

The Missing Dimension

Where is 'race' in social policy teaching and learning?



June 2019

Gary Craig, Bankole Cole and Nasreen Ali
with Irtiza Qureshi



About the Social Policy Association

The Social Policy Association (SPA) is a professional association for lecturers, researchers and students of Social Policy in the UK and internationally. It was founded in 1972 and has a large membership including academics, university students, researchers, employees of government organisations and other social policy practitioners.

The aims of the SPA are to promote the discipline of Social Policy, to represent its members' interests and to promote communication and learning between its members and with the wider policy community and the public.

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The missing dimension: where is 'race' in social policy teaching and learning?

Summary of Key Findings

The following report is the result of an audit of social policy teaching and learning in UK Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and of the dimension of 'race' and ethnicity within the Social Policy curriculum, student bodies and staffing. The audit was commissioned by [the Social Policy Association](#) (the SPA) and was carried out from the autumn of 2018 through the spring of 2019 by a team comprising Professor Gary Craig, Dr Bankole Cole and Dr Nasreen Ali, with research support by Irtiza Qureshi. The conclusions of this report are those of the research team and not necessarily those of the SPA.

Because of the modest nature of the funding available, it was not possible to explore a number of issues in great detail, but the view of the team is that the broad contours of the issues arising are clear enough for the SPA and other cognate bodies to act quickly.

The following report includes seven elements:

1. A brief contextual review of 'race' and racism in public policy
2. A review of the SPA's position in relation to these issues
3. Interviews with key actors identified to us by the SPA through the informal support group associated with the project¹
4. A literature review
5. Secondary analysis of publicly available data sets
6. A survey of all those HEIs in the UK identified as offering some form of social policy teaching
7. Observations and recommendations

The review of 'race' and racism in public policy presented in Section 1 (i.e. the area of public life to which much of the teaching of social policy is directed) suggests that the dimension of 'race' has largely been rendered invisible during the past ten years as a direct consequence of government policy. Those sub-governmental agencies wishing to maintain a strong stance against racism and in favour of diversity in their work have found themselves hampered by a lack of resources and an appropriate strong policy framework to do so. Seemingly, it appears that the teaching of 'race' within Social Policy and related departments and schools in higher education institutions reflects this lack of concern for the dimension of 'race', a picture which the report overall – and particularly the response to the survey conducted by the research team – describes as dismal.

Regarding the stance of the SPA in relation to the dimension of 'race' and ethnicity as reflected in the pages of its journals, other key publications and attendance at its annual

¹ The SPA provided a small group of people to act as a form of reference group. We thank them for the support and encouragement, particularly Dr Stephen Iafrati of the University of Wolverhampton who offered continuous interest in the progress of the project.

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conference (including keynote speakers and paper-givers), the audit found that in areas of its key activities, Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) representation is severely lacking. Further details are provided in Section 2.

In Section 3, we report the views of a representative group of experts drawn from across the Social Policy teaching population with a range of years of experience. They identified a series of issues including recruitment of BAME students, difficulties in making the subject attractive to BAME students, and the somewhat alienating cultural orientation of Social Policy as a taught subject. Respondents referred to the 'whiteness' of Social Policy and offered a general recognition that the SPA and other relevant organisations, including funding bodies, need to do much more to strengthen the teaching of 'race' in Social Policy.

Section 4 summarises the findings of the literature related to this subject. Unsurprisingly, the literature is fairly scarce and some of what the team regarded as core literature is actually to be found in other disciplinary areas such as Sociology and Education. We were also able to draw on a highly relevant parallel report which addressed the teaching of 'race' in History courses.

The literature suggests that there exists an 'ethnic penalty' in areas including admission, progression, retention and achievement of BAME students in UK HEIs and that this is shaped by the teaching environment and approaches, and BAME staff ratios at UK HEIs. The lack of focus on 'race' within curricula is hardly surprising given the context provides little encouragement for 'race' to be regarded as a key element of the curriculum. This view of the field is supported by published data, summarised in Section 5.

In Section 6, we report the findings of a survey of the 65 HEIs which offer Social Policy as part of their teaching offer. Fewer than one quarter of the HEIs surveyed responded and in many cases the responses were incomplete. The picture presented was of very limited attention to the dimension of 'race' in terms of curricula, student numbers, staffing and support for students. Where 'race' was discussed, it was often in more general areas of discussion, such as migration or citizenship, rather than, for example, on the impacts of racism within public policy or in universities.

The final section provides a series of observations and recommendations for the Social Policy community within HEIs.

Biographies of the authors

Professor Gary Craig

Gary Craig worked in community development and academic life in equal parts of his working life. He is now Visiting Professor at several universities, Emeritus Professor of Social Justice and a freelance researcher and consultant. His main research interests are in modern slavery, 'race' and ethnicity, and he is active in anti-fascist campaigns.

Dr Bankole Cole

Bankole Cole is a Reader in Criminology and Human Rights at the Helena Kennedy Centre for International Justice, Sheffield Hallam University. He has taught 'race', crime and justice topics at Lincoln, Hull, York and Northumbria universities. His areas of specialism are policing, youth and criminal justice.

Dr Nasreen Ali

Nasreen Ali is based at the Institute for Health Research at the University of Bedfordshire. Her research focuses on taking an intersectional approach to looking at the ways in which gender, ethnicity and health impact on how Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) groups experience health and illness. One of her research clusters is widening participation for BAME groups into education and nursing and allied health professions.

Foreword

An audit of race and ethnicity in social policy teaching and research is arguably long overdue. This review, commissioned by the Social Policy Association, gives us a snapshot of the situation in the spring of 2019. It highlights some significant gaps in the evidence and the difficulties in providing a complete picture. But even with these gaps, the issues are clear. From undergraduate to professors, there is an under-representation of BAME students and colleagues in Social Policy. Issues of 'race' and ethnicity are core in some Social Policy teaching programmes, but not all and perhaps not even the majority. The same is true of research, as found in our journals and conference papers.

For a social science subject much concerned with inequality and the distribution of resources in society, this is, as the authors put it, a 'dismal' picture. But it is also a call to action. The report outlines a number of challenges, some directly aimed at the Social Policy Association and some with wider relevance for higher education institutes and for other learned societies. Over the next months the SPA will therefore be discussing the issues, drawing up an action plan, and opening dialogue with other organisations and colleagues. We aim for real and lasting change. We thank the authors, Gary Craig, Bankole Cole, Nasreen Ali and Irtiza Qureshi, for providing the basis for this.

Ruth Lister, Honorary President of the Social Policy Association

Jane Millar, Chair of the of the Social Policy Association

April 2019

Introduction

The following report is the result of an audit of social policy teaching and learning in UK Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and of the dimension of 'race' and ethnicity within the Social Policy curriculum, student bodies and staffing. The audit was commissioned by [the Social Policy Association](#) (the SPA) and was carried out from the autumn of 2018 through the spring of 2019 by a team comprising Professor Gary Craig, Dr Bankole Cole and Dr Nasreen Ali, with research support by Irtiza Qureshi. The conclusions of this report are those of the research team and not necessarily those of the SPA. Because of the modest nature of the funding available, it was not possible to explore a number of issues in great detail, but the view of the team is that the broad contours of the issues arising are clear enough for the SPA and other cognate bodies to act quickly.

The brief of the commission

The brief of the commission was to explore the extent to which 'race' and ethnicity are appropriately placed dimensions within Social Policy and related curricula or are significant factors in shaping access to courses or to employment within Social Policy and other departments and schools offering some involvement in Social Policy and related subjects. The SPA commissioned the work in order to have independent research examine the issue so that it can proactively address the issue through the development of an action plan and future work of the Association, both independently and with other parties.

Key elements

The study was carried out using five elements:

1. A brief contextual review of the presence of 'race' and ethnicity within curricula of Social Policy courses or those courses with 'Social Policy' named in the title;
2. A contextual review of relevant research, studies and evidence in this field;
3. A descriptive secondary review of data sets (UCAS and HESA), the proportion of domestic BAME students studying undergraduate and postgraduate Social Policy or courses including 'Social Policy' in the title at British higher education institutions (HEIs);
4. A review of the BAME profile of staffing within Higher Education generally and Social Policy in particular, including representation at more senior levels; and
5. A reflection on the ways in which 'race' and ethnicity feature in the SPA's annual conferences and publications.

These were accumulated through:

- A brief contextual review of 'race' and racism in public policy;
- A review of the SPA's position in relation to these issues;
- A survey of all those HEIs in the UK identified as offering some form of Social Policy teaching;

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- Interviews with key actors identified to us by the SPA through the informal support group associated with the project²; and
- Secondary analysis of publicly available data sets and a literature review.

These elements are reviewed in separate sections below. The report concludes with some observations and recommendations.

Section 1: The contextual review

'Race' in public policy

The discipline of Social Policy within university teaching provision is of course closely linked to key questions addressed by public policy, and particularly those concerned with the welfare of the population, such as poverty, gender, disability, and the well-established divisions of welfare such as housing, health, education, the labour market, social assistance and social care. Over the past hundred years or so, the work of individual academics and researchers in the fields of social administration and Social Policy, and more recently, the work of the SPA and its predecessor the Social Administration Association, has been at the forefront of critiques of public welfare provision – seeking and often achieving significant improvements in aspects of welfare.

It has been, however, noticeable that public policy has not only failed to address the issue of 'race', or more precisely, racism, to any significant degree, despite the slow emergence of anti-discriminatory legislation since the 1960s. The failure of the state to effectively confront racism in post-war public policy was comprehensively detailed in a keynote speech to the SPA at the University of Nottingham in 2007; a speech later rewritten and published in the SPA's major academic journal (Craig 2007). In the ten years since the publication of that article, the situation has arguably substantially deteriorated. An article published in *Critical Social Policy* (Craig 2014) argued that the state, legitimised by public comments by both major parliamentary parties, had steadily rendered invisible the dimension of 'race' within public policy both directly and indirectly through, for example, targeted cuts on equality machinery, public pronouncements that 'race' was no longer a key policy issue despite massive evidence to the contrary, including reports commissioned by the government itself.

These signals were picked up by a range of other organisations including many local authorities which set about reducing their commitment to anti-discriminatory practice and cutting services and funding targeted on BAME populations (See Craig 2011). The failure to act on the findings of a long series of reports and some, albeit limited, academic literature (referred to in sections below) detailing the ways which members of BAME groups were disadvantaged is, in reality, a national and continuing scandal that is largely ignored in policy discussion.

² The SPA provided a small group of people to act as a form of reference group. We thank them for the support and encouragement, particularly Dr Stephen Iafrati of the University of Wolverhampton who offered continuous interest in the progress of the project.

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Even since the call for tenders for the present study was announced, the system-wide nature of racism has become ever clearer under the 'hostile environment' with extensive media and some academic comment on:

- [The Windrush scandal](#) with people wrongly deported and some still unfound.
- [Racism incidents in schools increasing exponentially](#), reflecting wider society.
- Calls for increased stop and search by police, [despite Black people being eight times more likely](#) than a white, Asian or mixed white person to be stopped.
- The [official finding that the police Gang Matrix breaches data protection](#), with blanket sharing of information usually about Black young men and boys, leading to lack of opportunities; and that at least 40% on the Gang Matrix are the victims of crime.
- An anticipated increase in [hate crimes](#), especially [racist](#) and faith-based hate crimes in the lead up to the final Brexit negotiations.

