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RUNNYMEDE

Runnymede Perspectives

Aiming Higher

Race, Inequality and Diversity in the Academy

Edited by Claire Alexander and Jason Arday

Runnymede: Intelligence for a Multi-ethnic Britain

Runnymede is the UK's leading independent thinktank on race equality and race relations. Through high-quality research and thought leadership, we:

- **Identify barriers to race equality and good race relations;**
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This publication is part of the Runnymede Perspectives series, the aim of which is to foment free and exploratory thinking on race, ethnicity and equality. The facts presented and views expressed in this publication are, however, those of the individual authors and not necessariliy those of the Runnymede Trust.

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Foreword

Across the world migrants and their children highly value education. Not only are migrants more likely to be university graduates than the average citizen of their country of origin, but they are also very keen to support their children to get qualifications.

In Britain the higher rate of university participation among Black and minority ethnic young people indicates that the promotion of education continues among 3rd generation of ethnic minority Britons, including among those whose parents were also born in Britain.

When I was higher education minister our Government significantly expanded the number of university places both to increase social mobility and to respond to these ambitions among Black and minority ethnic young people – and indeed other groups previously denied access to higher education.

As the findings of this report show, that expansion has clearly resulted in unprecedented numbers of Black and minority people attending university. However, it is also clear that as with other institutions and areas of life, not everyone benefits equally from that access. This is why the All Party Parliamentary Group on Race and Community has expressed interest in this important issue, and supports the publication of this report.

Whether in terms of admissions, attainment, employment, the student experience or indeed staffing, universities still have some way to go to ensure equality for ethnic minorities in Britain. The various contributions to this volume all highlight important evidence, including lower admissions rates despite equivalent A-level results, higher rates of unemployment, and depressingly few Black academics, particularly at a senior level.

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. What, then, can be done? As with other institutions, some of the suggestions supported in this volume are well known: better outreach, better and more transparent data collection, expanding the range of skills and also kinds of knowledge that universities value, and making more use of positive action.

As the ethnic minority population increases in Britain it becomes more and more important to ensure that they have equal opportunities. Given lower admissions rates, degree attainment and employability, BME people will increasingly ask whether or not they are getting equal value for the £9,000 in tuition fees now charged for many courses. While higher education institutions cannot achieve equality by themselves, they must do more to pull down barriers and promote equality of opportunity.

David Lammy, MP

Introduction: Race and Higher Education

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In 1963, the Robbins report on the future of Higher Education argued for the immediate expansion and democratisation of the university system in Britain as essential to the development of 'a learning society':

> *… the United Kingdom must create a society committed to learning throughout life.… Education is life enriching and desirable in its own right. It is fundamental to the achievement of an improved quality of life in the UK.*
> (cited in Bathmaker, 2003: 169)

The following 50 years have seen the transformation and expansion of the Higher Education sector, from an elite 5 per cent of young people attending university at the time of the report to a current 41 per cent of working age adults with a college or university degree (Gibney, 2013; Walker, 2014). The so-called 'Robbins principle' asserted that a university degree 'should be available to all who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and wish to do so'. A recent OECD report has praised the UK's 'quantum leap' in access to Higher Education – ranking 8/36 of countries listed (Walker, 2014) – an achievement made perhaps more remarkable against a backdrop of marketisation, increased tuition fees and the dismantling of state support which the Robbins Report itself recommended (Gibney, 2013).

Nevertheless, the picture is not wholly positive – the OECD report notes that there are higher numbers in the university system, but this is not matched by higher skill levels nor by increased social mobility. The HE sector, and particularly its traditional and elite institutions, remain the province of the middle and upper middle classes, while its 'lower' and newer echelons have become a reservoir for poorer, working class and 'non-traditional' students – most notably Britain's increasing, and increasingly aspirational, Black and Minority Ethnic populations. Research shows that while BME students are over-represented in university entrance figures, they are concentrated in post-1992 and 'new' universities, have lower levels of attainment and poorer graduate prospects than their White British classmates (Runnymede Trust, 2010). University institutions have themselves proved remarkably resilient to change in terms of curriculum, culture and staffing, remaining for the most part 'ivory towers' – with the emphasis on 'ivory'.

Recent high profile initiatives such as the 'We Too Are Oxford' student campaign, the 'Why Isn't my Professor Black?' events and Black British Academics network (info@blackbritishacademics.co.uk), the push for 'Black Studies' and concern in Parliament, suggest a strong appetite for change from without and within the university system, from staff and students, organisations, institutions (including leading and Russell Group Universities), policy makers and (some) politicians.

Five decades after the Robbins Report, the launch of this report represents an important moment and a critical intervention into the wider debates around the future of the Higher Education sector in Britain. This collection of essays contributes to this crucial debate, bringing together leading scholars, policy makers and organisations to illuminate the current landscape of Higher Education, exploring key issues and initiatives around racial and ethnic (in)equality.

The collection emerges out of a series of seminars organised in 2013–14 by the Runnymede Academic and Emerging Scholars Forums, and developed in collaboration with the Universities of Manchester and Warwick and the London School of Economics. These seminars were focused on issues of BME Academics (Manchester, October 2013), Attainment, Curriculum and Employability (Warwick, January 2014) and Access and Widening Participation (LSE, July 2014). The aim of the seminars was to highlight current research and policy initiatives and bring academics and policy makers together in a productive dialogue. The current contributions are focused on four key areas: (1) institutional cultures, (2) access and widening participation, (3) curriculum, attainment and employability and (4) the experience of BME academics. Singly and together they raise important questions around, and provide revealing insights into, the persistence of racial and ethnic

inequality in Britain's universities, and offer compelling recommendations for change.

Acknowledgements

This seminar series was initially inspired by a piece in *The Guardian* by Janine Bradbury (2013). The Runnymede Academic and Emerging Scholars Forum worked closely with Janine in developing the seminar series and we are grateful to her, and to Rob Berkeley, Florence Nosegbe and Ojeaku Nwabuzo, all formerly at the Runnymede Trust, for their guidance and hard work. Thanks are due to the Equality and Diversity Office and the School of Social Sciences at University of Manchester (especially Patrick Johnson), the Department of Sociology at the University of Warwick (notably John Solomos and Hannah Jones), and the Department of Sociology at the LSE (particularly Suki Ali), who provided financial sponsorship, intellectual guidance and administrative support for the seminars. The publication and launch was supported by the AHRC research network grant 'Runnymede Academic Fora: End Racism This Generation (AH/K007564/1)'.

We are grateful to all the contributors and participants in the seminar series, and those who have contributed to this collection.

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SECTION I: CHANGING INSTITUTIONAL CULTURES

1. Doing Diversity Work in Higher Education

Sara Ahmed
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Introduction

In 2000, just before the Race Relations Amendment Act was introduced, I was invited to become a member of a race equality committee set up to develop our university's race equality policy. Through this experience, I became interested in the process through which race equality policies are developed, the language used, who writes these documents and how this 'who' matters; how policies become part of performance and audit culture, as well as the role of commitment in securing institutional change. Subsequently, I conducted a qualitative study of 'diversity work' in higher education, interviewing practitioners who were employed as diversity or equality officers, or those who are given diversity and equality as part of their administrative duties. In exploring the *experience* of diversity workers I wanted to ask what these experiences can teach us and tell us about race and institutions. For a more detailed discussion of these research findings, please see Ahmed (2012).

Writing Policies

It was clear from my interviews that the appointment of practitioners to write an equality policy did not mean 'in practice' that their work was supported. A number of interviewees described institutional resistance to their work, often by evoking the metaphor of a brick wall: 'so much of the time it is a banging your head against a brick wall job'. Practitioners conveyed that their job often ended up being about finding where in the organisations things get stuck.

A number of interviewees, who had done diversity work in other sectors, conveyed that universities are particularly challenging places to do this kind of work because academics tend to see themselves as 'being critical' and thus as not 'having a problem' with racism. Many academics typically ignore documents being sent out by diversity practitioners, as these materials are judged as audit-driven or as only relevant to people who 'have a problem'.

The Language of Policy

It was evident both from my interviews and informal discussions that practitioners tended to consider words primarily as strategies, as tools that would allow them to do some things (and not to do others). Some practitioners tended to use the word 'diversity' because it was described as a more comfortable word that would allow them to get through people's defences ('diversity is a more comfortable word to hide behind') whilst others would refuse to use this word for the very same reasons ('it's all nice and cuddly and we can feel good about it and feel like we've solved it, when actually we're nowhere near solving it'). When diversity is seen as a happier word, the task often becomes using this word alongside other more challenging words such as 'racism', 'whiteness' and 'inequality'.

Documents and Performance

Race equality documents are sometimes used as indicators of good performance. When my university was judged as having an 'excellent' policy by the ECU, this was translated by senior management as 'being excellent at race equality'. A document that documents inequality thus becomes usable as a measure of equality. Many other practitioners relayed similar experiences. First, there were strong critiques of how equality work becomes simply working with documents ('you end up doing the document rather than doing the doing'). When universities are ranked as doing well, one practitioner says it produced 'a marshmallow feeling' that stopped more things from being done. Another noted how the process can lead to an institutional sense 'that we have done race when we clearly have not done race'. It seems that the process of ranking policies was most useful

for universities that did not do well, as it gave them an institutional incentive to do better. Whilst some practitioners were critical of race equality becoming part of audit culture, because what ends up being measured is relative competence at generating 'auditable documents', others argued that equality needs to be audited if universities are going to invest in equality initiatives (audit was described as a 'stick').

A concern expressed by diversity workers was that the emphasis on toolkits, good practice and positive duties can create an environment that is even more hostile to BAME staff and students who experience racism and inequalities. In one case a university responded to the perception that they were 'white and old-fashioned' by changing their prospectus (adding smiling brown faces). The production of happier images of diversity can thus become a technique for not addressing whiteness as an institutional problem; whiteness is treated as an image problem. Those who report racism are thus often treated as threatening this image.

Race Equality and Commitment

Practitioners typically describe commitment as key to the success of their work; in particular, the extent to which VCs and senior managers were themselves committed to race equality. Even if the aim was to institutionalise commitment, practitioners admit to their reliance on individual champions to drive the race equality agenda forward. Committees were described as key mechanisms for 'spreading commitment'. In a few instances, universities used the language of mainstreaming to justify cutting their diversity or equality committee (that is, stating that all committee *should* be concerned with equality). However, practitioners who spoke of mainstreaming talked about its failure: how you need specialists who are 'pushing' the agenda precisely because equality is not already mainstreamed. Unless pushed, a race equality agenda falls off the agenda. Whilst most practitioners talked about race equality documents as giving commitments, they also note that practices often fail to live up to the ideals. In one case, a university had even agreed to a new policy (with the agreement going through the right committees), but nothing actually changed in practice.

Recommendations

- The development of race equality frameworks should be valued as much for the networks they generate as for the documents themselves.
- The existing equality regime with the focus on positive duties can lead to the downplaying of some of the more negative experiences for BAME students and staff, in particular experiences of racism. Creating spaces to talk about issues of whiteness and racism should be a priority and these spaces should not only be about sharing research but be recognised as a key human resource and staff development issue.
- Even when race equality policies are approved, they are often not implemented. Given these 'brick walls' are often invisible to those who don't come against them, diversity workers often end up alienated and exhausted. Support for diversity workers needs to be a much higher institutional priority.

Reference

Ahmed, S. (2012) *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Durham: Duke University Press.

2. The Declining Salience of Race Equality in Higher Education Policy

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Introduction

For a brief period in the first few years of the new millennium, the state exerted considerable pressure on universities to address race equality, cajoling universities through two strategies, notably those concerned with widening participation and human resources. The first sought to promote equality and diversity in the student body, while the second was concerned with promoting equal opportunities in staffing. In addition to these colour blind strategies, the state required universities along with other public organisations to develop race equality policies and action plans following new race relations legislation in 2000.

How successful were these colour blind strategies in promoting race equality? However effective these strategies may have been in relation to other equality strands, they do not seem to have made significant inroads in combating race inequality.

The primary concern of widening participation strategies was social class. The result was that the needs of BME students were of marginal concern to policy makers. The focus of policy on admissions to the sector as a whole glossed over the differentiated nature of the higher education sector and overlooked the different rates of return from gaining access to higher education. In particular it failed to address the fact that BME students, though well represented in the sector as a whole, are under-represented in the more prestigious institutions and continue to be less likely than White students to gain good honours degrees.

Turning to strategies promoting equal opportunities, a series of audits revealed significant lacunae. Analysis of university equal opportunities strategic documents identified significant deficiencies in monitoring and in target setting indicating that many HEIs have not taken equal opportunities policies seriously, at least when it comes to race. This suggestion is confirmed by official evaluations of the policies introduced in the first few years of the new millennium which indicate that the implementation of equal opportunities strategies continued to exhibit a greater concern with gender than race issues.

The colour blind widening participation and equal opportunity policies may have bypassed minorities, but targeted policies it was hoped would make a difference. Under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act, universities were required to develop and publish race equality policies and plans which were subsequently audited in 2003 and 2004. While the initial audit found more than a third of higher education institutions (HEIs) had not satisfactorily met their statutory obligations, subsequent audits were more upbeat and pointed to the considerable progress made by the majority of HEIs.

