Acts were passed to ensure there were sufficient labourers to grow, to dig, to carry for the private companies that owned everything. (Just one example: 53,000 forced labourers worked in the Jos coal mines in Nigeria in 1944.) The workers were paid next to nothing. Profits were huge: for example, the 'cocoa sold to the USA yielded £2,700,000' for the British companies in Nigeria.[25]

Financial contributions were also huge. By the end of 1943, the colonial empire had given Britain £23.3 million in gifts £10.7 million in interest-free loans and £14 low-interest loans. Money was raised from the populations: for example, West Africans contributed over £1.5 million and Trinidadians about half a million.[26]

Are these colonial contributions ever recognised? No, as argued by Cameron Duodo in his article 'A Major Omission', published in *The Guardian* on 19 November 2007:

> It seems to me absolutely essential that everyone in the UK is asked whether Britain could have won the war without the manifold contributions from the colonies.

Africans and Indians in Britain from c.1900: And Today

In the past 50 or so years, more research has been carried out—but not nearly enough! Much of the research has been by local historians and 'amateurs' like me—not by academics in the academy. We now have one MA degree in this history but no undergraduate courses as far as I have been able to discover. How many teacher training courses include any of this history?

The struggles against racial discrimination have been ignored. We did manage to convince the Lawrence Enquiry about the necessity for the police to overcome their racial discriminations. Any success? No. Just to give one example, today's figures highlight that nationally Black people are nine times more likely to be searched than those who are White. And, in a report to Parliament in 2017 'The proportion of BAME youth prisoners rose from 25% in 2006 to 41% last year… [David] Lammy [MP] says covert and unconscious or implicit bias are becoming more apparent'.[27]

Though some local archives might have files on local Black organisations and activists, the government has not released its files on Black activists/organisations. As we now have a female Black bishop, perhaps the Church of England is overcoming its history of discrimination and profit-seeking from slave-worked plantations. The Church received £8823. 8 s. 9d (about £500,000 in today's money) in compensation for the 411 slaves it owned on its Codrington Plantations in Barbados.

It seems that in most schools nothing is taught about the history of Africa (especially prior to the arrival of Europeans), about the horrors of the trade in enslaved Africans and its effects, about the vast profits that accrued from the work of slaves and about the colonial contributions to WWI and WWII. Are there any novels on the reading lists addressing these issues? I doubt it. Are there still racist descriptions in books for children? I don't know of any research on this. But some older teachers would have read some of the many immensely popular novels about that pilot, *Biggles*. In the two books I glanced through, *Biggles* refers to 'half-breeds', to 'savages', to 'niggers' and to 'nigger with flattened out bill-hook'; to 'Chinks', to 'Chungs'.[28] I would guess that the influence of

these, and other novels using similar terminology, would have sunk very deep into readers' minds. Recent researchers explored age 9–15 kids' books published in the UK last year (2017), just 391 featured BME characters.[29]

Racism is everywhere—even among footballers, as reported by Sam Cunningham in the *i* newspaper on 15 December 2018. For example, in the mental health section of our NHS 'detentions under the Mental Health Act: Black people are 4 times likely to be detained compared to White population'.[30]

Given all this, to me it is hardly surprising that research on school attainment has shown that 'in all subjects and at all key stages, Black Caribbean pupils' attainment was below the average for England'.[31] How could you do well, if you don't exist in the curriculum?[32] And if you do apply to go to university, you are '22 times more likely to have [your] application investigated for potential fraud or errors than a "White peer"'.[33] And that various forms of racism are alive and well at the academic levels.[34]

So What Now?

Universities and schools must change their curricula and extend their research projects. The training of teachers, policemen, nurses and all public servants (including judges) should include some of this history and the history of racist attitudes. There must be in-service training for all the above on this history and on racist attitudes. We need many more TV programmes and other forms of 'social education' on these issues.

Listen to Daniel Defoe 'speaking' in 1701, and ask him to include Africans and Indians.

The Romans first with Julius Cæsar came,
Including all the nations of that name,
Gauls, Greeks, and Lombards, and, by computation,
Auxiliaries or slaves of every nation.
With Hengist, Saxons; Danes with Sueno came,
In search of plunder, not in search of fame.

Scots, Picts, and Irish from the Hibernian shore,
And conquering William brought the Normans o'er.
All these their barbarous offspring left behind,
The dregs of armies, they of all mankind;
Blended with Britons, who before were here,
Of whom the Welsh ha' blessed the character.
From this amphibious ill-born mob began
That vain ill-natured thing, an Englishman.

Notes

1. Recent research shows the current relevance of accents: 'British people still think some accents are smarter than others – what that means in the workplace'—http://theconversation.com/british-people-still-think-some-accents-are-smarter-than-others-what-that-means-in-the-workplace-126964
2. See, for example, 'The history of black Britain: Roman Africans' *History Today*, https://www.history.co.uk/article/the-history-of-black-britain-roman-africans; John-Mark Philo, '**Mary Beard is right, Roman Britain was** multi-ethnic **– so why does this upset people so much?' The Conversation,** August 9, 2017 (https://theconversation.com/mary-beard-is-right-roman-britain-was-multi-ethnic-so-why-does-this-upset-people-so-much-82269)
3. Peter Jones, 'Regina, a Syrian in South Shields', *The Spectator*, 6 December 2017 (available on https://www.spectator.co.uk/2017/12/regina-a-syrian-in-south-shields/).
4. P Fryer, *Staying Power*, London: Pluto Press, 1984, p. 2.
5. See the well-researched article: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Andalus
6. A.L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth,* The Reprint Society London, (1950), 1953, pp. 181–2. No mention of Africa or Africans in the book.
7. Onyeka Nubia, England's other countrymen: *Blackness in Tudor Society, London: Zed Books, 2019,* Miranda Kaufmann's *Black Tudors: the untold story, London:* Oneworld, 2017. (Nubia is also a novelist and playwright.)
8. The team, led by Dr. Simon Newman at the University of Glasgow, also found 80 advertisements for slaves for sale! Findings are available on a database: runaways/gla.ac.uk/database

9. See especially Peter Fryer (n.5)—he was not an academic; the most recent book is David Olusoga, *Black & British: a forgotten history*, London: Macmillan, 2016. Olusoga was invited to join academia after the publication of many books, TV programmes and so on.
10. See, for example, Rozina Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes*, London: Pluto Press, 1986; Michael H Fisher, *Counterflows to Colonialism*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.
11. Opium had been used in China—as elsewhere, for pain relief. Its use as a drug, and the spread of this, is a very complicated story. Some Chinese rulers attempted to stop the import of opium but lost wars against the Europeans. It was not stopped until 1917. See, for example, Julia Lovell, *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams and the Making of China*, Picador. 2012.
12. Macaulay was an MP 1830–1834 and 1839–1847; president of the Commission for composing a criminal code for India, 1935; Secretary of War 1839–1841. The quotation is from Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire,* London: Allen Lane, 2012, p. 35; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Babington_Macaulay
13. Data is available on line: www.slavevoyages.org. It is currently being updated.
14. Quotation is from J.J. Ellis, *Fred Stanley Arnot, Missionary, Explorer, Benefactor*, London: Pickering & Inglis, c.1926, pp. 37, 63. Arnot worked in Central Africa from the 1880s; published Missionary travels in central Africa in 1914.
15. Marika Sherwood, *After Abolition*, London: I B Tauris, 2007.
16. See, for example, James Evans, *Emigrants*, London: Weidenfeld, 2017; Marjory Harper, *Adventures and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus,* London: Profile Boos, 2003; Don Jordan & Michael Walsh, *White Cargo,* Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2007, Marjory Harper & Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, OUP, 2010; Clare Anderson, 'All the world's a prison', *History Today*, April 2016, pp. 49–54. You might find the OCR GCSE History on *Migration* I wrote with three colleagues. London: Hodder Education, 2016.
17. On transported children, see, for example, Philip Bean & Joy Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire*, London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
18. 'Kenya's dispossessed seek redress for Britain's "colonial injustices"', *The Guardian*, 2 Dec. 2019.
19. Britain fought to take over Germany's colonies in Africa. On the monstrosity of that war, see Marika Sherwood, 'An information "black hole":

World War I in Africa', in László Z. Karvalics (ed), *Information History of the First World War*, UNESCO/ L'Harmattan Publishing, 2016.

20. See, for example, Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and The Second World War*, London: Hambledon 2006; David Killingray with Martin Plaut, *Fighting for Britain: African Soldiers in the Second World War*, Suffolk: James Currey, 2010. See Cameron Duodu's obituary of Seth Anthony in *The Independent*, 19/3/2009.
21. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/feb/13/african-british-army-paid-less-than-white-soldiers
22. See, for example, the excellent book by Madhusree Mukherjee, *Churchill's Secret War: The British Empire and the Ravaging of India During World War II,* New York: Basic Books, 2010. Churchill calls Indians 'blacka-moors', p. 115.
23. See Marika Sherwood, 'The British Honduran Forestry Unit in Scotland', London: OC Publishers, 1982; Many Struggles (West Indian Workers and Service Personnel in Britain 1939–1945), London: Karia Press, 1985.
24. Much of this is available in Marika Sherwood & Martin Spafford, *Whose Freedom were Africans, Caribbean and Indians defending in World War II?*, London: Savannah Press & BASA, 1999; quote is from p. 3.
25. Lizzie Collingham, *The Taste of War: World War Two and the Battle for Food*, London: Allen Lane, 2011, p. 140.
26. Sherwood & Spafford (n.24), p. 5.
27. 'Stop and searches….' *Evening Standard*, 25/10/2018; the data quoted is from 'Home Office statistics'. See Hall, Grieve & Savage (eds), *Policing and the Legacy of Lawrence*, Milton: Willan Publishing, 2009; 'Exposed: "racial bias" in England and Wales criminal justice system', *The Guardian*, 8/9/2017.
28. The two books I glanced through are as follows: Captain W.E. Johns, *Biggles in Africa* (1936), Richard Clay, 1952, pp. 38, 52, 137, 157 etc. and *Biggles Hits the Trail*, (1941), London: Fontana, 1980, pp. 32, 59, 104, etc.
29. 'Books don't reflect UK society', *Eastern Eye*, 20/7/2018.
30. 'Using evidence from the Race Disparity Audit to reform the Mental Health Act', 11/10/2017, www.mentalhealthtoday.co.uk/using-evidence....
31. Data is from 'Ethnicity facts and figures': https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/ethnicity-facts-and-figures-black-caribbean-ethnic-group/black-caribbean-ethnic-group-facts-and-figures

32. Some local organisations are doing their best to help BAME pupils. See, for example, Raising The Game in Lambeth http://lambethschoolspartnership.uk/Page/10877
33. 'Applications by black students "more likely to be investigated"', *i*, 23/6/2018. Article quotes from a UCAS report.
34. See, for example, Robbie Shillam's 'Black Academia in Britain', 28 July 2014, https://thedisorderofthings.com/2014/07/28/black-academia-in-britain/; Katy Sian, 'Extent of institutional racism in British universities revealed through hidden stories', *The Conversation*, 27/7/2019—this is a summary of her book *Navigating Institutional Racism in British Universities,* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

5

Decolonisation or Empowerment in Higher Education?

Hakim Adi and Dave S. P. Thomas

Dave S.P. Thomas *How is it possible that the Canon of thought in Universities today is predominantly based on European epistemic epistemology and ontology?*

Professor Hakim Well, that's a big question. Without going into the philosophy of it maybe it's easier for me to use some history to explain it. There are two simple answers, I suppose. One is that we live in a society in which Eurocentrism dominates and that problem is related to another problem, which is that we live in a society where the majority of us are not the decision makers. So, you have an educational system which has a particular purpose. We don't have an education system which is necessar-

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_5

ily geared to enlightenment, but is geared to producing particular type of ideas, particular kind of thinking and so on. Consequently, what becomes dominant in the society and in the education system becomes Eurocentric thinking. Eurocentric rendering of the world.

To give an obvious example, I usually give my students their first class, I usually play them a clip from the movie West Wing (a film that offers a glimpse into the inner workings of the fictional Bartlet White House—an idealist representation of Washington). The film presents an old projection of the world. So this old mapping of the world is a Eurocentric Mapping of the world. It puts London in the centre and the whole world revolves around London. It distorts the size of the world. It makes Europe very big and Africa relatively small, and so on and so on. So that is a Eurocentric rendering of the world, and in most subjects, we have that rendering of the world, or a version of it. That's to do with who holds power in society and how they want people to understand the world.

To give another example relating to history, a few years ago there was some discussion about the national curriculum in history, when Michael Gove was the Minister of Education in England. His proposal was to develop a history curriculum entirely centred around the history of Britain, but essentially centred around the idea of White men as property. There were going to be no women, there was going to be no people of colour, there was going to be no working-class people. So it was going to be a whole rendering of the world that presented a partial presentation of the world.

So that is the problem in many disciplines, that we are presented with an understanding of the world, an understanding of reality which is very limited, which is very Eurocentric and which really stops us from understanding the world in which we live. It privileges certain types of knowledge and certain key thinkers, as if to paraphrase Chimamanda Adichie, "there is only one story, there is only one way of looking at the world". So, there isn't one way of looking at the world. There are different ways of looking at the world. What is important is that we all have an enlightened understanding of the world in which we live. If we take history's example, we have an enlightened view of history. We see history in all its diversity and variety, so it helps us understand the world in which we live, which is also varied and diverse. Further, we are presented with a history

of White men as property, a history of monarchs. It's that history that actually helps us understand the world in which we live, and it's important to break away from that.

We are presented with a view of British history which exclude some subjects and presents them in a way that nobody can understand. Let's take the question of slavery and abolition. Abolition is presented as essentially the deed of one man or the deed of Parliament. So how do you explain that the world-leading human trafficking, which is what Britain did in the eighteenth century? How do you explain that one man, or two men or three men somehow changed that situation? Even if you look at it from a point of view of Parliament, why would the world's leading slave trading power decide 7 years into the nineteenth century decided it was going to stop its very profitable human trafficking? Those things can only be understood by looking at the world in its widest sense, looking on what was going on in the US as it was becoming and also looking at ordinary people in this country.

And, what many people don't understand or were never told is that the abolitionist movement in Britain was one of the biggest political movements in Britain's history; millions of people participated, protested, boycotted sugar, signed petitions and campaigned. Africans were in the barn about movements organising sales, made books and lectured up and down the country.

So, this should be this political movement, which involved workers and women. Africans should be kind of one of the high points in British history. Instead, it's almost completely airbrushed out of History so nobody understands anything about it. So this is a problem in most subjects. When we look in the history of science, we look in the history of philosophy, we look at how these things are presented. They are presented as sciences which emerged in Europe and which are the preserve of Europeans. But if we look at the history of these things, we know that is not true. In the history of science and the history of Mathematics, an important role was played by Africa, by Egypt by India by China. Where is the harm in people understanding these things? So, this Eurocentrism we can say is a relic of the past but is also preventing us from understanding the way the world is, particularly for those of us who think the world needs to change. We need to have a very clear understanding of what goes

on, why what happened in the world happened. We need to have an enlightened view of all these things. This question of Eurocentrism is not just an issue for BAME people to be concerned about but it's actually a question of everybody to be concerned about. Everybody should want to have that understanding of the world the way it is, not a partial understanding which is presented from a particular viewpoint, but an understanding which is accurate.

Dave S.P. Thomas *To what extent do you agree or disagree that the twenty-first-century post-colonial Britain is post-racial and that there's a persistence of White privilege in UK universities despite race equality legislation? What are some of the major drivers of inequality in higher education today?*

Professor Hakim The first thing to say is that Britain is not a post-colonial society. Britain still has colonies, so how can we talk about Britain post-colonial? Without going into the whole Brexit debate, one of the important aspects of that debate and the difficulty in resolving it is because the island of Ireland is divided. So, everybody knows that Ireland was England's first colony, and still a part of it is how it is held as a colonial possession. That's leaving aside the colonies like the Malvinas off the coast of Argentina, Gibraltar is a colony off the coast of Spain. In fact, Gibraltar was ceded to Britain in 1713 under the *Treaty of Utrecht*. That treaty gave Britain the *asiento* de negros—the right to supply Spain and its colonies with enslaved Africans. So, if people say there is a legal claim to Gibraltar, then that gives the British government a legal claim to enslave Africans. So this idea that Britain is post-colonial, I am not sure where it came from. Neither is it post-racial, whatever that is supposed to mean. There is no doubt that racism in various forms still exist. In fact, the legal form of racism still exist in many ways. In the news only recently, there was this young woman who was born in Glasgow who is under the threat of deportation as a result of the 1981 Nationality Act (Glasgow-born Jazz artist Bumi Thomas was born to Nigerian parents in 1993 who were unaware of recent changes in legislation that requires "Windrush" children to be registered for citizenship). It is one of many pieces of legislation which is openly racist and operate up to this day. So there can be no basis for thinking that Britain is post-racial or post-colonial in that

sense and therefore it's not surprising that these problems of racism and Eurocentrism persist in higher education in various ways. Some of them are linked to questions of curriculum and what is taught, some of them are related to who does the reaching and who doesn't do the teaching. Some of them are related to who the students are. I don't know what the statistics are recently but a few years ago the statists were of such that there were more young men of Afro-Caribbean backgrounds in prisons than there were in universities in Britain. So, we live in a society where there are inequalities, where there is racism, where there is poverty, so all of these problems are going to manifest themselves within the higher education system—who has access to it. If we look at my own subject (history), we know that at every stage of education, young Black people are discouraged from studying history. Those who study a General Certificate Examinations (GCSE), even those who get A to C grades don't go on to do it at Advanced Level, those who go on to do it at Advanced Level don't go on to do it at university and so on. So, in other words, people are turned off the subject. We could say, largely because of the way it is taught, or largely because it has a Eurocentric bias and so on. So these are all problems of inequality which affect higher education in Britain. Then, there is also the question of who does the teaching, who are the role models. I think I went through the entire education system in Britain and was not taught by anybody that looks like me. So that is a problem if you are a young person growing up in this country. Of course, that is not to say that young people don't go to university, but with what aim and with what trajectory. And then in higher education, we know that when BAME people come into higher education as teachers, there are many barriers that make it more difficult for people to advance in their careers.

First of all, you tend to find that people of colour that come into higher education are interested in people of colour. We tend to study subject areas that are not necessarily thought of, or it is more difficult to get your work published, because there may not be journals that specialise in those subjects, or maybe because people don't think that subject is important and so on. So then, you find it's more difficult to get promoted. If I speak from my own experience, to give you an example, at my university. When I joined the university, I was very conscious that there was no effort being

made by the university, or an acknowledgement that the university was not really diverse. You only had to look at the statistics which said that the university was approximately 93% White. I then asked, why is that? They said that it's in Sussex. I said, what does that mean, do you only recruit from Sussex? I asked, what effort was made to ensure that we recruit in such a way to ensure that there is more diversity? I said, we have students are training to be teachers, who need to be in an environment and have experiences that prepares them for what they are going to do. So, I began to ask questions and was told we only recruit in a triangular radius of 75 miles. I looked on a map to see what was 75 miles from Chichester and found that was Hackney. I asked, how come you are not recruiting from Hackney and Brixton. They came up with other answers. So, I raised more complaints about lack of diversity in student body, lack of diversity in staff. Eventually, we (myself and a few others) produced a report with the statistics and suggested that what we need to have is a diversity audit. They interviewed staff and students, who said all the things that were bothering them. There was the whole issue of the student experience and how students were treated. All of this was put in a report. This was about 5 years' work in total. The report was produced and made available to the university. The university asked for the report to be edited to removed names because of various legal requirements. So, then they said it should be made available so people can learn from it. We were unsure of this. In the course of this discussion, a new regime came into the university. I had a meeting with a very senior person in the committee. I mentioned that this report should become the basis for redressing some of the structural problems. The person wouldn't have a conversation with me about this report, which subsequently was not even mentioned anymore. So that's a very good example. This is a university, whereby when you bring something to their attention, a report is produced, people start talking about charter marks and all those types of things, and then, it's just all silenced. There were many other examples but all this to show that for the powers that be, these things were not seen as important, or they were distractions, or they were uncomfortable, or they disturb the status quo or they ask uncomfortable and difficult questions. So, these are the kind of problems.

They are also connected with… you could say, to be charitable that they are connected with some of the other problems that universities face; the problems of funding etc. Universities have all these challenges and the powers that be will prioritise them. The problem of diversity is not a priority. If they thought they could recruit more students by redressing this problem, they would be motivated to fix them. The other problem is racism and bullying and how universities deal with these problems are normally dealt with in secret. They don't say, we have a problem of bullying or racism and we are not going to tolerate this and if anyone has a problem, they should step forward. No… They keep it secret, they say, sign a confidentiality agreement and sweep it under the carpet. So, the problem is not solved. So, one can look at these things in isolation and say it's just a few managers, or a particular Vice Chancellor, but actually if you look, this is generally how universities operate. It is the maintenance of the status quo. And of course, the other aspect of it is how decisions are made at universities.

Usually, decisions are made by three or four people who have a particular agenda or view of things. The issue of empowerment and who is empowered and who is disempowered play a key role, and of course, these days students are again flexing their muscles and that's very important. Hopefully, these kinds of initiatives by students will bring changes, or bring changes in some universities. But generally, we are in the twenty-first century but we are operating under nineteenth-century structures where it is very difficult to change things.

Dave S.P. Thomas *What are your perspectives on decolonising the curriculum in higher education and how can decolonising be operationalised to effect sustainable structural change?*

Professor Hakim Ok, so let's examine decolonisation first of all, what decolonisation might mean. Usually, I like to give two examples from history. One example is what Charles de Gaulle, former president of France said in relation to this question, in relation to Africa in particular. He said, decolonisation is in our interest, therefore, it is in our policy. In other words, if one looks historically, decolonisation was something which was done to colonies by the colonial powers. People refer to the

post-1945 period as a period of decolonisation. This means, that for various reasons, often because of the struggles of the people in the colonies, the colonial powers were forced to adapt their colonial system to find what they called responsible leaders, and to initiate a new system. We generally refer to this process as neo-colonialism, meaning that the old colonial system was discarded. It appears that countries were independent. Instead of having White Governor Generals and legislators, they had Black or brown, but they were tied by a thousand and one strings to the new colonial powers. Sometimes, as we know, the old colonial powers even maintained some privileges, like being called to the Privy Council, and economically, these countries find it very difficult to break free, or their currencies are paid to new colonial powers. For example, the pound, the franc, the dollar, the whatever. So that's decolonisation. That's essentially what it is and if one looks at it in that way, the question will arise as to who were the decision makers in that process.

If we take a second example. Kwame Nkrumah, the famous Pan-Africanist and former President of Ghana is supposed to have said when he was talking about the anti-colonial struggle "seek ye first, the political kingdom and all else will be rendered onto you". But, the problem with that approach is that, whose political kingdom were you seeking? Because if you just seek the political kingdom of the colonial power you will find that not very much changes. In fact, in Nkrumah's case, he took hold of his political kingdom and the minute it kicked in, organised a coup and all those kinds of things. All that to say, when we talk about decolonisation, what do we really mean?

Some of this talk about decolonising the curriculum have come out of South Africa and if we look at the situation that South Africa is in, has it managed to deal with all the problems of the colonial and apartheid period? Can we say that the people of South Africa are making their own decisions? So, all this to say, what do we mean by decolonisation? Who is going to do this? Is it easy to say that we have a colonial legacy in terms of Eurocentrism and the curriculum, approaches to knowledge, approaches to the realities of the world? We reject that approach, we want another approach. But, one of the key aspects to decolonisation is decision-making and who makes the decisions and the question of empowerment and so on. Rather like the colonial situation, we don't

want a situation where we just put a few Black faces in, a few Black authors and we're going to change a few books that we read and so on. No, I think what we need to be concerned about, going back to the earlier question. How is it that these things still exist? Why do they exist? Why has it been so difficult to change them? Who are the decision makers in all of these things? The broader question, what is and who is education for? What kind of education is it? Who makes the decisions about it? How is it funded? All of these types of questions. That to me is much more important. If we can understand those issues and deal with those, then in that context we can deal with this question of what's on the curriculum and why is it on the curriculum and so on. So, i'm much more interested in questions of empowerment and decision-making, rather than simply a more multi-cultural curriculum. Of course, that's important but it shouldn't be seen as detached from all these other very, very important questions.

Dave S.P. Thomas *What are your thoughts on the absence of Black and minority ethnic histories in the school curriculum in the UK? What can be done about teaching these histories institutions of learning in the UK?*

Professor Hakim There are systemic issues. You can lobby, you can campaign, you can say to people that this curriculum is Eurocentric and ask why can't it be less Eurocentric. If you look at the national curriculum today, it is less Eurocentric than when we first started complaining about it 30 years ago. It is possible now that people are learning about Mary Seacole or Equiano, for example. But, in a way, this is dealing with the things on the periphery. It's not that it's a bad thing to have a more diverse curriculum but there are problems.

One of the problems is that schools don't have to teach it. It is quite possible that if you don't have a teacher who is trained in having that broad understanding of history, then they're not necessarily going to teach those things.

Secondly, you find that as governments come and go, national curriculum is changed. Some are less enlightened than others, and it changes from time to time.

The third problem is that most schools are now academies; they don't have to follow the national curriculum at all. They can develop their own curriculum, so the goalpost has shifted. There are other things to consider like the kind of training that teachers have and the resources that are available and so on. I think these questions of who makes decisions in relation to the education system are the key questions.

One of the things that we find is that the things young people know most about is slavery. For many young people, that's all they learn abut year, after year, after year. And it's almost tantamount to child abuse. That's all that you ever learn about Africa and Africans—enslavement. Whether you are Black or White. That's a very Eurocentric rendering of history. That will put a lot of young people of African and Caribbean heritage off history. We even had parents saying that they don't want their children to study history because they are traumatised by it, because they are hearing the same atrocities over and over again.

The other thing to mention is that the problem is not just what people learn is schools. We live in a society where school is just a part. The other problem is what people see on TV, on the internet, what is presented, what is promoted. Too often, it is things that don't give young people an enlightened view of the world. They are generally presented with a narrow, Eurocentric rendering of things. And that's problematic. That's something that can only be dealt with at societal level. What is society concerned about. How is it educating its future citizens?

Dave S.P. Thomas *In October 2018, the Royal Historical Society (RHS) produced a report that they called a resource for change. The report was entitled "Race Ethnicity and Equality in UK History". What are your perspectives of that report?*

Professor Hakim In 2014, there was a headline in the newspaper that said in the previous year, only three Black students in Britain had trained to be history teachers. So, I was already concerned about how few Black people were entering the field of history. So when I saw this headline, I got a few Black people together and formed a collective called *History Matters*. We did some investigation and found that among young Black people, history was the third most unpopular subject. Only agriculture

and veterinary science was more unpopular than history. We asked how is this possible because history is very popular in the community. We also looked at the statistics and again there were very few postgraduate students, very few doing PhDs. We couldn't even get any statistics on PhDs but we estimated that there were ten, and about five of those were studying with me. We also found that there were only five Black, academic historians. So, we put all these figures together and wrote a letter to the newspaper asking why no one was concerned about this. We then formed a group called *History Matters*, which was made up of PhD students, Black history teachers and a couple of academics.

We got very little response to the letter, so we then wrote to the Higher Education Funding Council for England to ask what they were doing to address the fact that there were so few Black people studying history. They replied saying they were concerned with all subjects, and not just history. So, we contacted the Royal Historical Society and the Royal Historical Association to ask if they were concerned about the lack of Black students studying history.

We managed to get both the Royal Historical Society (RHS) and the Royal Historical Association involved and we decided to host a conference to address all the issues. The president of the Historical Association was quite keen. We decided that at the conference, we would only have Black people presenting. We got children from school, undergraduates, postgraduates, we got teachers and we had two experts. One of them was a Black PhD student. We had the conference at the Institute of Historical Research in London. The venue was packed—over 100 people. In the course of all this, I kept saying to the president of the RHS that they need to do a report, as they did one on gender.

At the conference, we discussed what was going on and why it was going on. Our final session was on solutions. People suggested three things: 1. we need to have some sort of programme in schools; 2. we should have something for young people—extracurricular; and 3. we should have some sort of programme to encourage adults to come back into history. From those recommendations, I set up the *Young Historians Project*, I set up the *Young Film Makers Award for Schools*, and I launched the *Master's Degree in History programme*. These actions all followed from the recommendations made at the conference.

The RHS had a new president, who I met and encouraged to produce a report. Now, 4 years later, we have a report. They did not consult me nor *History Matters*. They did not involve anyone who was involved in the conference. So, this is a report on diversity, where all the people who alerted you to the problem, all the people who encouraged you to address the problem were all ignored, despite them interviewing about 700 people. The question still remains, what is the RHS doing to address the problem?

Dave S.P. Thomas *How do you propose that universities begin to operationalise strategies to redress structural inequalities in the academy?*

Professor Hakim I think you probably have to sit with all the key stakeholders—students, faculty and professional services staff—and discuss the issues, then send these stakeholders to get the opinions of their colleagues on how we can address the problems. Just like we did in my university (Chichester). We investigated the problem we even got external parties to investigate the problems, then present them to senior management. Then what happens… nothing. This tells me that the weakness is that the decision-making process is in the hands of a few people. Unless the university is prepared to empower people to investigate the problems and come up with solutions it won't work, because universities don't work like that. Therefore, it makes it difficult to change things. The decision-making processes in universities is not democratic, it is autocratic. Hence, people will always find excuses as to why they can't make changes.

Dave S.P. Thomas *So, this brings us back to the topic of our conversation… Diversity or Empowerment in Higher Education?*

Professor Hakim Well, empowerment is the key. Education is a right, but is also an investment into the future of society.

6

Travelling Between Historical Memory and the Current Predicament of Educational Reforms in Higher Education: A Transnational Perspective

Amina Mama and Dave S. P. Thomas

Dave S.P. Thomas *What are your thoughts on the idea that the Canon of thought in Westernised universities are predominantly based on the knowledge systems of five countries (Italy, France, England, Germany and the USA)?*

Professor Mama Well, these five countries were all imperialist powers. I believe the term *Canon* is entirely appropriate. Let's think of the *canon* as a weapon of force; a male weapon. So, if we start by using that metaphor, then we can explore the question of what a canon of thought is and what it does.

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_6

Intellectually, it is that authorisation of knowledge that is on the side of power. And power is defined in a very exclusionary way that is associated with empire, with White supremacy, with the global project of imperialism and the expansion of a patriarchal form of capitalism. The ruling canon is a product of historical power relations, with which we, as African people will have a problem, because they have subjugated our continent, trafficked, traded and exploited all our resources, and dehumanised our people.

The history of knowledge in the West is the history of empire, and that has included the psychological pacification that all colonised people have been subjected to. It has included the eradication, elimination and degradation of any other form of knowledge. That's what supremacy is, that's what chauvinism is. It's centred on a particular kind of ruling power that relied on denying the humanity and intelligence of all other people, and has a predatory relation to other life forms, and the planet. So, the canon has been defined for imperialist purposes. Within its own terms, it is legitimate and it's authentic. My problem with it is that it disparages everything else marginalises and inferiorises everything else, so that it reigns supreme. So, we have to ask ourselves, who is the knowledge in the canon for and for what purpose?

For people of colour, we want and seek knowledge that is more capacious, more liberatory, so the malestream colonial canon as it stands doesn't serve us well. If you look at what we as Africans want knowledge to do for us in the aftermath of colonialism, we want knowledge to decolonise our minds, we want it to liberate our still-marginalised and exploited societies. So, as Africans, we take a different approach. We see knowledge as freedom in terms of our continent and other oppressed peoples, not freedom for White men to roam the world and dominate all other civilisations and parody these as barbaric, but knowledge that will free us from that historical baggage. So, African knowledge production in the contemporary period is entirely about resisting and transcending colonial pacification, overcoming our internalisation of a world order that has not done us any favours, and in fact is very much implicated in our oppression. Both as African people and as women.

We can take it back to identifying the first universities. According to the West, this was a place populated by German monks and it was

theocratic, Christian knowledge. Now, the critique of that from another perspective we should ask, who defined that as a university, and who determined it was the first? For the sake of argument, I will give you an example to test that. I would say that I know a much older university.

The oldest university, in fact the first university, was founded by a Tunisian woman called Fatima al-Fihri and it was founded in the ancient city of Fez 859 AD, before the European medieval period. I would argue that the fact that a woman founded that university means that knowledge was not exclusively a masculine preserve in the way that the Germans defined it. So, you see, we can use knowledge to counteract White supremacy if we do our work well.

History is full of similar examples. The foreclosure of knowledge by White masculinity, by imperialism has cost us dearly. This is why every little village woman in Africa wants to learn to read. We all know that knowledge is power. That's why feminist intellectuals pursue knowledge, to undo male authority and our subjection to male authority. All the way through history, you find women using their brains to out-think, out-manoeuvre and sabotage that male epistemological authority. Depending on how you are positioned in the world, you have a different vantage point on what is legitimate knowledge and who is it for. We can trace this back to the burning of women at the stake. The literature suggest that the women accused as witches were healers and that their skills afforded them some level of power. The rise of scientific medicine was also the rise of a male monopoly, and it was enforced using theocratic power, and supported by the Church. Christian patriarchy evolved in Europe and they eradicated approximately 6 million women to establish male supremacy over traditional healing. So, the institutionalisation of medicine as a modern, scientific male-dominated preserve eliminated traditional midwives. It eliminated women. When women were brought back into healthcare, it was in a subservient role in relation to the male doctor. But, we still had Florence Nightingale, we still had Mary Seacole, who was referred to in the Caribbean as a Doctress. So even though that was the system, you still had those who defied and still did what they thought was their God-given work. So, examples like Seacole are driven into what is called the subaltern terrain, or the terrain of dissident knowledge. So, we need to redefine the meaning of knowledge, and how we want it to be

produced to serve our purposes from the vantage point of the antithesis of empire. To think is to live, and to resist toxic forces.

Dave S.P. Thomas *To what extent do structural inequalities in higher education promote "Black suffering" and subsequently inequalities in outcomes for people of colour intersectionally?*

Professor Mama Since Black people are not inherently or innately unintelligent, then we have to question the system that is producing "Black underachievement." As people, we are not academically inferior to any other people. You also have to look at the groups that are succeeding in the system, and then investigate what is the system doing to produce these outcomes. So, we have to look into our education systems and reveal just how these are reproducing historical inequalities. You don't have to interview too many Black students to find out that they are indeed suffering existentially. There is no scientific evidence, yet most people believe you are less intelligent if you have a Black skin. That idea has somehow persisted, despite the vast evidence to the contrary. Remember that film called *Hidden Figures*? The female mathematicians at NASA were brilliant but that reality had to be suppressed because the White men couldn't handle it. So, this suppression of the talents of people, who in a sense White identity depends on inferiorising is what's driving Black suffering, even among school children and students. I think we experience a lot of stress and many young people of colour in our higher education systems do fail more often, if they are not given support to counteract these dominant ideas about race, to interrupt what the education system makes into a self-fulfilling prediction. I believe it takes a lot for a system to bring down young people who come from families with a strong educational focus. Generally, these children are not brought up to believe they are academically inept. They do very well in the universities elsewhere. Look at the University of the West Indies, you have brilliant students there who are thriving. But, in Africa, there has been a concerted effort to *"take down"* the African university, divesting them, imposing fees and so on so that most people can't get a decent university education on the continent.

You can look at the percentage of the world's scientific publications that are produced by Africans… it's very small. Worst still, ask yourself, how much of the knowledge on Africa is produced by Africans? It is still very little, more than half a century after we started building hundreds of higher education institutions, most of which remain starved of resources. And if you look at African women, the marginalisation of African scholarship is even more extreme. So, knowledge production on Africa is very externalised and to think that we are more than 50 to 60 years out of direct colonial rule! Now we have to look at how the contemporary global system is reproducing the colonial inequalities because so we are still not able to produce sufficient knowledge, even on our own realities and conditions. We expected more. If you look at the history of African university and what was envisioned decades before independence, you would think that by now at least the world's scholarly knowledge about Africa would be produced on the African continent, and by Africans.

Kwame Nkrumah took the matter of building universities for African purposes seriously. The old colonial faculty at the University of Ghana argued that he was violating academic freedom if he thought the national university was to serve Ghana's liberation and development. Because, for them, academic freedom meant their freedom to perpetuate the old *Canon*. But for African intellectuals, freedom means overturning colonial knowledge production and uncovering African history. In the first few years of political independence the Africanisation of the university went ahead. There were few women until later on, because Africanisation favoured men, and didn't bring many women in at first. That came later, because women kept pushing their way in. Unlike the universities in Germany, Oxford and Cambridge, African universities never excluded women. So, from the moment of independence, African women have been fighting their way into the universities. Universities in Africa are not easy or comfortable places for women, or for that matter, for poor people or rural people either, but the determination meant that insofar as you have inclusive public education, poor people, women and others who might not have been able to afford the high costs of elite education will get in and secure qualifications.

Dave S.P. Thomas *How was educational policy lived and suffered by those who have little hand in policy formulation or implementation?*

Professor Mama Well, I think the polices that we now have in place are making the universities less inclusive globally. Post-independence, in Africa, we had a huge push to make universities more inclusive of the population, because we wanted everyone to be educated and we still have a huge amount of people uneducated. We should have planned ahead for population growth. But the failure to maintain inclusive free public education is disastrous. We need big public institutions where people and ideas can gather; we need big research institutions to address our numerous challenges. As long as every academic is doing their own little project or working for Western corporations, then we're not pursuing any African agenda. The genius of it is that there are still a lot of Africans doing their own research and coming up with discoveries that don't always get to see the light of day and African researchers don't get funded to develop their discoveries. Indigenous knowledge is not valued until someone else "discovers" it, like the so-called superfoods. Indigenous cosmetics and herbs are not valued until L'Oreal or Pfizer brand them.

Dave S.P. Thomas *To what extent did higher education institutions in Africa play a role in the liberation of its people after colonisation?*

Professor Mama All African nations had to build universities. Even military dictatorship couldn't resist that public hunger for access to education. So, we didn't just grow dozens of universities, we grew hundreds of universities. Then structural adjustment. The Western financial institution, that whole Washington consensus of the 1980s actually decided that Africans shouldn't have their own universities. Nineteen eighty-eight, the World Bank had the temerity to suggest that anywhere in the world (it could only be Africa) couldn't afford universities, on the basis of some cost return surveys that basically argued that African countries should focus on primary education. I remember arguing that this amounted to the decapitation of the continent. They also said that they would provide consultants to plan development. Obviously, you need highly skilled people to do modernised development—social development planning,

industries, technology. This is *the knowledge era* and they were telling us that we didn't need universities. There was uproar, riots, students got shot in Nigeria over the imposition of structural adjustment. We had another military coup. The military have always been the enforcers of Western, corporate agendas, and that's what happened. So, they repackaged it and it came back as "higher education reform."

I can remember stories about the moment of independence. In Ibadan, they invited all the traditional doctors to the Medical School. The cafeteria menu changed overnight from Irish potatoes to Eba and so on. Today, if you go to a university graduation in Ghana, you will see that they are still wearing the medieval, European regalia, but with some *Kente* (a type of fabric made with interwoven cloth strips and indigenous to the Akan group of Ghana).

Higher education reform meant that people had to pay for education. Education once again reverted to the colonial thing of being a very elite project. So, you now had an African elite who could get an exclusive university education and be able to identify with global elite interests. Then, the academics' alienation from the interest of the marginalised majority of people is secure. So that severing of intelligence from its proper social responsibility, its identification with the class interests of ordinary people is the modern, neoliberal university project. Therefore, the ideal neoliberal university is a corporate, elitist project, not a democratised or inclusive public project.

Higher education reform in African defined salaries, along the lines of the development industry, so that foreign faculty could be paid more for their expertise. So, in an African country, expatriate faculty were to be paid more than African faculty. What does that do to a young African lecturer? That would inferiorise them financially and intellectually. The academic staff unions had to resist that. The reforms also specified which publishers they could use. The books all had to come from Western publishers. What did that do to local publishers? You could see that this was a recolonisation, down to the details of what text you can use to teach, who can come to the university, and how much they would be paid. People rioted over this, they went on strike. They had to appoint a military man, a General to become the administrator of the university near my home, Ahmadu Bello University. People resisted it, but I can't say we

won, but there was some negotiation, but universities were reconfigured, and teaching and research suffered. Then in the early 2000s five big US corporations decided to fund higher education in Africa. So once again it was funded. Higher education now comes under the World Trade Organization, and US universities dominate the global market in "higher education services" and international students are a profit centre.

On the continent we even numerous for-profit private universities, as well as more Christian and Islamic universities. There are campuses set up by private American universities, Australian universities—all these service providers that bring their curriculums and interests to profit on African insatiable demand for education and training. Another model that was introduced is the African virtual university. This idea that you didn't need a campus with all those rebellious students getting together and developing collective thinking. You could have everyone in their own rural or urban areas learning digitally by themselves. In post-apartheid South Africa, the argument for it was that this would increase access, and get education to more Black people. But to me, it also meant that they could avoid having millions of Black South African students on campuses, socialising and politicising and doing all the things that should be happening on a campus. So, if we want African universities to play a meaningful role in the pursuit of continental freedom and development will require a different design and a radically different curriculum.

Dave S.P. Thomas *Do you think neoliberalism enhances or doesn't enhance the decolonisation project?*

Professor Mama Well, it depends on what level you want to focus on. Overall, I believe hyper-capitalism is bad. It is especially bad for Africa. Global capitalism as it has manifested since the days of slavery has not been good for the continent of Africa. So, that's why many of us grew up to be leftist thinkers, wanting to socialise production, make politics participatory and democratic and ensure freedom and development for the people. Some thinkers argued that African cultures are deeply socialistic. What we do know is cooperation matters; especially if you are at the marginalised by the rest of world, you have to work together. Even at community level, if a village wants to do something, the more hands on

deck, the more likely it is that it will happen. We can do a lot of creative things. At one level with neoliberalism, if you can get funding, you can do entrepreneurialism. On a larger scale, it is a disaster. We can't get any traction at scale unless we run our own systems, make our own rules, run our own governments and our own education and health services. We can vaccinate as many people as we want but, if there is no primary healthcare, we will always have deadly epidemics. These huge epidemics have come about with the destruction of primary healthcare systems, the result of divestment of the public sector, the sacrifice of ordinary people on the altar of free-market fundamentalism. This is neoliberalism. So too with knowledge, we can't get to systemic change if we can't exercise the sovereignty to protect the public good, to run systems on behalf of our own interests, instead of for private profit.

Dave S.P. Thomas *I believe what you are saying is that in order to enhance the decolonisation project, we need a pan-African approach?*

Professor Mama Yes! Not easy because the continent is huge. We need to form networks across the continent, because everywhere is different and we can learn a lot from how the different manifestations of neoliberal empire are affecting different groups and societies differently. And we can also get traction of questions of culture, because Africa has an infinite repertoire of diverse cultures. There's power in the kind of thinking that comes when you're able to transcend your immediate locality to think transnationally. Be grounded locally but be able to think globally. Transnationalism is a methodology for thinking creatively in order to find and create new reservoirs of knowledge and information. For me, this is a different kind of pan-Africanism from what Garvey and the pan-African congress had in mind, because they were still thinking about a big state. In his book *Africa Must Unite* Nkrumah meant a state. Nyerere had a different view. He thought you must have the nation states and then they could unite. Both of them were thinking of the bigger picture. Now, we are thinking beyond the state, more laterally as important strategies and ways of connecting. The challenges for women and marginalised groups is to come together beyond borders. I think of pan-Africanism from an epistemological, political-philosophical perspective that is

people-centred and therefore anti-capitalist, socialist and feminist. I certainly don't think of it in terms of the pan-African army or an African Union of corrupt and illiberal neoliberal states.

Dave S.P. Thomas *As a transnational scholar, what is your transnational perspective on how we can redress structural inequalities in the academy?*

Professor Mama Right now, I think we have to form transnational associations and networks to address the challenges of pursuing freedom agendas that focus on our collective interests, despite the pressures of our neoliberalised higher education institutions and their individualistic opportunity structure. That means working in cooperation, not in competition. I think it means being able to think and work outside that opportunity structure, to think of it as working in defiance, and thinking as a collective underground, rather than letting our minds be atomised and defined by our job specifications. That like being captured, not at all free. Pursuing freedom is not the job we are paid to do. If you combine transnationalism with a radical class perspective that is centred on linking across the oppressed and the marginalised of the world we might be able to subvert and transform the structures of power. As women, we are working through various feminist networks. That is what excites me about transnationalism—thinking about strategies that create spaces that connect the weak and the marginalised, who are paying the price of today's global regimes of power and profit. We need to connect the oppressed, the subaltern, the counter-hegemonic majority against corporate elite power, which is currently really prevailing over the realm of the state and the military as well as our education system. As a Black faculty member, perhaps you can connect to the pan-African and diaspora networks and set up intellectual projects that can inspire Black students who grew up as minorities in overwhelmingly racialised contexts by teaching that they are the majority in the world. Perhaps you can give them a better perspective on the world. For example, I'd like to see some exchange programmes between African and Caribbean universities, not just thinking via the West. So, for me, cultivating transnational, feminist pan-African perspectives grounded in our history offers a humble pedagogic strategy for redressing structural inequalities in higher education.

7

Fencing the Race: Responding to the Past to Help Shape the Future

Olivette Otele and Dave S. P. Thomas

Dave S.P. Thomas Following your recent award of a professorship and chair in history by Bath Spa University (the first Black female professor of history in the UK), I congratulate you on being appointed as Bristol University's first Professor of the History of Slavery. This is a role in which through your research, you intend to facilitate a dialogue about the role of the University of Bristol in the trans-Atlantic slave trade in order to contribute to a stronger, fairer society. I note that you mentioned in your manifesto that you will interrogate history by working collaboratively with students, staff and the local communities to identify how we can respond to the past to help shape the future.

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_7

History can be used for all sorts of ends, as no historian can ever produce "true history". Collectives define themselves through a historical narrative. As Professor John Henrik Clarke proclaimed, history is

> the compass that people use to find themselves on the map of human geography… history tells people what they have been [and] where they have been… [the most important function of history is to tell people] where they still must go and what they still must be.

