

# Is the Ceiling Made of Concrete?

Barriers and bias faced by BAME academics in the UK



## **Contents**



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- 1. Introduction
- 2. Ethnic Diversity and Racial Inequality in Higher Education
- 3. The Concrete Ceiling
- 4. Inciting Institutional Change
- 5. What is the Race Equality Charter?
- 6. What Else is Being Done?
  - ...B-MEntor
  - ...Why is My Curriculum White?
  - ...StellarHE
- 7. Recommendations
- 8. Further Information

## 1. Introduction



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Statistics revealing that only 2.1% - 3.3% of academic managers, directors and senior officials in the UK (Northern Ireland being the lowest and Wales the highest) are Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME)¹ indicate a continuing lack of opportunity for their career progression within higher education institutions. This is despite significant increases in the number of students from BAME backgrounds attending university, and in spite of universities being required to eliminate race discrimination and proactively advance race equality under the Equality Act 2010¹. The statistics highlight the difficulties that BAME staff and students continue to face in their efforts to progress through the academic hierarchy and denote that more still needs to be done to advance the rate at which qualified BAME researchers and academics are able to progress.

This paper examines recent data relating to ethnicity in academia and research; what is currently being done to tackle the issue of racial equality in research and higher education institutions (HEIs); and what other measures can be actioned to improve the percentage of BAME individuals in academia in the future.

<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this research paper, the term Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) is used to describe those who self-identified as being from Black British, Black African, Black African American, British Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and Chinese origins. The term BAME is not a homogenous category, and the author of this paper recognises that there are numerous differences between individuals and this paper recognises that there are groups from different ethnic backgrounds. The statistics presented in this paper relating to BAME individuals have been taken from statistics available from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) and are a reflection of data and evidence available on the topic of ethnicity in HEIs in the UK.

## 2. Ethnic Diversity and Racial Inequality in Higher Education



It is unarguable that ethnic minorities remain under-represented in the senior ranks of university management. To support this claim, a large body of research has already been carried out which provides evidence of institutional racism in higher education, including conscious and unconscious bias in recruitment and promotion processes (as explored by Geoffrey Beattie and Patrick Johnson in Possible Unconscious Bias in Recruitment and Promotion and the Need to Promote Equality)2. Andrew Pilkington also discusses biased recruitment processes in which a candidate's potential to 'fit in' becomes muddled with their suitability criteria, resulting in cultural and ethnic differences unknowingly informing employment decisions<sup>3</sup>. And – although there is limited research available to date regarding the personal experiences of BAME academic staff – the research that does exist highlights individual instances of subtle racism and exclusion, including BAME academics being made to feel like 'outsiders', 'unwelcome' and 'incapable'. Some of these experiences are reported in Kalwant Bhopal's research paper, The Experiences of BAME Academics in Higher Education: Aspirations in the Face of Equality 4. As recorded in this study, Julie, a Black British professor, states:

"I do get the sense sometimes that I don't belong here from colleagues. Maybe it's their own feelings of inadequacy or maybe it's racism. It's difficult to put your finger on it. Being a Black professor here causes a lot of tension. How people view me, they don't expect that a Black woman who is a professor to be clever and articulate. So I feel I have to downplay my achievements sometimes to be accepted. You can be good, but you can't be so good that you challenge your White colleagues."

In a separate interview, Gurnham Singh – a principal lecturer in social work – further explores subtle racism within institutions as he explains:

"There is a massive abundance of what are called micro-aggressions  $\dots$  it's like death by a thousand cuts. When you experience them all the time, those micro-aggressions have a cumulative effect."  $^5$ 

These personal insights align with findings from The Equality Challenge Unit's (ECU's) 2011 report *The Experience of Black and Minority Ethnic Staff in Higher Education in England* <sup>6</sup>. This report evidenced what was already known, if not formally recognised – that UK Black and Minority Ethnic staff do not have the same positive experience of the sector as their white UK colleagues. Speaking at the one-day symposium event held by the University of Greenwich entitled "Does my face fit?" Exploring the experience of BAME academics in HE, Tracey Reynolds, Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Greenwich, said:

"Facing subtle discrimination and unspoken prejudices, they [BAME staff] are more likely to end up on short-term teaching and research contracts, overloaded with administration, with fewer promotion opportunities or routes to develop their research careers. Many of my peers have left academia – or the country – out of sheer frustration. HEIs need to be more responsive, innovative and visionary in more proactively supporting and championing female and minority scholars to reach senior levels within the academy."