We need to be circumspect, however. The reviews that we have drawn upon here have perforce been focused on documents but there is a danger that we confuse what is written in policy documents with what actually happens in institutions. Since policy documents often serve as the public face of the university, an inordinate amount of time can go into getting them just right. This can mean that writing documents and having good policies becomes a substitute for action.

The Case of Midshire University

Conscious of the dangers of reliance on official documents, I conducted an ethnographic investigation of one university in the decade following the publication of the Macpherson report (Pilkington, 2011). The university is a new university in Central England and will be identified as Midshire University.

What is immediately apparent is that at different times more or less attention has been placed on race equality. The university's initial race equality policy and plan was judged by an independent review in 2003 to be non-compliant with the race relations legislation. This prompted action: new governance arrangements and the arrival of two equality and diversity officers in 2004 subsequently gave race a higher profile. And there is no doubt that for some years significant progress was made. The conditions facilitating this included (for a period) external pressure on the university, support from some key senior staff and the presence of professional equality and diversity officers.

The middle of the first decade of the new millennium represented the university's high point in terms of addressing race equality. Since then external pressure from the government has ineluctably declined. Other government agendas prompted by concerns over increasing net migration, disorder and terrorism subsequently marginalised one concerned with race equality. This is evident in relation to the way new legislation introduced in 2010 has been implemented.

The Equality Act 2010 extended the general duties, initially identified in the race relations legislation, to different strands of equality, with the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC), a body that been set up earlier to replace a series of bodies focused on distinct strands of equality, being charged with having an enforcement role. Over time, however, and especially since the Coalition government took power, the requirements embodied in the legislation have been eroded. Thus the specific duties, enshrined in statutory codes of practice, including the requirement to have in place an equality action plan and conduct equality impact assessments, have been replaced by the need, on which there is merely guidance, to publish limited data and set one or more objectives. And at the same time, the red tape challenge and the cut in funding for the EHRC signal that racial equality is sliding down the government's agenda.

The consequence of the declining salience of race equality has been felt graphically at Midshire University, with the disappearance of dedicated committees and equality and diversity officers. This development was justified in terms of mainstreaming but has in fact entailed a reversal of the progress made in the preceding years to meet the general and specific duties of the race relations legislation.

What is remarkable is that, at the same time, evidence of racial disadvantage remains stubbornly persistent. In my study, I found the following: persistent ethnic differentials in the student experience that adversely impact on BME students and point to possible indirect discrimination; ethnic differentials in staff recruitment that adversely impact on Black and Asian applicants and point to possible indirect discrimination; (some) minority ethnic staff subject to racism and (some) White staff cynical about political correctness; an overwhelmingly White senior staff team, with no evident efforts to transform this situation; low priority given to the implementation of a race equality action plan; few staff skilled in intercultural issues; many staff not trained in equality and diversity; and few efforts made to consult Black and Asian communities.

We cannot of course generalise from this case study to the sector as a whole. Nonetheless, what we have found at Midshire University resonates with findings elsewhere and points to what one author has called 'the sheer weight of Whiteness'.

Conclusion

Research continues to demonstrate that individuals from minority ethnic communities disproportionately experience adverse outcomes in higher education. And yet universities are extraordinarily complacent. They see themselves as liberal and believe existing policies ensure fairness and in the process ignore adverse outcomes and do not see combating racial/ethnic inequalities as a priority. This points in my view to the sheer weight of Whiteness which will remain intact unless significant pressure is placed on universities to change.

Reference

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3. Participation of BME Students in UK Higher Education

Pam Tatlow
million+

Introduction

The increase in the participation of BME students in UK higher education in the last 20 years is an undoubted success story. From 2000, BME students were reported to comprise 16 per cent of the undergraduate population in England as opposed to 9 per cent of the working population. In London and other conurbations, the significant increases in higher education are largely explained by the aspirations and ambitions of BME students and their families which have outstripped those of their white counterparts.[1]

Nonetheless, embedded in this success story are significant inequalities associated with gender and ethnicity compounded by a failure by some politicians and employers to recognise the journey travelled by BME students and the institutions at which they are more likely to study.

Equally concerning is the differential in degree attainment. A number of studies have identified an attainment gap between BME students and white students which the Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) estimated to be 18.3 per cent on a national basis in 2009. In this case the attainment gap was defined as the difference between the proportion of white qualifiers who obtained a first class honours or upper second honours and the proportion of BME qualifiers who achieved at the same level. In 2010 ECU reported that this gap had decreased marginally to 18 per cent.

This differential has been well-researched and cannot be explained by a 'deficit' model linked to BME students themselves. As a result, universities have paid increasing attention to this attainment gap in the last decade with many modern universities adopting specific strategies and initiatives. For example, a number of institutions worked on an ECU and Higher Education Academy project in 2008–10 which focused on and evaluated these initiatives.

This found that strategies were wide-ranging and included a focus on preparedness to study, inclusive learning and teaching, specific initiatives to raise aspirations, the internationalisation of the curriculum, enhanced guidelines for staff, better training for programmes and refinement of audit tools, targets for retention, raising staff expectations of BME attainment and a focus on the BME student experience.

Nonetheless, the uncomfortable fact remains that BME students still achieve lower degree outcomes than white students who enter university with similar pre-entry qualifications and from the same socio-economic and educational backgrounds. As a priority, universities, the Funding Councils and the Office for Fair Access (OFFA)[2] have a duty to work in partnership with prospective and current students and the National Union of Students (NUS) to address the causes of these differentials and improve outcomes.

There can also be no excuses if the admission practices of some universities are found to result in BME applicants receiving fewer offers than non-BME applicants with the same pre-entry qualifications. BME students are entitled to know that they will not be subject to potentially indirect – or indeed direct – discriminatory practices in an institution's application and admissions processes as well as during their studies.

Valuing the Universities where BME Students Study

Twenty five per cent of all BME students study at 30 universities compared to an institutional average in the UK of 16 per cent. Disappointingly, these are not the universities which politicians often choose to promote, even though 60 per cent of all black students study at 'the 30' and 36 per cent of all Asian students are also graduates from these universities.

The characteristics of these 30 institutions are interesting but are typical of many modern universities. They have strong traditions of access and more 'first-in family' students. While they focus on both national and international recruitment, they also attract higher numbers of students from the communities and regions in which they are located, producing local graduates, many of whom go on to work in the cities and regions in which they have studied. More of these universities' students live at home and enter university when they are older.

In a nutshell these universities excel in reflecting the profile of their local communities as well as recruiting on a national and global basis.

Political and Employer Prejudice

Unfortunately as yet, these are not the universities at which many politicians or media pundits obtained their degrees. This may explain, but it cannot excuse, the continued focus of the Coalition Government and politicians more generally on a small group of universities. This focus does BME students a disservice and is compounded by recruitment practices of some key employers and city firms. Often referred to as 'the milk round', these firms insist on only visiting and recruiting from this small group of universities rather than from a wide range of universities including those at which BME students are more likely to study.

Employer recruitment practices which rely on school as well as university attended, A-level grades and unpaid internships are also likely to ignore the talents and potential of BME graduates, including those who enter higher education later in life.

Impact of Imbalances in Research Funding

There are, however, two further aspects of the discussion which have been missing from the political and academic discourse. First, the unbalanced distribution of research funding in the UK has a significant impact on the institutional resources available to staff and students. Startlingly, 25 per cent of the taxpayer funding that is made available for research is allocated to five universities; 50 per cent of the funding goes to 12 universities while 75 per cent is allocated to just 31 institutions. The implications for BME students and staff of this inequity are rarely discussed.

Second, the institutions which receive the majority of the research funds – which are, after all, provided by all taxpayers – are those with more socially exclusive student profiles in terms of the background of said students. They are also the universities on which the social mobility debate has been refocused. This debate assumes that students progress to higher education when they are 18 or 19 and that they will study full-time. This stereotypical image of the standard student may suit the media and politicians but it does no justice to a hugely diverse student population which numbers 2 million a year and vastly ranges in age and ethnicity. Of these 2 million students, a third start a university course for the first time when they are over 21 and mature students are more likely to be from BME backgrounds.

So What Should be Done?

First there should be much more respect for the university choices made by BME students and the universities at which they study should be acknowledged, valued and promoted.

Second, the government needs to scrap the measure of social mobility introduced by the former Education Secretary, Michael Gove. Under Gove, the contribution of schools to social mobility was recalibrated and is currently measured by the number of pupils whom a school or college sends to the 30 'most selective' universities.

In fact, all universities have courses which are highly selective in terms of admissions grades and the description is entirely misleading. However, Gove's 30 'selective institutions' often have admissions criteria which are more narrowly focused in terms of subjects studied at A level. This discounts the many students who enter university with vocational qualifications or who start their journey into higher education later in life. Unsurprisingly, these are also the institutions which receive the most research funding.

Third, there is a whole sector challenge to address the gap in degree outcomes. This will require detailed analysis at institutional level to work out what is happening by discipline and mode of study and thereafter develop better practice and strategies.

Fourth, the impact of research funding distribution on BME students and staff needs to be addressed. As a minimum, the next government should commit to ensuring that all universities with research degree awarding powers receive funding for research infrastructure.

Finally, there has been far too much complacency and too little research about the impact on BME students of the 2012 fee reforms and the reforms in further education. The latter has seen the complete abolition of any funding for students studying for Level 3 qualifications when they are over 24. Since 2103 these students have had to either pay fees in full upfront or take out Advanced Learner Loans.

BME students and graduates have in many respects outperformed some of their white peers in their enthusiasm for and achievements at university.

This now needs to be matched by the political commitments required to challenge inequities in the unit of resource, employer recruitment practices which limit talent and the ways in which MPs and Ministers both discuss and value universities.

Notes

1. In 2014 UCAS reported that the rate of applications to university for 18 year-olds in London was 43.5 per cent. This compares to 30.3 per cent in the South West region (the lowest rate in England).
2. The statutory responsibilities of the Office for Fair Access only apply to England.

4. The Visible Minority: Nowhere to be Seen in the Academy

Patrick Johnson
University of Manchester

There can be no doubt that there is a problem with the lack of BME staff in higher education, particularly in senior positions. The evidence is compelling and is well documented throughout this perspectives publication. What is being done and should institutions be doing more?

The rhetoric is good: 'X University is committed to creating an environment where diversity is celebrated and everyone is treated fairly…. As an academic institution we believe that Black and Minority Ethnic staff and students are vital to the world of academia.' Do statements like this reflect a real will to change or merely an acknowledgement without any real conviction?

In their report on the experiences of BME staff in higher education, the Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) drew attention to how the strategies and policies do not always match the lived experience of staff in those institutions.

The same report highlights some of the key challenges and concerns for BME staff. There are a variety of pilots or trials of different diversity related (positive action) initiatives that are well intentioned but they tend to disappear after the first cohort or a short period of time.

Challenges include lack of any real link with the university's main strategy, limited resources and an absence of dedicated staff time. In some cases the use of external expertise has been met with some success; however, this can be quite expensive and inaccessible particularly for smaller institutions.

An added dilemma is that some of these initiatives are not welcomed by all the staff they are supposed to be supporting. Whilst some staff welcome specific activities intended to support the progression and development of BME staff, others are wary of being seen to receive special treatment.

It's clear that the question of how we bring about real change is not an easy one to answer.

What is clear is that without dedicated resource and time given to initiatives which link to the institution's overall strategy, this merry-go-round of mentoring and career development initiatives will continue without substantial change.

What More Can be Done?

The first thing we need to do is acknowledge that there are real differences between minority ethnic groups. We need to keep reminding institutions that BME staff are not a homogenous group and they need to look in more detail at where we need to do focused work.

The second thing is to stop concentrating on the deficit model of individuals. Instead of initiatives that identify what is missing in a person we need to move towards an asset-based approach – an approach that recognises and values diverse skills and challenges the culture and practices that prevent BME staff from progressing or, indeed, being recruited in the first place.

As a result of unconscious or implicit bias, mono-cultures are created when people recruit in their own image. This is particularly true in senior positions. A number of institutions are introducing training which looks at unconscious bias. This can lead to a lack of take-up by those who need it most. This needs to change – as Robbie Shilliam says in his article, make it mandatory!

Real change requires institutions to:

- **Make a long term commitment.** Change does not happen overnight, key performance indicators need to be set in their main strategies and funding should be identified so that initiatives are properly monitored and resourced.
- **Engage in active recruitment processes.** If there are no BME applicants for positions, find out why, go and seek them out and show them that you are interested and value what they have to offer. For senior positions, head-hunters need to be held to account if they do not provide a diverse shortlist. If a large number of BME applicants apply but are not shortlisted scrutinise those processes.

