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Flippin' the Script: Student Perceptions of Race, Racism, and Racial Inclusion in Higher Education

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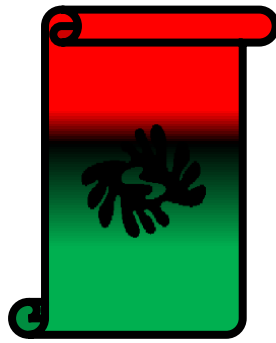
ABSTRACT

In UK higher education, racial inequality is a predominant issue amongst students and staff. Analysing scholars' work, the education system simultaneously creates and downplays the lack of opportunities given to resilient minority (ReM) groups, shown within six key processes: (i) pre-university educational attainment, (ii) university application choices, (iii) university admissions process, (iv) the racialised student experience, (v) degree completion and achievement, and (vi) graduate career prospects. Throughout these six stages, research suggests racism manifests in both overt and subtle ways historically and currently leading administrators to believe a colour-blind and meritocratic system is beneficial for students – in turn creating less opportunities and deficit thinking towards students of the ReM. Thus, in this thesis, I draw together the literature on race, racism, and racial inclusiveness within the educational system. Using critical race analysis and adopting a qualitative approach (e.g., Thematic analysis), this research was designed to explore racial inclusiveness through perceptions of students who are Black and White at a Russell Group institution, specifically Durham University, aiming to illustrate racial disparities and suggest methods to achieve a more inclusive university environment.

In my findings, race directly influenced students' capabilities of fitting in and/or being excluded, racism was considered inescapable due to its widespread presence, and racial inclusion had multi-faceted barriers to overcome because of the widespread reality of racism. My inspiring tool emerging from this thesis is the Flippin' the Script (FTS) framework, which prioritises reimagining normative racial discourse by analysing and challenging the mechanisms of racism being underpinned by White Insecurity. This is practiced through removing revictimization and empowering the racialised victims through alternative language and shifting the focus towards the perpetrators of racism. Thus, when applying the FTS framework, a level of rehumanisation occurs for both the victims and perpetrators of racism, and as a result racially reconciles the socially misconstrued Black-White binary percolating in the Wild Racist West and in this study's case- Durham. Therefore, with increasing numbers of students of the ReM attending university, this thesis seeks to dismantle the racial inequity that persists

in education by understanding the barriers students encounter and how students who are White view the influx of ReM groups gravitating towards “their” “elite” institutions.

Flippin' the Script: Student Perceptions of Race, Racism, and Racial Inclusion in Higher Education



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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARE	Anti-Racist Education
CRT	Critical Race Theory
CWS	Critical Whiteness Studies
EST	European Slave Trade
FTS	Flippin' the Script
GRMa	Global Racial Majority
IR	Institutional Racism
MCE	Multicultural Education
PTMF	Power Threat Meaning Framework
ReM	Resilient Minority
REP	Racism in Education Processes
StWB	Student/s who are/is Black
StWBA	Student/s who is/are Black African
StWBr	Student/s who are/is Brown
StWMR	Student/s who are/is Mixed-Race
StWW	Student/s who are/is White
TDS	Typical Durham Student

DECLARATION OF COPYRIGHT

Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work and the material included has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any other university. Information from other authors contained herein is acknowledged at the appropriate points in the text.

Statement of Copyright

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DEDICATION

‘Pray they better than before (better than before)
Young black king, you are everything and more (you are everything and more)
I know one song's [thesis] not enough to settle scores (not enough to settle scores)
But from the bottom of my heart
Man, I hope you're getting yours (getting yours)
Man, I hope you're getting yours (getting yours)
Young black queen, get your shine on
All I see is innovators, and a bag of icons
You can go and ask the whole world
Where they got they style from?
That's you, that's us, God's time
And he never gets the time wrong
I guess we just some ticking time bombs
We soon blow (boom).’
- Stormzy (2019), *Superheroes*

This thesis is dedicated to any and every brother, sister, and/or elder who is willing to rehumanise and fight like warriors for the human rights of resilient groups, especially my Black African kinfolx.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Within the UK, racism is described as a public health crisis (Devakumar et al., 2020), shown to have deleterious effects on mental health (McKenzie and Bhui, 2007), as well as evident in economic, social, and political structures (Goodfellow and McFarlane, 2018). In UK higher education, race inequality is a predominant issue, perpetrated by students, staff, and institutions. Multiple scholars have shown how the education system appears to preach about race equity ('diversity' schemes), while simultaneously practicing racial exclusion (e.g., institutional racism and Whiteness) towards racially underrepresented groups (e.g., Black and Asian) (Ahmed, 2004 and 2012; Arday and Mirza, 2018; Gillborn, 2005; Sian, 2019). Six key processes are identified that highlight how racial inequity persists: (i) *pre-university educational attainment*, (ii) *university application choices*, (iii) *university admissions process*, (iv) *the racialised student experience*, (v) *degree completion and achievement*, and (vi) *graduate career prospects*. Throughout these six stages, research suggests racism manifests in both overt and subtle ways, historically and continually leading administrators to believe a colour-blind and meritocratic system is beneficial for students (for more on these stages see chapter 5). This approach creates less opportunities and deficit thinking towards students who are racially underrepresented.

In the UK, few studies have been conducted to increase understanding of university students' experiences of education and the influence of race (Ahmet, 2020; Dumangane, 2016; Osbourne, Barnett and Blackwood, 2021; Samatar, Madriaga, and McGrath, 2021). Whilst there is a wealth of literature exploring the causal links between class, gender, background, employment, and grades, it does not hone in on the experiences of students with regards to perceived disadvantages, racialised experiences or whether such inequalities are identically experienced. Uniquely, this study especially examines both students who are White and racially underrepresented together. Whilst much of the literature on race, racism, and racial inclusion focuses on the victim, there is a gap in the literature exploring the perceptions of both sides of the Black-White binary, as well as the perpetrators of racism (explained in further detail below). This gap minimises the opportunity to enhance understanding of racialised student experiences and the ability to provide suggestions for practical improvements.

This study will include students from Durham University – a Russell Group institution. The intersection between race, gender, and socioeconomic background has been linked with inequitable opportunities, dependent on which category one fits, thus each of these constructs will be probed. The findings have been interpreted to suggest what steps should be taken, to satisfy future student bodies and work towards an equitable experience for individuals who experience different forms of inequality. The purpose of this introduction chapter is to illustrate the subject matter surrounding this thesis and the gaps in the body of literature impacting minoritised groups in education. The next section highlights the impact race and racism has in governmental policies and the education system, affecting student attainment and progression. A brief overview of the sociological context of this thesis is highlighted next, focusing on a theoretical framework called Critical Race Theory (Rollock and Gillborn 2011; Solórzano and Yosso, 2002; Warmington, 2020) to illustrate the social experiences of resilient minority (ReM) groups being impacted by students and staff who are White, with aspects of White working class being impacted by exclusionary practices of “elite” institutions and their White middle- and upper-class peers too. Thus, preventing racial inclusion outside of affluent people who are White in “elite” institutions. The final section of this chapter summarises the main contribution to this thesis and how each of the chapters that follow aim to contribute to an in-depth comprehensive theoretical understanding of race, racism, and racial inclusion in the context of historical and contemporary race (racist) relations impacting society and education.

1.1 Race and Policy

Central to any education system are the social agents that run them – teachers (Drudy and Lynch, 1993) and this poses inevitable challenges when expecting consistent fairness for all students. Whilst systemic racism dates to colonial times (Thomas, 1999), it has only more recently been articulated as a concept, with legal acts of protection only created from 1965 (e.g., Race Relations Act). To challenge racism, we must understand it and defining racism presents an array of challenges because it manifests in many forms. For instance, the Stephen Lawrence Case was a significant tragedy that brought race and racism to the forefront in the UK. Stephen Lawrence – a young man who is Black – was stabbed to death in 1993 by a gang of racists in South London (Bourne, 2001). This led a six-year campaign from Stephen’s

family and followed supporters to reveal the failing of the police's investigation of his murder. As a result of the campaigns, racism at the institutional level was illuminated to the public throughout the UK; the subsequent enquiry in the Macpherson report defined institutional racism (IR) as,

'The collective failure of an organization to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.' (Macpherson, 1999, p. 321)

It is important to note the first serious discussions and analyses of IR emerged during the 1970s with scholars Bernard Coard and Ambalavaner Sivanandan being two of the first scholars to define and critique UK- IR. In Coard's (1971) *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System: The Scandal of the Black Child in Schools in Britain*, he illustrates the implications and significance of IR on Black children in Britain. Also, Sivanandan (1973) believed the state institutionalising racism would be the problem of our time by coming to "maturity with the 'second generation'" (p. 390). According to Sivanandan (1973), migrant communities that were experiencing racial exploitation by free market forces created a new under-raceclass (e.g., Black workers), whilst simultaneously profiting the White "elite" in Britain during their shortage of labour and the 'State had given its imprimatur' (p. 389) to institutionalise racism (Sivanandan, 1976). In sum, Britain's racial discrimination in the public sector was a product of state racism where the politics of exclusion is economic, thus reinforcing racist attitudes and discrimination (Bourne, 2001; Sivanandan, 1976 and 2001). Decades later the Macpherson reports definition was established becoming the normative explanation for IR in UK race (racist) relations. The Macpherson definition above highlights that intention is not a prerequisite for IR (Gillborn, 2005). Overt attempts to combat racism are demonstrated by The Race Relations Act (1965) now replaced by the Equality Act (2010). These are examples of policies that have attempted to apply discrimination laws. Encompassed within this legislature are laws for racial discrimination, specifically within the field of education. The Act signifies that it is "unlawful" for a school to discriminate based on race, yet Russell Group Universities appear to have been favouring applicants who are White throughout their admissions process (Boliver, 2013). Leading scholars to believe 'racism in British universities is endemic' (Sian, 2019, p. 2). Thus, there is a fundamental need to address the inequity faced by minoritised groups, as despite overt laws in place

for protective factors such as race, there appears to be prejudices - potentially at a subconscious and implicit level - that are permeating the decisions of educational establishments. These types of prejudices at an institutional and personal level coincides with the participants perceptions throughout the analysis, highlighting the need to address racism in education to support the student experience for racial inclusivity.

Moreover, class and gender are considered a predominant focus in the UK unlike race, which has often been downplayed despite its pivotal role in shaping British society (e.g., education and government). Thus, ethnic, and racial identities are typically presented as fixed, inevitable categories (Rattansi and Westood, 1994). The significance of categorising race is the subsequent differential social experiences attached to them (Hall, 1992), and this understanding of race directly challenges the ways in which it is occupied in mainstream Britain. The ideology of race is accompanied by the ideology of racism. From the late 1990's the New Labour government began to recognize and highlight how IR was endemic in public institutions (Phillips, 2009), including school establishments. Gillborn (2005) described the UK education policy as "an act of white supremacy" (p. 485), referencing a racial advantage for students who are White. This advantage is demonstrated in statistics, as in the beginning of their educational experience students from some racial and ethnic minority backgrounds - specifically the racially underrepresented (Black African, Black Caribbean, Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups) display levels of achievement that are equal to or even surpassing their counterparts who are White. For instance, children aged 5 to 7 (key stage 1) meeting the expected standard in phonics attainment is similar for students that are Black (83%) and White (82%), and attainment of development goals by children aged 4 to 5, students that are Black African-Caribbean had the highest attainment of all ethnic groups that were Free School Meal eligible (Gov.uk, 2021). However, over time a racial disparity emerges, with the attainment of students who are White generally eclipsing students who are racially underrepresented (attainment statistics will be highlighted further in chapter 5). Thus, it is important to consider how the education system itself is influencing inequitable academic opportunities to progress.

The nuances in attainment between ethnicities indicate that the racially underrepresented groups should not be discussed as a unitary group, since discrepancies are found between groups, too. The inequalities students in the racially underrepresented face are not confined to Key stage 3, also being

documented through the entry and admissions processes of Russell Group Universities (Boliver, 2013). Additionally, the amalgamation of race and class has identified an 'ideal' student- White and middle-class (Archer, 2008). Thus, students who are racially underrepresented and other White groups from a lower social class are not receiving the same opportunities and resources through their education, facing inequitable experiences in the admissions process to Russell Group universities. Additionally, despite proportionately more students who are Black being from lower social class backgrounds, when accounting for socio-economic background, the attainment gap with their white peers remains. This leads research to suggest social factors such as prejudice and bias by individuals and institutions are influenced by race, not enforcing policy stated above, thus impacting Black attainment. Moreover, racism in education is not simply quantitative and that the roots of these statistical inequalities lie in the micro-level processes that are constitutive of classroom experiences (see next section). The apparent IR should be presented as a human rights concern, with anti-racism approaches necessary within education to provide accessible opportunities for students who are "non-white" (Leonardo, 2004; O'Brien, 2009).

1.2 A sociological analysis of race in education

Throughout this research, Critical Race Theory (CRT) will be applied to provide a structural framework for investigating race, racism, and racial inclusion (Chadderton, 2012), specifically within a predominantly White "elite" university. The central basis for CRT is it's a radical framework to help become aware of and challenge racial inequality, with an understanding that race and racism is permanent in society (Delgado and Stefancic, 2000; Rollock and Gillborn, 2011). This structural and analytical tool can assist in comprehending (i) race and identity, (ii) challenging Eurocentrism, and (iii) understanding covert and overt forms of racism (Ladson-Billings, 1998); and will be used to explore the presence of racism in higher education institutions and how it explicitly and implicitly impacts students' experiences (Powers, 2007). A key element to this CRT approach is using methods such as storytelling and counter-storytelling, which is hearing the lived experiences of students who are minoritised to highlight how they perceive race (e.g., self-identity and how it may be perceived in society) and their experiences of racism through their individual social worlds. For example, students and staff of the ReM experience different forms of racist stereotyping and racism (e.g., racial

microaggressions, low teacher expectations, deficit thinking) from their peers, teachers, and colleagues who are White (Dumangane, 2016; Sue et. al., 2007; Vincent et. al., 2012a).

Intergroup racialised experiences are important to consider with research suggesting these social experiences appear to interact and affect the other five - what the researcher proposes as - Racism in Education Processes (REP). For instance, affecting processes number 1 (pre-university educational attainment) and number 3 (university admissions processes) stated above (for more on REP, see chapter 5). Ultimately, the six REP could potentially result in racially underrepresented groups experiencing a multitude of emotional consequences, such as 'racial battle fatigue', 'attributional ambiguity', and 'racial trauma' (Crocker et al., 1991; Hoge et al., 2008; Smith et al., 2011), which will be highlighted throughout this thesis. Additionally, scholars for instance in Jason Arday and Heidi Mirza's (2018) book *Dismantling Race in Higher Education*, suggest racialised experiences of students and staff who are Black can be exacerbated by these other intersectional dimensions of inequality (e.g., class, gender, sexuality, religion, and health discrimination just to name a few) in education compared to other groups in a predominantly White institution. Academics who are Black experience a lack of career progression and must use strategies to appease their colleagues and students who are White that display deficit thinking towards them (Ahmed, 2012; Arday, 2015 and 2018a; Bhopal, 2015; Rollock, 2019; Sian 2019).

These anti-Black prejudices and biases are suggested to contribute to the overwhelmingly low numbers of Black professors in the UK, where only 0.6% identify as Black compared to 91.6% who identify as White (Advance HE, 2018). The lack of Black academics is a concern for all students, especially students who are Black who do not see themselves in positions of intellectual power, creating a lack of belongingness and sending the message to all students that to be in academia is to be White (Black, 2014; UCL - Dismantling the Master's House, 2014). For instance, 'Are you supposed to be in here?' being a phrase shouted towards Remi Joseph-Salisbury – a mixed race scholar – by cleaning staff in his own educational workplace for just using the faculty printing machine (Johnson and Joseph-Salisbury, 2018). This experience and lack of Black representation highlights Hobson and Whigham (2018) expressing 'white academics act as custodians of knowledge who unconsciously reinforce a hierarchy of whiteness' (p. 200). Similarly, in predominately White spaces within education, students who are Black experience low teacher expectations, racial microaggressions, and White backlash i.e., an

insecurity displayed from their peers who are White who fear Black progression, leading to the emotional consequences stated above (Hughley, 2014). Therefore, aiming to understand students who are Black perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusion from a holistic point of view is important to consider in higher education, specifically in “elite” Russell Group Universities where research is marginal in this area.

Moreover, CRT scholars illustrate the permanence of race and racism being experienced by the racially underrepresented is a direct result of the manifestation of “White supremacy” and “Whiteness” permeating in our society and educational system. The concept “White supremacy” is about power, and the policies put in place for the interest of people who are White (Gillborn and Ladson-Billings, 2010); while “Whiteness” is how those policies are practiced to primarily benefit people who are White skinned socially, economically, and/or psychologically (e.g., ‘race + privilege = Whiteness’) (Harris, 1993). Thus, Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) was formed to be an extension to CRT, to expose the ways in which “Whiteness” and “White supremacy” manifest in society through a White lens (for critiques on White supremacy and Whiteness, see chapter 4). Research suggests students at predominately White “elite” institutions believe they experience ‘reverse racism’, where they can become victims of racism too, yet holding hypocritical beliefs of colour-blindness - i.e., not acknowledging skin colour - and meritocratic approaches (Cabrera, 2014; Lawrence, and Keleher, 2004). This corresponds to “elite” institutions, where colour-blindness and meritocracy narratives (e.g., “ability + effort”) are tools used to disregard racial inequality, removing the unwarranted privileges predominately held by people who are White in the UK.

However, within “elite” institutions, students who are White working class also experience different forms of discrimination (e.g., classism and sexism). The discrepancy of privileges between White racial groups influenced scholars to highlight people who are White to see themselves as *raceclasses* (e.g., White middle-class and White working class, see Sullivan, 2017), where the intersections of race and class potentially construct their racial reality. These approaches and existing research lead the researcher to incorporate students who are White in this thesis to understand their perceptions around race, racism, and racial inclusion. As mentioned, what makes this research unique is it fills the gaps of student experiences by amalgamating the experiences of students who are Black and White together,

which very minimal research around these racial identities has been collaboratively explored in the UK at “elite” institutions. Therefore, the amalgamation of CRT and CWS provide a comprehensive analysis to understand, expose, and challenge racial inequality from a ‘radical lens’ (i.e., genuine knowledge challenging the status quo).

Furthermore, the social experience in “elite” institutions tends to be problematic due to superficial Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) agendas. EDI processes from a race perspective have been critiqued by scholars in UK higher education, because it has shown to be a façade-tokenistic practice to racial inclusion by focusing on numbers rather than policies for underrepresented groups to feel included (Ahmed, 2012; Puwar, 2004). For example, diversifying student populations is understood as tokenistic when students of the racially underrepresented continue to have racialised experiences mentioned above. In sum, ‘Diversity Doesn’t Stick Without Inclusion’ (Sherbin and Rashid, 2017, p. 2), and thus it is important to research these barriers to Black progression to understand the challenges people who are Black and racially underrepresented encounter at predominately White “elite” institutions, to increase representation in an inclusive manner. Overall, this research endeavours to provide an important contribution to the knowledge surrounding racial inclusiveness at university (illustrated in chapters 10 and 11).

1.3 Race, racism, and racial inclusion

To start, chapters two, three, four, and five will be theoretical and literature foundations of this thesis. Chapter two is a theoretical basis for this thesis, which is a detailed picture of how the origins of the CRT framework was constructed in the US by highlighting the relevant themes/tools used to challenge racial inequality in society. Also, the chapter explains the origins of CRT establishing later in the UK and the criticisms from scholars who oppose it. Then, the chapter goes into providing an argument for adopting this theoretical framework in the UK educational system to explore the impact race has on education, amalgamated with Critical Whiteness Studies that exposes Whiteness in education.

Furthermore, the chapter concludes with another complimentary framework developed by my experience and positionality that is used to connect with and build on to CRT, and thus is a main

contribution to this thesis that addresses a gap in race equality research in education proposing a new understanding of racism, focusing on the perpetrators instead of the victims. Typically, victimisation is usually the primary focus on literature surrounding experiences of racism or different forms of discrimination towards ReM groups. This led me to question existing research, interpreting the participants' perceptions to be less about their racial identities and more about the perpetrators behaviours ultimately influencing their social worlds. Thus, I develop and apply a framework which I call 'Flippin' the script' (FTS), which removes the persistent re-victimisation of the victims without negating validation and shifts the associations of racism to the perpetrators of racism and other forms of discrimination, where perpetrators socially mis-construct student's inequitable experiences. Being a researcher who is Afro-American, I considered the Ebonics phrase (e.g., ebony + phonics = Black sound) embodied from my racial background called FTS, meaning to unexpectedly reverse a situation and deviate from the norm (see chapter 2 and 6). With the norm being Whiteness permeating student's consciousness and educational institutions, it is important to analyse and address why and how the perpetrators i.e., students and institutions, exhibit harmful forms of Whiteness and thus reinforcing "White supremacy". Additionally, with political terminology being a crucial aspect of race (racist) relations, this chapter also provides a detailed table of FTS terminology that will be used throughout this thesis. Therefore, chapter two sets out to provide literature on CRT, CWS, and more in-depth analysis of the FTS framework.

Chapter three examines the social "constructions" of the concept race, arguing how the concept has been falsely constructed, with its creation being used to exploit and oppress people historically, specifically people who are Black African globally, and thus influencing contemporary race (racist) relations in society and education. The three sociologies of knowledge are explored and integrated throughout this chapter to identify a holistic approach to race relations historically and presently. The three sociologies of knowledge consist of (i) defining the definition of a real situation (ii) social constructionism, and (iii) Gidden's structuration theory. These are utilised to identify the social definers - i.e., people in power who have influenced our racial reality - and agents (e.g., Immanuel Kant is considered both) during the European Slave Trade that appears to have had and continues to have a crucial influence on individuals social worlds regarding race. With most social definers and agents appearing to be White, it is argued that racist ideas and/or racism was used to create a racial hierarchy

to justify the historical oppression of groups, specifically Black Africans that still manifest today. One example illustrated in this section is the origins of the “N” word and its misrepresented use in the Black community (e.g., “term of endearment”). The chapter concludes by illustrating the myths and racist narratives associated with Black identity, constructing “Black inferiority” perceptions, and placing the relative lower educational and economic status on Black groups “culture” (e.g., lazy in education). This leads to a critique on Marxist theory, demonstrating the Western economy - particularly in England - was built off the free unpaid labour of *resilient Black African survivors* (the enslaved) (Marx and Engels, 2012; Virdee, 2019). Thus, Black Marxism is highlighted and considered (e.g., racial capitalism) because you can’t have racism without capitalism (Robinson, 1983). Therefore, this chapter is underpinned by the structuration of race being used by people who are White – predominately men – to justify their racial status as “superior” historically, and current status colour-blindly in society and education.

Chapter four is an extension to chapter three which explores and integrates the three sociologies of knowledge with the concept of Whiteness. The chapter starts by critiquing research around Whiteness because scholars generally associate Whiteness with negative connotations. Thus, FTS and intentionally separating Whiteness from being undeniably negative is considered. The first section expands on the historical context of the “New” World during slavery and how White racial loyalty formed the modern concept of Whiteness, and thus arguably constructing the Black-White binary within society and education today. The following section is a critique on “White supremacy”, using Francis Cress Welsing’s (1974) Color-Confrontation Theory to depict an unconscious insecurity within White social definers and agents. Also, this section illuminates aspects of Whiteness being anti-White, where lower class people who are White experience hatred from their same-raced middle and upperclass peers. The last section sets out to provide an outline of why Whiteness should only be applied to White identity, because Black progression allows leaders who are Black to escape racial responsibility when perceiving to betray their same-raced peers through policies that affect Black pupils in education (e.g., The Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities Report).

