1

Racism in Higher Education: 'What Then, Can Be Done?'

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> *'What does it mean when the tools of a racist patriarchy are used to examine the fruits of that same patriarchy? It means that only the most narrow perimeters of change are possible and allowable'… 'For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own games, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change.'* (Audrey Lorde 2007: 110–112: Comments at Second Sex Conference, New York, September 29, 1979)

This book grew out of the seminar series *Aiming Higher: Race Inequality and Diversity in the Academy*, initiated and convened by UK's foremost race-relations think-tank, the Runnymede Trust. The outcome, the *Aiming Higher* report (Alexander and Arday 2015) centred around two main and interlinked areas of concern for Black and Minority Ethnic staff and students in the British higher education

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system; namely the white privilege that lies at the heart of the elite institutional culture, and the subsequent unequal opportunities and outcomes for BME[1] academics and students who 'strive to survive' within that culture.

The findings of the Runnymede report were indeed alarming. The evidence they unearthed of complex entrenched institutionalised gendered and classed racial discrimination in British universities speaks for itself. The Aiming Higher research team found students of colour are less likely to be admitted to elite 'Russell group' universities, even when they have 'like for like' entry grades. BME students are to be found mainly in the 'new' university sector with its lesser market value, and are less likely than their White counterparts to be awarded a good honours degree or find good jobs commensurate with their qualifications when they graduate. Those who manage to navigate the perilous journey into a career in the Academy disproportionately find themselves on insecure fixed term contracts and lower pay. The most shocking evidence of this 'crisis of race' in British higher education, is the dearth of senior Black and Minority Ethnic academics. In comparison to 3895 white female and 12,455 white male professors in the UK, there only 345 British women of colour professors of which 30 are Black British, 10 British Pakistani and 5 British Bangladeshi, with British Indian and British Chinese women topping the race to the bottom at 80 and 75 respectively (Alexander 2017; ECU 2016; Gabriel and Tate 2017). Emejulu (2017b) poignantly sums up the state of play in the British Academy when she says, 'To speak of universities is to recognise them as spaces of exclusion and discrimination which hide their epistemic violence behind a rhetoric of meritocracy, collegiality and the 'free exchange of ideas".

[1]The acronym BME or BAME (*Black and Minority Ethnic* and *Black Asian and Minority Ethnic*) is a collective term used in official British government sources to encompass the highly differentiated racialised post-colonial but global majority 'peoples of colour' who now live and work in Great Britain (Bhavnani et al. 2005). It denotes the social construction of difference through visible 'race' (Black) and ethnic (cultural) markers. Many of the chapters in the book adopt the official convention of 'BME' while acknowledging it is a crude reduction of complex ethnic, cultural and religious differences (Alexander 2017).

David Lammy, the former Labour Minister of Higher Education commented in the Forward to the *Aiming Higher* report, '*So despite the lofty ideals of universities, they do no better, and are in fact doing worse than many other institutions in British society when it comes to race equality*' (Alexander and Arday 2015: 3). Lammy then throws down the gauntlet to the Academy, declaring, '*What then, can be done?*' As politically committed academics of colour, we could not let Lammy's challenge lie, and pick up his gauntlet by bringing together 22 of the best and brightest, new and established scholars of race and higher education to tackle this question in this unique Volume. This book thus takes up the task the Runnymede began, and Audrey Lorde in her eminent and forceful wisdom in her opening quote counsels us to do—that is to 'dismantle the masters house' of higher education. It is a forensic task, that comes at a pivotal time marking just over 50 years since the 1965 Race-Relations Act addressed the endemic racism that plagued post-war Britain (Khan 2015a). In terms of higher education reform, it also signals 50 years since the Robbins Report called for the national expansion of the university system which opened the door to a post-colonial generation of Black and Asian British students from the former colonies (Alexander and Arday 2015). Drawing on the contributing authors' meticulous evidence of facts and figures on one hand, and their rich archives of feelings and frustrations on the other, the book clearly demonstrates that indeed something has to give if, as Martin Luther King prophesied 50 years ago, and Sam Cooke immortalised in his civil rights song, 'A Change is Gonna Come'.