Much discussion regarding these issues is to be found in Chattoo et al (2019).

A recent [EHRC report](#) (Abrahams et al 2018) on prejudice in the UK also found that:

- 42% of people in Britain said they had experienced some form of prejudice in the last 12 months.
- Experience of prejudice was higher than average in minority groups. This included Muslims in terms of religion-based prejudice; and people from a Black ethnic background in terms of race-based prejudice.
- More people expressed openly negative feelings towards some protected characteristics (44% towards Gypsies, Roma and Travellers, and 22% towards Muslims).
- Around one-fifth of respondents said they would feel uncomfortable if either an immigrant or a Muslim person lived next door (19% and 18% respectively).

In the past few years, reports on the dimensions of 'race' and ethnicity in the higher education sector have highlighted the continuing failure of what are often referred to as 'elite' universities to recruit more than a very small number of BAME undergraduates (and in some cases, particularly in Oxbridge colleges, no BAME students at all in the past five years); the domination of a few private schools in terms of entry to Oxford and Cambridge colleges (which are themselves dominated by white pupils, also aided by the requirement only to sit for less challenging EBacc GCSE examinations compared with those set in state schools); the failure of university history departments adequately to consider the significant place of BAME groups in the development and teaching of history; the huge pay gap between white and BAME employees doing the same work; the ethnic wage penalty facing BAME graduates compared with their white counterparts on leaving university, with ethnic minority pupils getting worse degrees and jobs even if they have better A-levels; the significantly more limited prospects facing BAME graduates seeking work in prestigious occupations such as medical practitioners, and very significant under-representation of BAME women in senior academic posts. Advance HE (formerly the Equality Challenge Unit) reported in 2018, for example, that of the 4,735 female professors it had identified in UK

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HEIs, only 25 (or 0.5%) were Black (and 55 BAME); and a decline in the proportion of state school pupils (from which most BAME students would come) starting university. These issues have been widely discussed in the media and many are covered in Chattoo et al (2019).

Investigations suggests that there are currently only 7 BAME female Professors of Social Policy or closely-related subjects employed in UK HEIs.³ These different elements of disadvantage are of course reinforcing as BAME students progress from school (where Social Policy remains rarely taught at present as a distinct subject) through university and into the labour market (including within universities themselves).

This is a dismal context for those hoping to advance progressive social policies.

Social Policy and 'race'

In the *JSP* article from 2007 referred to above, one of us commented (Craig 2007, p. 610–611):

It is important to acknowledge that neglect of the issue of 'race' is not confined to social policy as *political practice*; it is shared by the *academic discipline* of social policy. It is still not uncommon for mainstream social policy texts to treat debates on 'race' and racism as marginal. This is striking considering that the social policy discipline is concerned centrally with issues of citizenship rights, welfare, equality, poverty alleviation and social engineering. This lacuna extends to the practice of social research, where many proposals, proposers, funders or commissioners still treat the dimension of ethnicity as too complex, too expensive or too marginal to be worthy of serious attention (Craig and Katbamna, 2004), where it remains difficult to find groups of researchers, particularly minority ethnic researchers, and most of all minority ethnic researchers with permanent contracts and high-status roles, focused on issues of 'race' and ethnicity. Some of the reviews I have examined or had returned to me for proposals for projects to be funded by significant research funders would have been risible were they not so serious in their failure to address the central issues of 'race'. One proposal submitted to the ESRC to look at the health needs of minorities in rural areas generated a review which preferred to argue about the precise definitions of rurality, rather than think about the issues facing rural minorities: of isolation, difficulties in accessing services, or the failure of health organisations to provide culturally-sensitive services. After a considerable period of development, the ESRC has dropped the idea of a research programme on 'race' and ethnicity; its rationale that the dimension of 'race' should permeate all research proposals (personal communication from ESRC, February 2006) might have greater weight if it funded a significant number of proposals which treated the issue of 'race' seriously. This failure of the social policy community also extends to social policy teaching and to the high-profile social policy journals: a review of the last five years' contents of the present *Journal* and of *Policy and Politics*, the *British Journal of Social Work* and *Social Policy*

³ These figures reference the authors' own researches. Additionally, an earlier report from the Higher Education Statistics Agency revealed that of the 14,000 Professors in UKHEIs in 2011, only 50 (0.3%) were Black (Advance HE 2018).

and Administration shows a striking absence of the dimension of ‘race’ in their tables of contents. Until very recently, when a few articles have appeared in print, the only slightly honourable exception to this criticism was *Critical Social Policy*.

Section 2: The SPA’s profile in relation to ‘race’

The SPA has never made use of ethnic monitoring in its membership application form so it is not possible therefore to identify whether the SPA membership is representative of the UK population as a whole (around 15% of which is currently BAME in its ethnic status).⁴ We therefore turned to the public face of the SPA – its publications, conferences and strategic documents – to see to what extent the dimension of ‘race’ was reflected in them. In the past few years, the two major public reports with which the SPA has been associated are:

1. [*The current and future state of social policy teaching in UK HEIs: 2016*](#), Mackinder and Hudson, 2017.

This report illustrates the high level of concern felt within the Social Policy academic community at what was seen as the decline of the status of social policy teaching within HEIs, with courses being closed, merged, downsized and otherwise marginalised. The only salient point made about the position of ‘race’ within the curriculum was expressed by one interviewee (a Senior Lecturer) who observed that Social Policy was increasingly being concentrated within Russell Group universities (with their underrepresentation of BAME students) and that Social Policy, despite the rhetoric of its mission, was not being made available to the most diverse range of potential students. This issue was not significantly addressed in the report’s recommendations despite the obvious implication that the failure to address issues of ‘race’ might discourage BAME students from studying the subject at university.

2. [*Social Policy: Subject Benchmark Statement*](#), Quality Assurance Agency, 2016.

This is the fundamental document outlining what the core curriculum of social policy teaching should include and thus offers the opportunity for both existing course leaders and those proposing new courses to ensure that their teaching curricula are as inclusive of diversity issues as possible. It is updated regularly with each statement building on previous ones and the panel writing it largely representative of the SPA’s interests, though produced independently of it. The 2016 document refers in several places to equality and diversity as important issues for discussion, and to the dimension of ethnicity in relation to social groups characterised by difference. The words ‘race’ and racism do not appear within the statement, nor is there any discussion about the ways in which institutional or individual racism (including within the academy itself) might impact on other aspects of social and public policy development and practice.

As with the *JSP* article, one proxy which can be used for the salience of ‘race’ and ethnicity within social policy teaching and learning (and research, of course) has been the extent to which the major public outputs themselves reflect an interest in these dimensions. We therefore undertook an analysis of the material published in the SPA’s two major journals –

⁴ We understand that, as a result of an enquiry from our team, the SPA is now including ethnic monitoring in its membership application procedures.

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Journal of Social Policy (JSP) and *Social Policy and Society (SPS)* – and its annual review (*Social Policy Review (SPR)*), and the profile of papers and keynotes speeches given at SPA conferences in the recent past. The results of these investigations are shown below.

Clearly, behind these data are a number of questions: for example, the *SPR* consists of chapters commissioned by the editors to reflect key current debates and it is perhaps surprising that ‘race’, with all the tensions and conflicts that are associated with it in public policy, has not been more strongly represented. As with the material submitted to the editors of the two journals, *JSP* and *SPS*, we do not know whether there has been a disproportionate number of papers addressing issues of ‘race’ and ethnicity which have been rejected rather than accepted for whatever reasons. We also do not know (and given issues of both confidentiality and competitiveness within higher education publishing circles, probably never will) whether a significant number of papers which might have appeared in the SPA’s outputs have been directed by authors to specialist journals such as *Ethnic and Racial Studies* on the assumption that they might be subjected to a more favourable or knowledgeable review process.

We also analysed the outputs of the journal *Critical Social Policy* as the comparable journal, which argues that it takes a more radical and critical stance and thus might address some of the gaps identified in relation to ‘race’ and ethnicity. In relation to SPA conferences, again no attempt has been made at ethnic monitoring of attendees, so the numbers identified may be subject to slight inaccuracies although we doubt whether this would impact significantly on the conclusions which can be drawn from this data. It is worth emphasising that both in published articles and in terms of conference papers and presentations, the SPA can lay claim to significant international representation, but this of course is not the same thing as UK BAME representation.

Table 2.1: BAME Representation at Annual SPA Conferences

Year	2013 Sheffield	2014 Sheffield	2015 Ulster	2016 Belfast	2017 Durham	2018 York	Total 6 years	Annual average
Total number of papers	203	159	208	165	162	202	1099	183
Number of plenaries	4	4	4	3	3	3	21	3
Number of plenaries with UK ‘race’-related topics	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of plenaries with BAME presenters	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of papers with UK ‘race’-related topics	9	6	4	5	0	3	27	4
Number of papers with UK BAME presenters	8	6	3	5	1	8	31	5
Number of papers with non-UK topics	36	42	23	38	38	45	216	36
Number of papers with non-UK Presenters	41	46	21	34	36	47	226	38

Table 2.2: UK BAME Representation in Journal of Social Policy

Year	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Total 5 years	Annual average
Number of papers in volume	38	35	35	37	39	184	37
Number of papers with UK BAME topic	1	2	2	3	2	10	2
Number of BAME authors+	0	1	2	2	3	8	2

+ only one author counted per paper even where multiple authorship

Table 2.3: UK BAME Representation in Social Policy and Society

Year	2014	2015	2016	2017^	2018	Total 5 years	Annual average
Number of papers in volume	48	51	48	51	45	243	49
Number of papers with UK BAME topic	1	2	3	9	0	15	3
Number of BAME authors+	2	1	2	11	1	17	3

+ only one author counted per paper even where multiple authorship

^ Including a special themed issue on migration and labour markets

Table 2.4: UK BAME Representation in Social Policy Review

Year	2014	2015	2016	2017#	2018	Total 5 years	Annual average
Number of chapters in volume	14	12	13	12	13	64	13
Number of chapters with UK BAME topic	0	0	1	3	2	6	1
Number of BAME authors+	0	0	0	1	0	1	1

+ only one author counted per paper even where multiple authorship

one themed section on migrants

Table 2.5: UK BAME Representation in Critical Social Policy

Year	2014	2015	2016	2017 @	2018	Total 5 years	Annual average
Number of papers in volume	27	23	31	30	37	148	30
Number of papers with UK BAME topic	4	4	4	8	1	21	4
Number of BAME authors+	3	2	2	6	0	13	3

+ only one author counted per paper even where multiple authorship

@ includes a special issue on radicalisation and terrorism⁵

The figures displayed here effectively speak for themselves. Although it might be regarded as inappropriate to talk in terms of quotas for representation of the issue of ‘race’ (which would have to be achieved by a variety of means), it is clear that the SPA’s outputs (and to

⁵ These classifications depend in some instances on intelligent guesswork from the name of the author and abstract of the paper. The precise figures, as noted above, should be regarded as of less importance than the overall sizes and comparisons between categories.

an almost equivalent degree the outputs of *CSP*) do not reflect the demography of the UK population. What they do reflect, however, is the wide-ranging systematic manner (comprising the various elements and stages detailed earlier) in which both BAME authors and discussion of 'race' and racism (whether by BAME authors or others) remain marginal to Social Policy's published face.