Chapter five is an analysis of existing empirical and data focussed papers examining the six Racism in Education Processes (REP) mentioned above: (i) *pre-university educational attainment*, (ii) *university application choices*, (iii) *university admissions process*, (iv) *the racialised student experience*, (v) *degree*

completion and achievement, and (vi) *graduate career prospects*. These processes provide opportunity, yet ultimately disadvantage pupils because of uncontrollable external factors (e.g., race/ethnicity, gender, class etc.) affecting students future success in education.

Chapter six discusses the methodology and methods (1-1 semi-structured interviews) of this thesis by highlighting the research strategy (CRT methodology) and design for the Thematic analysis (Braun and Clark, 2006 and 2012) on student's perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusiveness. The research questions include:

- What are Durham students' perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusiveness at Durham University? (main)
- What aspects of identity do students perceive are relevant to inclusion at Durham University?
- What influence do students perceive their own racial identity to have on their experience of inclusion at Durham University?

Moreover, in this sixth chapter the rationale behind the design using qualitative data, the sample, and why Durham University was chosen is explained. The chapter concludes with the analytical structure illustrating Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis, followed by an analysis section discussing an overview of the empirical chapters, which is chapters seven through eleven of the theses.

Chapter seven is titled "Archaistic Acceptance: Elite Formations", which interprets participants' perceptions of the foundations of Durham's "elite" institutional status practicing different forms of discrimination – contributing to racial exclusion - towards underrepresented groups (e.g., racially underrepresented, and White working-class). It also illuminates the specific type of student Durham attracts and accepts i.e., White middle- and upper-class, where this "elite" student identity is considered the typical Durham student (TDS). The TDS is a key finding of this thesis because they add to the racialised environment at Durham by being perpetrators of racism, and thus preventing racial inclusion like the University. Chapter eight, titled "Whiteness as Symbolic Capital" is an extension to chapter seven, because it describes the cultural environment of Durham by illustrating the groups who benefit and/or are excluded from it – typically benefitting people with White skin. Chapter nine, titled "Black Reality", emphasises the reality of racism being inescapable for students who are Black (African)

attending Durham, resulting in emotional consequences (e.g., racial trauma)—an amalgamation of Asian discrimination is also interpreted.

Chapter ten, titled “When Race Enters the Room: Racial Literacy to Racial Reconciliation”, is an analysis plus recommendations chapter, exploring participants' perceptions of how Durham could dramatically transform and become a racially inclusive institution by adopting policies and practices to overcome its perceived institutionally racist identity. The final theme in chapter eleven, titled “Racial Identity Development”, is another analysis plus recommendations chapter, illustrating the perceived racist identity of the TDS, and processes are recommended to racially reconstruct and reconcile the racial identity of students to become White allies, anti-racist, and racially woke for Durham’s culture to thus become a racially inclusive institution. Following the empirical chapters (7-11), chapter twelve concludes the main research findings and future suggestions for students and staff to help reimagine alternative approaches to understanding race, tackling racism, and advancing racial inclusion in UK higher education.

1.4 Conclusion

To conclude, using critical race analysis and adopting a qualitative approach (e.g., thematic analysis), this research was designed to explore students’ perceptions and experiences of racism at a predominantly White Russell Group institution, Durham University. The study utilised 1-1 interviews with students who are Black and who are White, seeking to firstly explore students’ perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusiveness within their institutions and its subsequent influence on their wider student experience. Ultimately, aiming to illustrate racial disparities and suggest methods to achieve a more inclusive university environment. With increasing numbers of ReM student groups attending university, we must dismantle the racial inequality that persists in education by understanding the barriers students encounter and how students who are White view the influx of racially underrepresented groups gravitating towards “their” “elite” institutions.

CHAPTER 2: CRITICAL RACE THEORY

This chapter provides the main theoretical framework for understanding the issues that instigate how the data was collected and analysed. The Critical Race Theory framework (CRT) was established in the USA but is intrinsically linked to the UK. Thus, half of this chapter will give an illustration of this framework's origins and the way it functions in the USA and its transferability in the UK context (illustrated in section CRT in England below). Another part of this chapter highlights the CRT tools regarding education, followed by an illustration of Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) to understand the ways in which Whiteness permeates in society and education. The last section of this chapter will illustrate a new framework stemming from this thesis i.e., the 'Flippin the Script' (FTS) framework, which is an extension to CRT but is the researcher's own personal engagement with CRT considering his own life experiences and positionality as a researcher. This FTS framework manifested due to the critiques on the ways in which CRT currently functions in literature (e.g., focusing on racialised experiences), because scholars argue CRT is a useful framework but at times is arguably pessimistic and/or one-sided rather than 'revolutionary' requiring constructive criticisms on its limitations (Andrews, 2014; Cabrera, 2018). As Andrews (2014) suggests the role of CRT 'does not embrace a revolutionary, and therefore radical, politics in response to endemic racism' (p. 7). Also, while CRT explicitly highlights the permanence of racism in society Bell (1991) – one of the founders of CRT – implies people who are Black should be complicit with their subordinated status (e.g., racial realism highlighted below) – hence it's pessimism. Therefore, the FTS framework does not solely bring a level of awareness to dominant and resilient groups agency in society like CRT, but it provides a revolutionary racial discourse to overcome endemic racism when people are made aware; by (i) reversing a situation i.e., racism and racial discourse and (ii) deviating from the norm i.e., mainly highlighting racial victimisation and instead focusing on the perpetrators of racism. In sum, the FTS orientation to the issues of racism connects with and builds on CRT.

Throughout history, racism has been an open-ended complication, with failed endeavours for its erasure. In the 1950's and 60's, the Civil Rights Movement in the USA was a step towards freeing the oppressed - in particular people who are Black from the racial subordination they had received for centuries. Since the Emancipation Proclamation (1863), one legal doctrine after another were perceived as a "big" step forward for people who were Black to receive equality in a Western World where people who were White established themselves as superior. In retrospect, each "big" step failed to alleviate the oppression and the persisting controversy of race equality continued to manifest. Prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, - an act to mainly enforce anti-discrimination laws in communities (e.g., right to vote, segregation in public places) - a new body of scholarship called Critical Race Theory (CRT) was formed to protest the predominance of racial inequity in society. These scholars confronted the Civil Rights campaign by outlining significant factors that needed to be considered at the time.

In the 1970's, CRT emerged in the USA to illustrate the impact of racial inequality. CRT acknowledges that racism is at the forefront of legal doctrine and education, demonstrating the mistreatment of the race/ethnic ReM in society (Rollock and Gillborn 2011). CRT origins were unified by two common interests: (i) To recognize how the establishment of "White supremacy" and its subordination of the race/ethnic ReM have been formed and cultivated in society by analysing the connection amongst threat structure and acknowledged principles such as "the rule of law" and "equal protection"; (ii) to not solely understand the association between government and racial authority but to revise it (Crenshaw et al. 1995). As stated above CRT shows a strong discontent to traditional civil rights discussion also known as Critical Legal Studies (CLS). This traditional civil rights discourse were ideas to help transform society and racial power by defending the oppressed who suffered from public segregation. CRT scholars' fundamental controversy to this CLS tradition was the concept of colour-blindness being illustrated in law (Tate, 1997). Unlike CRT, CLS in practice was predominantly concerned with economic disadvantage and race was not the central issue (Bell, Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Gillborn and Ladson-Billings, 2010). One of the first to critique CLS was Derrick Bell, a legal scholar who is black and arguably the most prominent origin of thought that was critical of traditional civil rights discourse (Tate, 1997). According to Tate (1997), Bell and scholars such as Kimberlé Crenshaw had two purposes when developing this theory: (i) to foster critical discussions on race in American society, and (ii) to advocate political activism to obtain racial justice.

Even though CRT scholars' such as Crenshaw, Gotanda, and Peller (1995) conflict with CLS they have defended its history by explaining:

'Our opposition to traditional civil rights discourse is neither a criticism of the civil rights movement nor an attempt to diminish its significance...on the contrary we draw much of our inspiration and sense of direction from that courageous, brilliantly conceived, spiritually inspired, and ultimately transformative mass action.' (p. xiv, as cited in Gillborn, 2006, p. 22)

Thus, CRT scholars value civil rights leaders who fight against racial inequality and the achievements that have transpired yet hold a distinctive perspective, infused by their focus on race. There is no specific definition that explains CRT, because the path for defining this theory is continuously developing as a result of new expansion of legal principle and policy discussion (Gillborn and Ladson-Billings 2010). Therefore, many scholars have a set of similar characteristics and approaches that assist in understanding CRT (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Gillborn and Ladson-Billings, 2010; Tate, 1997). A broad summary of CRT is,

"an approach that offers a radical lens through which to make sense of, deconstruct and challenge racial inequality in society." (Rollock and Gillborn, 2011, p. 1)

This perspective illuminates the function of CRT, with its scholars providing both a conventional social constructivist perspective of race and racism and a shared obligation to oppose and understand the structures that enslave the 'global racial majority' (GRMa) (Bell, 2009; Rollock and Gillborn, 2011).

2.1 Critical Race Theory Doctrines

2.1.1 *Endemic societal racism*

There are several themes that have been established within CRT scholarship. To start, a central tenet of CRT is that racism is common and ingrained in society (Delgado and Stefancic, 2000). Racism is a prominent and global concept, and its mere existence is repeatedly accepted as taken-for-granted knowledge. However, as expressed by Gillborn (2015):

"'race' is socially constructed and that 'racial difference' is invented, perpetuated, and reinforced by society." (p. 278)

David Gillborn's explanation of race fits within the CRT framework and emphasises the need for 'race' to be identified and understood as a social "construct". Namely, the cause and basis of racial categorization is from human interaction rather than natural distinction (Delgado and Stefancic, 2002; Haney-Lopez, 1994). Omi and Winant's (1994) '*Racial Formations*' agrees with this perception, contending that biological notions of race have been rejected in the social sciences and replaced by race as a social construct. They offer a racial formation theory that is defined as 'the socio historical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed...race is a matter of both social structure and cultural representation.' (Omi and Winant, 1994, p. 55). Further scholarship on the social (mis)constructions of the concept of race will be highlighted in the next chapter. Moreover, CRT scholars unveil the effects racism has in society by not focusing on obvious explicit acts of racism, but by illustrating how subtle and invisible processes result in discrimination and inequality (Gillborn and Ladson-Billings, 2010).

2.1.2 Colour-blindness vs Race-consciousness

Aleinikoff's (1991) *A Case for Race-Consciousness*, describes the impact ostensible colour-blindness versus race-consciousness have in society. He as well as many other CRT scholars argue that anti-discrimination laws are problematic due to their colour-blind perspective, and they suggest that race-consciousness should be defended, albeit as temporary and transitional (Aleinikoff, 1991; Crenshaw, 1987; Tate, 1997). From the case of Plessy vs. Ferguson's (1896) "separate but equal" to Martin Luther King's ambition that children should be judged by the "content of their character" rather than the "color of their skin," the colour-blind doctrine has long been present in civil rights discourse (Tate, 1995). Aleinikoff (1991) describes two varieties of colour-blindness: (i) "strong colour-blindness" where race should be irrelevant when considering human traits; and (ii) "weak colour-blindness" where race might function as ethnicity, but that we should 'condemn the use of race as a basis for the distribution of scarce resources or opportunities and the imposition of burdens' (Aleinikoff, 1991, p. 1079).

In many aspects of society, people who are Black - as a group - are not given opportunities in comparison to their counterparts who are White. For example, people who are Black are consistently found to be less likely to attend a prestigious University and those that do are less likely to graduate or

graduate with a higher classification of degree (Aleinikoff, 1991, Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995; Boliver, 2013; Richardson, 2015). Within social interactions race is shown to have an influence, as when we first meet someone their race is generally among the first things people notice (Aleinikoff, 1991; Omi and Winant, 1994), and thus respond to (consciously or subconsciously).

2.1.3 *White Dominance*

The term “White supremacy” is an imperative central tenet to understanding the framework of CRT. As stated above, “White supremacy” is one of two common interests in CRT. Similar to racism, in CRT,

‘the more important, hidden, and pervasive form of White supremacy lies in the operation of forces that saturate the everyday mundane actions and policies that shape the world in the interests of White people.’ (Gillborn and Ladson-Billings. 2010, p. 39).

Thus, “White supremacy” is proposed as a more encompassing concept than racism when pertaining to the inequality within institutions in society (Gillborn, 2005). Using this terminology illustrates the advantages people who are White have in society that are taken for granted demonstrating a concept called ‘Whiteness’. According to Leonardo (2002 p.32) “Whiteness is not a culture but a social concept...and a racial discourse, whereas the category ‘white people’ represents a socially constructed identity, usually based on skin colour.” (Leonardo, 2002 pg. 31). Therefore, in critical scholarship, the concept of Whiteness is an attack on White power that is socially “constructed” within society rather than an assault on people who are White (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995). In simpler terms, Cheryl Harris (1993) describes Whiteness as not purely race but ‘race plus privilege’ (p. 1738) (e.g., ‘race + privilege = whiteness’). Subsequently, people who are White may not all share equal advantages, however, they do benefit to some extent from being White, which dismantles the class/gender only perspectives in society that ignore race. This perspective on “White supremacy” is considered an essential illustration of CRT. (Critiques on “White supremacy” and “Whiteness” will be illustrated in chapter 4).

2.1.4 *Voice*

For the critical race theorist, social reality is formulated by the development and exchange of stories about personal circumstances (Tate 1995, pg. 210). The voices and experiences of the GRMa are

extremely vital in CRT scholarship. Storytelling and counter-story telling are conceptual and methodological tools associated with 'voice'. Tate (1995) identifies three legal scholars whose CRT methods have made a significant contribution to CRT literature: Derrick Bell, Richard Delgado, and Kimberley Crenshaw. More specifically, Delgado's (1990) "naming one's own reality", Bell's creation of *interest convergence* (1980) and Crenshaw's (1989) *intersectionality* have all been outstanding in exposing racial and legal injustice in society through their voices.

2.1.5 *Interest-Convergence*

CRT scholars are known for their evaluation of the civil rights campaign. They continuously emphasise to critics the importance of past leaders' sacrifices regarding the implementation of laws that oppose racial inequality. However, Gillborn and Ladson-Billings (2010) proclaim that CRT analyses highlight the limitations of legislation and demonstrate how fundamental changes to law are retractable and often reversed over time. Modifications to legislation are seen to be underpinned by White self-interest, whereby actions towards equality are oxymoronic, permeated by egoistic motives. Bell (1980) coined the concept of *interest convergence* to explain this interaction,

'The interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites.' (Bell, 1980 p. 523)

Thus, this concept elucidates the realisation that 'equality' for people who are Black inescapably facilitates White ulterior motives, for it is only when there is an advantage to people who are White that action is taken. Bell (1991) utilises the controversial term 'racial realism' to encapsulate this understanding,

'Black people will never gain full equality in this country, Even those herculean efforts we hail as successful will produce no more than temporary "peaks of progress," short-lived victories that slide into irrelevance as racial patterns adapting ways that maintain white dominance...I call on "Racial Realism". This mind-set or philosophy requires us to acknowledge the permanence of our subordinate status.' (Bell, 1991, p. 373)

Thus, according to Bell, *interest-convergence* is a façade for Black progress and racial subordination is perceived to be a permanent status because insecure power holders who are White strategically continue to abuse their undeserved power.

2.1.6 *Intersectionality*

CRT has a nuanced application, endeavouring to incorporate issues surrounding intersectionality, more specifically, considering how race intersects with other social domains (Gillborn, 2015). The concept of *intersectionality* was advanced by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) a woman scholar who is Black, whereby identity and inequality are interconnected and manifest through many subordinated protected (personal) characteristics. These characteristics (e.g., race and gender) and their associated inequalities can be active at the same time. Thus, a woman who is Black may experience racism differently to a man who is Black. This makes *intersectionality* useful, as it depicts the difficulty one faces when their perceived group membership - in this case regarding their gender and race - renders them susceptible to certain bias. The complexity increases further when the broadness of identities is considered, with infinite sub-divisions of each category and thus the experience of bias is (i) subjective and (ii) dependent on the inter-relation between our multifaceted identities. Therefore, implementing *intersectionality* as a framework helps to distinguish differences both within and between groups, which facilitates a better awareness of racial inequalities (Bhopal and Preston 2012).

Moreover, the symbolic concept of *intersectionality* is rooted in Black feminist thought from the historical interlocking nature of resiliency women who are Afro-American were forced to embody and practice when experiencing multiple forms of discrimination (Collins, 1998). As Patricia Hill Collins (1998) suggests these multiple forms of discrimination women who are Black must be resilient from produce a Black feminist consciousness (wisdom) that develops a holistic material reality, that is different (incomparable) to any other dominate or subordinated group (e.g., Black men and White women). The origins of Black feminist thought started in late 19th century USA by Ida B. Wells, but early Black women resiliency pre-dates post slavery (1400s) (Brewer, 2020). From a British context and support of this study, Black feminism in Britain will be illuminated (in the analysis students who are Black, and women are perceived to endure the hardest struggle in their student experience: see chapters 9 and 11). One Black Afro-feminist i.e., Claudia Jones, had a significant impact internationally and will be emphasised briefly. Claudia Jones – a Trinidadian Pan-Africanist - started her activism in the USA but was deported to Britain in the 1950s (Davies, 2014; Hill, 1998). She was a transnational Black feminist Marxist who highlighted and challenged the *superexploitation* Afro-American working-class

women experienced, deeming them the ‘most oppressed stratum of the whole population’ (Johnson, 2008). For example, Black women were forced to endure the hardest parts of gruelling labour while being given the least number of wages i.e., *superexploitation*, in post-war USA and UK. Claudia’s Black feminist scholarship was underpinned by the intersection of race, class, and gender (Davies, 2014). Thus, her activism exceeds Marxism by fighting for the liberation of all groups internationally under capitalism (see chapter 3), predominately black people and women being *superexploited* (her tomb is buried adjacent to Karl Marx, Johnson, 2008). The previous literature is reflective of ‘misogynoir’, a term coined in 2010 by Moya Bailey to illuminate the sexism and racism women who are Black descent experience (Solis, 2016). Therefore, historically, and presently women who are Black continue to experience an ‘expanding hierarchy of oppression’ (see analysis chapter 9), where their race-gender identities encompasses an array of challenges, providing them with the proper solution-focused tools and resiliency to combat different forms of oppression.

2.2 Critical Race Theory in the UK

CRT’s origins within the USA have been a widespread phenomenon globally, particularly within the UK. However, the impact of race creates further resistance for Critical Race Theorists in a British context. CRT was established in UK around 2003-2006, being adopted by educational researchers besides legal scholars, because civil rights discourse in the USA and UK has historical differences. One being since the 1950s, migrant communities developing from Britain’s post-Windrush focused on ‘street politics and on government policy rather than legislation per se’ in their anti-racist struggles (Warmington, 2020, p. 27), whereas CRT in the USA started in legal discourse i.e., CLS as mentioned above (Tate, 1997). For example, Warmington (2012) highlights the discrepancies between Black terminology from a USA and UK setting with ‘Black’ being considered people of Afro-American decent in the USA, and by contrast African and Afro-Caribbean in the UK. Additionally, ‘political blackness’ (UK) would be synonymous with ‘people of colour’ (USA) but includes people of Asian and Arabic decent in the UK that was ‘constructed in the post-war period of immigration’ (Warmington, 2012, p. 15). Also, it’s worth noting Black intellectual thought – which CRT emerged from – in a UK context stem from a long line of scholars (e.g., Stuart Hall, Claudia Jones, and Ambalavaner Sivanandan) who

paved the way for CRT's transferability to the UK. The first CRT article by David Gillborn (2005) – a male scholar who is White - 'Education policy as an act of white supremacy', was presented at the British Educational Research Association (BERA) conference. Another notable scholar promoting CRT in the UK is Paul Warmington (2020) - a male scholar who is Black – who examines the advancement of CRT in England regarding impact and opposition. Warmington (2020) - a highlighting scholar for this section - illustrates,

'In England, much of the academic antagonism towards CRT is built upon a powerful "left" reflex action: a reiteration of old, paternalistic convictions about the "objectivity" of class and the "subjectivity" of race.' (p. 21)

Thus, the historical differences between the USA and England have made scholars who adopt Eurocentric Marxist ideology question its legitimacy, which was similar when CRT developed in the USA. For instance, encounters of CRT have also been adopted from the political right, where former President Trump issued an executive order to ban methods in diversity and inclusion training and within schools, which resulted in schools and parents condemning CRT (George, 2021; Morgan, 2022). Thus, Warmington describes the criticisms from these scholars that oppose CRT in England, deeming their criticisms anti-CRT 'tenets',

- 'CRT is an import from the USA that has little relevance in England' (Parsons 2015).
- 'CRT essentialises race and homogenises white people; its analyses apply a rigid black/white binary' (Cole, 2017).
- 'CRT's race-conscious analysis is inherently opposed to Marxism (Hill 2008) – or, alternatively, CRT has a few strengths but needs to learn from Marxist concepts of class relations' (Cole 2009, 2017).
- 'CRT is not a theory at all but is, at best, "a perspective, a set of beliefs about racism"' (Hayes 2013). (As cited in Warmington, 2020, p. 31)

According to Warmington (2020), one of the main critiques publicised by scholars who are anti-CRT is that CRT homogenises all people who are White and ignores class disparities, despite the fact Gillborn (2005) specifies it 'is not to argue that White people are uniformly powerful' (as cited in Warmington, 2020, p. 491). Scholars who are anti-CRT illustrate a Marxist agenda that is predicated on class and denounces race-consciousness by failing to recognise the salience of racism in society and education

globally, where CRT is a focus in multiple continents, e.g., North America, South America, and Africa (Marxist critique will be highlight in chapter 3). It is also worth noting that many Eurocentric Marxist scholars and the political right in England do not mind importing epistemologies produced by people who are White from different countries (e.g., Bourdieu), yet consider Black ideology i.e., CRT ‘foreign’ and grounded on the Afro-American experience (Warmington, 2020). As Parsons (2015) criticism implies CRT ‘has little useful to say in the English context’ (p. 174). Therefore, it is important to highlight the impact and antagonism of CRT in England to understand the resistance and race (racist) relations that challenge race, racism, and racial inclusion in society and education.

2.3 Theoretical framework

2.3.1 Critical Race Theory in Education

This section provides the fundamental underpinnings for using CRT as the theoretical framework in this study, exploring its usefulness for this type of research from the outset. In the mid 1990’s, CRT was introduced in education by key foundational CRT scholars include Derrick Bell, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, Richard Delgado, Lani Guinier, Mari Matsuda, and Patricia Williams (Gillborn and Ladson-billings, 2010, p. 39). In the first paper, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) examined how the concept of race and property rights intersect in society and can be applied and assessed to educational inequity, where ‘race, unlike gender and class, remains untheorized’ (p. 49). Since the publishing of their article, many CRT scholars have produced writings to implement CRT in education (Dixson and Rousseau, 2005; Gillborn, 2005; Solorzano, Ceja, and Yosso, 2000; Tate, 1997). Within schooling, CRT is defined as,

‘a framework or set of basic insights, perspectives, methods, and pedagogy that seeks to identify, analyse, and transform those structural cultural aspects of education that maintain subordinate and dominant racial position in and out of the classroom’ (Solózano and Yosso, 2002 p. 25).

For the purpose of this study, the CRT framework will be employed to facilitate a better understanding of the presence and impact of racism in higher education. Daniel Solózano’s (1997) basic model of CRT in education that consists of five themes is important to consider, for this reason literature that addresses his model will be discussed.

The centrality of race and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of subordination.

