Institutional Racism in Higher Education

Building the anti-racist university: a toolkit

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Acknowledgements

Disclaimer

This toolkit is one of the major outcomes of a HEFCE funded Innovations project.

The toolkit authors cannot be held accountable in any way for the outcomes of any activity that your institution undertakes in this area and we cannot provide a definitive interpretation of the law.

This toolkit aims to assist institutions in the process of anti-racist and race equality planning and action by providing conceptual and methodological 'tools'. Ownership of and responsibility for this planning and action, however, lies with the institution itself and not with the authors of this toolkit.

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Section One: Using the Anti-Racist toolkit: A Reader's Guide

1.1 Why do we need the toolkit?

This toolkit has been constructed as part of a HEFCE funded Innovations project looking at the question of Institutional Racism in Higher Education, using the University of Leeds as its case study, and comes in the wake of the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* (1999) and the subsequent passing of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000.

The Inquiry into the death of Stephen Lawrence (the *Macpherson Report*, henceforth referred to as the Report) centralised the issue of training and education by condemning the lack of recognition of racism by the police at all levels. Every organisation, including education institutions, was urged to examine its own practices with a view to tackling racism and disadvantage. The Report highlighted the importance of educational institutions in promoting anti-racism, valuing cultural diversity and in providing an appropriate and professional service to all people irrespective of colour, culture or ethnic origin.

Despite the difficulties and problems that many commentators have with the Report's definition of 'Institutional Racism', the Report, at the very least, highlighted the need for organisations and institutions to consider their policies and practices and assess the extent to which Black and minority ethnic (BME) staff and service users are treated fairly and equitably. What is more, following the publication of the Report, there can be no excuses for continuing to fail to move beyond good intentions in order to provide services and environments that respond to the UKs growing cultural diversity. What is clear is that institutions across the UK need to consider and rethink attitudes to BME staff and students and actively address 'racism' by moving beyond the current climate of complacency that suggests these issues matter less in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) than in other organisations.

The questions we need to ask ourselves when looking at the policies and practices of HEIs in the UK are clear but often inadequately addressed, namely:

- Are we doing enough to promote and serve the diverse needs and requirements of Britain's increasingly diverse student and working population?

- Are we identifying the diverse needs and requirements of Britain's increasingly diverse student and working population?

- In what ways should a HEI be looking at what it says it does, and what actually happens in practice?

The lack of attention to 'race' and racism issues in higher education is worrying and indicates a need for the development of conceptual and methodological tools and resources to assess, review and reconstruct educational policy and practice. There have been some studies addressing specific areas of concern, such as, for example, the Carter, Fenton and Modood (1999) study considering the relationship between ethnicity and employment in HE (their research examined, for example, the change in the position of under-represented groups, concentration of minorities on fixed-term contracts, promotion and progression of minority staff and the 'fit' between student and staff populations). More recently, a major survey by the Association of University Teachers (AUT) which considered race issues and attitudes among academics and support staff in the old universities revealed that racialised tensions are common in universities, with large numbers of BME staff experiencing racial harassment,

feeling unfairly treated in job applications, and believing institutional racism exists in the academic workplace (see, Elliot Major, 2002).   However, the need for a more *rounded* consideration of the various functions of the HEI, which impact directly and indirectly on staff and student experiences, has been missing. The idea of an anti-racist toolkit thus addresses the need for a set of tools and resources that institutions are able to use in order to address racism across the diverse areas of their policy and practice.

This project has tried to assess the 'big picture' of University activity, where previous studies have been partial and selective, with particular attention to the linkages and interactive effects across and between the following areas:

- teaching and learning;
- student recruitment, support and transition to employment;
- research;
- employment;
- contracting and purchasing;
- external affairs.

Each of these areas has been subject to a series of questions and considerations, for example:

- What should, in fact, be the indicators of an 'appropriate and professional service' inclusive of minority ethnic communities?

- What 'processes, attitudes and behaviours' may amount to racial and ethnic discrimination and disadvantage?

- How do we address these 'processes, attitudes and behaviours'?

- What mechanisms and criteria may constitute direct and indirect racial discrimination (taking into consideration, of course, the question of how racial discrimination interrelates with other areas of disadvantage such as gender, age, class , religion, sexuality, and disability)?

1.2 Aims of the Anti-Racist Toolkit

The Anti-Racist Toolkit Project was established following the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry and the subsequent passing of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 and identified a need to have input into the equality and diversity strategy planning of universities. The project began in January 2001 and has conducted a review of issues around institutional racism and 'race equality' in the HE Sector using the University of Leeds as its case study. The research findings have informed the development of this 'toolkit'.

The project is due to be completed in September 2002 and, at that time, we will have completed a series of reports looking at the following areas:

1. Equal opportunities action planning at the University of Leeds

2. Institutional racism and contracting and purchasing issues

3. Racism & Ethnicity: Research at Leeds

4. **The Toolkit: transferable tools for tackling institutional racism in HEIs'**

5. Operationalising Institutional Racism: conceptual, measurement and evaluation issues

6. Racism, Diversity and Teaching and Learning

7. Institutional racism and student recruitment

8. Institutional Racism: Perceptions & experiences of staff

9. Institutional Racism: Perceptions & experiences of students

10. Institutional racism and employment issues,

11. Final Leeds Report

The project has employed a number of approaches to assessing the various issues and areas. In the first instance we examined the equal opportunities action plans of academic departments and administrative units at the University of Leeds and assessed the plans in terms of their references to 'race equality'. This was followed by the distribution of an email questionnaire to staff in twenty sample departments, the responses to which have informed the construction of this toolkit and examples from which will be included as illustration within the text.

We also conducted in-depth interviews with departmental/unit heads and staff members responsible for equal opportunities of these twenty sample departments, before moving on to an email survey of student attitudes, experiences and perceptions.

The aim of this 'toolkit' is to provide conceptual and methodological resources from which practitioners in the field can select and combine the implements and tools that best suit the needs of their own institution. Each HEI is a different space requiring different strategies, policies and activities in different measures at different times. Some HEIs may seem to have made very good progress but have, in fact, stagnated with regards to moving the issues and the debates forward. Other HEIs may seem to have done very little, but in fact have made big steps in a more recent period thus demonstrating a growing commitment to change and action. This toolkit is thus aimed at those making their first concerted efforts towards establishing a working and active policy of anti-racism and those whose policies are already underway but in need of more work. This toolkit aims to look at the breadth and depth of university operations and functions. Addressing racism is not just about admissions to courses and pass rates, or appointments and progression. The different headings examined by the toolkit reflect a more rounded view of how universities function and their potential impact as a positive force for change.

Anti-racism, however, should not be seen as 'simple' strategy for a particular problem. Racism is complex in its operations and compounded by other factors such as, for example, gender, disability and religion, thus affecting different people in different ways. The issues that impact on one particular 'group' will be different and thus in need of different strategies and actions to address them.

This toolkit is aims to empower staff and students and contribute to the development of a positive and rich environment in which all people, regardless of ethnicity, can work and/or learn. It will not be, however, a 'quick-fix' for institutions to apply to their own context in the expectation that racism will magically disappear … this toolkit is about making fundamental changes that will have long-lasting effects.

It is important for university members to understand that 'universities' are not a 'natural' entity but, rather, constructed to function in various ways and for the benefit of certain groups of people. There was a time when universities solely benefited and serviced the needs of white, privileged males. This, to a certain extent, has changed and universities have had to change to meet the needs of women, working class, BME and disabled peoples. Universities, as a social, political and cultural construction, can, therefore, make the necessary changes to meet the challenges and needs of a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society. The questions are whether or not such institutions are willing to make the necessary changes and, of course, how those changes should be made.

This section breaks down some of the critical areas that we need to be mindful of when addressing the question of how racism operates in the HE context.

1.3 The Sector

The University sector has, until recently, remained insulated from other policy developments in councils, schools, the health service and the police with regards to challenging racism and promoting ethnic and cultural diversity. Although these areas have been targeted in terms of tackling racism (see, for example, Osler and Morrison, 2000; Dadzie, 2001), there has been very little in the way of directly addressing racism in higher education. Policy responses and initiatives to issues around 'race' and ethnicity are very uneven across universities and between departments in individual institutions. This project identified an urgent need to develop comprehensive, co-ordinated and coherent strategies and to sharpen and develop organisational and management tools in order to change institutional practice. What is more, in the current climate, it is time that universities begin to re-conceptualise their role and responsibilities in a contemporary multi-cultural society, as the *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* put it:

> Racism, institutional or otherwise, is not the prerogative of the Police Service. It is clear that other agencies including those dealing with housing and education also suffer from the disease. If racism is to be eradicated there must be specific and co-ordinated action both within the agencies themselves and by society at large, particularly through the educational system, from pre-primary school upwards and onwards (Home Office, 1999: 6.54).

Carter, Fenton and Modood (1999: 56) identified a need for what they called an 'institutional anti-racism', and it is this concept that we would like to develop here. The 1999 study suggested the following remedies to questions of 'institutional racism':

- Commitment needed from the top down;

- Institutions needed to recognise that racism is an issue for the entire institution and not simply the concern of BME staff and students;

- Groups and individuals outside the institution to be involved in the implementation and monitoring of race equality policies;

- HEIs to take on board good practice from other sectors;

- Interview panels to be more representative;

- Linking of funding by HE funders to the achievement of BME employment targets;

- Review of HEI curricula to reflect the histories, achievements and experiences of BME peoples (1999: 57).

These issues will be elaborated upon and extended in the following toolkit as we develop the idea that HEIs need to re-consider, re-think and re-work questions around their responsibilities and purpose, in order to work towards a centralised mandate for progress and change. Core functions of the HEI are, of course, teaching and research, however the practices and operations of the HEI go beyond these core activities and into areas that may not immediately spring to mind. The HEI has established relationships in a myriad of ways with local and national communities. As an employer the HEI draws from a broad pool of workers, be they administrative and ancillary staff from a more local population or academic staff drawn from a more international pool. The HEI employs people directly to undertake a number of functions (teaching, research, administration, secretarial duties, security, purchasing, cleaning, maintenance and so on …), the HEI also has a great deal of spending power in terms of the various products and services it requires to keep the institution 'ticking over', new building works, services and so on. The HEI has a relationship with local communities in its vicinity, these include community organisations, local schools and colleges and the local councils. In so many ways, the HEI touches the lives of thousands of people. The authors of this toolkit believe that it is time to use this power and these relationships to nurture positive and progressive change in the field of anti-racism and the promotion of a positive multi-cultural environment in which *all* members of the staff and student population can thrive and benefit.

The failure of the HE sector to discuss and identify racism within its own policies and practices needs to be redressed. The sector has been willing, to a certain extent, to consider issues of 'race equality', usually subsumed within general discussions about equality across categories of disadvantage (gender, disability, sexuality, etc,), however, a focus on the specific effects racism and discrimination has on the sector has been absent. An unwillingness to address the extent to which racism, (often typified by an attitude of 'colour-blindness') structures and impacts on aspects of university process across the board has meant that questions around ethnicity and racism have usually been side-lined or deemed less important.

1.4 Reading and Using the Toolkit

This document has been put together in order to provide a wide range of users with the resources and ideas to help institutions move forwards in terms of tackling racism and discrimination.

It is intended to be primarily a **web-based resource** (see: **www.leeds.ac.uk/cers/toolkit.htm**). The tools and resources provided will be both **methodological** and **conceptual**. Each section is clearly numbered so that moving back and forth between sections does not result in the reader becoming 'lost'.

In the first instance, any application of the aims and objectives of this toolkit should have support and direction from the 'top' in order to demonstrate a commitment to improving the environment for all staff and students working in a university. This does not mean, however, that strong leadership should not work in conjunction with a 'bottom-up' approach. This process should work at *all levels* of the university and not be seen as simply a grand statement of intent from the centre that has little or no impact across individual departments and units.

Our toolkit is not a list of 'dos' and 'don'ts' that HEIs should follow in order to be a successful 'anti-racist' institution. Simply following such a list without actually attempting to engage with the issues does not address fundamental questions about attitudes and assumptions that structure relationships between staff, between staff and students, between students and between staff, students and local communities. This toolkit asks institutions to reflect and act upon a number of critical areas where there is potential for discrimination.

The toolkit is structured around the process of constructing an anti-racist action plan for your institution. Each section is broken down under a clear set of headings and, where appropriate, cross referencing and links to relevant sections are clearly sign-posted.

- **Section Two** introduces some of the debates that structure this project, this section includes an overview of some of the issues about racism, anti-racism, whiteness and eurocentrism.

- **Section Three** breaks down 'the basics', this includes what an institution is required to do by law as well as an explanation of terms such as 'positive action', 'targeting' and 'ethnic monitoring'.

- **Section Four** is broken down into a series of 'organisational' areas (**see 1.5 The Action Plan: An Outline**). These areas are based on the structure of the University of Leeds, where our research took place. In order for different institutions to make this action plan relevant to their own individual space and structure, we will explain what we mean by the various 'organisational' areas so that you will be able to make the plan relevant to your own institution. After we have identified the areas, we will identify a set of issues or problems that may be relevant and require attention.

- **Section Five** will provide an outline about how to assess your institution. Our own investigation at the University of Leeds revealed that although in some areas the university was good on paper, that the links between policy and practice sometimes failed to come through in interviews and surveys with staff and students. As such, even if the paper policy is in place, you may want to step back and make a more rounded assessment of where 'you're at'. This requires consultation with staff and students at your institution. Don't assume that just because you have a paper policy that this has a definite impact on the working and learning environment. In this section we'll provide suggestions for the format of **email and postal questionnaires**; **interview schedules** for talking to staff and students at your institution and the other kinds of evidence you should be trying to gather in order to obtain a picture of where you're at.

We hope that this toolkit will function in two ways:

- **Firstly, as a holistic plan for the entire institution and**

- **Secondly, as a resource that can be 'dipped' into, section by section.**

In this way although each section connects with another and will be clearly cross-referenced, individual sections will be able to be used independently if there are particular areas in your institution that you feel need specific attention.

1.5 The Action Plan: An Outline

Institutional Mission Statement						
↓						
Organisational Areas						
Equal opportunities policies & action plans	Employment	Student recruitment, support & transition to employment	Teaching & learning	Research	Contracts & purchasing	External affairs
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓

Explanation of organisational area;

Identification of main issues;

Illustrative examples from the UoL case study;

Examples of issues arising from stereotyping;

Examples of target setting;

Examples of positive action strategies;

Ethnic monitoring suggestions;

Links to the relevant legislation;

Cross-referencing to other relevant sections;

Checklists & a series of questions for reflection.

1.6 Other 'Toolkits'

There are a number of 'toolkits' available that address the broad area of 'equal opportunities' in general and the question of 'race equality' and/or racism in particular.

The most comprehensive toolkit dealing with racism has been produced by Stella Dadzie:

- **Dadzie, Stella (ed.) (2000)** *Toolkit for Tackling Racism in Schools*. **Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham Books.**
  This toolkit is aimed at teachers who wish to address issues around racism and diversity in their schools. This includes considering the curriculum as well as the day-to-day policy and practice of the individual school.

- **Dadzie, Stella (ed.) (2000)** *Auditing for Equality*. **London, Commission for Racial Equality (CRE).**
  Dadzie has also published a broader resource for councils which assists local authorities in the auditing of their performance against the five levels of the CRE's standards for racial equality in local government (see, *Racial Equality Means Quality*, 1995).

- **North Yorkshire Training & Enterprise Council (2001)** *The Business Benefits of Equal Opportunities and Diversity Management: A Toolkit*. **North Yorkshire, NYTEC.**
  This toolkit is aimed at businesses and signposts a number of useful considerations with easy-to-follow checklists and cross-referencing.

- **Open University (1996)** *Open Teaching Toolkit: Equal Opportunities*. **Milton Keynes, Open University.**
  This is a general equal opportunities toolkit aimed at teaching staff. It contains a number of useful sections and checklists.

Section Two: Conceptual Tools

2.1 Operationalising Institutional Racism

Debates concerning 'race', 'racism' and 'institutional racism' are of central importance to this toolkit. That 'races', 'ethnicities' and 'cultures' are socially constructed seems to be commonly accepted in current debates. It is no longer acceptable to argue that race is a biological, natural construct with intrinsic and essential properties (this is not to say, however, that this kind of thinking is still not prevalent in many quarters).[1]

This, of course, leads to some level of contradiction as those opposed to racism (anti-racists) must deny that 'races' exist whilst simultaneously invoking racialised categories. 'Race' does not exist in any scientifically meaningful sense, this, however, *does not mean* that peoples have ceased to relate to these categories as if they were *fixed* and *natural* – '(R)ace may not be a biological fact, but it certainly is a social reality' (Castles, 1996: 20). A belief in the existence of naturally occurring 'races' is reflected in popular and political discourse and although people tend to talk now about ethnicity and culture rather than 'race', it is often the case that the assumptions that were previously related to concepts of race continue to proliferate and structure understandings of 'self' and 'other' (Anthias and Yuval Davis, 1995; Bonnett, 2000; Brah, 1992; Modood, 1992 and 1997a; Solomos and Back, 1996).

Recognising that race is a social construction, modified and transformed through human interaction, does not deal with the problem of the continued use of racialised terminology within sociological inquiry. As Gillborn (1995) and Law (1996) have pointed out, however, abandoning these categories would frustrate sociological analysis and policy formulation. So, in spite of reinforcing those terms which we might wish to see discarded, it is the case that the language and terminology of racialised discourse will continue to be used if inquiries are able to 'speak' to each other and 'where it is treated by social actors as a real basis for social differentiation (Law, 1996: 3-6).

Racism is manifested in complex and changing ways over time, space and place and this poses some difficulties in terms of analysis.[2] Evidently, the concept of racism requires definition if we are to describe practices, policies, attitudes and perceptions that we believe operate (deliberately or not) in racist ways.

Racism can be seen across the broad spectrum of human activity, organisation and interaction. Essed (1991) introduces the idea of 'everyday racism', which counters the view that racism is an individual problem relating to a notion that one *is* or *is not* 'racist'. 'Everyday racism' refers to forms of discrimination that manifest themselves in **'systematic, recurrent, familiar practices'**. 'Everyday racism' 'is infused into familiar practices, it involves **socialized attitudes and behaviour**' (Essed, 1991: 3, our emphasis).

Essed usefully describes racism as both 'structure' and 'process'. It is structure because dominance and discrimination exists and is reproduced through the formulation and application of rules, laws, and regulations and through access to and the allocation of resources. As a process, it does not exist outside everyday practice where it is reproduced and reinforced, adapting continually to the ever-changing social, political and economic societal conditions (1991: 44).

Knowledge, assumptions and understandings are transmitted generationally and are not restricted to that which can derived directly from the everyday environment but can also include the kinds of knowledge that is communicated through education or by the media; racism and racist practices are thus internalised in everyday life through the various processes of socialisation. Racism thus processually and structurally shapes the experiences of BME people. In a (HEI), this may be manifested in admissions, appointments, career progression,

student attainment, access to resources, access to support and so on. The everyday is **routinised**, **normal** and **repetitive**. Persons can, however, transcend 'everyday' knowledge:

'People who reject what is seen as "normal" often become agents of change' (Essed, 1991: 48).

Staff and students may not consciously be aware of any disparity or discrimination, however, the responses to our Leeds survey indicates that once individuals are asked to reflect upon their environment, policy and practice they begin to question what, exactly, occurs in this environment in order to reproduce and reinforce an unrepresentative and exclusionary system. White people are not necessarily aware of the ways in which these spaces / places were structured in their interests (**see, also, section 2.3**). In many cases, the responsibility for this is placed beyond the 'boundaries' of the university, although a number of people responding to the Leeds Study did also focus their attention on the institution itself. The text box below provides examples of perceptions of race equality taken from the Leeds Study.

… from my personal experience, things seem to be decided by merit. The fact that most applicants for posts are white males suggests the failings are largely elsewhere (*unknown*).

… the university hierarchy is very white, male, suited and middle-aged, in both composition and culture ... as a white, female professor I feel out of place amongst this hierarchy, and can surmise that this would be compounded for anyone who was black – male or female … At every level of staff, except cleaning staff, there appears not to be the ethnic representation that exists in the outside world (*senior academic*).

… the culture here is still white, male, middle aged dominated ... I think it is difficult for in-comers to feel connected to their values. Racism is not overt but subtle in its manifestations – assumptions made and language used in documentation and professional dialogue. Women in the university face the same dilemmas (*senior academic*).

In some cases, individuals may have direct experiences of overt racist behaviour, attitudes and actions, in other cases it may be covert and less easy to identify. Racism, however, may also be manifested across a set of staff or student experiences that only takes on a significance in its regularity, i.e racism and/or disparity only becomes evident through effective monitoring. That not all BME people working or studying in a university believe that they experience any overt racism should not be seen as 'proof' that racism does not operate. Certainly the Leeds study revealed a diverse set of experiences and perceptions regarding what racism might mean and how it can be manifested.

The concept of **'Institutional Racism'** is central to this project in terms of trying to consider the varying ways in which the policies, practices and 'culture' of an organisation (such as a HEI) operate in ways that disadvantage BME staff and students.

A critical reading of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report raises a number of considerations for our research into institutional racism in HEIs; some general conceptual issues and some which relate to the application of findings from an investigation into the police to educational institutions.

Key points for consideration are as follows:

1. A focus on 'normal' institutional processes, policies and practices
The value of the definition of institutional racism used in the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report is its attempt to convey the *everyday* nature of racism in an *institutional* context. This is consistent with discussions of institutional racism in the 1970s, which emphasised the '*normal*' functioning of the institution and highlighted the importance of '*established laws, customs and practices, which systematically reflect and produce racial inequalities in society* (Jones, 1972). The power of institutional racism resides in the taken-for-granted nature of routine operations of an institution and the ideologies on which they are founded. When the 'normal' institutional processes are reviewed and new structures are put in place (e.g. to support disadvantaged students who have been left vulnerable by the hegemonic culture of the HEI), there are often complaints of 'special treatment' or unfair diversion of resources (Bird, 1996). This is indicative of a lack of understanding of existing and unquestioned power structures and 'systems of knowledge', which have long privileged whites, males and able-bodied staff and students etc.

2. Issues of intentionality

> **'Racial discrimination includes all acts – verbal, nonverbal, and paraverbal – with intended or unintended negative or unfavorable consequences for racially or ethnically dominated groups'. It is important to see that intentionality is not a necessary component of racism (Essed, 1991: 45).**

The Inquiry report's clear message was that 'unwitting racism' could produce racist outcomes. Institutional cultures, which are grounded in the production and reproduction of racist discourses in an institutional settings, are key to our understanding of this process. For example, the Inquiry report asserts that:

> unwitting racism can arise because of lack of understanding, ignorance or mistaken beliefs......
> Such attitudes can thrive in a tightly knit community so that there can be a failure to detect and
> outlaw this breed of racism (para 6.17).

The Report acknowledges that this '*unwitting racism*'

> … often arises out of uncritical self-understanding born out of an inflexible (police) ethos of the
> 'traditional' way of doing things (para. 6.17).

It goes on to identify the problems of a police 'canteen culture' in producing and reproducing such 'traditions'. The 'traditions', however, do not start in the canteen; they reflect wider ideologies and discourses on race and culture, which reside in structural racism. An understanding of this wider context is crucial for an institution which seeks to move towards an anti-racist ethos, and has implications for the way HEIs should interact with other institutions and structures (see 3 below.)

An emphasis on institutional structures and 'unwitting racism' raises questions relating to the role and responsibility of the individuals working within an institution. There is thus clearly a need to explicate the relationship between individual, institution and structure. The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report cautions against the inferring that all individuals in the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) are racist:

> An accusation that institutional racism exists in the MPS does not imply that the policies of the MPS are racist. It is in the implementation of policies and in the words and action of officers acting together that racism may become apparent…[this] does not mean that every police officer is guilty of racism.

The CRE, however, comes back to the to focus on the discriminatory effects of institutional policies and procedures, and side-steps the issue of individual intentionality, arguing that:

> If racist consequences accrue to institutional laws, customs and practices, the institution is racist whether or not the individuals maintaining those practices have racial intentions (reference).