Given the aforementioned context, as a historian with a doctoral area of specialisation in European colonial and post-colonial history and extensive research examining the legacies of colonial past, understanding trauma, recovery and social cohesion, as well as amnesia and reluctance to address various aspects of colonial legacies, how would you narrate the role of the history of colonialism in maintaining/promoting structural inequalities in higher education institutions? How accurate is history in relation to truth?

Professor Otele You can think outside the colony when you are outside the colony. It is virtually impossible to think outside those norms if those norms were imposed in education and through lived history. Power spoke for centuries and power was recognised as being White and British. Though when you are in a condition where economics is dictating your daily experiences, when it means that you don't even have enough to live, then the examples of success that are presented as White, means that you would aspire to that.

We live history in a way that's quite interesting. We live and teach history and teach ourselves history and therefore we import that mechanism. So, for example, the position from which you learn and teach will determine the experiences of those who are receiving that education. What I mean by that is the tools that we as historians use are completely shaping the minds of those that are receiving the information. For a very long time, and is still very much the case, we use books, we use examples from the enlightenment from the twentieth century and from the Tudors. So, the reference in Britain is always that glorious past of kings and queens. A time for many Black people where you didn't see many Black people written in that kind of history. So, it means that when a young child or teenager is learning about the history of kings and queens, the

idea is to be able to identify and to completely accept and immerse that history as theirs. It's about their ancestors, supposedly their history. Whether they are coming from the Caribbean or Africa. This is supposed to be the history that shape the nation that is now their own. However, they can't really embrace the history because they know there are experiences that are not being taught in that history.

So, the first point will, therefore, be the subject. The experiences that are now being presented to you. The second point is the way that history is taught in the classroom. Many things have change again and in the younger generation are using multi-directional, multi-dimensional tools for teaching history. In my generation, the people who are closer to 50s now, you learnt history sitting and listening to teachers engaging from time to time and you also learnt from books. You didn't learn it from songs, you didn't learn it from podcast or life experiences from people from the Caribbean. So, there's the subject, there's the material being used and there's the way it is being taught.

So, the way it is being taught we always taught the Western way, the European way, the British way of doing things was the proper way of learning and teaching history. It reinforces the sense that it's only that kind of history that is valuable. It's only that kind of history that is rigorously researched and taught, and therefore that's a reference for us. Whether you came from other parts of the world. So that reinforced the idea of a White, strong rigorous and neutral kind of history. What is interesting is that people have been taught in groups since the sixth century at least, whether it is in the Kingdom of France or England. It's really mainly in the nineteenth century in Britain and in France where schooling has become compulsory and you have classrooms and you have free school. That was also the time when Britain was at the height of its colonial power. That's the time when colonial ideas were shared; the idea that you had to shape citizens of the future by telling them of a victorious past, a triumphant past. A past that is based on the entrepreneurship and so-called strength of those who left the country and went and conquered the world. So, it's a triumphant history that has been taught. So, it's interesting that the birth of modern school is also set in that period. It has enforced the idea of domination over the colonised. What people were taught is that it is a positive thing to have gone across the globe and

colonised and civilised but what people were not taught was the cost of that civilisation. What is interesting for me is to think about the fact that imperial nostalgia that we are talking about means that you have to position yourself on both sides. I understand how people can be proud of empire. They are proud because it brought great wealth to the Kingdom. It gave them a sense of power. Incredible sense of power for centuries. What has not been taught is really the cost of that power. The subjugation, the torture. Nine, to 12 million people being deported across the Atlantic. Not just by the British, but by the European colonial powers. The Bengal famine and all the ways that colonisers have found to subjugate the colonised. That hasn't been taught to them. That hasn't been taught because it's very hard to accept once you know. The way it's being taught is partial even at the moment. So really, it's an ideological battle but it's also a historical battle in the sense that part of the historical truth has not been properly addressed and is still being contested. We are still talking about how bad it was when you have records showing you that it was terrible and people have a hard time accepting that their forefathers did that. So, the easiest way, I suppose is to say that it wasn't true. Archives are lying.

The notion of truth is a bit of a postmodern debate. What is truth? The postmodern historian says that there is no such thing as true history. It's a realm of possible alternatives. Those people have been accused as being revisionist. So, it's an interesting point about the notion of truth and the accuracy of history in relation to truth. I mentioned this thing about people and again that's really important for me because it speaks about the collective of people. How far can we talk about collectives when a big part of that collective is not included in the narratives that historians have been creating for centuries? So again, that raises the question as to who is the audience. I think we live in really interesting times at the moment because those foundations are being challenged and it's very important for us to do that. What I mean by challenging times is expressed in a positive way because for centuries, you didn't have those challenges coming from different parts of the population. Historians tended to think in terms of class—working class, middle class, upper class. So, class-based and religious challenges were shaping the discussions. But, when it came to the rule of empire and the offsprings of empire, they were not seen as

being able to challenge anything. In fact, they were not expected to challenge anything. We are now in the twenty-first century and all these former empires are challenging not only the class order, but social order, racial order and what it means for many people to be British. For many people, to be British meant to be a White, working, middle/upper class and sometimes, you could add woman. But, never in their wildest dreams would some people think that being British would mean to be part of home British empire. So, we know that those on the periphery (to use cultural studies language) are actually part of the centre now.

Dave S.P. Thomas How can we change academic knowledge systems and enquiry to promote epistemologies that debunks the established ideologies of academic disciplines based on methodological and ontological notions of "whiteness" as neutral, invisible?

Professor Otele I think there are perhaps two or three ways. The first way is acknowledging that history as a discipline has contributed to that amnesia and has been used not neutral at all. It's a political and social and economic tool that has been used for centuries. Just acknowledging that is a start. History is never neutral.

The second way is to try and create spaces that facilitate dialogue between academia and academic communities, because where we consider history and through extension, Whiteness, is through academia. For example, recognising the value of oral histories. The Ivory Tower has a problem. The problem is that it does not include other stories and those other stories are all around us. So, by the time they reach academia and they are being taught, a lot is excluded.

The third method is would be diversifying the teaching methods. In addition to books and archives, bringing in people to tell their own stories is a valuable addition to current epistemologies. Sometimes, those stories are based on memory, rather than so-called factual information. What is important is the sense of pride or shame or joy that these people have about particular events and that in itself is very important. So, including history and memory within our teaching methods is a step towards diversifying these teaching methods. I also believe in the multidisciplinary aspect of teaching history. For example, I teach the history of

enslavement and colonialism. Well, how about music within that history? We always think about the United States and the cotton fields, but what about the fighting in some villages. I will give you the example of this in Cameroon where I was born.

In some villages, the way to communicate, still now in remote villages when people are in the fields is to use the drums to say that a stranger is coming to the village, to say that food is ready. So explore that a little bit by asking around and in colonial times and centuries ago, these were means that people used to communicate. Say for example, when the White coloniser was on his way, or something was happening in the village. So, using music and musical instruments to communicate is part of the methods. It is not just me telling students that this is what happened in that time or that I have this oral source to corroborate what I am saying, but actually bringing in a Djembe (West African drum) into the classroom to explain how this instrument has been used at the forefront of communication for centuries. Things like that will serve to diversify the methods of teaching.

I would also challenge the way we teach history, through a curriculum revision. We talk about decolonising the curriculum but I am not sure about the term itself. I'm not sure that we are post-colonial in so many ways, so I wouldn't use the term decolonising in that sense. Perhaps I would say a revision of the curriculum, and a strong revision of the curriculum. I'm not saying to remove all the White men (and dead White men). What I am saying is that we need to, first of all, bring in other non-European people to tell their story. We do that as historians. We always have a second source that will back up the first source, so why don't we do that when we talk about the history of enslavement and colonialism. Why don't we share the experiences of the ancestors of the coloniser? So, it's about curriculum revision. But I still want to see those dead White men, simply because it's very important for me to teach people how and why those stories have not been taught. We need to be explaining why we are still using those lies. What does this tell us about us as communities of learners? What does it tell us about the oppression of Whiteness? The oppression of Whiteness means going back to those texts and showing how oppressive they have been for centuries.

Dave S.P. Thomas For those inspired by calls to redress structural inequalities in the academy, where would you encourage them to focus?

Professor Otele That's a big question. There are so many areas we could explore. We could start by developing alternate ways of evaluating what constitutes academic excellence. For many people, writing a book or several books makes you a wonderful historian. It is indeed an achievement to write books. However, for many people from the African and/or Caribbean community, there are other ways to tell a story. I'm thinking about Stuart Hall, who didn't write that many books when you consider his career. Yet, he managed to bring together academics in academia and also to engage with people outside academia. He was an incredible intellectual and yet he is considered by some as less of an intellectual than someone like Richard Evans who is a classical White academic has written many books. Richard has done fantastic work in many areas as well. So, it is about finding ways to re-evaluate what is meant by academic excellence. People who are teaching in communities and bringing people together in communities; this is certainly for me, an achievement. So, in terms of promotion, those people are not valued because they have not written books. Bringing in grants in academic terms means that you are on the path to great academic success. But again, who receive those grants? What are the ways in which we evaluate how we amass money? So, it is more than diversifying the staff. It's about diversifying the staff that's maintaining that staff. Putting Black women at the bottom of the career ladder with low pay, precarious contracts and part-time jobs is never going to be the way forward. You would have Black and brown staff but no promotion for them. So, I don't think that's the way to do it. We need to reshape the way we view excellence.

Additionally, early career researchers who are starting their career in academia also need to refrain from believing that choosing certain research topics means putting their careers at risk. A young Black chap coming from London, for example, and choosing to do history and who is coming from a poor background may find that studying history is a difficult decision to make. What do we do as an institution to prepare them to start oft on equal footing once they start? Do we do anything more? We don't at the moment. We are just concerned that they pay their

tuition fees just like everyone else and they should just catch up. Well, some of them can't catch up because they are coming from lower economic background with a different set of problems. Some people will argue that White working-class people come from the same backgrounds and have the same problems. But it's not quite the same. White working-class young learners do not generally suffer from racialised inequalities. Staff are not neutral. We always think that the university is somewhere where we all learn and we all come together. Staff are not neutral. Racism exists in academia. What can we do to fight against those things? For me, until we find ways to level the playing field we will be failing. This has to come not only from the African and Caribbean community but from all communities. The problem is that institutions don't recognise that there is a problem. I am hopeful because we have many pieces of research that highlights institutional racism in academia. For example, the work of Nicola Rollock, Heidi Mirza and Shirley Anne Tate.

Dave S.P. Thomas I am thinking of your new role at the University of Bristol which encompasses an exploration of their role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade with a view of contributing to a stronger, fairer society. To what extent is there scope to frame these explorations within a broader dialogue which explores how higher education as a sector could provide reparations to people who were most affected by the legacies of this slave trade that has now promoted structural inequalities in the academy.

Professor Otele That's completely part of the role. It is not just universities. The university could have asked any person to conduct a piece of research on their history and links to the slave trade and just focus on the university. But that's not the role that I accepted. I took on the role because it offered something else. That something else is, looking at who became wealthy and who invested in the university as an institution. Therefore, who sponsored whom and what were the subsequent actions of the university. The university has been trying to bring in students from various communities in Bristol, but this is not happening. Subsequently, they have created some pathways that are not working efficiently. The majority of students at the university are middle class, coming from independent schools, and very few from the Black community. So, there is a

problem because University of Bristol is the biggest university in the city, and yet people from the Black and brown communities are not represented there.

In terms of reparative justice, this is a very broad term. If you look at the CARICOM's ten points, one of them is education. So how do you create ways from the university to those communities in relation to that legacy of the slave trade? It's not a straightforward answer. I will be researching about the links that some of the funders had with the slave trade, but how does one determine how much money should be given to which community? I don't think that is the way forward. The way forward is if there is reparative justice and it's based on education, then it has to be about presenting the role that the university of Bristol played in the history of enslavement so that it is clear for all to see. It's not exactly clear for some people. I have spent time with some people over the last 20 years or so who still ask me about what poor people that also suffered, having suffered since the eighteenth century? Some go as far as saying that was White slavery. So, we need to debunk those myths. We need to look at the historical facts. That was the basic premise of my PhD some 15 years ago. So, it's about having those sets of facts that put to bed certain myths. Association with the trans-Atlantic slave trade means that the university and other institutions also got rich. Given the fact that the university was created after the trade, some of the families got money from the slave trade. I intend to explore which families, which organisations, which businesses received money. How the university will take these findings forward depends on them, but it also depends on the fact that if we start by teaching the history contained in my findings to all people, then the natural path is really to address the structural inequality that exist within the city. There are approximately 26 Black teachers in Bristol from a cohort of over 13,000. So there are structural inequalities. Research by the Runnymede Trust shown that Bristol is one of the most segregated cities in the country, so we also need to address that.

I will add that for centuries, people of African descent have found ways to thrive and survive and ways and means to educate their children and they are still doing it. So, this signifies that we as a people have resilience, a resilience that is an intrinsic part of our Black cultural capital.

Part II

Equality, Diversity, Inclusivity or Decolonisation: The Big Conundrum

8

Decolonising Academic Spaces: Moving Beyond Diversity to Promote Racial Equity in Postsecondary Education

Frank Tuitt and Saran Stewart

There is no debating that many postsecondary institutions around the world have been grappling with the global imperative to be more responsive to the increasing diversity of students enrolling in their campuses. For example, a report by Universities Canada found that more than three-fourths of higher education institutions in Canada had equity, diversity and inclusion (EDI) goals in their strategic plans and 70 per cent had in place or were developing specific EDI plans.[1] A recent report on European higher education noted that there is an increasing awareness of the significance of diversity as it relates to research and education, and as a result, many EDI initiatives exist within institutions.[2] Correspondingly, in the United States there are more Senior Diversity Officers than ever, leading EDI efforts on college campuses throughout the country.[3]

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_8

Clearly, these institutions, with mixed results, have attempted to diversify their campuses with a range of programmes, policies and initiatives designed to promote increased access for historically underserved students. Consequently, we can now find increasing numbers of postsecondary institutions around the world espoused commitments to diversity in campus' mission statements, marketing materials, position titles as well as in conference themes of major national higher education associations.[4]

Unfortunately, despite their best efforts to advance diversity, postsecondary institutions around the world have found themselves in the midst of campus protests where minoritised[5] students and their allies have been speaking out in resistance to their daily encounters with micro aggressions, macro invalidations, and other not so subtle acts of discrimination and demanding for decolonisation in higher education. For example, students are protesting to decolonise the curriculum in South Africa and the United Kingdom and rallying in Brazil against the current president who opposes the teaching of any subjects related to sexual diversity, gender equality or racism.[6] Students in South Africa are protesting against discriminatory language policies prioritising English in South Africa and against college fees in South Africa.[7] Students in France are calling for their university to cancel a play they viewed as Afrophobic, colonialist and racist[8] and students in Rome are marching against the current government who they believe is fuelling a climate of hatred with racist practices targeting migrant families.[9] Collectively, these acts of resistance exemplify the glaring need to address racism and racial equity around the world.

Arguably, at the heart of increased activism on college campuses around the world is the failure of postsecondary institutions to create more decolonised spaces both in and out of the classroom where minoritised students can engage in learning that suggest their lives and their lived experiences really matter. The reality is that the manner in which postsecondary institutions have implemented their diversity initiatives have not resulted in substantial transformation of the day-to-day operations of campus business and instead focused more on how to assimilate minoritised students into the existing campus culture. Thus, the majority of diversity initiatives being implemented to support the increased diversity of students, rarely impact the colonial campus systems and structures because they are not

linked to institutional policies and practices which severely limit their ability to transform the higher education environment (Tuitt 2016a). Moreover, the implementation of diversity initiatives across college campuses throughout the world have neglected to include an intentional focus on race, ethnicity and other minoritised backgrounds as a central component of their inclusion efforts (Tuitt 2016a). Instead diversity and inclusion initiatives have opted for culture neutral policies and practices.

In return, minoritised students have become more and more suspicious of diversity initiatives that are divorced from or in conflict with racial equity and racial justice goals. Not surprisingly if you were to take a closer look at many of the student demands emerging out of recent campus protests, a clear theme around "race mattering" is evident. Consider for a moment, students in the United Kingdom have:

- protested to decolonise curriculum (took place under #WhyIsMyCurriculumWhite);
- called for more diversity in staff and faculty to reflect the diversity in students;
- demanded for resources such as more diverse counselling staff on campus who can better understand racial issues that BAME students face;
- rallied against fee hikes which further hinder students of colour and those from low socio-economic backgrounds;
- spoken out against colonial monuments;
- voiced concerns over a report that revealed BAME students are 21 times more likely; than White students to have their university applications flagged and investigated for fraudulent information (Tuitt 2019a).

These demands emerged in higher education context that has increasingly become racially hostile. According to a new report from the Equality and Human Rights Commission, racial harassment is happening at "an alarmingly high rate across British Universities."[10] As we look across the student demands from different parts of the world, such as the United States,[11,12] Hong Kong,[13] South Africa[14] and the United Kingdom,[15] there is a clear sentiment that postsecondary institutions around the globe need to move away from the happy talk of diversity[16] and instead promote racial equity in postsecondary education by decolonising academic spaces.

Accordingly, this chapter presents a conceptual framing for decolonised academic spaces that move beyond diversity to promote racial equity and inclusion. We address four guiding concepts of decolonisation in higher education: (1) decolonising the mind through ways of knowing and knowledge construction; (2) decolonising pedagogy; (3) decolonising structures, policies and practices; and (4) reimagining the academy from a decolonised lens. Thereafter, we discuss what these may look like in praxis and the implications they have for decolonising academic spaces.

Decolonising Academic Spaces to Promote Racial Equity and Inclusion: A Conceptual Framing

Even though decolonising the academy may be an unattainable goal within modern societies, we argue that creating anticolonial academic spaces may be possible considering the following principles for decolonisation in higher education. In this respect, Stein and Andreotti define decolonisation as a set of efforts or processes designed to:

> resist the distinct but intertwined processes of colonization and racialization, to enact transformation and redress in reference to the historical and ongoing effects of these processes, and to create and keep alive modes of knowing, being, and relating that these processes seek to eradicate. (p. 2)

More specifically, decolonisation in higher education has focused on the traditional onto-epistemological ways of knowing and knowledge construction (Thiong'o 1986; Small 2018), the intersections of pedagogy and praxis (McLaren 2015, 2016), the structures, policies and culture of the academy (Ferguson 2012; Stein and Andreotti 2016) and the futurities of imagining an entirely new *pluri*-versity (Boidin et al. 2012).

Decolonising knowledge within academia is not a new concept but one that has been heavily written about by early scholars in the field such as Fanon (1963), Rodney (1972), Said (1978) and Spivak (1988) to name a few. The scholars debate the proliferation of western knowledge

as an institutionalised mechanism to co-opt indigenous epistemologies for capitalist gain. In this regard, indigenous ways of knowing in the academy are simultaneously re-packaged and exploited as reformulated forms of western knowledge. As one aspect of decolonising academic spaces, the academy must value non-White/non-Western forms of curricula, ways of knowing, texts and knowledge that informs curricula content and styles of teaching. As such, pedagogy cannot be exempt from curriculum and how knowledge is taught is a form of either resistance or conformity to Western colonisation. Stewart (forthcoming) speaks about plantation pedagogies in higher education and specifically debates how the principles of plantation politics have influenced modern-day pedagogy in higher education classrooms. The author further suggests an emancipatory pedagogical matrix to disrupt these forms of pedagogical oppressions.

Similar to the effects of pedagogical oppressions, the weaponising of academic research in higher education has led to what Smith (1999) argues as one of the most dangerous legacies of Western colonisation; one that has rendered indigenous epistemologies as lesser than and incapable of generating knowledge. Smith's (1999) seminal book, *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, interrogates and argues for the need to value and teach decolonising methodologies as a mechanism to deconstruct imperialism and decolonise institutions such as higher education. As such Smith (1999) argues that decolonising research

> involves the unmasking and deconstruction of imperialism, and its aspect of colonialism, in its old and new formations alongside a search for sovereignty; for reclamation of knowledge, language, and culture; and for the social transformation of the colonial relations between the native and the settler. (pp. 88–89)

However, as Tuck and Yang (2012) have stated, there is a need to constantly interrogate the concept of decolonisation as those who labour for this work can also be conditioned to further settler colonisation intentions. As such scholars such as Tuitt (2019b) call attention to the role of decolonising scholars needing to disrupt their own colonial gaze within

the very institutions that trained them to recreate the structure, policies and culture of the academy.

Most of today's scholars were trained to replicate the legacies of Western colonisation framed as institutional policies and practices. Squire, Williams and Tuitt et al. (2018) argue that contemporary US higher education institutions are designed on the premise of plantation politics which resembles a system of coloniality: a structured and complex bureaucratic network of exploitation, domination, expropriation and extermination. Stewart (forthcoming) describes the principles of plantation politics in higher education as:

> 1) the exploitation of Black labour, identity and emotions at the expense of the self but for the economic benefit of the institution; 2) institutionalized hierarchy and stratification of race, class and gender that inform the climate and structures of power within the institution; 3) policy guidelines and regulations designed for and to reinforce the structure of power and wealth of an institution; and 4) the practice and reward of plantation pedagogy to support the ideological subservience of the plantation (i.e., the institution). (p. forthcoming)

These principles do more than frame the concept of plantation politics but illustrate the capitalistic power structures of higher education. In this light, decolonising higher education's structures, policies and practices is more about disrupting economic inequities than delivering higher education's first intention as a public good. Arguably, higher education institutions designed from colonial and neo/colonial structures and policies were never intended to be for public good but for private gain to maintain White supremacy. Decolonisation in higher education problematises the racial hierarchy of higher education and calls for equitable representation at the individual and systems level. This will dismantle all colonial structures, policies and procedures inherently designed to reify the stratification of higher education institutions. This principle not only looks at representational quotas at the individual and systems level but equitable redistribution of resources to undo the capitalistic design of higher education. This would essentially treat higher education as a social good and not a capitalist gain.

The last principle tackles and stretches the imagination of what higher education could be: the futurities of higher education. Some scholars such as Boidin et al. (2012) have argued for a *pluri*versity looking at multiple standards and diverse understandings of its purpose. Where some scholars such as Stein and Andreotti note the possibilities of eco-versities or "hospicing" the university, there is still caution to not replicate the effects of coloniality when envisioning a decolonised future.

The linking of all four principles is critical to create decolonised academic spaces for the promotion of racial equity. Each principle addresses the individual and systemic levels of social violence such as colonialism, racism, patriarchy, heteronormativity and capitalism in higher education. Although not promised, the effects of decolonisation in higher education can promote social activism, critical consciousness, social and equitable academic spaces as an emancipatory re/imagination of higher education. In the next section, we offer some final considerations based in part from our own lived experiences as academics where we attempt to move from theory to praxis as we strive to decolonise the academic spaces we occupy to promote racial equity and inclusion.

Moving from Theory to Praxis: Practical Implications for Decolonising Academic Spaces

Recognising that the higher education institutions we work for were not designed to liberate racial and ethnic minorities but arguably to control the mind so that it could exploit the body for profit, we take the position that it would be virtually impossible to decolonise academic institutions in their entirety. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge the privileged space we occupy as academics who get to engage in intellectual exercises where we write about what ought to be done in the name of promoting racial equity while simultaneously remaining complicit by participating in and benefiting from the very systems and structures we seek to dismantle. This irony is not lost on critical scholars such as Adele Thomas who reminds us that the minoritised people who have been and continue to engage in campus rebellions are to be applauded for their efforts to

disrupt the oppressive status quo. However, she like Tuck and Yang (2012) warns that we must also acknowledge that often embedded in our freedom fighter's demands are calls for increased access to the very colonialist systems and structures that have been central to their demise. Accordingly, we must remember that if we are not critically vigilant in our efforts to interrogate our emancipatory actions, our good intentions can result in oppressive outcomes. Therefore, scholar activists seeking to decolonise academic spaces to promote racial equity and inclusion will want to focus on decolonising aspects of the academic enterprise within their spheres of influence. Three of the four frames discussed in the previous section related to decolonising the mind (epistemological ways of knowing and knowledge construction), decolonising pedagogy (pedagogy and praxis), and decolonising academic programmes (the structures and policies of the academy) to promote racial equity are good places to start.

Decolonising the Mind

According to Stephen Small (2018), decolonising the mind is an extremely hard thing to do. He argues that the notion that academic knowledge is entirely objective and that all perspectives are considered is a myth and the reality is that the knowledge that has been central to our training is strongly shaped by Eurocentric values born out of colonialism. Take for example, critical scholar activists spend a great deal of time trying to figure out how we can use the master's tools to dismantle the master's house also known as the academy (Lorde 1984). Yet without failure, we have encounters that consistently remind us that we are in many ways an extension of our training and as such have embedded in us a colonial gaze that makes it difficult to break free of the scientific shackles (Lavia and Sikes 2010) that bound us to the Eurocentric modes of academic inquiry. Consequently, in an effort to decolonise the mind, educators will find it helpful to do the following:

- Draw on sources of knowledge outside of academia including the insights of activists and community organisations and cite scholars from minoritised communities
- Foreground the intersections of race/gender ideologies that have always been and remain predicated on domination and exploitation
- Use progressive language and terminology that reduces colonialist bias, and confront and reject deficit-based ideologies that portray minoritised communities as underdeveloped
- Draw upon the voices of indigenous groups and value the contribution they make to produce counter knowledge
- Recognise the primacy of race and racism in the creation of colonised communities
- Question language and terminology (concepts and frameworks) and the assumptions upon which they are based (Small 2018).

In theory, applying these principles increase the likelihood that we can disrupt the colonial gaze embedded in all of us and move closer to decolonising the academic spaces we occupy to promote racial equity and inclusion. Decolonising the mind is the first step in breaking our bondage to the institutional regime of academic practices and discourses that shape our authorial subjectivities (Chun 2008). It is also a necessary step in decolonising our pedagogy and praxis.

Decolonising Pedagogy

Related to decolonising the mind, the manner in which we teach challenges those of us adhering to a decolonised ideology to constantly battle and wade through the colonial lecture style waves of disseminating knowledge. In this respect, some faculty teach as an extension of the self through a lens in which they refract and receive knowledge as a two-way reciprocal process not a one-directional strategy. Some decolonising pedagogues borrow from the philosophies of critical pedagogy (Freire 1993; Giroux 2010), inclusive pedagogy (Tuitt 2003, 2016a, b) and revolutionary pedagogy (McLaren 2015) to create more decolonised academic spaces for teaching and learning to occur. These learning environments

are inherently inclusive, dialogical and discursive. These spaces are able to centre peripheries of knowing and generate knowledge from non-White/non-Western scholars. Here, pedagogy is filled with passion, rage, fear, anger and love for the art of teaching. Those wishing to engage in decolonising pedagogy should consider the following:

- Teach with intentionality, making pedagogical decisions from the core of your authentic self, focusing on liberation and ultimate emancipation of the mind and the self.
- Leverage students as well as your own voice and lived experiences through indigenous ways of knowing to co-construct knowledge.
- Diversify course content based on each cohort of students. Review and assess who is privileged on the syllabus and those that are recommended for reading. Educators should prioritise a balanced portrayal of racially diverse groups of scholars.
- Constantly engage in the self-work needed to be an anti-oppressionist and equity-minded educator that uses decolonising practices and strategies to encourage students to reflect and act.
- Be courageous, resilient and embrace the emotional labour required for decolonising pedagogy (Tuitt et al. 2018).

These considerations are not exhaustive and should be challenged and enhanced based on the context, the learning environment and the students in the classroom. The constant reflexive process of engaging in decolonising pedagogy allows educators to develop as leaders and form communities of persons aspiring to decolonise academic programmes.

Decolonise the Academic Programmes You Lead

In *Do Not "Decolonise" … If You Are Not Decolonising: Progressive Language and Planning Beyond a Hollow Academic Rebranding*, Nayantara Sheoran Appleton (2019) states that until you are actually ready and capable of engaging in the work of decolonising the systems and structures that we benefit from we should think of better words to name what we are

actually doing. Moreover, it does a disservice to the scholar activists who have been on the frontlines fighting to dismantle power structures that continue to exclude and oppress indigenous and minoritised communities. Appleton's warning suggests that if we are not committed to radically transforming the academic spaces we lead then engaging in decolonising the mind and our teaching will be insufficient. Therefore, scholar activists seeking to move beyond diversity to promote racial equity and inclusion will need to engage in a decolonising campaign that interrogates all aspects of academic programmes you inhabit.

According to Small (2018), the academic spaces we belong to are designed to maintain and protect the vestiges of slavery, colonialism and imperialism that limit who access and succeed in the academy. Thus, moving beyond diversity to promote racial equity requires uncovering those hidden legacies of colonialism and identifying alternative solutions to them that expand access and opportunity. While there is an emerging body of literature on how to approach the decolonisation of the academic spaces we lead, we offer three pivotal areas to consider:

- Interrogate and change the systems and structures that determine who has access (admissions and hiring practices) to the academic spaces you lead so members from indigenous and racially minoritised communities can have an increased presence in your programme. This will require that move away from restrictive exclusive benchmarks of talent that privilege some communities over others
- Conduct an audit of the system and structures that influence knowledge construction (curriculum, assignments and assessments) which play a critical role in determining who succeeds and who fails. Asking questions related to *why are some subjects/content typically identified as the canon required (readings and courses) and others regulated to the margins? Why are some forms of scholarship encouraged and rewarded over others? Moreover, who frequently teaches the foundational courses* versus *the electives? Why are some forms of assessment prioritized over others?*
- Investigate how the reward structures such as tenure and promotion, merit, awards and distinction align with goals related to decolonising the academic spaces within your sphere of influence. Does research, teaching and service relate to indigenous and minoritised communities or from a decolonial perspective count? Is it valued?

While not exhaustive addressing these three aspects of the academic space begins to unravel the often-cloaked vestiges of coloniality that are embedded in the fabric of our programmes.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we make the claim that the surge in campus rebellions occurring around the world is in part a result of the failure of academic institutions to move beyond a superficial commitment to diversity which by its design and limitations never really had a chance to facilitate racial equity and inclusion for minoritised communities. Specifically, we attribute this failure to the reluctance of higher education institutions, in spite of their investments in EDI, to radically transform their systems and structures, leaving intact their vestiges of coloniality that continue to marginalise minoritised communities. As such, we hold that it is unlikely that any group of committed scholar activists will be successful in the efforts to transform in its entirety higher education institutions that are cemented in coloniality. However, we do remain hopeful that academic spaces within our spheres of influence can be decolonised in a manner that facilitates movement beyond diversity to racial equity and inclusion. To that end, scholar activists will want to engage in the hard work of decolonising the mind, questioning the epistemological assumptions (ways of knowing) that privileges some forms of knowledge over others and reinforces traditional western/Eurocentric values. They will want to examine departmental objectives, courses, programmes, activities and outcomes for presence/absence of anticolonial approaches. Moreover, it is important for scholar activists to avoid working in isolation and instead seek out opportunities to engage in dialogue with other faculty and administrators in departments and across disciplines for best approaches for decolonising the academic spaces they inhabit. Additionally, those of us who have taken on the challenge of being programme leaders should explore how we can design capacity-building infrastructures that provide opportunities for the development of the competencies necessary for decolonising academic spaces while incentivising, recognising and rewarding those efforts. Finally, scholar activists seeking to help their

institutions move beyond diversity to promote racial equity and inclusion will need to keep in mind that this work must be a labour of love (Tuitt 2016b) requiring grace, self-care and resiliency. The academic spaces we are seeking to decolonise have been routed in their coloniality for some time now and will not change overnight. While we agree with the late great Dr. Vincent Harding that to become intimately involved in the concrete active struggle for freedom with all its risk, is an honourable aspect of the vocation of the scholar activist, to allow it to lead to your demise is too high a price to pay.

Notes

1. See https://www.universityaffairs.ca/news/news-article/most-universities-report-having-equity-diversity-and-inclusion-plans-but-challenges-remain/
2. See https://eua.eu/resources/publications/890:diversity,-equity-and-inclusion-in-european-higher-education-institutions-results-from-the-invited-project.html
3. See https://www.insidehighered.com/quicktakes/2019/11/15/new-research-diversity-officers-campus-climate
4. For a few examples, see: https://www.miragenews.com/international-conference-shines-a-light-on-equity-in-higher-education/, https://www.aacu.org/conferences/dess/2019, https://eua.eu/issues/12:diversity-and-inclusion.html, https://www.eiseverywhere.com/ehome/iau2019/825625/, https://www.advance-he.ac.uk/programmes-events/conferences/EDIConf20
5. According to Chase et al. (2014), the term *minoritised* refers to both the objective outcomes resulting from the historical and contemporary practices of racial-ethnic exclusion and the continued social, political and economic existence of marginality and discrimination, though compositional racial-ethnic parity may have been achieved in particular contexts.
6. See http://theconversation.com/brazilian-universities-fear-bolsonaro-plan-to-eliminate-humanities-and-slash-public-education-budgets-117530
7. See https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-47001468
8. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/28/sorbonne-at-centre-of-racism-row-after-alleged-blackface-in-theatre-show

9. See https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/11/thousands-march-rome-protest-climate-hatred-181110185924306.html
10. See https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20191024212737297
11. See https://www.acenet.edu/Documents/Speaking-Truth-and-Acting-with-Integrity.pdf
12. See http://www.blackliberationcollective.org/our-demands
13. See https://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/hong-kong/article/2171096/hong-kong-must-show-it-home-all-races
14. https://www.okayafrica.com/from-feesmustfall-to-blueforsudan-okayafricas-guide-to-a-decade-of-african-hashtag-activism/
15. See http://gal-dem.com/what-can-we-learn-from-the-goldsmiths-occupation/
16. See Ahmed, S. (2012). On being included: Racism and diversity in institutional life.

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9

Towards the Unmaking of Canons: Decolonising the Study of Literature

Sandeep Bakshi

Decolonising literary knowledges, underpinning both the canon-(un) making exercise and critical pedagogy comprising university teaching necessitates, in Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's (1986) words 'a quest for relevance' that signifies 'the search for a liberating perspective within which to see ourselves clearly in relation to ourselves and to other selves in the universe' (p. 87). In contemporary times, student-led political mobilisation of decolonising the academy (Rhodes Must Fall, Decolonise the curriculum movement in several universities, building the anti-racist classroom (BARC) at the University of Kent) have signalled the critical introspection of and the liberation from 'the operation of whiteness' prevalent in university spaces (Emejulu 2018, p. 173). Translating critique into political demands has cleared space for critical thinking on ethnocentric bias in university syllabi, which inexorably hinge on an excessive majority of deceased White males (DWMs) with token

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_9

inclusion of their others under the umbrella rubric of diversity. Constituting the decolonial route 'to seek out "liberatory" spaces from which to carve out ways to resist different structural forms of coloniality and racism or racialisation within the western academy', grassroots activism has brought into focus systemic praxes that uphold and maintain conventional western formations of knowledge(s) in almost all academic disciplines and reading lists.[1]

Canons in the Unmaking

In July 2019, a Martinican student, Alexane Ozier-Lafontaine, boycotted the French Baccalaureate examination on the canonical author Victor Hugo, citing the complex intertwining of racism, the literary canon and French colonialism in the Martinique. In an elegantly worded video, she denounced the absence of engagement with Hugo's racism in her studies and appealed for an informed appraisal of the author, who she called a 'raciste notoire' (Ozier-Lafontaine 2019).

Ozier-Lafontaine's call to pontificate upon the implications of erasing problematic legacies of racism for Black and other students of colour resonates with the institutional hegemony of DWMs in literary canons in both French and English literatures. Canons, as Walter Mignolo (1991, 1992) and Edward Said (1994) contend, invariably function along exclusionary axes whilst demonstrating hegemonic power of institutions to legitimise the (re-) production of canonical knowledges, often uncritically. Additionally, in the realm of English studies, formal canonisation of English literature as a discipline was coeval with the demands of colonial administration to produce a canon of English literature for the British Indian civil services (Loomba 1998, p. 85).[2] Given the pervasive interimplication of colonisation and national literatures, Ozier-Lafontaine's attempt to hold French literary studies and pedagogies to account articulates the decolonial plea of building knowledges through, to borrow from Josie Gill (2018, p. 285), 'different kinds of academic facts and different ways of knowing'. It traverses further than a trite critique of exclusionary strategies towards unmaking established canons of literature by

instructing how pedagogies cannot obliterate racial paradigms in enhanced claims of universalism.[3]

Unmaking canons, especially in literary studies, requires rigorous critiques of existing Eurocentric categories of knowledge formation. Compellingly, it demands a nuanced approach to reflect upon the historical conjunction of colonial politics and canon consolidation as one explanatory instance of exclusions, and concurrently, offer comprehensive accounts of canonical authors of literature without eliding critical questions of privilege in terms of race, gender, sexuality and social capital among others.[4] Contemporary close readings of canonical texts do address concerns highlighted earlier; however, making it routine practice serves as an integral function of engaged pedagogies to 'conceive an after eurocentrism', to use Qadri Ismail's phrase (2017, p. 44).

Enumerating processes of marginalisation of the others of DWM instantiates the political demand of their inclusion. Postcolonial literatures and theories restore the postcolonial canon in English literature and additionally provide techniques of interpretation with regard to established literary figures. Unmaking canons as a strategic tool promotes a supplementary exercise in addressing the erasure of critical legacies nevertheless. Whilst Homer, Virgil or Sophocles operate as archival reference for English or French literatures, teaching practices for non-western authors included in the postcolonial canon tediously compare them to Eurocentric formations of knowledges. Critical genealogies, for instance of entrenched caste hierarchy in the case of Arundhati Roy's work or oral traditions in Chinua Achebe's writings,[5] in languages other than English receive scant engagement in literary critiques and teaching. Such marginalisation inevitably illustrates the hegemony of Eurocentric referencing whereby excavation of literary archival knowledges remains unchallenged due to the insufficient probing of knowledge systems in non-Euro-American cultures and languages. Unmaking canons as critical pedagogy, therefore, strives to offer an exhaustive access to pluriversal knowledges without diminishing the scope of Euro-American frames, which figure as *one* of the knowledge systems among others.

Proposition I: Decolonise the Literary Syllabus

Suturing languages—English or French—to aspirations of national literatures, Peter McDonald (2019) advocates the proliferation of 'foreign languages' as headway towards jettisoning 'silo mentalities' and decolonising literary studies. McDonald further envisages inclusion of world literatures as Rabindranath Tagore fashioned it (Vishva Sahitya) and knowledges of 'other' languages to provide an antidote to colonial-era silos of literary knowledge, that is, canons. Decolonising literary curriculum, in this regard, attempts to disaggregate canonical formations through processes of inclusion of the others of canon. However, diversity in syllabi, akin to institutional diversity and inclusion discourse, does not automatically guarantee termination of disciplinary canons. As Sara Ahmed (2012, pp. 150–155) contends, diversity and inclusion speak manoeuvres racism into a modality of exception to the rule. Further, inclusion of diverse and minority-ethnic authors *increasingly* figures as a 'fundamentally tokenistic' praxis (Patel 2017).

Given the ubiquity of the canon and its reproduction ad infinitum, the decolonial turn would indeed benefit from an opening up to world literatures, as McDonald suggests. Concurrently, a carefully inflected turn from *what* to *how* of syllabus pedagogy will enable literary scholars and instructors to undertake the task of not merely gesturing towards diversifying the curriculum but effectuating decolonising the praxes associated with it. Imparting knowledge and by extension systems of thinking that partake in its formation demands a systematic engagement with pluralising *our* pedagogical praxes. For instance, addressing Shakespeare's oeuvre occasions making pathways into texts of similar but critical themes, such that Shakespeare's meta-canonical status is called into question. Relentlessly reading *The Tempest* (1611) in a critically analogous frame with the first extant slave-memoir of Olaudah Equiano (1789) redresses the erasure of literary figures deemed minor(ity) authors in canonical consideration. Similar instances of parallel examination have indeed developed in several literary syllabi across universities offering a co-reading of *Jane Eyre* (1847) and *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966). However, it behoves literary curricula to render such an analytic of critical re-writing

an integral part of pedagogies of teaching and researching, without which the 'meaning(fulness)' of literature remains elusive. The absence of this conceptualisation of *the how* (not simply the *know-how*) of praxes, in this respect, figures as a grave oversight. In other words, defying inclusion, *our* pedagogies of decolonising the curriculum must gesture towards a decalcification of the canon to concatenate authors and themes together in a critical bind.

Periodisation of the canon, another meta-canonical feature, exemplifies the stronghold of disciplinary temporal boundaries. In this regard, American literature produced in English, obliterating oral and written pre-colonial accounts, appears as the origin of *all* literature of the United States. The unmaking of literary canons in this context would imply relieving literary texts from the coercive domain of periods and movements. Reading Toni Morrison's reworking of the character of Desdemona's African nurse, Barbary, (*Desdemona,* 2011) brings to the centre etiolated narratives of valour. As works of fiction that speak to each other, operating in complementarity, the inter-relation of Shakespeare and Morrison's texts uncovers the arbitrary fastening of literature to periods. A decolonising stance in literary studies, then, would imperatively work towards forging such interconnections. Making the linkages between authors, characters and periods sustains the overall coherent structure of knowledge-making and, simultaneously, allows entrenched erasures of literary narratives to emerge tactfully and forcefully instead of their occasional inclusion.

Proposition II: Decolonise the Literary Syllabus

Intimately connected to processes of epistemological normalisation, the making of the disciplinary canon (literary, philosophical, etc.) bespeaks *a/the* intellectual tradition always in direct reference to western thinking, and, almost always fixes the locus as the Euro-American academy, what Linda Tuhiwai terms 'the inherent dominance of Western knowledge' (1999, p. 100). As such, this cognitive movement gets instituted as knowledge and further serves to provide power to those who successfully re-produce it. The move away from non-Eurocentric enunciation and

repetition of knowledge and intellectual practice is salutary with a view to engaging with the pluriversal ways of being in our world(s). However, any departure from the disciplinary canon inevitably results in the marginalisation of those who depart from it and the subsequent reinforcement/renaturalisation of the centrality Euro-American canon. The Euro-American canon, therefore, functions as the guarantor of its self-perpetuation, the gatekeeper of the production of knowledge, and more importantly, it works to undermine, delimit and control other enunciations of knowledge(s) through declaiming itself as a universal category, and, erecting the master meta-narrative of the eurocentred norm.

Decolonising the curriculum, especially in literary studies grapples with existing systems of knowledge, pontificating upon and presenting another option to the self-referential canonical system based on eurocentrism that relegates other knowledge systems to the peripheries as such. In his elucidation of decoloniality, Mignolo expostulates on the risks associated with repeating received frameworks of knowledge. He declaims:

> You may be enacting some options without knowing you are, because you think, or have been educated to believe, that there is only one option (cf., totality of knowledge) that corresponds to reality, and what is left is to engage in the conflict of interpretations within the logic of what seems to be the only option. (2018, p. 224)

Bringing forward a 'conflict of interpretations', decolonial thinking proffers an exit from a regime of 'totality of knowledge' and knowledge-making. This tension of reading/re-reading in literary studies connotes the absence of engagement with disciplinary inclusion/exclusion binary. Instead, it makes *a* salutary gesture towards re-orienting and reframing processes of knowledge formation. Whilst signalling inclusion in the literary canon inevitably makes the processes of exclusion intelligible, the effective accomplishment of the work to decalcify and unmake the canon organises around the presentation of multitude of interpretations. The complaint about exclusion from the canon can thus reconfigure as a political demand for transformation as in the case of student-led movements in the United Kingdom, notably the Decolonise UoK at the University of Kent (Thomas and Jivraj 2020). Potentially thus, decolonial

options lead to re-imagining canon formations that appear as an exercise in regimenting and coercing knowledges into a totality of experience that eschews pluri-dimensional perspectives. In the literary field, the decolonial option would enable a multiplication of co-imbricating texts, contexts, narratives and histories in a cognate field of interpretations.

Several literary and analytical practices invite us to think *why* a particular work of literature figures in the canon whilst our pedagogies attach themselves to reflect upon the historical and social contexts through which works of literature attain canonical status. However, one key aspiration of decolonising literary studies places emphasis on transformative politics in research and teaching. Without aiming to undertake symbolic and/or metaphorical, albeit useful, change through facile inclusion of diverse world literatures, decolonising contextually professes for (re-)generative themes resulting in the 'practice of freedom', to borrow from Paulo Freire's terminology (2005, p. 96). Such themes in literatures strenuously repudiate the aggregation of *a* particular canon by introducing it as a complex formation of multi-disciplinary systems of knowledges, including oral and multi-language sources, and, racial, sexual and gendered archives among others. Additionally, generative discussions of literary value and taste emerge as highly unstable and arbitrary, such that the unmaking of canons illustrates the impossible existence of *a single* canon.

The establishment of a non-Eurocentric academy in the context of knowledge formations impels a comprehensive engagement with continuing genealogies of plural knowledge systems. Encapsulating historically enduring cultural practices, written or non-written cultural memorabilia, such as culinary traditions, sartorial customs, rites, rituals and religious conventions to name a few, provides access to knowledge archives which remain at the peripheries. Practices of incorporating such valuable archives in the study of literatures do not operate as an uncritical call to authenticity (of 'other' cultures'), they allow referential access to knowledge systems that offer other ways of being and knowing in the world instead. In the literary field, engagement with Arundhati Roy's fiction, for instance, necessitates addressing established archives of caste and hijras in languages and language systems other than English. In the case of Chinua Achebe, taught in several university programmes on postcolonial literatures, archival access to oral narratives constitutes a significant

step in decolonising the disciplinary confines of literature that locates written and oral archives in hierarchical frames. Without a meticulous commitment to making the study of literature pluralised in terms of language, cultures and literary tradition, the meaning of several works of literature remains elusive. In sum, the decolonial option for literary syllabi foregrounds the archives and processes that produce a particular work of literature (oral or written) even when they emanate from other languages, cultures and literary traditions. The invitation to access multi-language/multi-focal archive of knowledges proffers a serendipitous opportunity to researchers, educators and curriculum-design partners to work in a regenerative frame of shared knowledge making. Any successful inclusion of Roy or Achebe, therefore, hinges upon *how* knowledge of and around their works unfolds.