The most recent public output of the SPA has been [the series of blogs celebrating 50 years](#) since the founding of the SPA. Of those 41 published to date, it is reasonable to suggest that 5 have a strong or moderate focus on the dimension of ethnicity. Those submitting blogs are self-selecting.

The commission we worked to did not include a review of Social Policy research which would have been an even more complex and time-consuming study, but one of the issues which points to the wider context for these discussions is the fact that for the last three assessment exercises (RAE and REF) mounted by HEFCE and its sister organisations over the past 13 years, there have been protests both from panel members and the wider Social Policy community at the fact that the initial membership of panels and subpanels included no academic or indeed co-opted policy person of BAME ethnicity. In some cases, this issue was addressed by HEFCE at the margins, but it is also the case that on all of the panels/subpanels over this period, 'race' and ethnicity very rarely emerged as the key interest of panel members. Given that a significant proportion of the research assessed actually addressed issues of 'race' and ethnicity, this is a serious shortcoming.

It is easy to suggest that HEFCE (now Research England) has failed to learn over the years from this criticism but it may yet again reflect the disadvantages faced by BAME academics who fail to achieve high status in academic circles and thus are not regarded as suitable candidates for panel membership. We do know that at least one Black academic refused to accept panel membership, arguing that it was a form of tokenism. We have also noted elsewhere that in 2006 the ESRC abandoned its one major proposed programme of research addressing 'race' and ethnicity, arguing that 'race' should inform all of the research programmes which it commissioned – this was seen by those advocating for the specialist programme as a huge and extremely unfortunate error of judgment as relatively little of published ESRC-funded research does in fact do so.

Section 3: The views of experts

As part of the introductory phase of the study, we asked the SPA's advice in identifying up to 12 people who were geographically representative in terms of their employing organisation and who had substantial experience in the field of social policy teaching, who might together be regarded as an expert 'sounding board' for informing our investigations. The 12 people finally chosen came from universities based in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland and represent the range of types of HEIs now established in the UK. These include older universities, the 'Robbins' universities established in the 1960s, the 1992 ex-polytechnic cohort, and the rather more difficult to define collection of more recent universities.

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We asked them to take part in a short, structured telephone interview to collect as much contextual information as they were able to give us from their own considerable collective experience. Many had been or were still members of the SPA Executive and had been or were still office-bearers. A few had experience going back to the early days of the SPA, some had been involved for more than ten years and a few were relatively recent SPA members. Of the 12, one declined to be interviewed, one did not respond despite a number of requests. Two were BAME respondents. We are very grateful for their help and the ideas they generated.

The questions we asked covered their knowledge of the literature, the key issues in relation to the coverage of 'race' in social policy teaching, including recruitment and enrolment, BAME involvement in courses and teaching and learning more generally, and suggestions about other key people they felt we might want to consult.

In summary, the comments gleaned from the remaining 10 respondents are summarised thematically as follows.

The 'whiteness' of Social Policy

As several respondents put it, Social Policy is 'a white subject with a white colonial history and taught mainly by white people'. One respondent stated that it is about the 'dead white men of social policy'. Another respondent suggested that Social Policy is increasingly focussing on welfare models but the notions of welfare underpinning this approach are very exclusive and not focussing strongly, if at all, on 'race', ethnicity and inequality, for example. 'Race' topics are often covered in social policy modules but as subsidiary and not as mainstream. In several cases, lecturers coming new to some HEIs had devised new modules themselves on 'race' and related issues as there had been no full module on the subject previously. This implied that the teaching of 'race' was not seen necessarily as a departmental/school imperative but as a particular interest of one lecturer.

However, some new subjects/disciplines have emerged that do not necessarily have social policy in their titles but cover welfare topics that are also related to 'race' e.g. migration studies or, more obliquely, citizenship. In some cases, lecturers have been asked to make inputs on 'race' to courses other than social policy and 'race' sometimes pops up in other core courses such as economics when, for example, the labour market is analysed. In some cases, social policy ended up being covered in other cognate courses such as education and this means that its profile is nowhere near as high as it might be. Several suggested that they try to ensure the dimension of 'race' is also discussed when dealing with overarching themes such as 'youth' or disability.

One lecturer offering a module on 'race' said it attracted students from other core disciplines (such as Health or Politics) and excited considerable interest, but that some of the issues raised such as slavery and colonialism were experienced by students as shocking, which suggested that they had not been exposed to thinking in this area beforehand. Overall the picture was that 'race' teaching within social policy courses was, as one lecturer put it, 'a drop in the ocean', and is not regarded in any sense as a mainstream feature.

With most student bodies predominantly white, 'race' ended up being taught by white lecturers to white students almost as a vicarious process with no one feeling able to express either in lectures or seminars just how bad racism is. The lack of focus on 'race' in undergraduate courses was replicated in postgraduate taught courses, a finding emphasised by the results of our survey. In some cases, it was noted that white staff found themselves uncomfortable teaching 'race' to a mixed ethnic group and therefore avoided doing so. One respondent also noted that white people need to recognise the standpoint of BAME people, and if they are teaching 'race' they have to be absolutely sure about their own identity whilst doing so. Against this, multidimensional policy and political issues with high public profiles, such as Windrush and Grenfell, encouraged some staff to pick up these issues.

Low numbers of BAME students on social policy courses

In Northern Ireland in particular, but also in other areas of the UK, the low numbers of BAME students on social policy courses was said simply to reflect the demographics of the area. In Northern Ireland, for example, the students are predominantly Irish. This was the only strongly explicit reason given for low numbers of BAME people on social policy courses, although it was generally recognised that recruitment was a problematic area. In one university near London, in a largely white area, the respondent noted that BAME students came to stay in university accommodation for the first year but, finding that the area had a predominantly white population, chose to stay at home in following years in their much more multicultural areas of residence and commute into the university. This stressed the importance of local context. This finding was replicated in another university where there was relatively high BAME representation: the respondent there felt the problem for them was not in recruitment – with many BAME students coming through non-traditional routes – but in attainment, in terms of degree class and in general marks, including resubmitted work.

In another university, set also in a highly multicultural area, 80% of students were local and 50–60% were from BAME backgrounds. Here, the pairing of Social Policy with Social Care and Sociology worked well for recruitment. In other HEIs, Social Policy seemed to be 'squeezed out' by a focus on Sociology, for example, with Social Policy seen as a minor element of a joint course or in bigger social science Schools. At this latter HEI, students are not interviewed and do not choose Social Policy initially but often opt for it after talking to staff when they arrive to take up a place.

It was also felt that the route into employability is less clear for Social Policy whereas for Law or Nursing, there are much clearer routes, and this affects recruitment. Another HEI did a lot of outreach work into BAME communities, including work with churches and faith groups where they found many BAME people believed themselves not to be able to work at the higher education level. They argued that BAME prospective students may not 'choose' to do Social Policy but that this can be addressed once students have been engaged with. This HEI used ex-students as role models.

Recruitment

Although recruitment was thus widely said to be problematic, one respondent acknowledged that not enough has yet been done to attract BAME students. Another argued that efforts should not be made just to attract BAME students; that Social Policy is a

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subject that should be made attractive to all students – Black and white. She said that ‘race’ should be taught in Social Policy so that white students will understand the plight of BAME people in this country and worldwide, because many white people are ignorant of these issues. This respondent talked at length about her own module on ‘race’ and migration and how she tried to challenge students to examine their own racist views. The recent book on the teaching of ‘race’ and racism in universities referred to elsewhere raises some important questions about how this issue arises and should be addressed (see our literature review). Another respondent argued that the issue was more about the poor performance of Russell Group universities which were not attracting BAME students. Some more recent universities (particularly post-1992) were good at attracting students from diverse backgrounds (a course with 34% BAME students was cited) but there is still a difference in how they fare once recruited. This may be due to a number of factors including cultural capital, structural issues, discrimination and lack of confidence. There is also the issue of the lack of support, particularly for students with additional needs (which of course costs money), and one course had been losing about 20% of its students in the first year.

Most of the respondents had few suggestions, if any, however, on how the subject could be made attractive to BAME people. One respondent talked about employability and marketing but not specifically about how these can be targeted at BAME admissions. More widely the issue was raised yet again of the alienation of BAME students from the curriculum – that they are disengaged at some stage because it is not seen as relevant to their interests and experience. This finding is supported by the very highly [critical report from the Royal Historical Society](#) (RHS 2018) on the teaching of Black history in HEIs: the curriculum is simply seen as not reflecting the diversity of UK life. The experience of Scottish ‘Highers’ (A level equivalent) was cited as a model whereby, given that they had a strong social policy content, it could be used as a way of beginning a discussion on ‘race’ at school level.

Although the survey findings cannot be accepted as definitive, it is clear that the proportion of BAME staff teaching Social Policy is very low; the comparable figure for Black historians was recorded in the RHS report as around 1%. At the same time, more than a quarter of all BAME respondents reported witnessing or experiencing discrimination or abuse of colleagues and students. A study conducted by one of us at York/Hull Medical School in 2005 also found that 25% of all BAME students had witnessed or experienced racial abuse or assault.

Encouraging BAME students

Few ideas, then, were presented on how to attract/encourage more BAME applicants to study social policy courses. However, most again acknowledged that student recruitment from BAME populations was a serious problem and presented substantial difficulties. This is an interesting finding given that about one-quarter of all university students are from BAME backgrounds. Clearly Social Policy, despite its obvious theoretical connection to the life experience and concerns of BAME people, is failing to make much of this connection. Nor is it supporting BAME students adequately, as some reported that BAME students failed to do as well on social policy courses as they had expected.

Two respondents suggested that there had been an increase in activity in HE around training for dealing with unconscious bias; this has become a more formal part of student systems,

but it has not yet made much of an obvious impact in terms of numbers recruited or retained.

One of the issues which confuses the question of numbers is the large number of overseas students recruited from countries such as the Gulf States and East Asia because of the drive for universities to maximise fee income. Data accumulated by universities (and some given to us in the survey) does not always necessarily distinguish between non-white British UK students and non-UK foreign students and this tacitly allows Universities to claim that they are meeting notional targets or quotas for recruiting (UK) BAME students.

An absence of literature and data

Most respondents promised to send literature and research documents on the topic or offered suggestions which are reflected in the literature review section below, but it became obvious that there was very little core literature which came to mind (the Policy Press book *Understanding 'Race' and Ethnicity* was mentioned favourably in this regard⁶). A recent book about the author's experience at Wolverhampton (Housee 2018) was not well-known and some of the literature suggested was more in the sociological area, such as an analysis of 'white privilege', than in the Social Policy area. One respondent observed that there were very few research institutes devoted to the study of 'race', (Manchester, Bristol and Warwick were mentioned as amongst the few), from which resources useful for teaching might be derived but because these are research institutes and teaching materials are not a priority for their outputs.