However, it may be argued that individuals are crucially bound up with the reproduction of institutional forms and importantly wider structures. If one accepts that structures are reproduced through social action, then the question of intentionality becomes less important. Even non-racist individuals can help to perpetuate racist practises by their uncritical participation in racist institutional structures. We can thus arrive at seemingly contradictory situations, as exemplified in the work of Jeffers and Hoggett (1995), where black officers working in an anti-racist housing department made decisions that perpetuated racial inequalities.

HEIs cannot hope to eliminate all of the racist attitudes of the individuals making up their organisation. However, they should be aiming to create an anti-racist ethos in the operation of their institution, which is supported by policy, working principles and practice. This would be operationalised by training for individuals (and sanctions), in order to provide a framework for anti-racist action. In short, anti-racist should become part of the professionalism of staff, code of conduct for students and embedded in working relationships with the external community. Mention of the university as a site of institutional racism frequently brings denial of the possibility.

As Ross (2000) has observed, an institutional culture of denial can foster apathy and resistance to the introduction of equal opportunities/anti-racist training programmes. Even so-called anti-racist institutions can fall down. For example, when the CRE investigated a case of alleged racial discrimination in staff appointments at Hinckley College of FE, they found that discrimination had occurred in *'the most unexpected places',* in this case, in a College controlled by a local authority *'with a long standing equal opportunities policy'* (CRE, 1991: 9)

Disentangling the mechanisms which can lead to institutional discrimination and disadvantage is crucial. For example, there are distinctions to be drawn between:

1. Situations where certain criteria are used to differentiate between groups, but 'unwittingly' bring disproportionate disadvantage to minority ethnic groups (e.g. in the case of HEIs, privileging student applicants with European languages skills), or where behavioural norms exclude certain groups from participating in the everyday life of the institutions (e.g. assumption that socialising will take place in the pub and involve the consumption of alcohol) and

2. Situations where racial discourses and racist ideologies underpin *discretionary decision making* e.g. in selection of applicants for posts on the basis of whether they might 'fit in' to the existing work environment; assumptions about the performance of black minority ethnic and white students.

The dangers of '*uncritical self-understanding'* highlighted in the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report are clear. This prioritises a critical evaluation of institutional values, ethos and driving forces. This is perhaps especially important in an organisation, such as an HEI, which perceives itself to be 'liberal' and simply assumes that all is well. We have to question what 'excellence in education' means and whether performance can be measured by something more than income, low dropout rates, degree results, graduate access to job market and research ratings.

3. Cumulative effects; the role of HEIs in the wider context

Racial inequalities reflect the cumulative disadvantage of institutional racism in a wide range of spheres. Early American contributors to the field were keen to emphasise that institutional racism is a *process*, which involves a range of institutions, whose procedures combine to produce a mutually reinforcing pattern of inequality (e.g. Carmichael and Hamilton, 1969; Blauner, 1972). HEIs are thus obliged to consider how they are embedded within the wider community when devising anti-racist strategies. There is evidence of good practice in outreach work already. For example, the National Mentoring scheme was set up to increase the success rates for minority graduates in a discriminatory job market (Stewart, 1996). However, much more work is need. For example, particular support is needed for Muslim women graduates, who may have difficulty in fulfilling their employment potential because of multiple barriers arising from negative attitudes based on religion, culture and race (Dale *et al* 2000).

Staff working in HEIs often fail to recognise their position in the wider context. For example, when presented with evidence that a particular department has low numbers of minority ethnic students, a common response is that applications from this group are low, so staff are powerless to effect change in the ethnic composition of the student body. Recognition of the potentially active role of the HEI in the wider educational system, and acknowledgement of the responsibility for tackling some of the barriers that bias the selection process prior to university entry is rare. As Ross concludes from her research with quality assurance managers in HEIs, 'that factors other than academic ability are at play in the selection process is simply denied, or possibly not understood, by most staff working in higher education' (Ross, 2000: 67).

4. Racism is complex and multi-layered

Racism takes different forms in different settings. We would not therefore expect the experience of 'institutional racism' in HEIs to mirror that in the police force, although there will be broad structural similarities. Furthermore, we would not expect institutional racism within HEIs to always express itself in the same form. Rather, it will reflect historical policies, practices and processes, and the contingencies that arise from particular geographical contexts and institutional settings. There are likely to be significant differences, for example, between community based HEIs and those who seek to recruit students in the national and international arena.

If you would like further information on racism and institutional racism, please consult the following references:

- Anthias, Floya and Nira Yuval Davis (1995) Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle. London and New York, Routledge.
- Essed, Philomena (1991) *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory*, Newbury Park, London, New Delhi, SAGE Publications.
- Gillborn, David (1995) *Racism and Antiracism in Real Schools: Theory - Policy - Practice.* Buckingham, Open University Press.

- Gilroy, Paul (1992) *There ain't no Black in the Union* Jack. London, Routledge.
- Jones, Cecily (2001) 'Black Women in Ivory Towers: Racism and Sexism in the Academy' in, Anderson, Pauline and Williams, Jenny (eds.) (2001) *Identity & Difference in Higher Education: Outsiders Within.* Aldershot, Ashgate: 147-161.
- Macpherson, William (1999) *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report of an inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny.* London, HMSO.
- Law, Ian (1996) *Racism, Ethnicity & Social Policy.* London, Prentice Hall.
- Solomos, John and Les Back (1996) *Racism and Society.* Houndsmill and London, Macmillan Press Ltd.

2.2 Eurocentrism

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the term 'eurocentrism' has its roots in the term 'Europcentrism', the idea or the practice of placing Europe at the centre of one's world view and an assumption of the supremacy of Europe and Europeans in world cultures.

The term emerged relatively recently and has been used to describe the relationship between Western Europe and the 'rest' of Europe as well as the relationship between the West and the 'Rest' (Hall, 1992). The most common usage of the word in recent years, however, rests with the latter, i.e. the centring of the West.[3]

Eurocentrism should not be perceived as simply a form of racism but, rather, as a discourse that is often manifested in ways that can be described as racist. Intersecting with eurocentrism is the question of whiteness. Although eurocentrism should not be reduced to the centring of whiteness, whiteness, as a racialised identity or identification, is crucial to its operations. Although racism can be critiqued as a eurocentric device, it is sometimes be difficult to differentiate between the two.

Eurocentrism is described in a number of different ways and is seen as serving a number of different purposes or projects. For the purposes of this toolkit however, it is not necessary to delve too deeply into the debates so we will provide a brief overview here and make suggestions as to where you can find further information (see endnotes)[4].

There are a number of questions that require consideration, beginning firstly with the question - 'what' is it that eurocentrism seeks to 'centre'? Further, is it possible to talk about a common discourse (eurocentrism) when the history of the so-called West is itself littered with conflict and disagreement, i.e. at what point are we able to transcend nationalist conflicts and uncover a common framework of assumptions and understanding? It would seem most useful to look at the West or Europe in terms of an ideological construct, as even a cursory understanding of the history of Europe reveals that a common unity has not been sustained.[5] However, in order to talk about the West and for other regions and nations to be labelled 'Rest' (Hall, 1992), there must be some kind of discourse to which narratives of self and other and so on, have recourse; an over-arching commonality that supersedes the obviousness of international / interregional rivalry. Perhaps a more constructive way to look at the West is to think of it not as a totalised, unified 'space' or 'place' but, rather, as a series of overlapping 'spaces' and 'places' through which various manifestations of eurocentric discourse are realised and enacted.

A further question might also be to ask whether or not, in a European or Western context (or university), we can expect anything but a eurocentric perspective, and indeed, why would that be wrong? In a Western country why should we problematise a worldview, etc, that reflects the identity of the community, nation or region from which it

emerges? It is possible to argue that in terms of the 'particular', eurocentrism has no less validity than any other so-called 'ethnocentrism'. This project believes, however, that eurocentrism is not simply a form of ethnocentrism. The main distinction between a concept of 'European' ethnocentrism and eurocentrism lies in distinctly in eurocentrism's universalist pretensions, in that eurocentric discourse lays claim to a universal template of progress and development for *all* societies and not just those within its so-called boundaries. In this way eurocentrism is problematic because it is *more* than a mere reflection of the environment from which it has emerged, it is a way of looking and thinking about the world which perceives itself as ultimately 'right', not just for those peoples and places within its boundaries, but for peoples and places everywhere.

The question of eurocentrism holds a great deal of significance for the university in that a eurocentric discourse structures the HE sector in a number of different ways:

- Course content
- Degree programmes
- Resources
- Research practice
- Research methods
- Teaching practice
- Attitudes to international students
- Attitudes to BME students

It is important to recognise that eurocentrism underpins, not only the arts, social sciences and humanities, but also the sciences. The history of the development of mathematical knowledge, for example, has been criticised for excluding the achievements of scientists from beyond the 'West' and privileging the work of early Greek mathematicians (see, for example, George Gherghvese Joseph (1991)). Further, scientific or medical developments are often presented in ways that simply reinforce a connection between 'progress' and the 'West' and so continue to reproduce a particular world-view that posits the 'Rest' as backward and lagging behind.

Eurocentrism ultimately privileges the voices and perspectives of predominantly Western thinkers and practices whilst marginalising the voices and perspectives of those deemed 'non-Western'. In the context of institutions established to conduct research and to teach, this, of course, has profound repercussions in terms of the way perceptions of the world we live in are structured and disseminated. This cuts across all aspects of institutional practice and organisation

If you would like further information on eurocentrism, please consult the following references:

- Amin, Samir (1989) *Eurocentrism*, London, Zed Books.
- Blaut, J. M. (1993) *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*, London/New York, The Guildford Press.
- Said, Edward W. (1978) *Orientalism.* London, Penguin.
- Said, Edward W. (1993) *Culture and Imperialism.* London, Alfred A. Knopf, inc.
- Sayyid, Bobby S. (1997) *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism & Islamism.* London, Zed Books.
- Shohat, Ella and Robert Stam (1994) *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media*, London and New York, Routledge.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel (1997) 'Eurocentrism and its Avatars: The Dilemmas of Social Science'. *New Left Review*, 226/Nov/Dec: 93-107.

- West, Cornel and Bill Brown (1993) 'Beyond Eurocentrism and Multiculturalism', *Modern Philology*, Vol 90: 142-166.

2.3 Unpicking 'Whiteness'

For many HEIs, the 'whiteness' of the institution goes unnoticed and is simply rationalised into a day-to-day perception of 'normality'. The research we undertook at the University of Leeds indicated, however, that when forced to identify the 'face' of the institution, many people working there described it (with reference to staff) as not only predominantly white, but also predominantly white and male. For the most part, however, people don't really notice the 'whiteness' of an institution and the implications that this normative whiteness has for those staff and students working and studying there. What is more, people tend to over-estimate the numbers of BME people working and studying in a place and assume that equality policies of any kind work primarily in favour of BME people, women and disabled candidates (both staff and students). In this way the whiteness of an institution is ignored and downplayed. The following quotes from the Leeds Study indicate the varying ways by which people perceive the institution. When asked, the whiteness of the institution is flagged, ignored or downplayed, the notion of a racialised Britishness being evident in the second example.

> … there is a pervading mentality of white, middle class, middle aged, red brick graduate types in middle and senior management (*academic related*).
>
> … the university seems to take on staff of all origins more frequently than British people so I think that maybe there is no further action needed (*support staff*).
>
> … Leeds is a racially diverse city and this needs to be reflected in the workplace as well as in the student population. At the moment, it's certainly not trying to change its old fashioned image of being rich, white and middle class-which, no matter how fairly you look at it, still predominantly is. You only have to look at Leeds Meet and learn from their strategies, they have a much richer population of employees and students culturally – is this because their routes are more flexible and modern? Their strategies more dedicated and determined, not just paying lip service (*support staff*)?
>
> I think there's a complacency around the fact that we've got so many black people here, staff and students … what's the figure, probably about 10% of staff (*academic related*)?

It is only recently that the study of 'race', ethnicity and culture has also begun to specifically address questions of whiteness. The study of whiteness has been important for this project for a number of reasons, primarily because the acknowledgement or identification of 'whiteness' becomes a way of making unstable its position as the normalised, central space from which 'others' (racialised, ethnicised, etc, groups) are differentiated. What is more, by considering 'whiteness' we are addressing 'race' and ethnicity across *all* facets of educational discourse and not just those topics and places that are about BME students and staff. As Avtar Brah points out:

> There is a tendency in Britain to see racism as 'something to do with the presence of Black people'. But it is important to stress that both black and white people experience their gender, class and sexuality through 'race'. Racialisation of white subjectivity is often not manifestly apparent to white

groups because white is a signifier of dominance, but this renders the racialisation process no less significant (1992: 133-134).

White is, for the most part, an unspoken, central position that is concomitant with 'normal'. This is not to say, however, that it is not used as a category of identification. It should be noted, for example, that in terms of the census and most equal opportunities monitoring in Britain, White is used as an explicit category of identification along with Black Caribbean, Black African, Black Other, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese or Other. There is often little interest, however, in determining the varying ethnicities of those included under 'white' and in this way, the category can be seen explicitly to racialise Britain as a white space from which the other is differentiated (Anthias and Yuval Davis, 1995: 152). As a dominant discourse, whiteness never speaks its own name; its authority and power is based on a certain level of absence or invisibility. This absence is not simply an absence of those routinely denied access to power, but it is also an absence of an acknowledgement of domination which is simply assumed to be 'normal' (Ferguson, 1990: 11, see also, Bonnet, 1999).

Talking about whiteness and identifying it as an explicit or particular position is important for other issues of concern to this project, such as eurocentrism. The importance and power of the alliance between eurocentrism, universality and whiteness cannot be understated.

'Race' is often not considered important for white people, their whiteness only becoming visible or tangible at the moment of encounter with 'blackness' or 'otherness'. The all-white nature of residential areas and communities across Britain is not considered in terms of 'race', whereas the all-Black, Asian, etc, nature of other communities is usually considered by reducing that community, etc, to a 'race' or an ethnicity. Frankenberg's (1993) study explores how racialised segregation is perpetuated without white peoples necessarily having to consciously enforce it. Segregation within universities, colleges, neighbourhoods, schools, workplaces, etc, occurs without white people ever really having to think about it. White people may be aware of racialised discourse in terms of how it affects black peoples but are unable to comprehend that the same discourse also shapes their experiences and their environments.

It may be that by naming and seeing whiteness that it becomes possible to dislodge or make unstable its power and privilege and to make visible that which has previously remained 'un-named'. White people are not conscious of the ways in which their whiteness accounts for their privilege and power, believing instead that all that we achieve or gain is due to our individuality and hard work. It is inconceivable to most white people that the reason that they have access to particular jobs, courses, nice residential areas or that they are treated politely and helpfully in a school or doctor's surgery because they are white (Dyer, 1997: 9). It is this power that allows white people (who are usually not only unable to articulate themselves as white but not required to articulate their identity and experiences through an explicitly racialised framework), to:

> construct the world in their own image; white people set the standards of humanity by which they are bound to succeed and others are bound to fail. Most of this is not done deliberately or maliciously; there are enormous variations of power amongst white people, to do with class, gender and other factors; goodwill is not unheard of in white people's engagement with others. White power none the less reproduces itself regardless of intention, power differences and goodwill, and overwhelmingly because it is not seen as whiteness, but as normal (Dyer, 1997: 9-10).

Dyer's account of the **universal** assumptions inherent in thinking about whiteness is very useful; however, a greater degree of differentiation is necessary. As we would argue with reference to the categories black or Asian, we should not assume that these 'groups' are not cut across by differences in class, culture and gender.

Whiteness may be articulated as a position of privilege but there are also large numbers of white peoples who are pathologised and marginalised across Britain and, indeed, the 'West'. Whiteness is often associated with the conscious whiteness of extremists such as white supremacists,[6] or linked with the idea of 'white trash' and so emptied of its broad socio-political significance and displaced as a category of privilege.[7] However, although we argue that whiteness is a marker of privilege, it is important to recognise that many white people have, in fact, very little social, political, economic and cultural power. In this way it is important not simply to accept whiteness as an undifferentiated, homogenous category without its own internal dynamics and intersection with other subjectivities (i.e. it's important to think about class as well).

It is important for users of this toolkit therefore to consider what the 'whiteness' of their institution might mean and consider that issues around 'racism' and 'discrimination' are just as important for staff and students regardless of the representation of Black and Minority Ethnic staff and students in the institution.

If you would like further information on 'whiteness' please consult the following references:

- Bonnet, Alastair (1997) 'Constructions of Whiteness in European and American Anti-Racism' in Werbner, Pnina and Tariq Modood (eds.) *Debating Cultural Hybridity*. London, Zed Books: 173-192.
- Bonnet, Alastair (1999) *White identities: Historical and International Perspectives*. Harlow, Prentice Hall.
- Dyer, Richard (1997) *White*. London, Routledge.
- Frankenberg, Ruth (1993) *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*. London, Routledge.
- Nakayama, Thomas K and Judith N Martin (eds.) (1999) *Whiteness: The Communication of Social Identity*. London, SAGE.

2.4 Critical Boundaries

Although our toolkit prioritises 'race' and racism we are, of course, sensitive to the interconnections and intersections between issues around:

- Gender
- Disability
- Class
- Sexuality
- Religion

Experiences of racism and discrimination are not homogenous, they are experienced in different ways by different people in different times and places. The experiences and needs of Black Caribbean women will be different to those of South Asian, Muslim Men. The need to be mindful of the intersection of racism with the other types of discrimination cannot be understated.

The policies and plans of an institution must, of course, address discrimination in all its forms in order to avoid hierarchies that suggest certain forms of discrimination are more important than others. Nonetheless, the wide range of discriminations and inequalities that need to be tackled should not detract from the central message of this document, which argues that racism has a particular history and place and, as such, requires very specific responses.

One of the ways these differences are often articulated is through thinking about 'identity' and categories of 'identification'. The real lived identities of people are not the same as the ascribed categories of identification that an institution uses to manage itself. Ascribed categories of 'race' and ethnicity, gender or disability for example, fail to encapsulate the full complexity of peoples lived experiences. The debates are complex but worth briefly touching upon (see endnotes).[8]

2.5 Why an Anti-racist Strategy?

Gillborn notes that efforts 'to challenge racism in education have a long (and troubled) history' (1995: 1). Not only has the problem of racism in education been a subject of debate but these debates have also taken place in the context of national ideological battles in British politics. Education, like many other sectors in the UK such as the legal system, the economy, the labour market, etc, operates in, what can be called for sake of simplification, 'racialised' ways.

The strategies that have been developed and applied to tackle inequalities and discrimination in the broad field of education have been diverse and with differing pros and cons. Much of the debate has taken place in schools and has only recently turned its attention to the HE and FE sectors. Ordinarily we can identify three main approaches that have been followed following the failure of post-war assimilatory strategies (for further information see, Figueroa, 1991; Gillborn, 1990 and 1995):

- firstly, a broad celebration of multiculturalism and diversity;
- secondly, anti-racism
- thirdly, broad equal opportunities.

All these strategies have been the subject of intense debate and criticised for a number of different reasons. In short, the first approach of celebrating cultural diversity has been seen as ineffective because in a society that is structured by racist norms the notion of cultural tolerance has little meaning, as such, anti-racist education is seen as more effective. What is more, the focus on culture(s) ignores specificities and side-steps the issue of the construction of 'race'. By dealing directly with what it perceives as 'cultures', multiculturalism avoids dealing with issues of 'race' and racism by subordinating social and political realities to cultural artefacts.

In addition, by arguing for multiculturalism as a broad acceptance and incorporation of the *cultural* aspects of BME communities, such communities can be reduced to stereotypical surface *images* and *symbols* of their 'cultures'. Multiculturalism has also been accused of doing no more than carefully masking the co-ordination or 'managing' of BME groups by making superficial changes to ensure control and the maintenance of a racist hegemony with reference to constructions of race, ethnicity and national identity.

The notion of culture (which is rooted in ideas of difference) is necessarily fluid and dynamic and in a constant process of change and exchange. As such, it is difficult to argue that there is such a thing as an authentic, fixed or bounded culture. This is made more complex by the recognition that individuals and groups have multiple subject positions which take priority, depending upon space, place and time. To reduce a group or an individual to an essentialist idea of a culture thus does not take into account multiple subject positions and thus simplifies debates about the narration of self and identity.

The varying interpretations as to what constitutes 'good' multiculturalism continue to be problematic. However, it is clear that the search for educational policies that adequately reflect plurality are difficult to agree upon, precisely because the terminology is so contested and debated.

In terms of thinking about anti-racism, Alastair Bonnett poses the question '(H)ow do anti-racists oppose racism?' (2000: 84) and this question impacts upon the utility of this toolkit. Bonnett identifies six forms of anti-racist practice, which he describes as:

1. Everyday anti-racism: the opposition to racial equality that forms part of everyday popular culture;
2. Multicultural anti-racism: the affirmation of multicultural diversity as a way of engaging racism;
3. Psychological anti-racism: the identification and challenging of racism within structures of individual and collective consciousness;
4. Radical anti-racism: the identification and challenging of structures of socio-economic power and privilege that foster and reproduce racism;
5. Anti-Nazi and anti-fascist anti-racism;
6. The representative organisation: the policy and practice of seeking to create organisations representative of the 'wider community' and therefore actively favouring the entry and promotion of previously excluded 'races' (Bonnett, 2000: 85-86).

These strategies represent the broad face of anti-racist activity and each approach carries with it a series of 'pros' and 'cons'. Anti-racist strategies can be problematic. For example, one danger is that anti-racism posits BME persons as the passive victims of white racism and sometimes denies or sidelines the agency and resistance strategies of BME persons and groups. Further, it often runs the risk of advocating 'equality' or 'colour-blindness' rather than considering the issue of *equity* (*ibid.* 68). This 'colour-blind' approach on the part of white peoples is often seen as appropriate (see Frankenberg, 1993), however, to attempt not to 'see' race, often means assuming a normative centre from which all people are judged and incorporated from an assumed equality. This normativity, however, simply reaffirms ideas of the 'normal', i.e. the universalism of whiteness. What is more, ideas about equality do not always work equitably and, as such, the provision of educational services should respect, and be informed by, varying needs and requirements.

Anti-racist education can also become victim to what Gilroy (1987) calls 'a coat of paint theory', whereby racism is constructed as an aberrant and not recognised as being integral to the ways in which society is structured, organised and legitimated (Troyna 1992: 87). Without an adequate understanding of the institutionalised nature of racism and discrimination and how it is embedded in social relations, merely positing racism in terms of verbal or physical violence or visible discrimination, does not constructively deal with the complex and diverse ways that the varying forms of racism actually work and are perpetuated.

A further consideration with reference to equal opportunities is the subsuming of the significance of race and ethnicity alongside other categories of 'disadvantage'. This is not to say that questions of, for example, gender or disability are of lesser importance in terms of thinking about questions of equality and equity in education, but that the absorption of all categories under one broad heading may dilute or diminish the significance of 'race' and ethnicity and deny its specific history.