Overall, decolonising the study of literature does not imply the erasure of canonical works (certainly not Shakespeare in English studies), nor does it signify providing evidence of any superiority of non-western literatures through their tokenistic inclusion. Instead, the move to decolonise literary syllabi considers the veritable question of *how* a work of literature is produced and *how* we consider it as partaking in a specific reading list. In other words, it pivots on decolonising *our* methodology of relating to and teaching literature. It has the potential to delink the now untenable attachment of the global North with knowledge and that of the global South with culture and cultural practices. Indeed, this potentiality of re-distributing power in the realms of knowledges and cultures directly challenges the uninterrupted racist hold over epistemological 'veritas'. Additionally, without failing the premise of objectivity, it transforms the purported objective inquiry of the knowing and/or the non-knowing subject into an ethical interrogation through placing knowledge and culture *in parallel frames* and not in binary opposition to each other. The multiplicity of mediums—written and oral literatures, performances, ritual practices—renders the stringent borders between disciplines redundant and offers a glimpse of the seamless disciplinary boundaries that make our worlds intelligible. A non-Eurocentric academy in this regard materialises through the dissemination of multiply organised voices and perspectives that attempt to dissolve the Euro-American centre by arguing for pluri-local productions of knowledge. Perhaps, this shift enacts a form of epistemic disobedience to a *singular* hegemonic centre.

Notes

1. For instance, Lolo Olufemi (2017) argues for the liberation of English literature curricula in universities through a recognition of postcolonial literatures as integral to British literature.
2. Contemporary discussions in various contexts of former British colonies signal the presence of English literature as a vehicle of disciplinary power (Highman 2019).
3. Exclusions operate in multiple ways with a cyclical movement of inclusion-exclusion. For instance, despite being the most included poet of negritude in the French literature Baccalaureate examination, Aimé Césaire was excluded from the 2009 curricula, setting a precedent for an exclusively White curriculum.
4. Gurminder Bhambra (2020), for instance, asserts the critical importance of conceptualising critique of eurocentrism as only one form of 'epistemological redress'.
5. For the exclusion of the oral archives from literary canons in Latin American literatures, see Mignolo (1992, p. 66).

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10

"Merit", "Success" and the Epistemic Logics of Whiteness in Racialised Education Systems

Harshad Keval

Introduction

The idea of "merit" and "success" within arenas defined by "meritocracy" within educational systems is intriguing. Academic and public discourses alike have found multiple convergent routes along which the debate regarding equalities—of intellect, commitment, intention, as well as equalities of opportunity—find alliance. This chapter speaks to the ongoing issue of Whiteness, merit and privilege, vis-à-vis the so-called universal nature of epistemic and existential knowledge-based academies, what Grosfoguel termed "Westernised University systems" (Grosfoguel 2013). I aim to signpost some features of the material and epistemic landscape of "merit", since its nature and reality depends not on its own objective placement within a universe of knowable entities, but actually on where

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_10

the viewer is positioned, the architecture of Whiteness and the phenomenology of structural and embodied racialised experiences.

Here I am using the term *parallax* to explore and perhaps unravel the potential alternative, counter-punctual meanings of "merit" and how it is maintained through performance and institutionalised social structures of race, Whiteness and privilege. At its most simple level, I could mean merely that how "merit" looks depends on where you position yourself. This, however, is an over-simplification of a much more complex set of racial logics and embedded structures of oppression throughout Western racial capitalist systems. Indeed, there is much in academic social science discourse to demonstrate the various ways in which merit is defined, produced, performed and maintained. This has traditionally been underpinned by a class analysis (with corresponding reductionist analyses de-throned and re-rendered readable through intersectionality). Critical Race Theory (Ladson-Billings 1998) frameworks have brought into stark relief the landscape of racist inequalities in the educational and employment/labour market arenas, especially in relation to Whiteness (Rollock and Gillborn 2011; Arday and Mirza 2018; Bhopal 2015). There is no shortage of evidence showing racial and ethnic inequality within higher education in the UK (Bhopal 2018; Bhopal et al. 2016; Alexander and Arday 2015; Gillborn et al. 2012). Such patterns of inequality affect Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) students as well as BME staff, resulting in the UK Equality Challenge Unit setting up the Higher Education Race Action Group, underpinned by the "Race Equality Charter", an aspirational equality goal for Universities in the UK to aim for. This long-standing "problem" has both problematised people (Gordon 2007) and called our attention to the various theoretical deficiencies of the social sciences as they continue to operate within the paradigms of modernity they were borne of—which were fundamental in shaping what becomes legitimate conceptually, theoretically and empirically as a discipline (Bhambra 2007) and as understandable truth. It is interesting then that higher educational institutions which pride themselves on demonstrations of sophisticated learning and teaching technologies, all underpinned by a variety of ethical, theoretical and empirical pedagogic techniques, are also able to somehow "unsee" those very practices and discourses that contradict these missions of learning for a wide population of "others".

These contradictions run parallel to the informed, intellectual, philosophical girders that are often used to communicate the power of liberation pedagogy—for example, Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968 [2000]) often used in discourse and practice to achieve emancipatory effect. Similarly, there is no dearth of Foucauldian analysis of power, knowledge and the nature of subjugated experiences of knowing, in the critique of educational governmentality (Foucault and Ewald 2003 [1975–1976]). However, the multitude of theory that is central to the engineering of Western knowledge seems to relegate to the margins the "discovery" of Spivak's (1988) powerful critiques of the imperial, literary, western gaze, Thiongo's (1986) call to decolonise the mind and language or Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (2013) work on decolonial methods. These frameworks amongst many others, part of the decentralised movements from postcolonial discourse towards "decolonial turns" are rendered peripheral and tangential, exotically important only by and through their difference as "other" knowledges, generated by "otherness", and to be consumed in relatively moderate amounts.

Given that "success" in Higher Education is constituted by a very specific, categorically delimited series of "attainments" validated and verifiable only through a particular field of hierarchically organised legitimacies, it seems pertinent to unpack the very foundation of this notion of "success". I ask what is left when the notion of merit is stripped of any contextual, racialised variance or experience? What happens when within a neo-liberalised, marketised economy of White intellectual hegemony, in the "post-racial" moment, racialised bodies and minds are configured as estrangements to modernity's project of "enlightenment"? What is left in the *racial-parallax* field of meritocracy when "success", defined in a field of hegemonic Whiteness is not only the object to be viewed as constantly centred and aspired to, but reveals the "prize" or "goal" of education to be Whiteness itself? In other words, "merit", defined, produced and maintained within matrices of performativity that are already enmeshed in and constitute racialised power relations, is "locked" outside of the evident fluidity of the race-making (Knowles 2010) arena, but equally also constitutes the racial power relations of Whiteness itself. Such illusion-making (while at the same time productive of material realities) is integral to the ontological and epistemic machinery of Western modernity's

multiple routes to its own self-defined civilisational purity. Such "post-racial" illusions are collusions that contribute to the powerful mythologised universalisms embedded inside the very idea of meritocracies. As Joseph-Salisbury summarises, "it is through the hegemony of the 'post-racial' myth, the collective denial of the continued significance of race, that White supremacy endures and thrives" (2019: p. 4). Hence, merit and success are constructed as absolute, universal fixities, whose immovability also symbolises the epistemic and ontological fabric of Westernised, Eurocentric models of knowledge (Mignolo 2011). The stability of this constant avowal is a strategic and existential move whose origins are long steeped in racial capitalism, coloniality, brutality and *Epistemicide* (de Sousa Santos 2015). Such epistemically and institutionally codified connections between what happens at the intellectual level, and the *type* of body and mind in which this thinking can even be generated are steeped in the histories of Western modernity's educational institutions (Mills 1997).

What I term the *racial-parallax* can be regarded simply as a temporary heuristic, a conceptual signifier to allow us to roll back the field of vision, perception and experience of racialised-life in ways that people of colour already experienced in these fields are very familiar. It is located within a wider logic of structural racism and Whiteness that modifies the *conditions of possibilities* open to subalternised populations, since the basis of European Enlightenment philosophy, with its foundational role in the scientific revolutions, seeks to maintain its primary position in the established flow of power from the particular in the Global South to the universal in the Global North (Grosfoguel 2013). Such processes, re-performed on a daily basis create Eurocentred epistemic alterities and bring about the generation of counter-alterity narratives through disciplinary and technical bureaucracies. Indeed, such daily activations work to reinforce both the power and legitimacy of racism and Whiteness because they occur inside an *already existing and distorted racialised arena.* The resultant problems in BME "student attainment", the multiple barriers to success for BME staff, and the longer-term problems for both in the wider societal context need therefore to be framed with this context.

Rethinking the Context: Whiteness and Decoloniality

In this chapter, I am drawing on authors and writings that span the decolonial turn as a wide, diverse processual network of ideas, theories and activisms that, as Maldonado-Torres et al. (2018) argue, arose in response to modern colonisation, and has been active since the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The position of "merit" in the power structures of Whiteness, and the resultant subjugation of "others", allows us to invoke explanatory frameworks and spaces of resistance that mobilise agency. The ideas here also dismantle the driving assumptions behind the enduring coloniality of modern capitalism (Boatcă 2016) and the consequent structuring of social, cultural, economic, gendered emotional and psychological life (Lugones 2008). This applies for both coloniser and colonised through the geo-politics of racial capitalism (Bhattacharyya 2018) and the proliferation of modern world systems. In Anibal Quijano's colonial matrix of power, conflict rages at both the material and the epistemological levels through control of the economy, authority, gender and sexuality, and knowledge and subjectivity. These sets of struggles move in two directions, the imperial conflicts between European states, the conflict between these states and the enslaved/exploited African and Indian colonial subject (Mignolo 2003). This matrix, however, has at its heart two dimensions that characterise how it works: the racial and patriarchal foundations of knowledge. As Mignolo shows us, it is Christian theology that "located the difference between Christians, Jews and Moors *in the blood*" (Mignolo 2007: p. 8) and it is in the context of the exploitation and "discovery" of the new world that racial configurations are established as differential and hierarchical between Spanish, Indian and African. As secular philosophy and science came to replace theology, newly creative forms of racial classification were employed. Within the discussion of the racial-parallax field the positioning of merit-as-Whiteness occupies the same epistemic location as the ego-politics of knowledge (Mignolo 2007). The only knowledge worthy of knowing, and the only subject that contains the possibility of knowing, must be the European, White male, since all other possibilities were extinguished (women, Blacks,

Indians, Moors, Jews). Such thinking is the core of Westernised University systems—as well as entire social and cultural processes of discipline making. These knowledge systems produced in the Global North are therefore seen and performed as *universal*, rather than *particular*; viewed as objective, rather than subjective; exist *beyond* embodiment, despite being fully embodied (in the White male) and represented as the ultimate reward for… merit. That such thinking originates in the colonial generation of capitalist accumulation, and the subjugation of people for centuries is cast aside as merely historical fragment, or collateral consequences of the overall positivity of modernity. That such modernity is regarded as bounded and generated solely within the confines of the Global North, rather than constituted by and through colonial exploitation at the material and epistemic level (Bhambra 2007) is substantively ignored except within critical intellectual and activist circles.

Veronelli (2015) neatly summarises the view from the other side of modernity's historiography with a focus on "the perspectives and life experiences of peoples from the Global South as points of departure to a critique of the failures of Eurocentered modernity" (2015: p. 109). Therefore, this *unfitting* into neatly pre-organised, linear segments of history becomes a driving force for revealing the underside of "success" in educational meritocracies, vis-à-vis the heteronormative, racialised and gendered axes of racial capitalism (Robinson 2000; Lugones 2008).

Counter-framing the notion of "merit" as both an attainable state and process, and a means by which universally recognised achievable endpoints are rendered visible, we can locate this universality as a geopolitically constructed and fuelled, epistemic and material legacy of centuries of racial capitalism. It works within matrices of colonial power and frames how the currency of equity in liberal democratic knowledge systems that operate on "merit" utilise Whiteness structures of ignorance within the racial-parallax field. In the UK context, there is a multiple layered and intersectional racialised system of deprivation, inequality and injustice in every field of society, with multilevel problems (UUK 2019). The notion of "merit" then appears in our racial-parallax field as a universal mechanism of attaining the objective neutrality that affords full citizen-hood, person-hood and civic participation afforded to *all* subjects, through its own objective stance. The distortions produced by the

racial-parallax modify the field inside which this struggle sits, but also frame the notion of merit through fallacies and inaccurate representations.

Knowing by Not Seeing

The epidermal beginnings of colour racism in the sixteenth century, once theological racism had been superseded, mobilises the logics of racism through systematic, embodied structures of Whiteness. That such structures are performed, maintained and fuelled systematically at the epistemic and material cultural level (Dyer 1997) is not news. However, that these structures *present themselves* as unremarkable, invisible and ignorant of the dynamics being played out in the field of knowledge making and assessment is highly problematic. These structures and agentive socialities appear ignorant of the general, enduring landscape of racism and ignorant of their role and culpability in the resultant causal chain of inequalities in this field. I draw parallels here with what Mills (2007) terms "whiteness as an epistemology of ignorance".

Epistemic Whiteness fundamentally plays an ontologically superior role in the colonial/modern world, and hence the mechanics of its operation are both sublime in their performance as "objective, and universal", and sophisticated in their insidious insistence on ignorance of the *consequential* racisms resulting from this power relation. Alcoff (2007) does not accept the innocence of ignorance when it is in a relational field of racial power, since Whiteness use the notion of "meritocracy" to justify its own position. This wilful ignorance is neither passive nor innocent. In Charles Mills' formulation, the core denial of racial oppression is itself an enduring legacy of the psycho-social requirements for colonial enslavement, labour extraction and brutality. They are constantly renewed and replenished through liberal regimes and the emergent post-racial silencing of racism (Lentin 2014). Viewed inside the *racial-parallax* field, "merit" is located as a neutral, universal and desirable process and state, whilst simultaneously occupying fundamentally distorted positionality, in a field of relations that *relies on distortion*. Success, ambition, merit, attainment, status, all provide the ambient furniture of a structure whose

architecture is racism, Whiteness, coloniality and racialised capital power relations. Their structural position and connection with other arenas that equally employ these distorted fields ensure that cries and complaints of intersectional racism become deflected by the "innocent ignorance" of Whiteness. However, being situated inside a *racial-parallax* field, is also experientially a potentially empowering fracture of this distorted lens, as it enables the subject to discern the nature, extent and cause of the distortion, by rendering that which is invisible, visible. I am arguing that the transformative experience of being "other", such as the migrant, the outsider, the raced-body, the intersectional body-out-of-time-and-space, the othered *being* as a fundamentally displaced modality, an identity borne of struggle, potentially affords one a corresponding *clarity of vision*. As the luxuries of merit, privilege and epistemic superiority vie to maintain prime position as ontologically achievable, they so only through appropriate ontological subjects. Being both *within* the parallax but constituted by a vision *outside* of the field, allows subalternised "others" to dispense with the falsities of merit as produced and maintained by Whiteness. Such sub-ontological identities (Maldonado-Torres 2016) whilst imbricated in the mechanics of oppression also provide techniques of resistance, for these ontologies of resistance are counter-moves against the epistemologies of Whiteness in meritocracies. In so doing the *racial parallax* remains powerful only in as much as the viewer(s) experiential gaze is limited to the constitutive elements of Whiteness. By moving outside of the primary racial field through collective organisation, disrupting White hegemony and utilising resistance as an everyday unsettling of power, "merit", Whiteness and Eurocentric privilege dressed up as forms of ignorance, can be debunked and displaced.

If the dismantling of the machineries that both create distorted fields and the ways in which those fields are understood—the geo-politics of knowledge—then perhaps thinking about one component of the epistemic other's experience is to identify this *racial-parallax* as intimately violent and real, but subject to resistance and counter-moves. Whiteness structures of power and institutional frames of coloniality as they reproduce privilege through "meritocratic success" need to be understood through the need not simply to "…give the subaltern a voice" but to "…work against subalternity itself" (Spivak 2014). Students, staff and

alliances from across a multitude of arenas working towards related goals of social justice and anti-racism can move outside the narrow epistemic and material confines of the *racial parallax*, and re-align our gazes and embodied stances towards different affective, epistemic and embodied potentials.

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11

Decolonising the Academy: A Look at Student-Led Interventions in the UK

Ilyas Nagdee and Azfar Shafi

This chapter provides a brief overview of the formation and crystallisation of what can loosely be described as a movement to 'Decolonise education' that developed in British universities over the last 7 years. While these campaigns have been informed by a number of trends and movements, we will trace their immediate precursors to student- and faculty-led campaigns at University College London (UCL). Quickly touching on their contributions to contemporary thinking on 'race' and racism within higher education (HE), this piece will focus on the lessons that can be taken from them by advocates against racism in higher education—as well as the ideological and programmatic crossroads where this movement finds itself.

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_11

Racism and the Academy

The experiences and outcomes of non-White students in higher education have been discussion topics for almost as long as there have been non-White students in British HE. But conversations about 'race' and racial injustice in academia have often ended up re-routed into dead-end discussions around 'diversity', buried in boardrooms and relegated to research reports—having little impact on the lives of the students at the sharp end, never mind harnessing them as agents of change. Across the last decade, certain issues of 'race' in HE has achieved greater salience—especially those of the ethnicity attainment gap, the ethnic make-up of academic faculty and, increasingly, incidents of overt racism on campuses.

The attainment gap (or degree awarding gap as it is increasingly known) refers to the disparity in degree outcomes between UK-domicile White and non-White students. Over the course of the last decade, calls for action on the gap rose from demands from students and equality practitioners, and into the work of the newly formed governmental Office for Students (Office for Students 2020). Similarly, racism on campus went from the dirty little secret of higher education to universities being publicly exposed, often through the medium of modern social media (Malik 2019), and forced on to the sector's agenda in a programmatic manner with a subsequent enquiry by the Equalities and Human Rights Commission (Equalities and Human Rights Commission 2019).

However, much of the work to tackle racism in education in HE has not been done with the end goal of eliminating racism in HE but with the aim of managing racism, protecting institutional reputation and in an increasingly pressing imperative—to assist in the marketing and promotion of the institution. In ways it could be argued that moves to challenge racism in universities are increasingly being used as a trade-off for increased neoliberalisation in higher education—and in any case, the means through which 'race equality' is being pursued in universities take on a distinctly corporate mould. These ambitions have come to light in their most naked form following the accelerated marketisation of education post-2010, which was resisted by students and staff but accepted by universities keen to cash in on blooming business. A decade on from the tripling of fees,

half of academic staff are on fixed-term contracts (University and Colleges Union 2019), universities are going bankrupt and strikes continue to occur as the project of marketisation has utterly failed. It is in this climate that, in recent years, students themselves began making moves to address the issues they were faced with, on their own terms.

The Rise of Student-Led Campaigns

The past decade saw two converging trends in the context of higher education: the backdrop of revitalised student politicisation following the mass protests against tuition fee increases in 2010, and the increasingly prominence given to matters of 'race' and racism in British academia (echoing an increasing interest from mainstream media), alongside the publication of literature such as the National Union of Students (NUS) Black Students' Campaigns' 'Race for Equality' report (NUS Black Students Campaign 2011), and the launch of the Equality Challenge Unit's (now Advande HE) Race Equality Charter to further entrench practices around 'race' and ethnicity in HE.

In the midst of this convergence emerged a loosely related cluster of education campaigns, propelled in large part by Black and brown students (and faculty) that here will be termed loosely as 'Decolonise' education campaigns. Initiatives such as Why isn't my professor Black? at UCL in London were followed by collectives such as Why is my curriculum White? (WIMCW) (Hussain 2015) which gave space for activists to mobilise within—taking on a more movement-oriented approach, as opposed to purely lobby-based efforts. The launch of the Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) campaign at the University of Cape Town in 2015 sparked, more or less formed, sister efforts at a number of British universities, in particular at Oxford, and the language of 'decolonisation' came to be used across a wide number of campaigns and initiatives across HE, continuing to the present. The aims of these campaigns were taken up by a number of interests and organisations, including the NUS, various HE umbrella bodies and local initiatives. The high point of these campaigns could arguably be the creation of the first Black Studies department in Europe at Birmingham City University, though this came about through

the graft of academic faculty at the university rather than through a student campaign.

Although certain elements of these campaigns were highly, and selectively, publicised—namely through media fixation on the importance of symbolism within RMF, and the tactic of alternative reading lists in WIMCW—they were by no means the full extent of their demands. Rather, these collectives often articulated more broad-ranging critiques of 'race', racism, neoliberalism and the very function of the academy. Individual campaigns and campaigners claimed their own historical and ideological lineage, but many raised the examples of Black and ethnic studies degrees set up in US universities since the 1960s, community-led/supplementary schooling among Black and brown communities in Britain, and a range of Third World intellectuals.

WIMCW

Almost effortlessly, five words—Why is my curriculum White?—managed to encapsulate the experiences of students of colour—capturing the consciousness of their communities, channelling their energy and challenging preconceptions about what a university is for. And the strength of this movement lay in how it took conversations about 'race' and education out of dead-end discussions on 'diversity' and thrown them out into the open, bringing forward a movement politics propelled by Black and brown students and faculty. As such, WIMCW should be placed rightfully within the class of campaigns that have defined the student movement since the uprisings over tuition fee rises at the turn of the previous decade.

Complimenting the vital work being done by that student movement to recover the ideal of the public university, WIMCW punctured any romantic notions about a supposed 'golden era' of universities. It helped to develop the increasingly common-sense acknowledgement that many of the traditional universities of Britain draw their influence as outposts of British imperialism with their hands bloodied by the slave trade and colonialism—which sister campaigns to WIMCW like RMF made more visible.

WIMCW took the discussion beyond who is being taught and even who is doing the teaching, on to the questions of what is being taught, how is it being taught, and for what purpose—away from the numbers game, and on to a holistic critique of how our universities work, questioning the unspoken wisdom that underpins our institutions of learning. With WIMCW, the urgency of radically redefining education was thrown into the open with hundreds of young, often Black and brown, people asking crucial questions about the nature of their universities, their places in them and how to take ownership of their spaces of learning. Whilst institutional initiatives around the 'Attainment Gap' outlined the nature of institutionalised racism within education and why it should be abolished, WIMCW presented a vision of the education system that could be built in its place. Despite the intellectual and methodological richness of the campaign—which emphasised a diversity of tactics and a multi-pronged approach spanning students, the student union and academics—a familiar trend was set in motion, whereby much of the public-facing material and media reporting remained almost vigilantly focused on the nature of certain demands, such as course content, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy where these low hanging fruits in turn became the crux of campaigners' demands in other universities, inspired by the example.

As described later, this would then serve to be used against campaigns by university managers, who would concede to demands on reading lists in order to make them content with limited action. It was around this stage that self-titled 'Decolonise education' collectives began to form across the country. These were often loose, ad hoc and not centrally coordinated, though the NUS provided support in the form of resources and coverage to them. As the most ideologically developed of these collectives/campaigns highlighted, 'Decolonising' should be a science towards developing a structural analysis of global power, not just reduced to the realm of the interpersonal or individual experience of 'race'/racism—and therefore, 'Decolonising' cannot merely be about pigmentation, but about power, processes and positionality.

In turn, this should be the lesson that advocates against racism in HE should take from them: that race inequality in education is not a nebulous, free floating oppression, but rather underpinned by processes and

policies, and deeply tied up with the wider assault on our education system. Attainment, retention, marketisation and bureaucratisation are many sides of the same coin that push students and academics of colour to the bottom of our institutions. Therefore, the fight against racism must be a principled fight against the processes that have degraded, hollowed and eroded our education on the whole, not the easy wins for the so-called race equality.

Challenges

Despite (or perhaps, due to) the wide expansion of these campaigns and of the language of 'Decolonising' education, these campaigns have not been without challenges. As stated earlier, these student campaigns emerged at a juncture of conflicting forces—the marketisation imperative directed by government policy, the radical critiques levelled by students and staff, as well as the rise and fall of various ideological, intellectual and organisational trends during at the same time, such as #BlackLivesMatter, and a particularly neoliberal variant of 'identity politics'. Throughout their lifetimes, the student campaigns negotiated through the thinking and frameworks that are immediately available to them. Within these was an—unfortunately too often unspoken—tension, and two very different visions towards which these campaigns could be driven.

To simplify the matter, there is the first option in which criticisms of 'racism in the academy' are raised insofar as students of colour fail to find themselves represented within the academy. With under-representation being their guiding principle, campaigns in this vein seek redress through reforms and policies that tackle under-representation: in terms of course reading material, faculty make-up or so on.

The second one is where racism in the academy is understood as a constitutive feature of British HE and is articulated as a critique alongside broader challenges to the neoliberalisation of HE, universities' connections with wider networks of power and violence such as arms development and so on. While this approach doesn't necessarily preclude tactical demands upon the institution, including policy demands to

address under-representation, this vision would likely take for granted that 'racism in the academy' cannot be decoupled from the racism entrenched by institutions of capitalist society at large—and therefore that university campuses should not be the be all end all of such campaigns.

This of course is a gross oversimplification, and these two pathways have not played out as mutually exclusive in practice. Campaigns and campaigners often straddle the two; campaigns 'leaders' may personally hold the latter vision while finding it easier to mobilise 'followers' around the former; and radical antiracist critiques of the academy may come up against the fact that it is hard, practically speaking, to envision concrete alternatives that align with that analysis—and so programmatically these campaigns drift towards reformism.

We argue that the last few years have shown that the direction of travel, with some notable and deeply inspiring exceptions, has been towards the path of least resistance: calls to 'Decolonise' education have been absorbed by universities and deflected into reformist changes to address under-representation, provide some progressive sheen to processes of marketisation, and all in a manner that does nothing to challenge the fundamental operation of power.

'Decolonising education' has been recuperated into that which it emerged as a critique of—'diversity'. This is something that isn't unique to the British context. Speaking on the movements that have emerged in South Africa, as mentioned earlier, University of Cape Town lecturer Dr. Wahbie Long delivered the sharp verdict that:

> protestors have opted for the particulars of White privilege and Black pain, practicing a form of identity politics that [is] unmistakably middle-class. Trapped in a self-referential form of protest…self-styled radicals reveal a decidedly un-radical preoccupation with their own bourgeois destinies. (Long 2018, p. 20)

Going back further, responses to actually existing colonialism never produced a unified political sensibility in academia and the arts, with the twentieth century offering up everything from Marxist anticolonial efforts, to Postcolonial studies and its ambivalent relationship with

socialism, from particular strands of the Négritude movement merely opting to invert colonial tropes, to the radical anti-imperialist art of the Cuban Tricontinental producing new Third World subjectivities. In short, 'antiracism' and 'decolonisation' have never been a politics unto themselves and have always been riven with contradictions, divisions and different visions: no less in the case of 'Decolonise' campaigns in British higher education.

Moving Ahead

The fact cannot be avoided that the language and aims of 'decolonising education' have been—quite successfully—co-opted and institutionalised by universities and sector leaders themselves. This a paradox that all campaigns, especially those that orbit the question of racism, invariably have to contend with; the matter of how to puncture the veil of indifference and build a broad base of support around a seemingly niche demand, whilst also fighting against the ever-present impulses to absorb, co-opt and deflect those demands away from any critique of power.

'Decolonise' campaigns, broadly speaking, have not managed to balance these countervailing forces—universities managers are now very happy to speak the language of 'Decolonising' whilst offering the smallest crumbs of compensation to students, and keeping business going as usual. For a term that once (and still should) evoke visions of mass campaigns, by the wretched of the earth against the forces of imperialism and for liberation and dignity, it is particularly galling to hear it roll so easily off the tongue of elite managers and power brokers—rather than eliciting deeply uncomfortable reactions from them.

But the problems don't start nor end with 'Decolonise' campaigns, nor can the blame be laid at the feet of student campaigns. For 'Decolonise' campaigns to be successful and true to their intellectual history, they must operate on an existing political consensus around questions of 'race'/racism, imperialism and of the public university. Each component of this 'tripod' has in their own way been undermined in recent years. The common wisdom around 'race'/racism defaults to questions of interpersonal antipathy, injured emotions or control of culture—rather than

structural forms. The very concept of imperialism has been steadily erased from the political lexicon today, and when untethered from this analysis of global power and capitalism, 'Decolonise' quickly becomes an abstract metaphor. And the idea of the public university and university as a public good has also come under fire as tuition fees and marketisation are ramped up and the consumer dynamic is bolstered. Following from this, concessions towards 'Decolonise' campaigns often take the form of prescriptions (diverse reading lists, student representatives, module tweaks) that sit comfortably within the paradigm of the neoliberal academy, rather than confronting it.

Operating in its own time, modern 'Decolonise' campaigns take on the prevailing wisdom of the day. Following on from this, we must acknowledge that we cannot critique 'Decolonise' campaigns without considering the modality of student campaign today, and how the avenues for change available have been consciously shaped by those in power over decades.

The explosion of student numbers in higher education in the twentieth century irreversibly shaped the character of the student population, undergoing a significant transformation in their class, racial, gender and national composition. This in turn had an effect on the way that students as a group perceive themselves in relation to society, and how they act upon society in turn. A self-conscious 'student movement' came into itself during the late 1960s, when British students joined the worldwide social and political upheaval of 1968 and emerged on the stage of history as the now-familiar figure of the dangerous, 'radical' student agitator which was to be co-opted through the institutionalised mediums of student unionism over the ensuing decades.

However more recently, the move towards marketisation that has marked universities in the last few decades have occurred alongside the shifting of the burden of university funding further from public funding towards individual, private contributions—that is tuition fees. The effect of ever-increasing tuition fees and living costs associated with living away from home, and the availability of loans to pay for them, has been to draw students into long-lasting debt.

As with 'regular' commercial debt, student debt has a powerful disciplining effect on students, encouraging them to shun 'risky'

campaigning, in favour of a narrow focus on good grades and securing jobs—even more so since the trebling in fees since 2012. The trade-off offered in exchange for increased fees has been the expansion of investment by universities in 'student engagement' methods, including through the administration of evaluation tools like the National Student Survey, through which students are supposedly able to register feedback to influence their education, and other methods of lobbying and advocacy. These methods fall within the logic of consumerism to which universities are beholden at large and have led to the re-routing of resistance into approved channels for discontent. The prevailing tendency has been to reshape students into customers of their university education, rather than as active agents of change, whilst closing down avenues of more radical transformation.

These trends have come to bear on 'Decolonise' campaigning, just as much as any other. Aside from a few notable examples most 'Decolonise' campaigns have been led by elected student officers. Efforts to 'Decolonise' education are negotiated through mediums such as student feedback, board meetings and surveys, rather than through organising in a movement model. This was a trend that the involvement of the NUS and its bodies undoubtedly helped entrench, once they effectively absorbed 'Decolonise' campaigns into their remit in 2015, being that this mode of organising is the only type that NUS, practically speaking, is equipped for.

In acknowledging these constraints, barriers and shortcomings of 'Decolonise' campaigns, which should not be dismissed out of hand, nor should the very sincere students who have organised around it be disparaged. But there is a clear need to regather the forces, reassess the failures and successes, and chart a new way forward for these campaigns which push back against the forces of co-option. The work of producing a new common-sense, and a new political sensibility around the issues of 'race'/racism, imperialism and the like must happen inside, alongside and outside of student 'Decolonise' campaigns. This speaks to the need to bridge the vitality of student-led campaigning with the theoretical insights of 'intellectuals'—in the broadest sense of the word. It may very well mean that we retire the language of 'Decolonise' in this context, for now at least, until we can recover the proper history and develop campaigns that are befitting of that history—whilst at the same time sharpening and

refining analyses and critiques of 'race', racism, imperialism and the role of universities therein, which will only become a more pressing issue in the decade to come.

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12

On the Fallacy of Decolonisation in Our Higher Education Institutions (HEIs)

Nadia Mehdi and Maryam Jameela

> Who is responsible for these interventions? Who is the impetus on to carry out this work? It is difficult to avoid the fact that concepts that are anti-racist in origin, when taken up by the "POC" community at large, but certainly by institutions, are dead by the time they take. (Yarimar Bonilla)

Introduction

This chapter deals with barriers to the project of decolonising the Western university that come from within, rather than without. We are not concerned with critic's accusations of "cultural policing", nor those who suggest calls for decolonisation merely demonstrate an inability or reluctance to grapple with intellectually difficult questions. Rather, we are concerned with the barriers that are thrown up by (mostly White) scholars and

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_12

practitioners who articulate a desire to decolonise that in no way chimes with their actions. Those who "diffuse the decolonising incursion with more palatable alternatives" whilst uncritically upholding White supremacy, ableism, homophobia, and transphobia through an inherited adherence to the status quo.

"Decolonisation" is becoming an exhausted term that we have become accustomed to seeing misappropriated, misapplied, and misused by White race scholars, White institutions, and White diversity initiatives. Scholars and activists of colour have long discussed the possibilities and applications of the term. It would be remiss to not mention Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang's (2012) prescient and compelling work on the use of decolonisation. They argue that:

> when metaphor invades decolonization, it kills the very possibility of decolonization; it re-centres whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future. Decolonize (a verb) and decolonization (a noun) cannot easily be grafted onto pre-existing discourses/frameworks, even if they are critical, even if they are anti-racist, even if they are justice frameworks. The easy absorption, adoption, and transposing of decolonization is yet another form of settler appropriation. When we write about decolonization, we are not offering it as a metaphor; it is not an approximation of other experiences of oppression. Decolonization is not a swappable term for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools. Decolonization doesn't have a synonym (p. 3).

To put it another way, decolonisation does not have to be everything to everyone. Attempts to decolonise curriculums, reading lists, or spaces, are so often doomed because they do not begin from a robust encounter with what decolonisation is. Tuck and Yang's argument warns against grafting decolonisation onto pre-existing frameworks because to do so is to move the focus away from critiquing, dismantling, and displacing settler colonialism. They argue that when this happens decolonisation is merely emptied out only to be filled back up with a centring of White supremacist logic (p. 1); a piecemeal strategy which carries a sheen of anti-racism with no substance or clarity. People of colour are already all too aware of this process being enacted by White institutions and White

allies on terms as wide-ranging as "BAME", "diversity", and "intersectionality".

Tuck and Yang warn that the danger of the perpetuation of settler colonialism through decolonisation is itself very real. Yarimar Bonilla (2017) also shares Tuck and Yang's reluctance to stand by the uses of decolonisation and argues that decentring settler colonialism from the decolonial project by definition cannot be decolonial—"I remain sceptical as to whether one could truly decolonize either sovereignty or anthropology, given that there is no pre-colonial status to which either could return" (p. 335). We shall return to the question of futurity for decolonisation at the end of the chapter, but for now we must consider the predicament both Bonilla and Tuck and Yang put forward for us: decolonisation without the impetus and organising principle of an engagement with dismantling settler colonialism is no kind of decolonisation. Indeed, Bonilla proposes the use of the term "unsettling" as "what is unsettled is not necessarily removed, toppled, or returned to a previous order but is fundamentally brought into question" (2017, p. 335). The linearity implicit in the word "decolonisation" heralds a reversal that may well be impossible.

We are all too aware that the critiques of decolonisation we outline above, and those that are to come below, can be taken as a sign of hopelessness or a lack of faith in liberation or justice in anti-racist work. Such a sign, however, would be mistaken. Our critiques are rooted in the need scholars of colour carry on our backs for anti-racist work as a requirement of living in worlds that often seek to shrink us. This is not an intellectual exercise for communities of colour that are committed to anti-racist work: it is the condition of not only our survival but our capacity to thrive. We have seen through generations the terms of anti-racism that come in and out of vogue, and, as Bonilla's suggestion of "unsettling" indicates, terms are receptacles that do not have to provide for any and all situations. More accurately, they are vessels that can carry us to where we need to be for the moment.

Below we offer two instances of purported decolonisation in higher education, and their underlying logics which make for, at best, a rocky path. We end with an attempt to offer ways to look to the future amongst the fire now (Johnson et al. 2018).

Case Study 1: Arts and Humanities Decolonisation Task Force

In 2019, the authors, along with a small group of other non-White students, were invited by Arts and Humanities senior management to partake in a task force "focussed on decolonising the curriculum". The initiative was a performative and ostentatious response to both student-led decolonisation projects in other departments and faculties, and the unveiling of a new university race equality strategy. Not an attempt to confront the colonial workings of the faculty, in spite of multiple structures of racism that privilege White (home) students, and denigrate students of colour.[1]

The process was arduous and excruciating. From the start, there was a refusal to accept the enormity and the structural dimension of the problem. In the spirit of unsettling, our group proposed a vision of a decolonised curriculum that inevitably involved a radical shake-up of the organisation of the faculty and the content of its courses. If, as Bonilla (2017) argues, what is unsettled is not necessarily removed, but is fundamentally questioned, then we must begin by "refashion[ing] our intellectual commitments and collective purpose" (p. 335).

Yet, unsurprisingly, our vision was thwarted. The sole staff member on the task force agreed we were *of course* correct to question the aims of the university as a colonial institution, but only at this juncture shared that the task-force had a limited lifespan and its true purpose was to produce an event. She expressed that she had been hoping this might be in a university foyer and "make a lot of noise" to signify our discontent with the status quo. Upon stating concern regarding the optics and outputs involved in producing a one-off event given our initial goals, the staff member stated that she understood if we felt unable to continue on the task force.

We stayed—this, unlike many other decolonisation projects, was paid gig—but this all too easy dissolution from the one White, and most senior, person in the room sat uncomfortably. White people will often rush to agree and attempt to pre-empt the objections people of colour may have to situations that are asking too much of us. This rush to concession is

often prompted from a place of White guilt, or as Tuck and Yang argue, "from "settler moves to innocence", that problematically attempt to reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity" (2012, p. 1). We are positioned as "correct" in calling out what is "problematic" with no real engagement in the content of our speech. It would appear that it does not matter if the subaltern can speak, as long as the liberal can be seen to agree.

Decolonisation is not a metaphor for resisting oppression. And yet it lends itself so easily to being used as one in the hands of the wrong people who have heard the cries of the oppressed within their university and seized on this term, whose meaning they don't understand, as a catch-all save. Asking us to "decolonise the curriculum" without the opportunity to recommend any structural changes was predetermined to have to output. As Nayantara Sheoran Appleton (2019) puts it,

> to take on decolonizing work without having ever engaged with the long tradition of scholars who have written on decolonizing is sloppy and opportunistic.

White supremacy requires the cooperation of White people and the social milieu hardwires them to enact their willing engagement in ensuring settler futurity through colonial environments. The requested event was never going to be "decolonial" given that it employed *Brown faces* for a tokenistic marketing event that served to position the university to appear as being committed to anti-race work.

Instead, what transpired was a small event for students of colour to share the ways in which the university had broken them. We recognised the need for a space for cathartic venting before a process of change and healing (although the money pot ran dry before the healing could begin). Therein, perhaps, lies the problem. Many students of colour simply cannot afford to heal from wounds that are written into us from generations previous. Materially, money is required to afford one the physical space to reckon with the increasingly knotty racist interactions that are part and parcel of university life. One must have enough money to pay rent, to eat, to access good healthcare, to be able to meet colleagues in social spaces, to recharge. The consideration of emotional spaces, of collectivity and

networks of support is a fantasy for many. Piecemeal events such as ours merely plaster over the cracks.

Case Study 2: Solidarity and UCU

A recent report released by Universities UK found that universities have been prioritising sexual harassment and gender-based violence without doing much to tackle racial violence on campuses. An article from *The Independent* (Busby 2019) quoted Universities minister Chris Skidmore promoting a "zero tolerance culture", (Paragraph 3) and University and Colleges Union (UCU) General Secretary Jo Grady as stating:

> universities should be safe spaces for all staff and students, free from harassment and discrimination, but there is still much work to be done to make this a reality (ibid, Paragraph 19).

Both the report itself and these two responses are par for the course for liberal and White stakeholders in race-related encounters, in that they seek to use the often bland and well-meaning language that does not tie itself explicitly to robust challenges to White supremacist and colonial institutions.

UCU, in particular, has been criticised by staff and students of colour for their approach, or rather lack of approach, to racial harassment. Whilst UCU will occasionally provide comments on race-related incidents or reports, it cannot reasonably be argued that a core part of UCU's strategy is a commitment to anti-racist work that aims to provide sustained support for staff of colour. For example, UCU's general election manifesto involves a 6-point plan that sets out commitments for the incoming government to prioritise funding and investment for post-16 education, "make international staff and students welcome in the UK", (UCU, 2019, p. 3), resisting the increased managerialism in higher education, tackling unfairness in university admissions, promoting sustainability and climate change targets at universities, and investing in the education workforce. Viewed in isolation, UCU's statement of tackling the hostile environment is one which is necessary for university life in the

UK, but viewed within the context of UCU policies, operations and strategies is altogether murkier and unconvincing.

It is difficult, however, to imagine a situation where UCU staff or membership would make challenging the hostile environment or engaging more broadly in anti-racist work as a policy can be taken seriously and trusted to function effectively. UCU have demonstrated little understanding, or willingness, to incorporate anti-racism as a core strategy; when would there be strike action concerning the rampant and structural racism that is built into UK universities? What have White UCU staff and members done to develop their own understanding of an intersectional approach to racial violence? The problems faced by staff and students with anti-Blackness, Islamophobia, intersections with ableism, transphobia, homophobia are complex and wide-ranging. They are also problems which have been painstakingly articulated by scholars of colour and activists and our reticence at the effectiveness of UCU in this area comes from the understanding that without reckoning with the hostile environment, with racial capitalism, with structural racism as a White supremacist manifestation, UCU cannot reckon effectively with precarity, barriers for international students and staff, climate change, or any of their other commitments outlined in their general election strategy.

We find it difficult to swallow affirmations of how universities "should" be safe spaces, when we have seen how racist colleagues, indifferent management, and ineffective unions move through these spaces, often at the cost of people like us. To paraphrase James Baldwin (1998), "how can I believe what you say, when I see what you do?" (p. 738).

The silence we are faced with when UCU is critiqued as selling members of colour down the river is rooted in an unwillingness and a practiced inability to reckon with colonial and White supremacist institutions under the veneer of solidarity. Asking precarious workers of colour, who are already multiply marginalised, for their solidarity and unity on picket lines and in strike action fails to recognise that these same picket lines involve standing with people who have racially abused and targeted us. Instead, as is often the case for scholars of colour we are left to make our own networks and to carry out our own union work in support of one another; who else will?

What Next Then?

What will it take then to decolonise the White Western university? Is it even possible?

This book section poses the question: equality, diversity, inclusivity, or decolonisation. Which of these is viable? Which of these is desirable? We answer that diversity is unavoidable (try as people might to avoid admitting students of colour from the UK into "top tier" universities). Equality is impossible, because equality doesn't entail equity or justice, and an inclusivity without equality is unpalatable. Similarly, internationalisation doesn't mean to those in power what it means to us; a university which rinses overseas students for their money (whilst not providing them with any material support) versus a vision of a university that holds a pluriverse of epistemologies and lifeworld's within itself, and we have outlined the pitfalls of an allied attempt at decolonisation.

As Tuck and Yang (2012) said:

> decolonization as metaphor allows people to equivocate these contradictory decolonial desires because it turns decolonization into an empty signifier to be filled by any track towards liberation. In reality, the tracks walk all over land/people in settler contexts" (p. 7).

The removal of settler contexts and the centrality of land to theories of decolonisation speaks to the weighty currency of empty signifiers which in this case equip institutions with the tools necessary to blunt the force of attempts to upheave the status quo, or things as they have always been. This process is itself driven by settler preoccupation with individual innocence and guilt at the cost of reckoning with the morality of coloniality, and the structures and institutions it has spawned.

Where this is the case, or rather, given that this is the case, the mollified suggestions we hear so often linked to calls for decolonisation (and other appropriated buzzwords du'jour) are in reality calls for personal career advancement. For instance, the following list is a fairly standard manifesto of decolonisation:

- Hire people from multiply marginalised backgrounds on salaried contracts, given them the resources they need to do the work, don't expect them to conform. They will say things that make you uncomfortable and you will need to find a way to sit with that.
- Make universities safe for students of colour and students from other marginalised backgrounds
- Rethink what knowledges are and understand why they are important
- Democratise curriculum formation, down with stale pale males. Question the canon as it is. Tear down disciplinary boundaries.

We are not suggesting that no good can come from these kinds of guidelines. We are suggesting that they do little to unsettle the status quo. As Tuck and Yang (2012) have pointed out, this kind of work allows settler scholars to gain professional kudos or a boost in their reputations for being so sensitive or self-aware. Yet settler moves to innocence are hollow, they only serve the settler (p. 10).

The institutionalisation of these suggestions requires people of colour to be seen to agree with this kind of work whilst acknowledging or knowing that it is not liberatory work. This isn't decolonisation. Decolonisation requires resistance, upheaval and the end of the university as we know it.

We must land on the side of liberation then. We cannot help but feel that this liberation must lie in the collectivity and network of support we mentioned earlier. It is, however, a collectivity that does not have its place alongside settler Whiteness. We can't keep developing terms that encapsulate global manifestations of White supremacy in disparate disciplines and areas only to have these terms co-opted by White institutions who seek to dull their sharpness in service of allowing people of colour a seat at the table. Too often, participation in White supremacist logics is couched as liberatory, when resistance and overthrowal is the only remedy. We need to move away from the idea that blanket solidarity is the only way to achieve liberation and towards an attention to difference that is invested in difference as a path to justice.

Ultimately, decolonisation is the latest liberatory framework to have been swept up in the university's cyclical machinery, where funding isn't provided for frameworks to develop themselves, where short-term projects proliferate without achieving material changes. Critique of the

academy from the margins mirrors this process. We inadvertently forget or misplace the fact that many scholars of colour have come before us and have said and thought the same things. We need to reframe what we consider to be progress. We need to acknowledge that where progress is achieved, nothing will look even vaguely similar.

Note

1. We could detail these instances but we have no desire to retraumatise ourselves and we trust in the heart-breaking fact that fellow students and staff of colour know the environment we wish to convey all too well.

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13

Diversify or Decolonise? What You Can Do Right Now and How to Get Started

Michelle Grue

The Conundrum

People deeply interested in the needs of their students, especially students who have not been traditionally represented in academia, face the challenge of how to make academia a welcoming place for them. This process often involves changing what and how we teach, a challenge made difficult by austerity measures, precarity of employment, pressure to maintain the status quo, and potentially also the isolation that instructors of colour often face in their departments and universities. Indeed, though this chapter has a focus on making change for the sake of students, I hope that the inquiry suggested within will help educators and staff of colour within the university, as well. In addition to these concerns, there is also the reality that it can be hard to determine how to even begin making changes to the curriculum, in part because the terminology and scholarship around

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_13

curricular change is confusing at best. Scholars often use diversity and inclusion terms interchangeably or use them in ways that do not reflect the intent of the theories behind them. As such, finding the right resources or deciding which of these measures you can implement in classes or one's academic department is made that much harder.