- **Challenge unconscious bias**
- **Rethink promotions processes.** Has anything been done to try to encourage and support BME staff to apply for promotion? What would they need to do in order to strengthen their CVs so that they can be in a position to apply for promotion in the future? Do they give appropriate credit to their research especially if it is in a highly specialised area and is not appropriate for 'mainstream' journals? Have they given appropriate credit to the wider contribution of the applicant?
- **Think about succession planning.** Is there a process in place? If so, focus on issues relating to the selection pool from which potential leaders are identified. This is important in order to better understand how decisions are made and how they may impact on BME staff.
- **Mentoring** can be crucial; if the appropriate mentors are not available in the institution, look outside. The B-Mentoring programme by five HE institutions in London for BME staff is a good example of this.

The ECU Race Equality Charter Mark is currently being trialled in institutions and will help to identify where the problems exist and begin a discussion about how to address them. This must be a step in the right direction.

The path to change might not be quick or easy but if we want to truly commit to making it happen then support is required from the very top of the organisation. This support needs to move beyond well-meaning words and identify time and resources to making change happen.

SECTION II: WIDENING PARTICIPATION

5. Why are British Ethnic Minorities Less Likely to be Offered Places at Highly Selective Universities?

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Although British ethnic minorities are generally more likely than their White British peers to go to university (Modood, 2012), some ethnic minority groups remain strikingly under-represented among students attending the UK's most selective institutions (Business in the Community, 2010). As Table 1 shows, 1.1 per cent of 15–29 year olds in England and Wales are of Black Caribbean heritage compared to just 0.5 per cent of students at Russell Group universities. Similarly, 2.8 per cent and 1.2 per cent of 15–29 year olds are of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin respectively compared to only 1.8 per cent and 0.6 per cent of students at Russell Group universities. Young people from Indian, Chinese, and 'Mixed' ethnic backgrounds, on the other hand, appear to be well-represented at these institutions.

Part of the reason for the under-representation of Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi students at highly selective universities is that these students are less likely to achieve the high grades required for entry (BIS, 2013; Connor et al., 2004). *But research has also shown that Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi applicants to Russell Group and other highly selective universities are substantially* less *likely to be offered places even when they have the same A-level grades as their White peers* (Shiner and Modood 2002; Boliver 2004, 2013; Noden et al., 2014; Parel and Ball 2013; Parel and Boliver 2014; Zimdars et al., 2009).[1] These ethnic disparities in offer rates have been found to hold even after taking into account applicants' A-level subjects, and even after taking into account how many other applicants were competing for places on the same course.[2] Studies have also found that Chinese, Indian, 'Mixed' and 'Other' minority ethnicity applicants are similarly disadvantaged in the competition for places at highly selective universities relative to comparably qualified White applicants (Boliver, forthcoming; Noden et al., 2014;). Since admissions selectors receive non-anonymised application forms containing applicants' names and other personal details (but not their stated ethnicity, which is concealed until after admissions decisions have been made), the possibility of direct

Table 1. Ethnic composition of young people, university students, and students at Russell Group universities

	15–29 year olds in England and Wales (%)	Students attending UK universities (%)	Students attending Russell Group universities (%)
White	81.2	80.4	82.8
Black Caribbean	1.1	1.5	0.5
Black African	2.2	4.4	2.1
Black Other	0.6	0.3	0.1
Pakistani	2.8	2.4	1.8
Bangladeshi	1.2	0.8	0.6
Indian	3.2	3.4	4.2
Chinese	1.5	0.9	1.5
Other Asian	1.9	1.7	1.8
Other (incl. mixed)	4.5	4.2	4.5

Note: Column 1 draws on census data for 2011 (https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/dc2101ew). Columns 2 and 3 draw on HESA data for the 2012/13 academic year (students of unknown ethnicity have been excluded from calculations).
Source: Boliver (2014).

discrimination, perhaps resulting from unconscious bias (ECU, 2013), cannot be ruled out.

It is important to note that it is not just highly selective universities that disproportionately reject ethnic minority applicants. A recent analysis of UCAS data for 2008 found that ethnic disparities in offer rates net of attainment were similar for universities in the top and bottom halves of the *Sunday Times* university league table (Noden et al., 2014). Table 2 reports similar findings based on an analysis of UCAS data for 2010 to 2012, showing that offer rates from Russell Group, other Old and New universities are lower for many ethnic minority groups than for the White group even after controlling for A-level achievement and other relevant factors.[3] For example, compared to White applicants who are equally well qualified at A-level, Black Caribbean applicants have a seven percentage points lower offer rate from Russell Group universities, and a four percentage points lower offer rate from both other Old and New universities.

Last year UCAS announced via a short article in the *Times Higher Education* (Grove, 2013) that its own in-house analysis had found only a 'small' ethnic bias in offer rates from Russell Group universities of around two percentage points. Their analysis was restricted to 18 year-old applicants predicted to obtain three or more high grades at A level, and focused on just a single (and, because of the tuition fees increase, a somewhat unusual) year of application, 2012. Rather worryingly, UCAS has not published the results of this analysis in any detail, nor has it permitted independent researchers to access the particularly detailed data on which its analysis was based. Even more worryingly, UCAS recently took the unprecedented step of deciding not to permit independent researchers to access any individual-level applications and admissions data at all (UCAS, 2014).

The fact that detailed, individual-level university admissions data is not available for independent scrutiny is deeply concerning for at least three reasons. For one thing, it flies in the face of the increasingly accepted norm that all data pertaining to public life should be open data (Cabinet Office, 2012). Secondly, it compromises the public accountability of universities which are, after all, public institutions in receipt of large sums of public money and legally bound to ensure that they do not discriminate against applicants on grounds such as ethnicity. And thirdly, it makes it impossible to test currently unevidenced claims about why ethnic minority applicants have lower offer rates than White applicants with the same A-level grades; for instance, the assertion that ethnic minority applicants are more likely to have the wrong combination of A-level grades and subjects for their chosen university courses (Russell Group, 2013).

If we want to understand and remedy ethnic differences in university offer rates, two things must happen. Firstly, serious consideration must be given to whether aspects of the university admissions process need to be changed to reduce the possibility of unlawful discrimination; most obviously, whether

Table 2. Ethnic group differences in offer rates from Russell Group, other Old, and New universities, before and after controlling for A-level attainment

	Russell Group universities		Other old universities		New universities	
	No controls	Controls for A-level attainment	No controls	Controls for A-level attainment	No controls	Controls for A-level attainment
White British	54.6	52.0	64.4	62.1	60.1	60.8
Black Caribbean	29.6*	44.7*	44.0*	57.8*	46.3*	56.7*
Black African	21.9*	35.7*	35.8*	50.6*	36.8*	50.7*
Pakistani	30.3*	39.6*	47.8*	58.3*	58.2*	58.5*
Bangladeshi	31.2*	42.6*	48.9*	57.9*	61.3	62.3
Indian	43.1*	47.6*	58.6*	61.9	62.8*	60.9
Chinese	49.6*	48.4*	63.5	62.0	61.9	59.7
Mixed	47.8*	48.8*	58.2*	59.7*	56.1*	59.0*
Other	36.1*	44.2*	50.0*	59.7*	53.2*	58.4*

Note: Figures refer to the percentage of applications met with an initial offer of admission, usually conditional on a subsequent level of achievement at A-level or in an equivalent qualification. The percentages under the columns headed 'Controls for A-level attainment' have been calculated for the average application submitted to the type of university concerned. An asterisk indicates that the figure is statistically significantly different at the $p. < 0.05$ level from the corresponding figure for the White British group. See Note 3 for further details about how the figures have been calculated.

applicants should be identified by their UCAS ID numbers, rather than by their names, while admissions decisions are being made. Secondly, and just as importantly, suitably anonymised, detailed, individual-level data on university applications and admissions must be made openly available so that it can be subject to rigorous independent analysis and proper public scrutiny.

Notes

1. This has been the case for more than 20 years – see the early study by Taylor (1992).
2. Boliver (2013) controls for whether or not applicants had studied any of eight 'facilitating subjects' at A level – identified as Biology, Chemistry, English Literature, History, Geography, Languages, Mathematics, Physics by the Russell Group in its publication entitled *Informed Choices* (Russell Group, 2011, 2012). Noden et al. (2014) control for A-level difficulty scored on a three point scale, and for course competitiveness by means of a multilevel model.
3. Applications are taken as the unit of analysis and all analyses are conditional on application to Russell Group (N = 151,281), other old (N = 143,958) and new (N = 374,685) universities respectively. The control variables included in the analysis are: number of A levels (excluding general studies) at grade A*, A, B, C, D and E (or total UCAS points for holders of qualifications other than A level); whether or not any of eight facilitating subjects were studied at A level; year of application; timing of application (before the Oxbridge deadline, by the UCAS main deadline, or late), and the numerical competitiveness of the chosen degree subject area at the chosen institution (calculated from the data at hand as the percentage of applications met with an initial offer of a place for each of 23 broad degree subject areas, e.g. Medicine and Dentistry, at each institution).

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6. Time to Change: Bringing Oxbridge into the 21st Century

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> *It was a complete shock, it was different from anywhere else I have ever been, it was too traditional, too old fashioned, from another time altogether. I didn't like it at all. It was like going through a medieval castle when you were going down the corridors. It was like a proper castle, and I was thinking – where's the moat, where's the armour? Save me from this. You know, you expect little pictures with eyes moving around, watching you all the time. And I just didn't like the atmosphere, not one bit.*

In this quote Ong, a Chinese working class student, tries to explain why he turned down an offer from Cambridge; a place he says all his friends thought he was mad to refuse.

Then there was Candice, a Black working-class student who raises a collective dilemma facing Black students when she discusses her desire to go to 'a good university':

> *It's been really scary thinking that you could have made the wrong decision, very anxiety inducing… .I think it's more difficult if no one in your family's been there. I think in a funny sort of way it's more difficult if you're Black too…. Because you want to go to a good university but you don't want to stick out like a sore thumb. It's sad isn't it? I've sort of avoided all the universities with lots of Black students because they're all the universities which aren't seen as so good. If you're Black and not very middle class and want to do well then you end up choosing places where people like you don't go and I think that's difficult.*

What is apparent in both Ong's and Candice's words is how different, even alien, elite universities appear to BME students. Both quotes reveal a class and ethnic distance, particularly in relation to the elite universities (Reay et al., 2005). In a study of working class students I conducted at Cambridge, all the students described the university as 'a white, middle class bubble'. And we found many of the same feelings and attitudes that led a majority of high achieving, BME working class students, like Ong, to decide Oxbridge was not for them (Reay et al., 2009).

The introduction of a system of mass HE has resulted in large numbers of BME students going to university but beneath the veneer of diversity lies a troubling divide.

Growing diversity within HE, rather than producing a more inclusive higher education, has resulted in a segregated and increasingly polarised system. Upper and upper middle class pursuit of the educational exclusivity they experienced in private and selective state schooling has relegated both Black and White working classes to the universities that the more privileged do not want to attend. The new opportunities for BME students have diminished value because they are studying in low ranking universities with 'too many' students like themselves who are perceived to be 'low status'.

I have always found it strange that positive discrimination is frowned upon in the UK context because it seems very apparent that there are strong processes of positive discrimination at work in Oxbridge, bestowing advantage on the already advantaged. In 2012, private school pupils accounted for 7 per cent of British children, 37 per cent of Oxford applications, and 42.5 per cent of the new Oxford intake. If we take a snapshot of Oxbridge admissions policies, we find that:

- They rarely allow individuals with alternative qualification routes into their undergraduate programmes.
- They do not cater readily for part-time first-degree students.
- They assume the vast majority of their intakes will be aged 18 with very high A-level scores.
- They don't allow students to work in term time.

These are all policies that rule out the majority of BME working class university applicants!

So, unsurprisingly, although Oxford and Cambridge universities have access schemes in place for students from low income backgrounds, very few apply (or are able to apply) for places, resulting in an intake in 2012 of 11 per cent working-class students at Oxford and 10.3 per cent at Cambridge. There are very different sorts of higher education on offer and they reflect a deep and widening class and racial stratification within

the HE sector. Of the 200,000 of the nation's children who live in poor areas, 1.1 per cent get in. This is not just an issue of class; BME students are more likely to come from a lower socio-economic background with 75 per cent of Britain's minority communities living in 88 of Britain's poorest wards.

But the elite universities are not just central in social class reproduction; they are also institutionally racist. In 2013 the success rate of White students applying to Oxford was 25.4 per cent. The success rate of Bangladeshi students was 6.7 per cent, that of Pakistani students 6.5 per cent, while Black Caribbean students had a 14.3 per cent success rate and Black African students a 13 per cent success rate. Cambridge University was doing only slightly better. While Black Caribbean applicants had a 24.3 per cent chance of success compared to White applicants' 29 per cent success rate, Black African students had a 9.2 per cent chance of success, and Bangadeshi and Pakistani students 13.8 and 13.6 per cent respectively. Disparities in rates of admission remain substantial for White and BME applicants, even after entry qualifications have been taken into account (Boliver, 2013).