By promoting anti-racism as well as race equality, an institution is required to actively address all manifestations of racist activity rather than establishing a broad framework of 'equality' and assuming that once that that is in place, equal access for all groups will follow. The chronic under-representation of BME groups across and within the

sector is evidence enough that this alone does not work. An anti-racist strategy incorporates the principles of race equality but moves beyond that principle in a much stronger way.

racism

whiteness
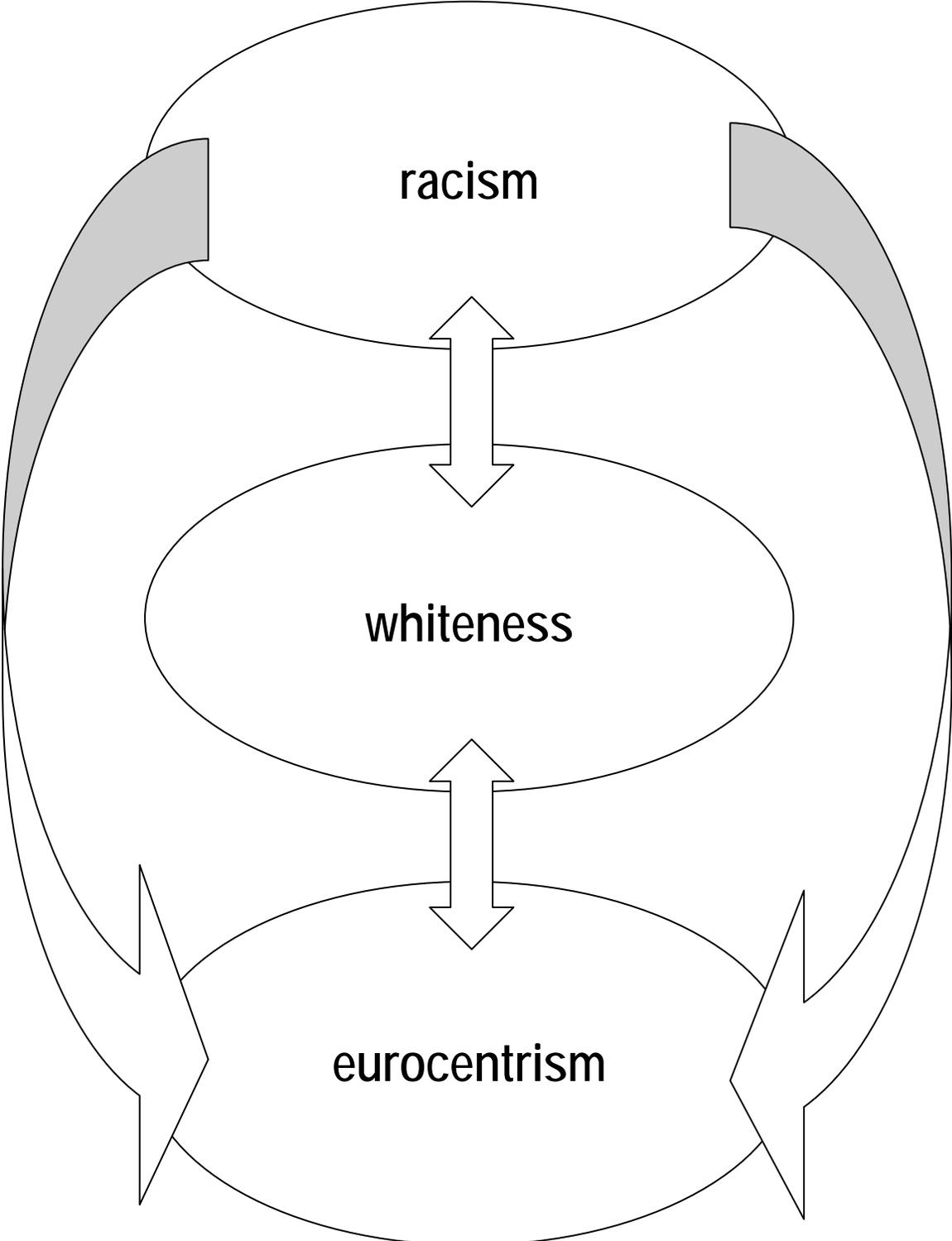
eurocentrism

Summary

In this section we have considered the following interconnected concepts:

- Operationalising Institutional Racism (see, **Section 2.1**)

- Eurocentrism (see, **Section 2.2**)

- Unpicking 'Whiteness' (see, **Section 2.3**)

- Critical Boundaries (see, **Section 2.4**)

- Why an Anti-racist Strategy? (see, **Section 2.5**)

The following section will provide an overview of the very basic information, strategies and policies that your institution should have in place with reference to 'race', racism and race equality.

Section Three: Legal & Organisational Tools

3.1 Legislative requirements – what does the RRAA 2000 mean for universities?

The Race Relations Act 1976, as amended by the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 (RRAA 2000), makes it unlawful to discriminate against anyone on grounds of race, colour, nationality (including citizenship), or ethnic or national origin. The RRAA 2000 places a positive General Duty on all HEIs to **promote race equality**. This means that HEIs, in all their identified relevant functions, have due regard to the need to:

- eliminate unlawful racial discrimination
- promote equality of opportunity
- promote good race relations between people of different racial groups

This responsibility and all the other relative Specific Duties arising from the legislation, lie with individual HEIs as autonomous institutions. As such, individual HEIs are **legally answerable** (through their governing bodies) for their fulfilment of the RRAA 2000 requirements, both in relation to the General and Specific Duties.

It applies to:
- jobs
- training
- housing
- education
- the provision of goods, facilities and services

Briefly, HEIs should have addressed the following:

- Implementing the race equality policy through the General Duty
- Specific Duty 3 (1)   Race equality policy
- Specific Duty 4 (a)   Assessing the impact of all institutional policies
- Specific Duty 4 (b)   Monitoring admission, recruitment and progress
- Specific Duty 4 (c)   Publishing arrangements
- Specific Duty 5   Publishing arrangements

In order to comply with the RRAA 2000, Higher and Further Education institutions must:

- Prepare a policy (deadline = **May 31st, 2002**);
- Assess how **all** their policies affect minority ethnic students and staff;
- Monitor student admission and progress, and staff recruitment and career progress by racial group;
- Arrange to **annually** publish their policy and the results of assessment and monitoring.

The equal opportunities administrators in your institution, should have **already** drafted and put the race equality policy into place. Although we are able to provide a summary of some of the main provisions of the amended Act we are **not** able to provide a definitive guide to the law.

For further information on this and related matters, please see:

- **Commission for Racial Equality (www.cre.gov.uk)**

- Equality Challenge Unit, Universities UK (www.ecu.ac.uk)
- HMSO (http://www.hmso.gov.uk/acts/acts2000/20000034.htm)

An institution should be aware that **racist incidents** ranging from harassment and abuse to physical violence are offences under **criminal law**. The incitement of racial hatred and the publication and dissemination of materials such as leaflets and newspapers that are likely to incite racial hatred are also criminal offences. If anyone in a university has a complaint with respect to any of these **criminal** matters they should be reported to the **police**.

Material in the media that is deemed to be racially offensive contravenes media codes of practice, complaints about material of this nature can be made to the Press Complaints Commission or the Broadcasting Standards Commission. Complaints about racially offensive advertisements should be made to the Advertising Standards Authority.

- Press Complaints Commission (http://www.pcc.org.uk/)
- Broadcasting Standards Commission (http://www.bsc.org.uk/)
- Advertising Standards Authority (http://www.asa.org.uk/)

3.2 The Human Rights Act 1998

The incorporation into UK law of the European Convention on Human Rights through the Human Rights Act 1998 (HRA) introduces a range of positive and prescribed political and civil rights. The 1998 HRA has a number of implications for Higher Education, although we can only speculate as this point as to what those may be, for example, employment and student admissions and support but there are other areas of concern such as academic freedom and staff and student safety.

The HRA makes it unlawful for a public authority to act incompatibly with the Convention rights, unless, as a result of a provision of primary legislation, the public authority could not have acted differently. Under the Act, only a person considered a victim is able to bring proceedings against a public authority. A victim is someone who is directly affected and this can include companies as well as individuals. Government organisations, such as local authorities, cannot be victims. The particular rights guaranteed by the HRA, which are of particular relevance in education, are as follows:

Article 3, Prohibition of torture: No one shall be subject to degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6, Right to a fair trial: In the determination of a person's civil rights and obligations, everyone is entitled to a fair and public hearing within reasonable time by an independent and impartial tribunal.

Article 8, Right to respect for private and family life: Public authorities may only interfere with someone's private life where they have legal authority to do so and the interference is necessary and proportionate for achieving one of the aims stated in this Article. Matters such as disclosure of private information and carrying out body searches are covered in this Article.

Article 9, Right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion: This Article guarantees the right for everyone to show their religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance.

Article 10, Freedom of expression: This covers conversations or speeches, as well as the written word. It does not override legal restrictions imposed for national security, public safety, the prevention of crime or for protecting other people's rights or reputation.

Article 14, Prohibition of discrimination: Not all differences in treatment are discriminatory, but only those which have no objective and reasonable justification. This Article can only be applied if there is another Convention right at issue.

Article 1 of Protocol 1, Protection of property: The right to engage in a profession can, in some instances, be regarded as property. No one can be deprived of his or her property except where the action is permitted by law and is justifiable in the public or general interest.

Article 2 of Protocol 1, Right to education: This right must be balanced against resources available.

If existing procedures are not compatible, new policies and procedures will need to be implemented which are consistent with the Convention Rights. For further information please see:

- HMSO (http://www.hmso.gov.uk/acts/acts1998/19980042.htm)
- Department for Education and Skills (http://www.dfes.gov.uk/a-z/hra1998.html)

3.3 Higher Education Funding Council's Race Equality Scheme

HEFCE has published its plans outlining how it plans to meet is statutory duty, under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between people of different racial groups. The scheme provides a strategic direction for integrating fair treatment into the Council's functions, identifies initial priorities, and sets out an action plan to address the issues. The HEFCE race equality scheme is designed to complement the work of individual HEIs and not replace their own strategies for which they are responsible.

HEFCE's race equality scheme provides information in relation to the following areas:

Context	Specific duties
Employment duties	A Race Equality Scheme
Functions	Policy development
Monitoring arrangements	Annual operating statements
Data capture	Leadership, governance & management
Widening and increasing participation	Excellence in teaching and learning
Research	Links with business and the wider community
Supporting HEIs in developing staff in HE	Procurement
Communications	The employment duty
Consultation process	Arrangements for publishing the scheme
Results of consultations and progress reports	Access to information and services
Complaints	HEFCE governance
Individual programmes and projects	

For a full account of the scheme and to download the document please visit the HEFCE website (http://www.hefce.ac.uk) and follow the link to the scheme (http://www.hefce.ac.uk/pubs/hefce/2002/02_29.htm).

3.4 Direct / Indirect Discrimination and Victimisation

Direct discrimination refers to the treatment of one person less favourably than another on racial grounds and is unlawful under the Race Relations Act 1976. Racist abuse and harassment are forms of direct discrimination.

Indirect racial discrimination refers to a rule or condition which is applied equally to everyone but which cannot be met by a large proportion of people from a particular racial group; such a rule is to the disadvantage of people from this group and the condition or rule **cannot be justified on non-racial grounds**. All three conditions must apply.

Examples of indirect discrimination might be the introduction of a rule that says employees must not wear headgear. This could exclude Sikh men and boys who wear a turban, or Jewish men or boys who wear a *yarmulka*, in accordance with practice within their racial group.

Victimisation has a special legal meaning in the Race Relations Act and occurs when an individual is treated less favourably because s/he has complained about racial discrimination or supported someone else who has.

Segregation is said to have occurred (for the purposes of the Act) when a person (or persons) is segregated from another (or others) on racial grounds in a way that constitutes favourable treatment on racial grounds. This is racial discrimination.

3.5 Harassment

The term 'harassment' also encapsulates 'bullying' and the idea of 'dignity at work' (**see, also, section 3.5 and 4.4c**).

Both staff and students can be the victims and perpetrators of harassment and bullying. **Racial harassment** is a form of discrimination that is **unlawful** and contrary to the **Race Relations Act** (1976, 2000).

Harassment can be defined as unwelcome and unwanted behaviour which causes a person or persons to feel threatened, intimidated, stressed, offended, uncomfortable and embarrassed. The kinds of inappropriate behaviour or conduct defined as harassment and/or bullying can be physical, verbal and non-verbal.

3.6 Positive Action

3.6a What do we mean by Positive Action?

The aim of positive action is to ensure that people from previously excluded BME groups can compete *on equal terms* with other applicants. It is intended to help to compensate for the accumulated effects of previous discrimination. Nonetheless, selection must still be based on merit and all applicants must be treated equally. The

law does not oblige employers to take positive action, but it does allow them to take steps to redress any imbalances.

The Race Relations Act does not allow positive discrimination or affirmative action. As such, an institution cannot try to change the ethnic balance of its workforce/student population by selecting someone primarily because s/he is from a particular racial group. This would be discrimination on racial grounds, and therefore unlawful.

A number of staff members interviewed for the Leeds Study, however, assumed that positive action strategies were, in fact, forms of positive discrimination and therefore unwelcome. This confusion of terms needs to be addressed if institutions are to move forward by setting targets and putting positive action strategies into place. In order for positive action strategies to be properly understood, it is imperative that everyone in a particular workplace is properly informed as to what is happening, why it is happening and what the benefits are.

3.6b Examples of Positive Action Strategies

- An institution or organisation can take positive action to overcome discrimination. For example, where, over the previous twelve months, no-one from a particular group, (or only very few persons from that group), have been doing a certain type of work then it is lawful to offer training only for people from that 'racial' group or to encourage people from that racial group to apply;

- An institution can encourage BME workers to apply for vacancies at the grade where they are under-represented;

- An institution can print leaflets in relevant minority languages to encourage applications to posts and courses from members of those groups.

- Other strategies need to be built into institutional practice under the RRAA's specific duties. The institution should take positive action on the basis of what it finds out as a result of undertaking its specific duties (i.e. monitoring).

3.7 Targets
3.7a What are they & why set them?

Setting targets should form part of a holistic approach to race equality and anti-racism in HEIs. If target setting is successful and more BME persons are subsequently in post or on courses, then it is imperative, of course, that the appropriate support structures are in place in order to allow BME staff and students to be able to continue to work and study in an institution. Improving access to an institution is not an end in itself – it is a beginning. HEIs need to ensure that staff and students have the appropriate information and clear, transparent procedures for dealing with any issues should they arise (i.e. harassment or discrimination).

It should be understood from the outset that setting targets is **not** the same as setting quotas. Target setting is allowed under the RRA 1976 and the RRAA 2000; quotas are illegal, targets, however, are not. The Leeds study found, when talking to staff about target setting, that there was a great deal of confusion about what targets actually were. More than half of the people we spoke to believed that target setting was a form of positive

discrimination or affirmative action and were therefore opposed to targets being set at all as they were perceived as 'unfair' to the applicant (staff or student) who was not Black or Minority Ethnic.

Target setting, however, has a number of useful functions as part of the process of putting together your institutional and departmental action plans. Setting targets indicates an intention to widen participation and access at all levels for both staff and students. Targets also help to raise institutional expectations by providing benchmarks against which progress can be measured. Targets can be set for student recruitment, staff recruitment, promotions, etc. More generic targets, however, can also be set, for example:

- More courses dealing with aspects of BME histories, politics, literatures, religions, etc;

- More resources made available for BME societies and groups;

- Recruitment of already-existing BME staff to particular committees and groups;

- Dissemination of anti-racist statement of good practice to all departments and units.

3.7b Who should set targets?
Targets should be set at all levels:

- the institution
- the department/unit/centre
- the individual

By setting targets at different levels, the institution can establish expectations from departments and units whilst the department or unit can establish expectations of individual members of staff. In this way, the responsibility for setting and meeting targets can be spread across the institution. By linking targets to departmental and individual performance, targets can form part of the review process. In this way, staff can be encouraged to work positively to achieve targets and when targets are achieved this is easily identifiable and subsequently rewarded.

3.7c How to set targets
- Collect as much information about the areas you are concerned with as possible. This can be achieved by collaborating with similar institutions to establish reasonable benchmarks and to share good practice. This information will come from internal and external sources, for example:

Internal data	External data
- UCAS data	- National benchmarking data
- Enrolment data	- Labour market information
- Appointments data	- Benchmarking data from other institutions
- Examinations data	- HEFCE, DFES data
- Ethnic monitoring data	- Other research
- Next step data	
- Retention rates	

- Establish reasonable but nonetheless demanding targets. Targets should be realistically achievable but not so easily achievable that they appear merely tokenistic;

  Usually targets are set by using a population percentage benchmark to indicate a reasonable level of representation from particular BME groups. The Leeds Study found that departments often used a rough figure of 5.5% based on the 1991 census to indicate whether or not they believed that their department was representative for staff and students.

  Using the census as an indicator of 'representativeness', however, is problematic for a number of reasons:

  - Firstly, a *national* indicator may be very different to a *regional* indicator, which is significant in the case of a city such as Leeds where the two main universities (University of Leeds and Leeds Metropolitan University) draw from different cohorts of students.

  - Secondly, an indicator of 5.5% refers to all age categories and not to those aged between 16 and 65. In fact, the 1991 Census indicates that 6.9% and 6.1% of those aged between 16-24 and 25-44 respectively are of ethnic minority origin, thus indicating that a 5.5% benchmark is, actually, on the low side.

  - Thirdly, targets need to be set using different sets of indicators depending on the sector, the market and the cachement area.

  - Finally, to continue to use the 1991 Census is to use a benchmark that is out of date.

- Incorporate targets into your anti-racist, equality action plan;

- Examples of particular types of targets will be included under each of the organisational headings in this anti-racist toolkit.

- If you want help with establishing targets for employment, **see section** …

- If you want help with establishing targets for student recruitment, **see section** …

- If you want help with establishing targets for teaching and learning, **see section** …

- If you want help with establishing targets for contracts and purchasing, **see section** …

3.7d Good practice in target setting

- Involve all staff and invite students to participate in the process of establishing targets.

- Make sure everyone in your institution knows what the targets are. This can be achieved through regular updates in institutional publications (newsletters, etc) or regular email announcements.

- Encourage everyone to take responsibility for reaching targets.

- Identify any processes or procedures that may hamper the ability of the institution to reach its targets.

- Ensure that sufficient resources are made available to departments, etc, in order to help staff to meet the targets.

- Set targets within a reasonable timetable.

- Monitor and assess your targets. This can be achieved by holding regular meetings with staff and other stakeholders.

It's important to keep detailed information about the target setting / reaching process. Maintaining records will allow the institution to assess how it is doing more efficiently and effectively.

Monitoring the effectiveness of target setting will allow the institution to assess its strategies (see, section 3.8):

- Have your targets been met?
- If not, what reasons can you identify for this?
- How will you assess your target setting?
- Were your targets too high?
- If your targets were met easily, were they too low?
- What action can be taken?

3.8 Ethnic monitoring
3.8a The Value and Necessity for Monitoring

Monitoring should be seen as a positive part of an institution's commitment to equality issues. The rationale for monitoring, as argued by CUCO, includes 'justice and morality; ensuring good service and care for the community … best use and management of labour' (1997: 6) and so on… Ethnic monitoring has often been viewed negatively for simply being a data-crunching exercise that has no real value. However, collecting this kind of data and subsequently acting upon what the data indicates, should enable your institution to assess if there are any differentials for staff and students depending on their ethnicity. The results and indicators of monitoring will then constructively inform positive action strategies for recruitment and selection; training and career progression and so on… (for further information on the kinds of data you can collect see, **3.7c How to Set Targets**).

In order to comply with RRAA (2000), institutions must comply with **Specific Duty 4 (b) Monitoring admission, recruitment and progress**. This means that HEIs **must monitor**, by racial group, all student admissions and progress and all staff recruitment and progress.

The HEI (under **Specific Duty 4 (c) Publishing arrangements**) must also include a statement in its written race equality policy, about its arrangements for publishing the race equality policy and the results of assessment and monitoring. Following on from this, the HEI must take the necessary practical steps to publish **annually** the results of its monitoring under this duty (**Specific Duty 5 Publishing arrangements**).

Areas that require monitoring include, for example:

- Student admissions (see, also, section 4.5a)
- Student drop-out rates / progression (see, also, section 4.5a,c and d)
- Student attainment / progression / performance / appraisals (see, also section 4.5d and section 4.6a)
- Students' next-step (see, also, section 4.5c)

- Staff appointments, (see, also, section 4.4a) this includes an analysis of categories of staff according to grade and contract type (full or part-time / permanent or temporary).
- Staff promotions / progression / discretionary pay awards (see, also, section 4.4b)
- Staff retention, (see, also section 4.4b) part of the monitoring process could include exit interviews to try and obtain a picture of why staff are leaving the institution.
- Staff appraisals / performance (see, also section 4.4b)
- Staff training (see, also section 4.4b)
- Harassment and bullying (see, also section 4.4c)

Monitoring should also be used, not only to inform positive action strategies and target setting, but it can also be used to assess whether or not these strategies are having any positive effect on, for example, recruitment programmes (staff and students).

By comprehensively monitoring, an institution can determine the extent to which its targets have been achieved and consider those areas where targets and strategies haven't worked.

Not everybody, however, understand the utility of ethnic monitoring. It is sometimes seen as a tool for possible discrimination. It is the case that the categories of identification are seen as having little currency with peoples lived identities (see, also, section 2.4). Institutions need to decide on a workable set of categories but understand that these will need to be continually reviewed and updated – '(M)onitoring is ongoing and must be reviewed as [employment] policy and practices change' (CUCO, 1997: 6). Importantly, staff and students need to be properly informed as to why data collection is important and what will happen to the information. Where possible staff and students should be given the opportunity to participate in the formulation of questionnaires and data-collection forms. Monitoring should be presented as a positive and important part of the policy and practice of a university and be seen to have a positive and practical application rather than a meaningless number crunching exercise.

For further information on ethnic monitoring categories see:
- http://www.cre.gov.uk/gdpract/em_cat_ew.html (ethnic monitoring categories for England and Wales)
- http://www.cre.gov.uk/gdpract/em_cat_sc.html (ethnic monitoring categories for Scotland)

3.8b Action
Heads of institutions, departments and units have to recognise the value of monitoring and see it as an important tool in assessing and understanding the dynamics of policy and practice.

Detailed guidance should be given to heads of departments and units on the purpose and nature of ethnic monitoring as a central aspect of improving standards and conditions.

Monitoring should be used to inform policy decisions made by the institution.

This monitoring should be **required** and provided with adequate **resources** as well as a specific **time-scale** within which to respond to any kind of inequality or discrimination that such monitoring identifies.

The Equality Challenge Unit is able to provide appropriate advice, support and assistance for those institutions that need help.

3.9 Dealing with / deconstructing stereotypes

Different BME groups experience different kinds of assumptions and stereotypes which are compounded by issues of, for example, gender, religion, sexuality and disability. Different BME groups are stereotyped in different ways, some, for example, are seen as very hard working and academic, some seen as passive, some as assertive, 'happy-go-lucky', lazy and so on.

Research undertaken in schools (see, for example, Gillborn, Gillborn and Gipps, etc) illustrates how teachers' perceptions of students can impact negatively on, for example, discipline and Black Caribbean boys; assumptions that South Asian students will be hard working, South Asian girls passive and helpful and so on. It would, of course, be naïve to assume that these stereotypes and assumptions have no currency in the HE sector. The quotes below, taken from the Leeds Study, illustrate some of the ways in which stereotypes impact upon staff and students.

In the Leeds study, one senior member of staff was quoted as saying:
> *I don't know whether that is good or bad that we start to understand our particular nationality or how a racial group work and we work with them in that way. You anticipate them being frustrating … Now is that racist, it can go over a kind of line, I have got one member of staff who thinks that all Indians are on the make, you have got to be very careful when you are dealing with them, how do you deal with that kind of mentality?*

2. One BME member of Leeds staff felt that:
> *I do feel, on occasion, at the point of initial contact in other departments, (i.e. when I leave my immediate work environment in computing) that attitudes towards me change sometimes negatively. I'm not sure why this is, for example, is the clerk in another department always grumpy, is s/he rude to everyone? It's quite subtle, things take a long time to get done, I sometimes feel like I'm being 'checked out', however, this might just be normal procedure because of the financial nature of the job, scrutiny is necessary. But, when these staff do get to know you, their attitudes do change.*

3. One Black Leeds student felt, with reference to his relationship with a particular staff member, that:
> *I have been patronised by this particular staff in a quite extraordinary way … I have felt a certain 'how nice it is to see a black working-class kid trying so hard' attitude coming across from him.*

4. A female student and part-time member of staff wrote that:
> *I am constantly amazed at how colleagues/staff assume that I am a member of secretarial staff rather than an occasional lecturer and novice researcher. The culture here and in other HEIs tends to a lowered expectation of black and minority ethnic staff.*

5. A male member of support staff wrote that:

> *I have observed racial stereotyping from members of staff on many occasions. I have on a few occasions been the victim of racial harassment.*

These individuals are drawing on and experiencing attitudes and understandings based on stereotypes and assumptions. These may have far-reaching effects for those being cast into a 'type'. For example, what is the experience of 'Indian' students who encounter the staff member referred to in the first quote? Are they assisted to a lesser degree than students from other groups are? Are they spoken to negatively, and with hostility, given less-than helpful advice and so on? Is the Black, male member of staff who leaves his normal work environment viewed as an 'outsider' in other departments and administrative units. Is the Black student assessed, assisted, encouraged in any different way to other 'White' students?