CRT begins with the proposition that race and racism are endemic in society. In regard to CRT in education, racism has at least four dimensions; '(i) it has micro and macro components; (ii) takes on institutional and individual forms; (iii) has conscious and unconscious elements; (iv) and has a cumulative impact on both the individual and group' (Solorzano, 1997, p. 6) Racism in CRT can be defined as,

'culturally sanctioned beliefs which, regardless of the intentions involved, defend the advantages Whites have because of the subordinated positions of racial minorities.' (Wellman, 1977, as cited in Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995, p. 55)

Therefore, through the application of CRT in this type of research an increased awareness of racial injustice can be provided. The premise that people who are White should accept their contribution to structural racism in education is important, supposing that people of the ReM can then avoid further inequality. In the social sciences, unlike class and gender, race has not been the priority especially in the UK. Although exploring class and gender is imperative, these are not the only constructs to consider when explaining educational differences between people who are White and Black - 'race matters' (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995). Thus, institutional and structural racism play a key role within the educational system for ReM groups. Therefore, in CRT, other forms of subordination are intersected with race (Crenshaw, 1989) and this approach is applied throughout this research study.

The challenge to dominant ideology

Solorzano (1997) argues that 'critical race theory challenges the traditional claims of the legal system, to objectivity, meritocracy, colour-blindness, race neutrality, and equal opportunity' (p. 6). Critical race methodology in education challenges White privilege, arguing the traditional claims are camouflages for the self-interest of the dominant group in society. Therefore, CRT rejects supposedly neutral research and exposes literature that silences and misconstrue epistemologies of the GRMa (e.g., challenges ahistoricism) (Solorzano, 1997; Tate, 1995; Yosso, Parker, Solorzano, D.G., and Lynn, 2004). The approach to challenge dominant ideology raises the question of whether – and how – it can be counteracted and the implications of challenging the dominant group.

The commitment to social justice

The overall commitment to social justice is a goal CRT strives to accomplish which in turn leads to; (i) ‘the elimination of racism, sexism, and poverty; and (ii) the empowering of subordinated minority groups’ (Solorzano and Yosso, 2002, p. 26). Therefore, abolishing racism or racial subordination coincides with ending other forms of subordination (e.g., class, gender, sexual orientation, disability).

The centrality of experiential knowledge

Recognising the experiences of the GRMa is crucial to understanding racial inequality within education. CRT draws on the lived experiences from different genders of the ReM by including methods such as storytelling, family history, and narratives as a form of evidence that challenges a quantitative (e.g., numbers only) perspective establishing further inequality or discrimination (Yosso et al., 2004). Although quantitative methods are useful, dismissing research from a qualitative standpoint is problematic, because understanding people’s racialised experiences is critical to challenging the educational systems racial subordination (Dixon and Rousseau, 2005; Solorzano and Yosso, 2002).

The transdisciplinary perspective

CRT methodology in education uses transdisciplinary knowledge - challenging ahistoricism – by ‘analysing race and racism in the law by placing them in both an historical and contemporary context using interdisciplinary methods’ (Solorzano, 1997, p. 7). For example, to better understand the effects of racism, sexism, and classism on ReM groups (Dixon and Rousseau, 2005; Solorzano, 1997; Tate, 1995).

These five elements are embodied by CRT literature, attempting to challenge and improve racial inequity in education. When encouraging a race-conscious approach, CRT examines experiences of racial inequity (Howson, 2014). It challenges the liberalism critique of racial inequality for justifying meritocracy and incorrectly assuming that colour-blindness “solves” the racial oppression the resilient minority (ReM) endure. “Naming one’s own reality” (narratives, storytelling, and counter-storytelling) in CRT are tools people who are resilient use to illustrate experiences or situations demonstrating their

subjugation (Delgado 1989, Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995 p. 58). Looking at the current configuration of public education, the implementation of CRT can be a powerful descriptive tool to illuminate the constant injustice the ReM experience (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

2.3.2 Critical Whiteness Studies

‘One obtains power and privilege by virtue of being white’ – DeCuir-Gunby (2014, p. 95)

Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) has been a growing academic discipline in the last two decades that exposes Whiteness in education (Andrews, 2016) by,

‘revealing the frequently invisible social structures that continually recreate White supremacy and privilege’ (Cabrera, 2014, p. 34).

CWS differs from CRT because it is more White-focused. It still challenges dominant ideology, but ‘critically examines how the non-meritocratic and unwarranted privileges of Whiteness are both enacted and normalised’ (Cabrera, 2014, p. 35). Thus, the experiential knowledge of the racially privileged can help exemplify “White supremacy” besides challenging it. To add, Whiteness studies can help expose the privileges students who are White have in elite institutions compared to their ReM counterparts who are subject to an unfair colour-blind and supposedly meritocratic system. For example, the Western mythology we learn in education that hides the reality of the advancements of people who are White via the exploitation and suppression of the GRMa (e.g., slavery, genocide) – in turn - creating a ‘psychosis of whiteness’ where people who are White feel entitled by believing inaccurate narratives of history (Andrews, 2016). As such, it is vital that the experiential knowledge of students who are White is compared with that of students who are among the ReM, because the system that creates Whiteness needs to be analysed and challenged.

Moreover, there is also limitations within CWS with Jamison (2017) suggesting CWS:

‘has the tendency to marginalize and silence the voices of people who have direct contact with the overt and covert manifestations of white supremacy. Conspicuously absent from many of the conversations are Black people, who through their history of direct contact with and thus intimate knowledge of whiteness and its impact on their lived experiences, are in a unique position to know white people better than white people know themselves.’ (p. 52)

Therefore, CWS has its constructive criticisms and limitations similarly with CRT, as mentioned at the start of this chapter. However, CRT seems to get more criticisms than most other frameworks/theories which could stem from the Wild Racist West insecurities implementing a racial discourse in their education system that threatens their power structure i.e., White “Supremacy” (illustrated in chapter 4). Despite the criticisms, the amalgamation of CRT and CWS work well together as a theoretical framework when highlighting the experiences and perceptions of the Black-White binary to analyse, understand, and challenge racial inequity which is the basis of this thesis. To conclude, while some criticisms and limitations associated with CRT are constructive, most of them are widespread and unjust, thus I (the researcher) developed an all-inclusive rehumanising framework to connect with and build on the brilliant tenets of CRT and CWS to disrupt the criticisms. (More on Whiteness will be discussed in chapter 4).

2.4 Flippin’ the Script Framework

‘Yeah, I pay taxes, so much taxes, shit don't make sense
Where do my dollars go? You see lately, I ain't been convinced
I guess they say my dollars supposed to build roads and schools
But my niggas barely graduate, they ain't got the tools
Maybe 'cause the tax dollars that I make sure I send
Get spent hirin' some teachers that don't look like them
And the curriculum be tricking them, them dollars I spend
Got us learning about the heroes with the Whitest of skin
One thing about the men that's controlling the pen
That write history, they always seem to White-out they sins
Maybe we'll never see a black man in the White House again.’
- J. Cole (2018), *BRACKETS*

Those lyrics were from J Cole, one of my favourite Black African hip hop artists. they highlight the need to reconstruct Whiteness, so what do I mean by that:

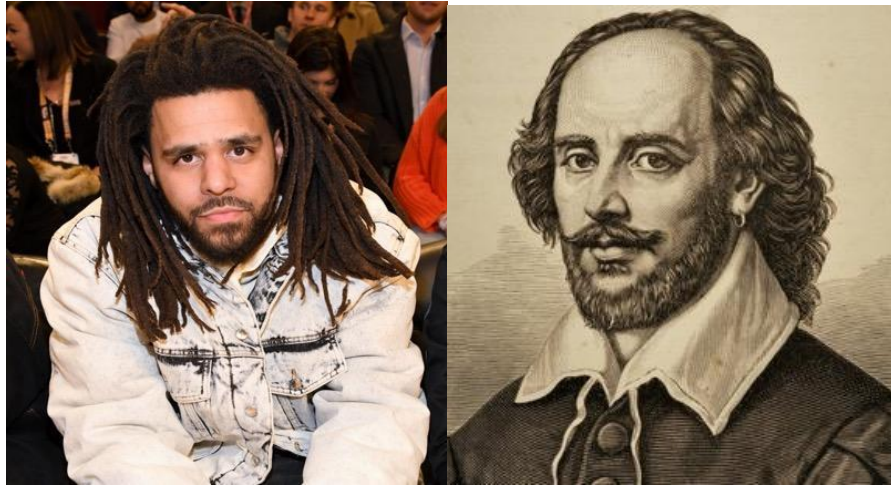


Figure 1: J. Cole = William Shakespeare

When we think of poetry we think of Shakespeare as universal, but all Black (African) hip hop artists are thugs and gangsters and seen to promote Black self-hatred, while some may argue the latter is true, many are just speaking from their lived experiences, portraying their reality. However, it's seen to be ok that we learn about Shakespeare, including writing about women being raped, and killed by their father because of the "shame" (e.g., *Titus Andronicus* or *Macbeth*). We must ask ourselves why there is this disparity and what we can do about it? Stormzy (UK Black British Rap artist) has been criticised for his lyrics promoting Black self-hatred, his response being, 'I am as positive as Shakespeare, I'm as negative as Shakespeare' (Thompson, 2020a). Thus, throughout this thesis, quotes of various songs from artists who are Black will be implemented to illustrate the poetry and activism that is synonymous with research (e.g., historical, sociological, and psychological) (see bibliography for Flippin' the script playlist).

In society, there is an imbalance in the way ethnic groups are represented in music, education, and media with people who are Black being deemed inferior. To combat the inferiority that is consistently attached to Black people, we need to question the ways in which people that are Black are not accepted. A way to do this is through representation, providing role models to actualise the reality of what people who are Black can do to succeed (illustrated in analysis chapter 10). Also, research shows there are significant benefits of diverse workforces (Brown, 2004; Lindsay and Hart, 2017), which would help to make students feel more included and make their educational experience better. If the script was

flipped, research shows that parents that are White are less likely to discuss race with their children than parents who are Black, despite:

- At 6 months, infants' attention is attributed in different ways (e.g., nonverbal categorisation) due to someone's skin colour and gender (Katz and Kofkin, 1997, as cited in Winkler, 2009).
- 2-year-olds racially categorise people's behaviours (Hirschfeld, 2008).
- 3-5-year-olds express bias based on race (Aboud, 2008; Winkler, 2009).

Therefore, it can be helpful to not only have those discussions but to reflect on the experience someone has had. For instance, in Joseph-Salisbury (2020) 'Race and racism in English secondary schools',

'According to the Department for Education (DfE), in 2018a, nearly 92% of teachers in England's state funded schools were white. This is starker in relation to headteacher positions, with only 3% of heads coming from ethnic minority backgrounds.' (DfE, 2018a and 2018b, as cited in Joseph-Salisbury 2020, p. 5)

Therefore, how would kids who are White feel if they grew up only being taught by Black teachers and never seeing a White teacher, how would they feel and make sense of their identity? Everything they learned about their identity was supposedly inferior and contributed little to the world people know today, what if their Whiteness couldn't be embraced. How would they feel? Also, people who are Black face disparities in almost every institution:

- A person who is Black is twice as likely to die in UK custody than any other ethnicity (Newsquest Digital Content Team, 2020).
- Black Afro-Caribbean pupils 4x more likely to be permanently excluded (DfE, 2021)
- Children who are Black in the UK are 9x more likely to be imprisoned than children who are White (The Lammy review, 2017).
- Men who are Black (African) are 43x more likely to be stopped and searched without suspicion than people who are White (Ministry of Justice, 2020). Also, 'if you are black, you are at least 6x as likely to be stopped and searched by the police in England and Wales as a white person.' (Equality Human Rights, 2010, p. 10), and nine times as likely in 2020 (Dodd, 2020).
- 95% of doctors who died during the first month of Covid-19 were from the GRMa community (Cook et al., 2020).
- Women who are Black are 5x more likely to die during childbirth (Adi, 2019)

Furthermore, 'Flippin' the script' (FTS) is a Black (African) phrase, which means to unexpectedly reverse a situation and deviate from the norm. The current socialisation needs to start changing

narratives around how we discuss race, racism, and racial inclusion. Many discussions on race are underpinned by misguided and/or falsely constructed language and practices that constantly reinforce the superiority and inferiority of different racial groups. Also, the dominant racial reality in society tends to conceptualise the racialised experiences (abusive racism, racial trauma, “racial microaggressions” etc.) of the victims, whilst less of the attention is on the perpetrator and questioning their detrimental behaviour. Therefore, throughout this thesis I plan on FTS to racial discourse, racist narratives, myths, political terminology, and experiences of racism that continues to re-traumatise victims. Two of the main FTS focal points emerging from my research will be (i) *adverse political terminology* and (ii) *perpetrator fixation*.

2.4.1 *Adverse political terminology and Perpetrator fixation*

It is important to be sensitive in the language and terminology used because there are different terminologies when it comes to race and ethnicity. It is pertinent to recognise that no single term can encompass all lived experiences of all people, and many terms have complicated histories that elicit emotive responses. So, individuals always want to be open about the limitations and respectful of how they are received to improve racial inclusion. However, current race (racist) relations continue to emphasise “White superiority” and “Black inferiority” (e.g., “White supremacy” and ethnic minority), which socially reproduces the socially mis-constructed Black-White binary by social actors in society who become ‘classically conditioned’ to associate White with the status quo and Black as less than (examples will be discussed in table 1 below). Ivan Pavlov – a scholar who is White – developed classical conditioning in social psychology, which is underpinned by roles of socialisation and experiences (Jones, Olson, and Fazio, 2010). Classical conditioning means,

‘a form of learning whereby a conditioned stimulus becomes associated with an unrelated unconditioned stimulus, in order to produce a behavioural response known as a conditioned response.’ (Lumenlearning, 2021)

For example, the term “White supremacy” reinforces an association between Whiteness and supremacy, conditioning people who are White to continue developing unfavourable behaviour i.e., acting superior through conscious and/or unconscious means by constantly reinforcing a racial hierarchy without any context. Another example would be “Black inferiority” or “ethnic minority”,

these two terms consist of an imbalance conditioning people with higher amounts of melanin to feel less than their color-deficient/genetically recessive counterparts that are a global racial minority population; even though people who are Black created the first advanced civilisations (Browder, 1989; Diop and Cook, 2012; James, 2016), and people who are White only make up one-tenth of the world (Welsing, 1991).

Furthermore, Olson and Fazio (2006) applied evaluative conditioning (EC) to the implicit associations test (IAT) to transform racial attitudes. The IAT ‘measures the strength of association between concepts (e.g., black people, gay people) and evaluations (e.g., good, bad) or stereotypes (e.g., athletic and clumsy)’ (Project Implicit, 2011; Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz 1998). According to Olson and Fazio (2006) evaluative conditioning,

‘is that pairings of an attitude object with other valenced objects will change the attitude in the direction of the objects with which it was paired. It is often argued that by being exposed to repeated pairings of members of stigmatized groups and negative events, individuals develop negative racial attitudes capable of automatic activation.’ (p.423)

Olson and Fazio’s (2006) study offered evidence to suggest ‘automatically activated racial attitudes can be changed more readily than commonly claimed’ (p. 422). They paired White with negative words and images, and Black with positive words and images. Over a two-day period, the participants racial attitudes towards people who are Black had less automatic activated negativity (Olson and Fazio, 2006; Walther and Langer, 2008). Thus, FTS and using *adverse political terminology* could be considered a new way for racial inclusion and racial attitude formation. The terminology is depicted as being *adverse* because it is considered confrontational or in opposition to the status quo i.e., White “Supremacy”. This is enacted in two ways: taking a (i) strengths-based approach by giving back a sense of self-determination and empowerment to the victims (e.g., resilient minority) of oppression and/or perpetrators (e.g., absent diverse opportunity) to not focus on their perceived deficits; or (ii) it is ‘constructively rehumanising’ to the perpetrators or “privileged” groups. Constructive because alternative racial language fits the scope within different methods of research, for instance, applying evaluative conditioning to racial attitudes as mentioned above. Also, rehumanising allows perpetrators and “privileged” groups to self-reflect and reimagine the impact of their racial reality (highlighted in

the next section). An example of *adverse political terminology* being constructively rehumanising would be the concept *White fragility*, despite McWhorter (2020) of 'The Atlantic' regarding the work surrounding *White Fragility* as dehumanising – hence *adverse* because of opposition criticism with minimal substance. *White fragility* is a term coined by Robin DiAngelo (2018) and defined as a defence mechanism displayed by people who are White when they must confront their racial reality. The term 'fragility' is associated negatively to White identity and becomes a barrier to the progression of people that are Black. The White backlash towards *White fragility* should re-emphasise to the GRMa that language is important, because the same energy (behavioural response), is not observed when it comes to "White supremacy". Therefore, conditioning ourselves to mainly associate Blackness with negativity is problematic to our social and psychological functioning (conditioned stimulus), resulting in detrimental responses and a deleterious effect on mental health.

Additionally, now that *adverse political terminology* has been put into context the terminology structure for this thesis will now be highlighted. There are many controversial terms relating to race (racist) relations, and there is no one way of interpreting how to encapsulate naming groups, but I have developed a table for the reader to examine and have a better understanding of the FTS terminology moving forward (see table 1 below). As there is a variety of terms, the main *adverse political terminologies* used (4) will be illustrated. First, is an adverse term 'global racial majority' (GRMa), which will be applied to people who are "non-White" (e.g., Black and Brown) to combat superiority and inferiority narratives because people who are White are numerically the global racial minority (Welsing, 1991). Second is another adverse term 'resilient minority' (ReM), which identifies the groups who continue to fight racial oppression, exploitation, and abuse, which is applied to the GRMa when referring to a Western context. Third, a 'first person approach' (e.g., student who is Black) will be used in most of this thesis, because we are all human beings first and race/ethnicity is one part of an individual's identity and everyone embodies different types of personal (protected) characteristics (e.g., race, class, gender, sexuality, disability, etc). This is important because we accuse victims of their own victimisation and not the perpetrators creating a 'silly psychological inversion' (Kendi, 2019, p. 125) (e.g., "it is because I am Black, I experience racism").

Lastly, is using the term ‘Black’, which will be used with a ‘Pan-Africanist approach’ for African unity (e.g., Black African). Amalgamating all Black ethnicities – mixed race included – is not to negate realities of each African ethnic group, it is to demonstrate that the ‘diverse adverse experiences’ each group must be resilient from has the same social, psychological, and institutional consequences, i.e., the global impact of the different forms of Black African racism. Thus, it is important for people who are Black skinned to remember that we are all fighting the same struggle and when the term ‘Black’ is used it is in relation to people of African ancestry. African ethnicities will only be separated when emphasising statistics of different ethnic groups and/or in different parts of the analysis chapters (7, 8, 10, and 11) when appropriate (e.g., mixed-race participants) (for further emphases on Pan Africanism and use of the term ‘Black African’ in relation to the perceptions of participants who are Black, see chapter 9). Therefore, the FTS terminology aka Afroscript because it is rooted from Afrocentric feminist epistemology, provides an added resilient formula (e.g., alternative epistemology) to combat the ‘interlocking nature of oppression’ being underpinned by racism in the form of “White supremacy” (Collins, 1986, p. s19 and 2018; Welsing, 1974 and 1991) (see chapter 6 on my positionality as a Black man).

Moreover, it is important to start occupying our attention on *perpetrator fixation* to remove the psychological inversion, instead of assigning responsibility and focus on the individual or group doing the harm (e.g., White fragility). It also offers an opportunity to prevent *gaslighting*, which is defined as psychological abuse entrenched by social inequalities where an abusive perpetrator uses ‘mind-manipulating strategies’ to make a victim question their abusive experience (Sweet, 2019, p. 851). To overcome these mechanisms of perpetrator behaviour is to understand what threat one perceives to impact their power. The adoption of Johnstone and Boyles (2018) Power Threat Meaning Framework (PTMF) provides an alternative perspective to understand behaviour. PTMF looks at different ‘operations of power’ (e.g., social/cultural capital and ideological), and if perceived to be under threat, threat responses – which ‘serve for emotional, physical, relational and social survival’ (Boyle, 2020, p. 36) (e.g., violence, gas-lighting) – are used by the perpetrator, arguably stemming from an internal insecurity (for in-depth explanation on *White insecurity* see chapters 4 and 11). Additionally, the PTMF can be viewed as a holistic source of healing, offering an approach that is accessible to – and thus inclusive of – all (Johnstone and Boyles, 2018). Applying the PTMF to an elitist and predominantly

White institution such as Durham University, those often described as victims of racism (people that are Black) can be viewed to experience threats to their ideological and interpersonal power (Boyles, 2020). In response to these threats, students may engage in a range of behaviours, seeking to improve their power. One example from the analysis is that participants became part of a race/ethnic society, potentially offering increased opportunities to feel validated for their experiences and gain power through relationships (highlighted in chapter 9). This type of society could help provide a sense of empowerment and belonging, helping students survive and navigate the threat they perceive from the typical Durham student (e.g., from the racialised and therefore invalidating environment illustrated in chapter 9). Racist perpetrators who are White that are unable to be involved with said societies and respond negatively towards them may do so because the societies are perceived to disrupt i.e., become a threat to their student experience (power) without the realisation their White identity and culture is overwhelmingly embraced in Durham spaces (illustrated by participants in chapter 10). In sum, this framework ‘flips the script’ by validating victim responses and fixates on why the perpetrator is exhibiting harmful behaviour - hence *perpetrator fixation*. Lastly, *perpetrator fixation* also intersects with *adverse political terminology* to dismantle and/or balance negative language towards the GRMa in racial discourse (e.g., constructively rehumanising concepts as mentioned above), and will be highlighted in table 1 at end of this chapter and throughout this thesis.

2.4.2 *Racial Rehumanisation*

What we need is awareness, we can't get careless
 You say what is this?
 My beloved lets get down to business
 Mental self-defensive fitness
 Don't rush the show
 You gotta go for what you know
 Make everybody see, in order to fight the powers that be
 Lemme hear you say
 Fight the power
 - Public Enemy (1993), *Fight the Power*

To start, it is important to conceptualise that we all have ‘blind spots’ and,

“‘The eye only sees what the mind is prepared to see” (Potter, 2007, p. 241). When we focus only on what we expect to see, we fail to see anything else that fits outside of our preconceived notions.’ (Ransaw et al., 2016 p. 131)

As previously stated, in conversations and research regarding racism we tend to revictimize our racial identities by continuing to perpetuate victimhood. Ultimately, FTS shifts the associations of racism towards the perpetrators of racism without negating the racialised experiences of the victim. For instance, it isn't mainly because someone is a homosexual they experience homophobia, it is because the perpetrator is displaying homophobic behaviour. Regarding race, it isn't because we are Black, we experience racism it is by virtue of the perpetrator's identity potentially exhibiting 3 harmful traits by being: (i) miseducated, (ii) insecure, and (iii) racist. First, the miseducated trait is influenced by Carter G. Woodson's (1933) *The Miseducation of the Negro*, which conveyed controlling the mind of social agents, particularly people who are Black,

‘If you can control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his action’ (Woodson, 1933, p. 40).

In society, we have all been miseducated from the social misconstructions of race (see chapter 3) permeating through politics, the media, and education (Burrell, 2010; Harth, 2012; Mastro, 2015). Therefore, we have all been classically conditioned – as mentioned above – to hold some form of anti-Black beliefs in our consciousness (e.g., colourism, class, gender, and/or queer racism) producing *racist ideas*. ‘Anti-blackness’ within this thesis is underpinned by Afro-pessimism ideology (see chapter Black Reality), and thus defined as the socially misconstructured reality of people who are Black being deemed non-human, problematic, and mistreated by processes that are considered illegal in many other circumstances (Bledsoe, 2020; Jenkins, 2021; Olaloku-Teriba, 2018). Also, *racist ideas* are ‘any idea that suggests one racial group is superior or inferior to another racial group in any way’ (Kendi, 2019, p. 20). Miseducation is an important concept to consider as Black ancestral scholars like Woodson depict its influence on communities close to 100 years ago. Therefore, history has shown racism tends to reproduce itself in multifaceted ways by racist producers of knowledge i.e., typically White male scholars, being underpinned by an insecurity (illustrated in chapters 3 and 4).