Research (Scales and Whitehead, 2006) shows that even those BME students who succeed in getting into Oxbridge face substantial hurdles once they are there. The study focused on the British Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi students in Cambridge. It found that 47 per cent of those who said there were 'lots of things they can't afford' in day-to-day life gained a 1st or 2:1 compared to 76 per cent of those who said they 'have enough money to do everything they want'. Poverty had a major impact. Those who received money from their parents are much more likely to gain good examination results. Seventy three per cent got a 1st or 2:1 compared with only 45 per cent of those who said they received no money from their parents. Relatedly, vacation working showed a strong significant relationship with examination performance. Only 47 per cent of those who undertook paid vacation work to fund their education achieved good examinations grades compared to 76 per cent of those who did not. The authors found in relation to Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi students that 'some students were in situations of severe financial hardship, including a number from single-parent families and larger families'. Here we see class compounding race to produce very inequitable cultures and outcomes!

Oxbridge remains the equivalent of 'a finishing school' for the private school system, polishing, refining and accentuating the elitism and sense of superiority acquired in earlier schooling. In this process Black and White working class students are both marginal and marginalized, small in numbers and peripheral to the main work of the elite universities which is, as it always was, the reproduction of educational inequalities. So what can be done? Of course, we want more ethnic minority and working class students to go to university but when they primarily go to poor, working class, universities in a segregated system, we are talking about a very unlevel playing field. So it is much more than an issue of widening access. The painful irony for someone like myself who has spent more than 20 years researching class and racial inequalities in our school system is that when I moved my research focus to higher education I was faced by policies that are generating the same inequalities and divisions we find in schooling. What we need is more radical action in terms of admissions, drawing lessons from affirmative action policies. Only then can we counteract the growing class and race inequalities that are pervasive across the HE sector. It is time for change.

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7. Widening Participation in Higher Education: Racialised Inequalities and Misrecognitions

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Access to and participation in higher education poses serious challenges for policy and practice because it is necessarily bound up with long-standing historical inequalities. To develop effective strategies, close attention must be paid to the different practices and contexts in which inequalities of race and ethnicity are formed and reformed. Such formations are deeply connected to struggles for recognition within the highly stratified and selective spaces of higher education. This helps identify two imperatives for policy and practice:

1. We must identify structural inequalities, which are tied in with relations of power and difference, such as race and ethnicity. This must be nuanced in terms of the ways that structures of inequality are intersecting. Therefore, in order to make sense of inequalities of race, we must analyse the relationship of race to other structural inequalities, such as class and gender, for example.
2. We must analyse and challenge processes of misrecognition. Misrecognition operates at the symbolic, cultural and emotional levels and produces subtle and insidious forms of inequality in higher education. Misrecognition is related to ways of imagining 'potential' and 'ability' and the kinds of persons who are recognised, or not, as having the potential to benefit from higher education.

Misrecognitions are difficult to capture because they work at the level of everyday, taken-for-granted practices (such as admissions, selection, assessment and so forth). The practices that perpetuate histories of misrecognition take place within and across different institutional contexts, as well as within particular disciplinary fields (such as Arts, Medicine, Law, Philosophy and so forth). Through taken-for-granted academic practices, constructions of difference are formed, often in problematic ways. The tendency is to project a pathologising gaze on racialised bodies that have historically been constructed as a problem, and as suffering from a range of deficit disorders (e.g. lack of aspiration, lack of motivation, lack of confidence and so on).

Gaining access to higher education depends on demonstrating particular attributes and dispositions. These are embedded in an esoteric framework, requiring that the student decodes legitimated forms of academic practice. Young people from socially privileged backgrounds often have access to a range of resources that enable them to decode how to demonstrate 'academic potential' (Burke, 2012). For example, to achieve in higher education, the 'successful' student must first understand how to write, speak and read in ways that are recognised as legitimate forms of practice within higher education. These academic practices of writing, speaking and reading are highly contextual, profoundly constrained ways of developing a student identity. Students from under-represented backgrounds often experience feelings of unworthiness or shame, which are related to processes of misrecognition. Academic practices are usually presented as neutral, decontextualised sets of technical skills and literacy that students from socially disadvantaged backgrounds are seen to lack (Lillis, 2001).

We are all socially situated and we make sense of ourselves and others through the discourses, power relations and practices that name and make us; processes of 'recognition' and 'misrecognition'. For example, if we are continually recognised by our teachers as having 'potential', this becomes a way of understanding ourselves, just as being identified as 'lacking potential' profoundly shapes our self-understanding, feelings of worthiness and aspirations. However, in order to be recognised as 'having potential', a person must first decode the practices that will allow them recognition as an appropriate, legitimate or authentic student. For those from under-represented backgrounds, it might take time to develop an understanding of the ways that 'potential' is constructed and recognised within particular disciplinary fields.

Becoming a university student demands the developing of a particular form of voice within the boundaries of the discipline, course or subject being studied. Ways of writing in sociology will be different from ways of writing in psychology or physics and this is not just simply about learning sets of skills but learning very particular ways of thinking, arguing, being critical, analytical and so forth. These are *methodologies* rather than technical skills (Burke

and Hermerschmidt, 2005). Furthermore, White, Eurocentric and masculine perspectives and orientations have historically formed assumptions about who has the right to higher education. Indeed, 'inclusion' tends to be more about fitting into the dominant culture than about interrogating that culture for the ways that it is complicit in the social and cultural reproduction of exclusion, misrecognition and inequality.

An ethical framework for widening participation requires universities to provide the resources and opportunities for students from under-represented backgrounds to develop their understanding of ways of writing, reading, speaking and learning that will facilitate their access to privileged forms of being and knowing, whilst at the same time encouraging spaces of change and transformation. This is different from providing study skills support that tends to reduce complex sets of literacy practice to remedial support for skills acquisition (Lea and Street, 2000). This requires a shift in the gaze – away from identifying individual students 'with problems' and towards developing sophisticated pedagogical interventions that support students' access to meaning-making processes. This also shifts our orientation away from instrumentalised frameworks of teaching and learning and towards transformative pedagogical approaches that engage students as participants in the development, and critique, of knowledge and meaning.

My research *Art for a Few* (Burke and McManus, 2009) has shown that the recognition of potential or ability – or conversely being seen as 'weak', 'needy' or 'lacking confidence' – is deeply tied in with the subjective judgements made by those with the institutional authority to name, classify and assess. Through this research we had the rare opportunity to observe actual live selection interviews with Art and Design candidates. The data uncovered the ways that recognition of potential is implicitly shaped by value judgements embedded in disciplinary communities of practice. We found, for example, that potential is often judged in terms of knowing where to shop and where to travel, which museums and galleries to go to, and which artists and designers to be inspired by, and what forms of art and design to be interested in. Above that, judgements are shaped by the performance of attributes such as 'being witty', 'dressing with style' and 'being motivated'.

This was most explicitly shown through the case of Nina (pseudonym), a young Black woman from a poor inner city area applying for a BA Fashion course. All the candidates were asked about their influences at the start of the selection interview, and Nina explained that she was influenced by hip-hop. Nina's interview was cut short, and she was also denied the opportunity to complete her admissions test. After the interview, we observed the admissions tutors discussing how they would formally record their decision. They decided to claim that Nina's portfolio was weak. However, we had also observed the assessment of her portfolio before the interview and it had not been judged as weak. They additionally claimed that Nina lacked 'fashion flair' although she was dressed almost identically to the other White female candidates we had observed being interviewed earlier. They were also disappointed with her desire to stay home while at university, claiming that this reflected her lack of maturity.

Yet the male, White, middle class candidate interviewed immediately after Nina was accepted. He cited famous contemporary artists as his influences, and said he would 'definitely be leaving home as it's all part of the university experience'. Despite having significantly poorer qualifications than Nina, including having failed GCSE Art, he was offered a place. We argue that classed, racialised and gendered practices, values and assumptions implicitly inform the everyday selection practices of admissions tutors when they are caught up in identifying potential in ways that misrecognise and thus exclude young black women such as Nina. All of us who have institutional positions of authority and responsibility in making judgements about others must therefore exercise a critical and ethically-based reflexivity in interrogating the taken-for-granted values, perspectives and judgements that we bring to selection and assessment processes.

Strategies to widen participation must not only attend to objective forms of institutional discrimination but also to the symbolic violence of being misrecognised. The injuries of misrecognition are embodied, through the internalisation of shame, and are tied to the emotional level of experience. So, for example, my recent research on higher education pedagogies has revealed the intensive forms of anxiety many students experience, even after they successfully gain access to higher education, and this is connected to the residual memory of shame from earlier educational experiences as well as the ongoing fear of being shamed again (Burke, 2014).

We must therefore question and challenge deficit constructions associated with widening participation categorisations, such as 'Black and Minority Ethnic'. Yet, simultaneously, we must be accountable for ensuring that scarce resources are targeted towards

those social groups who have experienced social disadvantage and structural inequality. This is a tension we are compelled to address in policy and practice; categorisations help us to decide how to redistribute resources whilst simultaneously categorisations require interrogation of the ways they become mechanisms to homogenise, standardise and pathologise. The category of 'Black and Minority Ethnic' is both a useful device to identify an appropriate target group for the redistribution of resources but it also contributes to the perpetuation of social divisions and hierarchies through reducing that person or group to one aspect of identity. We must make visible the ways such constructions are entangled in cycles of exclusion and unequal power relations and devise inclusive, reflexive and participatory frameworks that challenge misrecognition.

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8. Beyond the Gap: Dismantling Institutional Racism, Decolonising Education

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The issues faced by Black[1] students within Higher Education are not limited to the BME attainment gap. It is undoubtedly a considerable burden that they are almost 20 per cent less likely to achieve a First or Upper Second Class degree in comparison to their white counterparts, despite having entered their institution with the same A-level grades.[2] However, there is a dangerous move towards limiting the conversation to simply tackling the Gap instead of considering it to be only a small part of the ultimate goal to dismantle institutional racism[3] and decolonise education.

This is not to mean that the work on the Gap should be undermined, because it has contributed considerably to encouraging institutions to analyse the realities for their Black students. Furthermore, in doing so with one specific group, it has revealed the multiple issues faced by other students and therefore the implemented solutions have progressed to a more intersectional approach.

Moving Away from Changing Students to Changing Institutions

In the *Race for Equality* report (2011), the NUS Black Students' Campaign highlighted the multiple factors which not only explain the Gap, but also depicted the systematic rejection felt by Black students through both the content of their degrees and the treatment they face. Some of the key issues include a Eurocentric curriculum which Black students are unable to relate to given that it is not reflective of diverse contributions to the field.

> *There is a standard way of thinking that is hegemonically White, and students from ethnic minorities either have to get with the programme or do worse ….* (Respondent, HE)

There is also the minoritisation of their identity through historical omission, potentially problematic material used, and/or the way their views and experiences are received. In addition to biased marking, hate crime on campus, and the lack of Black academics, the report concluded that expectations for Black students are also considerably lower, and often internalised.

> *[There are] double standards: different treatment and support for the same course, from the same tutor.* (Respondent, HE)

> *Tutors/lectures do have a tendency to look down on ethnic minority students. If not racist, [they are] at the least favourable towards White students.* (Respondent, HE)

The report stressed the need to consider all of these barriers, but since its release the growing tendency for institutions to adopt a deficit model-based mentoring scheme as the sole solution is becoming an increasing worry. Black students are being treated as passive recipients of generally White-led and designed programmes instead of active participants in dismantling the barriers they face; not just overcoming them.

The element of self-organisation should be seen as a foundation to all matters relating to liberation and the eradication of oppression, especially within education.

The Black Ambassador Scheme at the University of Birmingham

At the University of Birmingham, early attempts to address the Gap included developing a peer mentoring project. There was little engagement from Black students largely due to their feelings towards an initiative which problematised them. Although some students benefitted from the project because the mentoring provided them with a 'Black space', this form of targeted intervention was not tackling the embedded barriers within the institution, which led these students to underachieve and feel marginalised to begin with. In reality, Black students were being mentored through a learning environment where structural and social oppression continued to thrive. Once the focus had shifted to this and away from the notion that Black students needed help, things changed considerably for the better.

With the continued active engagement of the Black Students' Association (BEMA), Black students were invited to share their experiences and also offer advice about solutions which they would be involved in applying. From such research, a Black Ambassador scheme was developed that took on Black students across every school and department to engage with their faculty and staff. They would provide input regarding the content of their curriculum, the structures of their courses and assessments, as well as address overt racism and microaggressions. These Black students would also be responsible for creating safe, autonomous spaces where self-defining students can share any grievances or simply seek a sense of empowerment.

Black students were notified about the Black Ambassador positions through the employment services and information portal and once applications were submitted, two students per school were recruited. The Ambassadors, who received hourly pay, were given a day-long training which: offered an overview of the context for Black students nationally and locally; established an understanding of Black safe spaces; as well as the skills not only to apply them but also to ensure they are supported by staff and faculty.

The Black Ambassadors were also supplied with an informative toolkit which includes templates for addressing race within their departments and schools. Regular meetings were held for them to feedback to the Equality and Diversity Adviser and to engage with fellow ambassadors for the exchange of ideas and support. There was also a strong collaboration with the Black Students' Association which functions within the Students' Union so that a supportive and diverse Black Student and staff community was strengthened and felt to exist within the institution.

The legitimacy of holding the position of a Black Ambassador also empowered the Black students in those roles. They feel that they are able to call out when privilege is being exercised and oppression enforced; without running the risk of being reprimanded or made to feel alone in their experience.