In terms of dealing with stereotypes, there are clear training issues. However, the embedded nature of racialised assumptions will often mean that people respond and interact with different peoples based on their assumptions about 'race' and ethnicity as well as gender, social class, religion and disability (**see, also, section 2.4**). For these reasons it is crucial that all procedures (for example, appointments, promotions and admissions, to name just three) are transparent and that rigorous monitoring occurs.

For further information on training, see section 3.12

For further information on appointments, see section 4.4a

For further information on promotions, see section 4.4b

For further information on admissions, see section 4.5a

3.10 Indicators of good practice

3.10a Whole Institution
- Policies and Action Plans are documented

- Action plans should demonstrate how the specific duties of the RRAA are mainstreamed and incorporated into the functions of the institution.

- Policies are clearly understood and disseminated

- Staff (academic and non academic) and students are able to contribute to the development and review of university anti-racist policy and practice.

- All new staff, as part of their induction and training, are familiarised with the institution's position on 'race' issues.

- Staff are contractually obliged to have a commitment to the institutions' equality statements.

- Staff are encouraged to reflect upon their practice

- All students are made aware of the institution's policy and be given the opportunity to comment, contribute, etc

- Institution make clear and constructive links with local, regional and national race equality and anti-racist organisations

- Community organisations, anti-racist organisations, etc, are invited to contribute to the development and maintenance of ethos, make contributions to curriculum development, pedagogy issues and so on …

- Where appropriate, all policy documents are made publicly available, in summary or whole, in community languages

- Policy makes clear the connections between 'race', gender, class, disability and sexuality in terms of inequality and discrimination.

- Clear code of practice for recording, monitoring and dealing with racial harassment.

3.10b Accountability, Responsibilities and Liabilities
- How is the chain of accountability, responsibility and liability **communicated** to staff and students?

- Who is responsible in the institution/department/unit for ensuring that policy is put into action?

- Is there a system of rewards in place for those departments, units, individuals, etc, who are doing well?

- Is there a system of penalties in place for those departments, units, individuals, etc, who are doing badly?

- Is there a system of penalties in place for those students who contravene the institution's principles on race equality and anti-racism?

- How does the institutions' training programme keep staff and students properly informed about their responsibilities?

- How are individuals' / departments' / units' / responsibilities assessed, reviewed and evaluated?

3.10c Departments / Administrative Units
There is some overlap here with **3.8a** – the Whole Institution:
- Departmental policies documented, understood and disseminated amongst all staff

- Staff (academic and non academic) and students to be able to contribute to the development and review of departmental anti-racist policy and practice.

- All new staff, as part of their induction and training, to be familiarised with the department's position on 'race' issues.

- Department makes clear and constructive links with local, regional and national race equality and anti-racist organisations

3.11 Indicators of Bad Practice

Significant proportion of BME staff and/or students making complaints about:
- Admissions
- Assessment
- Harassment
- Student support
- Facilities
- Service provision
- Promotions / career progression
- Staff support

Poor or uneven representation among staff from members of BME groups:
- Senior academics
- Junior academics
- Contract research
- Academic related
- Senior Administrators
- Administrators
- Clerical Support
- Ancillary workers
- Security

Poor or uneven representation among student body:
- Across schools / departments / courses
- Undergraduates
- Taught postgraduates
- Research postgraduates
- Full-time students
- Part-time students
- Mature students

Lack of institutional / departmental action with respect to the following:
- Positive action strategies
- Target setting
- Ethnic monitoring
- Training programmes
- Teaching review
- Research review
- Curriculum review

Results of monitoring indicate that:

- Student admissions (by course) indicate evidence of racial discrimination
- Student exam results indicate evidence of racial discrimination
- Appointments data indicates evidence of racial discrimination
- Career progression data indicates evidence of racial discrimination
- Poor take-up of student services from BME students
- A lack of transparency in institutional procedures

One final note in relation to this toolkit. Dadzie (2001) warns against 'overkill' in terms of the application, incorporation and promotion of anti-racist strategies into the working strategies and process of an organisation. Of course, anti-racism is one strand among many concerns that an institution will have to address such as gender, disability, sexuality, religion, full/part-time students/staff, mature students, and so on … It's important, in order for this toolkit to be taken seriously, that it's not seen as another item added to an already onerous workload. As our own study and previous studies have indicated (Neal, 1998; Woodward, and Ross, 2000), measures to address equality or racism are often 'tacked on' somewhat tokenistically and ineffectively to institutional / departmental practice and procedure. Anti-racism and race equality need to be incorporated into the ethos of an institution so they become part of everything that that institution does – naturally. This means incorporating anti-racism into all aspects of planning; review and assessment processes; staff training and induction programmes; student inductions and so on (**see, also sections 3.12, 4.3, 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7**),

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The anti-racist strategy of an institution needs to be believable, have 'ownership' from all staff and students, active and understandable.

- By **'believable'**, we mean that it has to be seen to be workable, applicable, appropriate and positive for all staff and students.

- By **'ownership'**, we mean that consultation, participation and communication strategies have ensured that as many people as possible have participated in, and are aware of, its development (over 10 per cent of respondents to a question about equal opportunities awareness at the University of Leeds said they weren't aware a statement or policy existed at all).

- By **'active'**, we mean that the plan should be seen to be doing what it says it will and that it actively informs the working processes of the institution.

- By **'understandable'**, we mean that the policy should be accessible to all staff and students. It should be written in a way that's easy to understand and accessible in terms of its lay out.

Sample Checklist

Good Practice Indicators	Yes/No	Evidence of strength	Evidence of weakness	How would you score?	Recommended action

3.12 Training

When we talk about the kinds of 'training' that is available in an institution we should be considering not only equal opportunities training, cultural and religious diversity training and anti-racist training but also the kinds of positive action strategies that are in place to encourage BME staff and students to take advantage of particular types of training in areas where they are under-represented (see, **also section 3.12 and section 4.4**).

Training, however, is simply the beginning and not an end in itself. It has to be effective, useful and constructive if participants are to incorporate the messages and principles into their practice. Reena Bhavnani (2001) argues against specific training days, citing the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry that suggested that the anti-racist training for the police was a disaster as many police officers could barely remember the training process or failed to understand why it was necessary. Training for training's sake is a waste of resources and people's time, if pursued without sufficient thought to why it is necessary and what it should achieve, it may, in fact, do more harm than good. There is little or no point in providing training simply to fulfil the requirements of a check-list. An institution needs to look at those areas (via monitoring, **see section 3.8**)) where work is needed and assess the kinds of training that are most appropriate to its needs and requirements. An institution whose student body is ethnically and culturally diverse, for example, may need awareness raising programmes. Anti-racist and diversity training should not be seen as something 'extra' to the policy and practice of an institution, but, rather, **integral to its operations**.

This kind of training, however, is not about teaching 'white' people how to understand 'black' people. This kind of approach posits 'white' as central and 'normal' and positions BME persons as 'other' and peripheral. White ethnicities also need to be explored and understood. What is more, anti-racist and diversity training needs to be mindful of the intersections of 'race' and ethnicity with questions of gender, class, disability and religion among others (see, also, **section 2.4**). Positing the issues in terms of a black/white dualism simplifies a complex set of social relations.

In order for training to be effective, it also needs to be monitored and evaluated in terms of **outcomes** and **needs**. Training needs to target appropriately identified needs. It also needs to be part of the process of mainstreaming race equality and anti-racism into institutional practice as a **long-term strategy**. The content and aims of training courses and programmes need to be carefully considered and it is certainly the case that there are a number of different approaches 'out there' for institutions to choose from. Anti-racist and diversity training needs to be incorporated across institutional policy and practice so that all members of a administrative or academic unit are aware of how racism can, overtly and covertly, structure their own practice.

Training also needs to incorporated into long-term educational strategies. A two hour session on cultural diversity may give people some useful information about cultural difference that will positively inform their practice, but it will not in itself lead to widespread institutional change. Many people see racism and inequality as something external to their own environment and not embedded in the normality of social relations and social practice. Training that addresses the levels of inequality and discrimination manifested in everyday life may help to encourage people to perceive social inequalities differently and be more mindful to make constructive changes across all areas of their personal and professional practice. This includes challenging stereotypes as well as making sure that people have a clear idea of the legislation and their responsibilities.

Indicators	Yes	No
Is there any anti-racist training available in your institution?		
Evidence		
If yes, is the training compulsory for some or all staff in your institution?		
Evidence		
If yes, who is required to take that training? Junior staff		
Senior staff		
Is anti-racist training included in the induction of new staff?		
Evidence		
Is your anti-racist training regularly reviewed and updated?		
Evidence		
How is your training delivered and evaluated? Externally		
Internally		
Evidence		
Is there a communications strategy in place to disseminate your institution's anti-racist action plan?		
Evidence		

Finally, 'the basics' include incorporating a checklist that makes anti-racism 'part of everything' that the institution does (see, Dadzie, 2001: 20). What we mean by this is that anti-racism and race equality need to become '**routine**' in the same way that health and safety has been routinised in institutional policy and practice.

This includes:

Checklist	Yes	No
Is the promotion of and adherence to the policy an essential condition of service and included in job descriptions?		
Evidence (if no, please indicate how you might incorporate these initiatives into practice)		
Are anti-racist criteria included in staff appraisals?		
Evidence (if no, please indicate how you might incorporate these initiatives into practice)		
Are the achievements and initiatives of the institution promoted in newsletters … etc?		
Evidence (if no, please indicate how you might incorporate these initiatives into practice)		
Are regular staff development sessions to promote awareness and good practice organised and promoted?		
Evidence (if no, please indicate how you might incorporate these initiatives into practice)		
Have consultative forums for BME staff and students to speak openly about needs, concerns, etc been established?		
Evidence (if no, please indicate how you might incorporate these initiatives into practice)		

Summary

In this section we have provided an overview of the following issues – the basics. These subjects underpin and inform the structure of the whole toolkit:

- The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 **(Section 3.1)**

- The Human Rights Act 1998 **(Section 3.2)**

- The Higher Education Funding Council's Race Equality Scheme **(Section 3.4)**

- Direct / Indirect Discrimination and Victimisation **(Section 3.4)**

- Harassment **(Section 3.5)**

- Positive Action **(Section 3.6)**

- Targets **(Section 3.7)**

- Ethnic monitoring **(Section 3.8)**

- Deconstructing Stereotypes **(Section 3.9)**

- Indicators of good practice **(Section 3.10)**

- Indicators of Bad Practice **(Section 3.11)**

- Training **(Section 3.12)**

Using these areas as foundation stones or building blocks, you should now move into section four and use this section to inform the development of anti-racist strategies across the different organisational areas of your institution.

Section Four: Anti-racist Strategies

4.1 General Statement of Aims

An institutional anti-racist action plan should usually begin with a general statement of aims, principles and practices. This is similar to the equal opportunities statements that all HEIs should now have.

These institutional aims could look like this and should be linked to all the functions of the institution:

University of Leeds
Potential Anti-racist Statement

- This institution is opposed to racism in all its forms, including stereotyping and all other types of discrimination which are based on people's ethnicity, gender, disability, national origins, religion, class or sexualities.
- This institution believes that all staff and students have the right to be treated with fairness and respect.
- This institution values the cultural and social diversity of its staff and students and believes that such diversity enriches the working and learning environment.
- This institution will not tolerate or condone racist behaviour from staff or students.
- Our commitment to anti-racism informs all aspects of this institution's policy and practice.
- This institution prohibits the use of its facilities by those individuals or groups who wish to promote racist views or activities.

Outlining these aims is the first step in creating a realistic and active action plan for your institution. This statement, in the first instance, should indicate to staff, students and the wider community that you take racism, discrimination and equality issues seriously. If the action plan is seen, however, to be 'inactive' then the statement will be seen as little more than tokenistic and will fail to be taken seriously.

You should also be aware, however, that not everyone in your institution will welcome the anti-racist action plan. Our own research at the University of Leeds indicated that many staff members have very ambivalent or hostile attitudes to this kind of change believing that the system is 'already fair' and that any measures will favour minority ethnic groups over white people. What is more, BME staff already working in your institution may have become disillusioned after long periods of struggle and institutional inaction. Their goodwill and support is vital to the success of the plan and you will need to demonstrate that your plans are workable, and that measures are in place to address the resistance and opposition that you may face. The examples below, taken from the Leeds Study, will provide some indication of the kinds of responses and attitudes staff members may have towards issues of race equality and racism.

With reference to questions about 'race equality', one respondent to the Leeds Survey wrote:
> *I do feel that because of race equality, departments are unwilling to get rid of an ethnic minority member of staff because they don't want to face the consequences, even if the person is not doing the job (female, support staff).*

A senior, male academic responded:

> *In fact, I worry that pressures to force us to take weaker candidates may dumb down standards.*

And a junior, female academic felt that:
> *We may be at risk of reverse racism in excluding potential white candidates.*

Another member of staff at Leeds felt, however, that:
> *Yes, [there's a] need for a big cultural shift to go out and recruit minority ethnic students and staff – at all levels, including senior level. This is about advertising, word of mouth, a university led approach, not left up to individual departments. It requires a re-look at the curriculum to see that, where appropriate, they account for minority experiences and interests, not as an add on but within the body of the curriculum, eg, social theory courses that deal with black thinkers as well as white, etc. Benchmarks, etc. North South issues should be higher on the curriculum rather than just in development studies. There should also be more opportunities for race interests to cross with other interests (female, senior academic).*

Issues you will need to address include thinking about exactly what you will do if individuals or departments refuse to take on board the measures. How will (or will you) penalise individuals or departments who do not demonstrate progress or change. Conversely how will (or will you) reward those individuals or departments who do demonstrate progress or change?

Much hostility is rooted in misunderstandings about 'political correctness', positive action strategies, target setting and monitoring so you will have to work hard to make your policy **clear, accessible and applicable** to everyone – not just BME staff and students. An anti-racist action plan should improve the working and learning environment for everyone and, as such, be valued by everyone. This does not mean, however, that everyone will ultimately welcome the measures. There will always be people who do not want to instigate change and your policy and planning will have to work with this.

Include examples of institutional resistance …

The following sections contain checklists of questions that will allow you to reflect upon what your institution says it will do and what it actually does.

The following sections can be used to effect change in the consultation of staff and students so that they are able to bring their own opinions and perspectives into the process of change. They can also be used as an effective monitoring tool to assess, record and reflect upon the different activities of your institution and consider where change may be necessary.

In the first instance, you need to specify what your key objectives are in terms of pursuing an anti-racist agenda for your institution. When thinking about your objectives, you will also need to think about how they can be achieved and measured. A vague objective such as 'improving the working and learning environment for BME staff and students' needs to be qualified:

- How will the environment be improved?
- What specific action will be taken?
- How will the action be reviewed, monitored and updated?

- Who will be responsible for undertaking any positive action strategies?
- What is the time-scale for making these improvements?
- What benchmarks will you use to assess the actions you've taken?
- How will you respond if individuals and departments do not co-operate?
- How will you respond if individuals and departments **break the law**?

Key Questions	Yes	No
1. Have you specified what your objectives are?		
Outline your objectives here:		
2. Have you specified how your objectives might be achieved?		
Outline your methods here:		
3. Have you clarified who takes responsibility for ensuring that the plan is enacted?		
Write down job titles and responsibilities here:		
4. Have you established a time-scale for reviewing and monitoring progress?		
Outline your time-scale here:		
5. Have you established the criteria you will use to assess your progress (benchmarks, self-assessment, etc)?		
Outline your assessment process here:		

The previous three sections should have given you enough information to become familiar with the issues that you need to be thinking about when putting together your own institutional anti-racist action plan. The following sections will allow you to consider the construction of an anti-racist action plan that takes the various organisational facets of an institution into account.

4.2 The Organisational Areas

This section of the toolkit has been broken down into a series of organisational areas, which, we hope, encapsulates the breadth and complexity of an institutions operation and function.

The first area we'll look at is the nature of **equal opportunities action and planning** in your institution to consider the status of 'race' and ethnicity within those plans and where there may be gaps.

We will then move into:

- Employment;

- Student Recruitment and Transition to Employment;

- Teaching and Learning;

- Research;

- Contracts and Purchasing;

- External Affairs.

4.3 Equal Opportunities in the HEI

All institutions should, by now, have a written and accessible equal opportunities statement. That statement should also be supported by planned action either at the institutional or individual department or unit level. If there are any deficiencies in institutional policy with reference to 'race' and ethnicity in action plans and statements, however, they will now have to be addressed because of the **Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000** (see, also, **section 3.1**). Examining your institution's equal opportunities documentation is therefore the best place to start in assessing where you stand with reference to issues around 'race' and ethnicity and subsequently considering what action needs to be taken.

Effective equal opportunities action planning in HEIs has been examined by a range of organisations (see, for example, the Universities & Colleges Employers Association (UCEA), the Association of University Teachers (AUT), and the Commission on University Career Opportunity (CUCO). Documentation, advice and support in this area has been available for some time.

An examination of equal opportunities at the University of Leeds found examples of good and bad practice across a wide variety of departments and units. Depending on how the planning and organisation of equal opportunities issues has been pursued in an individual institution will indicate the extent to which equal opportunities in general and race issues in particular have been considered. At the University of Leeds, individual academic schools, departments and administrative units were asked to produce their own action plans and reviews to support the University's generic statement and guidance. This activity meant that there was plenty of evidence to draw upon in order to establish what was and was not being done. An examination of these plans at the University of Leeds found that the operationalisation of race equality was uneven, haphazard and inconsistent across schools, departments and units. Some departments and units had very clear and constructive conceptions of equal opportunities and race equality strategies – others simply described their gender, disability and ethnicity 'make-up' and assumed that this would suffice.

An action plan that contains no action is not acceptable.

Although it is important that individual institutional departments and units develop ownership of their own plans, policies and procedures, we recommend that the equal opportunities office provides a **template** of the various issues that an action plan should cover. This template could include:

- The identification of what has been achieved so far;
- The time-tabling of specific goals; the allocation of staff to achieve those goals;
- The setting of realistic deadlines;
- How equal opportunities activities will be communicated to all staff;
- Positive action strategies;
- Target setting;
- A statement on how mainstreaming equal opportunities will have a positive effect on the department / unit / institution;
- A clear and transparent institutional response should individuals refuse to participate (rewards and penalties).

Of course, equal opportunities encompass a wide range of issues such as gender, disability, religion, age, part-time/full-time staff, sexuality as well as ethnicity (**see, also, section 2.4**). However, our assessment of the equal opportunities policies and action plans at the University of Leeds suggested that 'race' and ethnicity were rarely, if ever, significantly operationalised as part of any single department's or unit's agenda.

- With reference to reinforcing the importance and utility of equal opportunities issues and planning, we recommend that institutions draw upon their resources (via email, newsletters and so on) to publicise these issues so that staff members understand them to be more than a simple administrative exercise.

- With reference to the equal opportunities monitoring of staff we would recommend that institutions draw on their resources (via email, newsletters and so on) to publicise and clarify as to why monitoring is important so that staff understand them to be more than an administrative exercise and burden. This would include clarifying the institution's legislative responsibilities.

- In order to ensure that equality issues are part of everything that an institution 'does', we would encourage HEIs to continue mainstreaming equal opportunities across all aspects of institutional policy and practice rather than assuming that equality is something that happens 'separately' (via the presence of a separate committee).

- We would also suggest that HEIs utilise available funding (such as, for example the 'rewarding staff' funding) in order to:
    - Adequately resource departmental and administrative unit race equality planning;
    - To resource faculty / school / college specific equality and diversity secondments (i.e. to draw on the available expertise of existing staff members and allow them to work either full or part time on equality and diversity issues, planning and action.

4.3a Statements & Action Plans

The following table asks some key questions about the state of play in your institution regarding the general level of priority and attention given to 'equal opportunities'.

Equal Opportunities - Key Indicators	Yes	No
1. Do you have an equal opportunities statement?		
Evidence		
2. Do you have a separate 'race equality' policy and/or anti-racist strategies?		
Evidence		
3. Is the key legislation incorporated into your policies (see, sections 3.1 & 3.2)?		
Evidence		
4. Are your institution's equal opportunities office/unit/staff senior appointments?		
Evidence		
5. Are all staff and students covered by the policy?		

Evidence		
6. Are staff and students at your institution familiar with your statement / policy / strategy?		
Can you demonstrate this?		
7. Do you communicate your policy to staff and students?		
Can you outline your communications strategy?		
8. Is your policy reviewed and evaluated?		
Evidence		

The questions above will provide you with some indication of how you're doing as an institution at a very basic level. Most institutions have, at the very least, an equal opportunities statement. Many, however, have no separate policies dealing with the specificities of 'race' and racism.

In order to comply with the Race Relations (Amendment) Act, institutions, such as universities must have a separate 'race equality' statement.

At the very least, institutions must be very familiar with their legal responsibilities. Guidance is available from the **Commission for Racial Equality** and the **Equality Challenge Unit**. A summary of the legislation is also provided in **sections 3.1 and 3.2**of this toolkit.

Carter, Fenton and Modood's (1999) study of the relationship between ethnicity and employment in higher education found that one third of Higher Education Institutions did not have a racial equality policy. At the University of Leeds (as with many other HEIs), there is a general equal opportunities statement, but no separate race equality policy.

Our survey at the University of Leeds indicated differing levels of awareness and familiarity with the institution's equal opportunities statement. For example, support staff were more likely to be familiar with the statement in contrast to the varying groups of academic staff, with a large proportion of the junior academic respondents claiming that they had little or no familiarity with the University's equal opportunities statement. Women were

more likely than men to be familiar with the statement with BME staff being, proportionally, the least familiar with the statement. The diversity evident in awareness, familiarity and perceptions indicates that measures to integrate the principles of the policy/statement into everyday practice and awareness need to be taken.

The Leeds Study: perceptions of equal opportunities issues

The Leeds study revealed a broad range of attitudes and practices with reference to equal opportunities policies and their effectiveness for BME staff and students. Some staff members were very positive and enthusiastic about the possibilities good equal opportunities policies could have on the well-being and opportunities for BME staff and students. Other staff, however, were hostile or indifferent in ways that suggested that equal opportunities policies were little more than paper statements with no real world impact in the various departments and units in the institution. For the most part, staff members were not familiar with the equal opportunities statement although they had a rough idea of what equal opportunities should mean. The most common response to our question of awareness of the statement and a benchmark of its importance was that staff were simply aware it existed, but were not familiar with what it stated.

When talking to staff at the University of Leeds about issues of equal opportunities before moving into race equality and racism, it was clear, that for the most part, these issues were not necessarily perceived as unimportant, but nonetheless seen as irrelevant or unimportant in terms of the day-to-day running of the department and/or institution. Sometimes this was because there were too few BME staff or students to be mindful of, on other occasions this was because 'fairness' and 'equity' were seen to be 'obvious' issues that people did naturally.

The following statements from our interviews and surveys demonstrate the different kinds of attitudes and perceptions of staff:

i. A feeling that policy not put into practice?

I do think its important that we have equal opportunities policies, what saddens me and becomes frustrating for some people is that they stay as policies rather that actions that we can move towards, nonetheless I think they are important (senior academic).

ii. Lack of explicit prioritisation of equal opportunities issues

I guess [our attitude to equal opportunities] it would be quite holistic in a sense, because we do deal with a lot of international graduates who wouldn't particularly have brilliant English or brilliant cultural awareness or an understanding of the country. So we do come into contact, we do have a broad contact base that isn't just UK based, so I guess we must come up with various equal opps issues. Some of the staff have been on the Union's course on, I'm not quite sure what its called, but they do some sort of course dealing with international students cultural awareness, that's the course, I think… (senior administrator)

iii. A negative perception of equal opportunities office / workload

My overall dealing with equal opportunities policy is, I must say, I find it a bit exasperating… It's the questionnaires I get saying 'following your submission of last year has anything changed', I can't remember what I said last year. 'Have you appointed any new staff who might be from racial minorities or whatever', I just find it a hugely bureaucratic burden and I tend to push it to one side until I get hassled by Human Resources. So really it seems to me to be a statement of the obvious, or what seems obvious to me and then a lot of paperwork to follow it up (senior administrator).