If British higher education is to move beyond its twentieth century bunker of anachronistic elitism and social hierarchies of privilege and modernise as 'fit for purpose', it must embrace a new era of democratisation and diversity that will ultimately define its success in the new global reach of the twenty first century (Morley 2012). The over-riding message of this Collection is clear—despite the massification and marketisation of higher education, in which universities are reconstituted as

international 'big businesses' (Collini 2017), the 'masters tools' of race equality and diversity polices have not 'dismantled the masters' house' (Warikoo 2016). Instead, we find the latest tranche of 'fat cat'[2] leadership in the Academy have erected new 'walls of containment' for Black, Asian and White working classes in their expensive new architectural extensions. But like all 'walls of exclusion' forged in fear, envy and greed—the walls of Apartheid, the Berlin Wall, the walls in Gaza and Trump's Mexican walls—they outlive their time and eventually, under mass protest, crumble.

The incontrovertible evidence amassed in this book heralds an eve of change in the search for social justice and racial equality in higher education. By peeling back the mechanisms of institutional racism; exposing the spaces of white privilege; documenting the grassroots movement for decolonisation: and illuminating the bureaucratic conceit of equality and diversity policies—we suggest, in the pages that follow, that the 'game is up' and there is nowhere for those in power to hide.

Let the Facts Speak: Institutional Racism in Higher Education

Institutional racism, a concept coined in America in 1967 in the Black Power era by Kwame Ture (né Stokely Carmichael) and Charles V. Hamilton is, like the Race Equality Legislation in Britain, now marking its 50th anniversary. However, it was not until the racist murder of the Black teenager Stephen Lawrence[3] in 1993 that the concept of Institutional racism entered the lexicon of higher education in Britain. Stephen's brutal murder marked a watershed in the recognition that

[2]There have been several scandals followed by a call for a Government review of the inflated pay of university Vice-Chancellor's in which the highest paid earns £450,000, three times the prime minister's salary. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5224813/Vice-chancellors-pay-Britains-worst-universities.html (accessed 15 Jan 2018).

[3]The Racially motivated murder of the black teenager Stephen Lawrence in London in 1993 and the subsequent racist mishandling of the case by the police led to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry in 1999. https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/jan/03/stephen-lawrence-timeline (accessed 15 Jan 2018).

public sector organisations, including higher education, operate institutional forms of racism that are, "*less overt, far more subtle, less identifiable in terms of specific individuals committing the acts … (and) originate in the operation of established and respected forces in society*" (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967: 4). The raft of recommendations that followed the Macpherson Report into Stephen's murder led to the 2000 Race Relations Amendment Act (RRAA) and later the 2010 Race Equality Act, which marked a hopeful start to a new millennium (Khan 2015a). In a breath of fresh air, higher education had to take on board the definition of institutional racism in the Macpherson Report, defined as, "*The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.*" (Macpherson 1999: para 6.34). Tasked by the law, universities were now accountable and open to external scrutiny and had no choice but to reluctantly invoke the principles equality of opportunity and abide by the 'Positive Duty' to promote and value difference and diversity in their hallowed halls. However, as the seminal book, *Institutional Racism in Higher education* (Law et al. 2004: 3) shows so well, British universities still managed to remain 'hideously white'.

It is this watershed moment, and the subsequent fate of institutional race equality within the sector during the following 20 years, that Andrew Pilkington skilfully unravels in his opening chapter, 'The Declining Salience of Race Equality in Higher Education' (see Chapter 2). He asks, 'Why, despite such progressive Race Equality Legislation, have we witnessed the rise, rather than the fall of disadvantages for BME students and staff?' He suggests that the underlying principles of equality enshrined in anti-discrimination Law elicits a liberal rather than radical approach to equalities, ensuring fair procedures for all, rather than fair outcomes and equitable redistribution for those who are the most discriminated against. By adopting 'colour-blind' and 'complacent' bureaucratic approaches, universities can claim to be doing something, while really doing nothing at all to change the status-quo. With endemic cultures of cynicism about 'political correctness' towards race

equality, Pilkington concludes the situation facing us in universities is, 'impossible to comprehend without recognising how deeply rooted Whiteness is throughout the system'.