With this terminological conundrum in mind, I have divided this chapter into four main categories. Part One, "Defining the Terms" provides definitions and clarifications for key terms in the diversity and inclusion sector. The purpose behind these definitions is to help readers determine which of these terms best describes their goals. The remaining parts focus on practical ways to actually get started on making positive changes in one's curriculum. Part Two, "Individual Instructor Viewpoint" asks guiding questions of individual instructors. Part Three, "Departmental Viewpoint" provides a list of the types of questions a departmental leader might ask themselves when assessing their department. The chapter concludes with Part Four, "Tips for Moving Forward" which provides a few brief tips and a short list of resources in the space that remains.

Defining the Terms

Equity Versus Equality

The terms "equity" and "equality" are often used interchangeably, but they do have distinct differences. First, I would like to clear up the misconception that equality has to do with sameness. When one speaks of two people being equal, one does not mean that those two people have the same things, are similar in mind, or composition. Rather, equality speaks to having the same worth. So, when the Declaration of Independence (US, 1776) says that "all men are created equal" what it means is that all men are created with equal value and are thus deserving of equal rights, equal representation, and equal protection under the law. Of course, reaching towards the ideal inherent to any of these terms is the work of years and decades and centuries. Yet, despite equality being a worthwhile goal that human governments and systems still have not

reached, the term equality does not encapsulate the same meaning as equity.

Equity is not just a fancy version of equality, as it is sometimes used. Equity is less about sameness of value or rights and more about fairness. As Gutierrez (2012) says, "when we look for evidence that we are achieving equity, we should not expect to find that everyone ends up in the same place" (p. 18). She further defines equity along four dimensions: access, achievement, identity, and power. Access, as Gutierrez (2012) uses the term, refers to material, tangible resources available to students as they pursue their education. I would add that access should also, as (dis) ability scholars and activists use the term, refer to those material and structural resources that allow for students to truly be included in the educational process. These materials include the obvious ones, such as technology, textbooks, affordable housing, and sufficient food. Access also encompasses less obvious resources, like a rigorous and inclusive curriculum, a welcoming classroom environment, appropriate classrooms and teacher-student ratios, and student support centres. Further, it also includes accommodations for neuro-diverse students and (dis)abled students.[1] Through this lens, using a common equity metaphor in US Education circles, equity does not mean that children trying to see over a fence to watch a ball game all get a box to stand on (despite having different heights), nor does it mean that they get the number of boxes to stand on they need to actually see over the fence. Equity that truly considers access would change the fence from wood to chain link (acknowledging that sometimes there does need to be a fence).

Achievement refers to student outcomes. Equity as it relates to achievement would mean that there is an "inability to predict… achievement and participation based solely on student characteristics such as race, class, ethnicity, sex, beliefs, and proficiency in the dominant language" (Gutierrez 2002, p. 153). This is not to say that equity is colour-blind, or any other type of blind, but that those identities should not be determiners of student outcomes if academia is equitable.

Identity is central to designing an inclusive curriculum, one that is both a mirror and a window to all its students. They should have an opportunity to see themselves in the curriculum (mirror) and to see the world outside themselves (window). Every class will not provide both a

mirror and a window to every student, but an equitable curriculum would be comprised of a multitude of classes that, woven together, allows for students to see identities both similar and dissimilar to their own, and not just as related to race, ethnicity, and culture, but also gender, sexuality, (dis)ability, class, and other identity markers. This is possible not just in the humanities, but in Gutierrez' own mathematics courses (2012). Theorists, inventors, scientists, writers, artists of every discipline have amongst their members those with a kaleidoscope of identities that can be used as mirrors and windows within a course's reading list and a department's curriculum.

These sorts of mirror/window changes to the curriculum are part of what is meant when people refer to diversifying the curriculum, yet diversity for its own sake is not enough for equity, for true fairness. Power must be added to the equation. What does it mean for students to do well in the classroom, only for the status quo of academia writ large and the society as a whole to continue with the same power structures? I have no definitive answer for this, but educators should consider how their own classrooms reinforce the power structures of the status quo. How? This can be done by considering who talks in the classroom and who decides not just the reading lists but also the curriculum as a whole and by providing ways for students to use the theories and applications of your discipline to critique academia and society. By not just considering, but actively using alternative notions of knowledge right alongside the Western notions of knowledge that built one's discipline (Gutierrez 2012).

Diversify or Decolonise?[2]

Deciding whether or not to call alterations to academia's structures and curricula diversifying or decolonising depends strongly on what these terms actually mean. There is some contention over the difference between diversity and inclusion as terms and movements. I argue, however, that true diversity work is inclusive. It is only because one can easily observe diversity serving as a check box used to qualify for a grant, for special government status, for appeasing stakeholders. This type of diversity work is not inclusive. For example, the mirror/window method of

deciding what works to include in a reading list or how to build a department's curriculum is diversity work. So is recruiting students and staff of colour, for example. But in diversity work, the mere presence of people of colour is not enough if the power structures remain the same. True diversity work pushes towards a curriculum and an academia that does not consider it sufficient to be satisfied with having people of colour in the academy; it instead drives academia towards a reality in which people of colour have equitable access and achievement, their identities are not merely accepted but valued as integral to building knowledge in the disciplines, and their whole selves have power while at university and beyond.

Decolonisation differs from diversity work in that its aims are different. As Tuck and Yang (2012) describe it:

> Decolonization is not a metaphor. When metaphor invades decolonization, it kills the very possibility of decolonization; it recenters whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future. Decolonize (a verb) and decolonization (a noun) cannot be easily grafted onto pre-existing discourses/frameworks, even if they are critical, even if they are anti-racist, even if they are justice frameworks. (p. 3)

Decolonisation literally means to take apart the results of colonisation and, in settler colonial situations, give land and resources back to the people from whom they were taken and, in an imperial context, ensure that power and reparations are given to those in the metropole who are there as a direct result of colonisation. This is unsettling, and so it should be. It is meant to be. Thus, I recommend caution when using the word decolonise. Use it only if you really mean to be dismantling, if you really mean to tear down the master's house (Lorde 1984). If not, if you mean to improve the academy that already exists, to improve a university on the land it stands on, if you have no intention of convincing the current owners of the land and bricks to give those things up, then perhaps stick to using the term diversify, in tandem with equity.

There are, of course, other ways to consider decolonising the syllabus, that are not quite as literal as Tuck and Yang's (2012). Garcia (2018) suggests using the term to examine the colonial matrix of power "that is grounded in historical coloniality" operates in our contemporary world

(p. 133) and are related to race, ethnicity, class, and colonial mentalities related thereto. As Chesler, Lewis, and Crowfoot (2005) propose, this way of viewing colonisation would consider eight dimensions: institutional mission, culture, power, membership, climate, technology, resources, and boundary management. Looking at decolonising academia through these frames allows for practical, important, structural work that is not just lip-service or metaphor; however, it is not as potentially career-ending and suggesting you want to not just radically change, but tear down the status quo.

Extending the metaphor of the children trying to watch the ball game discussed in the equity section above, diversity work would make the price of watching the game accessible enough to the children that they could just go into the ballpark, sit down, and watch the game. Decolonial work should do the diversity work, but in the United States would find out which indigenous people the land originally belonged to and cede the land rights back to them, while in the United Kingdom might consider who really profits from the game and who does the labour. If formerly colonised people are doing the labour now and are disproportionately not profiting, then something needs to change in that equation. This is, of course, an imperfect metaphor, but I hope both instances of its use shed some clarity on how these terms differ and yet relate.

What, then, should one do with these understandings of diversity, decolonisation, equity, and equality? You need to ask yourself the hard questions teachers and department leaders need to consider in order to assess the status quo and decide which of the terms best apply to what you can do in your present environment and what you might work towards in the future. Below, I have included two sections of questions to guide this inquiry. The first is for individuals. It includes questions related to self-assessment and course assessment, the latter of which is further broken down into four sections: course description, reading lists/syllabi, assignments, and teaching practices. The second section is for departmental leaders, in their various titles and levels at the university. I mean this to include Chairs, Deans, and any other administrator that makes decisions about curriculum and student services. The aim for this part of the chapter is to be immediately practical, as opposed to theorising, but not acting. That is so prevalent in academia. My hope is that you find it useful.

Individual Instructor Viewpoint

Getting started with diversifying your own courses:

- Self-Assessment:
  - Why do you want to diversify your curriculum?
  - Set short-term and long-term goals (you do not have to overhaul your entire syllabus and teaching practice in one go)
  - What seems the easiest to do to meet your goal?
  - What seems the most daunting?
  - Do you know of texts, scholars, and so on related to your course topic?
  - How do you feel about teaching race or gender?

    Do you feel ready to deal with potential controversy?
    Do you feel confident you can create a space where minoritised students feel safe in your classroom when these topics come up?

  - Have you examined your own biases/cultural sensitivity?

    Consider the resources in: Cress, C. M., Collier, P. J., & Reitenauer, V. L. (2013). Learning Through Serving: A Student Guidebook for Service-Learning and Civic Engagement Across Academic Disciplines and Cultural Communities (2 edition). Sterling, Va: Stylus Publishing

- Course Assessment: start with the smallest chunk and work your way out
  - Course description:

    What does it say? Is it accurate?
    Does it include anything from non-White, non-Western scholars/scholarship?

- Module Outlines/Reading Lists/Syllabi: Consider the following areas

  Theories
  Methods
  Authors of articles
  Who are the knowledge makers in your field? Which ones do you acknowledge?
  What perspectives do you acknowledge?
  What issues do you consider vital or important? Whose issues are they? How are they framed?
  Do you spend time unpacking race and gender, and how these constructs relate to your course topic? Hint: From biology to ballet, there are few areas where race and gender do not relate.

- Assignments:

  How much weight do you give to "standard" English usage? Is it appropriate, given what you teach?
  Do your assignments expect minoritised students to expose their trauma? Is it necessary?
  Do your assignments ever allow students to bring their experiential and cultural knowledge to bear on the subject at hand? Many social sciences consider those areas worthy of research by White scholars, but somehow not appropriate for scholars of colour to investigate.

- Teaching practices:

  Track who you call on most often, who you question, who you agree with, who is silent, who speaks, and so on.
  Do you ever expect students of colour to represent their entire group when teaching?
  Do you expect women to do classroom clerical work?

Departmental Viewpoint

Specific areas of inquiry for your department to consider:

- Do you have any scholars of colour/BAME scholars in your department?

  – If yes, what supports do you have in place to ensure their success and retention at your institution?
  – If yes, are they taking on extra burdens, particularly around mentoring students of colour/BAME students or doing diversity work? If yes, are these extra burdens recognised via pay or tenure/promotion benefits?
  – If yes, have you asked them (in a way that protects them from retaliation) about their experiences in your programme? (Things that are going well, things that could improve)
  – If no, what proactive steps are you taking to recruit scholars of colour?

- What theories are taught in your department?

  – Do they include contributions from scholars of colour/BAME scholars?
  – Are traditional theories examined from multiple perspectives?

  If yes to the above two, do your course descriptions acknowledge this?

  – Do you have any scholars of colour teaching your theory courses?

- What methods/methodologies are taught in your department?

  – Are the colonial historic and present-day impacts of these methodologies discussed?
  – Are participant-centric, ethical methodologies taught?
  – Do methods courses include contributions from scholars of colour/BAME scholars?

  If yes to the above three, do your course descriptions acknowledge this?

  - Do you have any scholars of colour teaching your methods courses?

- Does your department offer any courses explicitly about race or gender?

  - Are these classes electives or required?
  - Are any of them taught by scholars of colour?
  - If they are taught by scholars of colour, what supports do you have in place to support them from potential complaints from students?
  - How frequently are these courses offered?

- Do you offer pedagogical training around teaching race or gender to your scholars? Key areas for training include:

  - Cultural sensitivity/humility
  - Implicit bias
  - How to create an inclusive classroom space
  - Specific teaching strategies that neither exoticism nor minoritise your students
  - Suggestions for assessment practices

Tips for Moving Forward

Do the above questions make you feel a bit overwhelmed? My main tip individual instructors can use to fight the overwhelming feeling is to do the self-assessment first. Tackling those questions will already be mentally and emotionally draining work if taken seriously. Give yourself the time to process the results of the self-assessment. Afterward, choose just one area in the course assessment. Then pick one subsection of that area to focus on making a change in for the upcoming term. In the meantime, do the first teaching practice question, in terms of tracking who you call on the most, who you question/challenge, who you agree with, who is silent, who speaks, and so on—this teaching assessment will help you feel like you're doing something practical, because you are.

Notes

1. I use (dis)abled students instead of the person-first language popular in most Education circles because (dis)ability activists and (dis)abled scholars contest person-first language. For more on this topic, see: https://www.thinkinclusive.us/why-person-first-language-doesnt-always-put-the-person-first/
2. I use the British spelling for 'decolonising 'in the main body of the text, due to the majority of my fellow chapter contributors working in the United Kingdom. However, many of my citations regarding the topic are US scholars who spell the word as 'decolonizing'.

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Resources

The Kaleidoscope Network – Decolonising the University.: https://research.kent.ac.uk/sergj/kaleidoscope-network-decolonising-the-university/

The Syllabus Clearinghouse.: http://www.myacpa.org/syllabus-clearinghouse-0

Law Modules and Syllabi

National History Center – Decolonization Resource Collection: Sample Syllabi https://nationalhistorycenter.org/decolonization-resource-collection-sample-syllabi/

UCL – https://research.kent.ac.uk/sergj/kaleidoscope-network-decolonising-the-university/

Education Modules and Syllabi

UC San Diego – http://courses.ucsd.edu/syllabi/WI18/922625.pdf

Pedagogy

https://liberatedgenius.com/2018/decolonize-your-syllabus/

Part III

Big Data: Am I a Name or Number?

14

The Unknown Student, and Other Short Stories: An Ethical and Methodological Exploration of Students as Data

Liz Austen

Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of institutional research and evaluation in higher education drawing on the principles of QuantCrit (Gillborn et al. 2018). It begins with an overview of this approach and the specific application to higher education (HE) before dissecting various normalised data collection approaches found in the contemporary university. The assumption made by the author is that through a lack of critique of racial biases – in decision making (cognition) methodology and ethics – higher education institutional research and evaluation is at risk of supporting White supremacy in the academe i.e. the structural processes which allow White people to claim and sustain positions of privilege at the expense of People of Colour.[1] Mirroring the sentiments of Cross (2018) this chapter suggests that all those involved in institutional

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_14

research and evaluation "should engage in critical self-reflection to avoid perpetuating racist narratives through data" (Cross 2018, p. 268). This includes the critique, not rejection, of quantitative methodologies and the exploration of qualitative methodologies which seek to amplify counter storytelling as an anti-racist approach.

The author will use a typology of institutional research and evaluation (Austen 2018) to discuss the normalised data collection approaches within the institution. Digital storytelling will then be used as one alternative example which can be used by institutional researchers and case studies will be included. The focus of this chapter is primarily on student stories. However, the unknown voices of staff will also be acknowledged and discussed using reflections from research conducted by the author.

QuantCrit and Other Biases in Higher Education

Researchers and evaluators regularly consider bias in their work, using concepts of validity and reliability, most recently coupled with trustworthiness and authenticity (Guba and Lincoln 1985, 1989). Too often, bias is deliberated at the end of a project and cemented within a discussion of limitations and considerations for future work. The challenge set by this chapter is to prioritise the considerations of bias during design (to scope methodologies which can address bias), ethical review (to position ethics as political in addition to methodological) and at the point of data collection and analysis. This challenge is delivered to researchers and evaluators who are working for institutions—either in defined job roles, or merging inquiry into existing teaching, research, or administrative roles—and who may be unaware or uncritical of the racial biases inherent in their work.

QuantCrit and Higher Education

Gillborn et al. (2018) describe QuantCrit as the application of critical race theory (CRT) to the collection and analysis of statistical data. Both concepts have been discussed at length in this book. To briefly reaffirm; the principles of QuantCrit are based on the notion that numbers are not neutral or any more factual than any other form of data (Gillborn et al. 2018). Historically, positivism and quantification have been dominant within data hierarchies. Reference to neutrality moves this debate beyond epistemological paradigms. Crawford (2019, p. 424) states, "racism is deeply entrenched in the fabric of a nation's institutions, and by association, within its official reports, statistics and dominant truth claims". Furthermore, as "all data is manufactured and all analysis is driven by human decisions" (Gillborn et al. 2018 p. 167) racial bias manifests at the point of quantitative data collection and during analysis. This can provide an opportunity for the promotion of "white supremacist ideologies" (Cross 2018, p. 268), where Whiteness is a racial position and not a biological fact (Trimboli 2018).

The implication of the dominance of inherently biased research and statistics, Gillborn et al. argue, is that numbers shape inequality. If these implications were discussed and acknowledged at the outset of research and evaluation in higher education, this work could go beyond simply documenting inequalities (Cross 2018), and move to eradicate them.

Applying Biases to Discussions About Race

To extend Gillborn et al.'s discussion, examine the statistical and cognitive biases which apply to the use of data in research and evaluation. The application of a race lens highlights the risk of compound bias during design, review, data collection, and analysis. The most well-known and applied is implicit bias (often referred to as unconscious bias). Although thriving within the race equality discourse in higher education, implicit bias training has been shown to be ineffective (Atewologun et al. 2018), specifically in work to narrow the degree awarding gap. But consider less

explicit layers of bias. Confirmation bias uses data to confirm an existing hypothesis or belief system without the consideration of alternatives. Could the damaging proliferation of deficit assumptions about Students of Colour (Smit 2012) in higher education be sustained by only selecting data which confirms these assumptions? The McNamara Fallacy is closely aligned to QuantCrit and warns of the overreliance on metrics. Consider the Pro Vice Chancellor Student Experience who uncritically exclaims, "we only need one more black student to get a first class degree to eradicate the gap!" Publication and reporting bias refer to the likelihood of publication and reporting of research findings and higher education is known to over report success and under report failure (Dawson and Dawson 2018). In light of Equality Legislation and the regulatory gaze over degree awarding gaps, how likely is the overt publication of inaction or failure? Finally, the representativeness heuristic describes the use of "short cut" categories (similarities) to explain a situation and the availability heuristic describes the ease at which an idea is brought to mind. As a result of the dominance of Whiteness within higher education (Bhopal 2018) and without the elevation of counter stories from Students and Staff of Colour, racial bias can and will perpetuate.

This chapter will foreground digital storytelling as one qualitative method which can be used to elevate counter stories. This methodology has been used by the author as part of institutional research across the higher education sector. Before exploring the detail, the scope of institutional research and evaluation will be outlined drawing on the QuantCrit perspective.

How Do You Know Your Students? Exploring Existing Institutional Research and Evaluation (IRE)

Institutional research refers to "a broad set of activities that collect, transform, analyse, and use data to generate evidence to support institutional planning, policy formation, quality enhancement, and decision making" (Woodfield 2015, p. 88). Institutional researchers (including the author

of this chapter) are often differentiated from researchers of education, by their focus on research BY the institution, FOR the institution. They specifically evidence decision making in policy and practice, often led by the external demands and regulation of the HE market. Institutional research and evaluation[2] (IRE) can be appropriately categorised as "insider research" (Atkins and Wallace 2012) and the associated reflective challenges apply in this context. The scope of student focused IRE is sizeable and includes, as examples: the generation and analysis of student data; sector benchmarked metrics from institutional surveys; self-report evaluations of teaching practice; process and impact evaluations of funded interventions; students researching students for academic credit; and scholarly research of staff for personal and professional development. IRE is most often limited to studies within one higher education provider (HEP) and regularly occurs without external research funding.

These methodologies are employed to "know" students, led by institutional researchers/evaluators who asked to explore a current strategic imperative by including student voices. In some institutions, this research is being conducted by very experienced researchers and evaluators who are employed for this purpose. Nonetheless, evidence shows that the inclusion of cognitive biases in research training and development "are not always given the attention they deserve" and "may be viewed as falling outside of the domain of what is typically considered 'research methods'" (Stapleton 2019, pp. 579–580). Moreover, the scope of IRE is creeping into a wider variety of institutional roles as the demand for evidence of impact deepens. Capacity building which relates anti-racist research methodologies and the scrutiny of cognitive biases in a race context is clearly needed to ensure that IRE work is not contributing to racial inequality.

IRE and Ethics

In addition to the consideration of bias, this area of work must consider the level of ethical scrutiny applied to IRE to fully explore the risk of supporting White supremacy in the academe. In other contexts, a Code of Conduct for Institutional Research exists (see Association of Institutional

Research – US, and Australasian Association for Institutional Research). British Educational Research Association (BERA) guidelines (2018) are the most applicable to IRE work in the UK, but there is a varied application of these guidelines in practice. The reasons for this are multi-faceted and include the aims/objectives of the research, the experience of the researcher and the alignment with disciplinary ethical approval processes. Notably, not all IRE in HE is carried out by those with methodological expertise; IRE can be conducted by academics and professional services staff with varied research experiences.

Not all IRE projects which should seek formal ethical approval via an Ethics Committee will do so. However, a lack of formal ethical approval does not mean that the work is assumed to be unethical. Rather, questions need to asked about the governance and monitoring of this type of work when there is little common ground connecting the foundations of inquiry. It is therefore vital for ensuring that all IRE conducted within HEPs is ethically sound, recognises bias, and specifically limits the risk of harm for participants, particularly students. All ethical decision making including: consent; transparency; right to withdraw; incentives; harm arising from participation in research; privacy and data storage; and disclosure relating to student participants, can have a disproportionate impact which is why definitions of vulnerability specifically consider the impact on marginalised groups.

Whilst contextual and relational considerations of marginalisation may be considered by scrutinising a proposed sample, it is unclear whether ethical approval mechanisms are considering the principles of QuantCrit when reviews are conducted. Research ethics is not discussed within the foundational papers of this concept (Gillborn et al. 2018), although QuantCrit advocates López et al. (2018) make explicit statements about their ethical principles and challenges to researchers:

> We believe it is our ethical responsibility not to contribute to statistical analysis projects that regardless of intent erase or trivialize the lives of marginalized individuals and communities. (p. 190)

> Are you collecting rigorous, reliable, and value-added race, gender, class, LGBTQ, disability and other data that are informed by critical race theory and intersectional knowledge projects for social justice? (p. 202)

Huber (2009) furthers this point by challenging notions of authenticity (which may be a marker of a robust methodology) as a Eurocentric perspective which legitimises the contestation of truth. Although CRT suggests, "all scholarship is political" (López et al. 2018, p. 182), there is no predefined acknowledgement of this during ethical review. As IRE may not even be seen as scholarship, (something which the author disputes) this may be an area for further exploration.

To further argue this point, there is evidence that not all those working as institutional researchers/evaluators (and ethical reviewers) have a grasp of the Equality Act 2010 and the boundaries of positive action. Stevenson et al. (2019) found that targeted interventions were most commonly used in access and outreach activity. This is one institutional area where research and evaluation will be transparent, expectations for robust methods are high, and job roles will be assigned. Stevenson et al. (2019) also found that very few targeted interventions were being implemented to enhance retention, success, and progression. Institutional obstacles to designing and implementing targeted interventions included the belief that targeting and/or positive action is illegal, which reinforces Mountford-Zimdars et al. (2015) findings of support for universal and indirect approaches. Stevenson et al. (2019, p. 46) also found that that there was a lack of ethical guidance supporting these processes. Furthermore, these unchallenged practices were reinforcing racist biases, as one of their stakeholder responses noted:

> White people are in charge of designing research and interventions about attainment gaps and employability issues. Invariably, this leads to students of colour being labelled as deficient or difficult – they are objectified as research studies.

There is a need to develop and expand the skills, knowledge and criticality (to confront bias) of those who are tasked with undertaking

institutional research and evaluation. The scope and scale of this work is outlined below.

IRE and Knowledge Apartheid

Based on the suggestion that the methodological decision making is subject to epistemological racism which furthers "knowledge apartheid" (Delgado Bernal and Villalpando 2002, in Huber 2009), the IRE approaches which claim to listen to the voices of students will now be discussed. Austen (2020) categorises IRE work as follows (Fig. 14.1):

Student Learning Analytics

Learning Analytics, Student Surveys and Student Evaluations are dominated by quantitative data and currently receive the lowest level of ethical and methodological scrutiny favouring the General Data Protection Regulation (2018) as a regulator of good practice. The aim of this measurement is to ensure standards and compliance. Gillborn et al. (2018) reflect specifically on the collection and analysis of attainment data, which is included as one analytical "big data" measure of student learning. This data consistently shows an awarding gap between UK domiciled

Fig. 14.1 Categories of Institutional Research and Evaluation (IRE)

BAME and White students (nationally in 2019, 80.9% of White students received a first/2:1 compared with 67.7% of BAME students, representing a gap of 13.2 percentage points, AdvanceHE 2019a, b), leaving the authors to remark what is happening in British higher education when the ethnic group that is *least* likely to go to university nevertheless enjoys the *best* chance of achieving the top grade. Were this a minoritised group there might be headlines about 'scandals' and shocks but, since the group in question is *White*, their high attainment fits with the basic expectations of a White supremacist media and polity and so the pattern goes entirely unremarked (p. 165).

Whilst this is evidence of data collection, reporting, and publication bias, there are more worrying practices emerging from the exploration of learning analytics and big data algorithms. Williams et al. (2018) discuss the discriminatory practices of algorithms which piece together small data into large data sets to harness monitoring (at best) and predictive features (at worst) by remarking,

> These data relationships may link a person's traits, past actions, social contacts, and social categories to people who were good or bad risks in the past. This process can replicate past discrimination or make assumptions about an individual based on group membership. (p. 110)

Learning Analytics, described as "the measurement, collection, analysis and reporting of data about the progress of learners and the contexts in which learning takes place" (Sclater et al. 2016, p. 4) uses existing data such as attendance, library usage and assessment grades to monitor and predict the risk of student success. In higher education, discussions about the ethical issues of learning analytics separate the methodological from the political, with generic reference to risks of stereotyping, prejudice, and bias (Slade and Prinsloo 2013). At the heart of this concern is the racial literacy (applied to methods, ethics and biases) of the programmer, analyst and end user. Few studies specifically reference the possibility of racial bias as Ahern (2018) does, using the statistics and framing of White privilege of Bhopal (2018), and aligning these practices under the gaze of QuantCrit. To the marginalised student, the risk of learning analytics is that identification and prediction will be based on an objective

assessment of meritocracy and culturally deficit models will be used to explain low educational outcomes (Ekowo and Palmer 2016; Huber 2009). The voices and stories behind the algorithmically linked current and historical data will be unknown.

Student Surveys

Moving beyond analytics, the institution administers and analyses data generated within student surveys. Student surveys have been subject to significant methodological scrutiny but remain the dominant and normalised method data collection in higher education. The National Student Survey (NSS), as one example, has acquired criticism for its limited impact on course enhancement (Buckley 2012), poor proxy for teaching excellence (Gunn 2018), and dominant "fact-totem" within institutional decision making (Sabri 2013). The NSS has not been critiqued using QuantCrit, or explicitly scrutinised for any ethical concerns or bias apparent in data collection which may mean that the experiences of White students become the normative standard.

The NSS collects personal information regarding ethnicity, as self-declared on Higher Education Statistical Association (HESA) databases or institutional student records and uses this to benchmark providers against sector averages. This can provide useful distinctions in the appraisal of overall student satisfaction, which is known to be highest for White students over all other ethnicities (Mountford-Zimdars et al. 2015). This disaggregated data also becomes part of the analysis of split metrics in the Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF). The aim of the split metrics is to present each provider's core metric by sub groups reflecting widening participation priorities (Department for Education 2017). These split metrics can be scrutinised alongside attainment data (which show national and institutional degree awarding gaps) and engagement data (which nationally shows BAME students are engaged but not attaining comparably good outcomes, Neves 2019). Disaggregation of student satisfaction and association with other measures is an acknowledgment that student experiences may differ, but the emphasis on improvement within marketised measures and KPI's overshadows an emphasis on social

justice. Furthermore, focusing on homogenised categorisation (BAME) without disaggregation avoids a critical framework for analysis.

As QuantCrit principles suggest, race categories are not fixed or innate and therefore, first-hand knowledge of minority experiences should also be explored. Whilst the TEF guidance requires providers to triangulate qualitative analysis alongside split metrics, numerical data dominates, and the regulator does not infer that the quantitative data itself is prone to bias. The uncritical participation in the TEF becomes another opportunity for bias as narratives overwhelmingly include positive and confirmatory examples of success. For example, it is unlikely that institutions will acknowledge evidence linking increases in student satisfaction to the proportion of academic staff in a department who said that they were White (Bell and Brooks 2019).

Student Evaluations

Whilst large institutional surveys have methodological issues which may hide marginalised students' voices, local evaluations of teaching performance also deserve criticism for the impact on minoritised staff. Internationally, it is well documented that racial bias exists in student evaluations of teaching (for example, see Fan et al. 2019; Smith and Hawkins 2011; Reid 2010), although there has been more emphasis on gender bias. Student evaluations which platform student voices are also subject to misuse within HE management strategies (Jones-Devitt and Lebihan 2017). Baker (2019) specifically applies CRT and QuantCrit to the online teacher evaluation "Rate My Professor". Discussing the evidence of inherent methodological issues in online evaluations of this nature, they conclude, "using a quantitative CRT approach, the results support that minority faculty are given lower teaching quality scores and higher difficulty of course scores than are non-minorities." (p. 18).

Some of the problems with student evaluations include the lack of methodological knowledge informing design, gaps in data confidence and capacity in analysis which can inhibit interpretation. Rodriguez et al. (2018) suggest that HEPs are sites of a "racialized and gendered regime of

power-knowledge" (p. 2) and highlight a gap in the literature on SET and of the underlying epistemologies that inform their deployment.

Other Methodologies

Quantitative data collection and use is not restricted to learning analytics, surveys, and student evaluations. Local quality assurance processes may report a variety of data sources for validation and during annual review for continuous improvement. One of the most prevalent issues in current HE, evident in the data analysed at module and course annual review, is the degree awarding gap. What follows is a myriad of intervention and initiative led responses to address racial inequity in degree attainment/degree awards, but few are robustly evaluated (Mountford-Zimdars et al. 2015). Even fewer overtly challenge White supremacy, a central component of critical race theory. Austen et al. (2017) reflect explicitly on a case study which struggled to implement strategies to enhance BAME student experiences and successes and cite "institutional readiness" as a multi-faceted explanation, noting specifically that "further research should look to focus on a structural (including institutional) analysis of critical Whiteness" (p. 156).

Effective evaluation of impact requires data confidence and highlights a need to invest in the development of an evaluative mindset. There is an increasing expectation of all HE for staff to be data literate, or methodologically savvy, to critique and question, and to gather additional data to support or defend against dominant quantitative conclusions aligned to postpositivist evaluations. The development of qualitative evaluation literacy has potential to critique racial biases at the point of design and this chapter actively promotes this development. This capacity building must include knowledge of a range of methodologies and measures, for example: participatory evaluation (Parker 2004 – who advocates for the use of storytelling in evaluations); decolonised methodologies which are culturally flexible (Gobo 2011); quantitative counter-storytelling in survey methodologies (Sablan 2019); and the use of community cultural wealth as a more appropriate measure of cultural capital (Stevenson et al. 2019). It is also important to explore the counterfactual and unintended

outcomes for all stakeholders, moving away from the assumption that all outcomes can be foretold by the evaluator.

Building on this range of methodologies and measures, research conducted by staff and students which seeks to help the institution move towards its strategic aims also has potential to develop anti-racist approaches. Solórzano and Yosso (2002) outline a framework for CRT aligned research which includes positioning race and experimental knowledge as central to the research, challenging positivist dominance, and including explicit objectives around social justice. These principles could be adopted for IRE in higher education. However, with small proportions of BAME students in some universities, granular quantitative analysis or qualitative data must also consider the ethics of identification and assurances of anonymity.

Do You Really Know Your Students? Elevating Counter Stories

Box 14.1: Elevating Counter Story 1

Aaliyah's digital story recounts her journey into higher education. Her audio narration begins by positioning herself as the 'first generation to go to university'. She describes higher education as 'not a priority' and 'not a requirement' whilst the visuals juxtapose the British and Pakistani flags. There is an implicit tension here located within the family which has clearly been eased by following her sister's footsteps through education. But this journey is about self-identity and personal courage. Failure and doubt were overcome by individual ('I' and 'My') decisions to 'educate myself' and go back to school. The very last image is the only personal photograph of Aaliyah who, we are told, is looking forward to her forthcoming graduation. (Length, Adobe Spark)

Only a brief analysis of IRE highlights some of the issues in the epistemologies, methods and samples used and reinforced by institutional and sector policies and practices. To counter the dominance of numerical data, metrics, measurements, compliance and homogenised collations of the singular "student voice", this chapter now introduces digital

storytelling as qualitative data which can provide contextual counter narratives as stand-alone artefacts or as supporting evidence.

The danger of a single story (Adichie 2009), a normalising story, the loudest story, is that diverse lived experiences can remain unknown and master narratives of racial privilege prevail. Amplifying unknown counter stories is a destabilising effect of critical race theory in action. Advocates of this approach note "potential moral and epistemological gains" which "challenge comforting stock stories and can thus be helpful in critiquing the beliefs of those in dominant groups who benefit from white privilege" (Delgado 1989 In Rolón-Dow 2011, p. 161). One technique used within this context is the use of "Chronicles" in which evidence is fictionalised into written vignettes and "presented in a novel form that challenges common assumptions and makes the work more accessible to people outside academe" (Delgado 1993 In Gillborn 2010, p. 254). More recently, digital storytelling—the process of developing a digital personal narrative—has developed as an accessible approach and has been specifically used to amplify hidden voices. Austen et al. (2019, p. 27) suggest that "the most common feature of recent approaches is the agency of the storyteller as editor, and the use of software which enables this."

The effectiveness of digital stories, as a distinct mode of storytelling is detailed by Lovvorn as: (a) mobile, accessible and sharable through a range of web-based platforms; (b) personal and grounded in "stories of the indistinctive voices"; and (c) connective and connected, creating bonds between the authors, the viewer, and society (2011 in Trimboli 2018, p. 48). These stories result in a short video with linguistic, visual, audio, gestural, and spatial meanings (Gachago et al. 2014) approximately three minutes in length. Through this multimodal digital storytelling, we begin to hear personal accounts of resistance against dominant discourses (Gachago et al. 2014).

Using Digital Stories to Address Racial Biases

The use of digital storytelling to challenge/deconstruct normative assumptions and meta-narratives about Whiteness in education, or to provide a platform for unknown voices, is not uncommon, but has gained less traction within the UK. Rolón-Dow (2011) specifically proposes that digital stories are a useful tool for exploring critical race theory in pre-higher education concluding that "the digital storytelling medium, combined with a CRT framework, can be a valuable tool for initiating conversations about the raced experiences of youth and can provide valuable knowledge for those working towards greater racial justice within educational contexts" (p. 159). Matias and Grosland (2016) used digital storytelling as a pedagogical strategy for the emotional deconstruction of Whiteness. This was employed as a task for teacher candidates in one US higher education institution (HEI) on the basis of evidence that suggested that there was a privileging of hegemonic White identities throughout the primary and secondary teaching field. Digital storytelling provided space for reflection, created a repository which "prolongs courageous conversations of race beyond minor discomfort" (p. 162) whilst providing a mechanism "to withstand the discomfort with self-interrogating Whiteness" (p. 163). Similarly, Stewart and Ivala (2017) used this method as a reflective tool with student teachers in South Africa. This approach created highly personal stories, especially for marginalised students, who were able to discuss identity (including race and White privilege) in a liberating way. Mills and Unsworth (2018), in their analysis of multimodal literacies and critical race theory in Australian education, also found that these alternative forms of text offered a counter narrative to prevailing normative assumptions.

Digital Storytelling Student Voices in Practice

Student digital storytelling has developed into a methodology used by institutional researchers/evaluators and practitioners at Sheffield Hallam University (see https://blogs.shu.ac.uk/steer/digital-storytelling-shu/). When the then Director of Fair Access Chris Millward visited Hallam in

2018, digital stories of Widening Participation Student Ambassadors were sent to him in advance to provide institutional context. These powerful student stories detailed complex journeys to enrolment and the barriers to engagement for some students—mental health, first generation access, care experience, care giving, and disability were examples of some of the emotive content the students narrated. Student digital stories have also been viewed by senior leaders to add context and knowledge to strategic discussions.

Digital storytelling has also been adopted within the curriculum and stories have been created by whole module cohorts as reflective assessments (Austen 2020)—transition and "becoming" (Gale and Parker 2014) were some of the emerging cohort themes, alongside reflections on the curriculum and pedagogy of the course. The analysis provided evidence that digital stories were effective as reflective tools and this has relevance for *knowing* your students both within and beyond the curriculum.

Box 14.2: Elevating Counter Story 2

Hassan audio narrates his own journey to university and makes links between attending university and his faith. He makes explicit reference to the wishes of his parents to avoid "massive debt" and "act in accordance with my religion", a decision which he deliberated and discussed with the researcher during the production of this story. He decides not to use any personal imagery, choosing instead a range of stock photographs of students who are racially diverse. After a period of deep reflection and time spent on an apprenticeship that his parents encouraged, he was able to conclude that "my faith did not prevent me from studying at university". This stated 'reflection' masks the detail of going against parental wishes. (Length, Adobe Spark)

What About the Staff? Triangulating Stories Across the Institution

Differential student outcomes have been attributed (through association not causation) to a lack of belonging faced by Students of Colour and a lack of staff diversity in UK HEPs (Mountford-Zimdars et al. 2015).

Whilst there has been an increase in staff categorised as BAME, there are inequities in contract type, salary band and subject area (AdvanceHE 2019a, b) which has had a specific impact on the diversity of senior institutional leaders including Professorial positions. It is important, therefore, to triangulate marginalised staff and student voices within an institution (and beyond) to realise behavioural and organisational change. Digital storytelling within IRE has the potential to amplify counter stories across an institution. Previous literature has noted the importance of storytelling in changing the activity and culture of an organisation (Boje 1991). Stories can be about other people, the work, the organisation itself or be told as a process of social bonding or as direct or indirect signifiers (Prusak et al. 2012). In higher education, the process of reflection is embedded within the personal and professional development of both staff and students. A coherent (and evidenced) story is an important component of a professorial application and a covering letter for graduate employment. However, for some, stories can be exposing "in ways that can be embarrassing, revealing some of their own anxieties, failures and prejudices" (Gabriel 2013, p. 118).

There is a rich history of storytelling within health organisations. Patient stories are used to improve the quality of care and staff stories are used to augment working practices (including www.patientvoices.org.uk) and provide an outlet for unknown voices through participatory engagement in marginalised communities (Briant et al. 2016). In higher education, one recent project (Austen and Jones-Devitt 2018), tested the use of digital storytelling in several ways: as an intervention for engaging in difficult conversations about positive cultural and behavioural change (a digital story was viewed in a focus group); as a method of data collection (this digital story was discussed in the focus group); as an innovative way of sharing evidence and expertise (a personal digital story was produced by some of the focus group participants). The focus was on discussing Whiteness, as an overlooked factor in actions to address the degree awarding gap (Jones-Devitt et al. 2017). Digital storytelling provided an effective mechanism for facilitating difficult conversations, however there was still a sense that these stories were contributing to awareness raising, but not necessarily behavioural change. The authors used Stacey's (1996) model of organisational dynamics to highlight how levels of perceived

comfort and neutralisation can interact as barriers and enablers for meaningful change. This is an important consideration for both the producers of counter stories and the intended audience, leaders of the change initiatives, and the wider organisation.

Box 14.3: Elevating Counter Story 3

One storyteller titles their story "Labels". They begin by asking the questions "Am I black or white?" and show an image we assume is their own hand. They use a range of imagery which challenges the viewer to question whether they are personal or stock photographs. They remain anonymous, choosing to use textual annotations to tell this story, but makes references to specific places and spaces which personalise the content. Their voice is strong, and the negative voices of others appear in speech bubbles throughout to signify real events. The preservation of anonymity of the storyteller, and those implicated in the story is clearly important, and various techniques are cleverly employed to this end.

This storyteller reflects on their childhood experiences, university experiences, relationships and experiences within the workplace. There are varied examples of racism, discrimination and micro-aggressions outlined for the viewer. They use these experiences to challenge institutional culture – binaries and stereotypes – and choose buttons to symbolise diversity and homogeneity. (Length, Powerpoint)

Methodological and Ethical Considerations of Digital Storytelling in Practice

Digital storytelling is a multimodal methodology which draws on approaches within visual qualitative methods to frame data collection and analysis. In addition to using digital stories within a focus group they have also be used as applied theatre practice to capture spontaneous stories (Flagler 2018). The creation of stories can be supported individually within and beyond a workshop activity, or collectively using a story circle approach (see storycenter.org). Each story is treated as a data artefact. Sampling can be targeted to elevate counter stories. Using the principles of positive action – evidence of disadvantage and proportionate activity – alongside methodological justifications provides a clear defence against criticisms of bias.

The analysis of digital stories is complex and can apply techniques such as grounded theory (Austen 2020) or discourse analysis (Jewitt and Oyama 2001). This analysis may also require further exploration of the storytellers' meaning and intent through additional research methods (Gachago et al. 2014).

Ethically, voluntary informed consent to discuss, create, publish, and analyse digital stories should be continuously sought. There should be an open and honest discussion with storytellers about anonymity, which if necessary, can be assured via digital techniques (stock images, no audio narration). Withdrawal should be an option that is not restricted to a time period and the benefits of participation, but not publication, should be acknowledged and respected. It is important that ethical reviewers are aware of these intricacies. Facilitators should be trained to support the storytelling process, and this should include the exploration of racial bias in grand narratives and the positioning of counter stories as other.

The risk of storytelling within this context – practical, emotional, reputational—should be explored with all storytellers. Trimboli (2018) warns that there is a risk that digital stories reinforce cultural norms and otherness (her reference is Whiteness in Australia). She suggests "digital stories are often celebratory, prescriptive, sentimental or nostalgic, and not always productive in engaging with the borders of the culturally diverse experience" (p. 55). The stories of People of Colour can be seen as heroic and politicised such that the impact on change is minimal.

Storytelling also risks appropriation by the privileged. Huber (2009, p. 650) warns that:

> when adapted in educational research and pedagogical practice, it is important to recognize testimonio as a tool for the oppressed, and not the oppressor. Testimonio should not function as a tool for elite academics to 'diversify' their research agendas or document their personal stories.

Huber's (2009) experience of defending her participants (Communities of Colour), her framework (LatCrit) her method (testimonio) and her epistemology (Chicana feminist), as academically robust is an important lesson for those embarking on storytelling approaches within organisations of higher education. These risks are not specific to digital

storytelling; any discussions about Whiteness with members of the White majority risks privileging this discourse, and can offer an unpacking or off-loading of guilt without an obligation to positively change behaviour (Margolin 2015). This conclusion was reinforced during the aforementioned project (Austen and Jones-Devitt 2018).

Conclusion

Counter storytelling, in its various forms, has the potential to impact positively on higher education institutions and act as an anti-racist methodology. Qualitative digital storytelling can address data privilege and methodological biases that exist in educational policy-making and practice and challenge the dominance of quantitative data by seeking out unknown voices. This chapter has challenged those collecting data in HEPs, which the author has termed institutional researchers and evaluators, to critically reflect on racial biases which exist in their methodological and ethical practices. Furthermore, developing knowledge of a broader range of methodologies through evaluation literacy would recognise counter stories as valid (authentic and trustworthy) in their creation and use.

Notes

1. People of Colour is used in this chapter to describe non-White groups who experience systemic racism and are positioned against dominant Whiteness. At times, this is replaced with BAME (Black, Asian, Minority Ethnic) as this is term most commonly/comfortably used within strategic debates in higher education.
2. Broaden to account for the extension of the Office for Students expectations for the evaluation of student outcomes (access, success, and progress).

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15

Turning Big Data into Informed Action

Nathan Ghann

Introduction

In 1999, the Stephen Lawrence Enquiry stated that the Metropolitan Police had structural inequalities as a direct consequence of Institutional Racism. The definition is given as:

> The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their color, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behavior which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people. (Macpherson et al. 1999)

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_15

The findings in the enquiry led to an amendment to the Race relations act (Race Relations Act amendment 2000) and the formation of the Race Equality Duty 2001, which meant public sector bodies had a duty to collect, monitor and publish outcomes data by ethnicity (EHRC 2019). For the Higher Education sector, this new requirement would mean data regarding student outcomes by ethnicity would be reported annually through the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA).

Data collected from all Higher Education Institutions (HEI) across the UK showed that between 2003/2004 and 2012/2013, there was a consistent attainment gap of 16% between UK domiciled BAME students and White British students (EUC 2014). Since then we have seen a marginal reduction to 13.6%, However the gap between White and Black students remains at 24% (EUC 2018).

The Persistence of the Attainment Gap

In 2007, a seminal research which was commissioned by the Higher Education Funding Council for England observed 65,000 HEI qualifiers and found that even after controlling for prior entry, age, social deprivation and type of HEI, there was still an unexplainable attainment gap as a direct result of ethnicity (Broecke and Nicholls 2007). Whilst this data was clear, inaction on reducing attainment persisted due to the notion that attainment disparities are a direct result of student effort and therefore any under-attainment is a reflection of the student being deficient in either their will or aspirations (Barnett 2007; Khattab 2015). Masuwa-Morgan and Andall-Stanberry (2017) state that disparities in outcomes are attributed to the perception BAME students are less capable and put forth less effort. Furthermore, Andall-Stanberry and colleagues argue that one of the most serious effects of deficit thinking is that it strengthens stereotypes in the minds and thought of educators, policy makers, and students themselves. The effect mentioned here is that of confirmation bias—the cognitive bias we have in which we tend to search out information that confirms existing preconceptions which can in fact be misconceptions. The inaccurate narrative that student effort is the sole contributor to degree attainment has to date produced ineffective solutions which

solely attempt to 'fix' the student's effort, rather than consider the environment and context that the student operates in.

What the Data Shows Us

What we can see illustrated in Fig. 15.1 is the Office for Student's data for all HEI qualifiers in 2016/2017 which shows that regardless of entry level qualification an ethnicity-related attainment gap is present.