I have been put off a lot of this by, by the paperwork that comes out of HR. It just comes across as, I don't know, politically correct idealism, which doesn't really mean very much (senior administrator).

These responses capture some of the attitudes that staff members may exhibit towards equal opportunities policies and practice. Some staff may feel that the policies are inadequate and therefore welcome and support any further action in this area. Other staff, however, may believe that equal opportunities actions and planning are little more than additional administrative burdens. This perception (quote No. 3) of overload, is in fact, significantly overblown. In fact, the equal opportunities office at the University of Leeds only contacts HoDs once a year to ask for information, the 'bureaucratic burden' is, therefore, fairly light. The negativity with which dealing with equal opportunities issues is perceived by some members of staff therefore could be seen as an indication of a prior hostility to these issues which the appearance of paperwork simply ignites. Those staff members who already believe they are unnecessarily overburdened with equal opportunities administration may not necessarily support any further action. As such, your institution's strategies for ensuring that staff members take these issues seriously and act decisively will need to be clear and easily understandable. HEIs will need to ensure that they:

- Clearly communicate relevant information – why is this action occurring?

- Clearly communicate relevant outcomes – what should happen and why are these outcomes desirable?

- Clearly communicate the institution's responsibilities with reference to the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000.

Obviously, in order for a policy to work it must be put into practice. Your institution may need to address the extent to which that actually happens. Assessing the *actual* linkages made between policy and practice can be achieved in two ways:

- **Interviewing a sample of Heads of academic and administrative units (see, section 5.1)**
- **The use of email or postal surveys (see, section 5.1)**

4.3b Equal Opportunities Staff & Units
Sarah Neal's 1998 study of equal opportunities policies HE drew attention to the ways in which equal opportunities issues have been marginalised and resisted within the sector. One issue has been the status and power of equal opportunities staff and the equal opportunities office. If equal opportunities officers have been appointed at a very junior level and not accorded status or power, it may well be difficult for equal opportunities personnel to pursue their objectives effectively in, what is a very hierarchical and status driven system (see also Farish et al, 1995: 33).

Where staff members are receptive to the aims and objectives of equal opportunities policies, the status of staff is possibly less of an issue. However, where equal opportunities encounter resistance and opposition, the ability of equal opportunities staff to be able to push initiatives and changes through may be impeded by a lack of power to 'square up' to senior academic and non-academic staff members.

It is most probable that the person responsible for anti-racist and 'race' equality action in an institution will be located within or at least connected to the equal opportunities unit or office. If this is the case, your institution should bear the following questions in mind:

- At what level has the equal opportunities officer been appointed?

- What enforcement powers does s/he have?

- How much support is s/he given by the institution's equal opportunities committee/working group/etc?

- If support for equal opportunities issues is management led through the equal opportunities officer – how much 'ownership' of the issues do individual departments and units have?

4.3c Equal Opportunities Training

The question of who should be trained in issues around equal opportunities is one that differs from institution to institution (**see also, section 3.12**). There are varying degrees of opinion as to whether such training is effective and whether or not it really makes a difference in terms of attitudes and perceptions. Without effective monitoring and evaluation procedures it is, of course, difficult to ascertain whether the training that staff undergo has any real impact on issues such as appointments, career progression, appraisals, harassment, management, and interpersonal relations between and across staff and students. Monitoring will also help you link training with outcomes and ensure that training is appropriate and based on the different kinds of work different staff members are responsible for.

The perception of equal opportunities training amongst some of the staff who contributed to the Leeds Study (**see, section 4.3a)** is that it simply advises staff how not to break the law by illustrating, in an interview process for example, what *not* to ask and what *not* to take into consideration. Seeing equal opportunities practice as something that informs more than the appointments' process, however, does not seem to be particularly important. If we move this on to the question of 'anti-racist' training, it's clear that these issues have an impact above and beyond 'appointments' and 'admissions'.

Some questions to take into consideration:

- What is the equality and diversity training currently offered by your institution supposed to achieve?

- What is deemed to be an appropriate level of awareness and sensitivity to various equality and diversity issues?

- What kind of information is included (cultural sensitivity, religious issues, sexuality, disability, class, gender, ethnicity, racism?

- Is equality and diversity training only seen as applicable to members of staff on appointments committees?

- Are staff given information about how equality actually functions at the institution (information, for example, about raising a grievance; who is responsible, and so on…).

- How is the training currently provided by your institution, linked to outcomes as part of a long-term strategy?

The Leeds Study: perceptions of equal opportunities training

At the University of Leeds, all staff involved in the appointments process are required to undergo equal opportunities training. The quotes below indicate some of the perceptions that staff have of training and whether they see it as having any measure of effectiveness.

… it was defensive training to ensure the university would never be caught in a situation where somebody would accuse it of discrimination, rather than positive training, in looking at equal opportunities as an opportunity for the school and department for the university, I think that is because, it's partly because it is a huge job to train people when you have to do the defensive bit first whether you then progress to the positive side or not is a resource matter and the university is short of resources as well (senior academic).

… it was useful because it just raised a couple of things … raised a few issues, it made you think, you know, it did make you look inside yourself and how you would look at things. It didn't sort of educate me in terms of peoples' beliefs and background and that I think that might be a gap as well …limited knowledge is worse than full knowledge and you might assume certain things and certain ways … (senior administrator).

It was useful, there's quite a lot of emphasis on the penalty for getting it wrong rather than the emphasis on best practice for getting it right. It's not difficult to say how to get the procedures right but it's difficult to say how we can really stamp out racism for example (senior academic).

The comments above suggest that experiences of equal opportunities training are varied in that some people find it useful and others find that it falls short of their expectations. For the purposes of this toolkit, it is important that equal opportunities training is reviewed in terms of its attention to questions of anti-racism and race equality. Institutions now have a legal requirement to promote race equality (**see, also section 3.1**) and this should be incorporated into training needs. Areas that may require an institution to meet a training need could include, but are not limited to, the following:

- How the Race Relations Amendment Act impacts upon institutional policy and practice;

- The Race Relations Amendment Act and research issues;

- Responding to diversity in teaching and learning strategies;

- Identifying, understanding and dealing with racial harassment;

- Managing racism in the classroom;

- Developing race equality strategies in employment – understanding positive action.

4.3d Operationalising Anti-racism & Race Equality
The Leeds Study placed the question of 'race' and racism within people's general understandings of equal opportunities. Equal opportunities issues, plans and strategies tend to be where any discussions around 'race' and racism take place, as such our discussions with staff members began with general issues around equal opportunities before moving on to the specificities of 'race' and racism.

In keeping with previous studies (see, for example, Neal (1998) and Bird (1995), we found that 'race' issues tended to be fairly low priority. At best they are mentioned tokenistically, at worse, not considered at all.

The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, however, has made it incumbent on institutions to ensure that this low prioritisation can no longer continue (see, also, section 3.1).

The following quotes from the Leeds Study provide examples of the kinds of attitudinal barriers that can be exhibited by staff during the process of addressing issues of racism and race equality on campus. These barriers are obstacles in terms of getting staff members to take issues of racism and race equality seriously and to act accordingly and appropriately. These quotes were made in response to questions about staff members' perceptions of race equality and discrimination at the University of Leeds.

i. Not an issue, university a liberal environment

I think, you know, it is fairly liberal, and you would think that the majority of people were, the academic ethos doesn't really tend towards racism, it tends to be more towards equality, because people look at minds as opposed to anything else, which is quite good. I don't think equality of any nature has that much problems in the university (senior administrator).

The conviction that a university is a 'liberal' and open environment is common and a conviction, which the authors of this toolkit believe has helped the higher education sector escape the kinds of scrutiny and action that has taken place to address equality and discrimination issues in other sectors. The above statement from a senior administrator (white male) is an example of an attitudinal barrier that suggests that equality issues matter less in the HEI than they do elsewhere. The distinction between bodies and minds is an interesting one, precisely because racist discourses do make explicit connections between bodies and minds. This perception of the HEI as a liberal space may mean that staff are reluctant to participate in strategies and initiatives to combat racism and discrimination because they do not really believe that it is an issue.

ii. Less of an issue than elsewhere

I think the University is a liberal environment and I suspect, again this goes back to how certain issues are played out in a particular environment, so for example, I would imagine that race equality is less of an issue in a University environment than other working environments. That's not to say it's not an issue and that's not to say that we shouldn't be vigilant. But I think my perception would be that that's possibly less of an issue in a University. Perhaps that's partly because of the work that we do in the Office and that's my perception... In one sense it's not really an issue at all because we're just dealing with our customers and people from a number of different countries and that's the end of it... So from that standpoint it's not an issue and so perhaps I would tend to say it's not so much of an issue across the University. That maybe wrong, there no doubt have been cases of people taking the University to tribunals so that would suggest there are issues there (senior administrator).

The above comment from another senior administrator (white male) is similar to the first one but makes the comparison of the HEI with other organisations. Again, the HEI is perceived to be a liberal environment in which 'race' and race equality issues are much less of an issue than in other work places. Interestingly, the available data on, for example, employment, suggests that this is not the case. HEIs demonstrate worryingly significant levels of segregation through categories of 'race' and gender. It is the case, for example, that white males occupy the majority of academic posts in HEIs with white women occupying the majority of administrative and secretarial posts. Black and minority ethnic men and women tend to under-represented, with a significant number of BME staff found concentrated in junior posts and on temporary contracts (see, Carter, Fenton and Modood, 1999 and Elliot-Major, 2002). Although this particular staff member believes that staff should still be 'vigilant', he nonetheless quite clearly sees these issues as less important than in other working environments.

iii.Displacement of responsibility

The difficulty is I think is that the range of people that we get applying is so narrow that in some senses the broader sense of equal opportunities is already gone in some ways do you see what I mean. Its not, this maybe arrogant and bias, but its not I see that we discriminate its been that they've been discriminated against before they even get to the interview stage (senior academic).

I think the department has great deal of trouble in addressing any equal opportunities issue directly, and this causes an enormous amount of frustration, in fact, the not least the equal opportunities committee who see that there are lots of areas of apparent imbalance not discrimination ... but also feels that the ways of addressing those are beyond the remit and strength of the department they're essentially seen as not even university issues but higher education issues... there's an enormous feeling of frustration in anything like this, in that we can see that there are imbalances, not necessarily unfairness, but lack of opportunity and we are caught up in system that is so centralised that we don't really see what we can do about it (senior academic).

All I can say is that I would like to see more students of Asian origin and Caribbean origin or Polish or various migrant communities that there have been, I'd like to see all that. But I can't quite accept that just by looking out of the window and saying there aren't as many black faces as there should be, therefore the University of Leeds is racist, or there's institutional racism. I think that's using the wrong stick, it's too simple and crude a measure. You've got to attend to what are the things that produce that situation and are they in the institution's control or not... I don't know, but I think one would want to look at the much wider cultural issues than just trying to say that the University of Leeds must be racist because there aren't enough Indian faces (senior academic).

A common response to questions about equality and racism at the University of Leeds was to argue that the problems lay outside of the university and implicitly suggest that HEIs are themselves victims of a broader lack of opportunity and equality in society. This third perception thus suggests that it is not that HEIs themselves discriminate, but that the discrimination has already occurred before potential candidates for posts and potential students for degree courses apply to the institution. This displacement of responsibility suggests that, as with the previous examples, that universities are less likely to have problems with questions of equality and discrimination. The above comments also suggest, however, that staff members have difficulty conceptualising the various ways in which inequalities and discrimination operates in particular environments and are in need of information and guidance if they are to address the disparity that they identify but which they feel unable to tackle.

iv. Lack of comparative data … compared to what is a university unrepresentative?

… the difficulty is, I'm not sure who we would be comparing ourselves with, its no use knowing that … five per cent of our students are Asians, I've no idea whether it was that … or less than they expect; it's no use comparing it with the national pool it's got to be compared with the national pool within (subject area). Again, for ethnicity the real problem is that we don't have any official figures and we don't know what we should be comparing ourselves with. I mean the right comparison is all students, I guess, who apply for a (subject area) degree. I mean, I'm aware students from some backgrounds are more likely to apply than some others so the real benchmark for us would be in terms of judging other students who apply for (subject area) degrees elsewhere in the country. I don't know what the statistics are, and whether they are readily available or … but again we don't have statistics for our own students, it's very difficult for us to judge (senior academic).

Most of the examples that we have provided here can be described as defensive and the reasons for this defensiveness are probably quite obvious. Asking staff members to reflect upon questions of race equality and discrimination may be understood by the staff member in question as an implicit attack on their own personal attitudes and practices. In this way, defensive barriers to the successful operationalisation of anti-racist and race equality strategies need to be considered.

For these reasons, communication and consultation are vital if an institution is to constructively operationalise anti-racism and race equality measures. Staff members need to be given the necessary information to make sense of and believe in any action that an institution chooses to follow. This means that the results of any monitoring should be made available and that any action should be put into context.

The **communication** of appropriate **information** to staff and students combined with **consultation** should lead to greater **participation** and support for institutional anti-racist and race equality strategies and planning.

Summary
In this section, we have considered the broader context for anti-racist and race equality action strategies in HEIs. We have done this by firstly, looking at issues relevant to the HEI equal opportunities statements and action plans; secondly, by considering issues relevant to HEIs' equal opportunities personnel and offices; thirdly, by raising issues relevant to equal opportunities training and finally by addressing crucial issues releavent to the operationalisation of anti-racist and race equality strategies.

We have begun with equal opportunities because this is most probably the conceptual and strategic 'space' within an institution from which initiatives relating to anti-racism and race equality will emanate.

In the following section we will consider how anti-racist practice and issues of race equality impact on employment in the HEI.

4.4 Employment
The issue of employment and BME staff members in Higher Education is growing in importance, particularly following several very well publicised cases where academics have alleged racial discrimination against an institution and the continuing growth in the numbers of BME students entering HE (with the exception of students from Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds). This organisational area looks not only at recruitment and appointments but issues around career progression and staff support. It's one thing to address the appointments procedure for an institution but another to ensure that the principles enshrined and promoted in the recruitment and appointments process are carried through to staff career progression and their general well-being.

In 1999, John Carter, Steve Fenton and Tariq Modood produced a study looking at the relationship between ethnicity and employment in Higher Education. They found, in those institutions that actually had a 'race equality' policy, that key areas relating to employment were not always addressed (1999: xi). This study also included a staff survey in which a number of issues about appointments, promotions and harassment were raised. They found that approximately 25 per cent BME academics felt that they had personally experienced discrimination in the process of applying for a job, this figure rose to 30 per cent amongst BME *non-British* minorities. Fifteen per

cent felt the same about promotion and almost 20 per cent had experienced some form of racial harassment from staff and/or students – with BME women being more likely to have experience racial harassment (1999: 48).

The 1999 survey found that:
- **Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi people** were considerably **underrepresented** in **academic posts**. Indians were marginally underrepresented with, Black Africans, Chinese and Asian others being over-represented;

- Within these categories, however, the position of **women** is **worse**;

- **BME staff** were significantly **more likely** to be on **fixed-term contracts**;

- **BME staff** were significantly **less likely** to be in **senior positions**, particularly professorial (1999: 65).

These findings were confirmed by an examination of data and surveys at the University of Leeds where approximately 6 per cent of academic staff were recorded as being from BME groups. However, according to available data, BME staff accounted for less than 3 per cent of *all* staff members. The quote below, taken from the Leeds Survey, gives an indication of the kinds of issues that should be taken into consideration in the process of appointing and short-listing staff:

The question of how appointments are made, advertising, shortlisting and interviewing needs rigorous consideration if BME candidates are to be treated equitably. In response to the Leeds Study, one member of staff, for example, wrote that:

No attempt is made to recruit from ethnic minority backgrounds by advertising in newspapers that would make our commitment obvious...To my personal knowledge, Asians have been removed from shortlists. Asian applicants who give working in family businesses as evidence of work experience are regarded as having none (male, support staff).

These attitudes may not be prevalent in many departments at the University, however, the statement does raise obvious questions about the kinds of skills and experience that are valued by an appointments committee and the criteria that they're looking for in a potential member of staff.

4.4a Appointments / Recruitment

Work undertaken in the USA highlights similar issues affecting US universities that concern staff in Britain. Ortiz's examination of career patterns for minority ethnic Americans found that, like the Carter, Fenton, and Modood study (1999), that these staff members were likely to be typecast, undervalued and placed in junior and less valued teaching posts. This, of course, has a number of implications for career progression, which will be looked at in the next section. The question of appointing BME men and women to positions across the university, particularly senior positions, is an important one. Making appointments will bring fresh ideas and new perspectives to the institution; improve perceptions of the institution from different groups and encourage other BME personnel, students and professionals to see the university as an attractive, supportive and positive place to pursue a career or course of study.

There are a number of reasons that people may use when providing an explanation as to why there are so few BME personnel within an institution. The justifications for this were diverse but usually centred on the following:

- There are insufficient numbers of experienced or qualified candidates available to shortlist.
- They do not apply for the jobs in the first place.

These justifications need to be considered carefully and an institution needs to reflect on whether or not it is really the case that there are insufficient numbers of appropriately qualified staff available to recruit from or whether, for a myriad of reasons, suitably qualified BME staff decide not to apply to work at the institution.

Appointments: Indicators	Yes	No
Does the institution encourage BME people to apply for jobs at all levels?		
Evidence		
Does the job description include reference to the need for potential candidates to be committed to 'equality', particularly 'race equality'?		
Evidence		
Does the short-listing, interviewing and appointment of staff embody all aspects of 'best practice' with regards to 'equality', particularly 'race equality'?		
Evidence		
Do contracts include a contractual obligation for commitment to 'equality', particularly 'race equality', and anti-racism?		
Evidence		
Are staff involved in recruitment properly trained in issues relating to 'race' and ethnicity.		
Evidence		
Do you monitor and evaluate the appointment process and maintain your records?		

	Yes	No
Evidence		
Do you understand and use positive action strategies in the process of making appointments?		
Evidence		
Do you advertise widely in order to reach a diverse pool of people?		
Evidence		

See, also, sections 3.6, 3.7 and 3.10 (positive action; targets; monitoring; good practice).

4.4b Career Progression / Promotions

In terms of academic staff members, BME staff are often concentrated in areas associated with pre-existing assumptions about their ethnicity.

Ortiz's work on career progression in the USA, demonstrated that BME men and women are massively underrepresented at senior academic levels and continue to be underrepresented at junior academic levels too.

Interviews undertaken at the University of Leeds found that although BME staff members felt that their appointment process was fair, they nonetheless expressed concern that their promotion prospects and career progression were not promising. Their perception was that they were being passed over in favour of white staff members who were similarly, or sometimes less, qualified than they were. These concerns mirror those documented in the Carter, Fenton and Modood Report (1999). Institutions should monitor the career progression of staff and try to establish the extent to which the progress of BME staff is inhibited.

One area that institutions should look at is the extent to which there are clear processes and requirements in order to fulfil the criteria for promotion, i.e. **is there transparency**?

Do the results of institutional monitoring reveal that promotion criteria favours particular groups to the detriment of others?

Other questions relate to the training opportunities available that are available to all staff and the extent to which BME staff are encouraged to train, gain qualifications, etc, in areas where they are currently under-represented.

Career Progression: Indicators	Yes	No

Have you identified any potential barriers to the promotion and progression of BME staff?		
If yes, what are they?		
Is there an appraisal system in place?		
If yes, please describe it:		
Is it transparent and open?		
If yes, please indicate how:		
Do staff members get regular feedback as to their career prospects and current job performance?		
If yes, please describe process:		
Is there a mentoring system in place?		
If yes, please describe:		
Are staff valued and seen to be valued?		
If yes, please demonstrate how:		

4.4c Harassment, Bullying & Dignity @ Work
The harassment and bullying of staff and students has a number of negative implications for an institution (**see, also, section 3.5**). It can lead to:

- Low morale
- Poor retention rates (staff and students)
- Poor performance
- Absenteeism

The personal well-being of staff and students also suffers when they are being harassed or bullied either by another member of staff or another student. They may begin to suffer from depression, anxiety or stress and lose the ability to work creatively, express themselves confidently and work with initiative. This has negative effects not only on the individual victim, but also the institution, which is unable to benefit from the individual's talents and skills as they are being inhibited by the activities of another person or persons.

Staff and students need to feel that the institution responds adequately to their complaints and concerns when they arise. They also need to feel that the workplace/study-place is one where they are safe and where there is an overall concern for their wellbeing and protection.

If staff or students feel that the institution is not taking adequate care or time with their complaint then they may take legal action. Although this is usually against the individual or individuals concerned, it almost always also includes some kind of action against the employer for failing to act properly when a complaint was first made. The consequences and implications of this kind of action for the institution can be huge (CUCO, 1999a: 4). The reputation of the institution may be damaged massively in that a successful court action indicates that the institution has indeed been negligent in terms of protecting its staff and dealing with their complaints quickly and sensitively. This could have implications for recruitment as well as for the staff who continue to work in an environment that has been deemed 'deficient' and subsequently not perceived as working in their interests.

Harassment and bullying can take many forms but usually (though not always) a person or persons using their position and power to denigrate someone else. This can be, for example, a senior member of staff harassing a junior member of staff or a member of staff harassing a student or students harassing members of staff. In some cases, however, harassment and bullying occurs across staff or students of similar status.

For the purposes of this anti-racist toolkit, we are focusing on racial harassment, which occurs when an individual is singled out and the victim of as **offensive, unwanted and unreciprocated behaviour** because of his/her skin colour, ethnicity, nationality or 'race'.

Under racial harassment, however, should be included **'religious' harassment** wherein an individual is singled out because of his/her religious beliefs; this is particularly relevant for those groups who have a visible 'religious identity' which is indicated by a certain item of clothing, for example, Muslims, Sikhs and Jews. Issues around Islamophobia and anti-Semitism are particularly important here.

Racial harassment and bullying can take many different forms and can also be compounded by issues of gender, sexuality, disability, age, class and religion (**see, sections, 2.4 and 3.5**).

> The purpose of an institutional harassment policy is to encourage a culture which does not tolerate harassment and also to provide reactive mechanisms for a prompt and fair resolution if it does occur. The most significant single factor in addressing harassment is a top-down commitment to a culture where bullying and other forms of harassment are institutionally unacceptable (CUCO, 1999a: 2).

Examples of harassment and bullying include:

- Racist jokes or statements (these may also be racist and sexist or racist and homophobic)

- Insulting gestures or facial expressions

- Embarrassing or insulting comments

- Interfering with an individual's work or work space

- Physical threats

- Unfair treatment in seminars and tutorials

- Persistent under-marking of BME students' work

- The displaying and/or circulation of racist materials (books, emails, pictures, etc). This may include the inclusion of curricula materials that contain biased or derogatory representations of historical or current events.

- Threatening, offensive and unwanted electronic mail

- Verbal abuse

- Unfair workloads

- Withholding of benefits

- Pestering and intrusion

- Persistent questioning about 'racial' or ethnic origin

Sometimes, (see CUCO, 1999a: 3) a lack of cultural awareness and sensitivity can produce situations which may be interpreted as harassment without the conscious intention of bullying or harassment being present. For this reason it is important that staff are trained appropriately in the area of cultural and religious sensitivity so as to not inadvertently offend and/or upset co-workers or students **(see, also, section 3.12).**

Lack of awareness or a recourse to 'cultural incompatibility', however, should not used as a 'get out clause' for individuals subjecting colleagues or students to behaviour that it is unwanted, offensive and upsetting. Should informal approaches (mediation, etc) fail to rectify the situation – formal action may be needed. For further reading on how 'cultural incompatibility' has been drawn upon to mask racism and racial discrimination, see Martin Barker (1981) *The New Racism: Conservatives & the Ideology of the Tribe*. London, Junction Books.