## 3. The Concrete Ceiling



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Tracey Reynolds, 'Does my face fit?' Exploring the Experience of BAME Academics in HE For women of colour, this experience of academia is often considered even more negative and twice as challenging. In 1997, M.J. Davidson used the term 'concrete ceiling's to explore the embedded discrimination that prevents black and ethnic minority women being promoted, a sentiment which is further echoed by Reynolds in her statement declaring:

"We often talk about the 'glass ceiling' for women in the workplace, but BAME colleagues are faced with a 'concrete' ceiling – one that is especially impermeable for black women."

As noted by Jan Fook, "the glass ceiling effect in advancing gender equality is well-recognised, but at least progress for women is being made in some quarters. Not so for staff from black and minority ethnic backgrounds". The reference to a concrete ceiling as opposed to the glass ceiling does not represent a see-through, breakable surface, which has now been successfully shattered by many, but an almost impenetrable barrier. These claims of a 'concrete ceiling' have led to a number of questions being asked, including: How do universities themselves create concrete ceilings? How do university policies and practices, cultural environments and management behaviours combine to support (or not) BAME staff in advancement? How do the different elements of this ceiling coalesce? How can conditions be created to support successful progression for emerging leaders from a BAME background?

While much more research is needed to fully comprehend the existence – and consequences – of such a ceiling, statistics gathered by the Equality Challenge Unit provide clear insight into the current situation. According to the ECU's *Equality in Higher Education:* Statistical Report 2015<sup>10</sup> (Part 1: Staff), 8.3% of academic staff and 2.9% of academic managers, directors and senior officials in England are BAME. Northern Ireland had the lowest proportion of staff recorded who were BAME at 2.1%, while Scotland had 3.2% and Wales 3.3%.

<sup>\*</sup>These figures represent UK nationals identifying as BAME, rather than non-UK nationals identifying as BAME and working in higher education in the UK.



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Part 2 of the report on students reveals that, of the 98.2% of all students that disclosed their ethnicity information, 20.2% were BAME. However, this proportion of BAME students varied considerably by country, from 23.2% in England to 2.5% in Northern Ireland, 7.4% in Scotland and 8.3% in Wales. Notably, 46.2% of students studying in London were BAME. Excluding London from the England figures brings the proportion who were BAME down to 18.4%.

Looking into these statistics further, the report also reveals that there are 20 UK-born BAME deputy or pro vice-chancellors, compared with 530 white people in the same role. Of course, it is important to note that there are more white academics (at all levels) than there are BAME academics, but in spite of this, the ECU report notes that BAME staff are still only half as likely as white people to hold one of those top roles. Further, figures published by the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA)<sup>11</sup> recorded no black academics in the elite staff category of "managers, directors and senior officials" in 2015-16 for the third year in a row.

The agency that collected this data said it had a policy of rounding down entries of two or fewer to zero, meaning that Valerie Amos – who became the UK's first ever black vice-chancellor at SOAS University of London in September 2015 – would not show up in the figures if she identified as black. In response to this, Nicola Dandridge, Chief Executive of the Office for Students (OfS), said: "We recognise that there is a serious issue with the lack of black representation among senior staff in universities. The evidence is clear that black and minority ethnic staff continue to be underrepresented at senior levels in higher education." <sup>12</sup>

These statistics present a disheartening reality when set against the otherwise encouraging story of diversification in the lower academic ranks over recent years. Here, the number of UK academic staff from a minority background has grown by almost 80% in a decade, up from under 6,000 staff in 2003-04 to almost 10,700 in 2013-14. Yet, despite this significant rise in BAME staff, much more still needs to be done. It also doesn't appear to be translating into student diversification and retention – some 22.5% of all first-year undergraduates are from ethnic minorities, but this figure falls to 19.2% of first-year taught postgraduates and 17.1% of first-year research postgraduates.

This drop-off between undergraduate and postgraduate level is even more pronounced amongst black students, who account for 7.3% of first-year, first-degree undergraduates but only 3.6% of starting-research postgraduates.