The graph in Fig. 15.1 shows that 86% of Black, 87% of Asian, 88% of Mixed/Other HE qualifiers with AAA at level will be awarded a 2.1 or first compared to 94% of White qualifiers. This represents a difference of 8%, 7%, and 6% respectively. Black, Asian and Mixed/Other students entering Higher Education with AAA at A-Level are as likely to achieve a 2.1 or first as White students entering with BBC at A-level. The gap widens for students who previously studied BTEC qualification. 56% of Black, 61% of Asian, 71% of Mixed Other HE qualifiers with D*D*D*

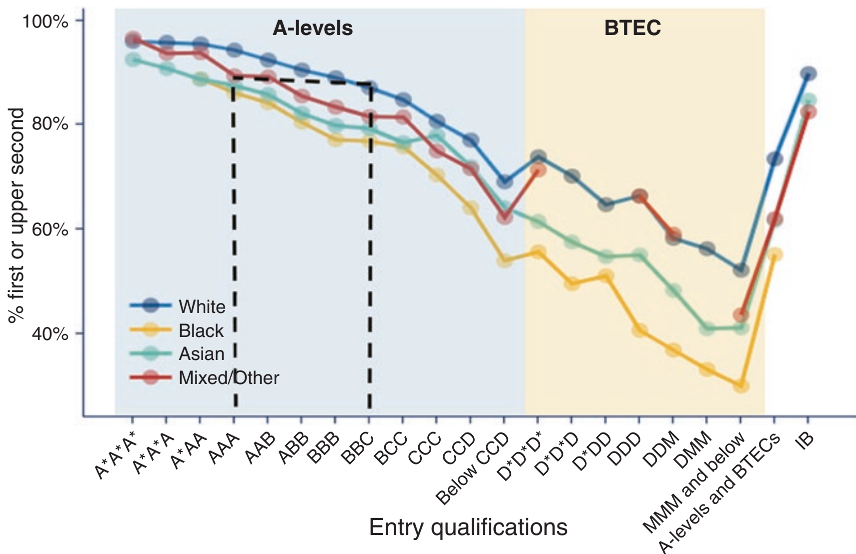

Fig. 15.1 UK Degree Outcome by entry level qualifications and ethnicity 2016/2017 (Office for Students 2018)

BTEC qualification will be awarded 2.1 or first compared to 74% of White HEI qualifiers with the same entry qualifications—a difference of 18%, 13% and 3% respectively. This shows that Black or Asian students that enter higher education with a BTEC qualification even with D*D*D* and below are the least likely student group to achieve a 2.1 or First-class degree. Often when stark ethnicity-related data like this is highlighted, the response is to immediately ascribe some form of diversity training typically in the form of unconscious bias training, either in person or online. Whilst well intentioned, the evidence shows that the impact of such training does not lead to the intended behaviour change. Often, the training is limited as it only makes participants aware of their biases and therefore can have an impact on attitude, but this does not translate into new behaviours.

Furthermore, the training often takes place either in a 90-minute talk or in an hour-long online video that does not allow for biases to be reflected upon, discussed or for alternative behaviours to be explored. A study conducted by Chang et al. (2019) found that when participants undertook online diversity training around gender and racial minority bias, participants experienced an attitude change but not a behaviour change. Once given the online training, the researchers found that the participants had an increased *willingness to acknowledge that their own gender and personal racial biases matched that of the general population*. The largest attitudinal changes were observed for those participants that held lower supportive attitudes towards women and racial minorities prior to the intervention. However, in the case of behaviour change the results showed no significant change among the comparison group in relation to the control group. The behaviour changes which were observed were from those who belonged to the underrepresented groups themselves (e.g. women wanted to connect with more senior women) In addition, the greatest increase in behaviour change was observed in employees who had the highest baseline supportive attitudes towards women and minorities before the intervention and those who did not take the training. The evidence suggests that at best, diversity training may cause the underrepresented groups to become more proactive due to further understanding how bias works, and therefore they may take steps to mitigate this. However, at worst it may actually increase feelings of resentment towards

minoritised groups (Sanchez and Medkik 2004). There is no evidence to support the notion that diversity training leads to behaviour change in the groups for whom it is most intended.

Another factor that is not considered is that bias in the context of degree attainment disparities is not only between staff and students. Bias will operate in a multi-directional way between student–staff as well as student–student. Sometimes these biases originate from the professions that the degree course is aligned with and has historically been embedded in both the learning and the way it is taught. Therefore, the only consistent way to address bias is to reflect, review and where necessary amend any policy, process or procedure that may allow bias to negatively impact outcomes for both staff and students across the whole institution.

Using a Value-Added Metric to Stimulate a Whole Institution Approach

The ingredients needed to turn data into informed action can be seen in the case study of an Office for Students funded project entitled "*Creating a Value-added (VA) metric and Inclusive curriculum approach*", which was led by Kingston University and included partnering institutions such as: University of Wolverhampton; University of Hertfordshire; De Montfort University; University of Greenwich; and University College London. The VA metric developed by Kingston University highlights those differences in attainment that cannot be explained by student entry qualifications or subject of study. The metric is calculated by taking the actual degree outcomes of all students graduating across HE in the last five years by subject of study and one of fifty entry qualification bands. This allows for prediction of expected percentage of first and 2.1 degrees to be attained for a cohort of students. This is then be compared with their actual attainment achieved. For example, similar to Fig. 15.2, the statistical expectation may be that 74% of students studying a Business Studies degree programme entering with BBB will achieve a 2.1 or first across the sector. If 74% of a cohort then achieves 2.1 or first class degree than the VA score is 1 meaning that the student cohort has met expectations. If

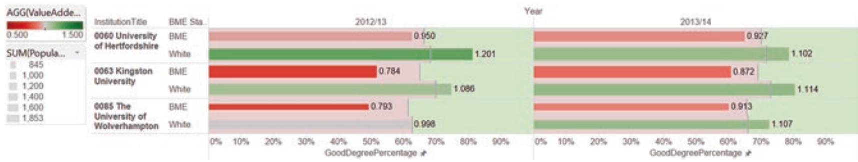

Fig. 15.2 Value-added scores of Kingston University, University of Hertfordshire, and Wolverhampton University 2012–2014. (Taken from Barefoot et al. 2019)

attainment is above or below the "statistical expectation", the VA score will proportionately be either above or below 1. The VA metric can be used in an intersectional way to compare the relevant scores for intersecting characteristics, for example, ethnicity, gender, age, socio-economic status or disability status. The data is then presented visually through a data visualisation software (in this case, tableau) (Mcduff et al. 2018).

What was found by McDuff et al. (2018) was that the use of the VA metric moves discussions beyond the student deficit model, leading to effective action and cultural change. Kingston University saw their ethnicity-related attainment disparities decrease from 30% to 11% over a 5-year period by taking this approach (Mcduff et al. 2018). Whilst the value-added data offers a more comprehensive view that screens out common misconceptions of factors that are often associated with under-attainment (prior entry level qualifications, socio-economic status etc.), Mcduff et al. (2018) warns that data alone is not enough to stimulate the type of action needed to appropriately address attainment disparities. They suggest that what is ultimately needed is a whole institution approach, with a focus on embedding inclusion at all levels throughout the institution. University of Hertfordshire has taken a similar approach in creating an inclusive diagnostic toolkit and delivering a series of inclusive curriculum workshops sessions targeted at Degree Programme Leaders (Barefoot 2018). Similarly, University College London (UCL) has developed an Inclusive curriculum health check that allows for staff to reflect and review on their curriculum within the Programme teams and hold relevant discussions outlining what needs to be included (UCL 2018).

Attempting to undertake a whole institution approach does come with its challenges. In order to create effectual change, consistent messages and

actions need to take place both from the top-down and bottom-up. This is a strategic change and may take a few years before the whole institution has strategically aligned itself.

One of the biggest barriers to the whole institution approach is the lack of conversations about racial bias and the impact it may be having on the degree attainment. A report by the Universities UK and National Union of Students identified that having conversations about race is one the key drivers to instigate action (UUK 2019).

The inability to turn discussions into informed action occurs for two main reasons. The first barrier is having the conversation. The conversation cannot take place in silos, without the participation of the stakeholders most impacted by the issue. Where possible, it is important to ensure diverse voices are heard. The second barrier is that the discussion is rarely facilitated by well-informed individuals who are skilled in the area of Equality, Diversity and Inclusion. The facilitators role is to ensure the right balance of sensitivity whilst also striving to challenge assumptions and stimulate intellectual stretch. It requires both the head and the heart to be fully engaged, with the focus not necessarily to change or shift attitudes but rather to guide towards informed action to clearly communicate practical actions that can and should be undertaken. Furthermore, these actions should be aligned with what is professionally expected in cohesion with the university's core values and strategic aims.

As in the case and use of the VA metric, data must be presented in a clear and accessible way that dispels incorrect assumptions. Data should be accessible from the institutional level down to modular level, with comparative benchmarks made visible. This allows all parties to start from the same point of understanding, thus creating a platform for informed discussions. Proposed actions must be research-informed, degree programme or school/faculty specific and feasible. Discussions should be followed up to evaluate what action has been taken as a result of the last interaction.

As can be seen, the discussion outlined above is a very different discussion to an informal coincidental conversation that may take place in the corridor or in the staff room. The discussion should be an intentional session that is developmental in nature. An ongoing discussion should be held between senior management and degree course teams; between

degree course teams and students; and most importantly with individuals. These discussions should be guided by three primary questions: What biases have you noticed? How can this impact our work? What can be done to mitigate this impact going forward? These discussions, at its onset, should be facilitated by an individual trained and well informed not only in equality, diversity and inclusivity, but also in the context degree programme administration and delivery. As mentioned in Barefoot et al. (2019), there are five main considerations when engaging and facilitating discussions around race in the context of addressing attainment disparities:

1. Anticipate resistance and be prepared for negative emotions, such as anger and frustration, to be evoked during conversations.
2. Ask delegates to complete Implicit Association Tests (IAT) or similar, prior to attendance to a workshop or discussion. If biases are then explicitly displayed in a session, use questions to explore and allow the participant to reflect on what is meant by their statement in the context of the discussion
3. Ensure you have the evidence needed to challenge assumptions. This includes quantitative data at the appropriate level of granularity (e.g. national, institutional, programme-level and module level where possible). Qualitative data and first-person narratives should also be available ideally from the participants own institution or similar.
4. Where possible, work in multi-racial teams so that facilitators can share how their own racial identities inform their approaches and opinions.
5. Plan time to de-brief after workshop sessions and encourage individual formal reflection on critical incidents, for discussion within facilitator teams.
6. Ideally, it may be worth the investment to have external facilitators train staff on how to better structure these ongoing discussions as well as evaluating and monitoring the actions that arise from them.

The Discussion with Students Regarding the Data

As cited in the Universities UK and National Union of Students report (2019), it is imperative that this data is shared with the student body. The question is, how are we to share the data with students? It is correct to think that there is an erroneous way to communicate the data and a more appropriate way. Sharing the data should be done with much thought and sensitivity as adverse effects can arise from doing so. There are number of considerations when framing the message.

Firstly, be aware of framing the gap as the "BME attainment gap" as this can reinforce incorrect notions that it is solely due to a deficit associated with BME students. In addition, the information can make students feel that their racial identity has inherent negative attributes that are now permanently associated with them and can cause a stereotype threat (Steele 1997). This is the feeling of anxiety that can further worsen their academic performance. Rather it may be appropriate to name it as the *degree-awarding gap* or differential outcomes in degree attainment. Secondly, allow for opportunities for students to discuss further the awarding gaps with staff or student representatives that can provide them with adequate information as well as can signpost them to activities and initiatives they may want to engage with. Thirdly, any communication of the data should be led by the Vice-chancellor or Dean and the Student Union President or Student Representative, which should reinforce the student-staff partnership approach expected to permeate throughout the organisation. Staff and Student representatives should be identified within each School/Faculty who at the very least are able to have discussions with other students or student groups about the gap. The data should be made accessible and available at all levels. Finally, be clear about the institution's target to reduce the attainment gap and the timeframe that the university has established to achieve this. Additionally, outline the strategies and range of actions that have been identified for both staff and students to undertake. Much of this information may already be present in the Office for Students Access and Participation plan and may just require a marketing function to create an internal communication

campaign to raise awareness. Students should always be given the opportunity to get involved, whether it is by having their voices heard, to volunteering, to joining the student-staff representative team. However, they should not be placed in a position where most of the work needing to be undertaken is left with them. Students must be critical friends as the strategy is implemented and developed.

Using the Data to Target Student Interventions and Initiatives

Initiatives that focus solely on the identity of students will be ineffective and as mentioned previously may cause a negative impact. For example, an intervention labelled as BAME academic support can convey that the group being selected are deficient in learning due to their identity rather than any ability indicators which could be seen as discriminatory. Instead, the opposite message is what needs to be reinforced, that the existing academic support available is already culturally competent and inclusive. Furthermore, framing an intervention in this way will be ineffective because students will have a sense of this grouping and negative framing and therefore may choose not to engage. Lastly, it ignores that attainment doesn't happen in isolation it places the whole responsibility of attainment on the student and their identity rather than how that identity interacts (or doesn't interact) with other students, staff and the institutional structure as whole.

However, there are some caveats, if the initiative is designed to better understand a student group's experience of university, then an initiative that seeks to hear their voices, that is, focus groups, consultations and so on will need to be targeted. Also, it is appropriate if a university is attempting to take positive action. For example, in 2016–2017, there were 25 Black women and 90 Black men among 19,000 professors in the UK (Advancehe 2018). Clearly the structures that have allowed this have failed and therefore there needs to engage in positive action for that target group to make progress.

What must be avoided for BAME students is being seen as victims by their teaching and support staff. Often negative circumstances are conflated with ethnicity and ascribed to a broader ethnic group and therefore staff may continually see BAME students only in a sympathetic light which reinforces the notion that the BAME students have overwhelming deficits that cannot be overcome and need saving. As mentioned, if there are known deficits that the student has outside of their identity (missing pre-entry qualifications due to clearing e.g.) then an effective intervention should be made to remedy this and made available to all to students that share that same characteristic. Institutions need to move towards an inclusive approach that ensures that both their curriculum and staff are diverse and accessible. All Student Support interactions involving students should be derived from a strengths-based approach (Lopez and Louis 2009). This is not about telling all students they will do well. Rather, this is about identifying their strengths as well as helping BAME students recognise the capital they bring to their learning and affirming those traits (Yosso 2005).

In conclusion, it has been identified that turning data into informed action requires data to be made accessible and available to allow for a whole institutional approach. Data in and of itself should not be a static or an annual concept. Rather, it should be one that is interrogated and then used to inform the actions that will shape the prevailing culture of the institution. The use of VA metric is an example of how data can be used to stimulate action. The need for facilitated discussion is critical when exploring ethnicity-related data and aiming to achieve change. Individual instances of online diversity trainings can be effective in shifting attitudes but do not necessarily lead to behaviour change. A continuous conversation about equality, diversity and inclusion should be had in order to view the institution through a lens of inclusion. Finally, students are the greatest partners to work on this issue, in order to facilitate the discussion with other students, as well act as critical friend in informing the strategies and actions. Above, all it is important to recognise the strengths and inherent capital that BAME students bring to institutions. This can often be overlooked, as difference is often associated with deficit. Therefore, we must begin to communicate the message that difference is not a deficit.

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16

Using Data-Driven Approaches to Address Systematic Awarding Gaps

Katharine Hubbard

Structural awarding gaps have been described as the "The great unspoken shame of UK Higher Education" (Ross et al. 2018). It has long been known that educational outcomes for undergraduates from traditionally underrepresented groups are generally worse than for their more advantaged peers (Connor et al. 1996, 2004; Equality Challenge Unit and The Higher Education Academy 2008; Cousin and Cureton 2012; Mountford-Zimdars et al. 2015). These are typically expressed as 'awarding gaps' or 'attainment gaps'.[1] For example, in the UK, 81% of White students graduate with a first or a 2.1, compared with only 68% of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) students, which represents a 13% awarding gap (Universities UK and National Union of Students 2019). Awarding gaps also exist for mature students (12%), students from areas of educational disadvantage (10%) and disabled students (3%) (Office for Students 2018b). These awarding gaps differ in magnitude between

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_16

different institutions (Berry and Loke 2011; Richardson 2015), but are a persistent feature of the higher education landscape.

While it is clear that this represents an unacceptable inequality, at a sector level, these gaps have persisted over a number of years. While some institutions have successfully narrowed their awarding gaps, most institutions have made modest or no progress in addressing these issues. This lack of sector level progress either suggests a lack of attention being paid to awarding gaps, or limited effectiveness of initiatives to address the gaps. In this chapter, I make the case for adopting a quantitative approach to addressing the issue. I reflect on an institutional experience to argue that data can be an effective tool in focusing attention on awarding gaps at both a local and institutional level, and act as a catalyst for action on the ground.

Local Context

My perspectives on educational inequalities come from my role as institutional lead for closing awarding gaps at the University of Hull (UoH). This is a relatively new role within the institution, funded via our Widening Participation (WP) budget, which I undertake on a 50% secondment basis. The University of Hull is a civic university in the north of England, which recruits a high proportion of students (~50%) from the local area. As such, we have a high proportion of students from low higher education (HE) participation areas as measured by the POLAR4 methodology (HESA 2020b), and we have been recognised as the UK university with the most equal participation rates (Martin 2018). As with most institutions, we have persistent awarding gaps on the basis of educational disadvantage (POLAR4 quintile 1 v. 5; 15.2%), mature students (14.8%), ethnicity (9%) and disability (4%) (University of Hull 2019). Our POLAR4 and mature student gaps are therefore wider than national benchmarks, whereas our BAME gap is smaller than the sector average (Table 16.1). My role covers student and staff facing activities in order to address all these awarding gaps (including intersections of disadvantage), thereby contributing to newly defined institutional priorities around to reduction of educational inequality.

Table 16.1 How institutional level awarding gap data masks local complexity

Awarding Gap	National Benchmark	UoH Benchmark Data (2017/8)	UoH Target for 2024/25	Awarding Gaps for 2018/9				
				UoH	Faculty 1	Faculty 2	Faculty 3	Faculty 4
POLAR4	10%	15.2%	7%	10.9%	14.1%	10.4%	10.4%	4.0%
Mature	12%	14.8%	7%	11.1%	6.2%	4.5%	10.2%	14.8%
BAME	13%	9.0%	4.5%	5.9%	4.6%	8.7%	-6.8%	16.1%

Data as a Driver of Institutional Decision Making

One advantage of taking a quantitative approach to analyse awarding gaps should be the opportunity for transparency and external accountability. Whether we like it or not, modern HE is metric driven. It is well known that institutional decision making is strongly influenced by metrics, and sector wide metrics are often incorporated into institutional Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) (Hazelkorn 2007, 2009; Locke et al. 2008; Lynch 2015). In the UK, a number of parallel metric-driven approaches to evaluating universities are used. The most notable of these currently are university league tables and the Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF). At present, neither national league tables nor the TEF incorporate awarding gaps as an explicit metric, which perhaps explains why progress on the issue has been slow across the sector. However, awarding gaps can contribute to league table metrics that are based on the proportion of 'good degrees' awarded (e.g. Complete University Guide 'Good Honours' and Guardian 'Value Added' metrics), which may be a mechanism to tie awarding gap data to external metrics. The TEF currently attempts to evaluate universities on the equitability of student outcomes (Higher Education Funding Council for England 2018). While TEF2 considered non-continuation and employment by demographic characteristic, attainment of different demographic groups was notable by its absence. Until awarding gap data becomes part of the routine set of metrics by which universities are evaluated, the sector will inevitably prioritise other issues, and institutions which do prioritise awarding gaps will not be rewarded for doing so.

In our case, the institution has sought external accountability for awarding gaps through an alternative mechanism. In the UK, universities are required to submit an Access and Participation Plan (APP) to the Office for Students as a condition for charging the highest rate of tuition fees (Office for Students 2018c). An APP can focus on various different aspects of Widening Participation (WP), including admissions, non-continuation, good degrees awarded or employment outcomes; the focus of an APP is down to the individual provider (Office for Students 2018a).

As an institution with a large number of students from WP backgrounds, our APP focuses on improving student outcomes (University of Hull 2019). We have made a commitment to halve awarding gaps for BAME, mature, disabled students and those from areas of educational disadvantage over the next five years (University of Hull 2019). We are incorporating these targets as Key Performance Indicators of our new educational strategy, linking external accountability to institutional indicators of success. Tying awarding gap targets to institutional prioritisation has enabled resource allocation. My current post is a direct example of this; I am on a 50% FTE secondment to our Teaching Excellence Academy to work on initiatives related to reducing awarding gaps, which is funded by our WP budget. Through aligning our external accountability, institutional strategy, KPIs and resources, we have been able to focus activity on awarding gaps at an institutional level, which should have more impact than fragmented activity at ground level.

Data as a Tool for Local Action

Having taken on responsibility to address awarding gaps across the institution, I started my post by consulting both the student union and those in academic leadership roles. I started the conversation by laying out the institutional awarding gap position and the targets set in the APP. The first question I am always asked by academics was "*What is the data for my subject area?*" There have been calls for awarding gap data to be made available at as local a level as possible, which usually means either by discipline or even by degree programme (Universities UK and National Union of Students 2019). Our experience is that this local level data is essential for getting buy-in from programme teams on the ground, and the complexities of awarding gaps are only uncovered by taking a fine grain approach to the data. For example, our detailed analysis uncovered that magnitude of awarding gaps varied considerably by faculty (Table 16.1). Diving deeper, the data also revealed considerable variation by discipline area (Woodfield 2014). For example, while Faculty 3 does not have a significant BAME gap overall, there is one subject area within the faculty with a persistent BAME gap of between 15% and 46% for the

last four years. Without taking a detailed university-wide look at the numerical data, these differences would have gone unnoticed, and may therefore have resulted in inappropriate interventions. In our case, it would be ineffective to call for institutional wide focus on for example, the BAME awarding gap, when some faculties need to prioritise other dimensions of educational inequality. Appropriate targeting of activity is particularly important in the context of modern HE, where resources are limited and there are multiple and competing demands on academic and professional services staff. If quantitative awarding gap data is presented appropriately alongside relevant benchmarks, it can be a useful tool to identify and prioritise academic areas which most urgently need to act.

Activities to address awarding gaps are ultimately the responsibility of programme teams on the ground. In many institutions, awarding gap data is considered at institution level and only by senior management, resulting in a lack of ownership, understanding and accountability for the issue at ground level. To empower programme teams, there have been calls for awarding gap data to be made openly available to all relevant teaching and support staff (Universities UK and National Union of Students 2019). One of my first tasks was to develop a live 'awarding gap dashboard' that provides subject level data to programme teams, including historical data and demographic breakdowns for context. The dashboard also flags disciplines that have awarding gaps significantly above the institutional APP targets, again aligning our WP strategy with on-the-ground activity. This dashboard will be linked to routine quality enhancement via our internal annual monitoring processes, making programme teams responsible for reporting on their awarding gaps and making action plans appropriate to their areas. Some institutions have gone further with this; for example Kingston University has developed its own "value added" awarding gap metric at programme level, which compares the probability of a cohort achieving a first and 2:1 with the proportion who actually achieve this (McDuff et al. 2018). This metric highlighted the underperformance of BAME students at programme level and it was incorporated into institutional KPIs; it has subsequently been used to track the narrowing of the awarding gap (McDuff et al. 2018). While this approach is more sophisticated than ours, we have found that distribution of even the crudest data can be a useful tool to help programme

teams understand the issue. Our experience is that once the numbers are there, by discipline, in black-and-white, benchmarked against other subject areas, it is more difficult for academics to put the blame on other areas of the university. Having the local data allows teaching teams to acknowledge the issue in their disciplinary context, and to take ownership for making change.

Limitations of Data-Driven Processes

However, just providing programme teams with data is insufficient for change. What is needed is appropriate action to address awarding gaps (Equality Challenge Unit and The Higher Education Academy 2008). This requires us to go beyond the quantitative data, and to understand the underlying reasons behind differences in attainment. The numbers can only ever describe the problem; they cannot explain it. Several reports have highlighted that a quantitative approach must be complemented by the qualitative, and to understand the experiences of individuals rather than reducing students to the sum of their demographic characteristics (Equality Challenge Unit and The Higher Education Academy 2008; Universities UK and National Union of Students 2019). It is also important to structure the conversation around the data to avoid deficit model thinking. Unfortunately, some academics can easily adopt a mindset of "*we shouldn't admit these students if they don't do as well*", which ultimately undermines efforts to reduce educational inequality (Smit 2012). Dealing with educational inequality may require a (significant) change in mindset. Staff need support in understanding what awarding gaps are and how their teaching practices can evolve to improve outcomes for those from minority groups. Having built the infrastructure to share awarding gap data, our focus shifted to creating staff development activities to enable action on the ground. This presented the data alongside first person testimonies of students from disadvantaged groups, and support staff, in using both quantitative and qualitative information to formulate action plans.

It is also important to acknowledge the technical limitations of awarding gap data itself. Best practice suggests that such data should be

considered at the most local level possible and not to assume that all 'BAME' students face the same issues (e.g. Black students may face issues very different issues from those of their Asian peers) (Richardson 2015). A truly inclusive approach also requires consideration of intersections of disadvantage (Crenshaw 1989). However, there is a trade-off between the resolution of data and its robustness. Small cohort sizes mean that it is easy for awarding gap data to enter the realm of statistical noise (which numerically literate colleagues are quick to point out!). As an institution with a relatively small BAME population (13% at undergraduate level) (HESA 2020a), we have found that for many disciplinary areas we have insufficient data to allow for meaningful analysis of BAME awarding gaps. In these cases, consideration of intersectional gaps or finer grain separation of the different groups encapsulated by the umbrella 'BAME' classification is statistically meaningless. One approach we have used is to look at data across several years, and to focus our attention on subject areas which have persistent gaps year-on-year rather than those that have 'blips'. However, part of the narrative when working with staff must be not to get "hung up" on the limitations of local data (Universities UK and National Union of Students 2019). Awarding gaps are a known issue across the HE sector, and a lack of 'perfect' data cannot be used as an excuse not to act.

Conclusions and Final Reflections

In this chapter, I have argued that adopting a nuanced quantitative approach to awarding gaps is essential to addressing educational inequality. Based on our experience of tackling inequalities in degree outcomes, having high quality data available at departmental or disciplinary level is a powerful tool for engaging programme teams with awarding gaps. We have found data to be most effective when it aligns external accountability, institutional KPIs, educational strategy and action on the ground by teaching and support teams. To encourage sector wide action to close awarding gaps, we would strongly favour the incorporation of awarding gap data into external measures of accountability such as league tables and the TEF. However, simply having the numbers is insufficient. The

quantitative information needs to be backed up by resources to support staff to act, which include a qualitative understanding of the issues faced by disadvantaged groups of students. In our experience, the data is ultimately a tool to enable a conversation. Without the numbers, it is difficult to effectively target interventions, especially when resources are constrained. However, addressing awarding gaps ultimately requires going beyond the data towards action on the ground. In order to do this, we must understand students as individuals with unique experiences that shape their educational success. While quantitative information helps to steer awarding gap initiatives, we must ultimately focus on students as people, not as simply numbers on a dashboard.

Note

1. "Attainment gap" is the more commonly used term, but I use the phrase 'awarding gap' here to avoid deficit language. This language shifts the primary responsibility towards the institution to award degrees equitably, rather than on students from minority groups to attain equally.

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Part IV

Identity and Belonging for Outliers, Space Invaders and Others Within the Brick Walls

17

Recruitment, Retention and Progression: Navigating the Flashpoints of Gender, Race and Religious Discrimination in Higher Education

Heidi Safia Mirza

The three case studies that frame this chapter are intended to highlight some of the specific ways White tutors approached issues of visible race, faith and cultural difference when supporting Black and minority ethnic (BME) students on their Post Graduate Teacher Education Course (PGCE). The 'best practice' case studies investigated the everyday barriers to recruitment, retention and progression for BME students on a PGCE teacher education course.

Over 85 per cent of undergraduate and postgraduate initial teacher education courses are to be found in higher education institutions (HEI's). However, less than 12 per cent of student–teachers on these courses are from BME backgrounds and they are twice as likely to drop out or not to qualify as teachers as their White counterparts (Mirza and Meetoo 2012). In the wake of this 'hidden crisis' in the teaching

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_17

profession, the research investigated the professional practice of teacher educators on a PGCE course in a university situated in a large multicultural city in England. The narratives of the White tutors' personal strategies and professional 'good practice' revealed the contradictory and multiple challenges they faced within the emotive (affective) space of the higher education classroom. The Black feminist concept of 'embodied intersectionality' (Mirza 2009; Mirza 2013) provided the theoretical tools to excavate these 'affective' processes of exclusion and marginality, and gain an insight into the work equality discourses really 'do' to keep the status quo. By focusing on the racialised institutional 'flashpoints' of recruitment, retention and progression, I argue that tutors and practitioners in higher education must be 'intersectionally reflexive' if they are to remain focused on dismantling the invisible roots of racism that are still lodged deep within our institutional walls.

'Way too out of my league': Keith—a Case of Recruitment

Keith, a 22-year-old biology student from an undergraduate programme in South London, was advised by one of his university tutors not to apply to the HEI to do his PGCE. He was told that African Caribbean students usually had difficulty getting in because it was very competitive and they usually lacked the minimum degree requirements. However, by chance, a tutor from the HEI came to his college to recruit students to the PGCE. During the session, Keith mentioned the advice he had been given. The tutor reinforced that standards were 'high', but put him in touch with another student who shared his experience with Keith and recommended that he apply. Keith then requested an application and, in the pack, he found a notice for a pre-admissions workshop to help candidates through the application and admissions process. In the workshop, Keith discussed his interests and experiences and the tutor told him what he should emphasise in his application and personal statement for it to stand out, and how to approach the interview process. He warned Keith that in an attempt to be honest and reflective many BME students overemphasise their weaknesses and underemphasize their strengths. Keith submitted his application and was granted an interview. The interview brought out more than just Keith's academic history and enabled him to present a much broader picture of

himself and the kind of teacher he would be. Eventually he was successful and was accepted on the course.

This is not an unfamiliar tale of 'embodied' lacking, 'personal happenchance' and 'assimilated redemption' that unfolds for many people from BME backgrounds. First, Keith was 'protectively' warned not to apply as he was seen – like all other African Caribbean students to inherently 'lack' the cultural and academic capital to enter the competitive academic spaces of elite Whiteness. Many students may fall at this first hurdle where institutional gatekeepers police the boundaries of what is an 'acceptable or unacceptable' body and which 'type' of body has the right racial credentials to be allowed to enter the hallowed doors of White privilege. Many of the BME students in our study said they did not feel they would stand much of a chance of getting into elite universities, with comments including 'it is way too out of my league'. Their decisions tended to be moulded by an embodied sense of who they are and their expected 'place' in relation to how their race, class and gender would be perceived. Many saw the 'old' pre-1992 sandstone and redbrick universities as more traditional and stricter, catering to more middle-class White students and therefore less accessible to those from non-traditional educational backgrounds. They often commented on how their familiarity with an HEI influenced their decision, especially if friends and family had gone before.

Nirmal Puwar (2004) explains how cultures of exclusion operate within the contested social space of higher education. She suggests that Black bodies 'out of place' in elite White institutions are perceived as 'space invaders' when they do not represent the 'racial somatic norm' within White institutions. Such 'somatic' processes of exclusion in higher education are difficult to unpack as they are underscored by the embodied intersectional dynamics of race, class and gender. Diane Reay (2017) sheds light on these processes of exclusion, suggesting that young working-class and minority ethnic people can engage in 'self-exclusion' when making university choices, saying, 'what's a person like me doing in a place like that?' Processes of exclusion work through having 'a sense of one's place which leads one to exclude oneself from places from which one is excluded'. For Black and minority ethnic students, it is a painful journey of what they must 'give up' of themselves in order to belong. Reay shows how Black and working-class survivors in elite universities learnt to navigate the hostilities of higher education through reflexively

incorporating dominant White middle-class academic dispositions into their own working-class habitus. By taking part in the workshop, Keith gained the cultural and academic capital necessary to 'pass' into 'the heart of Whiteness' (Casey 1993).

Ultimately, in the tutor's best practice narrative Keith was redeemed through his 'assimilation' into a White HEI, facilitated by his 'White saviour' (the tutor). To be 'acculturated', lose your cultural markers, to learn to 'act White' (Fordham 1996) and 'fit in' is important for Black and minority ethnic students, as 'standing out' can invoke deep feelings of need, rejection and anxiety within the 'White other'. Sara Ahmed (2012) explains that BME students can be exotically different but not too racially, sexually and religiously different as such radical difference is taken as a rejection of the institutional 'host's society's gift of the multicultural embrace'. Thus, to be unassimilated or 'stand out' in an institution invites a certain type of surveillance that appears benign but can be deeply distressing for Black and ethnicised students. For example, Patricia Hill Collins (1998) shows how middle-class African American women in higher education are 'watched' to ensure they remain 'unraced' and assimilated when they enter desegregated institutional spaces of Whiteness in the increasingly devalued public sphere from which they were hitherto barred.

'That's so unfair!': Sam—a Case of Positive Action

Sam, a 42-year-old Black British African student applied to the primary PGCE. He had been educated in Nigeria and had been living for many years in Britain. He had a third-class degree in engineering from a British 'new' university, but he had not managed to get a good job since graduating. He ended up in a series of casual jobs for several years. He was now a volunteer youth and community worker on an after-school project on a large and troubled council estate and enjoyed the challenges of teaching the young people very much. He had recently had two children and was committed to becoming a primary teacher in maths and science to help him explore their development and understand them better. Dave and Linda, the two White middle-class

tutors, had initially disagreed about his admission onto the course. Dave said, though he believed in positive action, it would be unfair to give Sam the extra time and support he needed to bring him up to the level expected on the course. He argued that though there was a national drive to recruit more men, especially Black and minority ethnic men, into primary teaching, and Sam could make a good teacher and role model for Black pupils, he did not think he would survive the course. Linda, however, stressed that the different routes that ethnic minority students come through enrich the course and the different understandings of education and culture that Sam brought with him are just as important. Linda 'won' and Sam was finally admitted to the course. However, he was treated 'the same' as all the other students with no extra help with his assignments. He also experienced unfair treatment and discrimination in his school placement, which he was left to deal with alone. When it reached crisis point and Sam was about to drop out, a mentor was found to support him. He took a lot longer to get through, but finally he graduated but not in the same year as his class.

Sam's story is a tale of the racialised consequences of liberal equity policies and a student's resilience to overcome the structural systemic racism it engenders. Sam was caught up in the complex web of disadvantage inherent in the liberal approach to equal opportunities. On the one hand, it recognises the need to 'level up the playing field' of opportunities to ensure people from excluded or disadvantaged ethnic minority or other protected groups can compete on equal terms with more privileged groups. On the other hand, certain policies like 'positive action' which are intended to either prevent discrimination or make up for the accumulated effects of past discrimination do not tackle the underlying structural causes of racism (Bhavnani et al. 2005). Thus, while numerical targets and policies can be set if there is evidence of underrepresentation of minority ethnic groups within various levels of an organisation, professional interventions based on such race equality initiatives are imbued with contradictions inherent in their racialised development. For example, while Linda celebrated and embraced Sam's 'difference' as a positive attribute to facilitate his access, David interpreted equity as treating everyone the same in a colour-blind way. Sam fell into the gap between the two interpretations of equity (of access) and equality (of outcome) that circulates in our policies in HE institutions.

Sara Ahmed (2012) argues that equality policies and diversity documents alone cannot remove racism from the institution. These documents constitute 'non-performative' institutional 'speech acts'. Thus, a university making a public commitment to diversity, or declaration that they are non-racist and 'for equality', becomes a 'speech act' that works precisely by *not* bringing about the effects it intends. She explains having a 'good' race equality policy gets translated into an institution *being good at race equality*, 'as if saying is doing'. For example, newer universities which are seen as 'diversity led' (as they have many students from ethnic minorities and lower socio-economic backgrounds) present themselves as 'being diverse' without having to do anything. Simply 'being diverse' means new universities need not commit to 'doing diversity'. The significant disparity between universities' policy commitments and the experiences of Black and minority ethnic students such as Sam suggest deep ongoing institutional barriers and discriminatory practices in the higher education sector.

There appear to be two antagonistic forces at play in higher education which frame Sam's intersectional raced, gendered and classed embodied experience. One moves unconsciously and haphazardly towards what Stuart Hall (2000) has called 'multicultural drift', with its eclectic 'grab bag' of solutions for achieving equality through the end goal of 'assimilated difference' (Lentin 2016). The other remains the 'sheer weight of Whiteness', which in HE institutions is overt and impenetrable (Alexander and Arday 2015). Gillborn (2008) argues Whiteness is a position that involves the maintenance of White interests and White privilege. It does so by excluding non-Whites and denying that White people are racialised. By asserting that White supremacy is only claimed by extremist groups, Whiteness assumes the 'business-as-usual' silent domination which sustains the symbolic violence of everyday racism. This Whiteness is evident in the 'soft', unchallenging, antiracist/multicultural position taken up by White student teachers and tutors (Lander 2011).

'I'll teach you a lesson': Kusbah—a Case of Gendered Religious Racism

Cate, a White tutor on the PGCE primary course, received an email from Kusbah, a Muslim student in her tutor group, saying that she felt her school-based mentor was treating her more harshly than the other BTs (beginning teachers) in her placement school. The mentor, Paul, had made comments about Muslim 'girls' [sic] being 'too passive and acquiescent to teach effectively'. She was convinced that this was a case of religious racism and sexism. Cate asked Kusbah to detail her experience in writing so that she could take it up with the school and offered to arrange for Kusbah to finish her placement at another school. Cate arranged to meet with Paul to discuss the matter. He said that it had been his experience that all Muslim women made poor teachers because they were too passive with the pupils and they 'let them walk all over them'. He said that if he was harder on Kusbah, this was the reason. Cate explained that his views represented a racist stereotype and had no place in teacher education. He disagreed and insisted they were merely an accurate assessment of all the Muslim women teachers he had encountered. He was reprimanded and the course leader wrote to the head saying that the situation violated the HEI's and the school's legal duty to promote racial equality, and that the decision had been made to deselect the school until the school had taken steps to prevent this situation arising in the future.

Kusbah's story is one of embodied racialised, religious 'threat' and the racist gendered, physical and psychological containment it invokes. Visible Muslim women wearing the veil, such as Kusbah, openly face hostile reactions in a climate of state-sanctioned gendered Islamophobic discrimination (EHRC 2016). The scholarly interventions of postcolonial critical race feminists show how the Muslim female body has become a symbolic battlefield in the war against Islam and the perceived Muslim enemy 'within' (Razack et al. 2010). Sara Ahmed argues that the discourses of fear and anxiety that have circulated since the September 11th attacks in America work by securing what is the 'truth' about 'the other'. She states that:

> fear operates as an affective economy of truth; fear slides between signs and sticks to bodies by constituting them as its objects … fear sticks to some bodies and not others. (2003, p. 377)

For example, the judgement that someone 'could be' a terrorist draws on past and affective associations that stick various signs (such as Muslim, fundamentalist, terrorist) together. In the West's ideological 'War against Terror', the ubiquitous 'Muslim woman' has come to symbolise the 'barbaric Muslim other' in our midst. The visibility of patriarchal community and group cultural practices such as forced marriage and honour crimes conveniently contribute to the Western 'Orientalist' construction of the racialised Muslim other's barbaric customs and cultures (Said 1985). This is articulated through Muslim women being pathologised as voiceless victims of their 'backward' communities who are in need of 'saving' by the enlightened 'West' (Abu-Lughod 2002).

Paul was exceptionally hard on a Kusbah as a Muslim woman student because he believed *all* Muslim women make poor teachers. She needed 'saving' from herself and to be given a dose of tough love so she could make 'the grade'. Paul believed he had a legitimate right—authority even—to comment and judge Kusbah as a weak and acquiescent 'Muslim woman'. Research shows Muslim young women in schools are often subject to White Western teachers' essentialised expectations about what it means to be a 'true' and 'good' Muslim young woman (Mirza and Meetoo 2017). Their lives in the classroom were structured by both openly expressed gendered religious racism, as well as by the more subtle forms of covert bodily regulation of their sexuality through the policing of their behaviour and dress. The teachers' perceptions of the young women wearing the veil were bounded by popular concerns about their agency and what they perceived to be their cultural and familial disempowerment and restricted scope for choice. The hyper-surveillance Kusbah was subjected to by Paul in the cultural and social space of the school amounted to a form of 'infantilization' of her agency and ability (Puwar 2004). Here not only was Kusbah pigeonholed as being Muslim and female but she was also seen as less capable of being in authority—with 'pupils walking all over her'. She was viewed suspiciously and had to work harder for recognition outside of the confines of stereotypical

expectations. The constant doubt about her skills and the disciplinary measures she was disproportionately subjected to affected her career progression as she was being failed by Paul in her teaching practice.

Conclusion: Navigating the 'Flashpoints' of Gender, Race, Faith in Institutional Culture

In this chapter, I took a Black feminist embodied approach to evaluating the intersectionality of gender, race, faith and culture as it manifests itself in our overwhelmingly dominant White places of teaching and learning. By interrogating the micro-institutional practices that maintain endemic patterns of racist exclusion in higher education, the three cases studies that frame this chapter, in recruitment, retention and progression, illuminate what I call racialised institutional 'flashpoints'. These are moments when BME students on a teacher education course come up against systemic institutional gendered and racialised disadvantage. 'Embodied intersectionality' (Mirza 2009, 2013) as a concept gave me the theoretical tools to help me make sense of the PGCE tutors' narratives and unpack the ways in which race, class, gender and other social divisions were simultaneously experienced as lived realities on and through the Black male and Muslim female bodies of Keith, Sam and Kusbah. All three students were constructed as 'bodies out of place' in the 'best practice' equality narratives of the tutors. In each case, the students' embodied raced and gendered human agency framed their struggle for life chances and academic well-being on the course.

As researchers, tutors and practitioners, if we are serious about evaluating the political project of diversity and inclusion, we need to ask ourselves, 'What are our principles of antiracist professional and academic engagement, and how do we arrive at them?' If we are to achieve *real* equality of outcome for Black and minority ethnic people *in* our places of higher learning, the challenge in 'post-race' times is to move the discourse beyond targeting the bodies of raced and gendered others to 'get them in the door'. A more diverse and equitable higher education system is more than just 'good business sense'. It is a moral and legal imperative

that fundamentally changes our pedagogy and practice and shifts the way we teach and learn. In post-race times, where ‘race’ is off the political agenda, new patterns of insidious racism and deep inequalities are evolving. There is a much-needed dialogue on race, faith and culture that goes beyond the performativity of race equality in our institutions. The task is not easy, and as history shows, movements for racial justice are wrought with messy and hard-fought struggles between the powerful and those who are deemed less than human. The sustainability and success of such movements are predicated on a capacity for forgiveness and a commitment to a steep and honest learning curve for all those involved.

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18

Reflections on Redressing Racial Inequalities, When Teaching Race in the Sociology of Sport and Physical Education

Michael Roy Hobson and Stuart Whigham

Introduction

At the very outset, it is of utmost import to get "our cards on the table" in terms of the privileged position from which we write this contribution, as it is this very position which is the kernel for our central arguments below. We write this piece as two White academics, privileged to gain our initial posts as lecturers within the field of the sociology of sport before completing our doctorates. We both predominantly teach sports sociology and regularly discuss the topic of racial discrimination in sport, drawing on the experiences of star athletes such as Serena Williams, Colin

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_18

Kaepernick and Raheem Sterling. Whilst we welcome the fact that these discussions are happening and the growing body of academic research analysing the extent these athletes are racialised through media discourses (Carrington 2013; Hylton 2015; Bradshaw and Minogue 2019), we question whether this teaching and research has helped to make universities more inclusive spaces for Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) students in our discipline.

Our central concern lies in the fact that we, as White academics, are an essential part of the problem, in that there is a significant lack of BAME academics teaching within our discipline, and within the academy more broadly (Arday 2018; Gillborn 2008; NUS 2016). Along with questions of gaps in attainment, BAME students have reported often feeling like outsiders within HEI institutes (Alexander and Arday 2015). Given this, our discussion below will initially explore the structural Whiteness of teaching in HE, before discussing critical practices and pedagogies aimed at de-centring Whiteness from the spaces we operate in.

Whiteness and Teaching in the Sociology of Sport—the Problems

We've realised that when discussions of race are framed purely as lecture content, they become disassociated from individuals' lived experiences (Flintoff, Dowling and Fitzgerald 2015; Hobson and Whigham 2018; Leonardo and Porter 2010). Too often, as "liberal" White academics, we can be guilty of discussing racist incidents in sport without considering how our day-to-day behaviours contribute to a culture which can disadvantage others who do not share our privilege. While negative attitudes towards racism and positive attitudes towards inclusion have been central to discussions in our lectures, the extent to which we embody this in practice needs continual checking. As Valluvan (2016) explains, discussions of race and racism at university can lead to a sense of exclusion for Black and Asian students if their White peers don't have a well-developed sense of discussing racial differences, as this can lead students to feel further disconnected from higher education.

Indeed, the fact that BAME students in sport are overwhelmingly taught about race by White lecturers, who lack true empathy and experience of the structural inequalities present in sport, higher education and society, is in itself an illustration of the self-perpetuating inequality in modern universities. This therefore supports Leonardo and Porter's (2010) assertions that the assumed normality of Whiteness means its power often goes largely unquestioned. Indeed, the tendency for White academics—ourselves included—to revert to "safe-space discussions" of racialised phenomena within the domain of sport are often counterproductive in this regard:

> …the reason why safe-space discussions partly break down in practice, if not at least in theory, is that they assume that, by virtue of formal and procedural guidelines, safety has been designated for both White people and people of colour. However, the term 'safety' acts as a misnomer because it often means that White individuals can be made to feel safe. Thus, a space of safety is circumvented, and instead a space of oppressive color-blindness is established. (Leonardo and Porter 2010: 148)

Such "safe-spaces" in academia are replicated in the sports media, re-enforcing this colour-blind ideology and subsequent White privilege. For example, The Black Collective of Media in Sport (BCOMS) noted that at the four Major sports events in 2016 (Olympics, Paralympics, European Football Championships, and Wimbledon) only 44 out of 456 media roles were held by BAME candidates, with 19 of these 44 roles held by former athletes. The lack of BAME journalists shapes the representation of Black and Asian athletes (Burdsey 2016; Van Sterkenburg et al. 2010), and discussions of racism.