How the upper middle and upper classes reproduce and jealously guard their exclusive institutional spaces of elite white privilege, is the issue that concerns Diane Reay in her theoretically rich chapter, 'Race and Elite Universities in the UK' (see Chapter 3). While the 'success story' of expansion in higher education has led to a more diverse student body, it ironically has not produced a more inclusive higher education sector. Instead we find in the 'open' market place universities have become more polarised and segregated along hierarchical race and class lines. Thus, Oxford and Cambridge and the hub of 'old traditional' Russell group universities have become 'finishing schools' for the global wealthy elite, while Black and White working classes, are bound into a system of medieval like indebtedness in the lower status 'new' universities. How does this inequitable two-tier class system thrive in a seemingly open liberal democratic society? Herein lies Reay's core argument, it is the myth of meritocracy that keeps the neoliberal dream alive—that is, the belief if you work hard 'all can rise to the top'. It is a cruel dream with many working-class causalities and the few high achieving white working class and BME students that gain admission to elite universities suffer the psychological trauma of marginalisation, as well as more brutal and overt forms of racism.

It is the politics and processes behind the BME and working-class struggle to be admitted into these elite spaces of higher learning that Vikki Boliver deconstructs with clear sighted forensic aptitude in her chapter, 'Ethnic Inequalities in Admission to Highly Selective Universities' (see Chapter 4). Two decades of high rates of BME student participation has not been met with higher rates of entry into elite Russell group universities. Boliver goes straight to the horse's mouth for her data—the Universities Colleges and Admissions Service, and asks the 'million-dollar' equity question, 'why are British ethnic minority applicants to highly selective universities less likely to be offered places than white British applicants with the same grades? The rates of offer for White students were 7–12 percentage points higher than equivalently qualified Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi applicants, and 3–4 percentage points

higher for Chinese, Indian and 'mixed' ethnic groups. Boliver deducts a possible cause for this glaring disparity, namely the racist conscious and unconscious ethnic bias of the admission processes to highly selective universities. Boliver strongly argues for determined action on the part of university senior leadership to lever tools at their disposal if institutional racism is to be challenged at its root.

The lower attainment of BME students in relation to White students is a long-standing problem and an indicator that something is, 'rotten in the state of Denmark'.[4] John Richardson's detailed and considered chapter, 'Understanding the Under-Attainment of Ethnic Minority Students' (see Chapter 5) aims to shed light on what is 'known and not known' about this ubiquitous and persistent phenomenon. Richardson takes the latest data that is available and deconstructs a national picture of BME degree attainment. Richardson is unequivocal that the aspirations of ethnic minority students do not explain the UK situation and deduces if 'ethnicity per se' is not a factor in explaining the attainment gap, and entry qualifications are controlled for, then the factors that are responsible for the ethnic differences in attainment must, to some degree, be institutional. He tentatively suggests that they could result, at least in part, from the teaching and assessment practices that are adopted in different institutions and academic subjects. Richardson ultimately concludes the phenomena of lower attainment still remains an 'unknown'. With very little official academic appetite to find out why, vulnerable BME students are left to flounder, while powerful institutions charged with their educational well-being remain with their heads well and truly buried in the 'equality sand'.

The issues for of social mobility for BME students do not stop with disadvantages in degree attainment. In a robust and careful analysis of ethnic differences in degree-level education and access to the professional-managerial salariat, Yaojun Li in his chapter, 'Unequal Returns' (see Chapter 6) asks what are the employment outcomes for BME graduates with degrees? First, aspirations are clearly not a problem as ethnic

[4]Quote from the play Hamlet. See, Shakespeare, W. (1993) *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare.* Available at http://shakespeare.mit.edu/index.html (accessed 15 Jan 2018).

minorities were more likely than the majority white group to have degree-level education. Li's meticulous analysis of the best available British national survey data shows a complex pattern of both polarisation and stratification in education for minority groups. He finds parental class and education plays a very important role hence Caribbean, Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups were overrepresented in the lowest levels of education, while Chinese, Indians and Black Africans outperform the white UK majority by large margins. Yet, and this is the shocking finding, despite all their educational achievements, second generation British born ethnic minority women, but more so men face a considerable 'ethnic penalty' in terms of pay and accessing professional-managerial positions compared to their white peers. For them higher education did not level the playing field of equality in employment, and as Li concludes, 'the ethnic penalty is a litmus test of social equality in British society'.