Additionally, in undertaking research into the dimension of 'race', it was notable that many sources of official data, such as many reports from DWP and HMRC and many health statistics, fail to provide data which allow for an analysis of ethnicity as an important variable. One respondent noted that some of the most influential literature in the policy field derived from early American literature (such as Marris and Rein's 1960s account of the USA anti-poverty programme, *Dilemmas of Social Reform*). Several noted that Social Policy literature is scarce but there is more available in Sociology and education settings (which actually sometimes has a strong social policy content, in fact) (See the comment above about teaching in these areas.) and one respondent noted that BAME attainment was discussed in an education module rather than a social policy one. 'Race' also did not appear strongly in foundation documentation/literature and this is reflected in it becoming something of an 'add-on' in undergraduate courses which students are not required to take. This last respondent also pointed to Diane Reay's influential account of 'Miseducation', which diverted or 'talked out' a focus on 'race' and effectively taught working class and disadvantaged students in different ways from their upper- and middle-class peers (see our literature review).

An uncertain future

There was indeed a general acknowledgement that SPA should do more to encourage the teaching of race on social policy courses, but respondents were uncertain regarding how this should be done in terms of course content and teaching activities. One respondent commented that much more work should be done drawing on the experience of students.

⁶ A second edition has just been published.

In this regard, one university reported that it was undertaking a project on 'student success' which was examining the experience of BAME students whilst at university. In this university, one student had written a thesis on BAME student experience.

The report by the Royal Historical Society referred to above and in the literature review below is a key recent document as it raises many of the issues which the SPA now needs to confront and a meeting between RHS and SPA Executives might be instructive in this regard. The RHS report notes, inter alia, the widespread inequalities in the teaching and practice of history in the UK, the under-representation of BAME students and staff in university history departments, the substantial level of race-based bias and discrimination experienced by BAME historians in universities, and the negative impact of narrow school and university curricula on diversity and inclusion – all issues raised in this audit.

Section 4: What does the literature say?

This section reviews available literature on BAME involvement in British HEIs with particular reference to the following three issues:

- (a) The admission, progression, retention, and achievement of BAME students in UK HEIs;
- (b) The impact of the teaching environment and teaching approaches on BAME students' experience of Higher Education; and
- (c) BAME staff ratios in UK HEIs and the impact, if any, on (a) and (b).

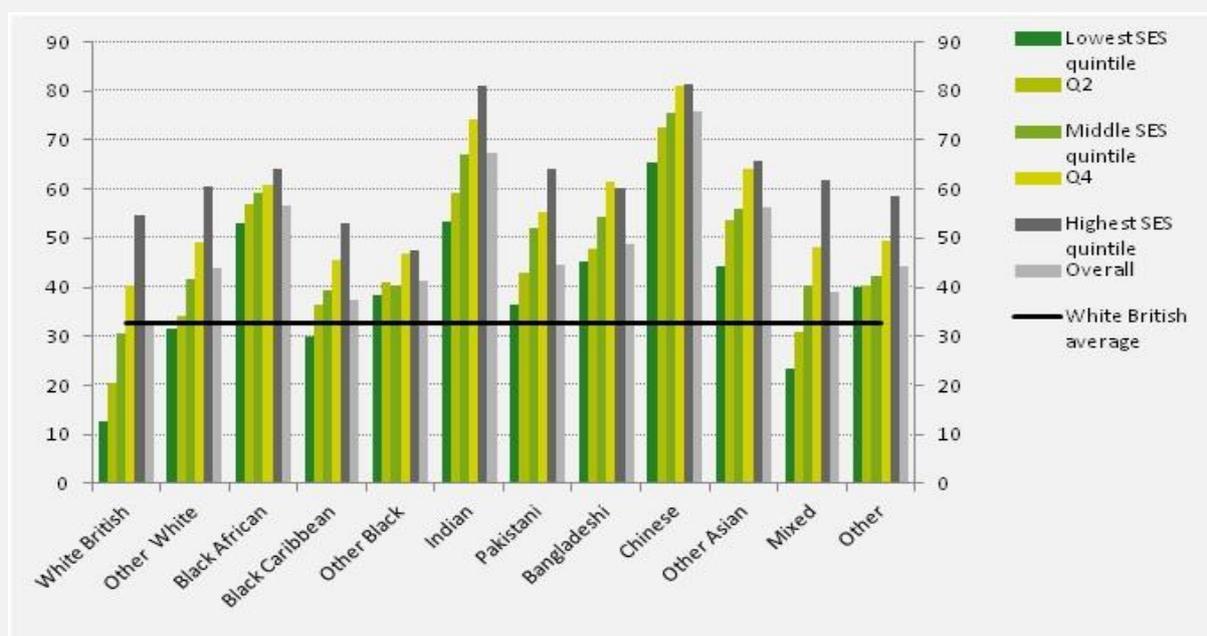
In all three areas, it must be said that there is limited literature that is specifically related to Social Policy. Although it is essential that these issues are addressed within subject areas, studies have shown that this has been difficult with Social Policy. According to Senior (2012, p. 4), this was due, partly, to the fact that data and evidence from Social Policy departments have not been forthcoming. However, an in-depth analysis of BAME students' experiences in British HEIs (Fielding et al. 2008) revealed that, although there are variations by subject, none were statistically significant (cf. Senior 2012, p. 9). Senior (2012, p. 10) concluded that while Social Policy would benefit from researching within its own discipline for answers, it could also learn by examining the broader perspectives from others. This review provides much of the 'broader perspective', being fully aware of the fact that the variations between subjects and institutions are most likely negligible.

Admissions, retention and achievement of BAME students

Many studies have claimed that ethnic minorities are, on the average, more likely to gain admission into UK Universities than their White British counterparts (Equality Challenge Unit [ECU] 2011). This is believed to be the case even amongst groups who, until recently, were previously under-represented in higher education, such as those of Black Caribbean ethnic origin (Crawford and Greaves 2015). This difference is believed to be reflected also in the socio-economic background of applicants. Minority ethnic students from less advantaged backgrounds are more likely to attend HE than a comparable White British student. White British pupils in the lowest socio-economic quintile group have participation rates that are more than 10 percentage points lower than those observed for any other ethnic group. A

[report from the National Education Opportunity Network](#) reported earlier this year that more than half of UK HEIs had fewer than 5% of white working-class students in their intakes. Some of the differences are substantial. For example, Indian and Chinese pupils are, on average, more than twice as likely to go to university as their White British counterparts (Department of Business, Innovation and Skills – BIS – 2015; Crawford and Greaves 2015) (see Figure 4.1).

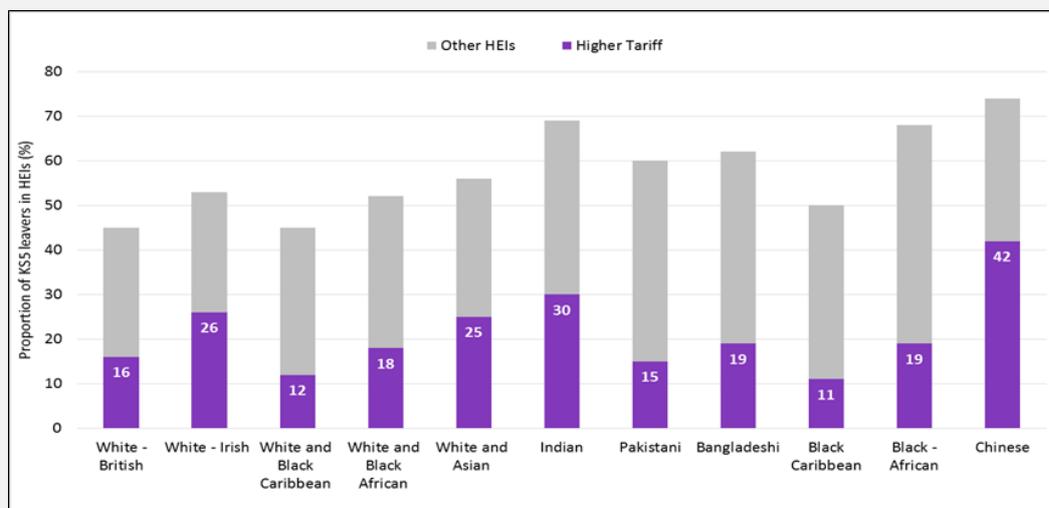
Figure 4.1: HE participation by ethnic group and socio-economic status, 2010–12



Source: Crawford and Greaves 2015, Institute for Fiscal Studies, in reference to the cohort who sat their GCSEs in 2008.

These figures exist despite records of prior attainment that have shown that pupils of Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic origin tend to perform worse, on average, in national tests and exams taken at school and are more likely to have lower prior attainment points than their white peers. The BIS report (2015) also showed that most ethnic minority groups are, on average, more likely to attend one of the 52 selective or ‘high tariff’ institutions than their White British counterparts, although the differences are smaller than those found to exist in participation in other (post-1992) universities (see Fig. 4.2).

Figure 4.2: Proportion of Key Stage 5 leavers at a higher education institution, by detailed ethnicity, 2015–16



Source: [Department for Education, Statistics: destinations of key stage 4 and key stage 5 pupils](#) (2017).

The BIS study, however, acknowledged the findings of studies that have shown that ethnic minorities are less likely to receive offers from more prestigious/Russell Group UK universities than their equivalently qualified White British counterparts (Boliver 2013, 2016). However, they argued that their report showed that despite what appears like selective admissions on the part of these institutions, BAME admissions at these institutions were still, on the average, higher than those of British Whites. This position is contrasted by UCAS figures (UCAS Analysis Note 2015) which showed that amongst young English applicants applying to higher tariff providers, the offer rate to the white ethnic group is higher than to the Asian, Black, Mixed and Other ethnic groups in every subject area.

Runnymede's report on [*Ethnicity and Participation in Higher Education*](#) (2010) confirms that in terms of actual size and numbers, most BAME students are more likely to attend less 'prestigious' universities. For example, in 2009, at least 44% of all Black, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian graduates attended post-1992 universities, or former polytechnics compared to 34% of other ethnic groups (cf. Runnymede 2010, p. 2).

The reasons why BAME young people might aspire more to go to university compared to their white counterparts have been explained by several but mainly 'extra-academic' factors that are believed to be more common amongst ethnic minority families than amongst White British families and which are positively associated with university participation. For example, family pressures, which may also include parental choice of study area and future employment, are considered to be more important for BAME students than whites. Location of university is another factor. BAME students predominantly apply to and attend universities in close proximity to the family home.⁷ A survey conducted in 2012 showed that there were more Black students at the University of East London than in the 'top' 20 UK HEIs combined (Elevation Networks Trust 2012, p. 16).

According to Chowdry et al (2013), existing evidence has shown unsurprisingly that not all university degrees have equal economic value; that the *type* of university that is attended makes a difference to a pupil's labour market outcomes. In the UK, the wage benefit from a degree varies markedly according to both the degree subject studied and the type of institution attended. Previous research has suggested that low SES students in the UK are concentrated in modern 'post-1992' universities and that degrees from these institutions attract lower labour market returns (cf p. 433).