## 4. Inciting Institutional Change



diversity policies are in place in many universities, there is evidence to suggest that such policies have little or no effect in challenging the under representation of BAME academics at senior levels, or indeed the process of marginalisation and discrimination that they face.

Kalwant Bhopal and Hazel Brown, Black and Minority Ethnic Leaders: Support Networks and Strategies for Success in Higher Education The Equality Act, which came into force in the UK on 1 October 2010, combines the various aspects of discrimination against 'protected characteristics' in order to provide a unified, consolidated law covering all types of unlawful discrimination. Following the passage of the Act, it became illegal for any organisation to discriminate against individuals due to their sex, race, disability, religion or belief, age or sexual orientation (otherwise recognised as protected characteristics). Although this legislation has undoubtedly had a positive impact on inclusionary practice, criticisms have still arisen relating to the lack of mechanisms in place to monitor and enforce such policies. As Kalwant Bhopal (University of Birmingham) and Hazel Brown (University of Southampton) state:

"Whilst equality and diversity policies are in place in many universities, there is evidence to suggest that such policies have little or no effect in challenging the under representation of BAME academics at senior levels, or indeed the process of marginalisation and discrimination that they face" 13.

Bhopal and Brown are not the only researchers to highlight the discord between the policies in place and the lack of effective monitoring of adherence to such guidelines. There has been a large amount of research carried out into the relation between how policies are understood and adhered to in organisations in which a limited view of equality operates, which ultimately leads to a failure to address – in a satisfactory manner – the requirements of equality legislation. In 2007, Sara Ahmed critiqued the practical implementation of these policies by suggesting that attempts to address diversity and equality issues in HEIs were based merely on audits, paper trails and bureaucracy which had little or no effect on inclusive action<sup>14</sup>.

Six years after Ahmed published her views on the issue, Andrew Pilkington observed that "at face value, universities in England and Wales seem to have made significant progress in addressing race equality...[yet] when some of those institutions that had produced exemplary policies were followed up eighteen months to two years later, those institutions had done very little to translate their first class policy into meaningful action that could make a difference to the learning community, and especially to its black students and staff."15

Even the Equality Challenge Unit stated that "HEIs have a legal duty to advance equality of opportunity and prevent discrimination, harassment and victimisation, however institutional policies and actions may focus on legal compliance, rather than realistic strategies and actions to promote institutional change in work practices, including recruitment, promotion and development." <sup>16</sup>

And so it seems that, despite policy changes in HEIs, there is an alarming amount of evidence reinforcing the fact that inequalities for BAME staff continue to exist. As research carried out by the Leadership Foundation for Higher Education (LFHE) suggests, HEIs need to consider how they can progress towards greater inclusion of BAME senior management levels. 7 Dr Nicola Rollock, Reader in Equity and Education at Goldsmiths, University of London, said:



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Dr Nicola Rollock, Reader in Equity and Education at Goldsmiths, University of London "I find that people are generally either scared of race as a subject or believe that because they have knowledge about, say, gender, then they can simply transpose that onto race. That is not the case. By and large, the academy tends to embrace a colourblind approach to engaging with race." 18

However, Rollock does go on to say:

"I hope the introduction of the Race Equality Charter – for which I am a Patron – may force change in this area. Personally, I would like to see benchmarks on race equality included in the performance reviews or appraisals of all senior leaders."

Perhaps, as Rollock hopes, the Race Equality Charter will be the long-awaited catalyst to incite significant and effective institutional change.

## 5. What is the Race Equality Charter?





framework through
which institutions work to
recognise and self-reflect
on institutional and
cultural barriers standing
in the way of minority
ethnic staff and students.

In 2012, the ECU began the development of the Race Equality Charter (REC)<sup>19</sup> to improve the representation, progression and success of minority ethnic staff and students within higher education. It follows on from the success of the Athena SWAN Charter<sup>20</sup>, which was established in 2005 to encourage and recognise commitment to advancing the careers of women in science, technology, engineering, maths and medicine (STEMM) in higher education and research. Acknowledging the desire for a race-specific charter within the sector – and with the support of many of ECU's key stakeholders – the REC framework was drafted and consulted on before being trialled with volunteer institutions. This initial pilot resulted in 21 UK HEI applications and eight Bronze awards being given.