Just as BME students do not enjoy parity with their white counterparts in the professional world of work, BME academic staff also face quantifiable barriers to their career progression in UK higher education institutions. In their illuminating chapter, 'Should I Stay or Should I Go' (see Chapter 7), Kalwant Bhopal, Hazel Brown and June Jackson reveal new survey evidence showing that as many as 83.6% of Black, Asian and mixed race academics consider voting with their feet to leave Britain to seek work in more equitable 'greener pastures' overseas. In examining the push and pull factors that determine their desire to move, Bhopal et al. found BME academics are more likely to experience subtle, covert forms of racism, are less likely to be pushed forward for promotion, and less likely to be in senior decision-making roles, compared to their White colleagues. Interviewees spoke about how white senior academics often excluded them from accessing the necessary 'prestige' social and cultural capital needed to progress in the academy. The informal nature of this type of behaviour had an exclusionary impact on the experiences of BME academics whose legitimacy to occupy senior roles was frequently challenged in cruel and overtly racist ways such as taunting and belittling them. Bhopal and her colleagues suggest senior leaders are culpable by allowing, 'a culture where race equality is not being prioritised within the sector'.

Outsiders Within the Academy: Surviving the 'Sheer Weight of Whiteness'

The Black feminist theorist, Patricia Hill Collins (1998) developed the powerful concept, '*outsider-within*' to describe the liminal border space of marginalisation she experienced as a woman of colour working inside white academy. She writes, "*For my own survival I chose the term outsider-within to describe the location of people who no longer belong to any one group … individuals like me who appear to belong, because we possess both the credentials for admittance and the rights of formal membership*" (Collins 1998: 5). Being a highly visible 'raced' professional in public spaces that were previously closed and homogenous with respect to race and gender, has led to reconfigured patterns of institutionalised racism for Black and Minority Ethnic 'outsiders' who now, by law have been allowed into these exclusive 'spaces of whiteness'. In these desegregated work environments, a climate of unease evolves. Microaggressions and surveillance strategies become increasingly important to ensure Black and Minority Ethnic staff remain manageable, safe, unraced and assimilated (Gabriel and Tate 2017). In the following chapters the contributing authors interrogate the ways in which gender, race and class are lived out in the boardrooms, corridors and classrooms of our universities. Our aim in this section is to understand the multiple and complex ways in which structures of power reproduce intersectional social divisions in the everyday lives of Black and Minority Ethnic people who inhabit these still unreconstructed 'spaces of whiteness'.

In their chapter, 'Are You Supposed to Be in Here?' (see Chapter 8) Remi Joseph-Salisbury and Azeezat Johnson draw on autoethnographic accounts of teaching and studying 'race' in racist universities. They ask, 'What does it mean for academics of colour who are studying race(ism) to be subjected to the same racist oppressions within the academe?' In the rarefied space of the academe 'everyday' race inequalities are seen as existing outside of the institution rather than produced through the academe. By centring their own experiences, Joseph-Salisbury and Johnson point to the pervasiveness of white supremacy within these legitimised spaces of knowledge production, deconstructing how racist and sexist microaggressions

are a form of systemic, everyday racism. Joseph-Salisbury as a Black mixed-race man finds he is more intelligible as the Black male trespasser than as an academic. Azeezat Johnson is seen as a 'native informant' when her Black and Muslim female body is fetishised by a majority white audience. Joseph-Salisbury and Johnson generously share their 'epistemes of Blackness' for surviving in HE, which given the insurmountable task, one option is to leave the academy!

Using the Critical Race Theory (CRT) tool of counter narrative and semi-biography, Jason Arday in his chapter, 'Being Black, Male and Academic' (see Chapter 9), allows us the privilege of entering his world as a Black, male early career academic. In his deeply personal and poignant account of exclusion and marginalisation, he shares his struggle to survive and carve out a career in academia. His 'hidden' inner battle to overcome his hurdles as an autistic learner is very different from his outward facing presence as a 'visible' Black male, which unsettles the normativity of Whiteness within academia. He constantly questions if he has the credentials to be a 'real' academic when he is routinely turned down at interviews despite his professional and academic experience and the equal opportunities mantra, 'We value a diverse work force'. He notices how the all-white interview panels flinch awkwardly when he comes into the room, and is inevitability turned down, as his 'face does not fit'. Students think he is a rapper, and colleagues refer to him as a 'dark horse' and imagine his popularity as lecturer is because 'Black is the new cool'. Sharing his story is not only cathartic for Arday, but a gift for us. In a dream, he tells his 18-year-old self, who could not read or write, no matter the mountains he has to climb in this white world, he has already reached his Everest.