'Widening participation'

Although many UK universities now have 'widening participation' and 'improving fair access' as parts of their recruitment policies, research indicates that UK universities are yet to provide true equality of opportunity. In his Forward to the Higher Education Policy institute (2017) [*report on Widening Participation*](#), Professor Les Ebdon, Director of Fair Access to Higher Education, concluded that:

⁷ This was identified as an issue in the early days of the Hull York Medical school, with a split campus, where Pakistani British applicants were found to favour studying at York rather than at Hull because of the former's greater proximity to their homes in West Yorkshire.

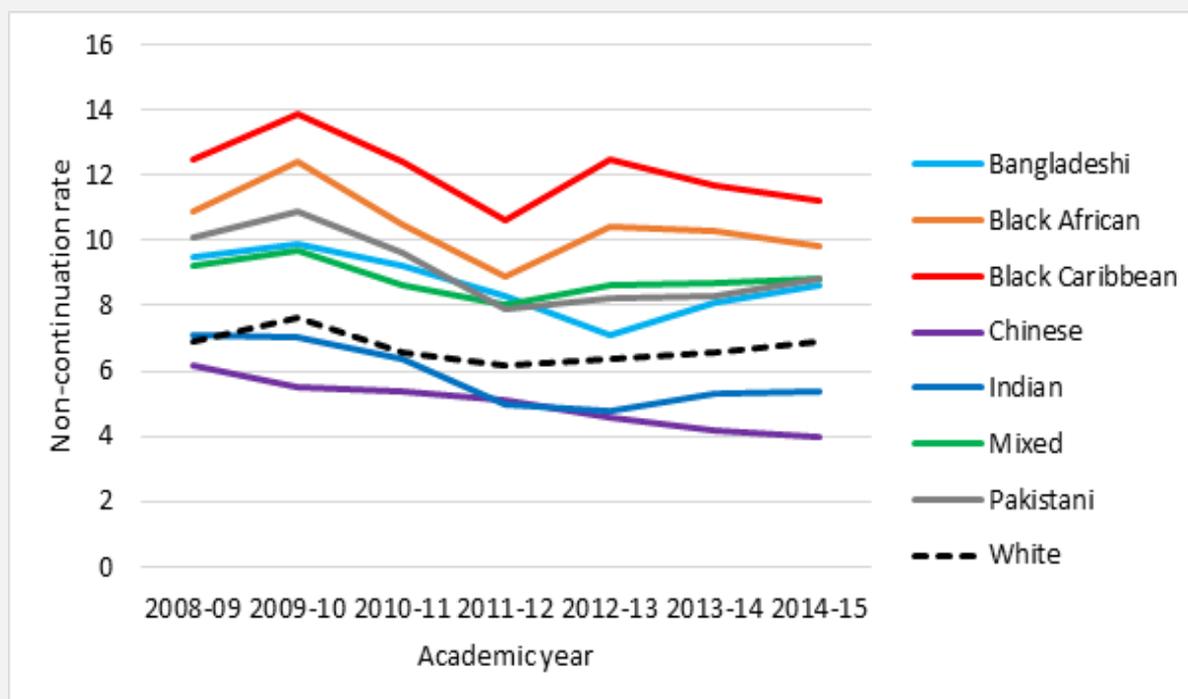
There are still stark gaps between different groups of people at every stage of the student lifecycle, in terms of whether they apply to higher education and where they apply to; whether they are accepted; the likelihood of having to leave their course early; the level of degree that they get; and whether they go on to a rewarding job or postgraduate study. (p. 3)

Professor Ebdon warned that:

We must not allow headline figures about rising applications to distract us from the troubling issues of non-completion rates and different degree outcomes, particularly for students from Black and Minority Ethnic backgrounds.

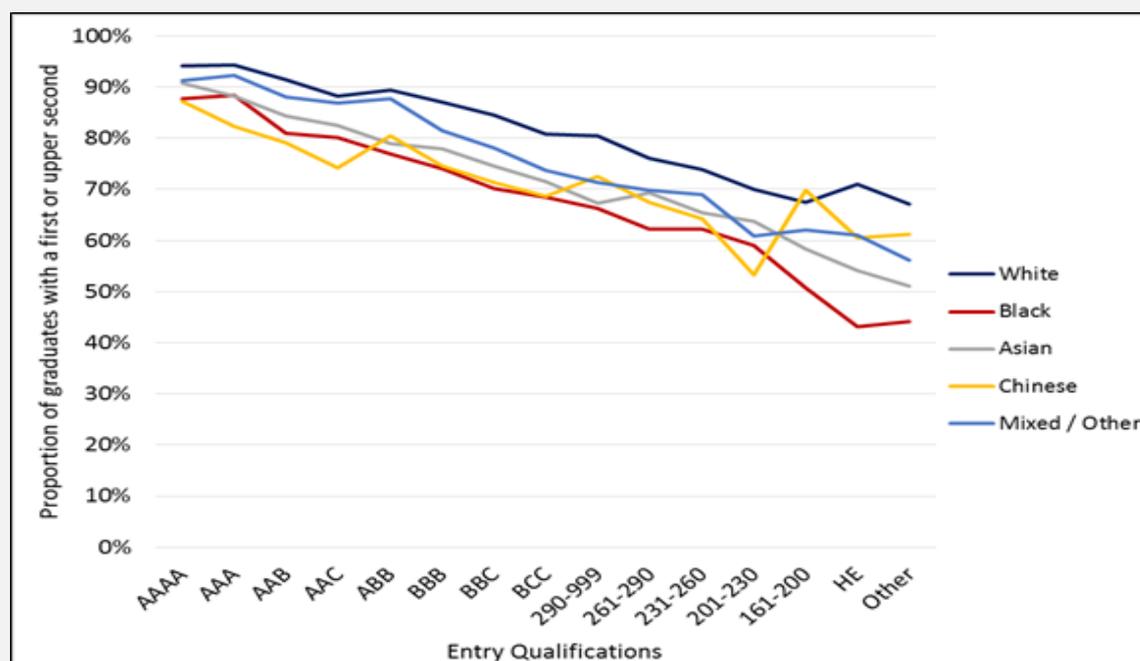
Official statistics confirm that there are stark differences between ethnic groups in terms of retention and the degree class they achieve, with non-completion rates highest amongst Black Caribbean students and the lowest degree outcomes occurring also amongst Black students (ECU 2011), even after controlling for factors that are known commonly to affect academic performance, like prior entry qualifications or points (Connor et al. 2003; Broecke and Nicholls 2007; Richardson 2015) (See Figures 4.3 and 4.4). Studies have found that these differences occur at institutions and on courses of all kinds; even in students who are taking courses by distance learning with the UK Open University (see Richardson 2009, 2015; Woodfield 2014).

Figure 4.3: Non-continuation rates amongst UK domiciled first degree students in English higher education institutions



Source: [HESA data published by HEFCE](#).

Figure 4.4: Degree outcomes by entry qualifications and ethnicity in England, 2015–16



Source: [HESA data published by HEFCE⁸](#)

Several factors have been identified to explain this disparity, many of which relate mainly to the fact that BAME students’ experience of higher education is generally inferior to that of white students. Factors that have been specifically identified include discriminatory teaching learning and assessment (TLA) practices; problems of segregation (e.g. subtle exclusionary attitudes and behaviour on the part of teachers or other students); ‘inadequate’ course content and design; low teacher expectations; undervaluing or under-challenging of BAME students; prejudiced attitudes associated with linguistic competence; discriminatory practices inherent in the learning environment and inadequate student support mechanisms (Stevenson 2012; see also Richardson 2010, 2015; Singh 2011). Other factors raised include inadequate complaints mechanisms, inadequate inclusion of BAME students in the composition of both informal advisory groups and formal governance committees, deemed to be generally unrepresentative of the student body in the sense that they are dominated by white middle-class students; language problems; BAME students choosing not to mix with other students; the structures and practices of universities that privilege some students while discriminating against others (Stevenson 2012, p. 9–10).

Utilising a dataset comprising UK-domiciled undergraduate students enrolled to take a degree within an English higher education institution in 2010/11, Woodfield (2017) found that most groups of BAME students were also more likely to be required to withdraw from courses than white students. Specifically, students identifying as from a Black ethnic background had the highest levels of leavers under both ‘Exclusion’ and ‘Academic failure’ categories (p. 242). This pattern contrasted with other BAME groups, whose over-representation within the required to withdraw categories was largely or solely accounted for by elevated levels of ‘Academic failure’ exits.

⁸ This chart is not helpful in the sense that it combines all ‘Asian’ categories, thus glossing over significant differences between Indian and Pakistani origin students.

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Although the findings of this study suggest a continuation of the trend wherein BAME pupils are known to have disproportionately high levels of exclusion at primary and secondary educational levels (EHRC 2011, 2015; Department for Education 2012), the results are inconclusive regarding the extent to which 'race' has an independent impact on outcomes. However, the findings concur with findings of previous studies that:

There is little analytical mileage in focusing on individualistic or 'deficit' approaches', which emphasise students' characteristics when attempting to better understand differentiated student outcomes. Rather, we should focus on exploring how such characteristics may co-produce different treatments and outcomes within institutions. More specifically, the findings suggest that consideration of sector-side phenomena, such as the discipline in which a student studies, should play a more central role in future research. (Stevenson 2012, p. 248)

In relation to Social Policy in particular, the ECU report (2011) revealed that 12.6% of Black students and 8.9% of Asian students chose to enrol onto social studies courses compared to 8.4% of white students. According to Senior (2012), given the fact that this subject area, despite some of the earlier observations, actually appears to attract more BAME students than white students and, in the face of the evidence that suggests an ongoing attainment gap exists between BAME and white students, it is essential that the issue of retention and attainment is addressed within the subject area. As indicated by Senior, data on progression and retention of BAME students on Social Policy programmes in the UK are relatively very scarce. This means that issues of retention and performance that have been found to be problematic with BAME students are not currently addressed within Social Policy.

The teaching environment and the nature and extent of the teaching of 'race' in UK HEIs generally and Social Policy in particular

The assumptions that minority students are solely responsible for their negative experiences of HE and lower achievements than white students because they are less likely to assimilate or incorporate themselves into the culture of universities; that they generally have lower quality levels of engagement with academic and support staff and are therefore less likely to seek help when they need it; or that they are more likely than white students to have poor study habits, have all been rejected by researchers who have found student characteristics to be far less important than institutional characteristics. The critics have argued that such arguments excuse institutions from dealing with their own barriers to a positive student experience.

Studies have shown how BAME students are marginalised on campus 'through the maintenance of white norms' (Crozier et al. 2016 cited in Woodfield 2017, p. 234). Nevertheless, in his review of how 'race' and racism were presented in 255 journal articles written by HE researchers, Harper (2012) noted how in several studies where the results showed that BAMEs perceived and experienced campus racial climates differently than their white counterparts, few authors considered structural/institutional racism as a logical explanation for such differences.