Secondly, an individual who exhibits anti-discriminatory behaviour regarding race can develop an insecurity from being miseducated and/or – to a greater extent – perceive a threat potentially impacting their power in society (such as “disrupting” our social, cultural, and/or economic capital). For instance, it can be argued one of the most harmful traits for people who are White with power because it resulted in “White supremacy”. Thus, using *adverse political terminology*, ‘White Insecurity’ would be more accurate, which will be clarified in-depth throughout this thesis (detailed in chapters 4 and 12). Lastly, someone could be considered a *racist*. As Kendi (2019) suggests,

‘A racist is someone who is supporting a racist policy through our actions or inaction or expressing a racist idea’ (p. 13).

An example would be a White “supremacist”, whilst their racist behaviour could be underpinned by being miseducated and/or insecure, not everyone wants to be re-educated and therefore rehumanised. Thus, consciously producing bigotry despite being informed of racism permeating in society. A second type of racist in this “post-racial” neo-liberal era would be considered a two faced racist (Picca and Feagin, 2007). My research has uncovered the upcoming generation is being *taught subtle racism* (illustrated in chapter 9), an extension to Picca and Feagin’s (2007) concept of Two-faced racism. Therefore, racism manifests as a camouflage that is perceived to be ingrained in kids’ consciousness at an early stage by being taught to not see colour, and to adopt anti-racist language – to then become politically correct. This process can be considered a newer and arguably most harmful form of racism – (colour-blind + politically correct = *taught subtle racism*) – because social agents can be anti-racist in their frontstage performance whilst simultaneously be racist in their backstage performance (see analysis chapters 8, 9, and 11).

Moreover, the intersections of *adverse political terminology* and *perpetrator fixation* from an interpersonal race perspective is important to consider since race intersects and is impacted in all protected (personal) characteristics. This process may result in an identity cure i.e., a ‘racial victimisation cure’, ultimately, leading people to question and overcome the 3 embedded harmful traits by; (i) re-educating miseducated individuals (e.g., through decolonisation and Black representation); (ii) becoming accepting and unselfish rather than insecure (e.g., anti-racist bystander); and for the latter

(iii) promoting accountability (e.g., implementing consequences for racists and two-faced racists). These three principles are supported by themes in chapters 10 and 11, which are the analysis plus recommendations chapters amalgamating participant perceptions and my perspectives through research. In sum, the two themes primary focus is adopting a student-researcher collective approach for racial inclusion by providing recommendations to transform the identity of the perpetrators at Durham University, i.e., the University and students who are the social agents constructing the racialised environments in multifaceted ways. Thus, the themes illustrate how these two perpetrators of racism should be held responsible for curing (e.g., racially reconciling/rehumanising-self) the inequitable Durham student experience for themselves and the racialised victims i.e., the ReM (see chapters 10 and 11). Lastly, CRT and CWS gives us an understanding of how to challenge the permanence of racism and Whiteness, while FTS connects with and builds on to these two frameworks by providing us with the tools to racially rehumanise racist policies (IR), which ultimately help transform everyone's self-identity (Kendi, 2016), with a radical (genuine) type politics to overcome the impacts of race and racism, potentially creating racial equity/inclusivity – hence *racial rehumanisation*.

2.5 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter outlined the CRT framework which illustrates how to become aware of, critique, and challenge the manifestations of race and racism that persistently produces racial inequity. The transferability of CRT from a USA to UK context is important to consider because it illustrates the similarities of racism and the need to support and defend a CRT framework in the UK. The White-specific CWS illustrates how these consequences of racism in the UK and USA is underpinned by Whiteness and “White Supremacy”. The FTS framework intersects and builds on CRT and CWS as its primary focus is centred around what has happened to the perpetrators and victims of racism to reveal why someone is doing racial harm and how to constructively overcome it. This is revealed by implementing *perpetrator fixation* and potentially overcoming racial victimisation i.e., with utilising *adverse political terminology*, thus deviating from a normative to a more rehumanising racial discourse. Therefore, the combination of CRT and FTS helps and supports the GRMa and minority to overcome the mechanisms of race, racism, and racial inclusion in society and education from a holistic-

revolutionary standpoint. The next two chapters provide a historical context of literature supporting the need to adopt these frameworks in the Wild Racist West.

Table 1: Flippin' the Script (Afroscript) terminology structure

<i>Political Terminology</i>	<i>Criticisms and/or Justification summaries</i>
Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) (Will not be used)	Criticisms - Lumps groups together, if used it should be broken down when necessary. - People who are White are 'ethnic', yet social relations has created people who are White to not see themselves as 'ethnic', and the term BAME also encompasses White ethnicities which is forgotten at times.
People of colour (POC) (Will not be used)	Criticisms - The original use of calling people who are Black (African) "coloureds" was socially constructed by people who are White and was meant by its Latin origins. Colour = <i>color</i> (Latin) = original sense or covering (Browder, 1990).
"Non-White" (Will be used)	Criticisms - Never say unless using quotes ("non-whites") - Double negative for the racial majority, and a positive for people who are White (Welsing, 1974).
Global racial majority (Will be used-adverse, facts of the world)	- Term will be applied to people with higher amounts of melanin when referring to a global context. E.g., global majority - These people make up an overwhelmingly (3/4) majority of the global population. (e.g., Black, Brown, and Yellow) - Important to emphasise to combat superiority and inferiority narratives (e.g., "White supremacy" and "Black inferiority").
Global racial minority (Will be used-adverse)	- People who are White are the racial minority globally. - Term will be applied to people who are White when referring to a global context.
Absent diverse opportunity (adverse)	- Term will be applied to people who are White middle and upper-class referring to a Western context. Occasionally people who are White working class will be separated from this group. - This strengths-based term is to illustrate the groups who miss out on diversity (e.g., interacting with and/or developing a cultural understanding of the resilient minority)

Political Terminology	Criticisms and/or Justification summaries
Resilient minority (Will be used = adverse)	- Resilient because these groups (e.g., Black and Brown) continue to fight racial oppression, exploitation, and abuse. - Term will be applied to the racial majority when referring to a Western context.
Overrepresented and Underrepresented (Action choice = adverse)	- These terms emphasise the unfairness amongst student cohorts in education, illustrating it is the actions of insecure power holders and policy makers that certain groups are overrepresented/underrepresented in certain spaces in higher education (e.g., Russell Group institutions).
"Advantaged" vs. "Disadvantaged" (Intersectional approach)	- There is positives and negatives amongst different types of characteristics (race, gender, class etc.). Thus, deeming a group "disadvantaged" is again labelling marginalised groups further, yet research and this thesis will contend the more adverse experiences an individual encounters, the wider lens they could typically have of different forms of inequality. For example. Black women typically have a wider lens to social inequalities than Black men - which is a positive advantage to their identity, albeit an unfortunate expanding hierarchy of oppression being experienced from an intersectional approach). - Research suggests, "Advantaged" groups - typically White middle and upper- class - miss out on diversity and the different experiences people from a working-class background have to experience. Thus, it is important to label groups accordingly, i.e., specifically (e.g., 'economically privileged').
First person approach (Will be used = adverse)	- Race/ethnicity is one part of an individual. Everyone embodies different types of personal characteristics e.g., race, class, gender, sexuality, disability, etc. - Psychological inversion = self-sabotage - o We accuse victims for their own victimisation and not the perpetrators (e.g., gaslighting). - o For example, "it is because I am Black". No. It is because the perpetrator is a racist bigot, miseducated, and/or insecure. Similar to gender and sexuality, it is because the perpetrator is sexist, homophobic or miseducated.
Pan-Africanist approach Black or Black African (Will be used = African unity)	- Black (African) (all Black ethnicities - mixed race included - in the diaspora and Africa). This is not to negate realities of each African ethnic group, it is to demonstrate that the 'diverse adverse experiences' each group has to be resilient from has the same social, psychological, and institutional results, i.e., the global impact of the different forms of Black African racism. - It is important for people who are Black skinned to remember that we are all fighting the same struggle. For example, "Black History Month", it's time to start putting the 'African' in Black history. - The only time African ethnicities will be separated is when emphasising statistics.

CHAPTER 3: THE WILD RACIST WEST (THE SOCIAL MISCONSTRUCTIONS OF RACE)

‘Even the fact I call myself “black”
Social conditioning and that's a fact
The idea of races has no factual basis
It was made just to serve racists
To justify to doing to some what couldn't be done
To others but they all are our sons
Black or white all of our sons’
- Akala (2010), *Yours and My Children*

The following two chapters sets out to establish the five W’s and H, i.e., who, what, when, where, why, and how the social definers/producers and the agents that proceeded them socially “constructed” the concept of race. Influencing society’s knowledge around race, racism, and racial inclusion which is why the previous outlined frameworks were developed in the first place. Therefore, these two chapters are a summary of the historical influences that has ‘socially misconstructured’ (term explained below) the Wild Racist West (e.g., the UK and USA).

Around the 1700s during the European Slave Trade (EST), one of the first constructed concepts of race in education ‘globally’ was proposed as a biological and/or genetic concept by Carlos Linnaeus. Linnaeus divided and grouped *Homo sapiens* – a term he coined - by skin colour and geography into four groups (*Homo Europaeus albescens*, *Homo Americanus rubescens*, *Homo Asiaticus fuscus*, and *Homo Africanus niger*) and added a fifth race i.e., (*Homo sapiens monstrosus*) that fit outside the previous four groups. Overtime, Linnaeus differentiated the four groups by ‘physical trait, along with descriptions of mental characteristics modes of dress, and habits’ (Linnaeus, 1758, illustrated in Jablonski, 2021 p. 439). For example, Santos et al., (2010) illustrates Linnaeus’ expansion on his racist bias categorising the four varieties of humans: American (red, ill-tempered, subduable), European (White, serious, strong), Asian (yellow, melancholy, greedy), African (Black, listless, lazy) (p. 122). Thus, Carl Linnaeus was one of many scholars who produced racist doctrine that miseducated groups in society, influencing individuals’ negative perceptions towards different race/ethnic groups that still

manifest today – hence the Wild Racist West. Another racist scholar (Immanuel Kant) and his racist categorisations will be highlighted in more detail later throughout this chapter.

Overtime, the social sciences rejected these biological and genetic claims, deeming race as a social “construction” (see Omi and Winant (1994) mentioned in previous chapter). This “construction” of the pseudo-biological concept of race has been used to rationalise and validate horrific unequal treatment towards different groups of people by social definers. Starting from the 1400s prior to the EST, the “others” (e.g., Zurara) who used racist ideas to justify and inflict unequal treatment in society towards people who are Black were predominately people who were Caucasian/European/White (illustrated in section racist ideas below). Thus, influencing scholars’ categorical systems (e.g., Linnaeus) centuries later in education as mentioned above. When looking at how the social “construction” of race started, re-emphasising the concept as a social “construction” can be critiqued, because it does not identify the violence, manipulation, and destruction it has had on the ‘global racial majority’ (GRMa) - especially people who are Black - with its creation continuing to affect these racial groups today. This is why López (1994) emphasises the social construction of race as a ‘racial fabrication’, because race is used by ‘the workings of human hands, and suggests the possible intention to deceive’ (p. 28).

Thus, FTS and highlighting the concept as a social ‘misconstruction’ intends to provide justice, by explicitly and purposely highlighting the consequences of the falsely constructed concept of race that continues to exploit and oppress people in society and education. As mentioned, the social misconstruction of race, contributed to the inequitable education system that people continue to overlook, which benefits people who are White. These next two chapters will highlight how this misconstruction manifested in society and scholarship throughout history (1400-1900s) by, (i) implementing the sociologies of knowledge to the misconstructions of race and Whiteness, and (ii) how their misconstruction associated with explicit racist ideas used to justify “superior” statuses. This production of racism and superiority is linked with and present in modern society and education (e.g., myths and racist narratives), but often demonstrated through more unconscious or implicit methods with racist ideas affecting all groups – mainly towards people who are Black.

3.1 Sociologies of knowledge

To understand how the social misconstructions of race and Whiteness influenced the creation of the Black-White binary in society and education, it is important to understand the social structure of their meanings. Teresa J. Guess (2006) - a woman scholar who is Black - uses three approaches to outline the manifestation of race and Whiteness in society to address racial inequality through extending the sociologies of knowledge: (i) defining the definition of a real situation (e.g., Thomas Theorem), (ii) social constructionism (e.g., Berger and Luckmann), and (iii) Giddens's structuration theory highlighting how race and Whiteness has been structured in U.S. race (racist) relations. Thus, the next few paragraphs will summarise Guess's three approaches. Once the sociologies of knowledge are introduced, the following sections will go in-depth by intersecting the sociology of race relations in and between the UK and USA, to uncover the misconstructions of race and a different interpretation of Whiteness in Western society and education.

First, is 'uncovering and deconstructing the social construction of race and Whiteness' by clarifying the *definition of the situation* (Guess, 2006 p. 653; Thomas, 1923, Thomas and Thomas, 1928). Social scientists project race and Whiteness define real situations with real social consequences (Thomas and Thomas, 1928, as cited in Guess, 2006), because they are what Durkheim claims as social facts,

‘A social fact is every way of acting, fixed or not, capable of exercising on the individual an external constraint; or again, every way of acting which is general throughout a given society, while at the same time existing in its own right independent of its individual manifestations.’ (Durkheim, [1895] 1938:13) as cited in Guess, 2006 p. 655)

Thus, race and Whiteness would be social facts unlike 'natural facts' because they feature in relation to human behaviour within a social community (Lehmann, 1995; Meena, 2019). For example, the term 'race' first appeared in 1481 by Frenchman Jacques de Brézé, and the term was used 'to characterize the relationship between hunting dogs and deer' (Mittman, 2015, p. 39). According to Ibram X. Kendi (2016) a century later the concept race appeared in the dictionary in 1606 by Frenchman Jean Nicot,

“Race...means descent,” he explained, and “it is said that a man, a horse, a dog or another animal is from good or bad race.” (As cited in Kendi, 2016, p. 36)

Thus, the social misconstructions of the concept race emerged in Western Europe, not applying to skin colour. The colonisers who “discovered” and moved to the “New” World and enslaved people who were Black i.e., the Europeans, used race to classify multi-ethnic Indians and multi-ethnic enslaved Blacks in the same racial group during colonialism and slavery (Kendi, 2016, p. 36). Race as we know it today was historically, politically, and socially mis-constructed and used scientifically to justify the false idea of the inherent superiority and inferiority of different racial groups. For instance, USA school children still learn and celebrate in history that Christopher Columbus “discovered” America in the curriculum, disregarding the over 2 million Indians who already were inhabitants of America and his involvement eradicating an entire Indian community in Barbados searching for gold (e.g., Jamaican Arawak) (Tyndale-Biscoe, 1962; Van Sertima, 1976). The White justification – i.e., approval by leaders who are White to normalise unequal policies – was Indians were savages who ‘had not subdued the land, and therefore had only a natural right to it, but not a civil right’, which had no legal standing (Anderson, 1994, p. 123).

The education system also disregards the historical presence of people who are Black in Britain, yet we know for a fact from the work of historian who is Black David Olusoga, that people who are Black had been living in Britain for centuries before enslavement (Olusoga, 2016 and 2020). This potentially creates a mentally malnourished society regarding race (racist) relations implicitly, reinforcing the idea to be great leaders, explorers, and belonging in American and British society is associated with a White racial identity. We are also taught to be colour-blind in society and education because ethnicity should be our focus despite studies revealing the GRMA experience discrimination in the job market based on their “non-European” sounding names (Bertrand and Mullainathan 2002; Wood et. al., 2009). Research suggests ethnicity and race aren’t synonymous (Santos et. al, 2010), however, ethnic inequality can be influenced by the social misconstructions of race. As mentioned, race is a social fact with real social consequences as with ethnicity. Thus, until the concept of race is reconciled the post-racial camouflage of ethnicity should not only be the focus, because they both have social meaning (Smaje, 1997). Furthermore, these social consequences of the misconstructions of race were products of Western Europeans *racist ideas* (defined in chapter 2 section Flippin’ the Script), using the term to group human races as scientific knowledge within society and education as inferior genetic characteristics, rather

than culturally different social characteristics (Gates, 2014; Montagu, 1997; Muir, 1993). Institutions within society and education are products built from and still perpetuate racism, and thus a more in-depth analysis of racist ideas and destructive science regarding the concept of race will be highlighted in the following section.

Secondly, Guess (2006) uses social constructionism to analyse the emergence of race and Whiteness by integrating Berger and Luckmann (1966), which claims that,

‘Reality is socially defined. But the definitions are always embodied, that is, concrete individuals and groups of individuals serve as definers of reality. To understand the state of the socially constructed universe at any given time, or its change over time, one must understand the social organization that permits the definers to do their defining. (Berger and Luckmann, 1966, p. 134)

When considering their definition of a socially constructed reality, to understand the social misconstructions of race and Whiteness one must acquire historical knowledge around the concept’s social structuration, which is organised by the ‘definers’ i.e., people who are White, and the social actors within these structures. The historical context of the definers and social actors of race will be discussed in the next section.

Lastly, recognising the social structure of race and Whiteness, Guess (2006) illustrates that Andrew Giddens (1984) Structuration Theory is similar to the claims of Berger and Luckmann, demonstrating ‘actors are producers as well as products of society and its structuration’ (Guess, 2006, p. 659). Structuration is a process that ‘involves the identification of the relationship between the individuals and the social forces that act upon us’ (Lamsal, 2012, p. 113). According to Giddens’ (1984) *duality of structure*, inside any group of people every person chooses to behave and has certain actions, and those actions create the structure of the group that they’re in. However, the structure that the group is in also empowers and limits the actions of certain people within the group, and thus actions create structures while structures authorise and limit future actions. Subsequently, social actors are producers and products of the social structuration, hence why ‘structure and agency cannot be separated’ (Giddens; 1984 and 1986; Guess, 2008; Lamsal, 2012, p. 113). For instance, social actors who had agency participated in producing unequitable rules, laws, and policies towards people who were Black (e.g.,

Jim Crow laws), creating socially structured race (racist) relations during the Enlightenment and EST (will be discussed in the following section). Therefore, utilising Giddens' (1984) perspective like Guess (2008) but from a UK and USA context, we can explore a definite structuration, the shared and powerful duality of race and Whiteness in society and education.

Furthermore, the *duality of structure* emphasises that 'rules and resources' form social structures (Giddens, 1984; Whittington, 2010). Rules are each person's understanding of how things should work, whereas resources are things that can help someone get things done. These rules are learned throughout someone's life as the 'natural order of things' (Guess, 2006, p. 662), and the resources shift from time to time depending on an individual's placement inside of a social structure. For instance, Giddens (1984) suggests there are two types of resources that structure society, (i) allocative and (ii) authoritative. According to Whittington (2010),

'Allocative resources involve command over objects and other material phenomena; authoritative resources concern command over people. Strategy, of course, is all about resources – both the material resources that are the subject of strategy and the authoritative resources that grant decision making power over these resources.' (p. 148)

Therefore, whoever has power has the ability to control the resources and influence the social structure. The intersections between allocative and authoritative resources produces three dimensions of interaction in the theory of structuration: (i) *Signification*, is how an event should be interpreted (e.g., language and semantic codes) and 'Giddens is expanding the role of the actor to be able to interpret and manipulate a structured language by interpretive meanings' (Lamsal, 2012, p. 114); (ii) *Domination*, which focuses on the power holder of the allocative and authoritative resources that is typically within a society's political and economic organisations; and (iii) *Legitimation*, demonstrating what should happen in a given situation, e.g., the moral order, the normative rules or 'unwritten codes that are embodied in an organisations particular culture' (Guess, 2006; Lamsal, 2012; Whittington, 2010, p. 148). Therefore, regarding structuration theory, the racialised structure of Western society and education has been influenced and socially mis-constructed by people of European/Caucasian/White descent.

Thus, being majority power holders in the Western colonies, Guess (2006) highlights that people who are White have used the three dimensions of interaction by first creating *signification* rules that support their racial identity i.e., Whiteness through exploitation and violence or scientific racism (illustrated in next section). Secondly, using *domination* over the GRMa by controlling the allocative and authoritative resources through corrupt economic and educational systems associated with slavery and the myth of meritocracy. This was accomplished by different forms of discrimination and limiting the resources of people who are Black through physical and mental abuse because of their race. Lastly, the past and present racialised society is influenced by the *legitimation* of the unwritten rules of Whiteness, which affected the social interactions within the Black-White binary and continues to threaten the lives of the GRMa (people of darker hue) and minority (White) today.

Moreover, the social misconstructions of race (racist) relations around the concepts of race and Whiteness intersect to display why, and how racism manifested in the past and currently in the present, between the GRMa and racial minority. Defining the definition of a real situation, understanding the social construction of (race) reality, and applying Giddens's Structuration Theory helps us uncover the emergence of the social misconstructions of race and Whiteness. An important factor to consider is that within each process of our structuration people who are White (predominantly men) appear to have historically defined and controlled social reality, which is still present in race (racist) relations. For example, since people who are White are the producers, it is no coincidence that the "founding fathers" of sociology and many other disciplines are all White. Knowledge producing resources were predominately accessible to men that were White and who continues to dominate in society, especially in education where 'dead White men' (an insensitive concept) continue to dominate the curriculum (Begum and Saini, 2019). Thus, a social misconception is a reality that is socially defined and embodied by individuals and groups, resulting in different forms of exploitation and oppression towards groups that insecure definers want marginalised. Therefore, the following sections and chapter will explain how the implementation of these three sociologies of knowledge reveals society's structuration affecting individual's perceptions, and education's current mis-constructed racial reality: with the racial rules (e.g., racism, Whiteness) in the Western World creating a binary that still manifests at present, because race differences were and still are a determining factor for allocative and authoritative resources between people who are Black and people who are White.

3.2 Racist ideas (the Enlightenment)

The Enlightenment signifies a period of European (World) history extending from 1650 to 1800. During this timeframe, the church's influence was disputed as people began to believe that scientific study could reveal the way society functions rather than from God's will. In 1784, according to Kant in his essay 'What is enlightenment?', 'Enlightenment is man's emergence from his self-imposed *nonage*'; *nonage* is the inability to use one's own understanding without another's guidance' (Kant, 1996, p. 2). Kant primarily mentions systems such as religion sets people up as guardians (e.g., pastors), encouraging their "cattle" to be "lazy" and "cowardice" people who can't work their way out of the *nonage*, which becomes second nature to them (Kant, 1996, p. 2). Thus, the Enlightenment meant having the freedom to think and enlighten one-self from *nonage*. When considering Kant's emergence of *nonage*, it is commendable to allow people to express free thought, and thus, the Enlightenment witnessed the dawn of modern science leading to substantial social changes from scholars like Kant that we still celebrate today. However, the Enlightenment also birthed the social mis-constructed concept of race with racist ideas being implemented in society and the education system by these same Enlightenment thinkers who many argue were racist (e.g., Blumenbach, Carl Linnaeus, and Immanuel Kant) (Gates, 2014, Gould, 1994; Sussman, 2014). These "Enlightened" scholars used their now-outmoded beliefs rather than evolving unbiased scientific observations and true knowledge that was after their time, to justify moral and biological notions of inferiority and superiority based on racial distinctions (Guess, 2006; Montagu, 1997; Sussman, 2014). Therefore, this next section will highlight how structuration from the Enlightenment and the EST mis-constructed and mis-reconstructed (e.g., "my nigga" being used as a "term of endearment") race as a real social consequence in society and education.