Indeed, we were both recently invited to contribute an article in The Guardian (https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/feb/06/as-white-sports-lecturers-were-learning-how-to-make-our-classroom-less-racist) on the issue of teaching about racism in sport based upon a chapter which we had recently authored (Hobson and Whigham 2018), despite the fact that we had explicitly noted in the chapter that we had no specific research specialism on the topic. The irony that we (as White junior academics) were in a position to write an article on this topic was not lost on

us, and in many ways presented a further illustration of the circular nature of inequity of opportunity within the world in which we operate.

Whiteness and Teaching in the Sociology of Sport—Some Solutions?

Racism in sport is a topic neither of us set out to research in our academic careers, and we initially struggled to find a sensitive way of approaching it. But research shows that White academics need to do more to develop empathy with BAME students by recognising our own privilege, changing the way we frame race in the classroom and emboldening us to challenge inequalities. Ladson-Billings (2014) reminds lecturers that if pedagogy is to move beyond discussion then questions of race and racism need to develop socio-political consciousness which students can apply to real-world problems beyond the confines of the lecture theatre. This simultaneously develops cultural competency which enables BAME students to celebrate their own culture, while becoming fluent in the culture of university. Unfortunately, as academics we are often poorly skilled in developing cultural competency and instead appropriate students' culture and experiences as something to be studied (Said 1978), while simultaneously penalising BAME students for not expressing the content in accordance with value judgements of the academy. As such, we have tried to move beyond discussions of theory surrounding racism and sport in lectures to influence our actions and behaviours.

The starting point has been listening to the lived experiences of BAME students and people outside university. Some have underscored a sense of not belonging in a system in which most lecturers and students are White. Research reveals that this feeling out of place can impact how well students do and their likelihood of dropping out (Alexander and Arday 2015; Richardson 2018). We found the Surviving Society podcast series helpful in developing empathy. One episode looked at the feeling of otherness: for a Black person at a rave full of White people, or a White person at a "Black club". In another episode, UCL's head of student success,

Paulette Williams, explained how this concept relates to universities, where Black and Asian students often find themselves in the minority.

We've also learned not to avoid uncomfortable conversations about racial privilege and discrimination for fear of causing offence, for instance by avoiding asking our BAME personal tutees about their university experience, as this can compound a sense of being "out of place". Building trustful, mutually respectful, and open, frank relationships with BAME students and colleagues is a fundamental starting point. In "Teaching to Transgress", bell hooks (1994) encourages academics to create an environment where individuals can share their lived experiences in an environment where they feel these can be expressed freely, thus de-centring the lecturer's voice as the locus of power. To do so, practitioners need to demonstrate integrity and build trust with students by utilising conversation, telling and sharing stories, humour, care, a commitment to knowledge, and respecting their student's voice (hooks 2013). Emdin (2016) notes that BAME students are often better equipped to frame learning in a way which relates to their own lived experiences, suggesting that co-teaching and planning with BAME students can be a powerful tool for building relationships and confidence, while changing the power dynamics and notions of whose voice has value.

But while this is a good step forward for individuals, it's not enough to foster genuine institutional change. Instead, we're using our networking skills as academics to identify colleagues from any ethnic background across the university who are passionate to change the situation. We consider how to pay privilege forward: those who are in a position to provide advice, time and opportunities should consider who they offer them to. Perhaps the most important thing is to realise that some well-intentioned actions may appear tokenistic and non-sincere—but that's not a reason not to try. Instead, it can be a learning opportunity.

Crucially, we've adapted our teaching practice to consider how we can start to decolonise the spaces we operate in. While sports sociology is often concerned with experiences of race in the UK it is still a predominantly White domain in terms of scholarship (Hobson and Whigham 2018). Where possible, we've added papers by Black and Asian scholars to our usual recommended reading, and if there are no papers on the

topic we supplement readings with papers, blogs, podcasts and guest lectures.

We make time in lectures to discuss students' experiences, too, making sure the emphasis isn't just upon abstract institutions such as the media, but encouraging analysis of the spaces staff and students operate in too. In a recent lecture, one of us encouraged students to consider the ethnic make-up of the room (roughly 40 out of 120 were BAME) and to compare this with the university's sports' teams' social media, which mostly featured White players. Students were encouraged to discuss what they thought had shaped this underrepresentation. Were students not playing, and why? Or were they not being photographed? We then discussed how to improve representation both in university teams and professional sports.

In doing so, the hope was to encourage students to apply Stuart Hall's (1997) notions of representation to a local context within which they are immersed, reflecting upon how the social structures of the university potentially reproduce Whiteness and a subsequent sense of belonging or not belonging. Later in the same lecture, parallels were made between the low percentages of BAME football managers (Cashmore and Cleland 2011; Cleland and Cashmore 2014; Kilvington 2019) and funded BAME PhD students (Williams et al. 2019), centring the analysis on institutional racism more broadly and emphasising that sport doesn't operate in a vacuum from other elite institutions.

Conclusion

We still have far to go, but we believe that an open mind and an open ear are crucial to the ongoing evolution of anti-racist practice in universities. As the current political climate in western democracies illustrates, the importance of such actions from academics teaching the industry leaders and educators—in our domain of sport and beyond—remains important.

Whilst we cannot eradicate or ignore the impact of our Whiteness within our teaching practice, nor the inherent privileges it has afforded us, we can endeavour to reflexively amend our pedagogical practices in order to acknowledge the structural inequalities evident within our field. Our next—and ongoing—steps are to pro-actively empower our students

with the skills, qualities and willingness to challenge these inequalities wherever they see them, whether they are BAME students or anti-racist "White allies" such as ourselves. Whilst this process is clearly easier said than done, its continued importance in the world in which we operate renders it a crucial one to persevere with.

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19

Fighting Back While Black: The Relationship Between Racialised Resistance and Well-Being

Rianna Walcott

To my family's great surprise and dismay, a career in the British university system is not often a lucrative or successful one, especially for a Black woman. It did not take long for this to become evident to me. A brief look at my undergraduate cohort and the PhD researchers, staff and senior academics around me revealed vanishingly small numbers of Black scholars, let alone Black female scholars.

The figures are dismal. In the academic year 2016–2017, only 13.1% of UK staff were Black or minority ethnic and of that number, only 18.6% were Black[1] (AdvanceHE 2018, p. 134). This means Black staff comprise just 2.4% (Black women comprise 1.3%, and Black men the other 1.1%) of all academic staff in the UK[2] (ibid., p. 254). An examination of career progression is even more bleak. Of almost 19,000 professors in the UK, just 120 of that number are Black professors, and

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_19

according to Dr Nicola Rollock's report in February 2019,[3] only 25 of those are Black women (p. 6).

Just 3% of over 15,000 full time, UK domiciled PhD students in UK universities in the academic year 2017/18 were Black (Williams et al. 2019, p. 3). The UK Research and Innovation (UKRI) council funds the majority of postgraduate students in the UK, and a recent report by *Leading Routes* revealed that over the last three academic years, of almost 20,000 UKRI-funded PhD studentships, only 1.2% (n = 245) were Black; of that cohort just 30 identified as being from Black Caribbean backgrounds (ibid).

So, I am now able to see my position as a minority in the academy. I am one of 30 Black Caribbean-funded PhD students in UK universities; a group small enough to have found each other online within days of the release of the aforementioned report by *Leading Routes*, and created a virtual community via WhatsApp. Being part of a group like that isn't a source of pride, it is a source of despair. I know that the statistics are not on my side when it comes to career success, and the odds of me being able to stay on this career path are slim.

I began to research with an aim of finding out the extent to which the lack of representation impacts the aspirations and well-being of Black PhD researchers? I also wanted to find out the extent to which Black PhD researcher's actions with the academy to improve conditions, contribute to an environment of hostility that negatively affects well-being? To what degree is fighting back while being Black the cause versus the solution to the problem of poor mental well-being? I interviewed four Black PhD researchers from my small cohort (Caribbean, funded[4] Black women and non-binary scholars) in order to gain their perspectives.

We know that Black women and non-binary people are lacking in numbers in the British academy. How, if at all, has this impacted your academic experience?

> Obviously, there's barely any of us anyway, but in STEM it's really bad, and in Earth Sciences it's even worse. I'm very involved in outreach, for example going into schools to talk about what I do, and running events within my university. I'd go into lectures and be able to count on one hand the

number of Black people, let alone Black women, and would feel a bit isolated. When you see another Black person at a conference you do go, 'oh my god, there is another one!' We face issues that only we understand, so I find it hard to communicate sometimes with my non-Black peers **Louisa**[5]

Our lack of numbers has made me more resilient. It's made me want to be the change that I want to see, and it's stirred up fire and fight in my belly to be exactly what society and institutions have said that Black women can't be. This is, of course, a burden. It has also made me navigate academia a lot differently. PhD life is very hard and very isolating, but I feel that with increased knowledge you have a responsibility to pay it forward. So now I've kind of made it my duty and responsibility to help other Black women get into academia **Renee**[6]

I am shook. Honestly, it can be so disheartening. Whenever I think about it my heart drops a little, so I don't like to think about it too much—which is easier said than done considering it is almost always on my mind. Knowing this, I put a lot of pressure on myself to achieve. I overwork. Then I stress. I worry. Then I overwork some more. Right now I'm trying to get the balancing act right. It's tough though because I know I have to work harder than non-Black students to then still not be considered good enough **Keisha**[7]

I feel like there's a lot of pressure to keep going. I don't know what I want to do with my life—people keep asking me what am I going to do after my PhD, and part of me thinks the simple answer is to do a Post-Doctorate, to start lecturing, eventually be a professor. On the one hand, that sounds like an appealing career, and then on the other hand, I'm interested in so many other things like creative writing, and these different activist projects, seeing where they go. It might be that I want to do it, but I think if I didn't have the social pressure I would have a clearer idea of if I actually wanted to. But I do feel like if I left academia it would be a shame because I'm one of few Black psycholinguists over Masters level in the country, and so there's this burden to keep doing it, to stay in the department, to stay in this field because you're one of the only ones. And I don't celebrate that. It's a very lonely position to be in and there is a lot of pressure to keep doing it, purely because they need people like us to do these jobs **Jessica**[8]

Similar to the examples above, I also feel this tension to commit to academia out of a sense of duty, as well as to make academia more hospitable to future Black scholars.

In this chapter, I use Black feminist frameworks as a lens to critique the academy. This is in keeping with its history as a politics of liberation that is cognisant of intersecting structural oppressions, focuses on the academy as a space of oppression, and that positions Black women as agents of social change. Black feminist epistemology captures power relations that are present during Black women's participation in the academy; it has a long history in both Black American and European Black feminist contexts. African-American theorists cited here such as bell hooks and Patricia Hill Collins, who have helped shape Black feminist praxis, are also in conversation with contemporary Black European feminists, who operate and ground their analysis and action within "particular and specific histories of colonialism, racial formation and gender hierarchy of the various European nation-states in which Black women live" (Emejulu and Sobande 2019, p. 5). bell hooks describe a choice of perspective for marginalised Black female scholars, as between a counter-hegemonic, radical, resistant standpoint, versus being on the side of colonising mentalities. By portraying marginal spaces as sites for radical productivity, hooks reframes the interlocking oppressions of race and gender as giving birth to a privileged viewpoint and a mode of seeing a broader reality. hooks elaborates on how survival for the marginally sited depends on an 'ongoing public awareness of the separation between margin and centre, and an ongoing private acknowledgement that we were a necessary, vital part of that whole' (1989, p. 29). She describes this edge as an unsafe place where "one is always at risk, one needs a community of resistance" (p. 19). This seems to be in conversation with Hill Collins' work, which expands on the labour necessary to create these communities, which:

> do not come into being by some inevitable process of evolution. Instead, their existence requires sustained labor on the part of Black women and our allies who see and experience Black women's intellectual work as vital to the individual and collective survival of Black women and girls'. (Hill Collins 2016, p. 136)

These communities are critical to Black women's well-being in the academy, both as a locus for oppositional action, but also a space for safe retreat. However, simply having more Black scholars does not guarantee oppositional work. More diversity is not necessarily a symptom of challenging social hierarchies; knowledge projects produced under these conditions may still conform to prevailing norms (ibid. p. 136). Instead, being oppositional is defined as doing intellectual work that "aims to dismantle unjust intellectual and political structures, beyond individual metrics of labour and success" (p. 134), and requires deliberate, intentional work by Black women and allies. This line of theorising repeatedly appears in works by Black women scholars. For Claudia Bernard, it "affirmed [her] position on the fringes of the academy, and allowed [her] to see [her] purpose and abilities to critique and make changes to the academic landscape, as a perspective that invigorates Black women to develop counter narratives and make creative use of our positionality" (2017, p. 83).

This need for a deliberate, oppositional community of Black women *producers and consumers* to develop *counter narratives* is also referenced by Deborah Gabriel, who cites the *Black Sister Network*—an academic network for women of colour—as the origins of her edited collection, *Inside the Ivory Tower* (2017, p. 1). This space is reminiscent of other spaces of community and solidarity mentioned by early career Black British scholars, such as the immediate call for a WhatsApp chat for the 30 identified Black Caribbean-funded researchers, historical Black women's campaign groups and collectives like the Brixton Black Women's Group (BBWG) and Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent (OWAAD), which were politicised spaces for the Black (and Asian) communities to organise around education and anti-imperialism and address issues specific to those groups experiencing the intersection of racism and sexism (past tense 2017, p. 13).

Similarly, Young expounds on the *imaginary spaces* around which identities are constructed (Rattansi 1994, qtd. in Young 2000, p. 52), and "are seen in much of the writings and expressive creativity of Black diaspora women" as part of "a strategy for survival and relative mental health" (Young 2000, p. 52). It becomes clear that, for marginal scholars, these spaces are integral, as bases to organise and theorise counter narratives

from, but also as sites from, which to imagine and articulate better futures, and as spaces of rest, for survival and well-being. A contemporary example of a space that is both productive and validating is the FLY girls community for women of colour at Cambridge University, where their:

> voices fortified each other. The consequence of such validation and understanding was that […] I found a year's worth of beliefs about myself and Cambridge come crashing down. I recognised how much I had internalised the idea that I was not worthy of Cambridge, and that my being here was a benevolent favour. I now rejected that. I was worthy and the institution was oppressive. (Manzoor-Khan 2019, p. 121)

In this space, activism was secondary to the revival and validation that came from solidarity and community. Communing in this space, where the organising principle was outsiderness on the basis of racial difference, in fact provided the fortitude and reassurance necessary to begin to envision the institution as an oppressive force, rather than themselves as marginal because of unworthiness. And finally, the oppositional community appears again in the responses of interviewees on the question of where they looked for support when the institution could (or would) not provide it:

> My family are my rock. My mum, dad and younger sister. They have always supported me each in their own ways. I wouldn't be here without them and I wouldn't be able to continue this journey without them. My partner who is always on the end of the phone and prepared to learn with me and embark on this journey with me. My Black women peers and my women of colour peers who are also in academia. I can't imagine what my experience would've been like without these friendships I've made. They truly are beautiful. It's a level of understanding, solidarity, support, care that can't be replicated elsewhere. I'm so thankful to have made these friendships because it's so pure and in these moments, I feel like I can be a bit more of myself, as you can get into a routine of wearing a mask. A lot of my joy in academia has come from these inspiring women, who are my teachers and my friends. For me, these intimate connections keep me going **Keisha**

> The communities I'm involved in, and the radical spaces in the city like my local independent bookshop. Places that understand what it is that you're trying to do, and you don't have to explain the basics to them. Places that will happily give a space to those groups who need it, like reading groups or safe spaces. I look to my friends who I know are interested in similar things and fighting similar battles in whatever cities they are doing their research in **Jess**

From this perspective, where the marginal spaces that Black women inhabit in British academia are reconfigured as radical sites for knowledge production, Black women scholars who theorise and teach from this oppositional space are then participating in scholar-activism. This perspective is antithetical to mainstream pedagogy, where "pressure [is] placed on teachers to maintain a veneer of 'neutrality' and 'lack of bias'" (Mink 2019, p. 3). This creates an unequal burden for Black women teachers, as the:

> time and energy spent working with students in ways which respond to them as whole human beings, with differing needs at different times, is not only invisible but does not count… the consequence of this unquantifiable work is that it does not count as 'workload' and so the time and energy I give comes from my own resources'. (Deveci 2019, p. 177)

These *resources* that Deveci mentions here are not only the obvious—time, which could be spent doing our own work, also seem synonymous with *energy*. Being one of few visible representatives of the racial other in the academy leads to this invisible workload falling directly to us. Who better for a marginalised student to offload their traumas and needs in negotiating a hostile White system, than to the similarly othered academic who they have seen successfully negotiate it before them? These energies are not limitless, and are drawn from our own store.

Similarly, Khadijah Means gives an example from a student perspective of how the burden to educate students and staff falls on the affected community. Following a racially charged incident at her school, students of colour, namely Black girls, were expected to respond. Means elaborates on how Black students carry this burden and how it impacts them in the

classroom—"learning in this environment isn't impossible, but it is arduous" (2019, p. 32), as Black scholars feel an undue obligation to the institution to combat racism as an "unpaid advisor on race relations" (p. 33). Therefore, the Black student does not escape the burden on their time and energy, and in this scenario becomes an unpaid consultant, assuming the responsibilities of the institution without recompense or the support they are due as students for whom the academy has a duty of care—a relationship with the academy that will follow them throughout their academic careers. This invisible, uncompensated workload is common to Black women scholars. All interview participants, myself included, had at least one example of a project they had founded, simply to make the British academy more accessible to themselves and scholars in their wake. For example, in 2017 I co-founded Project Myopia,[9] one of many student-led *decolonisation* projects that exists in the UK. Our website calls on students to help make curricula *less pale, male, and stale* by crowdsourcing reviews of materials by marginalised producers, and advocating their inclusion in specific curricula. Project Myopia also delivers diversity and inclusion training workshops for higher education institutions in the UK, such as King's College London, University of Edinburgh, and the London Arts and Humanities Partnership.

The call to decolonise the academy has been taken up by many, including Lola Olufemi at Cambridge University, who asks us to "think about ways we can transform and decentre the university as the only site of legitimate knowledge production" (2019a; b, p. 58) so as to recognise contributions of marginalised scholars working at grassroots level, and work to "reassign cultural authority from the global north" as reform work that will "provide the framework for imagining a liberated future" (ibid., p. 213). This labour predominantly falls to Black women, for whom a decolonised, more inclusive academy is urgent.

Can you detail (if any) labour you undertake to make the academy more inclusive of Black women and nonbinary people?

> Alongside my research I have been BAME Officer for two years. During that time, I have run various campaigns, started projects, changed policies, worked on improving recruitment and retention of BAME faculty and

staff, and raised awareness of issues of racism and discrimination on campus and in academia. I have founded a new non-profit initiative called Beyond Margins,[10] centring on development and achievement. We design strategies to encourage diversity and inclusion for staff and faculty in HE, organise career events to inspire and motivate BAME individuals, and promote current contributions of BAME scholars in their communities—including work they are doing outside of academia **Renee**

I've actually never considered myself as a scholar-activist until you asked these questions and I had time to ponder what it means to do scholar-activist work. I think because the assumption is that an activist is doing a very specific, visible and tangible form of work, such as public campaigns and protests. I didn't want to undermine that. I also never set out to embark on a PhD with the intention to become a scholar-activist. Everything I've done has been innate and natural—I do what I do because it's who I am. I am one of the co-founders of Anticipating Black Futures,[11] an initiative that facilitates a developmental environment for PhD and ECR Black Studies researchers in the U.K. I recently started a Black Studies reading group at my university, to encourage people to read Black, specifically Black women, theorists. I also try to put together panels of all Black women (mostly, if not all British) for conferences. I see this as an intervention in the Whiteness of these spaces, as well as a practice of solidarity for Black women researchers **Keisha**

I co-founded a conference entitled Resisting Whiteness.[12] I considered it as essentially a big teach-out. We took what we've seen at other conferences and said, actually, this format doesn't work for us. You go to an academic conference and they're talking about race, yet it's only White people talking, or they are using words originally from Black or PoC academics while erasing them. They're just regurgitating the words—that's not inspiring or productive to me. Resisting whiteness is a response to events and conferences that feel unsatisfying. We're trying to do the exact opposite and bring marginal voices for us to directly learn from **Jessica**

What toll does this culture of isolation and invisible labour take on Black women and non-binary scholars' mental health? This issue, of the impact of deracinated academic mental health environments and strategies to BAME well-being, led to me co-edit *The Colour of Madness,*[13] a

literary anthology focusing on BAME mental health in the UK. The proceeds of the book go to a Black mental health charity. Yet another extra-curricular, extra-academic, underpaid labour.

Tate writes of how, amidst increasing interest in good well-being as a metric for success in UK universities, the "unvoiceability yet central place of Black women's experience of racism within academia" (2017, p. 55) makes well-being a "deracinated strategic goal" (p. 54). Tate questions how these well-being strategies would respond, if 'in answer to the question of "feeling", Black women answered, "angry", and "upset", "marginalised"' (p. 54). Tate further states that, were tackling racism to become part of well-being indices, it would be revolutionary, a disruptive act to the White supremacy that designates unmarked racial Whiteness and its accompanying privileges go unchallenged (p. 59).

How would you describe your mental health and well-being? Are you adequately supported by your institution?

> The university does a lot to just put plasters over students' mental health. There's not really a structured framework to address mental health within academia. They just say 'look after your mental health' without explaining what that's supposed to mean! I think mental health should have a primary place throughout education, from primary school onwards **Louisa**

> I suffer from chronic disability, rheumatoid arthritis and chronic regional pain syndrome, and often my high levels of pain affect my mental health. In turn, that has greatly affected my experience of academia—of submitting essays on time, sitting for long periods of time for exams, and University services that are inadequate. Writing a document that is as big as a PhD while in physical pain has been **extremely** difficult, but being a Black woman has probably made it even more even more difficult. *It seems that for Black women in academia we have greater responsibilities. We have greater expectations put on us, and become accustomed to bearing burdens. Some of those burdens are borne with pride, like being the first in our families, first in the department, paving the way, but I feel like it draws on historical constructions such as the stereotype of the strong, independent, resilient, Black woman, which makes navigating academia more complex* **Renee**

My mental health is pretty good, but I do feel quite isolated [in Edinburgh] and in my department. I have wonderful friends, but there is something missing all the time, which is why I do all this activist work It supports my well-being. Otherwise I'd be going to work Monday to Friday, 9 till 5, I would see no Black people, and I would feel really sad. If I didn't do these projects I don't think I would be in a very mentally healthy place, but fortunately I do have these connections and I do have these communities around me. The problem with institutions like universities is they have a very basic understanding of racism, White supremacy, oppression, inequality. With [Resisting whiteness] we had a policy for audience questions of not giving the microphone to white people, because we wanted to ensure that there was time and space for people of colour in the audience to have their voices heard, as traditional conferences rarely make space for our contributions. This seemed like a pretty basic concept to me, but it was picked up on by right wing press, publications like the Daily Mail, the Telegraph, the Scotsman. All of these very big publications accused us of being racist towards white people by having these policies. *The university, instead of supporting us by saying 'this is not racism, because reverse racism doesn't exist', their statement was that the policy is problematic, and could be seen as direct discrimination against White people. There was no critical analysis of the difference between platforming the voices of people of colour who usually get silenced in these spaces and 'reverse racism'. So I don't trust the establishment to be on side, to be honest. Which is sad, because you have to tiptoe around it when you can't rely on them to support you – they're the ones paying your bills and you don't want to rock the boat too much because you need a job later! It was a very stressful period of time. I don't know what it meant for my career, am I not going to be able to work at this institution in the future, because they'll see me as a troublemaker? Or, are they going to see me as someone who is valuable to the future of their institution, as a person who is speaking out about institutional problems, and making real change?* **Jess**

What changes, if any, would you like to see, at a macro or micro level, in academia to support Black scholars and their well-being in the UK?

We need frameworks that account for differences within minority groups, because we have our own unique issues as marginal within a marginalised group **Louisa**

> You need to see people in management roles that actually understand why changes need to happen, and are interested in protecting people who are not at the top. Universities need to be equipped with proper public stances that you can't misinterpret, on where they stand on racism and discrimination. They need to publicly acknowledge the fact that White supremacy is the situation in the UK, and we can't tiptoe around that. Universities have a responsibility to look at the people they are employing and say 'is this person contributing to the oppression of another group and how?' **Jess**

What can our institutions do to mitigate this pervasive—and justified—distrust Black female scholars have of the academy? Black women have historically taken refuge in communities of their own, from which they actively work to disrupt the colonial and exclusive nature of the university. This work cannot—and should not—fall entirely to the subversive communities of Black scholars.

In order to make the academy an inclusive space for its marginalised members, comprehensive structural redress needs to be made. Discussions of well-being are limited in effectiveness if they do not consider how well-being is inextricably linked to identity, and if well-being strategies included eradicating the sources of marginalisation such as the burdens of racism, sexism, queerphobia and ableism, they would be far more effective. This must be visible in more than *diversity hires*. It must include more Black staff in leadership positions, and be accompanied by official institutional support, recognition, and financial compensation for the invisible scholar-activist work that minoritised staff undertake. Understanding what changes need to be made, and making scholar-activist labour visible, is where this work begins, and unfortunately even making clear the areas for redress seems to be work that will inevitably fall to the most marginal scholars. Improvements need to be made to university policy and official stances on liberatory work, so that the weight of the institution, with all accompanying status and finance, can support the radical work that activists have been doing for free.

Notes

1. *Equality in Higher Education: Statistical Report 2018.* Figure 3.2.
2. Ibid. Figure 5.6.
3. As of February 2020 this number is now 35, as indicated in a recent article by Emma Jacobs, and in a forthcoming photo-exhibition curated by Dr Nicola Rollock at London City Hall. It is important to note that there is some contention regarding the professors who constitute the official number, as the figure varies between different sources to potentially include 'politically Black' academics, rather than strictly those of African descent.
4. As funded scholars we arguably experience a degree of privilege in the academy that self-funded Black students have even less access to – when highlighting the stress and invisible labour we undertake as researchers, it is with the understanding that there are many more Black PhD students labouring under similar circumstances, but under greater financial precarity.
5. Louisa Brotherson, University of Liverpool, 2019.
6. Renée Landell, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2019.
7. Keisha Bruce, University of Nottingham, 2019.
8. Jessica Brough, University of Edinburgh, 2019.
9. www.projectmyopia.com
10. www.beyondmargins.co.uk
11. https://vpp.midlands3cities.ac.uk/display/Introduction/2019/01/22/Call+for+Papers+-+Anticipating+Black+Futures+Symposium
12. https://resistingwhiteness.com/
13. Linton, S. and Walcott, R. (2018). The Colour of Madness. London: Stirling Publishing Ltd.

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20

In Whose Interest Is 'Training the Dog'? Black Academics' Reflection on Academic Development for 'Access and Success' in a Historically White University in South Africa

Dina Zoe Belluigi and Gladman Thondhlana

Introduction

Academic development is a site where national agendas and institutional interests in access are negotiated against what is valued for justice. This chapter offers Black academics' operative criticism (Belluigi 2017) of the approaches to access adopted by one of the top five research-intensive universities in South Africa, a quarter century into the national 'transformation' to dismantle settler colonial and apartheid segregation and subjugation. What binds the 27 heterogeneous participants of our study is

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_20

that their access and participation was structured by exclusive academic development programs designed for the inclusion of 'Black' and/or 'women' academics, who were grossly underrepresented within a historically White institution (HWI) situated in a majority Black country.

An active terrain of academic and professional practice (Skead 2017) and educational development discourses in South African have primarily framed barriers in terms of *student learning* as 'access and success', which was translated into academic development for inclusion. Only very recently has the practitioner gaze extended to how meso- and macro-conditions legitimize and thereby reinforce historic legacies of social formation and knowledge formation, and how that such formations are further privileged through the geopolitical culture industry of the neoliberal university.

Interweaving literature work with excerpts from participants' insights shared with the authors through a participatory and iterative report-and-respond approach (for more details see Belluigi and Thondhlana 2019), the chapter posits that the hidden curriculum: (i) willfully mis-educated the majority White colleagues while obfuscating the minimal gains in structural access; (ii) enforced pathological costs of success through the machinations of institutional quality assurance; (iii) and served to mitigate against the perceived risk of Black academics' agency to 'be' African and to challenge the institutional hegemonic order.

Structural Access

The South African project of massification began during its democratic transition in the mid-1990s. As the vast majority of the population had been excluded from tertiary education, the issue of whom counted as 'under-represented' was never a marginal issue. Affirmative action focused on race and gender in national funding formula and policies for admission of students.

Strongly autonomous with the stratified sector, HWI initially limited access to Black academics through a program which strategically peppered a 'select' few across the hierarchy. Our participants described being paraded as 'window dressing' (#14) and 'tokens' (#25) of the institution's

diversity, to 'get the numbers looking good rather than changing the way in which power operates at the university' (#14). A consequence of access through the programs was that it 'implicitly assumes and implies that those staff members (mostly White) who don't go through the program are ready to teach in a rapidly transforming high education landscape' (#12). The negative associations 'tantamount to 'labeling'… 'others' in the system' (#12), retained the thinking and practices of the White majority, whom continued to reproduce the Whiteness hegemony characteristic of their own schooling (Belluigi 2012; Paasche 2006).

Two decades on, Whites made up more than half (53.2%) of the academic staff against a national demographic of majority (79.2%) Black South Africans (Department of Higher Education and Training 2015). This slow rate of change in staff composition may have been recognized as 'the most glaring collective failure of the sector' at the ministerial level (Transformation Strategy Group and Transformation Management Group 2015: 11), but similar versions of these programmes have been mainstreamed since.

Participants of this study were particularly concerned with the limitations to the State's focus on race and gender for structural access. They argued that it was insufficient to address intersections with class, echoing calls for racial and social quotas in other developing contexts (Osorio 2009). The relationship between inequality and higher education economics in such contexts mitigated against the possibility of access as a human right. In South Africa this is fraught, as the economic status quo of apartheid structures were maintained in the negotiated political settlement to end conflict.

'Access for Success'

Recognizing that meritocratic mythologies would maintain the disadvantage of historic inequalities, the Council for Higher Education early on mainstreamed equity as 'equal opportunity' (Sikhosana 1993) with national funding linked to both access and successful course completion. Initially, emphasis was placed on additional support structures for those students diagnosed into subcategories of perceived deficiency of being 'at

risk'. Perhaps possible where equity is a minority concern, these non-social models proved unsustainable as the majority of new entrants fell within that umbrella category. More systemic approaches were sought to evolve the educational development of students' generic academic literacy skills into the academic development of their educators, with equity theorized as membership of academic discourses through 'epistemological access' (Morrow 2007). Recognizing that alienation may be detrimental to retention, this then deepened into the ontological turn which emphasized the importance of the student experience of belonging to a community of practice within the academy.

Such approaches were translated as if unproblematic to the programmes designed for the access and success of Black staff. Those critical of 'academicity' point to the colonialising process of identity constructions of *being an academic* within constrained academic territories (Charteris et al. 2017). Settler colonial universities are further burdened by internalised inferiority from cultural cringe, mental colonialization and Afrophobic epistemicide. Recognising this, editors of a seminal anthology on Black academics' experience within HWIs have emphasized 'transforming the disciplinary communities to which we belong' (Matthews and Tabensky 2015).

The generative moment for such critical disciplinary disruption, and any relations to the national transformation agenda, was effectively cannibalized by institutional quality assurance parading as professional advancement. Professional socialization models utilized for minority academics 'of color' within predominantly White institutions in the USA were imposed at the HWI. Critiqued for 'worker adaptation to the work environment [where] reproduction of organizational norms engenders the most rewards' (Sulé 2014: 432–433), they capitulate to the critiques of affirmative action as equality at the cost of quality (Kravitz et al. 1997).

The central mechanism was assessment literacy, which coerced these academics into conforming to the requirements for success. While the criteria for assessment were transparent, participants questioned the authority of who determined standards which assume that 'those 'previously disadvantaged' entering the system, whether staff or students, are urged to 'become' (and not be) competent' (#8). The assessment regime began with a scrutinizing competition characterized by rhetoric that only

the 'brightest' and most 'talented' of the applicants were permitted access which was constrained by precarious contractual employment which differed to the norm of tenure. Fellows expressed disgust at such individualistic hero narratives of 'Black excellence' for social mobility. Liberalist constructions of equity as extending opportunities available to the privileged 'us' to pathologized 'others' in settler colonial societies, serve to 'justify and historicize the ongoing racialized societal structure of land theft, human subjugation, and wealth accumulation' (Patel 2016: 398). Instead of justice, the deficit positioning of the communities to which Black academics were located, created a debt of gratitude where Black academics were expected 'to be grateful for even getting my foot in the door' (#19) in an African institution.

While inclusion discourses may emerge from benevolence, they leave unacknowledged inherent power dynamics and enable participants to continue ignorant of the social account where identity pathologies difference. As supposed 'mentors', senior departmental colleagues were empowered with formative and policing functions to *support* access by 'decoding the unsaid requirements of assimilation' (#19) within the ontological dimensions of the institutional habitus; and to *enforce* submission to such performance management parameters through their evaluations which fed into performance appraisal. The problematic nature of the master-apprentice dynamics often 'crudely reproduced institutional hierarchies, ie. young Black female scholars on the program mentored by senior White males' (#16), with resulting dynamics that 'left me feeling as a newcomer that my voice could not penetrate a culture so 'sutured' and unchallenged by those acting as my mentors' (#16).

With rare exception, HEIs avoid direct confrontation with their past or current complicity in oppression, most often requiring their academic citizens to demonstrate obedience to their dominant institutional cultures. Familiarity with and performance of institutional habitus was a requirement for in-group membership at this HWI

> There is this implicit expectation that you will have to uphold the values that the university holds without critique in terms of what these values mean to me and how inclusive they are. (#9)

Ensuring the continuation of a supposedly 'otherwise perfect system', the top-down focus on fixing the deficit 'mentees' from their initial status as an 'unknowledgeable' "developmental candidate" (#16) 'implies that a person is deficient and needs to be trained (as in training a dog)' (#12). 'Success' was predicated on privileging the very racist, gendered and classist systems which subjugated the majority of the population of the country.

Access to Challenge?

The principle of distributive justice which has informed leadership and development of HE in the global South (McDowell and Hernández 2010) generally informs academic developers notions of social justice, who by and large exhibit more critical leanings than their mainstream colleagues (Author 2012), and therefore promoting pedagogy which questions privilege and marginality (Bozalek 2011). While this ethos is appreciated, participants' frustrations chimed with those of student and academic activists, who since 2015 have renewed the call to decolonise, asserting that purpose of access is for the 'good' of emancipation. As a leading academic recently tweeted, 'The "social justice" sector should not be a hospice for a failed revolution' (Madlingozi 2019).

Within national discourses, it is these select academics who are charged to lead 'the intellectual and academic decolonization, de-racialization and de-gendering of the inherited intellectual spaces of South Africa's universities' (Higher Education of South Africa 2011: 11). Participants described these as 'superficial, and dangerous assumptions' (#17). Identity politics wreaked havoc with these participants' sense of self—walking a 'tight rope' (#8) in a tug of war between embodying diversity, being responsible for transforming the institution, and being pressured to assimilate to the current culture to satisfy rigorous performance management targets. Discourses of diversity have been critiqued when it comes to student participation, from entry (Maunder, Cunliffe, Galvin, Mjali and Rogers 2013) through to postgraduate study (Holley 2013). What we know of problematic constructions of students as, for instance, mirroring the image of curriculum authors (Haggis 2003); conflating talent with

advantage (Gaztambide-Fernández, Saifer and Desai 2013); and continuing myths of the autonomous self (Usher and Johnston 1997), act as a warning for how staff might be similarly mis-constructed by the politics of inclusion. Rather, complex notions of group identity are required for conditions for social change, where various subgroups and superordinate identities, politics and positions are acknowledged.

Of most concern is that the academics who experienced the most extreme role conflict, were those committed to affecting change. They exhibited the psychological stress symptoms of battle fatigue (Smith, Mustaffa, Jones, Curry and Allen 2016) common to those marginalized in higher education in other national contexts (Arday 2019), and those with intergenerational collective memories of discrimination and violence (Maldonado-Torres 2007). Although such 'subaltern passions' are potential 'political resources that challenge hegemonic conditions and formulate strategic counter-hegemonic responses' (Zembylas 2013), the idiom 'chipping away at that rock face' (#25) evoked participants' sense of their 'futile' (#25) attempts. The conditions constraining their 'access to challenge' which over time threatened to sacrifice of this generation of scholars or who relinquished for self-preservations within the system of exchange or, aversion to the professional risk, which the assessment literacy of the 'access for success' approach engendered, forced their self-interest to 'ensure that our careers and reputations are not compromised … careful of career suicide and boundaries' (#25). Such vulnerability tangibly constrained the recipients' ability to challenge injustices when they themselves experienced them, and to act in solidarity with Black students and colleagues, because 'How do you help when you know the very structures are set up, [so that even] you do not get heard?' (#25). The liberalists myths of 'gradual evolution' (#4) and incremental change which the underpinned transformation models enacted within the institution (Belluigi and Thondhlana 2019), confirmed arguments that racism requires sweeping and radical structural change (Nwadeyi 2016).

Reiterating Insights and Implications for Research and Practice

While hope persists, it must be recognized that trans-ontological, decolonial conditions have been painfully elusive for such academics in this post-colonial, post-apartheid context. The reflections offered by the Black academics in this chapter serve as a warning for those espousing discourses of diversity, inclusion and belonging in contexts with legacies of conflict, oppression and dramatic inequality.

Positioned problematically by the conservative mainstream as embodying transformation through their superficial diversity in the 'structural access' approach, and as agents of transformation by those students, staff and activists enthused by aspirational decolonialising visions of 'access to challenge'—all the while, the lived experience of the constraining 'access for success' model effectively reduced the agency of these Black academics to *be* or to *effect* change within the historically White institution.

'Critical academic development' is required for unjust conditions to be challenged, recognizing that institutional change is impoverished when limited to individualistic, educational matters. Conducive interactional dynamics for democratising the transition of academic author-ity requires (a) disruption of institutional quality assurance; (b) authorial accountability for the hidden curriculum at the meso-level; and (c) national rather than an institutional approaches (Bozalek and Boughey 2012) to structural change.

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21

Understanding Critical Whiteness Studies: Harmful or Helpful in the Struggle for Racial Equity in the Academy?

Michael Cole

With great thanks to the editors and co-authors of this book, who I continue to learn from and have the utmost respect for. With thanks also to Carol Hughes, for her expertise, scholarship and solidarity, and in acknowledgement of family, friends, colleagues, scholars and forebearers from marginalised communities that helped make this chapter, and my activism, possible.

> What matters is not so much the color of your skin as the power you serve and the millions you betray. Fanon (2000)

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_21

Introduction

Thirty-two years since Richard Dyer's (1988) essay "White", which emerged ten years hence from Judith Katz's (1978) *White Awareness: Handbook For Anti-Racism*, and a further seventy-eight years after W.E.B DuBois' (1910) "The Souls of White Folk", this chapter explores how *Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS)* can help in the struggle for racial equity. During the course of this chapter, the fundamentals of 'Whiteness' are explained, and the principal dilemmas confronting its use, reviewed. It will conclude with suggestions for how its pitfalls may be avoided, including where it requires a (re)configuration with anti-colonial scholarship. Taken in its entirety, this chapter intends to support the dismantling of White supremacist structures and the eradication of anti-Black racism in UK academia. It is hoped that teachers and researchers may be better equipped, by a Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) approach rooted in anti-colonial praxis, to take action in solidarity with the racially oppressed in the pursuit of educational equity.

In the UK there has been a small but committed movement of anti-racist scholars who, within their work, have interrogated and critiqued racism and Whiteness in post-colonial Britain and/or education (e.g. Sara Ahmed, Akala, Kehinde Andrews, Jason Arday, Gurminder Bhambra, Kalwant Bhopal, Charlotte Chadderton, Namita Chakrabarty, Ornette D Clennon, Reni Eddo-Lodge, Steve Garner, David Gillborn, Paul Gilroy, Stuart Hall, Kevin Hylton, Nisha Kapoor, Paul Miller, Heidi Mirza, John Preston, Nicola Rollock, Meera Sabaratnam, Gurnam Singh, Ambalavaner Sivanandan and Satnam Virdee). Embracing their work and the work of others, and specifically utilising the conceptual framework of 'Critical Whiteness', should strengthen anti-racist communities of praxis.

Critical Whiteness Studies has, however, been condemned as "fundamentally disturbing" (Andersen 2003, p. 21) for various reasons, most notably that it reifies essentialised notions of 'race'; sustains Whiteness via performativity; inadequately considers class; and diverts attention away from racism by personalising the issue of raced power dynamics at the expense of institutional change (Sivanandan 1984; Bonnett 1996;

Alexander 2004; Hartman 2004; Leonardo 2004; Doane and Bonilla-Silva 2013). Furthermore, Jafri (2012) warns that declarations of social privilege can re-inscribe power positions, and that this over-investment in the dominant subject focuses analysis on the unlearning process, rather than destabilising the coloniser/colonised binary, through which racial power is constituted.

In contrast, and in accord with scholars of the sociology of race, such as Garner (2006) and Leonardo (2004), this chapter affirms that whilst Critical Whiteness Studies is vital, it must be complemented by a rigorous examination of White supremacy in the context of Black Marxism (Robinson 2000) and racial capitalism and neoliberalism (Bhattacharyya 2020). Moreover, Critical Whiteness Studies can only be successful in helping to bring about fundamental changes in the training, development and practice of educators, if it is conceptualised in a way that sets it within a communal praxis of intersectional and decolonising (Bhambra et al. 2018) activism. This declaration is not new, nor—whilst progressive—is it free from exploitation by White researchers in the field of racism analysis who are phenotypically and fiscally removed and protected from the oppression it asserts to combat. It, therefore, obliges me to acknowledge the reality of my position—the author, as White scholar—writing this book chapter on anti-racist praxis.

Opening Position Statement

In the first draft of this chapter I made a conscious and deliberate, but erroneous, choice to exclude mention of my positionality as a White man. I did so for two reasons. First, because I thought by writing about an identity that society racialises me as, that is, White, this was somehow acceptable. Second, I feared centring my (White) self in the discourse. With feedback from the editors (who clearly welcomed my contribution as a White academic) and hindsight informed by my own ongoing auto-ethnographic PhD research—I understood better that the former was a guiding rule that does not, and should not, apply to scholars writing about race *who occupy a position in the group that holds power and benefits from oppression*. I also better understood that the latter was not only

naïve—of course, one can never exclude oneself from their writing!—*but that it centred Whiteness by its very nondisclosure*. By this I mean to say that the colonially inscribed, routine normalcy of a White man authoring a book chapter, particularly a text about racism, was signalled as such by its omission. In short, the stealth inherent in Whiteliness, whether conscious or unconscious, was such that I was both succumbing to *and* directing it.

My interest in Whiteness as a state of being that upholds an unjust system of racialised inequities began consciously in my late teens, as a middle-class White boy in suburban Essex, England. Since entering higher education as an academic at the start of my thirties, Critical Whiteness Studies has been central to my pedagogical approach. Now, in my fortieth year, it continues to inform my approach to social justice activism in the academy. It is beyond the remit of this book chapter to explore my origins much further, or to elucidate the incidences that contributed to a passionate interest in understanding the reasons for racial social injustices, or further to examine my experiences as a lecturer and flawed (though, I hope, sometimes productive) activist. These factors are given due prominence, clarity and interrogation via autoethnography in my PhD thesis.

In lieu of this, and to operate within the parameters of this book chapter, I explicitly acknowledge that my status as a White scholar who is able to—and invited to—explore and interrogate race relatively openly and freely is a colossal privilege that has historically not been afforded to academics of colour. My writing here must serve to undermine, rather than reinforce the White privileges in-built in higher education. Therefore, with this chapter, I aim to challenge racialised discourses and encourage social action within the academy. I had hoped that the chapter would achieve this in and of itself but offer this small but significant insight into my positionality and privilege in acknowledgement that it would not have. By doing this, I hope to remove myself from the 'centre'—a position White academics who have historically done this occupy—and centre the actual problem at hand, which is the centrality of Whiteness and its inequitable reach.

My intention with this chapter is, therefore, to provide a critical pedagogic voice. I have tried to remain vigilant so as not to deliver a "tokenistic discussion of race which reinforce[s] the current forms of inequality and White privilege, whilst violating the alterity" of colleagues of colour (Hobson and Whigham 2018). Striving to avoid unconscious reinforcement of the institutional Whiteness of academic scholarship is something I urge us all, particularly White people, to do if we are to become better anti-racist allies.

But we need to do more than write book chapters about the problem of Whiteness. There is much more personal development and community action to be done, and I hope that White colleagues join in committing to the private and interpersonal work necessary to develop anti-racist allyship.

But what does this 'work' mean to me, a middle-class White man, born and raised in the UK? My interpretation—built on personal reflection, and the works and words of activists and colleagues of colour—is that it requires me to fulfil *my* agency, rather than expecting to be taught, or listened to, by people of colour; it is an obligation to process, internally, the range of emotional reflexes of White fragility, tears and resistance that may (and sometimes still do) transpire when I misstep, or receive criticism. It is my responsibility to listen to and act on such criticism, not only because it is rooted in resistance and love (in the bell Hooks sense), but also because when it comes from the experts and those who are affected, it is of the highest value and risk. It is also my duty to listen to—and then part ways with—any impulsive inner voices that tempt me to exclaim: "No, you misunderstand me…no, that wasn't my intention…no, this feels unfair…but I'm trying my best!" It is an accountability that requires my continued efforts in the struggle to stand in solidarity with the oppressed to dismantle White supremacy. Furthermore, it is an introspection that helps me not to forgot that the most significant privileges I have as a White anti-racist academic are the inescapable luxuries of *choice* in whether I do the work or not, and the *absence of racial oppression* when I pick up my pen to write, or walk into a lecture room to talk.

> To be effective, anti-racist solidarities should conjoin as wide a range of historical relationships as colonialism itself created. (Wolfe 2016)

Is There Value in Critical Whiteness Studies?

Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) is a transdisciplinary project that concentrates attention upon the socio-politically constructed nature of White identity, power, norms and ideology. It shares a descendent relationship with Critical Race Theory (CRT), in that CRT has overlapping concerns with the centrality and impact of racism on racialised communities (see Box 21.1 for a brief history of Critical Whiteness Studies). CWS concentrates on the creation and maintenance of racial hierarchies and the systems that protect them, aiming to expose and deconstruct the racialised power dynamics within intergroup relations, and in doing so problematise, interrogate and challenge the identity and practices of the dominant White group. It does this by understanding 'White' as a colonial-capitalist construct of embodied racialised power that serves as a foundational function of White supremacy (Bonilla-Silva 2001). White is a concept of White supremacy, an oppressive system of racialised power inequities that operates on the personal, institutional and cultural, to bestow advantages and benefits for White people at the expense of the racialised subaltern (Gramsci 2012). Given the complexity of this phenomenon, it is clear that to work with and through CWS—in order to dismantle White supremacy in education—one must understand how and why 'White' was manufactured, and its enduring effects.

Box 21.1 The Study of Whiteness

The theoretical conceptualisation of 'whiteness' began with W.E.B DuBois, Frantz Fanon, and more latterly bell hooks, Audre Lorde, Toni Morrison and James Baldwin and has been critically illuminated further by the likes of Barbara Applebaum, Theodore Allen, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Robin DiAngelo, Ruth Frankenberg, Barnor Hesse, Noel Ignatiev, Gloria Ladson-Billings, Zeus Leonardo, Walter Mignolo, Anoop Nayak, Aníbal Quijano, David Roediger, Edward Said, Guyatri Spivak, and George Yancy, to name but a few of the luminaries. Whiteness refers to the ways of thinking, acting, receiving and being that White people (and sometimes non-White people socialised into Whiteness) engage in that serve to hide, protect and further the interests of White people at the expense of non-White people. Peggy Macintosh coined the term 'White privilege' (the lineage of which

(*continued*)

Box 21.1 (continued)

can be traced through DuBois' 'wages of whiteness' and on in to Harris's 'whiteness as property') which has become somewhat misused in its contemporary application as primarily a focus on *individual* advantages ascribed to persons by virtue of being constructed as White. These benefits are distorted by class, gender, sexuality, disability, religion, citizenship and ethnicity but are not transcended by them. The people who hold these privileges are unlikely to fight to dismantle the system that provides them, for that would mean giving them up. Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) is an auxiliary of Critical Race Theory (CRT), a praxis that emerged in the 1980s (after Derick Bell's Critical Legal Studies, itself driven by the enduring racism within the post-War North American justice system). Like CRT, CWS helps to make sense of, deconstruct, and challenge the racial inequities of White supremacist society. CWS scholars, like CRT scholars, hold the correct socio-political construct understanding of 'race' and a commitment to interrogating and opposing the systems that subjugate people racialised as non-White. CWS continues to undergo revision and refinement in relation to new developments in socio-economic and socio-political discourses, in response to the activist-scholarship experiences of its proponents, and in genuflection to the necessitous critique from scholars across various fields of inquiry and theoretic insights. These include CRT, Black Marxism, Black Feminist Theory, Critical Indigenous Theory, Queer Theory, Border Theory and Post-Colonial and Decolonising scholarship, to name but a few of the global social theories that a robust interrogation of race requires. CWS enables 'White' scholars to academically and strategically interrogate their complicity in the system of White supremacy and attempt to subvert Whiteness. CWS recognises that BAME/BIPOC peoples generally have a special knowledge of Whiteness, predicated upon the European colonisation of their ancestors and up to the present-day realities of being disproportionately oppressed. By being informed by counternarratives, but by turning the ethnographic gaze on to their own Whiteness, White scholars of CWS aim to be accomplices, acting in solidarity, external to but in close orbit around the centrality of oppressed counternarratives and intimately linked to the wider community of struggles towards dismantling White supremacy. Scholars of CWS should aim to inspire an interrogation of White identities that is capable of disturbing the more traditional focus of race enquiry, in order to provoke new theory, political practice, such that new geographies of Whiteness can displace any assumptions of CWS as a Western pursuit, and open up researchers to a global interpretation and postcolonial understanding of race.

Understanding Whiteness

In order to understand Whiteness, academics new to or unfamiliar with Critical Whiteness Studies must from the outset carefully develop their 'racial literacy' and understanding of 'anti-racism'.

- Racial literacy (see Fig. 21.1) is understanding:
  - The racial character of capitalism that is the European colonial processes and forces that subsumed the existing racialisms of Western feudal society and religious difference and directed its mutation into a system of anti-Black/brownness based on the economic exploitation of indigenous and enslaved peoples, their land and their resources (Robinson 2000).
  - The pseudo-biological essentialisations of human race subcategories, by way of post-hoc spatial-ethno-cultural and physical observation by and through the European elite's 'White gaze' (Morrison 1987) to denigrate (from the Latin '*nigare*' that is "to blacken, make dark" [O'Neil 2014]) the racialised other by skin tone, phenotype, ethnicity, and religiosity and which bequeathed the non-sciences of racial anthropometry, phrenology, physiognomics and eugenics. Many scholars have detailed the origins of contemporary racism that is the colonial enslavement and othering that was essential to imperial conquest and modern capitalism (see, e.g., Roediger 1994; Wolfe 2016) and readers are encouraged to seek out these histories.
  - The shifting phenomena of colonial Whiteness as predicated on the subaltern (Hesse 2006), noting that it is a fluid concept that includes and omits dependent on its needs at any particular time. Contingent on the historical and geopolitical context, and the specific access to a particular resource (or proximity to disenfranchisement), the following ethnic groups, for example, have been considered 'White', 'non-White', or 'closer-to-White': Slavs, Irish, Jewish, Latinx, Portuguese and Greek peoples.
  - Current discourse and terminology may reify racialisation and be counter-productive to social justice movements, as it may silence

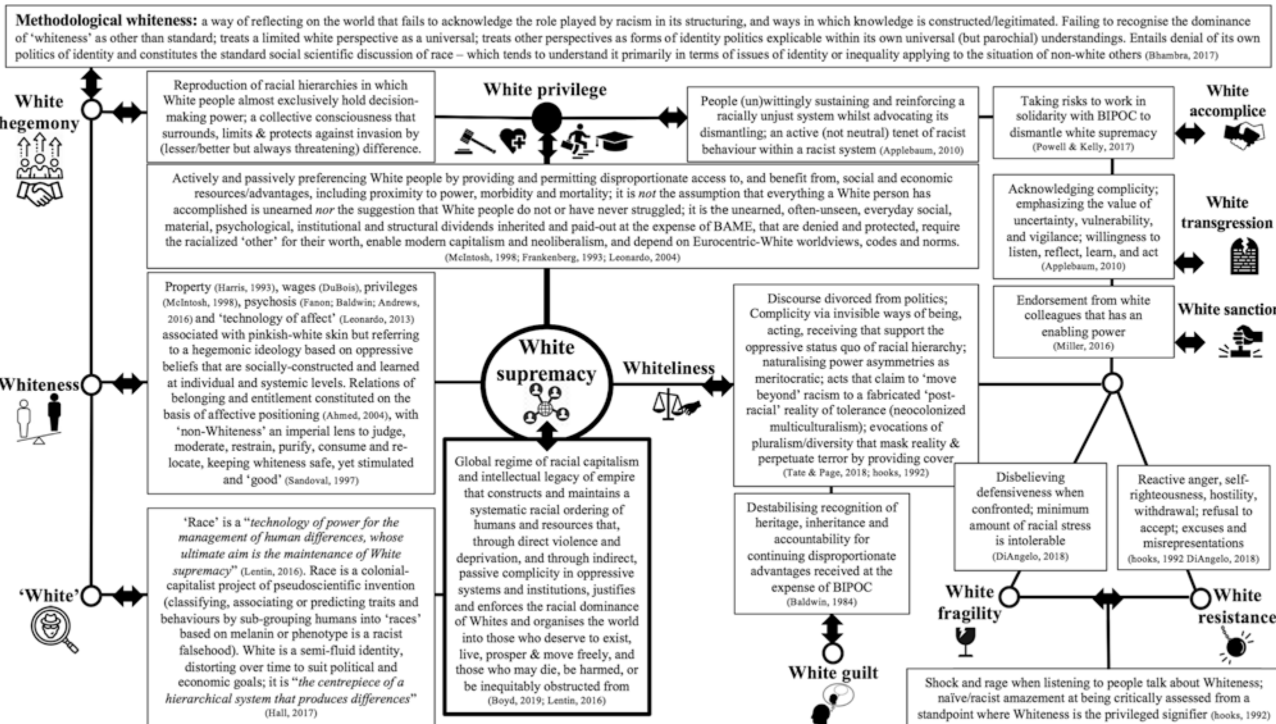

Fig. 21.1 Whiteness Infographic

sub-groups, dilute resistance, and manufacture conflict within inter-community activism. For example, the terms 'Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic'/'BAME' and 'People of Colour' suggests that the struggles of, say, a British Muslim teenager of East Asian heritage, are the same as that of, say, a Black British pensioner. Furthermore, 'Black' itself gives no recognition of the differences in lived experiences between a Black-Caribbean British woman and a Black British man of Senegalese heritage. In addition, the state-sanctioned ethnicisation of 'Black' has been considered a tool that de-links and blunts Black political struggle, and that a 'return to a radical kinship of solidarity politics is needed' (Sivanandan 1984; Aouragh 2019).

– The consequences of White supremacist racism (Bonilla-Silva 2001) including the specific colonial nature of anti-Blackness and the intersecting oppressions of gender, sexuality, class, disability, age, ethnicity, religion and citizenship.
– The vocabulary and self-efficacy required to discuss, identify and challenge racisms and racist structures, including Whiteness and coloniality.

- ***Anti-racism Is Understanding:***

– the difference between 'non-racist' and 'anti-racist' action (Kendi 2018). For example, non-racism is claiming the post-racial position that racism does not exist (or that it once did but is now of negligible significance), or that one 'does not see colour', or that because one does not use explicitly racist language, that one is not culpable or complicit in maintaining a system of White supremacy by virtue of their inaction. Non-racism is also claiming that an anti-White people bias is 'reverse racism' and therefore a real phenomenon, rather than it being a prejudice against racialised-as-White people that is not influenced by or implicated in structural power dynamics and systemic oppression (see Fig. 21.2).
– the term 'racist' refers to systems and actions (Lentin 2016) not an identity, nor is conscious or subconscious intention (necessarily) required for it.

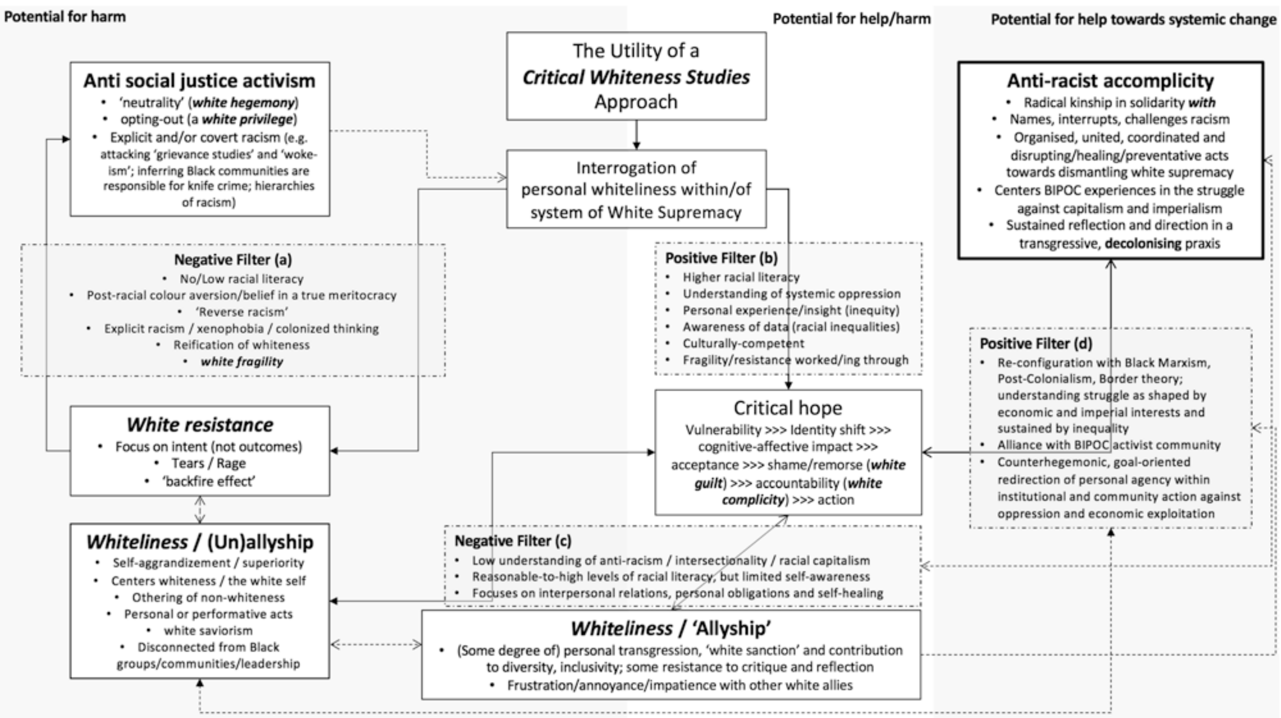

Fig. 21.2 Anti-racism schema

- that the circumstances of the struggle against racism are primarily shaped by economic and imperial interests (Aouragh 2019) and can only be successful with personal and collective action (Sivanandan 1984).
- that Britain possessed (and possesses) its own Black Power movement, rooted in an anti-colonial politics that connects domestic racism with issues of imperialism and global inequality (Narayan 2019).

Despite the incontrovertible facts of racist inequities, and its entwined genesis with and sustenance from the neoliberal and colonial-capitalist project, there is, in contemporary Britain, a tendency on the Left to consider colonial history as irrelevant to present progressive, liberal culture. Whereas, on the Centre-Right there is a tendency to celebrate the post-colonial British Empire with nostalgic solemnity, viewing it not as a racist endeavour but as a predominantly righteous and progressive, enriching project that one should be proud of, and keen to see return. Furthermore, discourses of Whiteness often acknowledge White privilege only as a function of Whites' actions towards marginialised subjects, and not as accumulations of unearned advantages in an unfair system. Dove-tailing with these White-Left and Centre-Right ontologies is a renewed and vigorous populism that attacks those who attempt to name and interrogate Whiteness, denouncing them as the 'real racists', or as playing the 'race card' of identity politics, and in doing so positioning *them* as the problem, rather than the racism itself. On the limited occasions when critical interrogations of Whiteness are welcome, the concept of Whiteness often makes for an individualised, compartmentalised and personal 'MacGuffin' of virtue; that is to say, that White people anticipating a solution to the (un)mystery of racism often follow a limited narrative of personal growth. Thus, although the initial provocation of 'personal growth' is a motivator to initiate change, it becomes somewhat of a diversion away from community struggle and institutional transformation.

Part of the solution to these diversions is greater utilisation of post-colonial theory, as it offers a useful framework with which we can identify, understand and articulate the historical and socio-political construct of Whiteness. Here I use the metaphor of toxic White *fruits* to symbolise Whiteness, with the entire crop and field denoting the racist structure of

our White supremacist system. Post-colonial theory helps us see that "despite the fact that white racial domination precedes us, Whites daily recreate it on both the individual and institutional level" (Leonardo 2004, p. 139). Post-colonial theory provides a vital set of tools with which we can, and must, interrogate and act in order to change the system by uprooting and destroying the crops, and tending to the earth in a different manner altogether.

> Privilege is the daily cognate of structural domination. (Leonardo 2004)

Working Through Whiteness: Personal Growth and Community Solidarity

Once racial literacy and anti-racist understanding begin to develop, White people must adjoin them with efforts towards accepting their *Whiteness* and their *Whiteliness*. Full acceptance may never arrive, given the power, dexterity and cunning of the phenomena, however for the journey to continue they must proceed through the vertiginous awakening and sickening realisation of *White guilt* in order to overcome any internal struggles of *White fragility* and *resistance* when confronted with the realities of *White privilege* (see Fig. 21.1).

Figure 21.2 shows how the diversions take place if the exposure of a disavowed complicity (Willet 2007) and shift in identity are processed through a *negative* filter. White privilege becomes the central axis, taking on an appearance of domination without agents, such that 'instead of emphasizing the process of appropriation, the discourse of privilege centers the discussion on the advantages that Whites receive; it mistakes the symptoms for causes' (Leonardo 2004). However, if White people can process their Whiteness through a *positive* filter, they can move to a position that eschews guilt or conflict for an intellectual and emotional openness. Such vulnerability is antithetical to the coloniser's mind and is a pre-condition for anti-racist potential (Bailey 2015) and represents a decolonising of 'White fragility' and 'self-forgiveness' (Tate and Page 2018) from which a critical hope can emerge (Applebaum 2017). This

critical hope must then be harnessed in a way that ensures any good intentions do not become lost in a personal growth mindset that manifests in internalised action or externalised 'White saviourism'.

If White people can move away from individualism—despite the necessary personal reckoning with Whiteness—and towards community, they may not only begin to see the toxic White fruits but might also then use the tools necessary to destroy it at the root, in collaboration with the oppressed. In other words, they may grasp the connectiveness and kinship required to fulfil their anti-racist potential, that is, by "joining the fight for institutional reform within their places of work and from the outside by making contact with Black organisations in order to co-ordinate activities and learn from one another" (Galliers 1987, p. 70). Figure 21.2 illustrates this schema of anti-racist potential.

> …white supremacy is their construct, a construct they have benefited from, and deconstructing white supremacy is their duty. (Oluo 2019)

Summary

Critical Whiteness Studies is useful for helping to identify internalised, often invisible or covert forms of oppression—including the advantages those constructed as White have at the expense of those constructed as Black—that contribute to White supremacist institutional and systemic racism (Aouragh 2019). However, as anti-racist praxis it is insufficient without complicity with anti-Black activists and the critical understating of colonialism and capitalism required to process White positionality, agency and complicity through a positive filter.

Only by taking a decolonial political philosophy can we authentically embrace the concept of ourselves as White people helping to dismantle Whiteness. Without this, good intentions may be hijacked by concerns with:

- individual growth, rather than structural change
- superficial reflection and shallow 'activist-tourism', rather than critically reflexive praxis

- attempting to own/lead the anti-racist struggle, rather than in solidarity with the racially oppressed
- inadvertently reifying, essentialising and/or centring 'White'/Whiteness, rather than dismantling it (e.g., as I was/am in danger of doing by writing this chapter—a risk referred to in the opening position statement)

Critical Whiteness Studies is a vital tool of scholarly activism, provided those who utilise it stay true to its transdisciplinary origins within, and overlapping with, epistemologies of global social theories.

It is clear that the struggle for racial equity is the responsibility of all educators. It is also clear that White people with lower levels of racial literacy risk diversion or derailment by their fragility, resistance and rage, whereas White people with higher levels of racial literacy but lower understanding of anti-racism risk diversion by notions of personal growth and White saviourism.

Closing Position Statement

In summarising the importance of Post-Colonial Theory and Critical Black theories in Critical Whiteness Studies, one might be invigorated to ask the question, 'so, what does this look like in your practice in higher education?' The answer to this question will always be context-specific, depending on the demands and constraints of the given situation. We are all unique, and so are our individual approaches to activism. What follows is a small example of my day-to-day practice as a Senior Lecturer in Sports Therapy, using a reflexive approach to the scholarship of learning and teaching with colleagues.

In order to help address the systems-deficit at the heart of the disproportionate undergraduate degree awarding outcomes for our BAME students, I joined a group working towards this goal. When confronted with difficult challenges that may call our own personhoods and sense of reality into question we are naturally drawn to quick and painless solutions, and not necessarily to the emotionally/intellectually hard work required to rectify them. This tends to be the case when becoming aware of our

complicity in a neo-colonial White supremacist educational system (Mcduff et al. 2018; Sultana 2019) that contributes to the 'great unspoken shame' (Ross et al. 2018) of racially disproportionate experiences, assessments, awarding and opportunities for undergraduate 'BAME' students relative to their White peers (Universities UK 2019). We identified that a scaffolded approach is of benefit to colleagues who wish to engage with racial social justice pedagogies, particularly for those who are White. The common impulse is to grasp for simple strategies (e.g., tick boxes and toolboxes) to address challenges that are more about ideology and will, than planning. However, it is useful to begin with some guiding principles of practice that provide a scaffold for the sense of direction in which one chooses to go.

Subsequently, I designed and now utilise the *Educators' Anti-Racism Self-reflection* tool (EARS), a helpful starting point for academics to assess and critically reflect on their pedagogical approach. The EARS tool (see Table 21.1) may also be useful for experienced anti-racist teachers to help articulate and reinforce existing good practice, and as a point of reflection and critical discussion. It should be noted that academics of colour are likely to have been manifesting these and other factors supported by their personal insights, experiences and expertise that White academics are not privy to nor able to engage in with at the same level of craft or impact. It should also be noted that some of the suggestions and expectations for action within the tool are likely to incur much greater risk for academics of colour, particularly women of colour and colleagues with additional marginalised characteristics. Nonetheless, as a starting point for White anti-racists, it is helpful.

EARS consist of nine factors, each 'scored' numerically and accompanied by a narrative commentary that may include peer and student input. Focussing on these helps develop anti-racist praxis, though it is not a substitute for essential readings and ongoing, consistent, deep reflection. The EARS tool is a snapshot of equitable practice, not a destination and scores should not be perceived as indication of 'wrongfulness' or 'inadequacy'; a low score helps to direct where to focus one's self-development most urgently, and scoring high does not mean one has 'done' 'it', as one may not score highly again next year, or even next week. I have found the tool to be helpful in day-to-day teaching practice. Sharing it with

Table 21.1 The Educators' Anti-Racist Self-reflection (EARS) tool

Educators' Anti-Racist Self-reflection (EARS) tool	Score
Allyship	
Use of the ***Advice for Being an Ally*** resource (Abdi 2020). Addressing racial biases in how you perceive others. Inviting, platforming, supporting and making opportunities for BAME colleagues, especially in meetings, committees, panels, funding, co-authorship, and 'White sanction'. Standing with, not for. Speaking-up about racism before (proactive), and during and after if it occurs (reactive).	
Curriculum representation	
Images/authors/case-studies/perspectives/narratives/data/ways of knowing; HPL/GL selection, Student committees. Planning and review panels.	
Curriculum content	
Use of the ***Decolonising Learning and Teaching*** *resource* (SOAS 2018). In what ways do you address social justice issues and critical thinking? The historical and contemporary socio-political contest to the discipline/knowledge. How are **decolonising** approaches used with content, learning, and support. How is your module linked to other modules, careers, post-graduate education, local communities, industry, current affairs, and cultures?	
Student-centredness	
How do you provide space for students to express themselves? Link learning with/build on their experiences? Feel in co-control of their learning? Co-creation of learning culture, expectations, roles and responsibilities? Peer-mentorship? Industry mentorship? Co-generative dialogue? Returning alumni? VLE/online/distance-learning?	
Assessment & Feedback	
Use of the ***Assessment and Feedback Benchmarking*** resource (NUS 2015). How are you addressing your racial biases in marking? How inclusive (e.g. varied, flexible, formative, anonymous, moderated, transparent, scaffolded, modelled, submission, feedback quality and timeliness, feedforward accountability and integration; alignment with other modules, timing with academic and religious holidays).	
Critical Reflection & CPD	
Which formal and informal CPD related to decolonising and social justice pedagogy have you engaged in within in the past 12 months? How has this impacted on your approach? What are you doing about your complicity in systemic racism? What peer-learning have you engaged in? How are you decolonising your mind?	

(*continued*)

Table 21.1 (continued)

Educators' Anti-Racist Self-reflection (EARS) tool	Score
Academic Skills & Learning Sciences	
What support is on offer and how is this embedded, framed, communicated? How do you utilise cognitive learning sciences i.e. What is the nature/extent of your instruction, interleaving, retrieval, dual-coding, modelling, scaffolding? Study techniques? Relation to previous learning? Stories? Cognitive load? feedback literacy?	
Interpersonal impact	
Addressing racial biases in how you perceive others. Opportunities and support for BAME students and colleagues. Engagement strategies (physical, digital and social messages/activities, small group tutorials, teaching spaces), personal connectedness, and awareness of own identity, privileges and colonial thinking.	
Data	
What do the numbers say about retention and achievement on your module/programme when adjusted for ethnicity and gender? Have you included this in your module and programme reviews, and personal development review? Have you explored and stated solutions and actions? What are the changes since the last data review?	

colleagues across my institution has had positive impact but has not been without the difficulties or tensions inherent in trying to engage in anti-racist practice in academia.

With this small example of my practice, and the chapter as a whole, I hope that it might in some way contribute to White academics choosing to use their privilege to become better allies with scholars of colour in higher education. I urge White colleagues to interrogate their racial biases (we all have them) and to understand that choosing a (pseudo)neutral stance on race and ethnicity or avoiding it because it 'doesn't affect us' or because 'we are not sociologists' or because of a standpoint that 'we should not see colour' are all positions that are irreconcilable with the very essence of equitable learning and teaching.

We are all complicit in the current system. Our choice is not 'whether to act or not', but 'how'.

> As White scholars in the…teaching professions we believe that the fight to end white, hetero-patriarchy occurs in our classrooms, through our research, and in our communities through direct action. In these spaces, we seek to locate ourselves in the movement not as benevolent supporters, but

> as risk-takers who aim to destabilize white supremacy in ourselves, families, schools, [and] communities. (Powell and Kelly (2017, p. 43)

> The whole purpose of knowing who we are is not to interpret the world, but to change it. (Sivanandan 1984)

Conclusion

Critical Whiteness Studies is a vital part of social justice activism, particularly for racialised-as-White people. Renouncing one's Whiteness—or becoming a 'race traitor' (Ignatiev and Garvey 2014)—is definitely a choice for many Whites (Leonardo 2004) but without the accompanying activism for structural change, it does not adequately disrupt the institutional regime of White supremacy. One must be mindful of the potential diversions and derailments that engaging with critical analyses of Whiteness presents, and the strategies to facilitate constructive outcomes through positive filters.

As a tool for change, Critical Whiteness Studies can make major contributions to racial social justice in education, but only if White scholars continue to re-configure it with colonial history, respect its genesis from and debt to Critical Race Theory and Black Feminist scholarship, and incorporate these to routinely and deeply re-interrogate their own profit from and complicity in White supremacy. White people must reflect on and interrogate their awareness and agency in the counter-hegemonic, goal-oriented redirection of their own Whiteliness, in solidarity of *action*—not just in mind or pen—with the struggle; in short, to choose treason to Whiteness (Ignatiev and Garvey 2014).

This chapter closes with a reminder that, as operators within and of the education machine, changing our actions can change the larger system. We must not "merely tinker with educational methods and techniques and leave unaltered the whole racist structure of the educational system…[we must] not [conduct] just an examination of curricula and syllabuses but of the whole fabric of education: organization and administration, methods and materials, attitudes and practices" (Sivanandan 1984, p. 5). Rather, we must ensure that education is the 'force for changing the values that make society racist'.

This chapter contends that Critical Whiteness Studies, when made inseparable from anti-colonial praxis, is a necessary element in this struggle, particularly for White academics who wish to act in solidarity, or, to paraphrase Sivanandan: *find unity in action*.

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22

Who Feels It Knows It! Alterity, Identity and 'Epistemological Privilege': Challenging White Privilege from a Black Perspective Within the Academy

William 'Lez' Henry

Introduction

> My personal experience as a Black female academic over the past decade is of working much harder than my White peers—often on strategies to enhance race equality, while simultaneously being objectified, dehumanised and devalued by students, staff and my institution. In common with the HE sector there is a lack of priority afforded to concrete measures to advance race and gender equality, beyond the usual generic statements of 'valuing diversity' … I have come to regard White female colleagues as largely complicit in our marginalisation within academia, since whenever the issue of White privilege is raised, they side-step the matter of their own privilege by laying blame squarely on White male patriarchy. (Gabriel, Personal Communication, 2019)

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© The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2021
D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_22

This chapter considers some of the contemporary issues faced by Black academics, denoting our constant struggles for equal and fair treatment, which are not based on what we bring to the table but the skin we are in. To do so I will utilise 'Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis' (IPA) because '[W]hen people are engaged with an 'experience' of something major in their lives, they begin to reflect on the significance of what is happening' (Smith et al. 2009: 3). IPA therefore enables us to consider Gabriel's poignant reasoning as that which firmly locates the 'nebulous' concepts of Whiteness and White privilege in a socio-cultural and historical context. She does so by interrogating and exposing the centrality of Whiteness, making known that any discussion of the value of human life, in White racist societies, requires Black voices to be at the forefront of discussions regarding, race, representation and belonging.

When negotiating identity through the lens of 'curricular decolonisation' or 'equitable inclusion', White faculty who know what the deal is but choose to 'side-step the matter of their own privilege' do so simply because they can. Racial discrimination is an overly abstract concept to many White colleagues; I get that, which is why I operate out of a 'hermeneutic of suspicion' for we all have choices to make and positions to take based on the interior knowledges we bring to the table. However, in this empirical piece I will argue that the reality is that only 'white knowledges' seem to matter in a system that was deliberately set up this way. A system that continues to privilege this discrete White racial group, especially within Higher Education (HE) institutions that are in too many instances confidence draining and soul-destroying work environments for Black academics.

To continue to ignore the trenchant Black voices that speak to our ongoing disaffection and deleterious treatment in White, institutionally racist, academic spaces makes perfect sense to those who wish to maintain the status quo. However, what is far worse for the overall mental, physical and psychological well-being of Black faculty is these experiences of racialised discriminatory practices are not contained within university settings. This means it is prudent for us to not fall into the trap of separating and ignoring the overly negative and often times deadly experiences of Black people, on a global level, in a minority White dominated world. Experiences that continue for one major reason, which is down to

identifiable differences in complexion that are then reduced to levels of human worth, in line with Kant's 'this fellow was quite Black…a clear indication that what he said was stupid' (Eze 1997). Consequently our, perhaps subaltern, Black voices need to be at the forefront of these discussions, because they offer a more pragmatic take on what is really at stake in discussions about peripheral or marginalised identities. That is why the argument here features a series of reasonings[1] I have partaken in with fellow Black academics about the best way to tackle 'curricular decolonisation' or 'equitable inclusion' within the ivory tower. I asked all of them a very simple question, which was: "What does whiteness and White privilege mean to you as an academic within UK HE?" The answers I received were so rich in detail that, due to the space allowed here, I have had to cut them right down but have included as much as I could due to the relevance and timeliness of this piece. Consequently, my role here is to facilitate a conversation where the central voices are theirs and not mine, which is why 'epistemological privilege' or 'standpoint epistemology' unapologetically takes precedence here. Also, those who wish to remain anonymous have been given pseudonyms, so I can give the reader a sense of an auto-ethnographic presence that is premised upon 'who feels it knows it' in a profoundly honest and insightful way.

The Centrality of Whiteness and the Maintenance of 'Acceptable' Distance

> The way we experience White privilege is both physical and psychological. The former is evident when you notice there are no Black faces apart from yours in the department. Most departments don't have Black academics at all and just appoint one at a low level. A classic case of tokenism. In illustrating the latter, I will use two words, that is, neglect and not enough. Neglect is when you are constantly not invited to a meeting where important decisions that affect you are made. Not enough is a feeling you get that no matter your level of professional performance, you are told you need to do a little more. The goal post keeps changing. (Taiwo, Personal Communication, 2019)

The above encapsulates the contemporary issues surrounding Whiteness and White privilege within academia from the perspective of a Black scholar who has been teaching for decades and has witnessed very little change. It is important for us to begin any discussion of discriminatory practices here, for by highlighting the notions of 'neglect' and 'not enough' we get a sense of the hapless situation far too many Black academics are confront within the 'ivory tower'. More importantly, Taiwo makes known that to effect real change within this very insular 'academic world', the centrality of Whiteness must be interrogated and deconstructed because 'the goal post keeps changing'. On this point Pete (2018: 177) suggests there is a need for 'two-eyed seeing when you can observe the colonial constructions around you and you can see the decolonial possibilities offered by indigenous ways of knowing'. The idea that there are alternatives, 'two-eyed seeing' is crucial here because it directly confronts and decentres Whiteness. The suggestion is whilst many 'non-Blacks' (Cleaver 1990) may offer their take on what is at stake in discussions about peripheral or marginalised Black identities, they have never been able to challenge the centrality of Whiteness as they are located within it. Indeed, '[I]f Whites could 'see' themselves as others see them, perhaps they would see others differently too: the White aesthetic is an aesthetic of 'the dead' in the eyes of many others' (Synott and Howes 1996).

The social and historical factors that created and shape the 'White aesthetic' of the 'dead' need to be investigated from an epistemological standpoint that offers a novel take on what is at stake in this type of discussion. Moreover, focusing on the specificities of how this 'White aesthetic' that underpins Whiteness and consequently White privilege, directly challenges the 'myth' that we live in a 'post racial society' (Bhopal 2018). Indeed, the mere suggestion that there is mythos involved here enables us to place White privilege under critical scrutiny:

> During the past eight years that I have been in academia, it has become very evident that there is an inherent disparity between pay and promotion within the two university institutions that I have worked within. 'Unconscious bias' between Black minorities ethnic (BME) groups and my White peers is very conspicuous. I have colleagues who are less qualified, comparatively inexperienced, who don't possess a PhD or an MBA, who

> are unpublished, in terms of peer-reviewed articles or academic books, who have less favourable student feedback reviews, but who are in more senior roles. It has come to my attention recently that a new White female member of staff, who joined as an associate lecturer, is being paid a greater salary than myself and other colleagues from ethnic minority backgrounds, again, academically less qualified and less experienced. (Anthony, Personal Communication, 2019)

Anthony, provides us with a practical example of how 'systemic racism' manifests within remuneration for academic staff, because a Black and a White member of staff with the same experience and so on can be recruited to the same post/position; share the same academic title, but the White member of staff will start on a higher increment which naturally increases their salary. This I have known and experienced for a fact and the myopia that insulates privileged colleagues from seeing a truer reflection of what it means to be 'White', in a world that has been fashioned in a way to subjugate Black others. Read as those 'who find themselves measured, not only by the abuses of overt racism but also by the insidious cultural orthodoxies of the academic imagination' (Keith 1992:551). The point is that within academia, the decentring of the White dominant voice often translates as a vulgar promotion of particular forms of Blackness, as:

> Given that the diversity monologue has been ongoing for a number of years, it is clear that current efforts to address Blackness in academia reveal how stagnant institutions are and questions if the employing of Black academics is really just part of a marketing strategy to widen participation. (Mullings-Lawrence, Personal Communication, 2019)

Mullings-Lawrence expresses an overly, and rightly in my opinion, cynical view of academic life, which on one hand speaks to the problem Black academics face as employees, whilst on the other is tokenistic because 'widening participation' really means more, Black student, bums on seats. Therefore, from the outside it looks like there are qualitative and quantitative changes within the diverse university setting as a whole, but these populist appeals do little to dismantle the inherently stratified nature of racial thinking. In actuality then, the power of White privilege

remains largely unchecked because the real movers, shakers and gatekeepers, maintain the 'acceptable' distance between their dominant, non-Black position and the subjugated 'reality' of Black staff and students.

By conveniently promoting what is in essence a 'diversity monologue', identifiable differences between non-Blacks and their Black 'other(s)', undermines the social, cultural, economic, educational and political dimensions of 'race' as process and praxis. What is then on offer in the ivory tower, as well as the wider public arena, is an appeal to a common-sense understanding of difference that yet again best serves the status quo. A point that is perfectly captured in the wrongheaded declaration from the University and College Union[2] (UCU) in November 2019, that "The UCU has a long history of enabling members to self-identify, whether that is being Black, disabled, LGBT or women". Their approach totally ignores the historical legacies of dehumanisation and subjugation that negatively impact the post-colonial realities of their Black membership, whist collapsing an identifiable form of racialised difference into a pretty nebulous, meaningless, mass of nothingness. Therefore, it is prudent to give consideration to a racialisation process that gave birth to this dominant White aesthetic that enables one to 'self-identify', in the context of how it assists in the 'reconfiguring of blackness' (Henry 2012: 152).

> People of color, including those of African, Asian, Latino and Native American descent who are socialised through Western influences, ultimately come to idealize concepts and behaviors that are of an alien origin. These alien ideals, which people of color internalize, become standards of personal consequence. Such standards do not require litigation, although they maintain the support of both du jour and de facto institutions. (Hall 2012:1)

What Hall is speaking to is why people who are not classified as White, should be cautious when accepting an aesthetic that not only renders them invisible, but programmes them into embracing 'these alien ideals' to their personal detriment. Consequently, it is crucial that we make known how this form of scientific discourse has fed into the myth of racial equality, because despite constant refutations, this form of thinking negatively impacts our present social reality. As such, we must recognise

that our ideas of history are what inform the present racialised reality and therefore need to be challenged from within by Black academics. Crucially then, ignoring the manner in which the society you live in is structured along a racial hierarchy, where Whiteness is valued and Blackness is not, is tantamount to committing 'mentacide', which Wright (1985) explains is 'the deliberate and systematic destruction of a person's or group's mind'. Thus, there is a need for a recognised platform for debating alternative models of social, economic and political discourse unapologetically, as we shall see in the next section, from a Black cultural perspective based on recognising a commonality of condition.

The Unbelonging: The Black Academic as 'Insider-Outsider'

> I do not consider myself to be a person of mixed race although my father was African and my mother European. There is no such thing as race, just the human race. The false label of "mixed race" privileges people like me in that whiteness separates us from Blackness because less melanin "appears" closer to the "White" and is thus perceived to be superior to darker skinned people. This historical, religious, social and materialist belief is globalised and normalised through cultural conquest. (Dove 2019: 60)

Dove highlights what it means to partake in debates based on a form of dialectic certainty, that publicly speaks to the recognition of 'Black' humanity yet obscures the systemic nature of ongoing Black oppression through a form of 'soft power'; manifesting as ongoing 'cultural conquest'. Equally, Dove importantly addresses the 'false label of mixed race', a crucial aspect of our 'racial socialization' which 'is the process whereby we come to know our strengths, understand the world in which we live, and position ourselves to strive' (Leary 2005: 200). I would add to Leary's observation, in line with Dove's perspective, that an awareness of the centrality of White privilege in Western societies must be given primary consideration and be appropriately challenged in such discussions of racial socialisation. Otherwise, what then occupies centre stage is a double-edged stereotype that profits White society, because the 'inherent

biases' that represent 'Black reality' are the 'product of a certain kind of whiteness' (Ware and Back 2002: 314) that remains largely unchallenged within the hallowed halls of academia. Consequently:

> Conversations with senior White colleagues who would refer to the importance of persons like myself, representing the diverse student body are telling of a silent narrative. One that features professional spaces dominated by old discourses of race and racism that are trying to add 'colour' to its White past by introducing a script that reads "we are diverse". There is also an unspoken logic that Black academics ought to be able to deliver on courses such as race and ethnicity, culture representation and difference, after all racism is a 'lived experience'. (Mullings-Lawrence, Personal Communication, 2019)

The 'unspoken logic' obfuscates the right for the Black academic to be different in this context, as it negates a right to be treated as a social, cultural or political equal, who is free to express this 'difference', without being reduced to it. Therefore, due to the constant negative representation of Black people in the wider public arena in 'every area of human activity' (Fuller 1984), this notion of alterity becomes a marker of inferiority as well as difference. On this point, Reay et al. (2007) state the need to 'develop critiques, which while recognising how people negotiate inequitable situations, also constantly keep in play the structural injustices within which they are situated' (Reay et al. 2007: 1055). Interestingly then, the particular choice of words in a 'script that reads we are diverse', knowingly gives precedence to White norms and values, which are the 'centre—the standard', upon which social, cultural and political diversity are measured. These manifest as the 'grey' areas that contain the uncomfortable truths that many 'comfortable' Blacks and complicit Whites are reluctant to tackle openly and honestly, especially when discussing change as aspects of academic life.

> I have been in academia for 21 years and have taught at four universities. The longest serving of which I had a significant role for much of the 17 years I worked there. Within this time, it was clear that expressed commitments to support and advance Black students did not extend to Black academics. Unfortunately, my experience does not appear to be unique and is

> borne out by data confirming the experiences of other Black academics throughout the sector. One of the answers to this differing commitment I believe can be found in understanding the differences in potential threat to elevated White status within higher education institutions. The Black student does little to undermine the privilege of whiteness, but the Black academic's position can potentially undermine it. (Harvey, Personal Communication, 2019)

The suggestion from Harvey is that there is a sense of deliberation in the conventions that university life is premised upon that affect's Black faculty in myriad ways; none more so than in the differential treatment they receive when compared to Black students. I am not for a minute suggesting that the experiences of Black students within HE is anything like it should be, for this is clearly not the case. Rather I am stating that Harvey's keen observation explains the whys and wherefores of visibly supporting a cohort who do not pose the same type of Black threat to the White establishment. For any challenge to their White academic worth/merit is a challenge to their academic orthodoxy; that which is still haunted/shackled by an enlightenment view of the world. This explains why he states 'my experience does not appear to be unique', because such experiences are grounded in, a form of 'whiteness' that can only operate as a dominant 'self' to an inferior 'other', through reinforcing 'conventional patterns of power and privilege' (Parasecoli 2010: 451). Indeed, 'although White racism affects all "non-White" peoples, Africans and people of African descent are the particular targets of the resurgence of a neo-scientistic racism' (Rigby 1996: 2/3). What then occupies centre stage here is a notion of Whiteness as the 'ever-present non-presence that moulds and shapes reality' (Henry 2007: 39); that which profits the downpressor;[3] the beneficiaries of White supremacist thought and action in every area of human endeavour. We must therefore be prudent when evaluating the ramifications of a historical legacy that impacts the manner in which we explain Black life, in the contemporary, because without taking these aspects into consideration the picture will remain biased and incomplete, because:

> Whiteness and White privilege have shaped the lives and experiences of Black folk in the UK academy as it has shaped that of White people. The permanence, pervasiveness and debilitating effect of Whiteness and White privilege in shaping the experiences of Black academics and professional services staff in the UK academy is likened to malignant narcissism, instituted to promote and maintain hegemony over the 'other'. To the Black folk in the academy, Whiteness and White privilege is perceived as a superstructure which is ingrained into the fabric of the academy. As a vice, Whiteness and White privilege undermines and erodes sense of belonging, resilience, wellbeing and ultimately academic confidence. (Thomas, Personal Communication, 2019)

It is understood that within the realms of academia there is no 'scientific' evidence to support any notion of an inherent superiority or inferiority, premised on phenotypic difference between the so-called races. Yet this does not translate to the lived experiences of ordinary people for as Thomas suggests scholars and staff within HE, are subject to the effects of this 'malignant narcissism', that is 'ingrained into the fabric of academe'; Rigby's 'neo-scientistic racism'. As such, tackling the thorny issue of White privilege, must work from the premise that Whiteness is historically embedded within the 'superstructures' of Western societies and thus permeates all aspects of our social worlds, because it is institutionalised and thus normalised. The rationale behind such thinking is through recognising that 'Whiteness and White privilege undermines and erodes a sense of belonging'. We therefore need to consider what provides Blacks with a platform for debating alternative models of social, economic and political discourse, from their own cultural and epistemological standpoint within HE environments: That which provides a sense of 'ontological security' (Laing 1990) crucial to maintaining a viable sense of well-being; culturally, spiritually and psychologically in this place and at this time. Hence, 'we must acknowledge that whiteness is simultaneously visible and invisible in a broad range of circumstances including academia' (Fujikawa 2008: 3), so those who are negatively impacted should be the ones who detail exactly what it means to be on the receiving end.

Conclusion

The argument here suggests there is an urgent need for a plurality of discourse, because the plight of back academics has become clouded under a politically impotent acceptance of a form of cultural diversity/inclusivity, which essentially maintains the hierarchical nature of the 'irrational/unproven' racialised Black 'other' as the antithesis of the 'rational/proven' White self. Simply put, White people do not really have to consider how their Whiteness impacts contemporary forms of social control and exclusion; the very factors that ultimately determine which voices speak to a lived reality based on racialised registers of human worth. Hence, scraping off the veneer of respectability that presents 'whiteness as rightness', is crucial as it challenges White privilege head on and by using the voices of those who are most impacted by it, as I have done here, adds clarity to this pressing concern. For instance:

> 1) During my time in the academy in Britain, three of the most striking ways in which I have seen, and experienced whiteness and White privilege operating are the unyielding 'epistemic violence' (Dotson 2011, Sullivan and Tuana 2008) meted out at every level.
>
> 2) The extent to which intersectional anti-Black racism is overt and not in the least bit subtle in the ways in which the narrative of British racism suggests (Tate 2018/19). This again manifests in issues recently appearing in the public discourse, like the utterly indefensible pay gap for academics racialised as Black, in particular women racialised as Black to the very blatant disparities in the way Black academics are treated in the workplace.
>
> 3) The persistent reality that as a Black academic, one's job, career and principles are perpetually at risk and that one can never feel 100% confident that one can rely on their White colleagues, even those alleged 'allies' to stand up against injustice. Even the most brilliant, accomplished, internationally respected academics racialised as Black must have a perpetual plan B in place. White privilege operates as the antithesis of moral courage. (Geraldine, Personal Communication)

Geraldine's damning indictment is the perfect way to conclude this discussion as it speaks to why it is important for Black academics to share their stories, because as long as we suffer in silence the 'epistemic violence'

will continue to be 'meted out at every level'. More tellingly for me is her pointing out that Black academics, despite their level, 'must have a perpetual plan B in place', which was the case when I was at Goldsmiths, University of London and was never shortlisted for the job (I applied on three occasions) I was actually doing between 2003 and when I left there in 2005. My 'plan B' was two-fold; firstly, I am a plumbing and heating engineer and secondly I was part of NU-Beyond Ltd: Learning By Choice' which was an independent educational consultancy I co-founded in 1999. That is why it was relatively easy for me to walk away from the 'blatant disparities in the way Black academics are treated in the workplace', as I had viable ways to generate an income. This however is seldom the case for most academics, especially for young Black academics who have gone the conventional route and achieved a PhD in their mid-twenties. Inevitably this means when they are confronted with the reality of how '[W]hite privilege operates as the antithesis of 'moral courage' they bear the brunt and can either 'put up', 'shut up' or leave. For as long as White privilege remains unchallenged within the hallowed halls of academia in particular and the wider public arena in general, its dominance and occupation of the centre ground will continue to negatively impact the lives of Black people in every walk of life. As such, the argument here regarding the pernicious nature of ongoing White privilege within HE, is uncompromising and borne of the belief that we must have the right conversations now. For if we Black academics cannot, collectively, make public our ongoing treatment within an institutionally racist sector that has an ever-increasing number of Black students, then we are complicit in our own destruction because we perhaps lack the 'moral courage' to say enough is enough and change is a right not a privilege.