> It's imperative that an institution is seen to have an effective and accessible code of practice for harassment, bullying and dignity at work. One participant in the Leeds study when responding to a question about racism on campus wrote:
>
> *My main experience in managing this was that the university harassment procedures are too rigid*

to deal with the complexities of person-to-person experiences of racism. And there are too few people with experiences and understandings in the area of racism. The procedures are framed too much in legalism/protecting the university. The feeling I got from Human Resources advice was not of how to manage two individuals experiencing and saying different things but how I and the university needed to cover myself/itself against accusations from either side. The focus was more on risk avoidance than people management. In looking for a senior person for the person experiencing harassment to seek advice from, whom she could trust, I could only point her in the direction of minority ethnic people outside of the university. Indeed, in thinking the issue through myself, I sought confidential advice from someone outside the university, for lack of an appropriate person inside (female, senior academic).

The comment (above) on existing harassment and bullying procedures at the University of Leeds was echoed by other respondents and is an issue for consideration when formulating the procedures and presentation of harassment policy and action. If staff members believe that the organisation is more interested in avoiding litigation than genuinely dealing with issues sensitively and constructively as when and they arise, this has implications for the effective implementation and interpretation of existing (informal and formal) harassment procedures. With this in mind, institutions need to think carefully about how harassment policy and procedures are communicated and implemented across the board. As such, the main conviction of the institution should clearly be interpreted by all staff as a commitment to opposing all forms of bullying and harassment rather than a commitment to the avoidance of liability, should bullying and harassment unfortunately occur.

Harassment can also occur in the form of extreme behaviour and intolerance on campus. This kind of behaviour goes beyond the spirit of institutional debate and scholarly investigation and addresses those instances where student groups are intimidated by the members of other groups on account of their political or religious affiliations. The kinds of activities that could be included here may be the distribution of literature that causes certain people to experience fear or anxiety or the organisation of meetings where views may be expressed that put other university members in a position of fear or anxiety **(see, also, section 4.9b looking at the BNP on campus at the University of Leeds)**.

Although an institution has a commitment to the principles of free speech and free enquiry, any actions (speech or publications) must comply with the laws relating to racial or sexual discrimination. For example, incitement to racial hatred is forbidden by law. CVCP, 1998 (*Extremism & Intolerance on Campus*) states that universities should use their disciplinary codes, rules, regulations and general powers to:

- To protect free speech within the law

- To protect staff and students from discrimination and harassment, whether sexual, racial, political, religious or personal

- To protect their staff and students from any action which intimidates or gives reasonable cause to be fearful, anxious or threatened

- To act firmly against violence and the threat of violence, disorder and breach of the peace and any other unlawful action (CVCP, 1998: 9).

The question of 'freedom of speech' is undoubtedly a complex issue, however, it is *only* protected where it is *within the law*. At the University of Leeds, the British National Party attempted to gain access to the University of Leeds, Students Union by calling themselves the 'Freedom of Speech' Society. Further, the activities of a member of staff in the Department of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies (he planned to address a right-wing conference with a Ku Klux Klan contingent) were deemed to be outside of the University's remit. Attempting to negotiate the complex pathways through which freedom of speech and enquiry are invoked and denied is undoubtedly difficult and has caused a number of problems for institutions. The commitment to freedom of speech in terms of HEIs is enshrined in **Section 43 of the 1986 Education Act**. Institutions (and their students' unions) are required to ensure that freedom of speech within the law is secured for members, students, employees and visiting speakers of the institution. The institution has a duty to ensure (as far as is practical) that the use of its premises is not denied to an individual, body or persons on any grounds connected to firstly, the beliefs or views of that individual or member of that body or, secondly, the policy or objectives of that body.

However, with regards to external speakers, if a university reasonably suspects that a speaker may violate the law by his/her remarks or where s/he actually does, the university may prevent or call a halt to the meeting. It does not have to do so, but there may be circumstances (for example, if the speech is racist) when the institution's failure to stop the speaker will *ground legal liability on its part* if its staff are exposed to what is judged to racial harassment (CVCP; 17).

The CVCP's position on Section 43, however, is that this does not apply to uninvited speakers on campus (i.e. to those people, groups, etc, who have simply hired space in which to hold an event). The institution may not be liable for the views of groups using its premises without the official sanction of the institution, however, it should be mindful of the views and well-being of staff and students, particularly with reference to issues around racism, racial discrimination and the incitement to racial hatred. The university, according the CVCP, is not constrained by freedom of speech considerations in its handling of such people, groups, etc (i.e. it can deny them access to using university facilities as a platform for their views).

Further legislation for dealing with racism on campus can be found in Part III of the 1986 Public Order Act, which created a number of offences in relation to *racial hatred*. This includes the *intention* to *stir up racial hatred* (through the use of threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour or the display of written material which is threatening, abusive or insulting). Public and private activity is covered (see CVCP, 1998: 12).

For more detailed information on constructing and implementing effective **harassment policies and procedures see CUCO (1999a)** *Guidelines on Harassment for Universities & Colleges in Higher Education*. **London CUCO.**

Harassment, Bullying & Dignity @ Work: Indicators	Yes	No
Do you have a harassment, bullying or dignity at work policy?		
If yes, please specify		
Are staff and students in your institution aware of the policy?		

If yes, please indicate how the policy is communicated:		
Is there training available for staff regarding what harassment is and the procedures to deal with a complaint?		
If yes, please indicate how:		
Are the procedures for dealing with complaints clear?		
If yes, please describe process:		
Do the procedures for dealing with harassment, etc, offer a sensitive, fair and timely consideration of the issues?		
If yes, please describe:		
Does your institution have harassment advisors the identity of whom is clearly communicated to staff and students?		
If yes, please indicate how:		

Sample Targets
- Recruitment targets from BME groups, paying attention to specific groups (for example, Black Caribbean women/men; Pakistani women/men).

- Promotion targets for staff members from BME groups.

- Training targets for people from BME groups

Sample Positive Action Strategies
- The distribution of the institution's vacancy bulletin to local community groups and organisations;

- The inclusion of a statement in job advertisements and further particulars outlining the institution's commitment to anti-racism and race equality;

- The placement of advertisements for posts in BME newspapers, journals and magazines;

- Re-thinking the kinds of experience that are required for a particular post – are there parallels which might also be acceptable (i.e. working in a family business);

- Targeting under-represented groups in the institution to benefit from particular types of training;

- Targeting under-represented groups for career advice and guidance;

- Publicising the institution's commitment to the unacceptability of harassment and bullying. Dissemination could occur through:
  - Articles in internal institutional publications such as the university newsletter; internal memorandums and so on;
  - Posters, clearly displayed in all departments and units;
  - Inclusion of information at appropriate staff induction / development / training sessions.

Summary

In this section we have considered the ways in which issues of race equality and anti-racism impact upon the broad area of employment within a HEI. We have provided a framework and the tools that address the breadth of issues relevant to the workplace. These have included firstly, the process of appointing and recruiting staff; secondly, the issue of career progression and promotions and finally the issue of bullying, harassment and dignity at work.

It is important to recognise that issues of equality and discrimination do not disappear once the appointment process has been completed. A review and consideration of the environment in which staff work and the support mechanisms that are in place are crucial if race equality and anti-racist practice are to be evidenced throughout an institution.

Drawing upon the work done in this section, we will build upon those principles in the following section where we will look at the question of student recruitment, support and transition to employment.

4.5 Student Recruitment, Support and Transition to Employment

The needs of students in universities are broad and varied and, of course, their needs change over their period of study.

Addressing racism and race equality in a university therefore needs to take a very wide range of functions into consideration. These include admissions, assessment, and issues of student support such as careers advice, harassment and counselling.

4.5a Admissions

The first point of contact that a potential student has with a university is usually through its publicity materials. These will probably be its prospectus and/or its web pages. Potential students may also have visited the University on an Open Day or have a relative or friend who has attended your institution and this may or may not affect their desire to apply for a place.

The Leeds study found that large numbers of staff and students felt that the university was overwhelmingly 'white' and in terms of academic staff, overwhelmingly white and male. The reasons for this are complex and varied and questions need to be asked about institutional promotion, application and acceptance procedures to ascertain whether Black and minority ethnic students experience discrimination.

A preliminary analysis of UCAS data for the University of Leeds indicates that BME students, across the board, have accounted for between approximately 5 and 8 per cent of the whole student population:

- **1996/97** – 7.4%
- **1997/98** – 7.01%
- **1998/99** – 5.0%
- **1999/00** – 7.8%
- **1999/01** – 7.2%

This broad figure does not take into account issues of gender, disability and other factors. This figure also masks the very low admissions rates from Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black Other groups.

Many staff members at the University of Leeds felt that 'they' (BME students) don't apply or simply did not obtain the grades and that the issue was one they could do little about. Whether or not this is the case is difficult to ascertain without further research, but if BME students are choosing to apply to other universities then the reasons as to why this might be the case needs to be explored. The reasons are no doubt diverse and complex and include, of course, student's actively making positive choices about the kinds of courses and environments that suit their needs and requirements. However, there are a number of different reasons as to why a BME applicant might not choose a particular institution, these include:

- The available literature lacks positive and inclusive images of BME staff and students

- The institution is perceived as 'white', 'middle-class' and 'not for us' – unwelcoming

- A negative or indifferent experience on an Open Day

- Negative experiences of relatives or friends due to racism

- The available courses are seen as irrelevant to the students' experiences and requirements

Publicity Literature

With reference to the literature that prospective students are sent, an institution may want to be mindful of the following questions (**see, also, section 4.9**):

- What is valued and promoted in the prospectus, flyer, website or leaflet?

- What kinds of images are privileged, prioritised and included?

- Does the literature contain positive and inclusive images of BME staff and students?

- Is, at the very least, a statement on equal opportunities included?

- What kinds of courses are available?

- Does your institution target BME communities specifically when it is marketing its courses and programmes?

Open Days
With reference to how an institution or individual department 'represents' itself to prospective students, an institution may want to be mindful of the following questions:

- How is the Open Day organised?

- Who is invited to attend?

- Who do the organisers 'see' primarily and is this monitored?

- Are current students asked to participate in open days, if so, who is asked and why?

Widening Participation Strategies
Much has been said in recent months about widening participation (WP) and the targeting of under-represented groups to take advantage of Higher Education. HEIs are becoming increasingly concerned with issues of social exclusion and widening access for under-represented social groups. The focus of WP has tended to be on particular groups defined by social class, however, issues of 'race' and ethnicity should also be taken into account here. Issues relating to social class, which dominate WP debates, are cut across by 'race', ethnicity, gender and disability, etc, and these issues need to be taken into account (**see, also, section 2.4**). An impact study of higher education and equality undertaken by CUCO in 1999 found that their guidelines for equal opportunities in Higher Education had had little impact on WP strategies or on the retention of students from BME and other under-represented groups (CUCO, 1999b: 4).

Widening Participation poses many challenges for HEIs and requires broad institutional change in order to be able to work in ways that genuinely widens access and participation for under-represented groups. Much of the WP work that has taken place has been in the new universities; however, certain BME groups as well as people with disabilities and those from socio-economic groups four and five remain under-represented across the sector. WP strategies are not just about admissions (**see, also, section 4.5a**), however, they also need to be mindful of **retention** and **student support** (**see, also, sections 4.5b, 4.5c and 4.5d**). There is little point in getting students into an institution, only for them to find that there is inappropriate support and resources for their needs and which puts them in a position where they would rather leave than continue their studies and training.

Positive action strategies for a university, in terms of encouraging young people to seriously consider coming to a university, could include establishing a **mentoring** programme (or focusing already existing programmes) where BME students are recruited to mentor BME school children. Many institutions (such as the University of Leeds) already have mentoring programmes in place. In addition, a recent project instigated by Sheffield Hallam University provides a useful model here. The aims of establishing such focused projects should have a number of positive outcomes including:

- the enhancement of links between the HEI, local schools and local BME communities;

- the provision of positive role models;

- supporting and encouraging school students to think positively about higher education (see Weatherald, Cal and Geoff Layer, 1998: 59-60).

It is difficult for white persons studying in a predominantly white environment to understand how potentially threatening and overwhelming that may be to BME persons. Mechanisms and clear statements to affirm that institution is trying to ensure that the environment in which all students are studying is safe and supportive should be pursued. This can be through focused and targeted action for specific groups (for example, **counselling, accommodation** and **careers services**) and clearly accessible places to go for appropriate support and advice.

The value of **effective communication and dissemination strategies** cannot be understated here. All students need to feel that an institution operates inclusive strategies and policies regarding their well being, as such, all WP strategies need to clearly and mindfully incorporate race equality and anti-racist issues into the routine aspects of their work at all stages. The Race Relations (Amendment) Act has made it incumbent upon institutions to promote race equality and this needs to be mainstreamed throughout:

- **Planning:** what strategies are you planning to employ? Who and where are you targeting action?

- **Delivery:** how do you plan to deliver your targets?

- **Reviewing:** how do you plan to monitor and review your policies and strategies?

Widening participation strategies need to take account of the multiple barriers faced by young BME people when making choices about whether or not to come into Higher Education. These can include:

- **Gate-keeping - external:** Young BME people may be influenced by the negative attitudes of schools, career officers and employers. Low expectations of certain BME groups may mean that young BME people are not seen as capable of participating in higher education and encouraged to follow different vocational pathways.
    - **How can your institution work with schools, careers offices, colleges and local employers to help challenge these perceptions?**

- **Perceptual Barriers:** BME students may see a HEI as an institution that predominantly serves the needs of white and middle class students, as such, they may not think that university life "is not for me". There are a number of reasons as to why this perception might exist, for example, what kinds of messages might be given out if the teaching and research personnel of an institution are seen to be predominantly or almost exclusively 'white'? An institution needs to ask itself as to whether it positively markets itself directly to BME communities in terms of its general and specific marketing strategies. Are courses advertised in the Black press? Are

BME people positively invited to apply to enrol? Has your institution made contact with local community organisations? Do you target BME groups at recruitment fairs?

- **What can your institution try to do to challenge perceptual barriers and raise aspirations?**

- **Gate-keeping – internal:** Restrictive admissions criteria based on a standard A level entry requirement may be seen to be inherently discriminatory. Although the standard applies to 'everybody', in fact, it works on the assumption that 'everybody' has equity in terms of achieving that A level entry requirement. Social inequalities, however, mean that students do not apply for university places from a level playing field. Students who achieve a grade B or C in a school with low average A level grades could well be brighter and more capable than students from schools who achieve As. The resources and environments that young people learn in have a great deal of influence on examination outcomes and A levels do not necessarily constitute a fair assessment or benchmark of young people's abilities. In addition, older people may have other skills and qualifications that could be taken into consideration.
  - **What can your institution do to take positive steps to assess candidates on criteria other than the standard A level requirement**

- **Future Prospects:** Available evidence suggests that BME graduates are more likely to unemployed or under-employed when entering the job market. As such, young BME people may see little point in working to get a degree without any explicit rewards at the end.
  - **What can your institution do to help and support BME graduates to enter the job market equitably?**

Keeping the above in mind, WP strategies must, therefore, function beyond access (pre-entry) and through the course of study, to graduation and future employment. Finally, WP strategies should not be seen as a discrete and separate part of institutional activity. Communication across and between organisational areas is essential.

Interviews
- What are the criteria for a 'good' interview? Has this been assessed and reviewed in terms of potential bias?
- Who interviews potential students and have they had equal opportunities and/or anti-racist training?
- What are the criteria for offering a student a place on a course, outside of the academic requirements? Are these criteria transparent and clear?

Once a potential student has decided to apply, there may be other barriers to consider. Issues relating to widening participation in particular are of interest here as well as more profound and far-reaching questions about what, exactly, are the responsibilities and purposes of institutions.

> Student selection raises the issue of power: who decides and for whose benefit? Equality of opportunity is more than letting those people onto our courses. It is also about providing appropriate provision for all involved (Ashcroft, Bigger and Coates, 1996: 38).

In order to ascertain whether or not the admissions process discriminates against applicants from BME groups, an institution needs to **monitor** the applications and admissions process carefully (**see, also, section 3.8**).

By collecting detailed data on applicants, an institution will be able to assess who is applying, who is being made an offer and who is taking up a place.

If there are significant disparities between the different stages of application (application / offers / acceptances), then your institution should identify the causes of the disparity and act upon those causes with appropriate positive action strategies.

Not all departments interview students as part of the applications process to their courses. However, if a department does interview, this process should also be monitored to see if BME students are more or less likely to get an offer if they have been interviewed.

Student retention is also important and should be monitored. Exit interviews should be conducted where possible and appropriate. It may be one thing to increase the numbers of BME students enrolling at your institution, however, if significant numbers of students then leave courses because of poor levels of support, then this needs to be addressed.

Students may drop out of courses for a number of reasons, some of which are not the institution's responsibility, however, an institution has a responsibility to the well-being of a student and support mechanisms should be in place to assist students to address any difficulties or issues they might encounter. These might include:

- Racism and racial harassment
- Inappropriate course content
- Discrimination
- Lack of support
- Family problems
- Language barriers
- Financial difficulties
- Lack of role models
- Lack of mentoring
- General feeling that s/he is not 'welcome'

Work undertaken in the US to consider why BME students may fail to complete their course of study found a wide range of factors influenced and structured students' experiences (Powell, 1998). Because BME students on many campuses tend to be in a minority they are often required to make considerable social and cultural changes in order to 'fit in'. A general feeling of exclusion and isolation from mainstream student life may ultimately, therefore, cause students to leave their course of study. BME students may come to a predominantly 'white' university from a school or college where they were not necessarily in a minority, as such, the 'whiteness' of campus life both academically and socially can be quite overwhelming. What is more, in an institution where equal opportunities in general and multi-culturalism in particular, are not necessarily taken very seriously, a student can find him/herself in an environment which is at best 'cold' and at worst explicitly hostile. Staff members may have little or no experience in teaching BME students and, as such, feel uncomfortable with a diverse classroom and simply expect BME students to 'fit in'. Powell with reference to experiences on American campuses writes:

> Once students of color arrive on a traditional campus, they become aware quite quickly through symbols, traditions and activities that they have entered a place not built for them. They find that most activities do not reflect the full diversity of the campus. Multicultural activities and programs, where they do exist, are peripheral to the core campus culture. It is no wonder these students feel marginalized and estranged from such campuses (1998: 111).

At the University of Leeds, the **Student Support Network** is made up of the following offices and services:

- The careers service
- The chaplaincy
- Student counselling services
- Disability services
- The student union (and related services such as welfare)
- The student medical practice
- The office of the international students adviser
- The student office

Each of these services needs to take race equality and racism issues into consideration. Some of these services are considered in depth in this section.

4.5b Counselling

One of the mechanisms by which students are supported through their university experience is through the provision of a counselling service. Students may encounter a number of different problems (financial, personal, course-work, etc) for which they require support and help.

The counselling services provided by your institution should consider the specific needs of BME students who may want to use the service. Monitoring who uses the service would help practitioners identify which groups are most and least likely to take advantage of the service.

Where appropriate, culturally sensitive support may be, but not necessarily required, to this end, a counselling service may want to assess the BME profile of its counsellors.

Counselling services may want to consider where they promote and advertise their services in order to reach as wider student population as possible. **International students** may be particularly vulnerable and in need of support. One constructive positive action strategy might be to target the advertising and promotion of counselling services to these groups of students.

4.5c Careers

The Careers Service is an important resource for students. It is the case that most students find work quickly after leaving university regardless of where they study. However, according to HEFCE records, BME graduates still face **discrimination from employers** and are more likely than their white counterparts to be unemployed (see, Woodward, 2001). It is important that positive action strategies are in place to support BME students and graduates in their search for employment. Communication is crucial here; students and graduates need to know that services are available and that the services can cater for their specific needs and requirements. As such, positive action strategies should be carefully targeted and advertised.

A project at the University of Leeds, University of Bradford, University of Huddersfield and Leeds Metropolitan University (IMPACT) provides specific support for BME students who have been identified as significantly more likely than their white counterparts to encounter unemployment and difficulties securing an appointment once they have graduated. Because of this disparity, the IMPACT programme targets and caters for the needs of BME students and provides specialist support and advice.

Other projects include one developed by the University of Manchester and UMIST Careers Service (www.blackandasiangrad.ac.uk) a national website that aims to improve the employability of all Black and Asian students in the UK.

The Head of Careers at the University of Leeds felt that although the service provided by the University was good, that attitudes outside of the institution could impede BME students transition to employment:

I've seen situations where a student who was going for accountancy: this lad was Asian and from an old traditional educational background. He came to the Careers Service many times and as far as I or anybody else could see, he was doing absolutely everything right that he possibly could, but it seemed to take him an eternity to actually get a training contract. You begin to wonder why that should be. Certainly there was an issue brought up within the context of IMPACT, where an Asian student who had been looking for some work experience had shared a contact list with a white male student in colleague. He got the placement when they had already turned her down (Bob Gilworth, University of Leeds Careers Service).

Other ways in which a careers service can contribute positively to the anti-racist action plan is to run training workshops that, at the very least, make reference to issues around discrimination in the workplace and equal opportunities. Other workshops targeting the needs of BME students and graduates could concentrate on the following:

- Personal development
- Team working
- Employment opportunities
- Job search strategies
- Applications
- Interviews and assessment centres

The IMPACT programme and the Black and Asian Graduate programme also draw on a number of strategies to support BME graduates and students. This includes the establishment of **mentoring programmes** to help support BME graduates and students in the process of making decisions about their futures. This mentoring programme could involve face-to-face contact or even on-line or virtual contact to help overcome any contact and timing difficulties.

Other activities could include:

- *Shadowing* professionals currently working in the sector the student or graduate is interested in.

- *Personal development activities*, for example, encouraging BME students to contribute to institutional / local community connections such as, for example, tutoring or mentoring in local schools (**see also, 4.5a**)

- *Summer work experience* with companies and organisations that the student is interested in working for.

- *Student support groups* for BME students and graduates to attend to exchange ideas and obtain encouragement and feedback in their search for the career that they want.

- *Confidential one-to-one discussions* with careers advisors to discuss any problems or concerns the student has with his/her processes of finding employment in the sector they want.

4.5d International Students

The needs of international students studying at your institution will be varied and differ to those of home BME students. For example, international students may need particular kinds of advice about employment or immigration. It is important that international students are supported appropriately throughout their studies and that the services and facilities are in place to make their time at your institution as enjoyable and productive as possible. At the University of Leeds, there is an **Office of the Adviser to International Students,** which has a remit to help international students with any problems that they may experience before and during their stay. International students may need help and advice on a wide range of issues including schooling and pre-school facilities for children, short home-stay visits with local families, and immigration matters. These services should interconnect with the work of your institution's student union and there should be a space available for international students to relax and meet. A programme of social events and trips helps to welcome and supporting students to adjust to their new surroundings.

Each University department should have an adviser who is available to help international students and advise them where to find help and advice on a range of matters and potential issues, including racial abuse, harassment and/or discrimination.

4.5e General Support & Resources

Is there a student induction programme, training programme that reflects/reinforces the institutions commitment to anti-racist practice?

Are there clear support networks/resources in place for BME students such as:

- The role and activities of the Student's Union
- Appropriate food in catering facilities
- Prayer rooms
- Are staff aware of needs of, for example, Muslim students during Ramadan?
- Cross-cultural counselling
- Language support for overseas students
- Do examination dates take note of religious festivals?

4.5f Accommodation

Universities also need to be mindful of **accommodation** issues. Students from overseas as well as BME people from the UK may have specific cultural or religious needs with regards to their accommodation. This may mean that single-sex corridors should be made available for students should they require them. Prayer facilities and appropriate washing and cleaning arrangements should be put into place.

- Are wardens and residential tutors appropriately supported and advised with reference to race equality and potential issues of racism between students and between students and staff?
- Do halls of residence have procedures in place for dealing with racial discrimination and/or racial harassment?
- What advice does the institution give to students suffering from racial harassment or discrimination in their place of residence?

- What happens to students who are found guilty of racially harassing or bullying other students in a hall of residence?
- Does the institution maintain a list of private housing that it recommends to students? What happens if complaints of racial discrimination or harassment are made about landlords of university approved accommodation?