During the Enlightenment in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Western World developed the myth of human racism. The myth constructed an intellectual and cultural hierarchy, based on skin colour, sex, and/or culture (Hund, 2011; Kleingeld, 2019; Sussman, 2014;). For example, Hund (2011) states Kant's sexist "scholarship",

'The supporting roles are reserved for the weaker sex, the lower classes and the inferior races. Woman »[i]n the raw state of nature« is »a domestic animal« and can only develop her »weaknesses«, called »femininities«, in civilised times and dependence on the man.' (p. 75)

Furthermore, regarding skin colour, Robert Sussman (2014) explains ‘racism is a part of our everyday lives’ (p. 2), and early scientific racism by theorists who were racist was driven by bias of human distinction, without the assistance of modern science or empirical evidence. Over the past 500 years, society has been taught by these theorists who are predominantly male scientists, politicians, and other leaders who are White, that the European race – i.e., people who are White – are biologically superior to the GRMa (Muir, 1993; Sussman, 2014). Overtime a racial hierarchy has been taught and adopted in society, with physiological traits and behavioural responses linked to one’s race,

‘such as intelligence, sexual behaviour, birth rates, infant care, work ethics and abilities, personal restraint, life span, law-abidingness, aggression, altruism, economic and business practices, family cohesion, and even brain size.’ (Sussman, 2014, p. 2)

These socially mis-constructed racist pedagogies led to religious and racial injustices towards enslaved Africans, Jews, and Indians (to name a few). Past and present researchers have criticised many of the “scholars”, aka theorists that were racist (e.g., John Locke, Carl Linnaeus, David Hume, and Immanuel Kant etc.) whose views on human racial distinctions were historically respected during the time of Enlightenment. Kehinde Andrews (2021) – a scholar who is Black – recommends that because Western progress manifested from the emergence of racist theorists (e.g., philosophers and scientists) that ‘the Enlightenment and racism cannot be separated’ (p. 2). Thus, during the Enlightenment, racist theorists justified the abusive practices of colonialism, slavery, and genocide (Andrews, 2021).

Additionally, an example of a scholar who was racist during the Enlightenment was Immanuel Kant, who implemented his own racist categorisations of human races. Immanuel Kant was one of the most influential philosophers of the Enlightenment, despite his work in anthropology and physical geography involving overtly racist opinions and being deemed the father of scientific racism, Kant is still celebrated today (Jablonski, 2012; Sussman, 2014; Andrews, 2021). Kant’s race theory proposed that biology and climate was physiologically linked to the capacity of natural talent. Thus, in Kant’s (1775) essay he was the first to define four human “races” as fixed natural entities, inaugurating his White (European) race at the top of the racial hierarchy, followed by humans who were Yellow (Asians), Black (Africans), and Copper-red (“Native Americans”) (Jablonski, 2012; Sussman, 2014;

Andrews, 2021). Kant believed humans who were “non-White” could not morally self-educate themselves like humans who were White, and to be considered a human one must have the capability to think with reason.

Therefore, people of the ‘global racial majority’ (GRMa) were not deemed fully human and their ‘skin colours are merely degenerative developments of White originals’ (Eze, 1995, p. 217). This is because Kant – who also coined the term anthropology – believed geography was a causal reason for the GRMa’s “underdevelopment”, mis-applying climate theory with “racist anthropology” (Eze, 1995; Sussman, 2014, p. 27). Climate theorists (e.g., Puritans and Greeks) previously suggested people who are Black were born White and the sun burnt their skin, transforming them into “uncivilised beasts” who could only overcome their barbaric state if they assimilated to “superior” European ways (Kendi, 2016, p. 31 and 94). Eze (1995) illustrates Kant’s theories about people who were Black, suggesting they could be “trained” to be slaves and servants through physical coercion (e.g., whipped with “split bamboo”), ‘because of the negro’s thick skin’ being able to take a great deal of pain (p. 215). This type of “training” was necessary because of ‘climate and anthropological reasons’, since people who are Black were from the hottest zones resulting in a “lazy” and “idle” state that lacks moral character (Eze, 1995, p. 215-16).

Kant’s race theories not only associated humans’ race with their skin colour but expanded the notion to race to encompass group culture. Kant’s ideas of other cultures exhibited cultural racism (i.e., defined as interpreting a group’s culture as inferior while deeming an opposing culture/s superior, Kendi, 2019), whereby he set the stage for the “scientifically” mis-constructed opinions of people that were Jewish, presenting them as facts. For instance, according to Hund (2011), Kant’s anti-Semitic ideology depicted people that were Jewish as ‘vampires of society’ (p. 86) and even though people who are Jewish were deemed White, they were not quite ‘White enough’ (p. 87). It is also argued that his anti-Semitic ideas were used in Adolph Hitler’s justification to exterminate people who were Jewish. Thus, Immanuel Kant a well-known scholar exhibited racism, sexism, and anti-Semitism – just to name a few – yet is still celebrated. Kant as well as many other scholars and scientists during the Enlightenment used their knowledge (more so personal opinions) on the human race with fabricated “science” that assisted in the misconstruction of race that still affects people of the GRMa to this day. One reason for their racist opinions was to justify the EST, which transported people who were Black by force to different parts

of the diaspora (e.g., Brazil, British West Indies, American colonies) for free “slave” labour. Research suggests, it is no coincidence that the EST started to flourish economically during the time of enlightenment (Andrews, 2021; Fryer, 1989; Olusoga, 2016). Marx's ideology of proletariat being universal liberation fails because there would be no working class without enslaved labour (see critique on Marxism in next section).

Even though “scientists” of the enlightenment were producers of racist ideas to justify the enslavement of people who were Black (Andrews, 2020; Kendi, 2016). The origins of racist ideas stem from the mid-1400s when the Portuguese enslaved people who were Black in West Africa after people of Arab descent (‘240 on August 6, 1444’, as cited in Kendi, 2016, p. 23). The Portuguese realised the potential for a profitable EST by overpowering and enslaving the people who were Black in Guinea, South of the Senegal river (Moore, 1960). The Portuguese weapons of warfare (e.g., firearms and crossbows) far outmatched the people of Guinea. Gomes Eanes de Zurara’s (1453) *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* was one of the first anti-Black European books on the misconstructions of people who were Black in the modern era (Kendi, 2016; Moore, 1960). Its English translation was first published for the Hakluyt Society in London and made by Charles Beazley and Edgar Prestage (Azurara, 1896). In Ibram X. Kendi’s (2016) *Stamped from the Beginning*, he illustrates how Zurara’s book mentions the Portuguese being the first to sail the Atlantic whilst transporting enslaved people who were Black to Europe. Kendi goes on to illustrate how Zurara is the first European producer of racist ideas,

‘Some of the captives were “white enough, fair to look upon, and well proportioned,” while others were “like mulattoes,” Zurara reported. Still others were “as black as Ethiops, and so ugly” that they almost appeared as visitors from Hell. Despite their different ethnicities and skin colors, Zurara viewed them as one people—one inferior people.’ (Kendi, 2016, p. 24)

Thus, Zurara’s book birthed the modern era's anti-Black racist ideas. As mentioned, *racist ideas* suggest there is a hierarchy amongst different racial groups, deeming one racial group inferior or superior to another (Kendi, 2019). Therefore, the Portuguese were social definers who mis-constructed the racial identity of people who are Black through their own opinions to justify enslavement, which was also persuaded by the already existing anti-Black religious origins of the Curse theory. The Curse theory –

used by the Puritans for religious purposes - indicated that people who were Black were ordained by God to suffer the curse of Ham (see Kendi, 2016). Thus, the racist ideas permeating centuries ago validated a socially misconstrued racial hierarchy that still manifests today, affecting race (racist) relations amongst different racial groups; for example, how students who are White perceive their ReM peers in education, especially people who are Black. Additionally, historical anti-black racist ideas also affect Black unity through a misinterpretation of a word socially defined by people who are White that is perceived as a “term of endearment” through generations of Black political terminologies.

3.2.1 “My nigga”

‘See, nigga first was used back in the Deep South
Falling out between the dome of the white man's mouth
It means that we will never grow, you know the word dummy
Other niggas in the community think it's crummy
But I don't, neither does the youth cause we
Em-brace adversity it goes right with the race
And being that we use it as a term of endearment
Niggas start to bug to the dome is where the fear went
Now the little shorties say it all of the time
And a whole bunch of niggas throw the word in they rhyme
Yo I start to flinch, as I try not to say it
But my lips is like the oowop as I start to spray it
My lips is like a oowop as I start to spray it’
- A Tribe Called Quest, (1993) *Sucka Nigga*

Moreover, regarding anti-Black terms, in Richard Moore’s (1960) *The Name “NEGRO” Its Origin And Evil Use*, he highlights the first use of the word “negro” as a noun was used by the Portuguese during this same timeframe in relation to people who were Black. Moore (1960) explains the word “negro” and “negress” was used for the first people enslaved by the Portuguese before 1453 and was replaced by the all-encompassing word describing people who are Black at the time - Ethiopians. Thus,

‘From that period onward, this name “negros” was connected to and loaded with vicious and degrading notions of class, “race,” and color prejudice. In this way the black color and other physical features of African slaves were identified in the mind of the people generally with ugliness, repulsion, and baseness. By this name “negros,” African slaves were thereby branded as bestial and savage, innately inferior, fit by nature only for slavery, and indeed ordained by God himself for perpetual slavery.’ (Moore, 1960, p. 40)

The word “negro” was synonymously used to degrade people who are Black, and it is argued that anyone who desires to use this word, or any other dishonourable “N” word does so out of ‘ignorance or disrespect’ (Browder, 1989, p., 52). For instance, today the “N” word ending with an “a” has been argued in different branches of the Black community (e.g., many hip hop artists) as a celebratory “term of endearment” being associated with masculinity. However, Hiram Smith (2019) demonstrated that the concept “my nigga” was originated by *insecure White abusers* (slaveowners) and is a masculinising discourse, despite its current usage being socially mis-constructed to have ‘positive, neutral, and negative meanings’ in society. In Smith’s (2019) study, the data was collected from December 2015 to October 2017, being obtained from ‘computer-mediated communications’ (p. 437) on the internet (e.g., Facebook and Twitter) with a total sample of 1,009 tokens of male (n=574) and female (n=525) for gender, and Black (n=668) and White (n=340) for race. Also, ‘a chi-square test revealed that there is a significant difference in the distribution of meaning by speaker race ($p < .001$)’ (p. 454). Positive was used less frequently out of all three options for people who were Black, yet people who are White predominately used the term with purportedly positive connotations compared to their counterparts, nevertheless, the findings still suggest “my nigga” is not a term of endearment for either group (see table below). Additionally, there was a statistically significant difference between speaker gender ($p < .001$), ‘positive and neutral uses are favoured with males, whereas negative uses are favoured more with females’ (Smith, 2010, p, 455). Smith (2015) gave a detailed figure see below between race and gender:

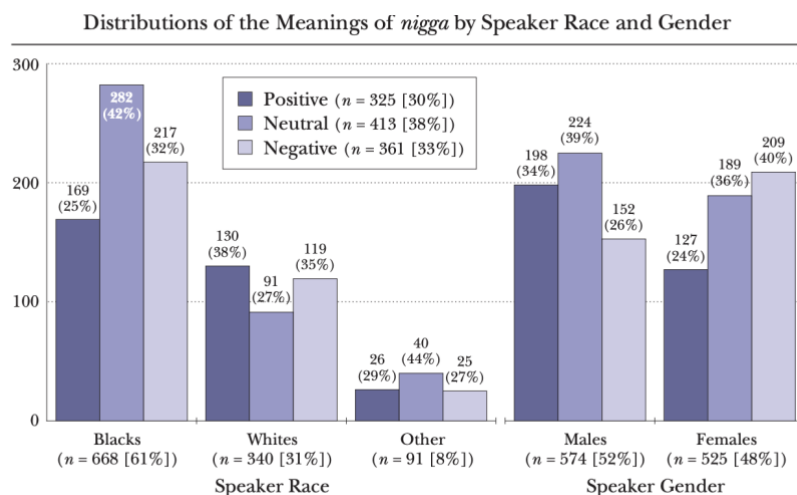


Figure 2: (based on Smith, 2019, p. 454)

Thus, people with a Black identity continue to adopt this term “my nigga”, despite its racial socialisation constructed during enslavement by its *insecure White abusers*, and the term socially reproduces anti-Black discourse implicitly constructing “Black inferiority”. In sum, “my nigga” in itself is anti-Black. David Banner a Black rap artist ‘Flips the script’ by poetically articulating the historical context of racist ideas and the term “my nigga” in his song called *Amy*,

‘They made niggas, we sprayed niggas
They got smart, gave us aids nigga
They killed kings, you a brave nigga
You god to, made nigga
Made to hate your dark skin
You god son, they satan
They killed natives, raped men
Then went to church hollering amen!
And gave us liquor, gave us coke
But blame niggas, for selling dope
Olie north, up in the whole hood
Snow white but it ain't soap
So whos to blame for this shady word
Say it how you want it, it's the same word
No matter what wings, it the same bird
From pyramids to dope serve
A, my nigga! (Why you call yourself that)
A, my nigga! (You supposed to be a god)
A, my nigga! (Why you call yourself that)
A, my nigga! (You supposed to be a god)
A, my nigga! (Why you call yourself that)
A, my nigga! (You supposed to be a god)
A, my nigga! (Why you call yourself that)
A, my nigga! (You supposed to be a god)’
- David Banner (2016), *Amy*

Therefore, the falsely constructed characterisation of people who are Black was used as a tool to justify enslavement, and prior to the Enlightenment race as a concept was not yet invented, yet racist ideas towards people who are Black were already manifesting in the social reality of groups (e.g., British and Portuguese). *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* by Zurara is pertinent to race (racist) relations because it had a direct influence on scholars of the Enlightenment, and further

scholarship like Darwinism impacting the racist ideas towards people who are Black and of Nazi theory (Hund, 2011; Moore, 1960; Sussman, 2014). Lastly, when considering Giddens Structuration Theory, Enlightenment thinkers who were racist and the Portuguese (e.g., Zurara) who were the first to transport enslaved people who are Black deeming them beasts, would be the social actors whose racist actions contributed to the social misconstructions of race to justify the exploitation of different groups of people.

Lastly, the product and producers of racist ideas have been discussed to illustrate the violence towards different racial groups - specifically people who are Black - and the justification to use such violence through “superiority” and “inferiority” methods (e.g., scientific racism). This explains Giddens *duality of structure*, where social structures do not reconstruct themselves, it is constantly social actors/agents – and in this context *insecure White abusers* - and their exploitative and violent practices that recreated social structures. It is important to understand that the structuration of the concept of race has been used to miseducate all groups, further “White supremacy”, and control and exploit people who are Black. Thus, the social misconception of the concept of race was a result of the social actors (e.g., Enlightenment thinkers) whose racist actions created scholarship that impacted society and education. It is also pertinent to recognise structuration during the EST, where the social structure had a direct impact on the Western economy, the concept of race, and the creation of Whiteness. Therefore, there is a deep-rooted legacy of slavery and slave ownership on categories of thought and racialisation. Even though the Enlightenment was used as a justification during most of the seventeen and eighteenth centuries, the EST gives an in-depth view on how the social actors allocative and authoritative resources flourished during this time-period by constructing racial rules that negatively disrupted the social interactions of people who are Black and White. These racial rules continue to plague and recreate our racialised society and education today, influencing student perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusiveness.

3.3 Resilient survivors

‘Dear sister, look I'm sorry for the things I did
When they kill ya in the darkness, we ran and hid
We were ripped from our families, didn't raise our kids

But shit, who raised us?
We got used to the pain, it didn't faze us
I don't want change, I wanna take aim at our oppressor'
- Trae tha Truth et al., (2020), *Time for change*

The establishment of slavery and the control of people who were Black were two of the more disheartening and notable features of Western society, having a large detrimental effect on societies economy and education (Potter, 1995), but also still remnant today. The issue of race was important on both the British and American plantations aka 'forced labour camps'. Therefore, the root of the socially mis-constructed race problem we have today begins with the EST, which started to flourish during the time of Enlightenment, resulting in the birth of capitalism. The previous section highlighted the social agents (e.g., monarchy and "Enlightened" scholars) with the majority of the power and resources who justified exploiting and marking people who are Black as inferior through racist ideas permeating. This next section will highlight the production of slavery and treatment towards the social actors with limited or no power i.e., people who are Black, and how racist myths and narratives make leaders who are White social definers, exploiters, yet "saviours" ignoring the class hierarchy (e.g., the myth of meritocracy).

To start, as explained throughout this thesis, language is important, and we should 'Flip the script' when referring to people who are Black as "slaves" or the "enslaved". Historically and presently, they are *resilient Black African survivors*. Resilient by (i) continuing to fight racial oppression, exploitation, and abuse; and (ii) survivors by overcoming such atrocities to construct their own capital with the limited opportunities given to them in the African diaspora by the social agents - i.e., mainly people who are White - who control the allocative and authoritative resources through violence and manipulation. Thus, FTS using *adverse political terminology* to reconstruct 'automatically activated racial attitudes' (illustrated in chapter 2), the terms slave owners or masters reinforces "White supremacy" and will be replaced with *insecure White abusers*.

The significance of race being tied to skin colour was misconstrued during the production of slavery, which is essential to understanding the effects of "White supremacy" developing in the Western World. In the British West Indies and American Colonies, at times omitted, mainly Indians and White

indentured servants were the early groups involved in the slave labour that was developed (Wareing, 2001). However, for the future production of the “New” World, planters demanded a higher rate of *resilient Black African survivors* that were cheaper and physically stronger to handle the labour and climate than their counterparts (Sussman, 2014; Patisso and Carbone, 2020). Thus, people who are Black were deemed suitable for this modification by the racist ideas of Zurara’s book arriving in the Americas in 1506 (Kendi, 2016; Moore, 1960). Indians were socially defined as “too weak” for the labour or hard to control (e.g., fight and die rather than be enslaved) by the same definers who were too lethargic to do the labour themselves (Degruy, 2017; Sussman, 2014). Likewise, indentured servants who were White were either too expensive or “idle” to do *insecure White abusers’* job, and thus, the people who were Black were “more appropriate” for the requirements of production (Isenberg, 2016; Lawrence and Keleher, 2004). In other words, it is argued the genesis of Black slavery was industrial not racial; instead of the colour of the worker it was the cheapness of labour and being able to overcome the horrific conditions - hence resilient. Coates (2015) summarises these interpretations implying that ‘race is the child of racism, not the father’. Obviously, *resilient Black African survivors* lived in Africa and as mentioned the first slave transport was the Portuguese sailing the Atlantic back to Europe. However, from a British context, one of the first British slave ships embarking to West Africa during slave-trade was a purchased British ship that was given to Sir John Hawkins – arguably one of the first English slave-traders - by Queen Elizabeth I herself to ‘boost profits’, called Jesus of Lübeck aka. the Good Ship Jesus (Olusoga, 2016, p. 51; Browder, 1989). Consequently, religious leaders reinforced, justified, and benefited from the enslavement of people who are Black using the Curse of Ham theory, as mentioned above. This is important to consider from a Durham University context, since the Durham Cathedral profited off a forced labour camp in Barbados during the EST (OpenLearn, 2006; Simmons, 1975).

3.4 Myths and racist narratives

Moreover, according to Anderson (1994) the total number transported during the EST were,

‘More than 35 million died en route to various ports, with approximately 15 million actually reaching the slave markets...estimated that a minimum of 15 million were shipped. Hundreds

of millions of the originally enslaved Africans offspring served as slaves or lived as subordinated, exploited human beings of hundreds of years.' (p. 68)

The numbers presented are critiqued through miseducating society through many myths and racist narratives, which formulate the racialised social structure we currently reside in today. Akala (2019) highlights in *Natives: Race and Class in the Ruins of Empire*, three mythological approaches to the slave trade from the context of British education:

1. 'Wilberforce set Africans free.
2. Britain was the first country to abolish slavery (and it did so primarily for moral reasons).
3. Africans sold their own people' (p. 125)

Myth one encourages people in British society and the educational system that again men who are White aren't just the violent executioners, but also "White saviours". Myth two demonstrates Britain as a moral country, yet Britain as well as the USA were the main beneficiaries of the EST and were not the first to abolish slavery. Research suggests the Slavery Abolition Act (1833) in Britain and the Emancipation Proclamation (1863) were legalised for government and economic interests (sugar and cotton), and not slave resistance (the Haitian Slave Revolution) (Thomas, 1997, as cited in Akala, 2019). For example, regarding resistance, Peter Fryer's (1989) *Black People in the British Empire*, highlights how *resilient Black African survivors* were 'active resisters' and from 1638-1837 there were 75 'slave-rebellions' in the British West Indies, with the Haiti Revolution being most prominent (Akala, 2019; Fryer, 1989). Also, two-thirds never made it to the slave markets, because of many heartfelt instances; (i) killing their own offspring (e.g., mothers would smother their babies to death to avoid enslavement), (ii) shipboard rebellions, (iii) mutilating themselves to reduce their value, and thus 'resistance was the norm, not the exception', and (iv) once arriving, learning how to read and write was also forbidden (Anderson, 1994, p. 84; Fryer, 1989, p. 85; Williams, 1987). Therefore, research suggests the abolishment of slavery did not end because people deemed it atrocious - although, many believed it was - but for the interest of *insecure White abusers'* government and economic goods at the time, yet in schools students are mainly taught to celebrate leaders who were White (e.g., William Wilberforce and Abraham Lincoln) and ignore the resistance of the *resilient Black African survivors* by only making them victims (Akala, 2019). These same processes are similar to the current Race Equality Charter, where UK Universities receive awards for their race equality work despite their lack of

acknowledgment conducting their own racist institutional practices that created racial inequity in the first place. Race Equality Charter is synonymous with the CRT theme of *interest convergence*, where Black progress is only considered if it converges with White interests (Bell, 1980). Therefore, history repeats itself in nuanced ways and again, in the current social structure people who are White make the rules and have majority resources to be the judge, jury, executioner, and “saviour” (Anderson, 1994; Brantlinger, 1985; DiAngelo, 2018).

Myth three, Africans sold themselves is ‘the historical version of “Black on Black violence”’ (Akala, 2019, p. 141). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many different ethnic, class, and cultural backgrounds populated Africa (Akala, 2019; Williams, 1987). In sum,

The victims of the transatlantic traffic did not think that they were being sold out by their “black brothers and sisters” any more than the Irish thought their “white brothers and sisters” from England were deliberately starving them to death during the famine.’ (Akala, 2019, p. 138)

Thus, ethnic differences in Africa, also known as ‘tribalism’, was one result of people who are Black “selling each other” to Europeans. Also, according to Degruy-Leary (2017), the myth of “Black on Black enslavement” derived from tribalism and prisoners of war resulting in victims being ‘indentured servants, not chattel’ (p. 34). Europeans used this tribalism and warfare to divide and conquer through ‘unequal exchange’ (Anderson, 1994, p. 113), i.e., exploiting people who are Black for their resources, because they didn’t desire wealth and power, and did not fully realise Europeans’ exploitation and violence (Anderson, 1994, p 113; Williams, 1987).

Additionally, a further myth to be considered as an extension to the previous three is the ‘myth of meritocracy’, which is a post-modern concept that correlates to the EST and Enlightenment, because it is argued as a racist narrative that is a camouflage form of modern racism (Bona-Silva, 2002; King 2015). ‘Meritocracy’, a term coined by British sociologist Michael Young (1958) in *The Rise of Meritocracy* is,

‘the social and occupational positions individuals occupy and the rewards they secure in terms of status, wealth and power are dependent upon their talents and how hard they work’ (Crawford, 2010, p. 3).