Notes

1. This speaks to a methodological approach that utilises the biographical information I have collated from reasoning with fellow Black academics that cannot be reduced to any orthodox interviewing method. This is because it is rooted in Rastafari reasoning which uses the notion of 'overstanding' as opposed to understanding so the issue is considered from all angles. See Henry (2020: 62) for an explanation of this concept.

2. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/11/18/whites-can-black-wish-says-lecturers-union/
3. The rationale behind 'downpressor' is in line with 'overstanding' as Rastafari teach us that an enemy only 'presses you down'.

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23

Many Rivers to Cross: The Challenges and Barriers Facing Aspiring Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) Leaders in the Academy

Jason Arday and Marcia Wilson

Introduction

Despite the implementation of policies aimed at dismantling the inequitable structures of race discrimination and racial inequality, there continues to remain a paucity of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) leaders within higher education (Adams 2017; Miller and Callender 2019). Several commentaries and discourses (Adserias et al. 2017; Ahmed 2012; Aguirre and Martinez 2006) continue to illuminate the structural disparities regarding the dearth of opportunity available for ethnic minority leaders to progress within the Academy. There is evidence to suggest a continuous failure of BAME academics attempting to pursue senior

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_23

leadership trajectories within the higher education sector (AdvanceHE 2018; ECU 2016). The intersection of race and leadership is further exacerbated by the structural and cultural inequalities that pervade within our universities, often at the expense of ethnic minorities who are rarely afforded continuing professional development and mentoring (Alexander and Arday 2015; Arday 2018; Miller 2016). Leadership trajectories and career progression opportunities within the current landscape of inequality continue to remain increasingly challenging and problematic for aspiring BAME leaders (Anderson 2008). Consequently, university senior leadership and governance remains the province of the White middle classes. Senior leadership positions within universities have been historically occupied by mainly White men (Arday 2018).

Within the United Kingdom (UK) in the context of higher education, much of the research proffered regarding educational leadership has been focused on gender disparity. Comparatively, there remains a dearth of research which focuses specifically on the minoritised groups and their lived experiences as leaders within the Academy (Arday and Mirza 2018; Ashe and Nazroo 2016). The province of senior leadership and governance has historically been occupied by a preponderance of White-middle men. Contrastingly, BAME staff encounter marginalisation, 'gatekeeping' and 'blocking' (Miller and Callender 2019). The monopoly of leadership in higher education raises serious concerns for equality; diversification; BAME student attainment; and BAME academic employment and progression. The often passive and superficial response to issues of race equality within the sector creates a dislocation from the discriminatory experiences of BAME academics and their daily lived realities (Singh and Kwhali 2015). The reluctance which pervades fails to acknowledge the prevalence of racial discrimination and inequality within universities masquerading behind the veneer of egalitarianism and multi-culturalism. Universities in many ways remain a site for the reproduction of racial inequality and continue to be complicit in sustaining unjust structures and cultures (Bhopal 2014; Bhopal and Jackson 2013).

The lack of diversification in senior leadership positions is also consequential for inclusive decision-making that takes into consideration varying intersections and multi-diverse university communities (Arday 2018; Bhopal and Brown 2016). It is important to acknowledge that beyond

greater ethnic representation in leadership, there is an argument to suggest that university senior leadership teams have a moral duty to create and implement race equality throughout their institutions as a necessary means of avoiding the systematic marginalisation of BAME academics and professional staff within the Academy (Miller 2016).

The under-representation of BAME senior leaders within the Academy demonstrates a generational failing of BAME academics that have not had their leadership potential supported or nurtured throughout their professional careers, thus creating a noticeable absence of BAME senior leaders (Arday 2017). Part of the narrative that pervades suggests a post-racial society, which disingenuously implies that racism no longer exists within our major institutions within society (Gillborn 2015; Gronn and Lacey 2006; Leonardo 2016). There remain significant obstacles to promotions and career advancement for aspiring BAME leaders. The manifestation of racism through 'hidden White networks' and remains an instrument for exclusion (Bush et al. 2006; Miller 2016). The challenging of these enduring structures present a challenge for disrupting and dismantling racial inequality within higher education (Law 2017; Tate and Bagguley 2017).

The historical landscape and monopoly of leadership positions within higher education and the dearth of BAME senior leaders in the sector provides a suitable point of exploration to consider the following; what are the barriers faced by BAME leaders attempting to navigate leadership trajectories within the Academy (Mirza 2017; Iverson 2008). This chapter will explore the implications for higher education institutions facilitating more diverse and equitable leadership opportunities in higher education for academics of colour wishing to pursue leadership trajectories. This treatise considers some of the barriers and challenges in relation to leadership trajectories and career progression for BAME senior leaders. The issues drawn upon identify synergies between constructions of race and leadership and the interplay between these two contexts when situated within a higher education context. Considerations illuminated throughout aim to focus on how institutions can create better leadership pathways for aspiring BAME senior leaders.

The ideas proffered throughout the chapter draw on existing literature in attempting to provide a stimulus for revealing and drawing upon

pertinent considerations for universities in advancing better mechanisms for mobilising and supporting aspiring BAME senior leaders. Recommendations proffered consider the importance and benefits for greater diversification within educational leadership spheres and the need to create pathways that are more inclusive for BAME academics who wish to pursue leadership trajectories within the Academy.

Conceptualising the Problem

The paucity of under-representation regarding BAME individuals within higher education leadership has been widely publicised recently. The 'concrete ceiling' has often been a term proffered to illuminate the barriers to career progression and advancement regarding BAME people within the Academy (Pilkington 2013). While commitments to equality, diversity and inclusion are enshrined throughout the sector, rarely has this endeavour been sustained or penetrable. There has been a tendency to categorise BAME leadership in higher education into two distinct areas; those primarily focused primarily on the development of BAME staff; and those more focused on dismantling systemic, cultural or organisational structures that disadvantage BAME career trajectories towards leadership (Bhopal and Brown 2016). The boarder discriminatory landscape that pervades within the sector has been the main contributing factor towards the progression of BAME staff and often situates this demographic as the most significant barrier towards attaining positions of leadership. The dominant discourse that prevails often adopts a 'deficit' approach which focuses on 'fixing' the individual as the main catalyst of problem. These enduring, entrenched structures and deficit approaches present a challenge for disrupting or dismantling racial inequality within higher education (Arday 2018). Consequently, such structures do not embrace egalitarianism or diversification as a vehicle for inclusion (Chun and Evans 2009). The Academy has historically hidden behind the veneer of multi-culturalism and postmodernism such an approach is questionable with figures illuminating that only 3% of senior leadership positions including at Professoriate level within the sector are held by Black academics (HESA 2019; Williams 2013).

The under-representation of BAME academic staff at senior leadership levels speaks to a need to interrogate existing policies, legislation and interventions which have subsequently failed to address inequality and racial disparity particularly in relation to promotion and salary deficits between White and Black members of staff (Williams 2013). The mobilisation for greater diversification within leadership positions has gathered momentum as we begin to observe a subtle resistance and disruption of the normative monopoly of leadership positions within the sector at the expense of BAME individuals. The paradox which emerges contradicts the notion of universities being a micro-cosm and reflection of society, with leadership personnel seldom reflecting ever-increasing diverse university populations (Singh and Kwhali 2015).

Policy stakeholders such as AdvanceHE have been integral in attempting to establish equality as a permanent feature throughout the sector in attempting to dismantle the institutional and structural inequalities that pervade at the expense of BAME individuals within the Academy (Walumbwa et al. 2008). The targeted focus on establishing strategic approaches towards systemic change which embrace greater diversification among the composition of senior leaders within the Academy has been a seminal factor in challenging the existing inequitable landscape. The Race Equality Charter was launched by AdvanceHE in response to the pressing need to prioritise race equality within the sector, and has become a vehicle for guiding action to improve race equality across the sector. The Charter has attempted to bring BAME leaders, academics and professional staff from the margins and periphery to the centre of university cultures, structures and practices. As a point of reference, the Charter has provided a framework for how the sector may begin to reconceptualise hegemonic and normative forms of leadership and how this marginalises BAME individuals wishing to pursue leadership trajectories.

Beyond leadership trajectories, there has been a deeply intertwined and entrenched history of inequity within the sector, primarily because this is interwoven within contexts like staffing, precarious contracts, admissions and employment (UCU 2016). The structural inequality which pervades encompasses several hallmarks of institutional racism which often encompass tools of discrimination such as unconscious and conscious biases, racial micro-aggressions and othering. Many of these

tools are used interchangeably to systemically oppress and disadvantage BAME individuals within the Academy (Arday 2018). Despite its lofty ideals, higher education presently reflects an exclusive space which marginalises ethnic minority staff while simultaneously centring Whiteness and the power and privilege that invariably accompany this (Leonardo 2016).

Understanding the Landscape: BAME Staffing in UK Higher Education

The landscape of higher education has always thrown up several contradictions, from being a hybridity of equality and egalitarianism to a reservoir for institutional racism (Law 2017). The sector has been blighted by sustained episodes of structural inequality which have undermined the lofty ideals often promoted by universities. Issues concerning accessibility of the Academy to BAME individuals have raised acute disparities with particular reference to employment, progression, workloads, pay and promotion (AdvanceHE 2018). The structural inequalities prevalent within the sector have become a familiar lived experience for many BAME academics who continue to remain on the corrosive end of inequality through various tools of discrimination. The exclusionary terrain which presides has been reflective of a space that has historically not embraced ideals associated with intersectional diversity, with academics of colour perhaps being most disadvantaged from this marginalisation. Other vehicles through which this inequality transpires has also been reflected in the canons of knowledge adopted within our curricula and the gatekeepers to knowledge which continue to globally remain inherently White (Arday et al. 2020; Smith 2012). The centralised nature of the dominant Eurocentric canon has not only omitted other indigenous global histories, it has also created a monopoly on knowledge and the types of individuals' best suited to disseminate knowledge (Arday 2019; Arday et al. 2020). The omission of other bodies of knowledge in itself is an act of symbolic violence that perpetuates two primary functions; ensuring that BAME individuals continue to remain on the periphery of

the Academy and to centralise 'Whiteness' as a normative orthodoxy (Leonardo 2016; Sue 2010).

Desperate Situation: Trying Progress in the Face of Racial Inequality

Desperate figures represent a lowly percentage of BAME academic staff that constitute only 13% of UK higher education workforce, with perhaps the most alarming figure indicating that out of nearly 20,000 Professors in the UK, the overwhelming majority being White, only 35 Black Female Professors reside within that figure (HESA 2019; Rollock 2016). This figure perhaps more than any other recent figures illuminating alarming racial disparities within the sector demonstrate the difficulty facing BAME individuals attempting to progress through to either Professorial or leadership pathways.

Research examining racial discourse within education has begun to interrogate the minutiae of barriers to career progression for BAME individuals and the continued discrimination and marginalisation faced within the Academy. AdvanceHE (2018) suggests that BAME individuals within higher education institutions have historically been less likely to benefit from permanent or open-ended contracts of employment and opportunities to gain employment within the sector in comparison to their White counterparts, consequently making it significantly harder to pursue leadership positions due to the lack of contract continuity and permanency. This has also been reflected in salary differentials between White and Black academics, with figures revealing that BAME academics at the UK's top universities earn an average 26% less than White colleagues (BBC 2018). This is compounded for BAME staff, who face an ethnicity pay gap as well as a gender pay gap (BBC 2018). Despite legislation (Race Relations Act 1976; Equality Act 2010) to address racial inequality within society which often pertains to surface, non-compulsory engagement within the higher education sector evidence suggests that there is an inconsistent implementation of equality legislation throughout the higher education sector and society more generally. The

experiencing of significant disadvantage particularly in terms of entry and progression throughout the Academy for BAME leaders and academics remains problematic and an enduring symbol of the racial inequality that blights the sector (Miller 2016; Shilliam 2015). Within the Academy, matters of representation and diversification are often intertwined with race equality interventions that are not appropriately financed or resourced. Institutional commitment towards this is essential in attempting to disrupt exclusionary cultures and structures.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Strategic agency as well as policy-driven interventions are required if BAME academics are to gain access and opportunities to senior leadership hierarchies (Arday 2018). University diversity agendas and interventions must endeavour to change organisational cultures which exclude BAME academics from leadership hierarchies. Further commentaries and research regarding BAME participation in HE must focus on challenging cultures, which continue to represent poor diversification and representation (Law 2017).

Support mechanisms for BAME academics wishing to pursue leadership trajectories must be focused on developing mentoring interventions situated within formal and informal capacities at institutional and departmental levels. This type of mentoring must have targeted focus on equipping BME academics with the necessary tools to navigate senior leadership (Bhopal and Brown 2016). For better representation to be achieved, particularly at senior leadership levels, affirmative action is required which guarantees a set quota of BME applicants proceeding to shortlisting to ensure that applicants are being selected from a diverse applicant pool.

For this process to be effective, universities must ensure that BME academics are involved in selection and recruitment processes. It is essential for universities to actively disrupt cycles of unconscious bias that reinforce cloning and perpetuating unequal representation (Gronn and Lacey 2006; Rollock 2012). Targeted programmes must provide BME applicants with access to relevant training, which focuses on developing leadership capabilities, extending academic networks and engaging in

communities of practice with other BME senior leaders within the Academy and beyond. Continuing professional development (CPD) within universities must endeavour to engage all senior university leaders and academic staff in compulsory equality and diversity training, with a focus on creating greater awareness of the issues that permeate inequitable cultures (Alexander and Arday 2015; Miller 2016). Racism is unlikely to ever go away; this is due in part to its penetrative, divisive and persistence nature. However, as custodians of the Academy, the sector can do more to disrupt its dominant and insidious patterns by challenging racism and inequality where prevalent.

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24

Understanding and Interrupting Systemic Racism: A 'Race Equality Receipt' as a Mechanism to Promote Transformational Conversations and Stimulate Actions to Redress Race Inequality

Dave S. P. Thomas and Malik Mikel

Introduction

The pandemic of systematic racism has been the main cause of racial inequality and a major public health problem globally for at least 400 years. Inspired by turbulent forces such as imperialism, massification of education, globalisation and neoliberal agendas, universities have struggled to reconcile with their colonial past, instead opting to purport that

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_24

they operate in colourblind, meritocratic, post-racial societies, where 'race'[1] doesn't matter. An understanding that "'race' is the child of racism and not the father" (Coates 2015, p. 7) and proof of transaction on commitments to redress structural inequalities is fundamental to any transformational conversation about racial equity/equality. There is a consensus that universities operate within a society that is currently in a state of economic, political and social flux. Universities are not exempt from societal ills and operate in a microcosm that mirrors the macrocosm. As societies become more socio-politically aware of the devastating effects of racism on civil liberties, multiculturalism and cultural democracy, we are seeing what can only be considered as a war on the pandemic of systematic racism. The legendary Jamaican reggae singer-songwriter Robert (Bob) Nesta Marley in his anthem against racism and ode to peace "War", quoted a speech by Ethiopian Emperor, His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selasse I, which was delivered before the United Nations General Assembly in 1963. In denouncing discrimination, Marley unequivocally chanted:

> Until the philosophy, which hold one race superior and another inferior is finally and permanently discredited and abandoned, everywhere is war… until there no longer first class and second-class citizens of any nation, until the color of a man's skin is of no more significance than the color of his eyes, … until the basic human rights are equally guaranteed to all without regard to race, dis a war. **Bob Marley (quoting Haile Selassie)**

To what extent can a community dismantle a problem that they did not create?—A community who are all under the knee (physically, psychologically or emotionally); A community, which as Buffalo Soldiers, fought on arrival and are now fighting for survival. In a society where the racial pandemic has normalised angry, racial slurs and xenophobic insults, overt fury and vitriol has become common place; A society where the knee-jerk "go back" slur is employed on demand to immediately single out Black people from a society where Whiteness has become the default. Ironically, the existence of a Black population in Britain is the legacy of British imperialist history. Commenting on the presence of Black people in Britain, Stuart Hall provocatively reminded us in his 2017 book

entitled Familiar Stranger, "we are here because they were there" (Hall 2017).

Historic and ongoing acts of physical violence and brutality levelled specifically at Black people in societies globally have been fuelled by highly visible violent and virulent racism. These heinous acts are ratified by institutional racism (Macpherson 1999), which undergirds the policies, processes and practices of organisations in every sector of society. Allied to these overt acts are microaggressions, microinsults and microinvalidations (Huber and Solorzano 2015; Rowe 2008) that operate covertly to inflict irreversible psychological distress on its victims. These everyday experiences promote collective trauma and social suffering in a world still intoxicated by the psychological damages inflicted by colonialism—deeply psychological experiences. In what follows, we amalgamate the tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT)[2] and Socio-Legal Theory[3] as a framework to illuminate the chain of causation between historical events that render colonialism and imperialism culpable for racialised inequalities today. Our central argument is that given the chain of causation, transformational conversations pertaining to 'race' equality can only be productive and penetrative if evidence-based mechanisms are instituted to reconcile actions proposed for redress. Firstly, we excavate the genealogy of causation by highlighting some key historical events that have crystallised disparate philosophies, practices and paradigms that shape persistent racial inequalities in universities today. We then explore the current socio-political landscape, highlight some of the major contestations in UK higher education (HE) institutions, before proffering a Race Equality Receipt as proof of delivery on commitments to promote race equality.

Fighting on Arrival, Fighting for Survival: The Genealogy of Causation

Returning to the subject of university's inertia to publicly reconcile with its colonial past, the events of the present, namely the killing of Mr George Floyd in Minneapolis on 25 May 2020 by a White police officer, as well as the killing of Breonna Taylor, at the hands of the police, who

used a battering ram to enter her house on the authority of a "no-knock" warrant adds to the chronology of acts of barbarism. These overt acts of violence are among a number of incidents of racial violence and excessive use of force by the police, particularly against Black women and men. But how did we arrive at this point where the Black life does not seem to matter? To what extent are the current statues and doctrines operationalized in praxis? This section excavates a synopsis of the genealogy of causation that has operationalised and sustained racial inequality.

Man's justice and equality under the law has been promised through a plethora of statutes and cornerstone legal Doctrines. Within Britain, the first and most notable legal doctrine was the Magna Carta Libertatum,[4] otherwise known as "The Magna Carta" or "Great Charter". The notable 1215 legal doctrine agreed by King John of England confirmed the human rights concepts of habeas corpus, "trial by jury" and the long-standing principle that no one such man (including the lawmakers and the King) shall be above the law inter alia. Similar efforts to "bestow" equality under the law were attempted via various slave abolition legislation such as the Dolben's Act of 1788,[5] the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act 1807[6] and the Slavery Abolition Act 1833.[7] Whilst the aforementioned served to abolish inhumane treatment of Black people and promote social equality under the law in theory, it may be revealed that in praxis, these goals were not accomplished. Prima facie, the Magna Carta indeed afforded the "free man" protection and equality under the law, as exemplified within clause 39. However, the remit of "free man" excluded that of Black people, as the Black man was considered merely "the subject of property… [or] goods"[8] as illustrated in the 1783 judgement of Gregson v Gilbert,[9] in relation to the Zong Massacre of 1781. Likewise, the Slave Trade Act 1788, otherwise known as the Dolben's Act 1788 attempted to limit slave trading by placing restrictions on the quantity of slaves that could be transported through tonnage limitations. However, this resulted in adverse effects on women and children, as the imperfections within the legislation failed to define what constituted a child status; this motivated traders to utilise children and women as a method of potentially carrying multiple unborn slaves through childbirth upon their arrival at their destination.[10] Although the Slave Trade Act 1807 prohibited the transportation of slaves (the Slave Trade) within the British

Empire, the practice of slavery was still not formerly abolished, and remained legal within most of the British Empire until 1833, with the implementation of the Slavery Abolition Act.

Likewise, contemporary examples of attempts to tackle inequality and racial injustice have been exemplified through the Race Relation and Equality Acts. However, the multiple amendments and repeals within the law highlight the consistent limitations with the legislation in praxis.

The Race Relations Act 1965[11] was the first piece of legislation within the UK to prohibit overt racial discrimination (see Dame Jocelyn Barrow's commentary in Chap. 2). However, this prohibition did not extend to covert and institutionalised racism. Consequently, Black people could still be denied housing, employment or other public services on the grounds of 'race'. This continued until the amendment of the law in 1968.[12] Yet, despite the amendment, "grey areas" within the law resulted in the perpetuation of discrimination both directly and indirectly until the Race Relations Act 1976[13] (establishing the Commission for Racial Equality) and subsequently, the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000[14] (further extending the scope of the 1976 Act to impose a statutory duty upon the police and other public authorities for the purpose of safeguarding national security). The final repeal manifested in the form of the Equality Act 2010.[15] When viewed through a socio-legal lens, a contention can be made that continuous revision of the law is advantageous and necessary in an endlessly evolving and increasingly multicultural society, whose needs in terms of equality have hardly changed between 1968 and 2010. The basic entitlement of equality under the law remains a necessity. Whereas the laws provide a theoretical complete solution; in praxis the law continues to fail the Black population. An example can be seen within section 159 of the Equality Act 2010, with the "tie-break" provision for judicial appointments. Whilst the provision affords a member from the protected group to gain priority in appointment in instances of a "tie-breaker", this event happens seldom. Therefore, "tie-break" provision is rarely utilised in practice.

Likewise, today Black people are promised equality and justice by those who claim to stand in solidarity with them. However, as demonstrated, a promise without realisation in praxis is futile and may result in hyper inequality. A promise without action will serve to further erode

Black people's fragile confidence in a system where racism is a normal fact of daily life (Tate 1997), where the assumption of White superiority are ingrained in the political, legal and educational structures (Mills 1997; Delgado and Stefanic 2017). This creates a system that supports the massification of deeply entrenched racialised inequalities by sanctioning colour-blind racism, "racism without racists" (Bonilla-Silva 2014). Hence, to what extent has the genealogy of causation and turbulence in society influence the major conversations/contestations in the HE microcosm?

The aforementioned chronology demonstrates, some of the archaic promises that were pledged to deliver equality and justice under the law. We propose that the ecology of atrocities excavated here in relation to 'race' (in)equality should not be presented as a quest for oppressed subjects' liberation (in a similar manner to which Black history that is taught in schools centres Black slavery and the trans-Atlantic slave trade, thus eliminating 4000 years of Black civilisation and the very greatest periods of Black achievements (see "The Destruction of Black civilisation" by Chancellor Williams (1987) and "When we ruled" by Robin Walker (2011))). Rather we assert that these ongoing atrocities are presented accurately as a disruption to the Black history that is currently being presented in the curriculum in universities. A history that should detail when Black people were "among the earliest builders of a great civilisation on this planet, including the development of writing, sciences, engineering, medicine, architecture, religion and fine arts" (Williams 1987, p. 34).

The Socio-political Landscape, (Dis)order of Things and the Major Contestations in the Academy

Universities have been reluctant to acknowledge and address the legacies of colonialism and imperialism that have stimulated and sustained structural inequalities. Although it is well documented that intersectionally these systemic inequalities disproportionately affect staff and students from Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME)[16] backgrounds, there seems to be a lack

of acknowledgement of inter-group inequalities to highlight the fact that Black staff and students are most affected. Ironically, there is an ignorance and difficulty to comprehend the implications of racism and racial inequalities in shaping the lived experiences of Black people. Providing clarity, Jamaican-born philosopher Charles Mills (1997) stated:

> As a general rule, White misunderstanding, misrepresentation, evasion and self-deception on matters relating to ['race'] are among the most pervasive mental phenomena of the past few hundred years, a cognitive and moral economy psychically required for conquest, colonization and enslavement. And these phenomena are in no way accidental, but prescribed by the terms of the racial contract, which requires a certain schedule of structured blindness and opacities in order to establish and maintain White polity. (p. 19)

The historic events excavated in the previous section provide plausible evidence and justification as to why Black people face the greatest levels of inequality and why they are perceived as "faces at the bottom of the well" (Bell 1992). Racism shapes inequality; racism is the mother and racial violence, racial discrimination and racial harassment are her children. Take for example the inequalities in academic outcomes, where Black UK domiciled students in British universities are approximately 80% less likely to achieve a good degree (first or 2:1) as compared to their White counterparts (Higher Education Statistical Agency 2020). Or despite the fact that the percentage of Black students entering HE has increased, they are less likely to complete their three-year undergraduate degree courses (Keohane 2017). And, those who successfully achieve a "good degree" are less likely to access Research Council funding to support further studies (Williams et al. 2019). These barriers limit Black student's achievement and progression in the academy, as well as the potential for graduate employment.

Higher education institutions do not produce equal outcomes for staff. In 2019, university staff in the UK expressed strength of feeling on these issues by embarking on a series of strikes (Universities & Colleges Employers Association 2019). Although students were collateral damage in this process (due to postponement of teaching), it is important to understand the juxtaposition between structural inequalities that affected

Black students and those that affect Black staff. In terms of pay, pensions and working conditions, Black staff fare worse off than their White counterparts. Data from the Office for National Statistics highlights an ethnicity pay gap in Britain (ONS 2019). In terms of HE, Black academic staff are paid 14% less than their White Counterparts; intersectional analysis shows that the largest pay gaps are for Black men and women (Universities and Colleges Employers Association 2018). As it relates to promotions, Black staff face a double whammy, due to underrepresentation in top roles, where 3% of Black academics are professors, as opposed to their White counterparts (Universities & Colleges Employers Association 2019). Black staff are underrepresented in senior positions and overrepresented in junior positions, particularly amongst the ancillary staff in British universities.

Concerns about mental health conditions are longstanding. Race shapes inequality and these concerns must be considered and addressed intersectionally (Crenshaw 1991). However, collectively, Black communities are mindful of the atrocities of the Tuskegee Syphilis study (1942–1972); this provides a powerful metaphor for state-funded racism and ethical mistakes (Jones 1981). The historical memories of the atrocities of the Tuskegee Syphilis study and their subsequent contributions to the formulation of the circle of fear must also be considered when exploring barriers to engagement with health and care services by Black people (Reverby 2001). In the main, Mental health conditions are clinically diagnosable, as per the International Classification of Mental and Behavioural Disorders ICD-10 (WHO 1992). However, mental distress as a result of traumatic, racialised violence that influences Black people's thoughts and feelings about their quality of life are not classified within the ICD-10. Is there a mechanism to diagnose suboptimal wellbeing that results from the debilitating effects of microaggressions and feelings of (un)belonging? As Thomas (2020) has written elsewhere, these feelings compromise overall sense of belonging for Black students and staff in creating an Insider Without Syndrome. Taken together, it is plausible to suggest that the lack of culturally competent/appropriate wellbeing services in universities compounds sense of belonging and wellbeing for staff and students alike.

The pervasive structural inequalities found in higher education legitimises microaggressions, overt acts of racial discrimination, and epistemic violence. Epistemic violence and microaggressions have become key components of the university culture, a culture that poses barriers to impede Black students and staff from achieving equivalent outcomes to their White counterparts. Despite outcries for redress by a variety of student-led movements (Peters 2018; Hussain 2015; Rhodes Must Fall 2018) and faculty, the Anglo-American, Eurocentric curriculum remains in situ and continues to promote epistemic apartheid (Rabaka 2010). But, to what extent are conversations pertaining to racialised inequalities taken seriously in university settings? Social injustice is a war on humanity and requires serious considerations.

Imagine for a moment that you are a Black student, that Amy Cooper[17] worked for your university and HR were the police. Imagine entering your university library and the challenge for your student ID card represented a moment to be "stopped and searched". Imagine wearing an invisible, weightless knapsack with special GPS devices, passports, passwords, tools, vaccines and credit cards that afforded you privilege, protection and exemption from everything untoward; imagine if you were blinded by the corollary of these privileges. Now imagine your Black colleague wearing a visible knapsack that accrues weight for every act of microaggression, discrimination, microinsult, microinvalidation and racially motivated act. How then could you distinguish between earned strength and unearned power? Privilege is currency, but how are Black students afforded the luxury of accruing this currency?

A "Race Equality Receipt" as Proof of Delivery on Commitments to Promote Race Equality

Racism is a disease and informed, transformational action must be seen as a cure for this disease. Admirably, universities have stood in solidarity with the Black communities globally in the wake of the inevitable upsurge in racialised violence which culminated with the horrific murder of Mr George Floyd in USA. Statements of solidarity are very important signals

of intent (promissory notes). These statements of solidarity have stimulated potentially transformational conversations about racial injustice and social justice, conversations which historically would have been had in hushed tones. But how do we transform these conversations (invitations to treat) into paid purchases? We don't need IOUs. In order to sustain and operationalise transformational conversations, we need to see receipts! We need proof of purchase. The hashtag #showMetheReceipts has become a catchphrase for holding people accountable. We extend this hashtag further within the context of social justice to propose universities #ShowMeyourRaceEqualityReceipts (emphasis added).

Professor, Sir Geoff Palmer reminds us that "we cannot change the past but we can change the consequences of past attrocities, such as racism for better by making reparations. A diverse society needs diverse solutions" (see Chap. 3). Therefore, for universities, these Race Equality Receipts represent proof that proposers have delivered on their commitments and intentions, as outlined in their statements. Typically, while not prescriptive, a receipt may be comprised of the following items:

- **Highlighting and reconciling with your university's colonial/imperialist past**—as mentioned in the first section of this book, a review of the past serves to inform the future. In light of the new cultural awakening, it becomes necessary for universities to declare their associations with and benefits bequeathed from colonialism and White supremacy? For example, the university of Guelph is reconciling with its history of teaching eugenics (Kelly and Rice 2020). In a similar manner, universities should illuminate their associations with colonialism. These illuminations should highlight people after whom buildings are named, as well as those with colonial/ imperialist relationships who are immortalised by way of monuments and statues on their campuses.
- **Membership of the AdvanceHE Race Equality Charter (REC)**—to date, only 62 of the 132 universities in the UK have signed up as members of the charter, with 14 achieving a Bronze award.[18]
- **Application for an institutional level REC award**—the REC is the only framework in UK higher education that facilitates identification of and self-reflection on the structural, cultural and institutional barriers that impedes representation, progression and success of minority

ethnic staff and students. While this should not be considered a panacea, as part of the REC application process, universities are required to develop a SMART action plan to address the barriers to race equality at their institution.

- **BAME Staff Network** (Championed by a member of the university's Executive Group)—importantly, this network should be resourced and supported by the university. Membership of this network may create a community for both academic and professional members of staff who identify as belonging to a BAME background to share experiences, ideas and common concerns, while retaining a critical engagement with the concept of 'race'. While we acknowledge inter-group biases, a BAME Staff Network may form the basis to develop subgroup networks. We also accept that the term BAME is a contentious terminology that has often been imposed on people with the intention to homogenise their lived experineces, culture and identies. This is not our intention here.
- **Robust frameworks to facilitate reporting, complaint and redress of racial harassment, discrimination or racially motivated violence**—according to the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2019, p. 44) "there is a large discrepancy between the number of racial harassment incidents taking place and the number of complaints recorded in universities". Reporting an incident is the process by which a person informs their university that they have witnessed or experienced a behaviour that they consider unacceptable. A report may trigger a complaint. A complaint is an expression of dissatisfaction. In order to sustain transformational conversations in relation to 'race' inequality and stimulate actions for redress, an evidence-based approach is imperative to reporting, recording and redressing acts of racialised harassment and discrimination on university campuses.
- **Policies specifically to sanction race-related offences**—according to the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2019, p. 52) "Universities' harassment policies [should] explain how an individual can make a complaint about a racial harassment incident. They should also set the expectations of students and staff in relation to unacceptable conduct, explain how universities will deal with alleged misconduct and set out the likely sanctions". As Dame Jocelyn Barrow outlines

in Chap. 2, these policies should be "policies with teeth" (emphasis added).

- **An Equality Impact Assessment of all policies, processes, programmes and strategies**—the Public Sector Equality Duty (section 149 of the Equality Act 2010) requires public authorities to have due regard for equality considerations when exercising their functions. An Equality Impact Assessment is an assessment that a university may carry out to ascertain the potential impact on equality, prior to implementing a new policy in order to evidence their compliance with the Public Sector Equality Duty (House of Commons Library 2018). In this case we suggest that this is extended to the development of academic programs, processes and strategies.
- **Scholarships, grants and bursaries for high achieving Black students to pursue undergraduate/postgraduate courses**—these may serve to instigate positive action towards redressing structural inequalities that disproportionately affect Black students in universities. These inequalities have been found to create a 'broken pipeline' (Williams et al. 2019).
- **Conducting an equal pay audit**—under the Equality Act 2010, women and men are entitled to equal pay for doing equal work. Universities are encouraged to adopt an intersectional approach (Crenshaw 1991; Crenshaw 1995) in identifying the extent to which there are differences in pay between women and men doing equal work in the university. We further propose that intersectional, intergroup audit be conducted to understand the extent to which inequalities may be present (e.g., differences between Black women and White women). Universities should eliminate instances of unequal pay that cannot be justified. As part of their Race Equality Receipt we suggest that intersectional 'equal pay audit' data be published on university websites.
- **Designing/Delivering a Culturally Sensitive Curriculum**—owing to predominantly Anglo-American, Eurocentric epistemologies, the current curriculum is not inclusive, nor does not represent increasingly multi-ethnic societies globally. A culturally sensitive curriculum

(Thomas and Quinlan 2021) is indicative of a curriculum where diversity is represented positively as a means of enabling students to developing critical and analytical skills, agency and socio-political awareness to challenge longstanding hierarchical/hegemonic power structures. A culturally sensitive curriculum also promotes inclusive classroom interactions. A typical example of this is the Black Curriculum (Arday 2020), which aims to redefine conceptions of Britishness in re-imagining the future of education through Black British history.

- **Diverse Representation on shortlisting and interview panels—** decisions on shortlisting and appointment should be based on objective, job related criteria and an assessment by a racially diverse panel. We propose that as part of their commitment to promote race equality, universities should mandate that staff from racially minoritised backgrounds should sit on shortlisting and interview panels.
- **Racially diverse and culturally competent wellbeing services—** Atherton and Mazhari (2018, p. 4) in their report entitled Preparing for Diversity stated: "we are witnessing hyper-diversity among the student body…, where diversity is the norm and not the exception". Therefore, we propose that universities acknowledge this "new norm" and ensure that their wellbeing services (those provided for staff and students) is racially diverse, culturally competent and culturally sensitive, in order to evolve to meet the needs of its population.
- **Publishing your "Attainment Gap" data alongside your Destination of Leavers data on recruitment web pages—**this may facilitate a process due diligence by students intending to study at the university, as well as staff seeking employment.
- **Representatoion in senior leadership positions—**data from the Higher Education Statistical Agency (Op Cit) reveal that the majority of professors employed in UK universities are White, with less than 1% belonging to a Black background. When viewed intersectionally, only 35 of the nearly 20,000 professors are female. There is also a similar picture among professional services staff where Black staff are positioned in lower pay grades. This atrocity requires swift redress.

Conclusion

Transformational conversations pertaining to race equity and equality can only be productive if evidence-based mechanisms are in place to reconcile proposed actions for redress. These conversations must commence with an acknowledgement that race inequality in embroiled within a colonial/imperial system that created the systemic racism that has dehumanised Black people and positioned them at the bottom of the well. Additionally, transformational actions and conversations for redress mandates acknowledgement that overt physical violence and brutality, microaggressions, racial harassment, racial bullying, discrimination and institutional racism are manifested in universities in myriad ways. Mechanisms of prejudice affect people from BAME backgrounds in general, and people in particular Black backgrounds more extremely. While solidarity statements, manifestos, acquisition of charter marks and even keynote speeches are to be admired. We believe these are only invitations to treat. Therefore, as praxis, we proffer a Race Equality Receipt as tangible proof of delivery on commitments to promote race equality. While the list above is not extensive in detailing all available items that could populate a Receipt, their presence could mitigate against inaction, performative activism and performative allyship and demonstrate proof of delivery on promises of solidarity in the war against the pandemic of racism. Social justice and regard for dignity and respect for all humans are basic human rights, not privileges.

> …until that day the dream of lasting peace, world citizenship, rule of international morality will remain in but a fleeting illusion to be pursued, but never attained, [but for now], everywhere is war war…

Notes

1. We use the socially constructed concept 'race' in scare quotes similar to Hylton (2018) to signify that it should not be used or read uncritically.

2. CRT practitioners and scholars believe that racism is a deeply engrained, permanent feature of society and that advancing the fortunes of Black people will not be achieved by idealism or inspired by advocacy. CRT framework is comprised of five central tenets: the permanence of racism as an inherent part of societal structures, privileging White individuals (Ladson Billings and Tate 1995; Bell 1992); Whiteness as property, which operates on different levels to afford privilege to White individuals, while objectifying people of colour (DeCuir and Dixson 2007); the use of Counter-stories as a means authenticating the voices and experiences of people of colour in order to analyse the socio-political climate and inform strategies for redress; Interest convergence (see *Brown* v *Board of Education* and *Plessy* v *Fergusson*), where actions to redress racial inequalities will see White individuals as the primary beneficiaries (Ladson-Billings 1998); Intersectionality and anti-essentialism highlights how race, class and other categories interact to promote double consciousness (living in a place where two or more identities overlap) in multiple indices of discrimination which are linked to the categorisation and allocation of power and authority (Crenshaw 1995).
3. A socio-legal approach advocates the "analysis of law is directly linked to the analysis of the social situation to which the law applies, and should be put into perspective of that situation by seeing the part the law plays in the creation, maintenance and/or change of the situation" (Schniff 1976, p. 287).
4. The Magna Carta clause 39.
5. http://chnm.gmu.edu/cyh/primary-sources/146
6. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/slavery/pdf/abolition.pdf
7. https://www.thehistorypress.co.uk/articles/the-slavery-abolition-act-of-1833/
8. (1783) 3 Doug 232.
9. ibid.
10. Colleen A Vasconcellos, "Children in the Slave Trade," in Children and Youth in History, Item #141, http://chnm.gmu.edu/cyh/items/show/141 (accessed June 9, 2020).
11. http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1965/73/pdfs/ukpga_19650073_en.pdf
12. http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/71/pdfs/ukpga_19680071_en.pdf
13. http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1976/74/pdfs/ukpga_19760074_en.pdf

14. http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2000/34/pdfs/ukpga_20000034_en.pdf
15. http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents/data.pdf
16. The use of the acronym BAME is highly problematic when analysing the lived experiences of staff and students in any context. It serves to homogenise the experiences of groups of people and should only be used for statistical purposes to achieve a baseline data to inform more granular, intersectional analyses. When using the term BAME, it is fundamental to understand that anti-Black racism is not perpetuated by only White people.
17. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/26/nyregion/amy-cooper-dog-central-park.html
18. https://www.ecu.ac.uk/equality-charters/race-equality-charter/about-race-equality-charter/

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25

Sowing the Seeds: Embracing and Re-imaging a More Racially Inclusive Academy

Jason Arday

Introduction

Higher education (HE) seems to be eternally placed in a state of flux or turbulence. There continues to be widespread condemnation of a sector that remains one of the United Kingdom's (UK) most racially inequitable institutions. This is in part due to the HE sector failing to tackle endemic racism against ethnic minority students and staff despite a plethora of policy briefings and research indicating widespread evidence of discrimination and differential outcomes (Ahmed 2012; Arday and Mirza 2018). At its essence, universities should embody community whilst being a vehicle for social mobility and cohesion (Emejulu 2017). In such factious times never has the function of a university been more paramount with its potential to reflect egalitarianism and unity. The chapters provided throughout this collection endorse the ideal that universities have the potential to embody all of the intersectional ideals that we herald within

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3_25

an equal society. Conversely, they also illuminate all of the inherent inequalities faced by Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) staff within the Academy and the oppressive centrality of Whiteness (Arday 2019). The massification of the sector has resulted in the advancement of an exploitative, neo-liberal agenda which has fostered a sense of complacency within university institutions who have been complicit in sustaining institutional and structurally racist cultures (Ahmed 2012). The global shift towards populism threatens to undermine our much needed reconceptualization of the Academy which should embody greater representation and diversification, in addition to the creation of better pathways for BME individuals attempting to progress professionally or academically (Alexander and Arday 2015; Bhopal 2014).

Understanding the Debilitating Reach of Whiteness in the Academy

Racism and White dominance has been an enduring part of the UK higher education system since its inception. Our attempts to dismantle racism in the Academy rely heavily on challenging the problematic and exclusionary nature of sector with considerations leaning towards why such problems persist and how we can collectively engage in decentring Whiteness and creating more inclusive institutions (DiAngelo 2018). In addressing such persistent problems, the sector requires deeper conversations in relation to addressing racial inequality within higher education which move beyond surface level engagement (Andrews 2016). Importantly, such endeavour must be effectively resourced and cascaded throughout universities to ensure penetrative, measurable and sustainable change (Heleta 2016). The scholarship provided within this collection attempts to contribute to the subtle and emerging resistance against Whiteness as an oppressive system that disadvantages all citizens of the Academy (Collini 2017). The sector must move beyond remaining continuously caught in a web of deficit thinking with regards to the capabilities of students of colour and facilitating the professional progression of BME staff. The need for a more forensic and collective examination of

systemic issues that result in the continual racial discrimination of BME people is central to understanding this prejudice as a sustained and cyclical process (Law 2017). Presently, the seminal moment reached in the race relations movement involves continued investment in the growth of tolerance and understanding of racialized complexities with regards to what ethnic minorities encounter on a daily basis (Bell 1992).

The Rise of a New Dawn: The Need for Collective Endeavour

The challenging of systemic racism is important but perhaps equally as pertinent is the collective endeavour required to disrupt divisive rhetoric and relieve ethnic minorities of the burden of race work, particularly women of colour who have often been at vanguard of this labour (Tate and Bagguley 2017). The causal exploitation of this endeavour at the expense of BME women who rarely have this labour acknowledged or remunerated particularly within the Academy is unfair and unjust (Mirza 2018). Part of this collective endeavour involves an integration of diversity initiatives which seek to address structural racism. The potency of these interventions must be situated around challenging the normativity of Whiteness and understanding the reach of power and privilege that this oppressive instrument encompasses (Leonardo 2002). The exclusionary reach of this problem continually places people of colour on the margins of not only the Academy but of society more generally. For institutions to effectively address problems of race, there must be a redistribution of power across intersectional and racial lines which encourages an awareness of structures and systems of injustice (Andrews 2019; Warikoo 2016).

The *doing* in diversity involves the academic community engaging in a critical self-examination to understand how they assimilate into the social construct of Whiteness and how that Whiteness consciously and unconsciously affects the participation of ethnic minorities within the sector. The panglossian disposition that propels Whiteness has sometimes meant the absence of a deeper criticality in attempting to recognize the systemic nature of oppression, and the realities of this for the *oppressed* (Case

2007). The consequences of this are detrimental to faculty and professional staff of colour, hence the need for consistently engaging in critical and iterative stages of identity development and privilege awareness (Arday 2019; Law 2017). The commonality amongst the chapters in this collection identifies with encouraging custodians of the Academy to examine not only the influence or monopoly of power and how Whiteness systemically privileges, but also, an awareness of how Whiteness continues to shape conscious and unconscious thinking processes related to race. Without this self-examination and exploration, the cyclical process of racial discrimination will continue to pervade whilst widening the chasm of structural inequality at the expense of ethnic minorities (Arday and Mirza 2018).

Concluding Thoughts

Globally, we have reached a seminal moment in the fight for racial equality particularly in the wake of the murder of George Floyd by four United States policemen. The time has arrived for a collective reconceptualization of the Academy's function. This reconceptualization requires an acknowledgement that people of colour are an essential component in the fabric of university institutions. It is important that as a microcosm of society, all universities should endeavour to endorse and facilitate diversification throughout every tier of their infrastructure.

The oxymoron of higher education is that for all its lofty ideals, it remains a space where inequity and inequality collide (Lammy 2015). This collection is an important contribution to the ongoing debate on racial diversity in higher education, and the call to engage in open and transparent conversations about the impact of racial discrimination and the effect of this violence on BME people. As institutions continue to face growing pressure to engage in penetrative and resourced interventions to advance diversity agendas, it is the modest intention of this collection to assist in providing focus towards developing a critical consciousness which can reverberate throughout the ivory tower. Invariably, this will involve a relinquishing of privilege followed by a

redistribution of power across racial lines for the equity and empowerment of ethnic minorities within the Academy.

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Index[1]

A

APP, 218

B

Black and minority ethnic (BME), 11, 12, 44, 45, 59, 73, 128, 130, 209, 229–234, 237, 302, 320, 321, 346–348

Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME), 6, 9, 13, 14, 21, 22, 29, 58, 68, 69, 101, 153, 183–187, 191, 194n1, 202, 210, 211, 215, 216, 219, 220, 222, 242–247, 256–258, 283, 286, 291, 292, 313–321, 335, 338, 340n16

Building the anti-racist classroom (BARC), 117

D

Deceased white males (DWM), 117–119

E

Equity, diversity and inclusion (EDI), 99, 110

G

General Certificate Examinations (GCSE), 24, 69

[1] Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes.

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D. S. P. Thomas, J. Arday (eds.), *Doing Equity and Diversity for Success in Higher Education*, Palgrave Studies in Race, Inequality and Social Justice in Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-65668-3

H
HEI, 189

I
Institutional deficit methodology, 3, 15n2
Institutional research and evaluation (IRE), 10, 175, 176, 178–182, 187, 191

P
Pincher politics, 4
Postgraduate Certificate in Education courses (PGCE), 12, 229, 230, 232, 235, 237

R
Racial-parallax, 8, 129–135
Rhodes Must Fall (RMF) campaign, 141

W
Western hegemonic province, 7, 16n3
White Sanction, 2