Sample Targets
- Application targets, by faculty and course/programme

- Recruitment targets, by faculty and course/programme

- Proportion of BME students using careers service/counselling service

Sample Positive Action Strategies
- Advertising courses in BME publications, outlining the institution's commitment to anti-racism and race equality.

- Establishing positive links with local colleges and schools that have BME students in attendance.

- Provide clear and targeted support for Black and Minority Ethnic students in areas such as careers and counselling. The IMPACT project already underway at the University of Leeds is a good example of this.

- Make institutional links with BME former students who have done well to act as positive role models for current students. Promote the achievements of former BME students of the institution where appropriate.

- Integrate race equality measures into a review of university admissions policy.

- Build clear links between widening participation measures and race equality measures for admissions policy and student support. Race equality measures need to be clearly incorporated into widening participation strategies.

- Reconsider the emphasis on A level grades and scores as a minimum criteria for admission.

- Consolidate and focus (via clear links with widening participation and race equality measures) outreach work with local colleges and schools.

- Students to be made explicitly aware of the institution's commitment to race equality and anti-racist practice.

Summary
In this section we have addressed the areas relevant to student recruitment, support and the transition to employment. We have provided ideas and strategies for incorporating and promoting anti-racist and race equality measures into student admissions (via a review and evaluation of publicity literature, open days widening participation strategies and the interview process). We have also encouraged institutions to consider the various

ways in which students are supported through their study by focusing on the provision of appropriate and sensitive counselling and careers services and safe and secure accommodation. When students and graduates start the process of looking for work, we have also encouraged HEIs to help address the inequalities faced by BME students and graduates in the employment market.

In the following section we will be looking at Teaching and Learning issues which interlink very clearly with student admissions and support.

4.6 Teaching and Learning

4.6a Teaching

The kinds of courses that are taught within universities is a central aspect of students' experiences. Housee (2001) recalls how, over twenty years ago, Black students organised and demanded a sociological curriculum that was 'antiracist … critical of colonial history, of black representation, of discrimination' (Housee, 2001: 80). Of course, universities as a whole, offer a lot more courses and degree programmes than sociological ones, however, the recognition that course content, organisation and teaching practice needs to considered, is a question that cuts across the social sciences, arts and humanities.

Departments should be mindful to consider the inclusion and integration of voices, perspectives, works and ideas that come from beyond a 'white', 'eurocentric' core (**see, also, sections 2.2 and 2.3**).

Questions about teaching methods also include considerations of **delivery** as well as course content and resources (**see, also, section 4.6**).

'Race', racism and race equality can be incorporated into the process of:

- **module review** (the review of individual course modules).
- **periodic review** (the strategic overview of an entire department's teaching and learning activities).

We would suggest that race equality measures be incorporated into the natural process of how an institution monitors and structures learning and teaching issues. At the University of Leeds this is done through a **Quality Management and Enhancement Unit (QMEU)**. This unit is responsible for supporting the University and its Faculties, Schools, Departments, Institutes and Centres in the quality assurance and enhancement of their teaching and learning provision. Its activities primarily relate to:

- Programme approval
- Programme review
- Periodic review
- External quality audit
- Subject assessment / review and professional accreditation

We suggest that race equality and racism issues are incorporated into the review and planning process of the following boards and committees:

- Learning and Teaching Board
- Faculty Learning and Teaching Committees
- School Learning and Teaching Committees
- School Examinations Boards / Committees of Examiners

In this way, if these issues become routinised into organisational practice, then we can go some way towards changing organisational cultures that accept and reinforce discriminatory attitudes and practice.

Key Questions to consider	Yes	No
Does your institution/department review issues around pedagogy for BME students?		
When? How? Do you have documentation to support this?		
Do you periodically assess the relevance of your course materials and delivery methods?		
How often? Do you have documentation to support this?		
Do you consider, in terms of course work, resources, etc … how are peoples, places, etc, stereotyped and represented?		
When did you last assess your materials?		
Does your institution/department actively value cultural diversity?	Yes	No
How could you demonstrate this?		
Do you assess and revise your teaching methods periodically?	Yes	No
How often? Can you demonstrate this?		
Are there clear and agreed strategies in place for dealing with racist language and behaviour in the classroom?	Yes	No

Evidence?

4.6b Learning Issues: Assessment

There are a number of issues to be mindful of in terms of considering the learning environment and the needs of students. The process of learning needs to be inclusive and should consider the needs of all learners in terms of ethnicity, gender, disability, religion and so on …

Lecturers, tutors, etc, should be aware that their own expectations of students may be based on stereotypes and assumptions about what particular BME groups 'are like' or the kinds of expected aptitude for particular activities, subjects, approaches, etc. As such, care should be taken to avoid making assumptions and having expectations about students based on these stereotypes (**see, also, section 3.9)**. International students are particularly vulnerable here as assumptions of academic inferiority often circulate with reference to students from non-Western countries.

Other issues to be taken into consideration are that:

- Assessment of student's language abilities should not influence assessment of other skills.

- Assessment is monitored by ethnicity, gender, etc, so that, if appropriate, positive action should be taken to redress any inequalities via the removal of any obstacles that may impede or disadvantage particular groups.

- Examinations and assessment procedures should be sensitive and culturally inclusive in terms of reference points, etc.

4.6c Learning Issues: The Curriculum

The curricula of university departments, schools and faculties are diverse and, of course, reflect the particular biases of individual academics and academic units. What courses are provided, what courses look at, what is included, what is excluded, who, what and where are deemed to be 'important' or worthy of study are complex social, cultural and political questions that are not easily answered. Some scholars have criticised the arts, humanities and social sciences, for example, for being eurocentric (Blaut, 1993; Shohat and Stam, 1994); but these issues have also impacted on other areas such as mathematics (Joseph, 1991), medicine and healthcare.

- Does your institution's curricula reflect the changing needs and views of a modern, diverse society?

- Do your institution's resources, courses, etc, reflect and promote the needs of a multi-cultural society?

- Do the courses, resources, etc, on offer reflect a wide range of genres, times and places (for example, literature, poetry, drama, music, arts, histories, religions, etc)?

- Does the institution invite external speakers to give lectures and seminars who are representative of the cultural diversity of British society?

- Are there any anti-racist issues included in the curriculum of any courses?

- Are lecturing staff trained and updated on issues of 'race' and ethnicity?

4.6d Eurocentrism

We discussed more general theories about what eurocentrism means for universities in **section 2.2**. Specifically, the development of subject areas and disciplines has been critiqued as reproducing and reinforcing a eurocentric world-view which peripheralises and fails to value that which is seen to lie 'outside' the West.

- Are the literatures, music, arts, histories and religions, etc, of 'non-Western'/not-white peoples periphalised and tokenised in the curriculum?

- Are the literatures, music, arts, histories and religions, etc, of 'non-Western'/not-white peoples positioned as inferior, primitive …

- Are cultures, etc, other than the dominant culture of the University, valued, displayed, celebrated, promoted?

Sample Targets & Positive Action Strategies

The targets and positive action strategies for 'teaching and learning' can be 'soft' as well as 'hard'. For example:

- The inclusion of these issues in programme and module review

- The inclusion of these issues in teaching and learning quality enhancement procedures

- The inclusion of these issues in normal review procedures

- The appointment of external examiners with a 'race' and 'ethnicity' specialism

Summary

In this section we have provided some tools to help institutions address issues relevant to teaching and learning. These issues are integral to the question of student support (**see, also, section 4.5**) and perceptions of the institution from the 'outside'. In this section we have asked institutions to reflect upon assessment procedures and the curriculum in order to take into consideration the various ways in which current content and practice may discriminate against BME students via the use of inappropriate resources and a eurocentric perspective.

The issues raised in this section should be used to inform the following section where we will be looking at issues relevant to research in an institution.

4.7 Research

A consideration of the types of research that takes place in the university is important because it has a number of implications in terms of staffing and recruitment, the image of the university and its position in terms of contributing to a particular field of research activity. If a university is seen to take the study of particular issues seriously by appointing staff and providing resources then this has implications for the 'public face' of the institution as well as, though not necessarily, the recruitment of ethnically diverse staff. The question of research also has implications for the recruitment of students interested in this field of study and so has strong connections with teaching, learning and the curriculum (**see, also, section 4.5 and 4.6**).

Facilitating and encouraging research into 'race' and racism serves a number of purposes. Some research projects can contribute to a better understanding of the particular problems that BME people and communities may face say, in healthcare, education, housing and so on… Research can also, however, develop projects that support and promote the particular needs of BME groups, for example, bilingualism, employment, etc, and can also impact upon the policy and practice of local, regional and national government (Ashcroft, Bigger and Coates, 1996: 58-59).

Universities have previously been the sites from which more problematic aspects of researching 'race' have emerged. The scientific and social theories about the inferiority of particular 'races' and, indeed, reinforcing the notion of distinct 'biological' 'races' have had far-reaching and damaging effects. In the present context, the HE sector has the power and the resources to counter these ideas.

The question of 'research' is also important in connection to the question of **employment** (**see, also, section 4.4**). The Carter, Fenton and Modood study (1999) found that BME staff were much more likely to be working in fixed-term contract research. For non-British nationals, this concentration is even more marked.

Research is, obviously, one of the pivotal and central activities of a university. However, an institution may want to consider how its research practice and employment policies intersect to produce an environment where BME academics are disproportionately represented on short-term research contracts.

An overview of research undertaken for the Leeds Study found that there were a number of staff across faculties and departments who could be described as pursuing research in the area of 'race' and 'ethnicity'. We did not include those individuals whose research interests are simply located 'outside' the 'West', but, rather, those staff members who explore and use theories and debates about ethnicity and race in their work. Based on a web-based search of research activities, we estimate that there are approximately sixty members of academic staff at the University of Leeds undertaking research in the broad field of 'race' and 'ethnicity.

The Centre for Ethnicity & Racism Studies

One example of good practice at the University of Leeds has been the establishment of the Centre for Ethnicity and Racism Studies. This centre comprises a network of over fifty research active individuals from across the University including Sociology and Social Policy, English, Law, Geography, Politics, Adult and Continuing Education, French, European Studies, Healthcare Studies, Dentistry, Primary Care, Theology and Jewish Studies.

The Centre is primarily a vehicle for building interdisciplinary and regional collaboration in this field in order to develop research interests and ideas, generate joint research activities and projects and attract research funds

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and graduate students. It brings researchers with shared interests together, and enables and facilitates regular contact through seminars, postgraduate forums, workshops and bulletins.

The centre is responsible for developing the idea of a toolkit for tackling racism in higher education.

In most universities there are probably a number of people and/or centres undertaking work in the broad area of 'race' and 'ethnicity'; however, in some departments where you might expect a research presence in this area there may be little or no research apparently taking place.

In order for the research strategies and profiles of an institution to give consideration to the importance of work looking at 'race' and ethnicity, institutions may want to look at incorporating the issues into **the strategic and operational planning** of departmental/school/faculty research committees, so that it becomes a natural and integrated part of what they do.

By incorporating these research issues into the planning cycle, they become positively integrated into the research process and consequently timetabled and actioned. For example:

Objective: To support and strengthen 'race' related research in the department/school/faculty
Action: to support those staff members and centres undertaking work in this area ▪ to develop and support new posts (teaching and research) in this area ▪ to introduce new, interdisciplinary MA and PhD research training programmes in this area

Your institution, like the University of Leeds, may also have an **Academic Development Committee (ADC)** which is responsible for the following:

▪ the overview of the institution's academic objectives, planning and management;

▪ the framing of academic objectives and strategy;

▪ school/faculty/college plans in relation to learning and teaching;

▪ oversight of resource centre's financial positions and management of the University's Resource Allocation Model;

▪ allocation of certain resources including those for Academic Development;

▪ school/faculty/college business plans to support new programmes.

We would suggest incorporating race equality checklists and issues into the structure of what such committees and boards 'do', so as to make issues around equality and racism part of everything that the institution does.

4.7a Ethics

A further important consideration when considering research questions in an institution is that of ethical research practices. It is important that researchers are aware that ethical issues may emerge during any research process and that researchers and research managers need to take responsibility for the ethics of their research practice.

This toolkit has drawn upon the statement on ethical research practices as formulated by the British Sociological Association, which is referenced here. Please visit the British Sociological Association's website for the full statement (http://www.britsoc.org.uk/about/ethic.htm). Questions covered by the statement, include professional integrity; confidentiality and anonymity; the relationship between researchers and funders or sponsors and the relationships between researchers and the research participants.

The first question is that of the **professional integrity** of researchers. Research teams, for example, have a responsibility to consider the proper interests of those involved in or affected by their work and, of course, to report their findings accurately. Researchers should also consider the effects or consequences of their work and how it may be misused by other parties.

Secondly, researchers should carefully consider their **relations with and their responsibilities towards research participants.** Researchers should understand that they do bear some responsibility for the use to which their data may be put and for how the research is to be disseminated. What is more researchers have a responsibility to ensure that the physical, social and psychological well-being of research participants is not adversely affected by the research, while recognising the difficulty of balancing potentially conflicting interests. An important point to consider in light of this is the question of **power and status,** in that research studies (particularly sociological ones) are often a study of the relatively powerless as well as a study of those more powerful. As such, trust and integrity are crucial and it is up to the researcher to present research data with a mind to its impact on individuals, communities, organisations and so on …

The British Sociological Association also states that as far as is possible participation in research should be based on the freely given and informed consent of those being studied. To this end, researchers have a responsibility to explain in appropriate detail, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about, who is undertaking and financing it, why it is being undertaken, and how it is to be disseminated and used. Research participants should, of course, be made aware of their right to refuse participation whenever and for whatever reason they wish. They should also understand how far they will be afforded anonymity and confidentiality (and not be given unrealistic guarantees about this) and they should be able to reject the use of data-gathering devices such as tape recorders and video cameras. For further details on anonymity, privacy and confidentiality, please consult the British Sociological Association website.

Sometimes, however, researchers will engage in **covert research** in order to obtain particular kinds of data, and there are, of course, serious legal and ethical issues to consider. If researchers do wish to engage in covert research, this should be justified and explained in detail. For further information on research participation, please consult the British Sociological Association website.

Sample Positive Action Strategies

- Establishing and resourcing funding programmes to encourage work in area of 'race' and ethnicity; for example, research fellowships, research programmes, research centres.

- Establishing and resourcing identifiable research clusters across the faculties that are able to feed into and inform curriculum development as well as promote the reputation of the university.

- Incorporation of 'race' related research issues into **strategic research strategies**.

- The collation of information on racism and ethnicity related research activity in your institution into a database and centralise this as a resource for both external and internal use.

- The promotion of racism and ethnicity related research through providing support for the review of activity and for the promotion of inter-disciplinary collaboration. This could be done through the construction and maintenance of a working database of those conducting race and ethnicity related research. This would be a valuable resource for both internal and external users (for example, the media).

Summary

In this section we have considered some of the issues impacting on how research on 'race', ethnicity and racism can positively impact on the working and teaching environment of an institution. We have briefly indicated how research in these areas can be reviewed, promoted and organised by institutions and also raised questions about ethical research practices when embarking on research projects. For further information about the use of anti-racist language in research practice, please consult the British Sociological Association's statement (http://www.britsoc.org.uk/about/antirace.htm).

In the following section, we will be looking at the different ways in which issues of anti-racism and race equality impact upon contracts and purchasing in an institution.

4.8 Contracts & Purchasing

Under the newly amended Race Relations Act, it is unlawful for public bodies to discriminate while carrying out any of their functions. This has implications for the contracting and purchasing policy of an institution.

According to the CRE (1995), there are three main ways in which public authorities can use contracts to encourage the adoption of equal opportunities policies (and anti-racist practice):

1. **Through the assessment of the employment procedures, policies and practices of those firms that hold contracts with the authority/body**;

2. **Through service delivery, by encouraging companies to provide services that are equally accessible**;

3. **Through the provision of opportunities for suitable minority ethnic firms.**

The university sector (potentially) holds a great deal of effective purchasing power to encourage and effect change in terms of countering discrimination and implementing effective equal opportunities. By wielding this power effectively, a university can become a positive force for change and put a public face to its equal opportunities statements and strategies. By including conditions relating to race equality in their contracts, the university could play an important role in encouraging private sector employers to tackle the issue of race equality and address discrimination at all levels.

Although the issues we are outlining here had not been considered before by the Contracts and Purchasing offices at the University of Leeds, we found that the staff there were very receptive to the idea of including a statement or clause in their contracts that made explicit the universities requirements and commitment to race equality: '…I think that might be a very good way of raising awareness not necessarily achieving the desired results but certainly raising awareness. I think that would be beneficial' (*senior administrator*).

Experience of instituting contract compliance in the US and the UK has demonstrated that the inclusion of equal opportunities issues as part of the contractual procedure does increase employment opportunities for those people who traditionally face discrimination (see, for example, GLC/ILEA statistics relating to contract compliance activities, appendix 4, CRE, 1995: 66). If contract compliance is put into its proper context and is not conceptually confused (as is often the case) with affirmative action/positive discrimination then the University should be in a position to move positively forward on taking the lead in establishing fairer and more equitable employment practices in any work done in its name.

In order for an institution to address the issue of contract compliance it needs to look firstly to those areas where procedures are already in place. For example, under the terms of the 1988 Local Government Act, the Secretaries of State for the Environment, Scotland and Wales, prescribed six approved questions about racial equality that could be used by local authorities:

3/ 7	Key Questions
	Is it your policy as an employer to comply with your statutory obligations under the Race Relations Act 1976 and 2000, and, accordingly, your practice not to treat one group of people less favourable than other because of their colour, race, nationality or ethnic origin in relation to decisions to recruit, train or promote employees?
	In the last three years has any finding of unlawful racial discrimination been made against your organisation by any court or industrial tribunal?
	In the last three years has your organisation been the subject of a formal investigation by the Commission for Racial Equality on grounds of alleged unlawful discrimination?
	If the answer to question 2 is in the affirmative or, in relation to question 3, the CRE made a finding adverse to your organisation, what steps did you take in consequence of that finding?
	Is your policy on race relations set out:
	in instructions to those concerned with recruitment, training and promotion;
	in documents available to employees, recognised trade unions or other representative groups of employees;
	in recruitment advertisements or other literature?
	Do you observe as far as possible the Commission for Racial Equality's Code of Practice in

	employment, as approved by Parliament in 1983, which gives practical guidance to employers and others on the elimination of racial discrimination and the promotion of equality of opportunity in employment, including the steps that can be taken to encourage members of the ethnic minorities to apply for jobs or take up training opportunities?

(Source, CRE, 1995: 28)

The CRE provides ample guidance for organisations attempting to establish the principles of contract compliance in their purchasing and contracting practice. Guidelines, frameworks and policies are broken down to relate to small, medium and large organisations in order to ensure that the legislation and the organisations requirements are relevant and applicable at all stages.

4.8a CRE Standards & Criteria

Key Questions to consider	Yes	No
Are contractors are fully informed of the standards they have to meet?		
Are contractors are encouraged to adopt equal opportunities policies?		
Have contract conditions for racial equality in employment been established?		
Are potential contractors are evaluated on their ability to meet these conditions (by using the approved questions or by responses to conditions set out in a draft contract)?		
Is the performance of contractors monitored against the contract conditions?		
Is compliance with the contract conditions secured where the contractor is not already able to demonstrate this?		
Are contractors and potential contractors who cannot meet the requirements excluded from consideration?		
Are there resources and training available to officers to successfully operate the codes?		

Sample Targets
- All Companies and organisations hired by the institution to perform tasks on its behalf to demonstrate a commitment to 'race equality'.

- We suggest that all contractors be required to provide evidence that they comply with the relevant legislation on equality.

- A set number of contracts and purchases to be targeted at local BME contractors and suppliers of goods and services.

Sample Positive Action Strategies

- Encourage BME suppliers and contractors to submit tenders or quotes by advertising in the appropriate newspapers, magazines, etc.

- Contracts and purchasing agreements with companies who have failed to demonstrate that they comply with the requirements of the Race Relations Amendment Act should be rescinded until that company can indicate that it complies with the legislation.

- Contracts with companies who have been subject to complaints should be rescinded.

- Where possible, we suggest that positive action strategies to encourage Black and Minority Ethnic contractors and suppliers to work with University of Leeds should be pursued.

Summary

In this section we have drawn upon the work undertaken by the Commission for Racial Equality to demonstrate the different ways in which anti-racist and race equality practice can impact upon the contracts and purchasing policies of an institution. The HEI holds a great deal of power in terms of its purchasing potential and, as such, can constitute a powerful force for positive change. This can be done by setting a positive example and sending out positive messages to local and regional organisations regarding the importance and centrality of equality and anti-discriminatory practice.

In the following section, we will be considering how anti-racist and race equality impacts on the question of external affairs.

4.9 External Affairs

The kind of relationship that a HEI is able to establish with communities, organisations, institutions, etc, 'outside' is a crucial aspect of an institution's presentation of itself both externally and internally. By 'external affairs', at the University of Leeds we are referring to:

- Alumni Relations Office
- City & Regional & Widening Participation Office
- European Office
- International & Schools Liaison Office
- Press Office
- Public Relations Office
- Publications Office

These offices will vary from institution to institution but we are considering the following:

- the ways in which a HEI presents itself to former and future students;
- its relationship with the city/town and region within which it is located;
- its relationship with European institutions;
- its relationship with local schools and colleges; with local, regional and national media;

- its relationship with local community organisations and groups;
- its 'public' face (newsletters, web-site, etc).

These areas, however, are not just pivotal to the relationship between the institution and the 'outside world', but also to the relationships, connections and networks *within* the institution itself. External Affairs is a powerful resource for the communication and dissemination of information that the institution deems to be important. This information is vast and covers a diverse range of (sometimes competing) interests, needs and requirements on the part of individuals, departments, centres and administrative units. The External Affairs 'machinery' thus constitutes a powerful tool in terms of having a positive impact on how an institution mainstreams anti-racist and race equality practice; particularly in terms of the need to **communicate** and **inform** students and staff so that they possess the necessary information to **understand** and **participate** positively. This is also important in terms of ensuring that organisations, groups, communities, etc, outside the institution, understand the institution's active commitment to anti-racism and race equality.

4.9a Prospectus / Departmental flyers / web materials and leaflets
Prospectuses, departmental flyers and other institutional leaflets constitute part of the 'public face' of an HEI. Often prospective students' first encounter with an HEI is when they receive publicity information encouraging them to apply for a degree course at that institution or when they log on an institution's website. As such, HEIs need to carefully consider the kinds of messages and images that they are promoting and whether or not they are welcoming and inclusive. As such, it would be useful to consider whether the images used in publicity materials promote positive images of Black and Minority Ethnic staff and students at your institution. Questions you need to consider include:

- What is valued and promoted in the prospectus, flyer, website or leaflet?

- What kinds of images are valued and included?

- Is, at the very least, a statement on equal opportunities included?

4.9b University Newspapers / Newsletters
Most institutions have a press office and an 'in-house' newspaper or newsletter. These are primarily used as promotional tools for the institution, highlighting successful research projects, conferences, exhibitions, and so on. These publications are usually distributed to staff members and to news organisations who pick up on particular items of interest and run features on them (national and regional news, radio and television, for example).

The in-house newspaper or newsletter is, consequently, a potentially powerful and useful tool for the promotion of institutional activity with regards to anti-racist activity, the promotion of race equality and the dissemination of crucial information that can communicate and inform staff members why and when certain anti-racist and race equality initiatives are taking place.

Issues that were raised by the Leeds case study included how an institution could respond if there was a problem with racism on campus emanating from staff and/or students. The central question being, with reference to newsletter / website content:

What's left out? How does the HEI deal with negative publicity around 'race'/'racism'?

At the University of Leeds there were two long-standing issues on campus which, until very recently, the university publicity machine had not addressed: namely the presence of the British National Party (BNP) on campus and the extra-curricula activities of a lecturer in Slavonic Studies who attended a right-wing, Ku Klux Klan event in the US.

As part of the activities of an anti-racist university, it is not helpful to 'ignore' these issues or move into 'damage limitation' mode. A university with a commitment to anti-racism would, at the very least, counter or condemn these activities.