Although meritocratic approaches vary, the idea is ‘ability plus effort’ (Daniels, 1978, p. 207), results in upward mobility. In the context of education, Young believes ‘practically and ethically, a meritocratic education underpins a meritocratic society’ (Young, 1994, p. 88). This narrative is highlighted as problematic, suggesting it implies that people’s own failure is a result of them being at the bottom of the social, economic, and educational attainment hierarchy. Thus, ignoring inequalities such as the class discrepancies, racial discrimination, and stereotype threat towards groups that could impact their status (Crawford, 2010; Feingold, 2011; Mijs, 2016). Also, Young mentions ‘IQ + effort = Merit’ (Young, 1958, p. xiii, cited in Crawford, 2010), and testing and examination results are the egalitarian way (Young, 1994). This is also problematic because standardised tests were formed to prove and justify “Black intellectual inferiority” (Borthwick, 1996; Gillborn, 2018; Kendi, 2016; Scarr and Weinberg, 1976). For instance, the IQ test was an “objective” method where Lewis Terman (1916) suggested the test would illustrate,

‘enormously significant racial differences in general intelligence, differences which cannot be wiped out by any scheme of mental culture.’ (As cited in Kendi, 2016, p. 311)

This racist intelligence test is still being used today, and even though there is some validity, the creator Alfred Binet as well as other scholars’ question some of its competence and effectiveness on cognitive functioning (Richardson and Norgate, 2015; Bates, 2017). Additionally, the IQ test was also used in sexist ways in England, with scholars highlighting in post-World War II girls were outperforming boys, and thus a ‘lower-pass rate was fixed for boys to ensure their equal representation alongside girls’ (Gillborn, 2016 and 2018, p. 74; Martin, 2012). Also, social class backgrounds have implications to the IQ test, where the test is used to ‘denigrate the poor’, perceiving people with higher-class status to have “higher intelligence” (Bates, 2017, p. 6-7). These inequitable processes are why scholars suggest the educational system should assess pupils on different types of achievement rather than different levels of achievement to overcome attainment issues (Kendi, 2019; Mijs, 2016).

3.4.1 *Black Marxism (racial capitalism)*

Moreover, regarding social class, the meritocracy narrative has been pushed by middle- and upper-class groups who are predominately White. These overrepresented groups in “elite” higher education institutions adopt the narrative that they have necessary educational ability and skills, rather than acknowledging factors of their economic class status assisting their chances of acquiring merit (Boliver, 2017; Crozier, 2018; Liu, 2011). For example, in Nahai’s (2013) ‘Is meritocracy fair? A qualitative case study of admissions at the University of Oxford’, her qualitative study involved interviewing admissions stakeholders at Oxford University to understand their perceptions of merit as decision makers. The outcome of the study was stakeholders believed they were “fair” in their admissions process, despite being elitist and mainly selecting “socially privileged” students, ignoring the ‘unequal competitor starting points’ (Nahai, 2013, p. 699). Thus, when considering the class position of people who are White and middle class, the structuration of the EST is why the intersections of race and class status is important to consider in the myth of meritocracy, because Britain’s current class hierarchies in the modern West are a direct result of enslaving *resilient Black African survivors*.

This is because the development of Western Europe was a direct link to the EST, as unpaid forced labour towards *resilient Black African survivors* constructed the White working class in the West. For example, schools teach pupils the Industrial Revolution created warehouses and factories for labourers who were White but fails to mention factories such as the cotton mills in Manchester boosted as a result of the horrific unpaid forced labour by the 1.8 million *resilient Black African survivors* in the American South that never set foot in Britain (Olusoga, 2020, p. 5; Eddo-lodge, 2017). This is one reason why racism within the USA and UK’s social and economic structure is linked in this era. Thus, slavery built the North of England with slave ports in Liverpool (50% of EST) and Bristol facilitating the North’s development (Andrews, 2021; Olusoga, 2016 and 2020; Eddo-lodge, 2017). Britain’s “hands-off” participation to the EST has led people to believe Britain’s increased economy had little to do with slavery, since ‘most British people saw the money and not the blood’ (Eddo-Lodge, 2017, p. 5). However, the majority of Britain’s forced labour camps were in the West Indies and American South, and Britain was the most profitable country during this timeframe being known as the ‘King of the Slave Trading nations’ (Anderson, 1994, p. 131; Olusoga, 2016). Thus, the emergence of the European

(White) working class was alongside racism during the fifteenth century, and the two cannot be separated.

Racism boosting Britain's economy is why scholars contest Karl Marx theory of sociology, which highlights the struggle amongst capitalist and the European (White) working class. Pert-em-Hru, (2017) argues past Marxist agenda fails because it is Eurocentric in character like many other Eurocentric sociologies, by focusing on the European proletariat's liberation i.e., people who are White working class at a national, rather than including the GRMa at an international level (Pert-em-Hru, 2017; Virdee, 2019). For example, Marx argues that revolution or universal liberation would mean a highly skilled proletariat (Marx and Engels, 2012; Virdee, 2019), yet - as mentioned above - much of European wealth was accumulated from enslaving *resilient Black African survivors*. Therefore, slavery resulted in capital accumulation during the Industrial Revolution leading to racial capitalism and colonialism, which is why scholars argue 'you can't have capitalism without racism' meaning there would be no Marxist theory without the EST since the 'true revolutionary class has always resided outside the West' (Andrews, 2021, p. 171; Olusoga, 2020; Robinson, 1983). One of the racial criticisms of Marxist theory derived from - a scholar who is Black - Cedric Robinson's (1983) theory of *Black Marxism*, where he amalgamated the theories of Black radical tradition and racial capitalism by suggesting all capitalism is economically and socially structured by racialism creating inequities amongst racial groups. Robinson emphasis,

"Marxism, the dominant form that the critique of capitalism has assumed in Western thought, incorporated theoretical and ideological weaknesses that stemmed from the same social forces that provided the bases of capitalist formation.' (Robinson, 1983, p. 10)

Ultimately, because of being a Western misconception, Marxist theory is inaccurate without implementing racial aspects to capitalism, e.g., the historical resistance of people who are Black and defining the emergence of modern capitalism as an international misconception- birthing racism (Robinson, 2021; Virdee, 2019). To add, another flaw of European Marxism is 'imperialism', a concept that is articulated by scholars when critiquing Marxist theory (e.g., John Narayan and Satnam Virdee). Theorisations of imperialism through a traditional (European) Marxist perspective, 'have been unable to get a firm grasp of how racism and nationalism have been key to the imperial (dis)organisation of

labour under capitalism’ (Narayan and Sealey-Huggins, 2017, p. 2,392). Therefore, the racially ruptured history of the less identified proletariat i.e., for example the “Global South” (Narayan and Sealey-Huggins, 2017), being forcefully controlled by insecure European (White) imperialists is an additional lack of racial perception alongside racial capitalism in a European (White) Marxist movement. Thus, for racial inclusion, definers who are White must acknowledge the experience of *resilient Black African survivors* who built the economy.

Moreover, when slavery ended the government compensated 20 million pounds to 46,000 *insecure White abusers*, which payments just recently ended in 2015 (Andrews, 2020; Butler, 1988; Edo-Lodge, 2015; Olusoga, 2020, p. 56). Meanwhile, *resilient Black African survivors* and their descendants have received nothing, while seeing other groups receive necessary reparations such as survivors of the horrific Jewish holocaust each receiving 1 million -rightfully so, yet the survivors of the ‘600-year Black holocaust’ that created the majority of the world’s economy today has received nothing (Anderson, 1994; Degruy-Leary, 2017).

Understanding the implications of race and capitalism is pertinent to the ‘myth of meritocracy’ because wealth and lineage correlates to academic success (Liu, 2011; Rauscher and Elliot, 2014). For instance, if many ancestors of the White middle- and upper-class accumulated wealth during enslavement, justifying colonial practices and racist scholarship (e.g., Enlightenment scientific racism): It is no coincidence that people who are White middle- and upper-class are the producers of merit ideology, re-constructing racist/classist narratives to justify their social class status being “fair”. Therefore, the ‘myth of meritocracy’ in education is synonymous with Enlightenment racist ideas but on an expansive scale (e.g., racism, sexism, classism, ableism, sexualism), where the definers i.e., people who are White justify their superior status on an unconscious or conscious “implicit” level. Thus, it is important to acknowledge the meritocracy narrative for what it is, an implicit term used to justify racist, sexist, and classist ideas (for more on meritocracy see chapters 5 and 10).

Furthermore, if we apply the FTS framework to merit narratives, which ultimately suggest a group's “inferior” status is because they don’t work as hard, an internal insecurity should be highlighted. When FTS there are uneven resources and opportunities given to different groups. For example, not all

students who go to Eton (one of the top and most expensive private schools in Britain) get into Oxbridge, but it has nothing to do with the individual being unqualified or not good enough, the narrative is “it is competitive”. It is important to critique the narratives associated with education and background. Students with parents that are working class, White, Black, and/or Brown are often associated with narratives of parents being less invested in their education or absent from the home due to working multiple jobs (Reynolds, 2010; Solarzano, 1997). Narratives pushed for private school students include parents thinking their children deserve the best, and if affordable - for a select few - it may seem plausible. However, if we ‘Flip the script’, private schools are predominantly White and affluent, why is it not discussed that those parents are being insecure that their children, without the extra resources, will not be successful? That is, in state school, their children may not get the prescribed ‘merit’ required to enter “elite” institutions. Also, young pupils being shipped to boarding schools require less parenting.

In addition, FTS from a geography of ethnicity context in higher education is considered by Sol Gamsu and Michael Donnelly. They illustrate how race/ethnic segregation manifests at universities between upper-middle class students to the working-class students. Gamsu and Donnelly (2017) critiques the race and class narratives that suggests the ReM opting to choose universities that are more diverse and/or closer to home to be ‘insular’ restricting their futures. They flip the script by advocating:

‘But would it not be truer to say that the multiple generations of white upper-middle class students who tread the well-beaten path from London and south-eastern private schools into Oxbridge, Durham, Bristol, Edinburgh and a few other places are also intrinsically insulated and insular? And yet, it is not their spatial trajectories into university that are defined as “limited”, their horizons and futures “restricted”.’ (Gamsu and Donnelly, 2017)

Thus, the “elite” groups insecurities construct narratives of deficit thinking towards the ReM that they themselves exhibit demonstrating a hypocritical form of Whiteness (see chapters 8 and 11), because they ‘rarely leave the geographical bubbles of economic success and White culture’ (Gams and Donnelly, 2017).

Furthermore, the insecure narrative is less prominent, but what is a key theme is the expectation of a private school or a Russell group to be “better”. Research also suggests the higher level of diversity

people are surrounded by, the better people are in a lot of essential skills (Ferdman, and Deane, 2013; Whittaker and Montgomery, 2012). However, the insecurity is further exacerbated in Reay et al. (2011), where families who are White and middle class send their kids to more 'diverse' schools to 'accrue valued (multi)cultural capital' through a façade egalitarianism by practicing a form of 'excluding inclusivity' towards the Black and White working class (Reay, et. al., p. 1054-55). Therefore, merit could be viewed differently. A question might be, is a student who gets an A* from a state school and working-class background not possessing more 'merit' than a student who gets an A* at a top private school? For instance, Boliver, Gorard, and Siddiqui (2021) argue academic entry requirements for learners given less opportunity and resources should be reduced by higher-tariff providers, and a 'contextualised approach to admissions represents a crucial means of achieving fairer as well as wider access' (p. 8). (More on merit narratives- illustrated in chapter 10).

3.5 Conclusion

The social reality of the structural inequalities in the past has mis-reconstructed itself in similar ways within the present, and the reoccurring violence and marginalisation mentioned towards people who are Black is why they are *resilient Black African survivors*. The social misconstructions of anti-Black myths and racist narratives plague all racial groups by producing a racialised, sexist, and classist social structure that reconditions itself, because it supports the Black "inferiority" and White "superiority" that continues to be socially mis-constructed by the same racist definers - people who are White, typically middle- and upper-class men. Also, Europe was on the decline and non-industrialised, being desperate for free labour to overcome their subordinate global status. Thus, if we 'Flip the script' an insecurity and idleness could be highlighted, because *insecure White abusers* needed *resilient Black African survivors* free forced labour not the other way around. The curriculum is absent this understanding, which is why racist narratives continue to plague our society and education, creating a racialised social structure of mis-educated children who grow up as social agents reinforcing racist doctrine that is ingrained in their consciousness by believing: (i) people who are White are the knowledge producers and saviours; (ii) people who are Black or Brown are to blame for their subordinate status; (iii) we should be colour-blind; and (iv) meritocracy is the way forward dismissing how and why the unfair class hierarchy exists producing many undeserved- imbalance of resources

and opportunities in the first place. This is why anti-racist scholarship and movements such as decolonising the curriculum, Black Radicalism, Critical Race Theory are being mainstream more so at present despite being around for decades (mainly as a result of the hero George Floyd).

To conclude, understanding the formation and functioning of the EST are the beginning stages to further gaining knowledge of structuration through the concept of race, which during the EST simultaneously derived from the social trick of Whiteness. Therefore, the next chapter will highlight how the origins of Whiteness during this timeframe created legal doctrine that resulted in exclusive power for all racial groups who are White (e.g., White working class and White middle- and upper-class), producing the Black-White binary in society and education we currently still reside in today.

CHAPTER 4: THE WILD RACIST WEST (DEBUNKING WHITENESS)

‘Equality is oppression if all you know is privilege.’
- Propaganda and Minor (2020), *Contradiction*

The previous section highlighted the historical context of the social misconstructions of race and how its structuration has impacted the Western World. It also illustrated that the definers and social actors that produced racist ideas in the past were people that are White, which continues to be an observation in present society, too. As such, the next section expands further on race, highlighting the concept of Whiteness as a real social consequence in our social reality and how its structuration created the modern era concept of race and another form of racism (“White supremacy”). Whiteness is associated with many terms (e.g., hegemonic, institutional, and normative) and is a complex concept to define. Generally, people that are anti-racist agree that Whiteness has negative connotations. However, the concept of Whiteness is seen as controversial, with a barrier to racial inclusion being the perspective that ‘dismantling’ Whiteness requires (i) telling people who are White to be anti-White, and (ii) telling people who are White to see themselves as a race and stop being colour-blind.

In contrast, the concept of Whiteness can be generalised to people that are Black who adopt an assimilation strategy to their social interactions to acquire capital. Applying the ‘Flip the script’ lens throughout this thesis, the concept of Whiteness will be discussed as ‘problematic Whiteness’, intentionally separating Whiteness from being indisputably negative. Instead, the underlying idea is to reinforce that being White is not negative, it is the perpetration of problematic behaviour, i.e., racism, by people who are White. There have been diverse or newer forms of Whiteness in scholarship that are supposedly anti-racist yet have been critiqued as a neo-liberal Whiteness. For instance, particularising Whiteness in CWS counters its universal rank by expressing social agents to disaffiliate from White “supremacist” methods (Brewster, 2005; Wiegman, 2002). Meaning problematic Whiteness tends to socially reproduce itself, and people who are White become conscious of problematic Whiteness but construct scholarship that fails to transform it (see more below in section

White Insecurity). The section will also seek to promote the efficacious White identity exhibited by people who are White that align with anti-racist values.

Due to expansive research around the EST (Isenberg, 2016; Kendi, 2016), I will first highlight briefly how White Britain's lower socioeconomic groups (e.g., children of beggars and prisoners) were deemed "White Trash" that were socially and economically outcasted whilst being influenced or forced to migrate by their affluent White British peers for a "better" opportunity. Thus, becoming the majority of the first indentured servants in the Western colonies. Secondly, I will illustrate when more *resilient Black African survivors* (enslaved Black Africans) were stolen to the West and intermingled with White indentured servants and how this socially constructed the current concept of problematic Whiteness: with its structuration co-creating the Black-White binary in society and education today. Thirdly, an illustration on how the social misconstruction of Whiteness manifested (e.g., Flippin' the script on "White supremacy"). Lastly, how current scholars and organisations socially re-construct problematic Whiteness in more implicit ways using Black skin in White masks (e.g., the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities report).

4.1 Racial loyalty

To start, an in-depth focus on research that discusses the myth of the "New" World and how people who are White fit into the structuration of Whiteness is considered. Also, how its structuration links with *resilient Black African survivors*, which continues to manifest in society and education today too. In Nancy Isenberg's (2016) – a scholar who is White – '*White Trash*', she illustrates the myth of the "New" World being free and seeking religious liberty, but a majority of people who were White during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that arrived in the "New" World – in their own free will or kidnapped – were for economic (e.g., land ownership) and political (e.g., religious and governmental) power. British-Americans brought a great deal of English and British culture to the "New" World, and one of the central concepts to where "White trash" was first used is by Richard Hakluyt (man who is White), who was an Elizabethan adventurer that felt England was superior to Africa and other European nations (Bartells, 1992). Hakluyt made a pitch to Queen Elizabeth about why Britain needed to migrate to the "New" World (Isenberg, 2016; Kendi, 2016). The real reason he felt the "New" World

was important is because it would be the trash bin for the “poor”, the “idle”, criminals, and worthless “waste people” in England (Isenberg, 2016). More specifically, the American colonies were ‘presented as a cure’ where the ‘poor could be purged’ (Isenberg, 2016, p. 22). Richard Hakluyt and even former Presidents and Prime Ministers associated the idea of trash with the White population who were “poor” deeming them “rubbish”, a term that is still used today (Isenberg, 2016). Therefore, in the Western World context, racist ideas were not only used to ridicule *resilient Black African survivors*, but class racism (defined below) was also used by the British towards their own British peers who were White that were structured to embody a lower economic status.

Once settled upon the “New” World, many of the ‘waste people’ became indentured servants i.e., a prototype of chattel slavery for labourers who were White (many being children) (Martinot, 2000, p. 47), whose expectations often did not meet the reality they would face once sent to the “New” World colonies. One way of recruiting these people was through a process used in London called ‘spiriting’, which involved tricking, kidnapping, and rounding up children of beggars who would then be auctioned off in the “New” World (Coldham, 1975; Wareing, 2001). Indentured servants who were White were treated like scum but had relative rights and privileges, where few had the chance to be free and/or acquire wealth (Martinot, 2000; Nelson and Williams, 2019). Unlike their counterpart, *resilient Black African survivors* where the majority had no rights or privileges and ‘illegally resisted legal slavery’ (Kendi, 2016, p. 69). Additionally, when more *resilient Black African survivors* were taken to the plantations and had to work with indentured servants who were White, *insecure White abusers* were in a dilemma, fearing the two groups would revolt and keep rebelling together with the realisation that they were the majority – also, interracial marriages were occurring (Fryer, 1989; Patisso and Carbone, 2020). As a result, to manage the rebellions and interracial relationships, power was provided to the indentured servants who were White.

The slave/racist codes in Barbados (1661) and Virginia (1705) were implemented. According to Nelson and William’s (2019) the slave codes also later called the Black codes ‘consisted of a series of legislations aimed at managing the way that white people interacted with Black slaves’ and banning *resilient Black African survivors* from ‘assembling in public, receiving an education, and owning weapons’ (p. 87). Applying Gidden’s (1984) *signification* and *legitimation* rules unpacks the colonial legislation of the

codes (e.g., three measures of control); (i) property, (ii) preventing crossbreeding, and (iii) White unity. First, legislators marketed and confiscated all property owned by any *resilient Black African survivors* and rewarded the fifty acres of land to freed servants who were White (Kendi, 2016; Nelson and Williams, 2019). Secondly, they banned interracial relationships and perpetuated that women who formed relationships with men who are Black were a disgrace to their race, yet men who were White could rape and have relationships with women and men who were *resilient Black African survivors* (e.g., miscegenation practices), creating mixed race babies for punishment, sexual desire and economic purposes (Anderson, 1994; Isenberg, 2016; Nelson and Williams, 2019; Patisso and Carbone, 2020). Thus, setting the stage for a hypocritical form of problematic Whiteness. Lastly, legislators made slave patrols mandatory for the prior indentured servants who were White. These patrollers were assigned to enforcing traumatic and horrific discipline (e.g., whipped, castrated, hanged, raped, and beaten) and monitoring for catching runaway *resilient Black African survivors* (Degruy, 2017; Durr, 2015; Hadden, 2003). The slave patrol set the foundations of the current police force in the Americas and some in Britain (rooted in policing the working class), which is why a fundamental principle of the Black Lives Matter Movement is to 'Defund the Police' (Black Lives Matter, 2021; Hadden, 2003; Joseph-Salisbury et. al., 2020; Platt, 1982; Potter, 1995). An Afro-American rap artist KRS-One poetically illustrates the impact and correlations of historical policing in today's generation within his song titled *Sounds of da Police*, which underpins the aforementioned,

'Now here's a likkle truth
 Open up your eye
 While you're checking out the boom-bap, check the exercise
 Take the word "overseer, " like a sample
 Repeat it very quickly in a crew for example
 Overseer
 Overseer
 Overseer
 Overseer
 Officer, Officer, Officer, Officer!
 Yeah, officer from overseer
 You need a little clarity?
 Check the similarity!
 The overseer rode around the plantation
 The officer is off patrolling all the nation
 The overseer could stop you what you're doing

The officer will pull you over just when he's pursuing
 The overseer had the right to get ill
 And if you fought back, the overseer had the right to kill
 The officer has the right to arrest
 And if you fight back they put a hole in your chest!
 (Woop!) They both ride horses
 After 400 years, I've got no choices!
 The police them have a little gun
 So when I'm on the streets, I walk around with a bigger one
 (Woop-woop!) I hear it all day
 Just so they can run the light and be upon their way
 Woop-woop! That's the sound of da police! That's the sound of the beast!
 - KRS-One (1993), *Sounds of da Police*

4.2 White Insecurity

Furthermore, the racist codes reinforced the idea to those who are White and lower class that their skin is more important than their economic interest, and people who were Black were considered property and inferior to them (Beckles, 1988; Patisso and Carbone, 2020). This is highlighted in Martinot (2000), where the racialisation and the construction of class derived when 'plantation hegemony took the form of White solidarity' and the 'social difference was defined by structural roles rather than by economic position' (p. 50). Thus, White racial unity between people who were the elite and lower class formed. Applying Gidden's Structuration Theory, the insecurities of the elite constructed racialised human relations (e.g., Black-White binary) to continue their dominance by consciously socially mis-constructing the concept of race as we define it today by using racial rules (e.g., White solidarity) and allocating specific resources (e.g., slave codes, myth of meritocracy) to exclusively benefit people who are White (Christian, 2002; Lawrence and Keleher, 2004). This White unity process socially constructed the concept of problematic Whiteness while simultaneously forming the all-encompassing term "White supremacy". In the British context, Gillborn (2006) describes "White supremacy" is used,

'when the white power-holding group perceived its interests to be threatened, then no amount of human rights legislation nor self-congratulatory rhetoric about "British decency and fair-play" stood in the way of British citizens (of "non-white" appearance) facing a radical reappraisal of their worth and significance.' (p. 323)

Thus, racism in the form of “White supremacy” is camouflaged and normalised creating the social, economic, political, and cultural history of European expansion. Also, reinforcing the word “supremacy” contributes to implicit language that is detrimental to society and groups psychological well-being, because it socially/classically conditions (highlighted in chapter 2) social actors to associate Whiteness with supremacy. As mentioned, no race is superior to any other race. If we ‘Flipped the script’ to highlight their concern of a “threat”, a level of insecurity is being demonstrated. Thus, *White insecurity* would be more accurate, where people who are White are insecure about losing their theft status (power), resulting in problematic behaviour (e.g., exploit, kill, manipulate) to further their domination, besides gaining resources in an inclusive manner or independently. This aligns with the PTMF (Johnstone and Boyle, 2018) mentioned in chapter 2, where certain threat responses occur when someone’s power is under threat. Again, the structuration of the concept Whiteness is mis-constructed by the same definers and producers - people who are White, affluent, and typically men.