While BME academic staff are captured in the institutional cultures of whiteness in the academy, so too are the students. Heidi Mirza in her chapter, 'Black Bodies 'Out of Place' in Academic Spaces' (see Chapter 10) turns her attention to the institutional 'flashpoints' where the intersectionality of race, gender, faith and culture plays out at critical moments for students of colour. Though it is claimed we live in 'colour-blind' post-race times, Mirza finds that rather than racism fading away, new patterns of insidious racism are evolving which can be mapped in the micro-institutional practices of recruitment, retention and progression that mark the life

cycle of a student's journey. Just getting in the university door was a trial for one African Caribbean young man. Other BME students are cut adrift in hostile 'anti-equality' learning environments, while Muslim students encounter overt anti-Islamic discrimination. Mirza found that while the white tutors wanted an open dialogue about tackling their racism, an intellectual and institutional 'safe space' to develop such critical consciousness was not yet on the horizon.

How do two white male lecturers create such an institutional 'safe space' is the subject of Michael Hobson's and Stuart Whigham's challenging chapter. 'Am I Too White to Talk About Being Black?' (see Chapter 11). It is not often that we get to hear white male academics critically reflect on their privilege and the frailties of their anti-racist teaching practice and pedagogy. Hobson and Whigham reflect upon their impossibility to empathise with the racialised experiences of BME students, and the potential risk that their attempt to do so will lead to a tokenistic discussion of race, which reinforces the students' inequality and their white privilege. The autoethnographic accounts of their engagement with issues of race and racism in the classroom, such as how to react when students use the 'n' word, or using pedagogic devices such as ball games that mimic hierarchies of race and class, makes for uncomfortable reading. However, as they themselves admit, if white male lecturers are to move out of the comfort zone of inviting people of colour to deliver the one 'special lecture on race' per term, then it is critical for them to move beyond introspection and 'navel gazing' about their white 'vulnerability' when tasked to deliver important curriculum content on racism in sport.

Whiteness is clearly classed, gendered, and raced, and the true 'vulnerability' of certain disadvantaged and stigmatised 'white' groups in higher education is the focus of Kate D'Arcy and Lisa Galloway in their chapter, 'Access and Inclusion for Gypsy and Traveller Students' (see Chapter 12). The complexity of the educational issues gypsy and traveller communities face are carefully unpacked in this rare but important chapter. Gypsy and traveller children and young people who struggle to achieve educationally within the state system, find themselves caught between overt prejudice and low expectations of schools and authorities on the one hand, and the rightful suspicion and lack of trust of such institutions within their communities on the other. This pattern extends into further and higher

education for the few who do enter its ranks and these students evolve specific coping strategies such as '*fight, flight and playing White*' in order to deal with the cultural dissonance and social exclusion they experience. As D'Arcy and Galloway show successful policies of inclusion rest on building trust and respect, as well as emotional and financial support, but most of all it depends on the political will to do so.

The fate of racially stigmatised groups in higher education is deeply concerning. Muslim students, now labelled as the new 'folk devils', are freely and openly subjected to suspicion and official surveillance in higher educational institutions. The ways in which pervasive racist Islamophobic discourses have become legitimated and institutionalised within the academy is deftly deconstructed by Tania Saeed in her chapter, 'Islamophobia in Higher Education' (see Chapter 13). Universities are now tasked under the law to 'prevent' the radicalisation of 'vulnerable' young Muslims, and are bound by a statutory responsibility to inform on would-be terrorists. However, the welfare services in universities set up to support and monitor young Muslim men and women 'vulnerable' to Islamophobia are failing to provide an adequate service. Saeed's research asks, 'how can universities create an atmosphere of *no tolerance* against Islamophobia that the students trust?' One solution is to build the capacity of existing welfare officers to reach out and communicate with Muslims including protecting Hindus and Sikhs who are also attacked for being Muslim in the hysterical climate of state sanctioned Islamophobia.