The REC provides a framework through which institutions work to recognise and self-reflect on institutional and cultural barriers standing in the way of minority ethnic staff and students. Member institutions are invited to develop initiatives and solutions for action, and can apply for a Bronze or Silver REC award depending on their level of progress. As with Athena SWAN, REC is an evolving charter, and institutions are expected to start at Bronze level and progress to Silver.

Overall, the REC covers professional and support staff, academic staff, student progression and attainment and diversity of the curriculum, and is underpinned by the following five guiding principles:

- 1. Racial inequalities are a significant issue within higher education. Racial inequalities are not necessarily overt, isolated incidents. Racism is an everyday facet of UK society and racial inequalities manifest themselves in everyday situations, processes and behaviours.
- 2. UK higher education cannot reach its full potential unless it can benefit from the talents of the whole population and until individuals from all ethnic backgrounds can benefit equally from the opportunities it affords.
- 3. In developing solutions to racial inequalities, it is important that they are aimed at achieving long-term institutional culture change, avoiding a deficit model where solutions are aimed at changing the individual.
- 4. Minority ethnic staff and students are not a homogenous group. People from different ethnic backgrounds have different experiences of and outcomes from/within higher education, and that complexity needs to be considered in analysing data and developing actions.
- 5. All individuals have multiple identities, and the intersection of those different identities should be considered wherever possible.

Institutions wishing to become members of the REC commit to following these principles in both their approach to race equality and their address towards their own institution's culture.



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Kalwant Bhopal

Once an institution has become a member of the REC, they are able to submit an application for an award in either July or February each year. All members are expected to apply for a Bronze award within three years of membership and, if they fail to do so, will be withdrawn from the charter. However, the ECU is keen to stress that achieving an award is not simply a 'tick-box' exercise in which institutions can claim to have dealt with the issues of racial equality – real change must have been brought about, and assessment of these changes will be done by BAME academics within the institutions in question.

Deborah Gabriel, Senior Lecturer at Bournemouth University and founder of the Black British Academics Group, has voiced her approval for the REC, believing that universities can make their promotion processes fairer and more accessible to ethnic minority staff. Backing Bournemouth's decision to open its staff development opportunities to all staff, Gabriel hopes that BAME academics will directly benefit. She says that "taking academic career frameworks away from departments, so that promotions are judged by independent panels on clear criteria, is another good step"<sup>21</sup> in the fight for racial equality in academia.

It is important to note that this is an evolving charter, and the ECU anticipates that its criteria will change in line with sector progression and advancement in race equality. Like Athena SWAN, the REC is only available to subscribing institutions now that the initial trial period is complete, but many believe that it does have the potential to drive ethnic minority staff to the top of universities in the UK. Bhopal herself states that "we've had 10 years of Athena SWAN, and we're only just starting to see the effect...it all sounds very simple, but I think the REC will be a springboard to help many more staff become readers, then professors and, who knows, even vice-chancellors."<sup>22</sup>

## 6. What Else is Being Done?



MEntor offers a formal mentoring programme based on the exchange of experiences, ideas and feedback between the mentor and the mentee.

Aside from the ECU's REC, which is happening on a national scale, there are numerous other smaller initiatives that have worked – or are currently working – to drive BAME progression and improve racial equality in academia.

#### ...B-MEntor

This cross-institutional mentoring scheme to support BAME early career researchers, known as B-MEntor<sup>23</sup>, was initially established in 2012 by UCL, KCL and Queen Mary University of London (QMUL). Recognising that BAME staff are underrepresented in academic and research roles in higher education (and particularly at senior levels), all three universities wanted to take practical steps towards closing these gaps. B-MEntor is aimed at BAME academics and researchers from post-doc to lecturer level, and offers a formal mentoring programme based on the exchange of experiences, ideas and feedback between the mentor and the mentee. The scheme helps to promote understanding of formal and informal structures, enhances opportunities for staff to develop and build skills and knowledge and enables continuing professional development and personal growth.