4.2.1 Cress Theory

Additionally, this insecurity for power by people who are White is critiqued by a woman scholar who is Black - Francis Cress Welsing. In Welsing’s (1974) ‘The Cress Theory of Color-Confrontation’, she suggests “White supremacy” developed in the fear apart of people who are White about ‘White genetic annihilation’ and the concern about their survival being the global racial minority. In her psychoanalysis, the ‘global racial majority’ (GRMa) make up three quarters of the world and the quality of Whiteness is a ‘genetic inadequacy or deficiency’ that is not a ‘normal’ trait of a human being (Welsing, 1974, p. 34). Thus,

‘The Theory of Color-confrontation states that the white or color-deficient Europeans responded psychologically with a profound sense of numerical inadequacy and color inferiority upon their confrontations with the massive majority of the worlds people all of whom possessed varying degrees of color producing capacity. This psychological response, be it described as conscious or unconscious, was one of deeply sensed inadequacy which struck a blow at the most obvious and fundamental part of their being, their external appearance.’ (Welsing, 1974, p. 34)

Welsing's Theory of Color-Confrontation interprets the construction of *White insecurity* as being a result of ego defence mechanisms used in Freud's (1894) Psychoanalytic Theory (Welsing detests Freud's inability to critique his own European ancestor's behaviour inflicting oppression on the GRMa, Welsing, 1974 and 1991). Welsing illuminates his three types of defence mechanisms: (i) *repression*, an unconscious defence that removes threatening or disturbing thoughts from becoming conscious (Boag, 2010; Freud, 1915); (ii) *reaction formation*, where an individual is consciously aware of 'converting a socially unacceptable impulse into its opposite' (Baumeister et. al., 1998 p. 1085; Boag, 2010); and (iii) *projection*, a cognitive bias where an individual attributes a perceived threatening characteristic in oneself onto another person (Baumeister et. al., 1998; Cramer, 1987; Freud, 1936).

Regarding an insecurity manifesting amongst people who are white, one defensive example is repressing feelings of inferiority by being absent of colour (significantly less melanin), and therefore consciously or unconsciously attributing negative qualities to skin colour - e.g., Blackness – yet people who are White tan to make their own skin darker (Jamison, 2017; Welsing, 1974 and 1991). Secondly, is the myth of White genetic superiority, where people who are White's defensive reactions continues to use institutions to appear superior while making the GRMa feel inferior (e.g., Enlightenment scholars who were racist) (Christian, 2002; Jamison, 2017; Welsing, 1974). Lastly, mis-constructing political, social, and economic structures that project the GRMa as inferior by using negative language. For example, “non-White” itself is a double negative resulting in a positive statement’ (Welsing, 1974, p. 36) (for other defence mechanisms: see Welsing, 1974 or Jamison, 2017). These defence mechanisms provide increased scope to question whether slavery, colonialism, and genocide manifested for economic means or an inferiority complex (a far less research approach critiquing White identity). Therefore, the theory of Color-Confrontation highlights racism in the form of *White insecurity*, prohibiting racial inclusion, because it may appear to some people who are White - “diversity = White genocide” due to them being genetically recessive (Welsing, 1974).

Therefore, *White insecurity* can be defined as people who are White that are insecure about their racially deficient positioning and maintaining their theft status (power), resulting in problematic behaviour (e.g., exploit, kill, manipulate) to gain and/or further their control, besides gaining resources in an inclusive or independent manner. This aligns with (i) the Cress theory, and (ii) the PTMF

(Johnstone and Boyle, 2018) mentioned in chapter 2, where certain threat responses occur when someone's power is under threat, ultimately being underpinned by the three sociologies of knowledge illustrated in these Wild Racist West chapters. Again, the structuration of the concept Whiteness is mis-constructed by the same definers and producers - people who are White, affluent, and typically men. Furthermore, *White insecurity* is the interplay between concepts such as 'White fragility' and "White supremacy". The latter is not simply a belief that people who are White are superior to other races, but a structural process that is normalised highlighting the policies that create racial advantages for people who are White globally (Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Gillborn, 2006). White fragility is a defence mechanism that halts racial progress, and Robin DiAngelo – a female who is White that coined the term – emphasises it is,

‘a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include the outward display of emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation. These behaviors, in turn, function to reinstate white racial equilibrium.’ (DiAngelo, 2016, p. 247)

Thus, White fragility is in juxtaposition to *White insecurity* because it is a response to people who are White having to confront their racial “privileges” as a result of the racist social structure benefiting them i.e., “White supremacy”. While White “supremacy” and fragility fixates on the structure and behavioural responses comparable to *White insecurity*, *White insecurity* specifically identifies the roots of who (White perpetrators) and what has/is mis-constructing our social worlds; integrated with why and i.e., White social agents different forms of defensive behaviours stemming from a threat to their power creating the racist structure. This in turn generates concepts such as White fragility and White privilege. Additionally, “White supremacy” associates Whiteness with supremacy, and is harmful language that should be removed from our racial reality (as mentioned in chapter 2). In sum, *White insecurity* is a ‘constructively rehumanising’ concept - i.e., *adverse political terminology* - being an amalgamation of highlighting the harmful multifaceted structural and behavioural responses by people who are White. This concept is pertinent to our social-psychological functioning with increased scope for racial groups and perpetrators who are White to self-reflect and reimagine the processes of

their racial reality through ‘automatically activated racial attitudes’ (see Chapter 2: Flippin the Script section).

4.3 Problematic Whiteness

Moreover, with the origins of Whiteness and White racial identity having a ‘violent career’ (Leonardo, 2002) by attributing White racial groups identity as being superior to other racial groups, dismantling Whiteness would seem to be a plausible solution. For instance, many scholars have argued people need to be anti-White:

- ‘to the extent that a man can be feminist, whites can be anti-white’ (Leonardo, 2002, p. 31).
- Ignatiev’s (1997) ‘The point is not to interpret Whiteness but to abolish it’ in *Race traitor*, he expresses ‘one must be a traitor to the White race’ and the task is to ‘make it impossible for anyone to be White’ (p. 5-6).
- Whiteness is not just oppressive and false, it is ‘nothing but oppressive and false’ (Roediger, 1994, p. 13).

Dismantling problematic Whiteness may even be expanded, if we ‘Flip the script’ by emphasising it is not just anti-Black but also many aspects are anti-White. As mentioned above, racist ideas towards people who are White and lower class have never changed. However, as mentioned, it is hypocritical and contradictory to tell people to embrace their Blackness, whilst telling people who are White to be anti-White and not be colour-blind.

Furthermore, regarding problematic Whiteness having aspects of anti-Whiteness, research suggests affluent people who are White still perceive their same-race peers as inferior “White trash” or ‘Not Quite White Enough’, until the elites see fit (Isenberg, 2006; Wray, 2006). For example, the IQ test was also used to test the education of Southern people who were White in the USA deeming men to be at a moron level (Isenberg, 2016 p. 199). Also, Isenberg (2016) illuminates that in the early 1900s, Eugenists felt the ‘new race problem’ in the USA was the ‘worthless class of anti-social whites’ (p. 200). This is also known as class racism towards a race-class (e.g., White working class), where Kendi (2019) expresses,

‘When we racialize classes, support racist policies against those race-classes, and justify them by racist ideas, we are engaging in class racism.’ (p. 153)

Thus, when people accentuate poor people who are White, Brown, or Black as idle, they are expressing the ‘intersections of an elitist and racist idea’ (e.g., myth of meritocracy) (Kendi, 2019, p. 152). A century later society has an identical class racialisation towards the White working class in the UK, where class inequality is a prominent focus compared to the USA context. For instance, in Hollingsworth and Williams (2019), young pupils who are White working-class in schooling are deemed “chavs”, “gangsters”, and “townies” who are “violent”, “brash and excessive dress”, and have “lack of respect for education” (p. 473) are seen as inferior to their White middle-class counterparts. This mistreatment towards the White working class is why their group tend to disregard Peggy McIntosh’s (1988 and 2020) notion of *White privilege*, which is ‘an invisible package of unearned assets’ (p. 1). However, a further interpretation of White groups receiving uneven opportunities and resources could be highlighted through the scholarship of Sharon Sullivan (2017) a scholar who is White, who challenges the construction of White privilege by highlighting White race-class identities using W.E.B. Du Bois’ ‘wages of whiteness’.

Du bois describes the ‘public and psychological wage of whiteness’ as the facilitation of poor White labourers being lifted by their Whiteness and having a sense of entitlement over the GRMAs. When considering Du Bois’ ‘wages of whiteness’, Sullivan deconstructs the concept by challenging ‘wage’ which distracts White perceptions into believing it is structured around financial benefits, thus she developed the terms ‘White (class) privilege’ and ‘White priority’ to differentiate White race-class groups. She believes White (class) privilege explains affluent (e.g., middle- and upper-class) Whites opportunities, while White priority explains working class White opportunities. White priority is a ‘felt sense of coming before someone else’ and ‘an absence of an obstacle, rather than a positive advantage’ (Sullivan, 2017, pg. 177-178). Thus, even if someone is not financially privileged their White skin keeps them from being at ‘the bottom of the well’ (Bell, 1992). This is like Kalwant Bhopal’s (2018) ‘*White Privilege: the myth of a post-racial society*’, where she suggests Gillborn (2012) uses a race-class analysis between people who are White from working and middle-class backgrounds,

‘He suggests that the white working class are beneficiaries of whiteness, but “...are also at times in a liminal position, where they can be demonised when necessary or useful...they provide a buffer, a safety zone that protects the white middle classes”.’ (Gillborn, 2012, as cited in Bhopal, 2018, p. 25)

Therefore, despite the “White trash” and “chav” narratives towards people who are white and working class, they still have racial privileges compared to their GRMa counterparts. Thus, no person who is White can escape some form of racial privilege (Ignatiev, 1997), and for racial inclusion it is pertinent for people who are White to identify the intersections of their race and class identities.

Moreover, regarding the formation of problematic Whiteness pinning people who are White working class and the GRMa against each other, we see the same tactics today. For instance, Brexit and the election of Donald Trump, where the populist racialisation of people who are White and working class adopt narratives about “immigrants” stealing their jobs, which can lead to racism and xenophobia, (e.g., racialised nationalism) (Arday, 2020a; Gough 2017; Mondon and Winter, 2019; Virdee and McGeever, 2018). The expectation appears to be that if “immigrants” were gone that their economic circumstances would be better, yet history has shown this economic expectation is unrealistic if middle- and upper-class *White insecurity* continues to manifest. According to Gough (2017) this political agenda ultimately perpetuates the same inequitable ideas, shifting responsibility, encouraging blame of others who are disadvantaged without needing to improve socioeconomic disparity. Again, the people who are White and affluent maintain their position, whilst the majority of those who are not given the same opportunity and resources fight.

4.4 Contemporary Sambos

‘Jane Bond, never Jane Doe
And I Django, never Sambo.’
- Janelle Monae (2018), *Django Jane*

Lastly, another reason for the reinventing of the concept of Whiteness is because people of the ‘global racial majority’ (GRMa) are accessing power, and when habits of problematic Whiteness are adopted, this can absolve them from having racial responsibility. For instance, the recent Sewell (2021)

‘Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities Report’, suggests institutional racism (IR) does not exist and uses Black skin in White masks (see Fanon, 1967): i.e., where *White insecurity* is practised and internalised by people with Black skin to further problematic Whiteness by plastering GRMa faces on the cover of the report. In the British context, the social reality of racism has been a USA problem, however the previous sections illustrating research suggests otherwise. The report was constructed because of the lynching of the hero George Floyd by a police officer Derek Chauvin. This lynching sparked Black Lives Matter protests uniting all types of racial groups globally, and Britain was forced to address their racism problem in society and education. The report has since been denounced and criticised by many scholars and institutions (Bhopal, 2021; Farar, 2021), and while there are many flaws to highlight, problematic Whiteness institutionally reproduces itself within two anti-equality practices, (i) reproducing the Black-White binary conflict in education through cultural racism and (ii) contemporary Sambos.

First, the report claims children who are White as race victims, and pupils who are White working class are behind most pupils who are “ethnic-minority” (Bhopal, 2021; Sewell, 2021 p. 29). However, Gillborn (2000 and 2012) emphasises pupils who are White working class have been struggling for decades and White victimhood impedes racial progress in education, because ‘the class bias suffered by white youth is reconceptualized as a race bias’ (p. 272). Thus, the people who identify as White working class adopt narratives that the GRMa are the problem of their progress (Gillborn, 2000 and 2012). Likewise, Bhopal (2021) critiques of the report pinpoints to its use of free school meals being misleading statistics since ‘around 12% of white children claimed free school meals, but around 60% of white people considered themselves “working class”’. The Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities Report emphasises,

‘White children on free school meals lag behind every other group in Progress 8 attainment levels at secondary school. They are also least likely to progress to university. Poor White groups, and especially poor White boys, do badly in the education system everywhere, whereas in some areas at least, especially London, poor ethnic minorities are improving rapidly.’ (Sewell, 2021, p. 38)

Whilst this is extremely important to reconcile, as mentioned, these narratives have been highlighted in Gillborn’s study over twenty years ago. Therefore, problematic Whiteness proceeds to reproduce

itself by pinning the pupils who are White that are not given the proper opportunity and resources against the GRMa, meanwhile the status of people who are affluent maintains and goes unquestioned. Thus, if we 'Flip the script', an in-depth report should be focused on strictly middle- and upper-class groups to understand their status in society from a historical and political context, since the financial stability is perceived to be from their own "hard work".

Secondly, contemporary Sambos could be examined regarding the 'Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities Report'. Sambo is an enslaved character who is Black in many books and movies (e.g., Black face and minstrels), most notably the famous book by Harriet Beecher Stowe (1852) called *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. "Uncle Tom" is usually a derogatory term in the Black community towards someone who is Black that sold out their race i.e., using self-protective strategies to disrupt Black resiliency overcoming *White Insecurity*. However, in the book Tom was a *resilient Black African survivor* who was beaten to death because he refused to snitch on his runaway companions who escaped enslavement (e.g., *resilient Black African survivors* who were women) (Beecher-Stowe, 1852). Therefore, scholars have contested this term by emphasising the focus for impeding Black progress should be on his snitch and murderer, Sambo. Sambo is considered an enslaved overseer who uses self-protective strategies by being a 'yes man' to the *insecure White abuser* (Simon Legree) that is ordered to beat Tom to death for refusing to snitch. According to Claud Anderson (1994) in his book '*Black Labour White Wealth*', he illuminates that Sambo is synonymous with a Black Conservative (Tory), and these Sambos are used by leaders who are White (e.g., PM Boris Johnson) to push racist doctrine to the forefront by adopting colour-blind and race-neutral ideology to then become a blockade of Black progress.

Regarding the report, the commissioner was Dr Tony Sewell CBE - a man who is Black - and even though notions of problematic Whiteness and White privilege is on display this ignores the racial accountability towards Dr Sewell. Thus, the 'symbolic betrayal of the Black race' (Anderson, 1994 p. 17) is adopting ideology that is a post-racial camouflage form of racism: For example, cultural racism by co-constructing a cultural hierarchy standard, blaming family households' culture for children's struggles in education with no context, and thus impeding GRMa progress (Farar, 2021; Kendi, 2019; Sewell, 2021). Also, the low achievement of boys who are White working-class is "class and gender" based (Farar, 2021; Sewell, 2021), yet as mentioned, studies have shown their same middle-class peers

exhibit cultural racist ideas by viewing them as violent “chavs” and/or rubbish “White trash” (Hollingsworth and Williams, 2019; Isenberg, 2016). This arguably correlates to the historical context of explicit racist ideas mentioned by previous scholars who are White (e.g., Enlightenment racist ideas), but in a more implicit way - likewise in chapter 3.

Consequently, a select group of definers who are Black like Tony Sewell and MP Kemi Badenoch (denouncing Critical Race Theory in Parliament, OldQueenTV, 2020), who become the self-appointed spokespersons for Black groups should be void of problematic Whiteness and held responsible for socially reproducing racist ideas to please their *insecure White abusers*. Practicing Black on Black enslavement by being Sambos aka *Black African Betrayers* (illustrated in analysis chapter 9) to have their opportunity holding the whip. Pinpointing contemporary Sambos (typically people who are Black and middle- and upper-class) is important to consider for racial inclusion, because for institutions to be inclusive they need to adopt an intra-racial intersectional approach, i.e., ‘intra-racial intersectionality’ to recruit diversely amongst protected (personal) characteristics (e.g., Black, gender, and class) within the same race/ethnic groups in predominantly White spaces (see chapter 9 similar participant perception). Ultimately, the report - like the slave codes - is perceived to develop out of an insecurity feeling a threat, which was racial group unity and anti-racism progress because of the hero George Floyd. The report practices problematic Whiteness and promotes racism by implicitly giving economically disadvantaged people who are White narratives to continue competing with the GRMa, while simultaneously avoiding a less critiqued examination, i.e., the perpetrators conducting *White insecurity*.

4.5 Conclusion

Akala’s (2012) rap song *Fire in the Booth*, poetically articulates problematic Whiteness,

‘In this country the first enslaved were the working class
What’s changed?
Worst jobs, worst conditions
Worst taxed, look where you’re livin’
You go to the pub, Friday night
You will fight with a guy, don’t know what for

But won't fight with a guy, suit and a tie
 Who sends your kids to die in a war
 They don't send the kids of the rich or politicians
 It's your kids, the poor British
 That they send to go die in a foreign land
 For these wars you don't understand
 Yeah they say that you're British
 And that lovely patriotism they feed ya'
 But in reality, you have more in common with immigrants
 Than with your leaders
 I know, both side of my family
 Black and white are fed ghetto mentality
 Reality in this system
 Poor people are dirt regardless of shade
 But with that said
 Let's not pretend that everything is the same
 When our grandparents came here to Britain
 If you had a criminal record you couldn't get in
 Yet that ain't protect them from all the stupid, stupid abuses they would be livin'
 Kicked in the teeth, stabbed in the street
 Many times fired bombed our houses
 Put faeces through our letterbox
 And of course the cops did so much about it
 Daily, up to the eighties
 People spittin' into my pram cos' I was a coon baby
 But of course, that has had no effect on why today we are crazy
 And none of this was for any good reason
 They were just dark and breathing
 To ease the guilt now for all of this treatment
 Constant stereotypes are needed.'
 - Akala (2010), *Fire in the Booth*

To conclude, the definers and social actors of problematic Whiteness have set the stage for *White insecurity* by four main methods, using laws (e.g., slave codes), racist narratives (e.g., "White trash" and Black "inferiority"), fabricated research (Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities Report), and contemporary Sambos (e.g., Black African Betrayers) to sustain their position. Thus, the social misconstructions of the concepts race and Whiteness historically intersect and their structuration manifest in similar "justifiable" ways in present society, too. Giving people who are White and economically-disadvantaged social power to inflict upon the 'global racial majority' (GRMa) – especially people who are Black – creating the Black-White binary that continues to impede not just

social, economic, and political Black progress but lower-class White progress. Additionally, the reinvention of Whiteness should be considered because the current concept disavows accountability towards GRMA leadership and prohibits racial inclusion by contradictory and hypocritical narratives. For example, telling people who are White to be anti-White but to see themselves as a race, but preaching people to be Pro-Black or embrace their Blackness. Therefore, the construction of problematic Whiteness has aspects of being anti-White and anti-Black, with its existence producing a real social consequence that affects all racial groups in society and education. So, the formation and current social structure of problematic Whiteness is a trick constantly being achieved through deception, with people who are White encouraged to exert control over the GRMA, to avoid people who are White and affluent giving up their power. Now that the research examined illustrated the social misconstructions of the concepts race and Whiteness developing out of racism in the form of *White insecurity*. The next chapter will examine current processes that have been impacted by these social misconstructions through practicing racism and preventing racial inclusion in UK education, with correlations to education in the USA.

CHAPTER 5: RACISM IN EDUCATION PROCESSES (6 REP)

‘I wrote these words for everyone who struggles in their youth
Who won't accept deception, instead of what is truth
It seems we lose the game
Before we even start to play
Who made these rules? (Who made these rules?)
We're so confused (We're so confused)
Easily led astray
Let me tell ya that
Everything is Everything’
- Lauryn Hill (1998), *Everything is Everything*

Analysing scholars’ work, there are six key processes within UK education that create the potential for pupils in the resilient minority (ReM) to be at a disadvantage by exhibiting racism: (i) *pre-university educational attainment*, (ii) *university application choices*, (iii) *university admissions process*, (iv) *degree completion and achievement*, (v) *graduate career prospects*, and (vi) *the racialised student experience*. Each of these processes afford opportunity but are vulnerable to external factors (race/ethnicity, class, gender etc.), thus students’ futures are ultimately constrained to uncontrollable – and unfair – aspects of their being. This chapter will explain each of the six Racism in Education Processes (REP) separately and will gradually evaluate the associated external factors that contribute to inequality for ReM groups. Secondly, this chapter will propose that the amalgamation of these processes facilitates an effective representation of the educational process. Each step is influenced by the processes that precede it and thus the extent of an individual’s success is ultimately constrained by their adolescent achievement.

5.1 REP 1 - Pre-university educational attainment

Student attainment underpins the entirety of the educational process. It is present throughout an individual’s academic experience, ultimately impacting the trajectory of their scholastic success. Attainment refers to a student’s grades, their level of achievement is measured through various procedures, such as GCSE’s, A levels and end of year exams. However, attainment is also depicted in

their everyday work, receiving graded feedback throughout the year on coursework and homework alike. Thus, an individual's experience of attainment is relevant to their daily school life but also their future, being used to determine the Universities they can attend and the jobs they can apply for (Crawford, Gregg, Macmillan, Vignoles and Wyness, 2016). Attainment provides the foundation for the student experience.

At the start of their educational experience (pre-school), some student groups who are in the ReM (Black groups, Bangladeshi, and Pakistani) are equal to or even surpassing their counterparts who are White in their academic achievement (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000; Gov.uk, 2021). For instance, at phonics attainment for children aged 5 to 7 (key stage 1) 83% of pupils who are Black compared to 82% of pupils who are White meet the expected standard, and attainment of development goals by children aged 4 to 5 pupils that are Black African-Caribbean had the highest attainment of all ethnic groups that were Free School Meal eligible (Gov.uk, 2021). Also, in reading results 76% of students who are Black compared to 75% of students who are White meet the expected standard (Gov.uk, 2021). However, over time the disparity increases, with students who are White attainment generally eclipsing students who are Black. When looking at students who achieve at least 3 A grades at A level, the poorest achieving groups are Black African-Caribbean (9.1%) compared to White British (20.2%) and Blacks together are the lowest achieving group amongst all ethnicities (12%), with Black African being the highest (12.7%); Also, students who are Mixed White/Black Caribbean are the lowest amongst Mixed-race groups (14.4%), and Chinese are the highest (37%) between all race/ethnic groups (Gov.uk, 2021). As mentioned, boys who are White and working-class attainment has also been on the decline (highlighted in chapter 4).

In much literature, students' levels of attainment are influenced by or associated statistically with factors such as gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status (Archer and Francis, 2019; Rollock, 2007; Sammons, 1995). Research on gender illustrates the discrepancy of girls achieving higher grades than boys (girls tend to have 5 or more GCSEs than boys) across all ethnic groups (Bhattacharyya et al., 2003; Strand, 2011), with boys who are Black African-Caribbean and Black African having the biggest gap between males and females. Therefore, gender and race intersect in important ways within the educational system. In mandatory schooling, at the GCSE stage attainment 8, the poorest achieving

groups were Black African-Caribbean (44%) and mixed White/Black Caribbean (44.8%) (the small number of pupils who are White Gypsy and Roma (23.3%) and Traveller of Irish Heritage (31.8%) make results less reliable, respectively), with a significant difference in levels of attainment for students who are Black African-Caribbean (Crawford and Greaves, 2015; GOV.uk, 2021). Also, at GCSE and A-levels, students who are White British are surpassed by students who are of Chinese and Indian origin (Crawford and Greaves, 2015; Gov.uk, 2021).

Attainment is also shown to be impacted by socioeconomic status. Black, Bangladeshi, and Pakistani groups tend to have greater numbers of low socioeconomic status out of all the ReM groups (Bhattacharyya et al., 2003; Gillborn, 2008; Strand, 2011). Even though some scholars may argue students who are White working-class are performing worse at GCSEs than other ethnic groups, they are still not the lowest (Gillborn, 2015). To add, Gillborn (2015) points out that scholars' argument on students who are White and working-class is a narrower group from those receiving free school meals. However, students who are Black middle- or working-class are more closely matched compared to the vast difference seen in White middle-class versus White working-class attainment (Gillborn et al., 2012). For example, Gillborn et al., (2012) flips the script illustrating,

‘the relatively large gap within the White group, between economically advantaged and disadvantaged peers, is currently discussed (by media and academics alike) as indicating a problem for poor Whites whereas people of colour are assumed to be more resilient or less susceptible to class inequality. But the flip side of the same coin is that the narrow class gap among Black students significantly reflects the lower average achievements of middle-class students in this group.’ (Gillborn et al., 2012, p. 137)

This would suggest students who are Black are not as impacted by the class gap as their counterparts who are White, creating an argument for further racial inequity. Therefore, the *pre-university educational attainment* process highlights the racial disparities within education for pupils who are in the ReM group, which in turn affects their chances in higher education.