Some of the most important aspects of this project include:

- The creation of a campus environment where discussions on race and experiences of Black students are encouraged, including amongst staff and academics.
- The active creation of Black safe spaces. This can be anything from an event for self-defining students, to a Facebook group/email thread, or even the presence of a representative like a Black ambassador.
- Black students' input in addressing the issues they face is being valued and prioritised.
- Black students are not being made to feel like the problem, but rather the focus is on the structures of their institutions.
- Black students are being included in the process of dismantling barriers, without the sense of White-saviour complex attached (Cole, 2012).

Overall the project[5] has helped not only pave the way for an inclusive learning environment, but also changed the way we address the Gap to the extent that other HE institutions are also implementing such a scheme.[6] Furthermore, future efforts will include increased engagement with Black postgraduate researchers and academics.

Radical Alternatives, Not Reforms

There needs to be a recognition that Black people hold the knowledge necessary to provide the solutions to their oppression; as demonstrated with the project undertaken at the University of Birmingham. White allies (institutions, etc.) should support the implementation rather than trying to design top-down solutions without consulting Black students as *well* as Black academics. After all, Black academics have lived through similar experiences of racism and isolation within the institution and have historically often served as unofficial mentors for Black students, as they continue to be their first point of reference for support and guidance.

The importance of Black-led movements, which date back to the development of Black Consciousness during anti-colonialist struggles, should be respected. The NUS Black Students' Campaign believes this is vital, even when it concerns the BME attainment Gap. Those who consider this to be a 'radical' proposal do not have a full understanding of today's context for Black people. As well as 50 per cent youth unemployment, an overrepresentation in prisons and psychiatric wards, an education system which not only fails their children but also rejects them, Black people are also seven times more likely to be stopped and searched by the police, or even killed in police custody.[7] Black communities have endured all of this and have been fighting against

such multi-layered systematic discrimination for over 50 years, so surely a radical approach is long overdue. Minor reforms are not working, we require alternatives to structures which mainly benefit straight White middle-class men.

The conversation has been considerably watered down to the extent that the use of terms like 'racism' or even 'discrimination' to describe student experiences are rarely uttered and the HE sector and institutions rarely criticised let alone held accountable for what Black students are facing. It is therefore unsurprising that the most important issues like the underrepresentation of Black academics[8] and staff, the underrepresentation of Black students within democratic structures of Students' Unions, the Eurocentric curriculum and racism/hate crime are not being seriously addressed. The only way this is likely to change is if Black students *and* Black academics are invited to sit at the dinner table instead of simply being on the menu.

Notes

1. The NUS Black Students' Campaign uses the term 'Black' in its political sense. We acknowledge the immense diversity within and between the African, Arab, Asian and Caribbean communities yet recognise the commonalities of experiences of underrepresentation and racism faced by our communities and across institutions including education.
2. http://www.theguardian.com/education/2014/mar/28/white-students-better-degrees-minorities-same-grades-universities

   http://www.ecu.ac.uk/publications/equality-in-higher-education-statistical-report-2013/
3. 'Institutional racism' – when a whole organisation's procedures and policies disadvantage BME people. In the UK the Macpherson report (Macpherson of Cluny, 1999) into the death of Stephen Lawrence defined institutional racism for the first time: '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 behaviours which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racial stereotyping which disadvantaged minority ethnic people'. (Definition from Institute of Race Relations. Available at: http://www.irr.org.uk/research/statistics/definitions/)
4. Autonomous spaces are a recognition of the issues, and are implemented so as to alleviate some of these social and systematic burdens on groups who are most affected.
5. With thanks to the Higher Education Academy for funding and supporting this project through its BME-Strategic Development Grants Programme. https://www.heacademy.ac.uk/workstreams-research/themes/retention-and-success/student-attainment
6. https://intranet.birmingham.ac.uk/collaboration/equality/students/getinvolved/bme/index.aspx
7. http://www.stop-watch.org/about-us/

   http://www.irr.org.uk/research/statistics/criminal-justice/

   http://www.theguardian.com/society/2012/mar/09/half-uk-young-black-men-unemployed

   http://www.voice-online.co.uk/article/rise-black-people-detained-under-mental-health-act

   http://www.inquest.org.uk/statistics/bame-deaths-in-police-custody
8. http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2014/03/the

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9. Respecting Difference: Widening Participation in Post-race Times

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Introduction: Achieving race equality in Post-race times

If we are to achieve *real* equality of outcome for Black and minority ethnic people *in* our places of higher learning, the challenge for widening participation in 'post-race' times has to move beyond a focus just on access. The election of Barack Obama, and a rising Black and Asian middle class in post-imperial Europe has been hailed as signalling the coming of age of the 'post-race era'. It is now argued that in contrast to the 'colour line' that defined the 20th century, 'race' as defined through skin colour is no longer an impediment to educational and economic opportunities. In a climate which is hostile to multiculturalism and sees targeted equality initiatives as unfair advantage grounded in 'political correctness', the difficult and brave question now for academic leaders and policy makers is 'How do we tackle the unspoken roots of racism still lodged deep within our institutional walls?' 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.

Widening Participation: Teacher Educators in Higher Education

Respecting Difference: Race, Faith and Culture for Teacher Educators (Mirza and Meetoo, 2012) aims to shed light on how social and cultural identity plays out in the 'affective' learning landscapes of our transnational, borderless, but still racially sedimented and elitist universities. The research investigates the everyday barriers to recruitment, retention and progression for Black and minority ethnic students on a Postgraduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) teacher education course. Over 85 per cent of undergraduate and postgraduate initial teacher education (ITE) courses are to be found in higher education institutions. However less than 12 per cent of student teachers on these courses are from Black and minority ethnic backgrounds and they are twice as likely to drop out or not to qualify as teachers as their White counterparts. This shortfall in developing a diverse teacher workforce is deeply worrying for the future of our increasingly multicultural schools.

In the wake of this hidden crisis in the teaching 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 tutors were all White and the case studies of their personal strategies and professional 'good practice' revealed the contradictory and multiple challenges they faced in the emotive space of the higher education classroom. While students from different ethnic, religious, gender, disability, class and cultural backgrounds expressed their hopes and desires for an equitable education, the intended and unintended discrimination they faced on their courses had real consequences for them to realise their dreams.

Getting in the Door: Recruitment and Admissions

The research unpacked the micro-institutional practices that reproduce racism by identifying the flashpoints in an organisation that lead to discriminatory practices for Black and minority ethnic teacher trainees. The first hurdle for the students is often the exclusionary effects of a highly cultivated image and reified reputation of a university. Students can be discouraged by advisers or would not apply to certain institutions if they were seen as 'privileged White spaces', that is, 'not for people like me'. Admission processes were influenced by well meaning gatekeepers who had unacknowledged but prejudicial assumptions about the quality, ability and potential of Black and minority ethnic students. As one student was told, 'Don't bother to apply, African Caribbean students have difficulty in getting in'.

Staying the Course: Retention and Progression

Whether their views were radical or conservative most of the tutors wanted to be more effective in supporting their Black and minority ethnic students through their programmes of learning. However many demonstrated a reluctance to take explicit 'positive action' to support a struggling Black or minority ethnic student. They felt this amounted to unfair 'special pleading' or might lead to the 'dilution of quality' and 'lowering standards' on the course. A 'colour-blind' approach was evident in the case of Sam, a Nigerian engineer who, though bringing a wealth of experience to the teaching profession, was 'treated the same' as everyone else and hence given no extra support even when he was struggling to complete the course. While course monitoring was seen as an official way to track students' progress on the course, tutors complained this was often an official 'tick box' exercise, and the feedback systems not robust enough to inform real change.

Generally, and somewhat surprisingly for a university with a 'diverse' student make-up, tutors were not confident about issues to do with multiculturalism, bilingualism, inclusive pedagogy and practice. Topics such as talking about Islam and ethnic and religious difference were consciously avoided in classroom discussions. One White newly qualified science teacher whose views had never once been challenged during his whole course openly declared, 'Black boys are just not suited to academic work as the same genes that affect IQ affect skin colour.'

Promoting Dialogue: Developing Curriculum and Resources

The tutors were united in wanting more open dialogue in their institutions about tackling issues of racism that went beyond simple compliance with the law. The teacher educators expressed a desire to challenge their professional practice by developing an inclusive classroom pedagogy underpinned by culturally relevant curricula and desired a 'safe' space for open and frank dialogue about tackling issues of racism at a personal and professional level. However with the demands of their job, they found very little time and space to explore their own philosophy on difference and diversity and embed multicultural and anti-racist practice in their professional life world.

Looking in the Mirror: Reflecting on Anti-racist Practice

A key concern of teacher educators was 'How do we tackle cultural, faith-based and familial tensions without being racist or patronising?' Some tutors felt multiculturalism, which aims to be inclusive and accommodate different cultures and religions, can conflict with their aims of supporting students to achieve their potential. This was particularly so for Muslim female students who were often stereotyped as passive or oppressed. One tutor was exceptionally hard on a Muslim woman student because he believed *all* Muslim women make poor teachers and she needed 'saving' from herself and given a dose of tough love. However, successful multicultural interventions require an understanding of power and respect if students are to feel confident about sharing their concerns with their tutors.

Recommendations: Recognising Racism in Institutional Practice

As educators, if we are serious about widening participation, we need to ask 'What are our principles of anti-racist professional and academic engagement, and how do we arrive at them?' Decolonising our taken-for-granted knowledges and entrenched ways of being inherent within our institutional walls requires not only deep self-reflection, but an intellectual and institutional safe space to develop critical consciousness for ourselves and our students. The research identified three key areas essential for race equality and educational inclusion. These included:

- Embedding multicultural and anti-racist professional practice in everyday processes and procedures.
- Developing inclusive classroom pedagogy with culturally relevant curricula.
- Enhancing race equality and diversity through committed institutional leadership.

Conclusion: Challenging Perceptions and Changing Culture

A more diverse and equitable higher education system is more than just 'good business sense';

it 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 – where saying you are *for* race equality does not mean you *do* race equality! My hope is always, that with visionary leadership our universities can be 'brave places of possibility', opening up radical movements for achieving real race equality which respects and embraces the humanity of every person.

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SECTION III: STUDENT EXPERIENCE

10. The Black Studies Movement in Britain: Addressing the Crisis in British Academia and Social Life

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There is a crisis within British higher education, which has significant implications for social life and policy in the nation. This is not the crisis of funding or lack of access to higher education for working class and ethnic minority students, though these do present as foundational issues for the system. The crisis at hand is the chronic under-representation of ethnic minority staff in general and Black (those of African ancestry) in particular. In the UK only 1.1 per cent of British born academic staff are Black, and only 0.4 per cent of British born professors (University and College Union, 2012). This under-representation is more than just a civil rights issue of the Black population being given fair access to employment and promotion. The shortage of Black staff also means that British scholarship is lacking a range of perspectives and therefore knowledge in terms of understanding society and the world we live in.

British higher education is an overwhelmingly White space, both physically and theoretically. As one of the fortunate 1.1 per cent to be employed as a British academic I can personally attest to the difficulties in getting alternative ideas and concepts heard, debated and considered. The implications of this dearth of critical engagement with Black perspectives reach far outside the walls of the university. Dubois (1903) foresaw that in America the problem of the twenty-first century would be the 'colour-line'. Unfortunately, this prediction is as prescient for twenty-first century Britain, with colour being replaced with culture and one of the fundamental challenges going forward being how society lives together in the 'melting pot'. The rise of the Right and anti-immigration populism represents a significant challenge for anti-racist scholarship, policy and practice. The knowledge produced in universities is central to informing how wider society decodes and interprets social changes, providing language and resources for people to draw on. Simply put, a predominantly White academia producing knowledge that is hostile to Black perspectives and experiences can never hope to produce scholarship that can help the complex and multicultural British society work out how to live together.

Black Studies

A group of scholars have come together to attempt to open up spaces for Black perspectives and the Black experience in British academia (Andrews and Palmer, 2013). In order to carve open a significant space for these perspectives and knowledge we are establishing a Black Studies Association for British academia.

Black Studies was first established as a discipline in the United States, after a long fight to include it on university campuses (James, 1969). The discipline is now well established, having developed into African American Studies, which can be found on the majority of university campuses. The discipline has had a major impact on US higher education, creating opportunities for the Black population and it has also been a route in for academics to establish themselves in higher education and then go on to have a major impact on other disciplines. The development and influence of Black feminism on mainstream sociological thought in the USA and the UK is probably the best example of the success of Black Studies in creating space for a ideas that have heavily impacted on how we understand society (Hill Collins, 2004).