Harper showed how studies on why BAME students disproportionately 'drop out' said 'nothing about how constant interaction with white faculty, peers, and others whom minoritized students view as racist and the existence of racist environmental conditions in

the residence halls could have engendered discomfort among minoritized students and consequently dissuaded their out-of-class engagement and might also have compelled them to take time off' (p. 17). However, instead of viewing racial differences as by-products of institutionalized racism that requires systemic organizational change, authors routinely suggested approaches that had little to do with investigating and responding to the realities of race on campus (p. 18). Harper noted that few authors actually discussed their findings in ways that engaged racism as a plausible explanation for racial differences or negative experiences reported by 'minoritized' participants. He cited Bonilla-Silva's (2009) study in which the author found that most white participants (and a few Blacks) failed to see the nexus between racism and racial differences in various social, educational, and economic outcomes; instead they considered a range of other plausible explanations for the subordinate status of 'minoritized' persons. In his own survey, Harper found that instead of calling these outcomes racist, researchers commonly used the following semantic substitutes to describe campus environments that minoritized students, faculty, and administrators often encountered: 'alienating,' 'hostile,' 'marginalizing,' 'chilly,' 'harmful,' 'isolating,' 'unfriendly,' 'negative,' 'antagonistic,' 'unwelcoming,' 'prejudicial,' 'discriminatory,' 'exclusionary,' and 'unsupportive' (p. 20) (See also Housee 2018).

Harper concluded that:

Ongoing attempts to study race without racism are unlikely to lead to racial equity and more complete understandings of minoritized populations in postsecondary contexts. In order to get beyond persistent racial disparities and to realize the vision for a version of higher education that is truly equitable and inclusive, we must first take account of racism and its harmful effects on people in postsecondary contexts. Findings in this study make clear that most higher education researchers have attempted to take account of racial differences in college access and student outcomes, as well as in the racially dissimilar experiences of Whites and minoritized persons, without considering how racist institutional practices undermine equity and diversity. [The finding] from our multi-institution study of campus racial climates is that race and racism were deemed taboo and unspeakable topics. That is, students, faculty, and administrators reportedly adhered to an unwritten code of silence regarding racism, mostly to avoid making others feel uncomfortable. Because they do not read about it in the literature or talk about it explicitly in class, many graduate students could be led to believe, perhaps unintentionally, that racism no longer exists. (p. 15–24)

In a recent survey, UK university staff dismissed the thought that their institutions might be racist but admitted to the fact that some colleagues may be racist. One lecturer went further and argued that the structures which UK universities operate 'are hangovers from a prior era; designed for rich white people, they're not designed to be conducive to the sort of cohorts that we have now' (cited in Stevenson 2012, p. 9). In a survey involving BAME students in a UK HEI, it was found that students viewed teaching staff as ignorant of equality and diversity issues and as a result, staff have not been able to educate white students on how to develop a more balanced non-discriminatory view of their BAME peers.⁹ BAME

⁹ Interestingly, it may be that students may provide the lead in this area. As this report was completed, students at Goldsmith's College, University of London occupied a building in protest at the institutional racism

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students felt they had no way of addressing these concerns since they had no one else to turn to for help and support other than lecturers (Andall-Stanberry 2011, p. 9). Many of the students in this survey were reported to have said that they would strongly discourage others from attending their university unless they were able to see changes in the way the university treated BAME and International students (p. 10).

Inadequate institutional awareness or understanding of the cultural differences and life experiences that can impact significantly on BAME integration has been identified as one key institutional barrier to BAME students' participation and achievement in UK HEIs. A Russell Group university BAME student recalled his first experience of university thus:

There isn't a culture of relationship building here ... like me, as an example, it should be on my records to say that I was homeless, had no family whatsoever, that should be something that is clear. I should therefore be someone that's highlighted and looked after in my time here. I have no support systems at all, like for me my only support systems are my friends, I have no family, no nothing. That doesn't exist at this uni. and the fact that no-one called me into a meeting in my first week here to say 'hey, I hope you're well'. (Student 8, Russell Group, British Black African, Male, 23, 2nd generation, History). (Stevenson 2012, p. 15–16)

In addition, some of the students in this survey were highly critical of the fact that the institutions presented an image of diversity in their marketing materials, in particular on their websites, that turned out to be unrealistic, leading to a strong sense of 'deception' (p. 16):

If you go on the website of the university there's a photo at the beginning of like a black guy, with a white girl, and a Chinese guy and you think 'wow' but when you get here [the others are all laughing] ... there is some people who kind of mix like that. But if you see a lecture theatre, sometimes in tutorials, you see the African students sitting together ... it [images] shows that everyone kind of chills with each other when they don't. People get on perhaps but they don't socialise that much, I don't think. (Student 11, Russell Group, Black British (Other), Male, 28, 2nd generation). (p. 16)

This imagery can be seen on many university websites including some which perhaps ought to be ashamed of the way in which it misrepresents the reality of student life.

Addressing 'race' issues in teaching, learning and assessments (TLA)

Stevenson's comprehensive report, which included surveys with university lecturers and BAME students in the UK's HEIs (2012) revealed that focusing on 'race' in HEI teaching, learning and assessment strategies is not a straightforward issue. On the one hand, the report recommended the following necessary steps:

of the College which they argued was undermining the experience of BAME students there. BAME students constituted 40% of the student body. Students have produced a manifesto of demands which they say relate to the experience of BAME students elsewhere in the HEI sector.

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1. Institutions should address institutional barriers (such as perceptions of racism) and have a greater commitment to ensuring inter-ethnic integration.
2. There should be a greater diversity of approaches to TLA practices, in particular forms of assessment.
3. There should also be a diversification of students support mechanisms to ensure that support is available to all who need it.
4. Students should be regarded as co-producers of knowledge and success; consultation with students needs to be systematic; structures have to be put in place to ensure communication and practice takes place.
5. All students should be viewed as partners in the educational journey and systematically involved in the design and implementation of inclusive learning, teaching and assessment activities.
6. All staff, pastoral, administrative and academic, need to be equipped with the skills and confidence to build relationships with *all* students; in particular clear and specific guidance and training for personal tutors should be put in place.
7. Staff should make sure that students understand exactly what is expected of them – in relation to academic behaviours, participation and the production of work.
8. Students should also be empowered to challenge poor practice and clarify feedback. A diversity of support mechanisms needs to be implemented with staff and students aware of their responsibility for seeking out and giving support.
9. Institutional strategies should be implemented to enable staff to develop sufficient confidence to deal with issues of race and racism; both staff and students should be afforded 'safe spaces' within which to discuss 'race' and racism.
10. The curriculum should be made relevant to all students, related to and using the students' experiences. Areas such as reading materials and theoretical input should include non-white, non-Western perspectives.
11. Interventions should be 'post-racial'. Where targeted interventions are deemed to be desirable, a clear rationale for such activity should be communicated to both staff and students.
12. The commitment to change should be led from 'the top' and be written into strategic plans.
13. Regular and effective monitoring and evaluation strategies should be initiated alongside the implementation of both mainstream and targeted strategies. Results should be disseminated appropriately, including where no change has been effected; where change has occurred strategies need to be put in place to ensure such change is sustained. (c.f. Stevenson 2012, p. 17–20; see also Senior 2012, p. 11–25, for similar suggestions that are specifically directed at Social Policy).

On the other hand, although the need to have inclusive TLA practices and to attempt to diversify the curriculum (for example, by using examples that everybody can understand so that the subject is not explained from an ethnocentric or a mono-cultural kind of base) was acknowledged by most of the staff surveyed by Stevenson (2012), there was a general lack of knowledge of any type of teaching and learning strategies that should be directed specifically at BAME students or whether or not such an intervention would make a difference.

Interviews with students revealed that BAME students had their own particular preferences as to what forms of TLA best met their needs but that these preferences were highly

individualised and did not in any way relate to ethnicity (Stevenson 2012, p. 14). Most interesting was the finding that both university lecturers and BAME students did not want BAME students to be singled out as a target group. The BAME students felt that 'singling them out for support smacked of inadvertent racism, even where students recognised that they needed extra help. Rather they wanted support mechanisms to be available to all students, but for those mechanisms to be more diverse and varied, with staff reaching out to help those students reluctant to access mainstream support' (p. 15).

Reporting specifically on findings from her survey of social policy teaching in a small sample of UK HEIs, Senior noted, in relation to one particular university, that apart from the fact that issues of race formed a substantial part of the social policy curriculum at that university, the department had set up a working group to specifically look into the teaching of 'race' on its social policy degree. Findings of the working group revealed that the teaching of 'race' requires that specific teaching environments are maintained and that the teaching and learning processes are properly managed so that students (white and non-white) do not feel excluded or intimidated. In addition, the working group also considered suggestions on how student assignments with a 'racial' content ought to be marked (See Senior 2012, p. 22–24).

There is no conclusive information on the nature and extent of coverage of 'race' on all social policy courses taught in the UK's HEIs (but see our survey findings below). There does appear to be an expectation that 'protected characteristics' (Equality Act 2010) (including 'race') will be covered on most topics as they are often the most vulnerable to welfare inequalities, political powerlessness and most forms of human suffering.

There is no doubt that Social Policy as an academic subject has evolved significantly since it was first taught at the LSE in 1921. However, this significant progress has been mainly in terms of the subject matter or curriculum. For example, there has been a significant development in terms of the internationalisation of the curriculum that has led to topics in Social Policy having evolved into specific areas of study; for example, in recent years, migration, human trafficking and modern slavery. As Irving and Young (2005) have argued, this development has led to a teaching problem in terms of attempts to cover what is rapidly becoming a content overload at the expense of the development of transferable skills. In addition, there is no research evidence that having additional content specifically on 'race' or the internationalisation of the curriculum have had any significant impact on BAME student intake on Social Policy or contributed to the retention and performance of these students.

BAME staff ratios in UK HEIs and the impact, if any

In 2016–17, there were 419,710 staff at UK higher education institutions, of which 49.3% had an academic employment contract. By nationality, 11.9% were from other EU countries, while 8.1% were from outside the EU. In 2016–17, white males accounted for more than two thirds of academic professorial staff, where sex and ethnicity were known (Universities UK 2018). Most of the studies on the experiences of BAME staff in UK's HEI tend to be significantly agreed on the fact that BAME staff in UK's HEIs are treated less favourably than their white counterparts. Surveys have shown that:

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- BAME academics are disproportionately in the lower ranks;
- After controlling for workplace and individual characteristics including productivity measures, BAME academics earn less than their white counterparts;
- BAME academics are more likely to report that they have experienced discrimination, with the majority attributing the discrimination to 'race';
- BAME staff experience inferior pay and conditions, and are more likely to feel isolation and marginalisation than their non-BAME peers;
- BAME staff reportedly face disproportionate levels of scrutiny and barriers to career development, specifically in relation to opportunities for research; and
- Particularly at senior levels, BAME staff are more likely than white staff to have their authority questioned (See Leathwood et al. 2009).