Instead of ignoring the fact that Mark Collett, the Chair of the Young BNP is a student at Leeds University, or ignoring his website's claim that the University of Leeds is the most 'politically incorrect' university in Britain, it would be more constructive to engage, counter and reaffirm the institution's anti-racist position (if, indeed, it has one).

Other issues that an institution could consider include:

- What happens if a member of staff is making an official complaint about the university regarding racism – how does the newspaper deal with the issue?

- Does the newspaper promote BME staff and student achievements?

- Does the newspaper promote positive images of BME staff and students?

- Is research relating to 'race', ethnicity and racism promoted and valued?

4.9c Community Perceptions?

The Leeds project solicited the views of external organisations and individuals to attempt to gauge some measure of how the institution might be perceived from 'outside'. We found that the university was seen as a predominantly elitist 'white' institution that had little or no interest in 'working class' and/or BME communities.

Mohsin Zulfiqar from the Leeds City Council, Excellence in Cities Programme stated:
> *If you walk along the road that leads to the University of Leeds you see lots of black faces, my question would be, are they local students, or students that are paying full fees to come from overseas and a significant number will be these. It is fine on one part doing a lot of research projects on widening participation which proves that Leeds Universities are not really doing very well, then really opening up the gates for those communities.*

In order to assess how local communities view your institution you may want to ask a sample of groups and organisations the following questions:

- In what way do you feel that the university is relevant to you?
- Do you think that the university is open and welcoming to members of your community?
- Do you feel that your community could benefit from establishing a relationship with the university?

Sample Positive Action Strategies

- An institution can draw on its considerable publicity resources to promote race equality and anti-racist issues, particularly **institutional newsletters.**

- Review the representation of diversity in departmental flyers and brochures and include a clear statement on equality with clear references to race equality.

- Review the representation of diversity in University of Leeds' prospectuses and include a clear statement on equality with clear references to race equality.

- Your institution's Alumni Relations Office could maintain a record of the achievements of Black and Minority Ethnic graduates and promote this appropriately.

Section Five: Reviewing your institution
5.1 Listening to the staff at your institution

In order to obtain a picture of the 'state of play' in your institution, you may want to undertake some kind of 'attitudinal' and 'perceptions' audit. Obtaining the views of your staff (academic, non-academic and academic related) and listening to their experiences, opinions and ideas will provide some kind of 'base' from which action can take place. As an institution, the paper policies and committees may be in place, but the staff in various departments may not have the same perceptions of policy and practice. To borrow terminology used in the Housing Sector, the keys to understanding what has been done and what needs to be done are:

- **Communication:** A good communications strategy is essential in order to keep staff and students up-to-date with developments and activities within the institution.

- **Consultation:** As much as possible, staff and students should be consulted with a view to their opinions, experiences and ideas. How do they think services and procedures, for example, could be improved or changed?

- **Participation:** As much as possible, staff and students should be given the opportunity to participate in the formulation, dissemination and development of policy and practice.

- **Knowledge:** This final point is clearly linked in with communication, consultation and participation. Knowledge and understanding of the issues and the strategies employed by an institution are key to their success and continuation.

5.1a Email questionnaire

A short email questionnaire can be sent to a sample of staff to obtain a 'snapshot' about attitudes to racism and race equality at your institution. The questionnaire is designed to obtain two types of information: basic indicators of agreement/disagreement with statements and some elaboration. The information gained from the questionnaires can then be coded and entered into a database in order to generate quantitative indicators about attitudes, opinions and experiences.

Sample Staff Questionnaire

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:

1=very strongly, 2=strongly, 3=moderately; 4=barely; 5=not at all

I am aware of the University's equal opportunities statement?
Do you agree 1   2   3   4   5
(please delete as appropriate, If you can, please elaborate on your answer)

I believe there is genuine equality of opportunity at this university
Do you agree 1   2   3   4   5
(please delete as appropriate, If you can, please elaborate on your answer)

I believe that measures to improve race equality are necessary at this University
Do you agree 1   2   3   4   5
(please delete as appropriate, If you can, please elaborate on your answer)

This University caters for cultural and religious differences.
Do you agree 1   2   3   4   5   Don't Know
(please delete as appropriate, If you can, please elaborate on your answer)

I have come across racial discrimination or racist attitudes directed at others whilst at this University.
Do you agree 1   2   3   4   5   Don't Know
(please delete as appropriate, If you can, please elaborate on your answer)

I have personally experienced racial discrimination or racist attitudes as a student at this University.
Do you agree 1   2   3   4   5   Don't Know
(please delete as appropriate, If you can, please elaborate on your answer)

I am a senior academic / junior academic / contract research / academic related / administrative staff / ancillary staff / support staff
(please delete/add as appropriate).

I am male/female (please delete as appropriate)

Finally, please could you tell us your ethnicity in the space below.

If you do not want to give us this information could you please tell us why?

If you have any further comments to make please add them below.

5.1b Interviews, Open Forums & Focus Groups

In order to obtain a sense of the relationship between policy and practice in your institution you may want to solicit the views and perspectives of staff members by interviewing key people. Interviews should be confidential and interviewees should be free to express their views (**see, also section 4.7a**). The interviews conducted in the Leeds Study, indicated that for many key people (such as heads of departments) there were few clear links between policy and practice and that managers did not exhibit any strong commitment to issues of equality and discrimination beyond thinking that 'in theory' they were a 'good thing'. Obtaining a 'picture' of the attitudes and perceptions of key staff members may help your institution sharpen its anti-racist and race equality strategies by identifying perceptual and attitudinal barriers. Interviewing equal opportunities staff (i.e. those responsible for these issues outside of the central administration in departments and units), may help you identify any particular problems faced by those given the task of formulating action plans. It may well be that departmental or unit action planning is seen as 'poisoned chalice' or a task passed on to new and junior staff members because senior staff members do not see it as being important or central enough to their department's core purpose. Of course, interviewing BME staff members will help you identify any particular issues or problems that they may encounter, for example, career progression.

Key staff members:

- Heads of Departments/Units:

- Equal Opportunities Staff

- BME staff

- Race equality working groups / Black staff support groups

- **Open forums**
  Encourage dialogue between and across staff and students. Your institution could organise an 'open door' session, set at a particular time, where staff and students would be encouraged to freely and supportively raise any issues of importance to them regarding racism and race equality. It should be clear that staff and students speak freely and that the information gathered will be used to inform and develop change and address any issues.

- **Focus groups**
  A focus group usually consists of invited participants who have a particular interest or perspective on a particular issue. Focus groups could be organised to obtain information about:
  - BME staff perspectives on career progression;
  - BME staff perspectives on working at the university;

5.2 Listening to the students at your institution
This includes undergraduate and postgraduate students; part-time and full-time students; home and overseas students.

5.2a Email Questionnaire

Sample Student Questionnaire
Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements:

1=very strongly, 2=strongly, 3=moderately; 4=barely; 5=not at all

I feel I have equality of opportunity as a student at this University
Do you agree 1   2   3   4   5   Don't Know
(please delete as appropriate, If you can, please elaborate on your answer)

Measures to improve race equality are necessary at this University
Do you agree 1   2   3   4   5   Don't Know
(please delete as appropriate, If you can, please elaborate on your answer)

I feel welcome and part of student life at this University.
Do you agree 1   2   3   4   5   Don't Know
(please delete as appropriate, If you can, please elaborate on your answer)

This University caters for cultural and religious differences.
Do you agree 1   2   3   4   5   Don't Know
(please delete as appropriate, If you can, please elaborate on your answer)

I have come across racial discrimination or racist attitudes directed at others whilst at this University.
Do you agree 1   2   3   4   5   Don't Know
(please delete as appropriate, If you can, please elaborate on your answer)

I have personally experienced racial discrimination or racist attitudes as a student at this University.
Do you agree 1   2   3   4   5   Don't Know
(please delete as appropriate, If you can, please elaborate on your answer)

I am a 1st year / 2nd year / final year undergraduate student / taught postgrad / research postgrad
(please delete as appropriate)

I am male/female (please delete as appropriate)

I am a home/overseas student (please delete as appropriate)

Finally, please could you tell us your ethnicity in the space below.
If you do not want to give us this information could you please tell us why?

If you have any further comments to make please add them below.

5.2b Interviews, Open Forums & Focus Groups

The students who responded to our email survey provided a broad and varied perspective on studying and participating in university life at the University of Leeds. Some BME student respondents had had a positive experience of university life, others, however, felt very strongly that there were issues of inequality and discrimination that had impacted negatively and detrimentally on their student life. Where an institution is providing an appropriate service to its students, this needs to be promoted. For example, the targeted work of the IMPACT programme, which supported BME students and graduates in their search for employment. Where students feel unwelcome, excluded, stereotyped and marginalised however, this needs to be addressed. By listening to students, an institution should be able to identify any areas of concern and target positive action and appropriate strategies accordingly. For example, students raised concerns about the levels of racist graffiti found in men's toilets on campus. That the graffiti was not removed could be perceived as an implicit tolerance by the institution of racism and is easily addressed through firstly, the swift removal of any graffiti found on campus and secondly, through the establishment of penalties and warnings should students or staff members be found writing such material.

In order to find out what students think, in addition to a postal or email survey, your institution could consider the following:

- Conducting interviews with students, ensuring a broad representation across departments and faculties.

- Contact key university union societies (for example, is there an African Caribbean student society? An Islamic society? And so on …)

- Contact the BME student support group / working group (if there is one).

- Organise open forum and focus group sessions where students can come and discuss issues that concern them. Focus groups could be organised to obtain information about:
  - BME students' perspectives on studying at the university;
  - BME students' perspectives on student support (accommodation, counselling, careers, etc).

5.3 Analysing your data – what does it say about your institution?

- What's the overall sense of well-being for BME and white staff and students?

- Do staff feel valued?

- Do BME staff feel welcomed and included or isolated?

- Do students feel valued?

- Do BME students feel welcomed and included or isolated?

- Are there any common themes coming through your interviews and surveys?

- What concerns students the most: admissions, assessment?

- What concerns staff the most: appointments, promotion, harassment?

- What kinds of negative issues are coming through?

- How do staff talk about other staff and students?

- Un-picking 'whiteness'

Toolkit: Useful Links

The Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Archive
The Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Archive was founded specifically to combat racist ideas about black people and contains leaflets, books and videos, based on the lives and experiences of black people the world over.
Devonshire House
University of Manchester
Manchester   M13 9PL
Tel: 0161 275 2920
Fax: 0161 275 0916
Email: rrarchive@man.ac.uk
Web: http://les1.man.ac.uk/rrarchive

Black & Asian Graduates
www.blackandasiangrad.ac.uk
A national website that aims to improve the employability of all Black and Asian students in the UK.

Black Information Network
A comprehensive on-line resource on issues and topics relevant to black and minority ethnic communities.
Web: http://www.blink.org.uk

British Sociological Association
The British Sociological Association is the professional association for sociologists in Britain and the BSA website is a key resource for anyone wanting to keep in touch with developments in the discipline. The BSA website keeps visitors up to date on the important issues of policy and practice, teaching and research, working parties and conferences shaping the social sciences today.
Web: http://www.britsoc.org.uk

Campaign Aganist Racism & Fascism
An anti-racist magazine, documenting resistance against racism - from black and refugee organisations, monitoring groups, anti-deportation campaigns, football fans, and much more. As well as producing the magazine and webzine, the Campaign Against Racism and Fascism collective also campaigns actively against racism and provides information, support and speakers on race issues.
http://www.carf.demon.co.uk

The Commission on University Career Opportunity
UniversitiesUK
Woburn House
20 Tavistock Square
London   WC1H 9HQ
Web: http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk

The Commission for Racial Equality
Elliot House

10-12 Allington Street
London   SW1E 5EH
Tel: 0207 828 7022
Fax: 0207 630 7605
Email: info@cre.gov.uk
Web: http://www.cre.gov.uk

The Commission for Racial Equality, the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry
Web: http://www.cre.gov.uk/gdpract/cj_sli.html

The Commission for Racial Equality, the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000
Web: http://www.cre.gov.uk/legaladv/rra.html

Crosspoint, On-line resources
The Crosspoint is the web's biggest collection of links in the field of Human Rights, Anti-Racism, Refugees, Women's rights, Antifascism, etc...
Web: http://magenta.nl/crosspoint/uk.html

European Union, Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin
Web: http://www.europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/lif/dat/2000/en_300L0043.html

Employers Organisation for Local Government, Race Directive
The Employers' Organisation for local government (EO) was founded in April 1999, to support local authorities in their human resources role.
Web: http://www.lg-employers.gov.uk/eru/consult/race.html

Equality Challenge Unit, Universities UK
The Equality Challenge Unit promotes diversity and equality of opportunity for all who work or seek to work in higher education. The ECU works within the Equality Challenge Framework agreed between the representative bodies (SCOP and Universities UK), the four HE funding bodies, and the HE trades unions.
Web: http://www.ecu.ac.uk

University of Cambridge, equality audit
The University of Cambridge commissioned a major audit of its equality policies and practices, undertaken by specialist consultants Schneider~Ross. The Schneider~Ross report on the audit findings, along with the University's action plan, form part of this web site. The action plan included holding a seminar for heads of departments and other institutions to give feedback from the audit and encourage discussion of the priorities for action.
Web: http://www.admin.cam.ac.uk/offices/personnel/equality/

Geography, 'Race' and Education
A discussion paper on curriculum issues.
Web: http://www.geography.org.uk/project/geovisions/downloads/jmorgan.rtf

Human rights and higher education, *David Triesman, General Secretary, Association of University Teachers.* A speech given at 'The Rights and Responsibilities Conference', on the implications of the human rights act for education, which took place at the Cumberland Hotel, London WI on 18 January 2001.
Web: http://www.aut.org.uk/news/DT_hrconfspeech.html

Impact is a positive action project targeted primarily at minority ethnic students, designed to enhance employment skills and increase employment opportunity. The programme of activities is diverse and enables students to choose from different options to suit their needs.
Web: http://www.brad.ac.uk/admin/impact/

Institute of Race Relations
The London-based Institute of Race Relations (IRR) conducts research and produces educational resources which are at the cutting edge of the struggle for racial justice in Britain and internationally. It seeks to reflect the experience of those who suffer racial oppression and draws its perspectives from the most vulnerable in society.
Web: http://www.homebeats.co.uk

The Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education
The Agency's mission is to promote public confidence that quality of provision and standards of awards in higher education are being safeguarded and enhanced.
Web: http://www.qaa.ac.uk/

The Runnymede Trust
Founded in 1968, the Runnymed Trust is an independant thinktank on issues of ethnicity and cultural diversity. Its core mandate is to challenge racial discrimination, to influence anti-racist legislation and to promote a successful multi-ethnic Britain.
Web: http://www.runnymedetrust.org

Universities & Colleges Admissions Services for the UK (UCAS)
Rosehill
New Barn Lane
Cheltenham
Gloucestershire   GL52 3LZ.
Web: http://www.ucas.ac.uk/

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[1] See, for example, Herrenstein, Richard and Charles Murray (1996) *The Bell Curve, Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*. New York, London: Free Press.

[2] In certain bodies of work it is argued that racism has emerged from a need to exploit labour (Oliver Cox. (1970) *Castle, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics*. New York, Modern Reader Paperbacks; A. Sivanandan (1976) 'Race, class and the state – in black experience in Britain', *Race and Class*, Vol 25, No2). Firstly, in the form of slave labour and also to justify who should be enslaved, and that secondly, racism is a mask to reproduce specific economic relations and that racial differentiation is understandable within the context of class differentiation (i.e. Robert Miles, (1980) 'Class, race and ethnicity a critique of Cox's theory', *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* Vol. 3, No2). Racism, thus becomes a trope of capitalism. However, if we reduce questions of racialised discourse to economic relations then it is also the case that we are subsuming racialised discourse within debates about class (this is not to say, however, that economic disadvantage, often associated with racialised communities, is concomitant with class). This question of the relationship between race and class has also been addressed by Gilroy (1987) and Hall (1980) who suggest that class formation is predicated on racialised categories – that class is as important in the structuring of race as race is in the structuring of class.

[3] Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition, Volume V, 1989, Oxford, Clarendon Press: 440-442. The OED first cites the use of Europcentrism in the late 1950s. It cites *The Economist* (1963) 30 November, 902/2 as first using the term 'eurocentric' in the context of debates about the future of Europe. The next use of the term comes in 1984 in *The Times* (17 February: 7-8) and in *The Times Literary Supplement* (24 August: 948/1) with specific reference to questioning the privileging of the world view of the 'West' as opposed to what it defines as the Third World.

[4] One way eurocentrism has been analysed is as a political project that maintains the hegemony and power of capitalism. As such, eurocentrism is a sub-project of capitalism and is part of a strategy that is, at heart, based on the maintenance of capitalist hegemony (Amin, 1989). What is useful about Amin's examination of eurocentrism for this project, is his discussion of **universalism** and the construction of a European history or identity. Amin identifies the universalistic aspect of eurocentrism as being crucial to the power of eurocentric discourse, arguing

that the West's claim to universality is, in fact, the claim of a particularity that has gained hegemony. Therefore, in order to maintain the logic of its own universality, eurocentrism presents all other belief systems as 'particularist' and in doing so centres the impossibility that alternative belief systems could ever constitute a 'universal' template and so 'a discourse becomes universal to the extent that it can erase the marks of its particularity' (Sayyid, 1998: 383).

Eurocentrism has also been described as a more sophisticated form of racism or as a theory that was developed in order to justify colonialism, in this way capitalism becomes a consequence of eurocentrism (Blaut, 1993). Blaut's interrogation of eurocentrism rests on deconstructing the 'myth' of the West; he questions not only why it was that capitalism 'took off' in Europe, but engages with the conditions which made capitalism possible, arguing that it was colonialism that created the conditions necessary for its emergence. In opposition to Amin, Blaut argues that eurocentrism is not the capitalists' model of the world, but, rather, the colonialists'. What is more, eurocentrism cannot simply be described as a set of beliefs; it is, rather –

> a very finely sculpted model, a structured whole; in fact a single theory; in fact a super theory, a general framework for many smaller theories, historical, geographical, psychological, sociological, and philosophical. This supertheory is *diffusionism* (Blaut, 1993: 10-11).

Diffusionism rests on the idea that there is an 'inside' and an 'outside' – a centre of innovation and a periphery. In terms of eurocentric diffusionism – the West, of course, constitutes the centre of innovation and the rest of the world 'evolves' and 'progresses' in its wake. Said's *Orientalism,* however, precedes such Blaut's description – '(S)o impressive have the descriptive and textual successes of Orientalism been that entire periods of the Orient's cultural, political, and social history are considered mere responses to the West. The West is the actor, the Orient a passive reactor. The West is the spectator, the judge and jury of every facet of Oriental behavior' (1978: 109).

This construction of Europe/West centrality and progress also means that often 'Europe is seen as the unique source of meaning, as the world's centre of gravity, as ontological 'reality' to the rest of the world's shadow' (Shohat and Stam, 1994: 1-2). Clearly, these arguments are indebted to Said's work. For example, Blaut highlights the relationship between writers, scholars and other texts in terms of how 'mythical' or 'false' scholarship, etc, gains legitimacy and becomes reinforced through repetition. This analysis echoes Said's work on 'strategic location' and 'strategic formation', in terms of looking at an author's position in a text with regard to the material and the relationship between texts, i.e. the way in which groups of texts, types of texts, etc 'acquire mass, density, and referential power among themselves and thereafter in the culture at large' (Said, 1978: 20). Each work thus affiliates itself with other works, etc, and this plethora of relationships and connections is what gives Orientalism (and eurocentrism) its strength and authority. This idea of 'false' or 'mythical' scholarship / history does not engage with the idea that all histories are constructed in one way or another. We are dealing, rather, with a specific construction of history and identity rather than the idea that construction is somehow in itself 'wrong'. *A priori* self evidence keeps a project (in this case eurocentrism) in motion.

The following quote from Edward Said (1978) encapsulates the essence of why HEIs should be mindful of eurocentrism across all aspects of their academic and non-academic operations:

> Orientalism is not a mere political subject matter or field that is reflected passively by culture, scholarship, or institutions; nor is it a large and diffuse collection of texts about the Orient; nor is it representative and expressive of some nefarious "Western" imperialist plot to hold down the "Oriental" world. It is rather a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological tests; it is an elaboration not only of a basic

geographical distinction … but also of a whole series of "interests" which, by such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains … it is, above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political … power intellectual … power cultural … power moral (1978: 12).

Although European powers may have physically left their colonies in Asia and Africa (the indigenous peoples of Australia, Canada and the USA would consider themselves still colonised), they have retained these regions – not only as markets but as locales on the ideological map over which they continue(d) to rule morally and intellectually. "Show me the Zulu Tolstoy" as one American intellectual has recently put it. The assertive sovereign inclusiveness of this argument courses through the words of those who speak today for the West and for what the West did, as well as for what the rest of the world is, was and may be (1993: 27).

[5] The issue of distinguishing between the 'West' and 'Europe' does not to be addressed here. We do believe that it is reasonable to use the terms interchangeably as so-called Western countries are of the West as a result of European colonial expansion.

[6] See, for example Ferber, (1998) Wray, Matt and Annalee Newitz (eds) (1996) *White Trash : Race and Class in America.* London, New York: Routledge.

[7] See also, Skeggs (1997) who explores the different ways (education, employment, appearance, taste, etc) in which class is coded in terms of notions of white, working class women's femininity. Many thanks also to Dr. Virinder Kalra for discussion on this point.

[8] Many of the debates about 'race' and ethnicity focus on the question of identity. When we refer to this question we base our discussion on concepts rooted in Saussurean linguistics, that identities are negative and relational, i.e. 'the construction of categories involves their insertion into a system of differences, and the identity of any specific element is given by its relation to other elements in the same system' (Sayyid and Zac, 1998: 252).

In this way, the identity of A is based on *not* being B, *not* C and so on. As such, identities are constructed through difference. It is only in relation to the 'other' that an identity can be constructed and it is through this process of differentiation that an identity is formed; the margins, that which are outside, are as important to the unity of that identity as that which is 'within' (Hall, 1996). Additionally, if identities are based on the constructions of boundaries where those who are 'not' are located, then a discussion of the construction of identity must include a consideration of power. This is where our thinking in terms of the anti-racist project, the construction of whiteness and a consideration of eurocentrism interplay.

In this way, the construction of identity and the subject positions inherent within that identity insert us into particular discourses and into a particular set of relationships with 'others'. At some points, certain subject positions are more important than others. So, although individuals may differ in terms of social class, gender, race and ethnicity (among others) 'they will not be able to take meaning until they have identified with those positions which the discourse constructs, subjected themselves to its rules, and hence become the *subjects of its power/knowledge'* (Hall, 1997: 56, author's italics). In considering the question of whiteness and eurocentrism in

higher education, the act of identification takes place from a universalised, normalised, 'white' centre from which 'others' are differentiated.

Avtar Brah suggests that in dealing with the concept of 'difference', that the following **four** ways of conceptualising difference may be the most useful: 'difference as experience, difference as social relations, difference as subjectivity and difference as identity' (1992: 140).

Difference as **experience**: experience, not as 'truth' but as a way of making sense (narratively and symbolically) and as a struggle over material conditions and over meaning (Brah, 1992: 141).

Difference as **social relations**: in practice, the everyday of the lived experience and experience as a social relation, do not exist in mutually exclusive spaces. 'Are perceptions of difference in a given context a basis of affirming diversity or a mechanism for exclusionary and discriminatory practices? Do discourses of difference legitimise progressive or oppressive state policies and practices? How are different categories of women represented within such discourses? How do the women themselves construct, or represent the specificity of their experience? Under what circumstances does 'difference' become the basis of asserting a collective identity' (1992: 141-142)?

Difference as **subjectivity**: how is the racialised subject formed? Brah looks at post-structuralist accounts, where difference is explained rather than assumed. Subjectivity is not unified or fixed, it is something that is constantly in progress.

Difference as **identity**: identity is not fixed, however, changing identities assume specific patterns against particular sets of historical and social circumstances. Cultural identities acquire specific meanings in a given context. Racism seeks to fix and normalise 'difference' and create boundaries between groups (1992: 143).