The Black Studies Association is being established, taking note of the US history of the discipline but also drawing on the conditions and experiences in the UK and connection into the established networks in Europe. The association is rooted in exploring the lived and historical experiences of the African Diaspora and ensuring that our scholarship is connected with improving the conditions faced by the Black population. Black Studies presents the possibility of bridging the gap between the university

and wider community. There are four areas that the Association is going to focus on. We will be developing a national seminar series and establishing a regular international conference in order to provide spaces for discussion, debate and presentation for the ideas. A peer-reviewed open access journal where an academic platform for theoretical discussion and research can be developed will also be established. There will be a section of the association dedicated to establishing Black Studies as a discipline with a curriculum at higher education as well as examining the prospects of developing a further education programme. There will also be a focus on support for graduates and postgraduate students in the discipline of Black Studies to help support the number of successful PhDs in the discipline. Through the work of the association we aim to establish Black Studies as a recognised academic discipline in the UK.

Support for Black Studies from policy makers, universities and the public would enable the discipline to develop and create a dynamic space for scholarship rooted in the experiences and perspectives of the Black British population. Black Studies cannot solve all of the problems of the under-representation of ethnic minority groups in British higher education. However, it does offer the possibility of carving out a distinctive space for a critical mass of scholars to enter into academia. The alternative theoretical space that Black Studies offers also presents the opportunity to discover new and insightful knowledge that can benefit society as a whole.

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11. Black Academia: The Doors Have Been Opened but the Architecture Remains the Same

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Introduction

Black undergraduate students are significantly over-represented in less-prestigious universities and suffer from significantly poorer attainments proportionate to all other ethnic groups. Meanwhile, Black academics are massively under-represented in the professoriate and in senior management. The Black academic constituency (which for the specific purposes of this chapter I define as peoples of various African heritages) is over-represented at the bottom and significantly under-represented at the top. These facts suggest that after decades of struggle against visceral and institutional racism the doors to higher education have been opened; however, the architecture of the building has hardly changed.

British academia remains administratively, normatively, habitually and intellectually 'White', and Black academics and students suffer the most from the institutional racism and implicit biases that accompany this mono-culturalism. In what follows I shall present some recent statistics that reveal the disparities suffered by Black academia and relate these figures to some of the lived experiences of academics and undergraduate students. An examination of the challenges facing Black academia also provides an accurate gauge of the extent to which the British university system is fit to compete in the inter-cultural global market in higher education.

Black Academic Staff

Black academics constitute 1.54 per cent of the total UK academic population, a significant under-representation in terms of the broader resident Black population being 3.3 per cent. In contrast, White academic professionals compose 87.45 per cent of the total and are *over-represented* in terms of being 86 per cent of the broader population.[1] Furthermore, 92.39 per cent of professors (15,905) in UK academia are White, and 0.49 per cent (85) are Black, with just 17 of those being women. Indeed, in a decade of growth in higher education, the number of Black women professors has risen by around seven – a miserly increase. A similarly desperate picture emerges for academics with senior management roles: 0.58 per cent of Black academics occupy such positions as opposed to 3.69 per cent of White academics. In absolute terms, just 15 Black academics in the British university system perform senior management roles.

It should be noted that when it comes to minorities what appear to be small differences in representation relative to majority groups translate into significant disparities in substantial terms. Indeed, many Black academics feel themselves to be 'space invaders' (Puwar, 2004) operating in a predominantly White environment. Of course, being in a minority should not necessarily give rise to distressing experiences. However, the problem lies in the harmful racial/gender stereotypes that are often held against isolated Black academics by mostly White senior colleagues and managers and expressed through a set of implicit biases (Equality Challenge Unit, 2013b).

Key, in this respect, is the assumption that Black professionals lack competency. Hence, Black academics often suffer from over-scrutiny by senior colleagues relative to their peers. Compounding this problem is the fact that racial/gender stereotypes also tend to reproduce predominantly White male networks of prestige and career advancement. Many Black academics complain of a lack of mentorship, and these challenges begin during PhD study. All this means that Black academics – and especially women – tend to be overlooked for promotions or not encouraged to reply. We must also face the fact that straightforward bullying and mentally debilitating racial harassment, if by no means common, still happen.[2]

Experiences of isolation, exclusion, marginalisation and discrimination should be related to the fact that BME academics as a whole leave their current institution at a higher rate than their White counterparts, and subsequently enter into unemployment at a higher rate than their White counterparts.

Alternatively, the very presence of Black people in high-level meetings complicates and unsettles implicit biases and mono-cultural practices that structure these spaces of White privilege (Puwar, 2004: 71; see also Bhopal and Jackson, 2013). And more principled diversity at the highest levels would also contribute to the making of a less mono-

cultural and institutionally racist environment for Black students to inhabit.

Black Undergraduate Students

Black undergraduate students make up 6 per cent of UK-domiciled students. This figure is close to *double the representative percentage of Black peoples* as part of the general population (3.3%). Moreover, Black students have enjoyed the *biggest increase amongst BME groups (up by 4.4%) over the last decade*. At first glance, then, the situation looks extremely positive. But let us dig a little deeper. Here I will focus specifically on UK-domiciled Black students.

Black students tend to be *over-represented in less prestigious universities*. For example, there have in the recent past been more Black students enrolled in London Metropolitan than in all universities that belong to the prestigious Russell Group (Elevation Networks, 2012: 16). In general, Black students are over-represented at the lower end of the rankings table.

Certainly, the university system is not immune to wider socio-economic disparities in British society that inflect through race and affect secondary school education. Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that even after accounting for existing socio-economic disparities, race still plays a part in selection (and self-selection) processes that funnel Black students away from more prestigious universities (Noden et al., 2014).

In any case, as announced in the Robbins Report of 1963, the mass higher education system is supposed to denude, as much as possible, childhood socio-economic disparities by allowing for a genuine meritocratic playing field to emerge for adulthood. And yet the current evidence with regards to degree attainment shows that universities are still failing Black students in this task.

Amongst all ethnic and gender groups, *Black women achieve the lowest percentage of 1sts by a significant margin – 5.7 per cent in comparison to* 18.3 per cent of White women. Black men are second lowest to Black women in terms of the percentage of firsts attained by them: 6.9 per cent in comparison to 19.4 per cent of White men. Both Black women and men are over-represented in the 2:2 and 3rd categories relative to other ethnic groups.

A higher percentage of Black students than White students transfer from their institution, or leave higher education altogether, at the end of the academic year. More Black students complain about their lack of integration into university social life relative to their White peers (NUS, 2011: 41). Indeed, Black students can share the feeling of many Black academics that they are in foreign territory at university (NUS, 2011: 41). This is not helped by a curriculum that almost half of Black students surveyed consider to be insufficiently diverse and even 'hegemonically White'. (NUS, 2011: 22) .

And similar, again, to Black academics, a significant minority of Black students feel that they are differentially treated and assessed to their White peers on account of racial stereotypes and implicit bias; some also report incidents of direct racism (NUS, 2011: 39).

Conclusions

Black academics and students are united by the tendency to feel alienated from their environment, to feel discriminated and/or excluded, and to be significantly under-represented in the higher arenas of attainment and progression.

We must not, however, presume that Black academics and students are more 'deficient' than any other ethnic group with regards to the cultural competencies and resources required to excel in higher education. In fact, they possess abundant abilities to aspire, network, navigate and challenge their environment. The real problem lies in the fact that their universities tend not to recognise and even devalue the provenances, styles, expressions and substance of Black 'cultural capital' (see Wright et al., 2010). Universities remain overwhelmingly administratively, normatively, habitually and intellectually 'White'. Their doors have been opened, but the architecture remains the same.

Changing this architecture is urgently required for the equitable treatment of Black academics and students. However, such changes are also crucial to the ongoing competition by UK universities in the international higher education market. What is good for Black academics and students is good for all. And with this in mind, I propose the following policies:

1. 'Implicit bias' workshops, especially in relation to anti-Black racism, should be made mandatory for all university staff and must include appropriate student representatives.
2. Curricula should be made far more inter-cultural, not just in terms of content, but also in terms of philosophical and methodological approaches and pedagogical styles. Collaboration should

be entered into with the National Association of Black Supplementary Schools for the running of subject-specific workshops on Black cultures, narratives and knowledge traditions.

3. Universities – central administration and departments alike – must plan for more intimate and equitable engagements with the Black communities that are geographically nearest to them. These engagements must be integrated into internationalisation frameworks so that diversity agendas have an irreducible domestic element rooted in equality concerns.

Notes

1. Unless otherwise noted, all statistics are taken from (Equality Challenge Unit, 2013a).
2. See for example Black British Academics (2014).

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12. Ethnic Minority Unemployment in Hard Times

Yaojun Li
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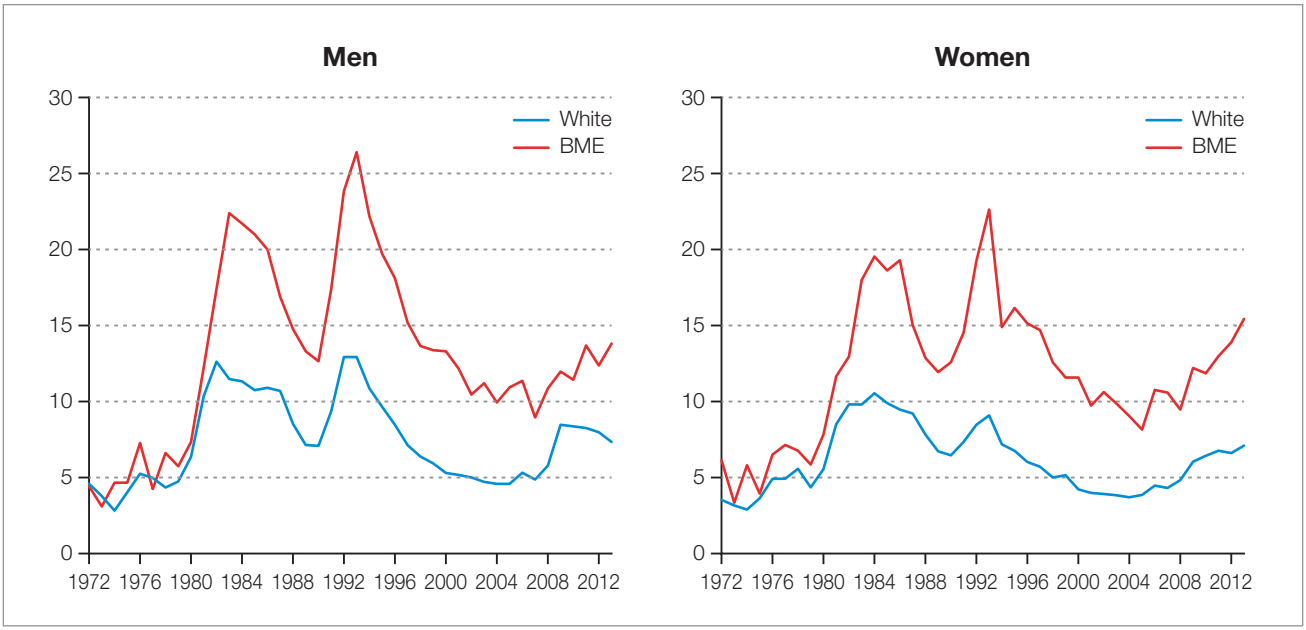
The composition of the British population has undergone considerable changes in the last few decades, with the proportion of visible ethnic minorities rising from around 2 per cent in the 1950s to over 14 per cent at the present time. The fortunes of members from the ethnic minority communities in the socio-economic life of the country – and whether they experience increasingly reduced disadvantages in the labour market – have been enduring concerns for academic research and policy making.

Ethnicity, Employment and Generational Shifts

For most people in the working-age population, having a job is of great importance to their own and their families' social-economic well-being. Differences and disadvantages in access to paid employment due to gender, ethnicity and other ascriptive characteristics are contrary to the principle of equality of opportunity which is enshrined in the law. Various Race Acts have been enacted since the 1970s aiming at equal opportunity to gain employment, and equal treatment in employment, for immigrants and their descendants. Much research has shown that ethnic minority groups face considerable disadvantages in the labour market. In this short piece I look at unemployment in Britain covering a longer period of time than hitherto available and show that ethnic differences in unemployment are most marked during hard times and that even a degree from British universities is no guarantee.

The patterns in Figure 1 show that, overall, unemployment rates are much higher for ethnic minorities than for the majority. We can also see some other features. First, we find that when the overall levels of unemployment were low, those for the minority groups were only slightly higher such as in the 1970s, but when the overall rates were high such as during the early 1980s, the early 1990s and from 2009 onwards, the rates for ethnic minorities were disproportionately higher – around twice as high. This is what sociologists have called the 'hyper-cyclical' effect. Put in other words, when the going gets tough, it gets much tougher for the ethnic minorities. Secondly, we find what economists have termed the 'lead and drag' effect: when overall unemployment rates began to rise, those for the minority ethnic groups started earlier and climbed at a much faster pace, such as around 1982, 1992 and 2009, but when the overall situation began to improve, ethnic unemployment rates remained higher and for a longer period of

Figure 1. Unemployment in Britain by sex and ethnicity (1972–2013)



Note: For men aged 16–64 and women aged 16–60 in Great Britain (N = 2,763,770).
Source: The General Household Survey and The Labour Force Survey.

time, as shown in the down-hill journeys from the two peaks of unemployment. The ethnic minorities tend to be the last in and the first out in times of mass unemployment. And thirdly, whilst women's unemployment rates are a few points lower than those for men, the ethnic differences manifested themselves to a similar extent within each of the gender groups and remained more or less so in the last 30 years. Ethnicity trumps gender insofar as unemployment is concerned.