Seize the Day! The Irresistible Rise of Decolonising Movements

Decolonising higher education, as Bhambra (2007: 872) observes, is a 'postcolonial thought-revolution' that unsettles and reconstitutes standard processes of knowledge production'. From the dominant western narratives of European modernity at the heart of the academy's 'hidden curriculum', to the material manifestation of imperial and colonial legacies embodied in the statues and buildings that celebrate this racist violent past, we find a new generation of scholars calling for decolonial

dialogues 'that offer the possibility of a new geopolitics of knowledge' (Bhambra 2014: 120; Khan 2015b). Histories of decolonising movements which aim to decentre the dominance of the Western canon of European thought are rooted in a long history for racial justice that reaches back to the early twentieth century when Black and Asian anti-colonial and liberation scholars in India and Africa began their intellectual struggle for freedom and independence from British imperial rule. Scholars such as John La Rose, Franz Fanon, and Una Marson championed Marcus Garvey's call to 'free the mind from mental slavery', as immortalised in the well-beloved lyrics of the late great Bob Marley. What is striking now, in the technological age of social media, is the virulent and hostile exchanges that characterises the White establishment's backlash against students of colour who challenge the dominant narrative of the centrality of European modernity (Gopal 2017). The battle ground for a more open political and culturally representative curriculum and safe spaces to work this out are ridiculed as 'politically correct', a fundamental threat to liberal democracy, and an affront to the sanctity of (white) 'freedom and speech' (Ahmed 2015). What is clear from the debates recorded in the chapters here, is that the decolonising movement represents a 'tipping point', marking a fundamental shift in global power relations, in which the old colonial regimes of the fading metropole—characterised by class elitism and white supremacy, are being challenged by the 'irresistible' demands of a new tech savvy multicultural generation of international students (Caluya et al. 2011). With their thirst for new ways of thinking to 'feed and free' their minds they will vote for the best university to serve their needs …with their feet!

Michael Peters, in his chapter, 'Why Is My Curriculum White?' (see Chapter 14). Makes the point that the campaign to counter the narrow-mindedness of university courses is gathering pace because students demand disciplines such as Philosophy should investigate *all* human existence. Indeed, the University College London (UCL) student campaign, *Why is My Curriculum White?* Does not simply dismiss white, western, or male thinking simply on the premises that it is white, western, or male, but suggests it should embrace modern inclusive philosophical concepts of personhood, human rights, justice and modernity which are deeply shaped by 'race'. This inclusive and intellectually curious approach Peters

advocates, has its roots in the long arc of anti-colonial and decolonial history. In a scholarly analysis originating with the Negritude movement in the 1930s, he incisively charts the impact of Black radical thought from the Civil Rights and Black Studies movement in the 1960s, to the more recent academic movements of critical race theory and anti-racism in 1980s and 1990s. Ultimately, Peters asks if the tradition of 'white male and pale Philosophy' to which he belongs has the capacity to acknowledge the racism that informs the root of the discipline. As a teacher and activist, his answer is one of enduring hope that it can.

The story of hope and belief in a better world underscores Kehinde Andrews' passionate contribution in this chapter, 'The Black Studies Movement in Britain' (see Chapter 15). The exclusion of whole swathes of legitimate 'Black knowledge' from the curriculum constitutes a crisis in British higher education. In his support for the radical statement, 'the university is not racist—the university *is* racism', Andrews alludes to the fact that the very structures and systems within the university are designed to reproduce the white privileged elite. Given its history, it is a myth to ever presume the university could ever be progressive, and we should expect nothing other than racism from the academy. As he states, 'If university is the disease, then it cannot be the cure'. Drawing on Malcom X and the Black Studies movement in the USA, Andrews vision is for the liberation of people of African descent through revolutionary education, in which history, literature, and mathematics are taught as instruments for change. The strength and legitimacy of Black Studies is that it is embedded in grassroots local communities from which Black intellectuals organically emerge. Racial justice and true democratisation cannot be top down, it must be '*by* the people *for* the people'.

In his evocative and moving chapter, 'Free, Decolonised Education' (see Chapter 16), Adam Elliot-Cooper weaves a powerful personal tale of his journey to South Africa in the wake of the 2015 *Rhodes Must Fall* students uprising. From the grand white-washed buildings now covered in Black power graffiti, he reflects on the student campaign that successfully brought down the statue of the vile racist British colonialist Cecil Rhodes. The statue was symbolic of the imperial logic of white privilege that still dominates the South African higher education system 25 years after the collapse of the reign of terror that was Apartheid. What Elliot-Cooper observes is the spontaneous power of such movements to spread

like a flame to the metropole of Oxford and London where students also rose up in the university colleges of SOAS and UCL (Emejulu 2017a). In conclusion Elliot-Cooper asks what can those of us in the old centre of Empire do to ensure that our academic work, forged in imperial disciplines such as Geography, do to dismantle colonialism and its legacies. He gives us much food for thought.