Accepting the fact that UK HEIs might not be the most suitable workplace environment for BAME academics, the question has also been raised as to whether increasing the numbers of BAME academics would have any significant effect on BAME students' enrolment, retention and achievements on courses. It has been suggested that BAME staff representation could be a contributing factor to the problem of BAME retention as well as being its solution. It has been argued that one of the causes of BAME students' poor retention and academic performance is the lack of (BAME) role models among their university staff (See Singh 2011). Runnymede (2010) supported this view and has argued that the induction of BAME staff into HEIs was of paramount importance in attracting students to university and enabling them to remain and succeed once they were there. However, the report advocates that parallel to this goal is the need to have a concerted strategy to tackle racism and negative experiences amongst BAME staff in HEIs, otherwise the initiative may prove counterproductive and reinforce negative self-conceptions of BAME students (c.f. Senior 2012, p. 6–7). In contrast, Stevenson's survey with BAME students (2012) showed that this may not be the view of all BAME students. According to one BAME student in her sample:

The moment you racially profile in such a way that you say 'there are not enough role models' people feel that there should be more role models and the moment that they feel there aren't enough role models for them to look up to they then don't look up to anyone and therefore actually that leads to a failure in their own perceptions and about why black people aren't doing well enough, 'oh, I don't have anyone to look up to, what should I do?' which isn't necessarily the case ... I think the argument for role models is very annoying because no-one ever talks about white role models. (Student 8, Russell Group, British Black African, Male, 23, 2nd generation, History). (Stevenson 2012, p. 15)

There is no study available on whether having BAME staff teaching 'race' related topics (or teaching much more) on specific degrees will impact positively on BAME student enrolment and performance. More research is needed on why BAMEs choose social policy as a degree course and whether having more focus on 'race' as well as having more BAME lecturers teach modules would be advantageous to BAME students' admission, progression and completion rates on social policy courses.

Section 5: What do published data say?

This section presents a descriptive secondary review of the UCAS and HESA data sets to understand the proportion of domestic BAME students studying undergraduate and postgraduate Social Policy or courses including 'Social Policy' in the title at British higher education institutions (HEIs).

As discussed above, the available evidence base on widening participation for BAME groups focusses on educational outcomes across higher education in general. There is a dearth of literature relating to social policy courses in UK higher education and widening participation. This review of UCAS and HESA data makes a small contribution towards addressing that gap.

Data gathering

Data was requested from the Universities and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS) (UK). All the data used in this study were routinely collected at the UK level by UCAS. For applications data, ethnic group was recorded as declared by the applicant under 'White', 'Black' (including 'Black – Caribbean', 'Black – African', 'Black – Other Black background'), 'Asian' (including 'Asian – Indian', 'Asian – Pakistani', 'Asian – Bangladeshi', 'Asian – Chinese', 'Asian – Other Asian background'), 'Mixed' (including – 'White and Black Caribbean', 'Mixed – White and Black African', 'Mixed – White and Asian', 'Mixed – Other mixed background'), 'Other' and 'Unknown'. For the purposes of this research, the 'other' declarations were not considered as within the BAME category as minority status cannot be verified. All data was for UK domiciled applicants only and was rounded to the nearest five for data confidentiality purposes in line with UCAS policy. Subject categories were identified using the Joint Academic Coding System (JACS) codes. 'Social Policy' courses were listed under L4; all relevant courses were included using this categorisation. Table 5.1 below shows the results of an analysis of secondary data on undergraduate acceptances for all Social Policy-related courses in the UK, by ethnicity.

Results

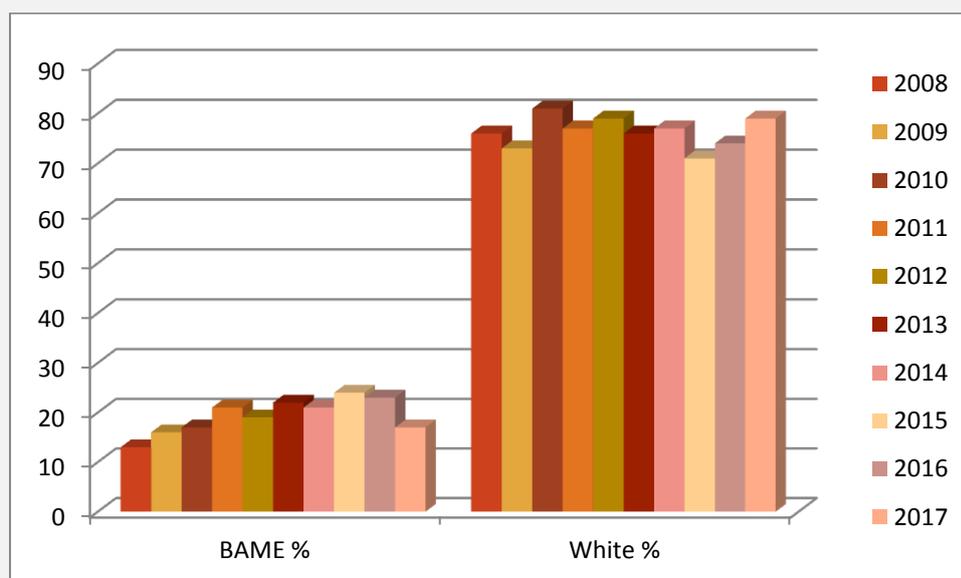
The data from Table 5.1 below show that:

- Over a 10-year period, on average, 76% of Social Policy students were white.
- Over a 10-year period, on average, 19% of Social Policy students were of BAME background (including 'Other' as part of the BAME group or 13% if not so included).
- Within BAME groups, Black students were most likely to study social policy courses, followed by Asians.
- All ethnic groups followed a relatively stable pattern of course uptake in line with total course uptake across the period.

Table 5.1: Showing the number of undergraduate acceptances in UK Universities, 2008–2017 for all courses listed under ‘Social Policy’.

Ethnicity	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Asian	55	80	95	105	90	125	100	130	110	90
Black	75	95	120	205	145	160	135	175	170	135
Mixed	20	45	35	50	50	50	45	40	55	40
White	880	1010	1160	1305	1160	1175	1040	1040	1085	1220
Other	10	5	10	5	5	5	10	35	25	30
Unknown	115	145	15	15	25	25	15	40	30	30
Total	1155	1380	1435	1685	1475	1540	1345	1460	1475	1545
BAME %	13	16	17	21	19	22	21	24	23	17
White %	76	73	81	77	79	76	77	71	74	79

Figure 5.1: Showing the comparison of BAME vs. white student numbers at UK Universities, 2008–2017 for all courses listed under ‘Social Policy’.



Postgraduate data

The research team requested postgraduate data in September 2018 from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA). The team were advised by HESA that the relevant data could be provided via the HEIDI Plus business intelligence tool. This tool holds HESA data which is accessible by individual HEIs. The relevant authorised members of staff within the University of Bedfordshire were approached and they provided the available data.

All the data used in this study were routinely collected at the UK level by HESA. Ethnic group was recorded as declared by the applicant under ‘White’, ‘Black’ (including ‘Black – Caribbean’, ‘Black – African’, ‘Black – Other Black background’, ‘Asian’ (including ‘Asian – Indian’, ‘Asian – Pakistani’, ‘Asian – Bangladeshi’, ‘Asian – Chinese’, ‘Asian – Other Asian background’, ‘Mixed’ (including – ‘White and Black Caribbean’, ‘Mixed – White and Black

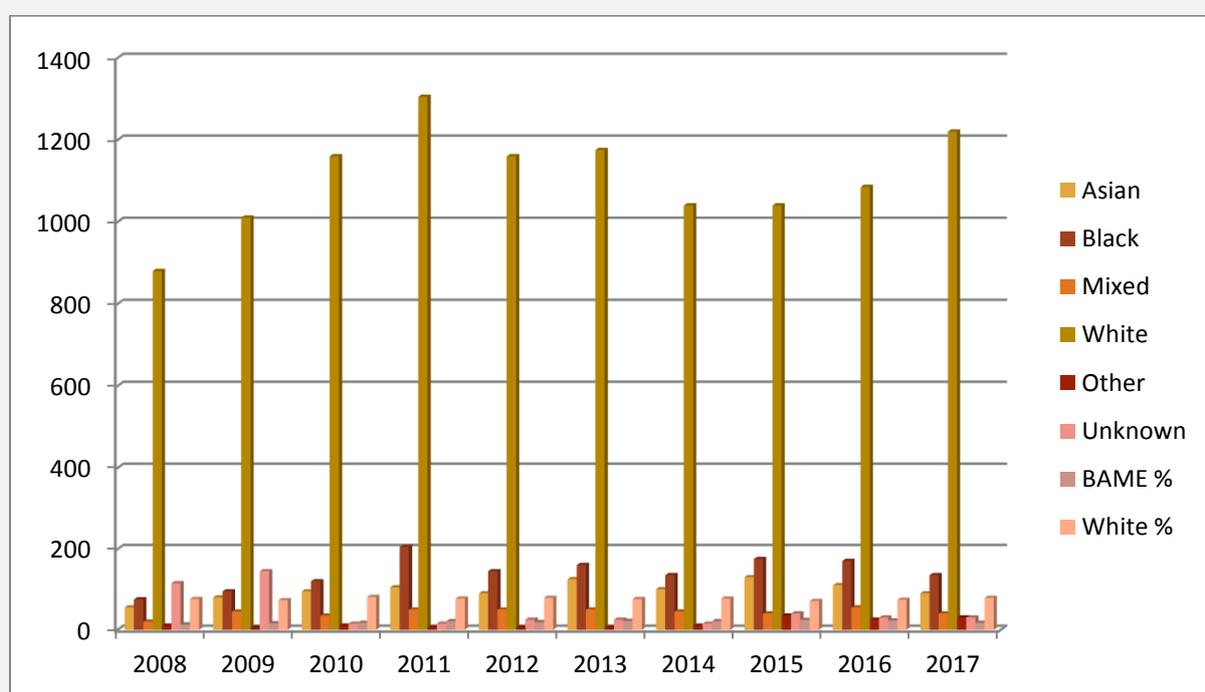
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African', 'Mixed – White and Asian', 'Mixed – Other mixed background'), 'Other' and 'Unknown/not applicable'.

Data was only available for the past six years. All data was rounded to the nearest five for data confidentiality purposes in line with HESA policy. Subject categories were identified using the Joint Academic Coding System (JACS) codes. All taught postgraduate 'Social Policy' courses were listed under L4; all relevant courses were included using this categorisation.

The table below shows the results of an analysis of secondary data on number of students for all Social Policy-related courses in the UK, by ethnicity.

Figure 5.2: Showing the breakdown of student ethnicity for social policy courses in UK Universities, 2008–2017 for all courses listed under 'Social Policy'.



Although the results of this initial review are interesting, the scarcity of data in this area still leaves a significant number of questions left unanswered. With regards to quantitative data, we do not know how many BAME people are applying for social policy courses, in relation to the number of acceptances. Therefore, acceptance rates are not known. We do not know attrition rates for students by ethnicity (for the period 2008–2017) or the quality/grade of final degree on social policy courses. In addition, qualitatively, we do not know the level and type of student experience for BAME students on social policy courses.

The next section discusses the different types of HEIs that offer social policy courses, but we do not know the ethnic breakdown of students attending those social policy courses by type of HEI.

The debate on widening access to Russell Group Universities for a number of underrepresented groups (including certain BAME groups) has been a longstanding one

(Murphy et al. 2015) and is increasingly covered in both academic literature and the media. Previous research has shown that certain BAME groups are underrepresented in Russell Group Universities (Noden et al. 2014), which are (self-) claimed to be more prestigious than other HEIs. Therefore, the number of BAME students attending these universities could provide an indication of levels of disparity and inequality between BAME and non-BAME people within the Social Policy education landscape. Whether significant progress has actually been made on this issue of widening access to certain types of HEI is still a matter for debate (Boliver 2016), although the general consensus would suggest not. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to assess the question of BAME student access to social policy courses at Russell Group Universities. Further research into this area is recommended.¹⁰

Section 6: What did we learn from our survey of HEIs?