Ethnicity and Graduate Employment: Perpetuating Inequality

Social scientists have proffered a variety of explanations as to why ethnic minorities may face disadvantages. With particular regard to unemployment in hard times, the most prominent account is the conflict theory. Competition over scarce resources will lead employers to adopt greater discriminatory practices. Parallel to this is the contact theory positing that as minority ethnics stay longer in the country, especially for the second generation, there will be more understanding between the minority and the majority, with the former gaining greater socio-cultural capital and more knowledge about the local labour market, and the latter reducing bias, prejudice and discrimination, both of which will help to reduce ethnic differences. The two theories are, however, not necessarily in contradiction. In the thick of recessions, when jobs are fewer, the competition over rare resources could overrun the understanding gained and result in more disadvantages for ethnic minority groups.

Ethnic disadvantages are partly due to the members' deficiencies in socio-cultural capital. Adult migrants will typically have foreign human and social capital, poor English, foreign citizenship, and origin-country orientation – hence lower expectations and lower reservation wages. As Britain, like many other developed countries, tends to set high thresholds for immigrants, the first generation are also typically 'positively selected', willing to take even menial jobs. This determination and perseverance may be reduced or lost in the second generation, who may have acquired the British standard of acceptability in terms of jobs and wages and who will have thus revolutionised their aspirations. Indeed, our data show that among the ethnic minorities, the first generation are less likely to be unemployed, by around 3 percentage points, than the second generation.

Ethnic minorities are different from the majority in some aspects of personal characteristics. Typically, they tend to be younger than the majority (with a mean age of 34.5 versus 38.2), especially for the second generation (mean age being 29.7), and young people are more prone to unemployment. Sociologists have stressed the need to study the net effects for people with similar levels of educational qualifications and experience. The classical human capital theory would expect that, for people with similar skills and experience, labour market attainment would be 'colour-blind'. Highly educated people are generally less likely to face unemployment (3.8%) than the poorly-qualified (10.9%). But the point is whether education offers an adequate protection against unemployment for the ethnic minorities. The crucial test would be to compare the fortunes for different ethnic groups that have high levels of human capital acquired in Britain.

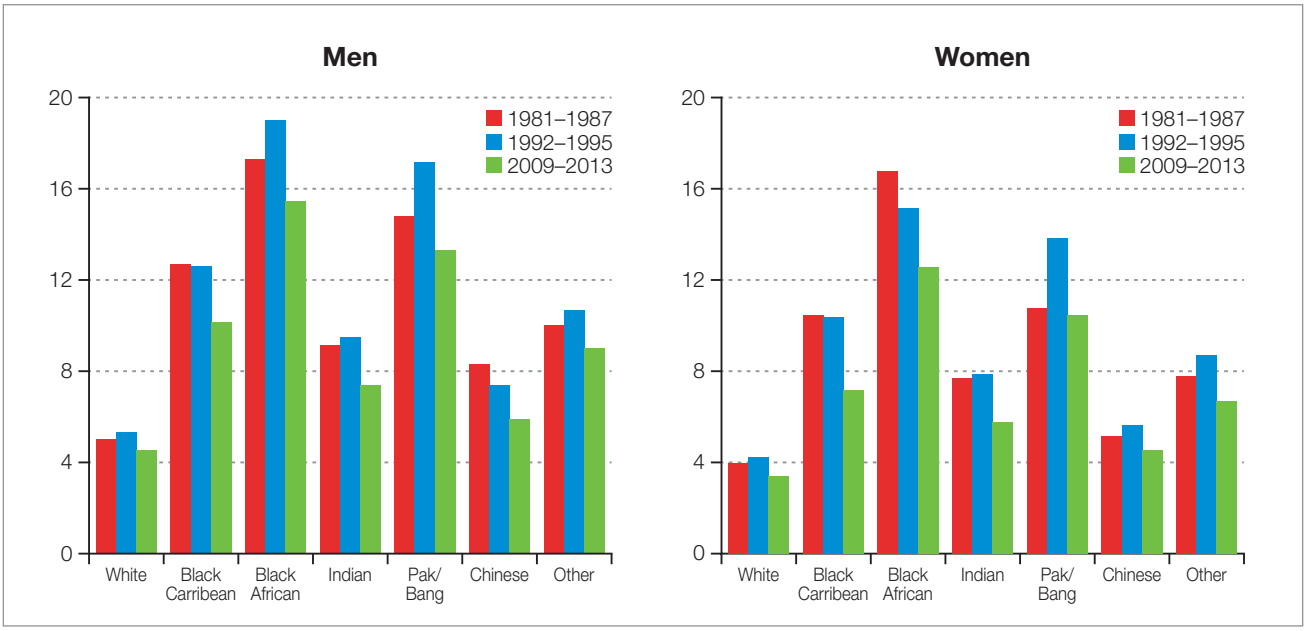
As the space limit precludes lengthy discussions, I focus on the three periods of high rates of unemployment as shown in Figure 1: 1981–1987, 1992–1995 and 2009–2013, and examine the unemployment profiles of the degree holders for those who were born in the UK or arrived before the age of 17 so that they will all have attended British universities. This group of second-generation degree-holders would, on most reasonable accounts, have similar levels of socio-cultural capitals to their British peers. Figure 2 shows the unemployment rates controlling for gender, ethnicity, education, period, age, and age squared. The ethnic minority groups are defined in the same way as in standard practice.

The data in Figure 2 show that for both men and women second-generation degree-holders, all ethnic minority groups are more likely to be unemployed than their white peers in each of the three periods. Black Africans, Pakistani/Bangladeshis and black Caribbean people have markedly higher rates of unemployment, around 3–4 times as high. Even Indian and Chinese men are around twice as likely to be unemployed. And the relative ethnic penalties are similar within both gender groups.

Conclusion: Education is Not Enough

While this highly-qualified group may still be disadvantaged with respect to parental lack of human and social capital, their differences cannot be attributed to their lack of English fluency or low aspirations. One plausible reason is the employer bias resulting in the 'chill factor' as noted in the

Figure 2. Second-generation graduate unemployment in three recession periods by sex



Source: The General Household Survey and The Labour Force Survey.

Northern Ireland context (Li and O'Leary, 2007) to the effect that they do not apply because of anticipated discrimination; another reason could be the impact of Islamophobia rampant in the media in the last decade with particularly negative effects on Pakistani/ Bangladeshi and parts of black African group – both may lead members from these groups to become 'discouraged workers'. A third possibility would be that even though the sample members used here all have degrees, the ethnic minorities are more likely to have non-elite education as they are under-represented in Oxbridge and other Russell Group universities.

The marked disadvantages even amongst the second-generation degree-holders in gaining access to paid employment during hard times pose a serious challenge to policy makers, employers and wider society. More rigorous enforcement of anti-discrimination legislation is needed such as the use of government procurement to achieve equality objectives which have been shown to work in the USA and Northern Ireland (Muttarak et al. 2013). More effective mentoring schemes could also be devised and implemented, with the aim of building up the skills of members of the ethnic minority groups in both the first and the second generations in order to retain them in employment. And a more positive and welcoming social environment is needed to help ethnic minorities to get fully integrated into British society.

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SECTION IV: STAFFING

13. The Experiences of Black and Minority Ethnic Academics: Multiple Identities and Career Progression

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Introduction

Research exploring inequalities in higher education has outlined the discrimination and exclusion that Black and Minority Ethnic (BME)[1] individuals face (Pilkington, 2013). Pilkington suggests that BME academics experience a variety of discriminatory practices such as covert and overt forms of racism, over-scrutinisation of their work and challenges about their work. The Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) suggests that BME staff in higher education institutions 'receive lower levels of pay on average, and are less likely to benefit from a permanent/ open-ended contract of employment' (ECU, 2009: 10). Despite legislation to address inequality, there is evidence to suggest that BME staff and students continue to experience disadvantages in higher education compared to their White counterparts (Bhopal and Jackson, 2013; Pilkington, 2013). Pilkington argues that anti-discrimination policies in higher education institutions are ineffective because 'formal procedures can act as a smokescreen for judgements which may be indirectly discriminatory' (Pilkington, 2013: 230). According to recent Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) data in 2012/13 (HESA, 2014) out of a total of 17,880 professors, only 85 were Black (less than 1%), 950 were Asian (5%), 365 were 'other' (including mixed) and the overwhelming majority (15,200) were White (85%).

This research examines the experiences of BME academics working in universities in the UK. The research explored the factors that BME academics considered to be important in contributing to successful careers in higher education; this included examining positive and negative experiences, support networks and how higher education can contribute to an inclusive and equitable agenda. A total of 35 academics participated in the study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with respondents which were recorded and transcribed. Data was analysed using methods of grounded theory from which key themes were analysed.

Key Findings

In this research most BME academics did not talk about overt experiences of exclusion and racial discrimination; rather they were more likely to describe subtle, covert exclusionary processes related to their ethnicity which resulted in differential treatment.

Organisational culture

Whilst there is a general under-representation of BME staff in senior decision-making roles (HESA, 2014) many respondents emphasised the need for greater diversity of staff at senior levels (professorial grades, on senate and on senior decision making bodies). Respondents also emphasised the differing standards applied to their performance compared to their White colleagues. This included a lack of trust, questioning of their credibility and over-scrutinisation. Some BME staff welcomed the Research Excellence Framework (REF)[2] and described it as an objective process which 'neutralised ethnicity'. Others emphasised the subjectivity of the REF in which articles published in certain locations (such as Asian and the Indian sub-continent) would not score as highly as those published in the West (North America and the UK). BME respondents reported feeling 'outsiders' in their own university, whilst not in the sector as a whole. This resulted in part from experiences of subtle exclusion, and the need to develop ways of interacting in culturally specific ways, such as communication style, in order to progress.

Career progression

Several respondents reported having to reach a higher threshold for career promotion and progression compared to their White colleagues. However, there was extensive and enthusiastic support for mentoring systems, with several positive experiences of this contributing to career progression.

Academic and intellectual contribution

Many respondents reported that they felt the work of White academics (particularly male) was more regularly profiled and celebrated in institutions compared to that of BME staff; furthermore the value of having BME staff can go unrecognised and unacknowledged. They often provide support and guidance for BME students; they often bring diversity of insights into the higher education curriculum.

Although there are many commonalities of experience amongst BME academics, it is important to recognise that 'BME' academics are not a homogenous group; there are various factors which affect an individual's experiences including gender, class, nationality, age, religion and culture.

Conclusion: Ways Forward

Several recommendations emerge from this research, which include:

Organisational culture

It is important that senior managers acknowledge that discrimination and exclusionary practices exist and that such practices can impact negatively on the careers of BME academics and the contribution that they make.

Career progression

Strategies are needed which support and explicitly include BME academic staff once they are in the university, for example ensuring visibility on decision-making committees (such as Senate and internal REF panels). The development of formal and informal support networks for BME staff which includes a consistent and comprehensive approach to mentoring for all staff is crucial for the career progression of BME academics.

Academic and intellectual contribution

There is a need to recognise the potential for unconscious bias[3] towards BME academics, particularly at key points such as recruitment and promotion. Systematic regular equality monitoring of academic staff is needed, with actions identified to address under-representation which are implemented and communicated to University Equality and Diversity Committees.

Whilst all higher education institutions state a commitment to equality and diversity through specific policies, there is limited evidence of the impact of such policies. Clear and comprehensive programmes of targeted action are needed which specifically address how policies are implemented and their effect on BME academic experiences, particularly in relation to recruitment, promotion and career progression.

Notes

1. In this research the term Black and minority ethnic refers to those who identified as Asian (Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi) or Black (African or Caribbean).
2. The REF (Research Excellence Framework) is the system for assessing the quality of research in UK higher education institutions. Higher education institutions are assessed on the 'excellence' of their research which results in the allocation of funding from HEFCE (Higher Education Funding Council for England)
3. The term 'unconscious bias' is used to refer to individuals being influenced by stereotypes based on ethnicity, which may not necessarily reflect their personal, public views.

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14. Creating Space and Providing Opportunities for BME Academics in Higher Education

Jason Arday
Leeds Beckett University

> *Within academia… namely HE, we live in a vortex which is never going to openly accept individuals from BME backgrounds into HE…. And let's be honest… realistically and statistically if you are from a BME background… you have not got a hope, you are never going to get an opportunity… and at the end of the day… that's what it comes down to, like it or not… race and ethnicity is a huge deciding factor for an employer and within society… particularly… in relation to hiring people of colour…. Saying the right things is all well and good… but putting it into practice and reality is a whole another issue… one that in my experience no university is realistically willing to embrace or engage with….* (Academic, 4)

Within the Higher Education (HE) sector there remains an overwhelming under-representation of BME academics within HE institutions across the United Kingdom. The disparity in this under-representation reinforces the lack of equality and diversity within the sector.