Anuradha Henriques and Lina Abushouk share a fascinating account their engagement in the decolonial student movement in their chapter, 'Decolonising Oxford' (see Chapter 17). As they point out the *#ITooAmOxford* campaign, the magazine, *Skin Deep* and the *#RhodesMustFall Oxford* (*RMFO*) movement, like the student activism of their eminent Oxford predecessor, the late great Black British social theorist Stuart Hall, are all political interventions that emerged at a particular historical conjuncture. It is the organic coming together of politics, history and technology, ignited by the spark of decolonial student activism in America and South Africa, that created the moment for their activism to emerge. Henriques and Abushouk call for students to overcome apathy and docility in the neoliberal university, and link together in global solidarity to decolonise the academy from within, is a powerful call to arms.

Brick Walls and Tick-Boxes: The 'White-Washing' of Equality and Diversity Policies

In her opening, searing and eloquent statement that defines this book, Audrey Lorde invites us to consider the racialised consequences of the bureaucratic 'diversity industry' that has burgeoned in the academy despite persistent racial inequality. In this final section the authors collectively unmask the ways in which the huge swathes of equality policies and diversity practices effectively function as the 'master's tools'. Equality and diversity documents that circulate from the boardroom to the classroom constitute 'non-performative' institutional 'speech acts' in which simply having a good race equality policy gets translated into *being good at race equality* (Ahmed 2012). Thus we find in the 'master's house' saying you are *for* equality, becomes as good as *doing* equality, which explains why, when it comes to policy solutions, '*the more things change the more they stay the same!*'

In her chapter, 'The Heart of Whiteness' (see Chapter 18), Nicola Rollock empathically uses CRT to illuminate exactly how these bureaucratic racist technologies of concealment operate. Drawing on her personal account as a woman of colour she finds she is seldom the author of her own destiny on the academic stage. That power remains the privileged domain of White male and female academics who police and control academic spaces. Much of their power lies in the subtlety of everyday racial microaggressions, such as when she was cynically told by a senior white female colleague, 'it would be so different if you were in charge', which put her in her place and serves to remind her that she is less than white. In assessing applications for the rigorous Race Equality Charter, of which she is a Patron, Rollock observes the few successful institutions are the ones where whites are cognisant of their actions and racial justice is named, embedded and enacted within the normality of institutional life.

In her chapter, 'Rocking the Boat' (see Chapter 19), Sara Ahmed skilfully and poetically explains why women of colour tend to be seen as diversity workers or end up becoming diversity workers in universities. Those who do not quite inhabit the norms of an institution are often given the task of transforming these norms, and find themselves relegated to diversity committees or equality task forces to do so. This knowing act of strategic 'tick box inclusion' creates the appearance of an institution being a place of 'happy diversity'. However, for women of colour being a 'happy symbol of diversity' is hard work, and they find themselves caught between 'not rocking the boat' or banging their head against institutional 'brick walls' if they the challenge the entrenched institutional systems of racist and sexist collusion. To complain, show anger, or dissent is a dangerous business, and many have to leave their universities to survive, as indeed Ahmed had to do. Resignation under these conditions is a powerful act of resistance, dignity and voice.

With the gaze firmly on the bodies of Black and brown people in the 'equality game', you may well ask, what does senior white leadership have to do with it? Well everything as Uvanney Maylor sensitively explores in her chapter, 'Educational Leadership for Social Justice' (see Chapter 20). In recounting the shocking lack of respect displayed towards her by a White male governor who blurts out, 'you don't look like a Professor', she is prompted to ask if he or the senior governance team have ever

received any race equality training? If this is *still* the face of elite white patriarchal leadership in higher education today, the question is how can we ever achieve a model of social justice in higher education that speaks to issues of fairness and representation? For Maylor true social justice means valuing and promoting the leadership capabilities of Black staff such that they become 'part of the fabric' of what higher education institutions can and should be.