In order to understand how the issue of ‘race’ was dealt with within HEIs currently offering some form of social policy teaching, we devised a survey which was sent to the course leaders at all HEIs identified as providing social policy courses in some form. This survey was scrutinised and approved by the SPA Executive steering group set up to oversee this project. These courses ranged from occasional modules as part of degrees titled in some other way (typically Sociology or Criminology) through to single honours degrees focused on Social Policy. From publicly available information (such as the What University? website), details provided by the SPA, and our own research, we identified a total of 65 HEIs in the UK where Social Policy was offered in some form. These were distributed in terms of the period of establishment into the following rough categories:

Table 6.1: Type of university offering some form of social policy course.

‘Old’ universities (i.e. pre-20 th century)	5 (1)
Civic universities (early 20 th century)	15 (3)
‘Robbins’ universities (1960s)	6 (2)
Former polytechnics (1992 universities)	20 (4)
Others	19 (6)

Note: the first figure is the number of HEIs in each category, the second in brackets, the number of responses received in that category. This list was drawn from websites and from SPA data.

The survey (which is appended to this report) was first distributed by email to identified course leaders or where that person was not clearly identifiable, to the appropriate Head of Department or School at the beginning of November 2018. Two reminders were sent in the following month, followed by a further reminder sent in the name of the SPA, because of the low response rate. By mid-January 2019, when we decided to close the survey, 18 responses had been returned, of which two indicated that they would not be able to provide a response. The useful responses thus constituted 16 (24%) of HEIs surveyed.

¹⁰ It was beyond the scope of this study because of the cost of generating the relevant data sets which was outside our very modest budget.

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One comment suggested that the survey might have been better sent as an online one rather than as an email survey but the comments of those who gave nil returns, plus several other comments sent to us, suggest very strongly that it was either regarded as too much work to complete the survey due to the difficulties of retrieving the data (or in some cases for other, personal reasons, or that we should contact the relevant administrative/student records section of the University (although the respondents were unwilling to do this themselves)). One respondent suggested we should use Freedom of Information requests to all universities to require a response which would have taken a huge amount of time. Most of those contacted simply did not reply despite being sent, in all, four requests to participate. This is a very disappointing return by any standard. The remainder of this section summarises the data provided by the 16 participating HEIs.

Numbers of courses offered with Social Policy content

Typically, these HEIs offered between two and four full courses, some of which were Honours degrees; some HEIs specified the numbers of modules offered across a typical three-year undergraduate period. The numbers of these modules ranged from 12 to 65.

Senior teaching staff

In terms of ethnicity, the proportion of senior teaching staff (i.e. SL and above and including part-time and casual staff) of BAME origin was between 5% and 25% in five HEIs; in the remaining 11, there were no teaching staff of BAME ethnicities. Where there were BAME teaching staff, they were all full-time staff members. No HEI recorded employing BAME part-time or casual staff. The gender split, incidentally, indicated a slight majority of female staff teaching Social Policy in most HEIs.

Professors

One HEI, with a medium-sized staff group, indicated that it had three full-time BAME Professors; no other HEI had any full-time BAME Professors at all.

Junior teaching staff

A few HEIs had substantial numbers of junior teaching staff including, in one case, almost 40 teaching assistants in the Social Policy field. Several others had up to 20 but typically the number of junior teaching staff in the Social Policy field was around 6. In relation to the junior staff identified, two HEIs had BAME staff accounting for 4% and 5% of total junior teaching staff respectively, all full-time staff. The remaining 14 HEIs had no BAME junior teaching staff at all.

Numbers of students taking social policy courses

This showed considerable variation, largely accounted for by the mode of course, i.e. whether a fulltime single or joint honours course or a range of optional modules. In five cases HEIs indicated that there were hundreds (the largest being 580) of students undertaking some social policy courses or modules, but the average for the remainder was around 20 students. The average proportion of those students taking social policy courses from BAME origins was again about 20%; several had higher proportions, in a very few cases very significantly so. It is notable that these almost without exception featured HEIs situated in neighbourhoods where the local BAME population as a proportion of the population as a whole was significantly higher than the national picture. This may reflect the fact that these

universities recruited a significant number of locally-based BAME students although we did not ask for this data. We do know from other studies that some BAME students prefer to study close to home rather than be accommodated at a university somewhat distant from home. These figures have to be treated with some caution, however, and may overstate the proportion of BAME students, as some students records simply record ethnicity as non-white regardless of national origin and thus will include overseas students.

Special arrangements for recruiting BAME students or supporting them once recruited

Three HEIs indicated they had special arrangements for recruiting BAME students. One, based on its own research with its students, talked about BAME Ambassadors and Peer Support schemes as well as addressing important BAME needs such as accommodation arrangements and catering on campus. A second talked about positive action measures but without specifying what these were; a third indicated it did particular work at school level targeted at BAME students. Another stressed the importance of work at school level to prepare students.

In terms of support for students once recruited, three indicated they had some measures in place provided through the HEI. One provides a Black academic association for providing advice to BAME students; another noted that whilst the HEI itself had no special measures in place, the student body had been active in promoting debate and critiques of the performance of the HEI through campaigns criticising the 'whiteness' of the curriculum and arguing for a better representation of BAME academics within the institution. The specific detailed work of one other HEI with BAME students is discussed elsewhere in this report.

In summary, the survey, incomplete as it was in terms of the poor level of response, suggests strongly that both in terms of numbers and proportions of BAME students and teaching staff, BAME representation is very low within the Social Policy area. The list of courses and modules reported to us do not indicate in general a particular emphasis on issues of 'race' and ethnicity except in the very few cases where modules might be thought to address issues of particular relevance to BAME students such as migration or citizenship, or where 'race' is implicit in the coverage of modules, such as those addressing issues of inequality and disadvantage, alongside other forms of discrimination. The only exceptions to this pattern were in two HEIs which offered optional modules in racism and xenophobia, and 'race' and racism, respectively.

Observations and recommendations

Clearly, the SPA, in terms of the poor level of interest in this study judging by our survey returns, has a considerable way to go to persuade Social Policy academics to take the issue of 'race' seriously. As one academic put it, 'we are the problem not the solution.' Certainly, the general drift of this suggests that institutions and the academics within them which make and implement policy and practice have to take responsibility for the present situation and not, as some still do, to try to shift responsibility onto BAME students and prospective students. At present, prospects for the latter are going backwards and not forwards. To change this requires a major cultural shift within the organisation which the SPA has to lead.

There are many clear action points embedded in this report but to help move things forward, we have listed here in summary some of the key issues, in no particular order of importance, which need to be prioritised and taken forward in the near future. It is for the SPA, we suggest, to decide which of these it can take forward itself directly and which might be appropriate in terms of it having a more indirect role through lobbying and promoting through other bodies. It is to be hoped that to some degree the SPA might be knocking at an open door since the Office for Students reported in March 2019 that there were 'stark gaps' in achievement for Black students including, at half of all UK HEIs, [a gap in attainment for higher class degrees of 20% or more](#).

1. The SPA needs to monitor for ethnicity and 'race' in all its work, including membership, leadership, publications, conferences, etc.
2. There needs to be targeted recruitment drives for prospective BAME students with clear messages about the value of Social Policy. This should be complemented with work at the school level and in terms of appropriate support for BAME students once recruited.
3. Increasing profile of 'race' issues within publications should be sought and this can be done in part through special issues (avoiding ghettoization) and mini-thematic sections and by actively seeking BAME writers (rather than waiting for offers).
4. Pressure should be brought to bear on the four national research funding bodies, ESRC and sister organisations, to ensure proper representation of BAME academics in REF panels and ESRC assessment panels and subgroups. The ESRC should be pressed to revive the idea of a thematic research programme.
5. Each HEI needs to undertake an effective audit of the balance of all departmental courses and the content of each course.
6. The SPA should meet with the Royal Historical Society and perhaps think of organising a joint conference to discuss common issues raised here.
7. There needs to be discussion with the various school bodies to ensure that the teaching of 'race' issues is properly reflected in later years of secondary schooling as a prelude to university study. For example, Black history offers an opportunity to more fully engage with 'race' issues.
8. HEIs should each establish effective training for staff including on unconscious bias.
9. HEIs need to valorise the teaching of 'race' and ethnicity in their courses including through effective publicity: the so-called prestigious universities would appear less so if they were to be seen to ignore or downplay the significance of 'race' in the curriculum.
10. Retention and performance data need to be collected in each HEI and acted upon.
11. More research is needed on whether and why BAME students choose Social Policy: this might be the basis for a further SPA-funded study or perhaps something much more wide-ranging.
12. All administrative recording mechanisms need to be improved, particularly to ensure that the present disjuncture between departments/schools and centralised administrative record keeping is addressed.

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Appendix A: Survey of HEIs

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Black and Minority Ethnic Audit

Survey of course leaders for social policy and related courses

(Please type if possible: text will expand as necessary)

- Name of respondent:
- Email address:
- Role in HEI:
- HEI:
- Name of Department/School/Faculty (as appropriate):
- Please list all the courses at undergraduate level and at taught Master's level, specifying the title and the status of the course; is it a full course over a year (specify F1,F2,F3) or a module (M1,M2,M3). Add further pages if necessary. (If you are able to provide a curriculum for the key courses, that would be helpful)
- Please indicate what proportion of your **senior** teaching staff (i.e. SL and above, including part-time or casual staff) are of BME origin, and their gender split:

Total number of staff covered:	M/F split:	%BME:
% BME amongst Full-time staff:	M/F split of BME staff:	
% BME amongst Part-time staff:	M/F split of BME staff:	
% BME amongst Casual/sessional staff:	M/F split of BME staff:	

- How many BME full Professors are in your social policy staff group. M F

- Please indicate what proportion of your **junior** teaching staff (i.e. below SL, including part-time or casual staff) are of BME origin, and their gender split:

Total number of staff covered:	M/F split:	%BME:
% BME amongst Full time-staff:	M/F split of BME staff:	
% BME amongst Part-time staff:	M/F split of BME staff:	
% BME amongst Casual/sessional staff:	M/F split of BE staff:	

- Total numbers of students taking social policy courses at all levels?
- What proportion of students undertaking all these courses or modules are of BME origin?

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- Do you have any special arrangements for recruiting BME students to social policy courses in your HEI (please specify)?
- Do you have any special arrangements for supporting BME social policy students in your HEI (please specify)?

Thank you very much. Now please send to gary.craig@garyc.demon.co.uk



Social Policy Association
10 Queen Street Place
London EC4R 1BE
United Kingdom

<http://www.social-policy.org.uk/>
[@SocialPolicyUK](#)

Contact

Dr Steve Iafrati
Vice Chair, Executive Committee
S.lafrati@wlv.ac.uk

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Sheffield Hallam University

The Missing Dimension. Where is 'Race' in social policy teaching and learning?

CRAIG, Gary, COLE, Bankole <<http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6741-0467>> and ALI, Nazreen

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