The opening excerpt above is from a BME academic, who is currently a Senior Lecturer at a Russell Group University. This particular quote was provided during a series of interviews which aimed to capture the experiences of BME academics within HE. Many of the responses highlighted continuing problems, with the effectiveness of widening participation initiatives scrutinised regarding opportunities for BME academics and opportunities for BME students to thrive in HE, particularly in Russell Group institutions where the chasm for inequality is still visibility evident.

The research undertaken in February 2012 explored the experiences of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) academics in Higher Education (HE), namely at three universities in the North-West of England and three universities in London. The purpose of the research was to gain an insight into lived experiences of BME academics in Higher Education concerning opportunity, employment, support and progression within the sector. The views and opinion of 12 BME academics were drawn on for this study. The BME academics gathered were from a diverse range of backgrounds; they held the positions of Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, Reader, Professor, Head of Department, and Research Fellow from different academic disciplines. The study included women and men and those from Asian, Black, mixed heritage and other ethnic origins.

Recruitment of BME Academics in Higher Education

Significantly, it has been acknowledged and recognised that the value of having BME staff can go unrecognised in the UK (HE) system. This notion was conceptualised quite explicitly within the study by a BME academic who stated:

> *As someone that works in a predominantly white institution… it is interesting… and embarrassing as a white person to hear some of the ignorant comments… when issues around race in Higher Education are discussed… Regarding this issue… of BME staff adding value… many of my white counterparts disagree….* (Academic, 2)

In this capacity staff from these backgrounds can often provide informal support for BME students, particularly with regard to familiarity and identity. Within the study, it was apparent that many of the participants felt that universities generally do not value concepts associated with equality, and when considerations are made this tends to be an afterthought:

> *Universities are not bothered by equality, if anything… universities are probably one of the main promoters of inequality… inequality only becomes a problem when you are the minority… with hardly any black people here in the first place, who is seriously going to prioritise this as a problem… the VC does not give a… about things like this….* (Academic, 7)

Research indicates that students from these backgrounds can be attracted to a university and specific departments based solely on knowing that there are BME staff present within that department. This was highlighted by one of the BME academics who explained:

What these idiots do not realise is that for an institution… BME staff can single-handily attract a demographic of students… which otherwise… would have had no flipping interest in the institution in the first place…. (Academic, 3)

However, as this appears to be largely unrecognised by senior staff or heads of department and by institutions more widely, it can result in an undue burden on BME staff as they spend time with BME students over and above other duties. For significant periods, the inequality present within HE has been acknowledged, but consciously ignored or suppressed as a pertinent issue or priority for major stakeholders within those institutions.

Additionally, this disparity in equality also undermines the recruitment process, with many of the BME academics citing that shortlisting procedures for academic posts were flawed and discriminatory:

The shortlisting process needs to be fairer…. Presently, it is not fair…. I think at times there needs to be a quota… which promotes 'positive discrimination'… to at least give opportunities for BME applicants to interview…. (Academic, 1)

Promotion and Support

Within the research conducted relating to BME academics experiences in HE, many cited many problems that deter and discourage many potential BME academics from pursuing a career in academia. The glass ceiling presented continues to be an issue for BME academics that have ambitions towards gaining Senior Lectureships, Readerships and Professorships. Many of the academics expressed the internal discrimination that exists, in addition to the continuous need for having to prove that as a BME academic, they are as capable as their white counterparts. From the experiences expressed it was also evident that there are institutions that would prefer for the 'traditional' white dominated academic landscape regarding staff to remain:

I will be honest with you…. I would say to a BME student that had aspirations to be an academic… it is not worth the hassle mate… by the time you have cut through the tape, barriers, glass ceiling and BS… your white counterparts in the same position would be Readers or Professors… while you're still probably a research assistant… or the office lackey (laugh)…. To be frank… as someone from a BME background… you will never be given the opportunity, and if you are… you will not be seen in the same way as a white counterpart… most white academics want things to stay 'pale and stale'… 'traditional' if you will…. (Academic, 3)

Mentorship and Communities of Practice

Consequently, this research acknowledged the lack of support provided for BME academics within HE, in reference to professional guidance, mentoring and support. Collaborative and collegiate learning communities were suggested as a way to share experiences of inequality within the HE landscape. Interestingly, many of the BME academics within this research suggested that this particular type of community of learning would be beneficial towards their professional development and acclimatisation towards the rigours of Higher Education:

Having a learning community… or even some sort of mentoring programme for BME academics would be so beneficial… as a means for exchanging ideas…. (Academic, 5)

Conclusion

Senior stakeholders within universities need to become more conscious of the issues that concern race and opportunity for minority groups within HE. Presently, issues surrounding equality and race have remained as a compulsory afterthought, undermined with ideas of rhetoric rather than reality.

From the narratives gathered from the study, I would recommend the following for consideration:

1. Recruitment procedures need to adopt a quota whereby a compulsory number of BME applicants must be shortlisted to ensure equal access and opportunity.
2. Professional development needs to reflect and support opportunities for promotion to more senior roles within academia such as Senior Lectureships, Readerships and Professorships for BME academics.
3. Support, learning communities and mentorship need to be provided in the form of professional forums within HE institutions for BME academics.

15. Breaking the Race Inequality Cycle in Higher Education: A Change of Focus is Needed to Break the Statistical Groundhog Day

Gary Loke
Equality Challenge Unit

Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) has worked on advancing equality and diversity in higher education for over a decade. As part of our research, we publish an annual statistical report outlining the demographics and equality trends within the sector's workforce and student body and it is clear that the sector has changed and some real improvements have been made. However, we know that there are challenges, especially in achieving race equality. We aim to accelerate change so that future demographics are more positive.

There are more UK-national black and minority ethnic (BME) staff working in higher education now than there were eight years ago (7.8% of UK national staff in 2012/13 compared with 5.4% in 2003/04).[1] However, 7.8 per cent is still disproportionately below UK population demographics.

There has been a slight increase in the percentage of BME UK-national academics working in the sector (7.9% of UK national academics in 2012/13 compared to 5.9% of UK national academics in 2003/04). At the professoriate level, there are only 60 Black professors in the UK. This represents 0.4 per cent of all UK-national professors. With such low numbers, focusing on percentage increases can mask the real issues. Significant issues such as career progression and retention continue to be of concern, as does the ongoing degree attainment gap between BME and white students which has implications for the pipeline of future BME academics.

Progress continues to be slow, despite the tireless work of dedicated individuals and despite the commitment and engagement of many higher education institutions. Sector-wide initiatives including national and local staff networks, leadership and mentoring programmes exist to help retain and support BME staff, but new approaches are needed to make lasting change across the culture of HE.

From Risk to Reputational Value

Perhaps one of the biggest barriers to advancing race equality in higher education is the risk of reputational damage. In an increasingly competitive higher education market, institutions may be concerned that admitting that racial inequalities exist will put off BME students from applying to them.

On the contrary, we believe that institutions that have the courage to be transparent and openly discuss the challenges of addressing race inequality can enhance their reputation.

The statistics are available for everyone to see, there is growing public awareness through media articles and academic reports, and students on campus are well aware of the ethnic make-up of the lecturers, professors and support staff. For institutions that do not acknowledge an issue, let alone make it clear how they are going to address it, silence will soon become more of a risk than acknowledgement.

Transparency about what each institution is doing to address race inequality will also allow BME people, and others, to make informed choices about where they may wish to study or work.

As a sector, if we jointly acknowledge the challenges we will create a culture and space where we can discuss race and how to address these challenges.

From the Individual to the Culture

For too long actions have taken a deficit model approach, which presumes the issues are rooted within individual minority ethnic staff and students, rather than within institutional culture. With this approach there is an assumption it is cheaper, quicker and easier to think about changing minority ethnic individuals, rather than affecting change across the whole institution.

That is not to say that training and development opportunities should not be targeted at particular groups of staff, but they must be clear in their approach and aims and not be an alternative to other training programmes for other staff. Targeted programmes such as Stellar HE[2] (which was developed by funding from the Higher Education Funding Council for England) and B-MEntoring[3] have positive results through acknowledging the racial barriers for BME staff, and recognising that institutions need to take action to address the institutional culture.

In 2013 ECU produced training packs on unconscious bias which have proven to be very popular with institutions, and also organisations outside of the sector. This interest reflects a growing recognition that systems such as appointment and promotions processes can be subject to bias and discrimination. It is recognition that the system (consciously or unconsciously) presents barriers that are keeping BME staff from reaching their potential or progressing.

Many institutions are keen to advance race equality and there is much good practice. However, instigating long-lasting, meaningful culture change is complex. There is no quick fix; to create an inclusive culture the whole institution needs to be involved, with strong commitment from senior leaders, signalling that they are prioritising the equality agenda and will be investing time and resource in pushing forward change.

Expediting Progress: *Race Equality Charter Mark*

ECU's Athena SWAN charter has proven to be successful in improving the representation of women in science, technology, engineering, mathematics and medicine (STEMM) in higher education through a framework that encourages cultural change. An independent evaluation of the charter found considerable evidence of the positive impact of Athena SWAN on the career development and satisfaction of women academics in STEMM. Importantly, it also highlighted the value of Athena SWAN as a driver for improving gender equality.

In light of the arguments above, it seemed obvious to us that an equivalent initiative for race was needed to act as a framework and a catalyst.

ECU's race equality charter mark has been in development over the past three years. Currently it is being trialled with 32 institutions across the UK. To attain a charter mark award requires high-level commitment, in-depth self-analysis of quantitative and qualitative data, consulting with and surveying BME staff and students, and developing an ambitious three-year action plan. Awards will have to be renewed every three years to ensure sustained commitment and resourcing for race equality work, and continuous reflection and review of actions and progress.

We congratulate those participating institutions that are taking part in the trial – not only does it involve significant work and effort, these institutions are taking the lead in beginning a transparent and honest dialogue about race inequality existing in HE.

Learning from the Athena SWAN experience, the race equality charter mark is specific to higher education and focused on culture change:

- It requires senior leaders to publicly acknowledge and discuss racial inequalities within their institution and to commit to tackling them. Reputational risk is lowered by institutions doing this collectively, rather than any one institution doing so alone.
- It requires institutions to facilitate frank, honest dialogue about race and ethnicity.
- It provides a systematic and cross-institutional approach which seeks to promote collaborative efforts which are embedded across the institution.
- It facilitates the collaboration between participating institutions so that issues are openly discussed and good practice is shared across the sector.
- Institutions must commit to agreed common principles which include consideration of individuals' multiple identities, and the intersection of those identities, as well as acknowledging the need for culture change, avoiding a deficit model approach.

Conclusions

ECU believes that the sector can advance race equality more quickly but it will require more institutions to make this shift in focus. An open and honest dialogue, adequate and dedicated resourcing, and a strong commitment from senior leaders within the sector are also necessary for there to be further progress in eradicating long-standing racial inequalities.

About ECU

Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) works to further and support equality and diversity for staff and students in higher education institutions across the UK and in colleges in Scotland.

ECU provides a central source of expertise, research, advice and leadership. Our approach is evidence-based, using research to identify and change practices that unfairly exclude, marginalise or disadvantage people.

We support universities and colleges to build an inclusive culture that values the benefits of diversity, to remove barriers to progression and success for all staff and students, and to challenge and change unfair practices that disadvantage individuals or groups.

Notes

1. All of the statistics provided in this section are based on UK staff and students (excluding international staff and students) and unless stated otherwise, are taken from ECU's 2014 statistical report (ECU, forthcoming).
2. http://www.hefce.ac.uk/whatwedo/lgm/lgmprojects/equalityanddiversity/iclbmeleaders/
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APPENDIX
Biographical Notes on the Contributors

Sara Ahmed is Professor of Race and Cultural Studies and Director of the Centre for Feminist Research at Goldsmiths. Publications include *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (2000); *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004, 2014), *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (2006); *The Promise of Happiness* (2010); *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (2012) and *Willful Subjects* (2014).

Claire Alexander is Professor of Sociology at the University of Manchester. She has researched and written widely on race, ethnicity and youth identities in Britain over the past 20 years. She is Vice-Chair of the Runnymede Trust and Chair of the Runnymede Academic Forum.

Kehinde Andrews is Senior Lecturer in Sociology at Birmingham City University. His research interests are about how communities overcome racial inequality. He has recently published his first book *Resisting Racism: Race, Inequality and the Black Supplementary School Movement* (Trentham, 2013). Kehinde is also a founding member of the Black Studies Association in the UK, and the Organisation of Black Unity.

Jason Arday is a Senior Lecturer in Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy at Leeds Beckett University, Carnegie Faculty and is a Trustee of the Runnymede Trust. He is also co-Chair of the Runnymede Academic Forum, and spoke and presented at the Runnymede Race and Higher Education seminar series, hosted by University of Manchester in October 2013.

Kalwant Bhopal is Reader in Education at the University of Southampton. She has published widely on the educational experiences of Black and minority ethnic groups. She is currently writing a book examining the experiences of BME academics in the UK and US (to be published by Routledge in 2015).

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Runnymede Perspectives

Runnymede Perspectives aim, as a series, to engage with government – and other – initiatives through exploring the use and development of concepts in policy making, and analysing their potential contribution to a successful multi-ethnic Britain.

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