Both institutional and professional development aims and objectives were agreed at the beginning of the pilot phase, which are as follows:

#### Institutional aim:

 To enhance the organisational and learning culture across the five institutions

#### Institutional objectives:

- To signal commitment to BAME staff across the three institutions
- To encourage networking across the three institutions
- To raise the profile of mentoring as a tool for professional development across the three institutions

#### Professional development aim:

To ensure staff from BAME backgrounds are supported to reach their full potential

#### Professional development objectives:

- To help advance the careers of BAME staff through developing the confidence, motivation, experience and skills required to apply for (and ultimately gain) promotion
- To make a positive difference to BAME staff with sustainable outcomes
- To encourage BAME staff to take on leadership and decision-making roles



All mentors agreed that they had developed their knowledge and skills as a mentor, and all mentees reported that they would recommend the B-MEntor programme to colleagues.

- To encourage BAME staff to take opportunities for formal and informal professional development
- To reduce any feelings of isolation for staff who do not work in a diverse area

In the first year of the scheme, 17 mentor-mentee pairs were partnered up. Research was carried out on the impact of the scheme after the pilot year was completed, with findings revealing that all but one mentor was 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with the mentoring experience. The evaluation also found that, on average, mentees met with their mentors five times throughout the course of the year, with 100% of mentees describing this amount of mentoring contact time over the year as 'about right'. All mentors agreed that they had developed their knowledge and skills as a mentor, and all mentees reported that they would recommend the B-MEntor programme to colleagues. Following on from the initial success, the scheme matched a further 20 pairs in both the second and third years of the programme.

B-MEntor is now recognised as a well-established programme, and was shortlisted for two national awards in 2014 – the ENEI Tapping into Talent award<sup>24</sup> and the Race for Opportunity Developing Talent (Progression) Award<sup>25</sup>.

#### ...Why is My Curriculum White?

The 'Why is My Curriculum White?' campaign was founded at UCL in response to the lack of diversity found on university reading lists and within university course content. It began with an event put together by the Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) Students' Network, which asked the question: 'Why is my curriculum white?' In asking this, the aim was to begin to address a finding from the the NUS Black Students Campaign National Students Survey, which revealed that 42% of students did not believe their curriculum reflected issues of diversity, equality and discrimination<sup>27</sup>. Although 'Why is My Curriculum White?' is now a national movement designed to challenge the persistence of Euro-centric hegemonic narratives across curricula, it has been picked up by individual universities in their attempts to tackle inequality head on.

In 2015/16, there was a 16% difference between white and BAME students achieving a first or a 2:1 at undergraduate level. Elizabeth Opara, Head of the Department of Applied and Human Sciences at Kingston University, notes that adapting curricula to make them more inclusive and diverse for a multicultural student body is one way to enthuse BAME students, enable them to achieve higher grades, and encourage them to remain within academia. She questions the lack of non-European research cited in HEI courses, stating "when you are talking about ground-breaking research, many of the papers highlighted will be European...how often do people use academic papers from Africa or the Indian subcontinent?"<sup>28</sup>



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The StellarHE programme places diversity as a distinctive strength at the core of authentic leadership development.

In line with Opara's concerns, Leeds University Library launched the "Why Is My Curriculum White? Wish List" campaign in December 2015 to encourage students to order books from the library that they wish they had been taught or had access to. Following this, 30 new books were purchased, covering a number of subjects including theatre, sociology and social policy, law, politics and history, which serve to diversify the curriculum and the supporting resources available at the university.

After UCL initiated the campaign in 2014, the University of East Anglia (UEA) also set up a student union motion to mandate the Campaigns and Democracy Officer and the Ethnic Minorities Officer to conduct a campaign based on the UCL Student's Union campaign 'Why Is My Curriculum White?' to encourage more diverse reading lists from a post-colonialist background, and to lobby the university to change their reading lists to include more content created by non-white people.

#### ...StellarHE

StellarHE<sup>29</sup> is a strategic executive development programme for Diverse Leaders (BAME) in Higher Education. The programme is research based and builds on 21st century leadership models and thinking to further leverage the effectiveness of Diverse Leaders in middle to senior management positions across higher education in the UK. Acknowledging the aim of the REC to inspire a strategic approach to making cultural and systemic changes that will make a real difference to minority ethnic staff and students, StellarHE is specifically designed to tackle this issue and supports the achievement of the Race Equality Charter Mark goals.