However, as Penny Jane Burke, explains, higher education as a vehicle for social justice will remain an elusive vision if the fundamental excluding processes of racist misrecognition and redistribution are not tackled. In her theoretically rich chapter, 'Trans/forming Pedagogical Spaces' (see Chapter 21), Burke explains, misrecognition is a form of symbolic violence in which only certain persons are seen as 'worthy' and authentic university participants. Although there are important differences between groups targeted by higher education policies to Widen Participation, such as 'Black and Minority Ethnic', 'Low Socio-economic Groups', 'Mature', 'Part-time', and 'Students with Disabilities, these homogenising policy categorisations often perpetuate a pathologising neo-colonial gaze. Thus, as Burke concludes policy and practice to tackle institutional racism must be fine-tuned to the intersectional formations of difference within and across different communities if universities are to provide genuine opportunities for social mobility through policies of Widening Participation.

It is fitting that the last word in this collection should be given to one of our leading policy makers in the field of Race Equality in higher education. Gary Loke, in his summation of the collection, 'So What Next? A Policy Response' (see Chapter 22), observes three outstanding things that define this moment in race equality in higher education. First, is the complexity of definitions and inequalities—from what we mean by 'White' in the context of class differences, to what constitutes the category BME and the important ethnic and class and gender differences within these groups. This complexity, he suggests, calls for a more nuanced approach to equality. Secondly, Loke observes institutional racism is still endemic. This is evidenced among other things by the lack of progression for Black academics and the exclusion of students of colour from elite universities. Third, policy initiatives such as the Race Equality Charter,

which he champions, provides a hopeful horizon to hold universities to task. However, given the Government's retraction of the monitoring and accountability powers enshrined in the Equality Act, there still appears to be few carrots and no sticks left to beat the HE sector with!

Conclusion: 'What Then, Can Be Done?'

In reviewing the incontrovertible evidence amassed in this book on the shocking state of racial inequality in our British universities, we return to Lammy's lament, 'What then, can be done?'

The launch of this Collection represents an important moment of critical intervention into the wider debates concerning the future of the Higher Education sector in Britain. 50 years on from the progressive twentieth century reforms to expand higher education, the birth of the concept institutional racism, and the landmark civil rights and Race Equality legislation in Britain and America, we find ourselves at a moment of consolidation and reflection.

The chapters in the book document the scale of 'What's to be done'. We see how the entrenched mechanisms of institutional racism, from the overt admission processes, to covert everyday microaggressions operate to keep the academy an enclave of white privilege. We dismantle the ruse of equality and diversity policies which have become no more than a sham, a slick bureaucratic performance which contains the problem, but leaves the rot. We hear the voices of students and scholars who speak back to these institutions of higher learning with their revolutionary calls to decolonise the still impenetrable hub of imperial white knowledge production—and like them, we ask not 'What's to be done'—but 'How can we do it?'

In looking towards the future, we would argue a key starting point for those who are committed to social justice and racial equality in the academy is to not ask, 'What then, can be done?', but rather '*What's the nature of changing terrain on which we struggle?*'. Over the past 15 years we have witnessed a revolution in the marketisation of the knowledge economy, culminating in the 2017 Higher Education and Research Act. No longer are Universities semi-autonomous institutions of scholarly

pursuit. They now are expected to behave like business enterprises, operating in a highly regulated but competitive commercial marketplace (Collini 2017; Emejulu 2017b). This complete neoliberal transformation of the Academy has huge implications for Black and Minority Ethnic students, staff and service workers, given the already exclusionary racist institutional practices that remain at the sectors core. Vulnerable BME students indebted by the burden of high fees and exposed to the open market of 'choice' are now expected to put their faith and futures in the dubious mechanisms of 'student satisfaction' that drives the Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF) and the controversial quango, the 'Office for Students' who will regulate it. In this 'brave new world' of profit and privilege, Black and Minority Ethnic early career academics are faced with the precarity of teaching-only or short-term contracts and find themselves increasingly casualised, deskilled and disposable in the competitive world of 'League tables' and the brutal funding metrics of the Research Excellence Framework (REF). In this new terrain of struggle 'dismantling the masters house', as it is being systematically rebuilt will shape our challenge ahead. Armed with the contents of this book we at least have a head start!

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