StellarHE's 2016/17 programme saw 28 participants drawn from 12 universities – : Liverpool John Moores, Manchester, Liverpool, Reading, Royal Holloway, Queen Mary, Birkbeck, Kings, London South Bank, Kingston, Wolverhampton and University College London. Benefits to participating HEIs include:

- A successful targeted intervention to address under-representation of BAME leaders in management
- Potential increase in the size and diversity of the senior management talent pool
- Access to a powerful cross-sector network of BAME leaders enhancing the strategic linkages and relationships between Institutions

The programme places diversity as a distinctive strength at the core of authentic leadership development using Factor 8, the cutting edge leadership framework for 'Diverse Leaders'. It addresses the distinctive, but often subtle challenges and variations to the unwritten rules and models for success that BAME leaders face and must master as visible minorities operating in a majority HE context.

The LFHE notes that this programme can enable BAME staff to develop competencies to draw on their ethnicity and encourage change from within their institutions. However it also notes that in order for it to be successful, participation needs to be backed by visible leadership and ongoing managerial support to ensure that participants go on to become diverse leaders<sup>30</sup>.

### 7. Recommendations



During recruitment and promotion processes, greater thought needs to be given to the possibility of unconscious bias.

Kalwant Bhopal

Whilst equality policies that are currently in place have gone some way to rebalancing the unequal numbers of BAME students and staff in HEIs in the UK, it is clear that a greater number of BAME individuals are needed in senior positions in higher education. HEIs must consider their own practices in recruitment, retention and promotion processes in order to facilitate this.

When considering what more could be done by HEIs to further reduce racial inequality in academic establishments, Bhopal identifies the following six recommendations<sup>31</sup>:

- 1. During recruitment and promotion processes, greater thought needs to be given to the possibility of unconscious bias.
- 2. Clear and concise monitoring is needed in selection and recruitment processes in which institutions should consider who is applying for which posts, who is shortlisted and why, and who is successful.
- 3. As per the Equality Challenge Unit's suggestion that a process of anonymous shortlisting could help to address issues of inequity during selection processes, HEIs should consider that such robust and systematic recruitment processes can in fact help to reduce discrimination.
- 4. Similar processes regarding transparency and monitoring should also be used for promotion processes, particularly in relation to those who are applying for promotion to senior academic and managerial posts.
- 5. Institutions should also examine the types of support they offer to colleagues who are considering promotion to senior managerial and academic roles, such as offering training for the application process and interview; this would also demonstrate the institution's commitment to staff retention.
- 6. Institutions should consider the development of formal support networks for BAME and other minority staff whilst the existence of informal support networks have shown to be extremely important for BAME groups, the development of formal networks has the potential to provide individuals with access to information and resources to assist and guide them in their career trajectories and increase exposure to key people and organisations.

In a later report, Bhopal and Brown highlight similar recommendations to support BAME academics into senior roles. In addition to the above suggestions, they include the need for HEIs to:

- Ensure representation and diversity on interview panels through the
  inclusion of BAME staff (at departmental and institutional levels). It is
  believed that a greater representation of individuals from diverse
  backgrounds on recruitment and promotion panels would ensure that
  BAME needs were understood and that equality of opportunity would be
  addressed.
- Set up BAME networks within individual HEIs (again at both departmental and institutional levels) to provide specific support to address issues that affect BAME academics (such as racism and prejudice).



There is a real optimism surrounding how HEIs will address diversity and inequalities within their organisations in the years to come.

- Provide access to relevant training and events (at departmental, institutional and sector levels) which would enable career progression.
- Establish a formal requirement for HEIs to ensure BAME representation at managerial and senior academic levels (this could take the form of a quota system, using positive discrimination).
- Recognise that Continued Professional Development (CPD) training must include diversity awareness for all staff and the impact of this on career progression.

Of course, it may take time for any lasting and substantial change brought about as a result of the REC to be seen. However, with a growing body of research into racial inequality within higher education, growing numbers of students campaigning for greater diversity on campus, and a growing number of institutions signing up to the REC, StellerHE and other diversifying leadership programmes, there is a real optimism surrounding how HEIs will address diversity and inequalities within their organisations in the years to come.



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## 8. Further Information



GRANTfinder is Europe's leading publisher of funding and policy information and boasts a repository of over 12,000 funding programmes. It has supported organisations in the public, voluntary and private sectors for some 30 years in identifying and applying for funding information.

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