5.2 REP 2 - University application choices

For students wishing to attend university, the application stage is crucial. There is a surplus of variables to consider for students who are the ReM in the UK when making *university application choices*. This

is because their choice of institution can potentially impact the rest of their life, some examples include, (i) educational attainment, (ii) University rankings, (iii) financial circumstances and (iv) extra-curricular opportunities (e.g., Boliver, 2013, Burke, 2015; Mirza, 2015 and 2018). However, as outlined, student grades are arguably the most influential factor. Each university provides minimum grade requirements for each subject they offer thus, grade attainment ultimately impacts students' – realistic - university application options. Therefore, pupils need only apply for a university in which they expect to achieve the minimum grades, even then there is no guarantee they will be offered a place.

Additionally, when making application choices it is important to consider the type of university a student decides to apply for – Russell Groups vs. Post-92. There are twenty-four Russell Group Universities, these are considered the more prestigious 'old' universities that are at the top of League Tables (League Tables, 2019) (all in top 40 nationally), with Cambridge and Oxford remaining a distinct 'elite' cluster (Boliver, 2015). Students generally need higher A-level grades to consider applying and therefore these institutions attract individuals with the highest grades. When looking at the ethnic backgrounds of students, Russell Group Universities have much lower numbers of students of darker hue than students who are White (Business in the Community, 2010, as cited in Boliver, 2016; Pilkington, 2018; Shiner and Noden, 2014). This infers two possible explanations: (i) student groups in the ReM are not being offered places (discussed in the next section) or (ii) they are not choosing to attend these institutions. These explanations infer that ReM application choices are not primarily driven by their predicted grades (Reay, Crozier, and Clayton, 2013).

For some, the financial condition of a student is a contributing factor to their application choices. Prior to making affirmative University selections, students might consider the cost of living at different institutions (e.g., living at home or college) (Khambhaita and Bhopal, 2015), for some students, finances are potentially their most salient consideration when determining the best institution for them. As research shows that students of darker hue are typically from a lower socioeconomic background. Therefore, it is proposed that finances might be a more prominent consideration in their application choice process, compared to their counterparts who are White (Boliver, 2013). Ball, Reay, and David (2002) use Bourdieu's notion of capital to observe different ways ReM groups from working and middle-class backgrounds select their university. When choosing an institution their research

demonstrated two contrasting types of ‘minority’ choosers: (i) ‘contingent choosers’ and (ii) ‘embedded choosers’. ‘Contingent choosers’ are generally first-generation applicants entering higher education with parents who are working class who have no university experience (Ball et al., 2002). This chooser worries about the race/ethnic mix and experiencing racism at university, along with, leaving home and lack of support (e.g., financially and academically). ‘Embedded choosers’ are applicants whose parents have a history of higher education and are from the middle class (Ball et al., 2002). They believe the type of university is more important than the location, racism is not an expected issue, and they’re supported financially and academically. Class was a main distinction between these types of students, intersecting with ethnic identity (Ball et al., 2002). Also, the cultural and social capital of the working-class ‘contingent chooser’ is at a disadvantage if deciding the wrong institution. The consequence of a wrong institution could be dropping out, whereas the middle-class ‘embedded choosers’ cultural and social capital are in ‘good supply’ and the choice benefits them long term (Ball et al., 2002).

Therefore, the choices of students who are working and middle-class are subjectively different and ‘class tendencies are compounded by race’ in the higher education choice process (Reay et al., 2001, p. 871). Moreover, when looking at the dispersion of ethnicities within university institutions the geographical argument attempts to explain the disproportionate level of students in ReM groups at newer universities. However, geography is not the sole determining factor, since many students that are White relocate to study at those institutions (Gamsu and Donnelly, 2020; Wakeling, 2009). Thus, finances and socioeconomic status are viable variables, further influencing students’ application choices.

Lastly, when making application choices students often visit their prospective universities. This is an important step in the process as it affords the opportunity to experience the social atmosphere of the institution and potentially gage the associated social and cultural norms. More prestigious universities tend to have a higher number of individuals who are White middle- and upper-class, creating a culture that many ReM groups have not experienced and at times cannot relate to. The cultural norms typically associated with problematic Whiteness discourages the ReM from applying, permitting a fear of not fitting in around ‘privileged white spaces’ (Burke, 2015; Mirza, 2015). Also, the ReM have emphasised on refusing offers from Cambridge, due to being too “traditional” and “posh” (Reay et al., 2001).

Furthermore, literature has highlighted instances where teachers or advisors have told certain students in the ReM to not bother choosing certain “elite” institutions, due to the low possibilities of getting in (Mirza, 2015). Unfortunately, this type of approach is not unjust when considering the inequitable offers made to ReM students from Russell Group Universities.

5.3 REP 3 - University admissions process

Following a student’s application choices, they await an offer from the universities. Admissions selectors from the University and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS) are,

“the administrative body responsible for processing almost all applications for full-time study at higher education level nationally” (Boliver, 2013, p. 349).

The UCAS process inevitably results in a rejection, conditional or unconditional offer. The offer is not definitively based on the grades a student is predicted, personal statements are also used to decide the student’s outcome and thus grade attainment does not guarantee admission to the chosen university. Many discriminatory details attained throughout the process seem to contradict the ‘fair’ access promised to all candidates. There is uncertainty to why applicants that are Black, Bangladeshi, and Pakistani are overwhelmingly less likely to receive an offer from a Russell Group University compared to their peers who are White (Boliver, 2013 and 2016). Also, students from state schools with similar A-levels are less likely to be offered than pupils from private school. In an equitable process, ‘fair’ can be defined as,

“no institution should exclude applicants on anything other than academic grounds, and in particular that extraneous matters like family circumstances, social class or ethnic origin should not enter into decisions about admission” (Bekhradnia, 2003, p. 7).

This process appears judicious, particularly for policy makers who push for a meritocratic system. However, ironically, the same administrators who fight for a meritocratic or colour-blind scheme also select candidates on contextual data. The current process is highly criticised by scholars like Vikki Boliver - who is white and female - who study UCAS data, debating whether the current admissions process is ‘unfair’ for pupils in the ReM group. Considering where ‘unfairness’ stems from, the term

unconscious bias is illustrated throughout scholarship on the admissions process (Boliver, 2016 and 2018). The term *unconscious bias* is defined as,

‘a bias that we are unaware of, and which happens outside of our control. It is a bias that happens automatically and is triggered by our brain making quick judgments and assessments of people and situations, influenced by our background, cultural environment and personal experiences.’ (Equality Challenge Unit, 2013, p. 1)

The Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) illustrates implicit bias being interchangeable with unconscious bias. Implicit bias ‘refers to the same area but questions the level to which these biases are unconscious especially as we are being made increasingly aware of them’ (ECU, 2013, p. 1). Therefore, the lead administrators of the admissions process may adopt unconscious or implicit biases towards certain groups in society and in the education system, based on internal prejudices (see Nahai (2013) study on Oxford admissions, illustrated in chapter 3). Contrastingly, when considering the impact of unconscious and implicit bias, recognising the implications of explicit bias and discrimination existing in higher education is pertinent, too. Groups who are Black and Asian may be affected more by these bias selections. For instance, bias can be demonstrated in shortlisted courses which requires applicants to show up to an interview exposing their race/ethnicity, gender, and social class (Boliver, 2018). Thus, bias stereotypes that manifest in society influences prestigious institutions to select students with an image of middle- and upper-class - who are typically white.

An argument from administrative bodies is that there are similarities in A-level attainment but differences in subject area chosen, which in turn illuminates the differentiation in offer rates (Boliver, 2014). Evidence suggests undergraduates in ReM groups are over-represented in degree courses at higher demand (e.g., Law, Computer Science, Medicine, Engineering, Mathematics, and Business studies), but under-represented in Humanities, Education, and Creative arts degree courses (Boliver, 2016, Connor, Tyers, and Modood, 2004). The over-represented subjects arguably lead to professional occupations and self-employment, which is recommended amongst families in the ReM group (Connor et al., 2004). Also, personal interest in the degree chosen is more associated with students who are White compared to groups in the ReM, who are more concerned with future employment and career plans (Connor et al., 2004). Furthermore, Boliver (2014) argues UCAS, and Russell Groups statistics do

not explain why the ReM receive lower offer rates than applicants who are White with the same grades, and even after ‘numerical competitiveness of courses has been taken into account’ (Boliver, 2016, p. 262). To add, it is noted that applicants are often chosen from predicted A-level scores and GCSEs, and universities offer applicants before receiving their A-levels highlighting a procedure that can manifest in unfairness or bias (Bekhradnia, 2003). Therefore, exposing the *university admissions process* is crucial to help ReM groups fight racial inequity, because this conscious or unconscious bias affects their grade attainment, mental health, future in higher education, and in the labour market by not receiving equal opportunities to attend Russell Group Universities (Andrews, 2013; Arday, 2018b and 2021; Li, 2015).

5.4 REP 4 - Degree completion and achievement

Obtaining a degree is the academic outcome of attending university, the classification of which is of imperative importance. In the UK, the degree classifications awarded are: First, Upper Second, Lower Second and Third. For many, it is crucial to obtain an Upper Second or a First, because they are considered ‘good’ degrees and many postgraduate opportunities and graduate schemes provide these as their minimum requirements (Richardson, 2015). When looking at ethnicity and degree achievement, students who are in the ReM are shown to be less likely to be awarded an honorary degree (i.e., a degree that is granted as an honour instead of achieving an academic requirement) than their counterparts who are White (HESA Student Records 2011-2012, as cited in Richardson, 2015). Furthermore, considering the importance of securing an upper second or first degree, research shows that ReM groups are less likely to achieve these classifications than students who are White (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2016; Advance HE, 2020a).

The Advance HE was formed in March 2018 by the ECU, with the purpose to improve outcomes for students, staff, and society aiming to establish equality in higher education (Advance HE, 2020b). The Advance HE (2020a) ‘*students statistical report*’ on degree attainment highlighted disparities revealing:

‘Overall, 81.4% of white students received a first/2:1 compared with 68.0% of BAME students, representing a BAME degree awarding gap of 13.3 percentage points. The proportion of both

white and BAME students receiving a first/2:1 increased since the previous year. However, the awarding gap remained unchanged, from 13.2 percentage points in 2017/18.’ (p. 115)

The percentage point gap was wider for certain ReM groups,

‘Black African (23.3 percentage points), Black Caribbean (19.2 percentage points) and other Black background (24.4 percentage points) compared to white qualifiers. The degree awarding gap was much narrower for Chinese (4.4 percentage points), mixed (4.8 percentage points) and Asian Indian qualifiers (4.8 percentage points).’ (Advance HE, 2020, p. 115)

To add, Richardson (2015) found that students who are White are more inclined to finish their degree program on time but for students in the ReM group, completion time is lengthened. Also, students who are Black and Asian at ‘newer’ and Russell Group Universities are less likely to achieve a good degree compared to their counterparts who are White (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2016; Richardson 2008 and 2018). Thus, despite ‘newer’ universities signifying a more diverse student body than Russell Group Universities, students who are White are still achieving better degrees than students of the ReM. This research highlights the fact that although students in the ReM are graduating at higher numbers, the post-1992 universities result in ‘misplaced optimism’ (Boliver, 2017). Whilst improvements have been made and higher education opportunities for ReM groups have expanded, both old and new university degrees are dominated by students who are White. The plan to widen participation for groups in the ReM is rendered insignificant if equitable results cannot be achieved (Richardson, 2015). Tatlow (2015) illuminates the issue further,

“The uncomfortable fact remains that BME students still achieve lower degree outcomes than white students who enter university with similar pre-entry qualifications and from the same socio-economic and educational backgrounds” (p. 10).

Degree achievement for the ReM is not constrained by their academic potential, shown by Tatlow (2015) who notes that pre-entry qualifications are similar. Thus, the disparity appears during the university experience. Knowing that both educational and socioeconomic backgrounds have been matched, the distinguishing factor becomes more prominent- race/ethnicity. There is a plethora of routes for students to take following the acquisition of their degrees. However, as noted, the opportunities on offer vary depending on one’s degree classification but also potentially by their race/ethnicity. The gender disparities are also important to highlight because the progression women

have made in education overtime has established increasing gender equality in attainment. The widened gender gap for degree achievement has decreased over the past few decades and women in present time have made greater progress than men in various levels of attainment (Cotton et al., 2016; Li, 2015). For example, when considering undergraduates who are women, a larger proportion receive a first/2:1 compared to men (78.9% compared with 73.8%) (Advance HE, 2020a) and women attain better degree classifications than men (Cotton et. al., 2016; Advance HE, 2020a). Also, according to Cotton et al., (2015) in 'Understanding the gender and ethnicity attainment gap in UK higher education', they suggest study time may be a causal factor for gender disparities in attainment, because women are perceived to partake in study time more than men who typically prioritise partying.

Moreover, undergraduate degree achievement goes on to affect potential postgraduate opportunities. At postgraduate level, a student's race/ethnicity status are synonymous with trends seen at undergraduate level – Black and Bangladeshi students more likely attend newer universities and other ReM groups (Indian and Chinese) enrol more frequently in old universities (Wakeling, 2009; Lessard-Phillips, Boliver, Pampaka and Swain, 2018). Different outcomes are seen between these two types of institutions and ethnicities when it comes to postgraduate study. Overall, Black African-Caribbean students' advancement to postgraduate study is less frequent than Chinese and Asian groups, even with the attainment of first-class honours (Wakeling, 2009). Moreover, graduates from more "prestigious" universities progress to do research degrees at a higher rate than graduates from newer universities, whilst Russell Group University postgraduate taught courses are dominated by students who are in the ReM group. This corroborates with scholars discovering ReM groups are overrepresented in postgraduate taught courses and underrepresented in research degrees and teacher training courses, where people who are White constitute the majority in these categories (Mirza, 2015; Wakeling, 2009).

Therefore, despite increasing numbers of students who are in the ReM group in taught postgraduate degrees this area overall is still dominated by students who are White. It is argued that students that are of the ReM who obtain higher degree classifications - even from Russell Group Universities - face an inequitable experience in the job market and thus need to be "better" educated than their counterparts who are White to afford the same opportunities (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Lessard-Phillips et al., 2018). Therefore, the ReM groups engage with postgraduate opportunities to promote

their chances in the professional realm. To add, access to many graduate level jobs and postgraduate courses require a minimum 2:1-degree entry requirement, and thus *degree completion and achievement* impacts ReM graduates' opportunities in the job market and academic pipeline (Richardson, 2015).

5.5 REP 5 - Graduate career prospects

Trick, trick, we've been tricked, it's a trick
Thinkin' your degree will have everything protected
A ghetto soundin' name, got your resume rejected.'
- Royce Da 5'9" and KXNG Crooked (2020), *Tricked*

Since the 1970s, the ReM have been discriminated against in society, not excluding in their careers, evidenced by the slow progress of ReM groups in the labour market compared to people who are White (Blackaby, Leslie, Murphy, and O'Leary, 2002). After persevering through university, students' academic journeys transfers to the acquisition of a career. Ultimately, underpinning career prospects in a meritocratic system is an individual's educational background and success - their qualifications. Education is therefore a vital tool in society, facilitating the opportunity for individuals to have autonomy in career choices and to go on to experience financial stability (Chevalier, 2007). Notably, education is not a prerequisite for all jobs, but obtaining a degree affords better job opportunities, which can – in the long term - alleviate the stress of job hunting, providing graduates with additional professional options. Arguably, when re-evaluating the academic process as detailed in this chapter, the future of an individual's life is largely determined through their adolescent stages (13-19 years old). Higher levels of attainment at an early-stage acts as the gateway to application choices at more prestigious universities. Consequently, *degree completion and achievement* at a prestigious university improves the possibility of an individual securing an elevated paying job (Locke, 2018). This process seems to be disadvantageous for ReM groups.

As highlighted, over time ReM educational attainment has matched or even surpassed their peers who are White, however, even with higher qualifications, the ReM (Black people in particular) suffer a dual disadvantage within employment and career progression (Li, 2015). The varying 'net' disadvantages the ReM experience are referred to as 'ethnic penalties', where people of the same age, educational

qualifications, and human capital as their counterparts who are White experience worse outcomes in the labour market - because of ethnic differences (Heath and Cheung, 2006; Li, 2015). Other 'ethnic penalties' involve the ReM being more likely to experience unemployment, less well-paid occupations, and disadvantages amongst university graduates (Heath and Cheung, 2006; Lessard-Phillips et al., 2018). One reason being, as stated before, ReM graduates are less likely to attend elite universities compared to their counterparts who are White. Furthermore, 'ethnic penalties' do not necessarily equate with discrimination; however, discrimination is arguably a substantial element to consider when determining differences in outcome (Heath and Cheung, 2006).

Additionally, in a meritocratic society, education should afford social mobility. However, many ReM groups are still from lower financial backgrounds, are less likely to attend Russell Group Universities, and those that do secure degrees still face a job market that is controversially bias when hiring (Crawford et al., 2016). For example, even when students who are in the ReM and working-class graduate from more prestigious institutions, they are much less likely to acquire a graduate level job or a position with a high-status organisation compared to their counterparts who are White (Britton et. al., 2016). Racism could be considered in Wood et al., (2009) 'A Test for Racial Discrimination in Recruitment Practice in British Cities', where excessive levels of net discrimination based on different ethnic group names were found in favour of applicants who were White. For instance,

'Of the 987 applications with a white name, 10.7 per cent received a positive response. This compared to 6.2 per cent of the 1,974 applications with an ethnic minority name – a net difference of 4.6 percentage points. Put another way, 16 applications from ethnic minority applicants had to be sent for a successful outcome in our test compared with nine white. That is, 74 per cent more applications from ethnic minority candidates needed to be sent for the same level of success.' (Wood, et. al., 2009, p. 3)

Name racial discrimination is similar within the United States. In Bertrand and Mullainathan (2002) 'Are Emily and Greg more employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A field experiment on labor market discrimination', White sounding names received 50% more call-backs compared to Black Afro-American sounding names. Thus, people in the ReM group dominate the working-class population, their background and ethnicity dictate their current socioeconomic status, but their social mobility is

not underpinned by equitable opportunities, restricting the potential for them to improve their socioeconomic status (Boliver, 2017; Britton et. Al, 2016).

ReM academics also struggle with their careers in higher education. Findings suggest many ReM scholars feel they have to achieve more than their colleagues who are White to progress in their career (Bhopal, 2015; Sian, 2019). Thus, in many professions workers in the ReM are overqualified in the positions they work in (Goodfellow and MacFarlane, 2018). Also, under the senior level, junior academics feel they must follow the 'status quo' of the workplace, through fear of losing their jobs and/or progressing (Arday, 2018a; Bhopal, 2014). A more detailed explanation on ReM staff experiences will be discussed in the next section. Thus, *graduate career prospects* for groups in the ReM are inevitably constrained by their difficulty securing places at Russell Group Universities, and the race/ethnic bias that prevents them from securing their desired careers. Finally, the previous five REP are all impacted by processes that precede it and the underlying argument for such racial disparities within and between each process concurrently is a result of the last process - i.e., *the racialised student experience* - being underpinned by racism in the form of *White Insecurity*.

5.6 REP 6a - The Racialised student experience (student-teacher)

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a good conceptual framework when encouraging a race-conscious approach to examining experiences of racial inequality (Howson, 2014). It challenges the liberalism scheme justifying meritocracy and colour-blindness concepts that "solve" the problematic racial oppression the ReM endure. "Naming one's own reality" (narratives, storytelling, and counter-storytelling) in CRT are tools people who are resilient use to exemplify experiences on situations demonstrating their subjugation (Delgado, Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995 p. 58). In education, it is crucial to highlight the controversy surrounding ReM discrimination in academic spaces. Similar to Chapman and Bhopal's (2018) research on Black Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean students in secondary school, this section on ReM experiences will use tools from CRT (e.g., counter-stories, intersectionality, and racial realism) to explore the narratives from students and academics of the ReM to bring awareness to a system that is constantly negating the racial inequity that persists.

‘White people rarely see acts of blatant or subtle racism, while minority people experience them all the time.’ (Tate, 1997, p. 407)

As seen in society, the dominant group is unaware of their hegemonic power over the oppressed (*resilient survivors*) and there is a thin body of research committed to illuminating this issue. Society’s race reality is socially mis-constructed, therefore, ReM stories and experiences - albeit uncomfortable – have the potential to change a person’s mind-set and thus behaviour toward these racially marginalised groups (Delgado, 1989). Therefore, the student experience of the ReM is important to consider with implicit and explicit forms of racism being practiced and thus underpinning and affecting the outcomes of the previous five REP.

Research indicates that an individual’s experience of education is different based on their race/ethnicity. At school, teacher and parent expectations each objectively influence student experience (Vincent et al., 2012c). ReM group experiences at primary and secondary school include feelings of concern regarding ‘fitting in’, IR, lower teacher expectations, and cultural misrecognition (Burke, 2018; Gillborn et al., 2012; Lander, 2015; Reay, 2018; Rollock et al., 2011; Vincent, Rollock, Ball and Gillborn, 2012), and thus impacting REP one - *pre-university educational attainment*. Even when looking at middle class Black Caribbean families, parents still felt their children were being unfairly treated at school compared to student counterparts who are White (Vincent et al., 2012a). To expand Rollock, Gillborn, Vincent and Ball’s (2011) study from a two-year ESRC-funded project into 62 Black African Caribbean middle-class families called, ‘The public identities of the black middle classes: Managing race in public spaces’, they examined how the Black African Caribbean families navigated through the problems of class and race discrimination. The use of Bourdieu’s work was implemented to analyse the practices of parent-respondents. Even though Bourdieu is known for using class in his research this study was conducted adopting the tenets of CRT intersecting race, gender, and class together. Using intersectionality on the experiences of parents and children who are Black African Caribbean allowed the researchers to explore the variations and characteristics of how race, class, and/or gender intersect (Rollock et al., 2011).

5.6.1 Habitus, field, and capital

Attempting to draw on the work of Bourdieu is essential to understand the social world of the ReM. A well-known sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, provided the key concepts of habitus, field, and capital. Despite his most popular scholarship being centred around social class inequalities, without thoroughly accounting for race and ethnicity (Wallace, 2017), these key concepts can be applied to interpret associations between race and education (Yosso, 2005; Leonardo, 2012). To begin, the most eminent concept of Bourdieu is considered – ‘habitus’ (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003). The concept of habitus is argued as ambiguous because there is no distinct definition in Bourdieu’s work (Crossley, 2013), however this is false, while Bourdieu may not have been as detailed in his illumination of habitus, scholars have elaborated on its significance and complexity (Reay, 2004). One suggests habitus is,

‘the “mental, or cognitive structures” through which people deal with the social world. People are endowed with a series of internalized schemes through which they perceive, understand, appreciate, and evaluate the social world’ (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003, p. 520).

Also, Bourdieu illustrates that habitus is conveyed through enduring modes ‘of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking’ (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 70, as cited in Reay, 2004 p. 432). Thus, through one’s experience and interpretation of their social world their habitus is constructed. Second, the ‘field’ describes the structured setting in which social agents and their identified social positions reside. An individual’s position in the field is constructed through an interaction between habitus, capital, and the ‘norms’ (rules) of the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Thus, each field has an accepted structure of appropriateness that is ‘both the product and producer of the habitus’ that is relevant to the field (Jenkins, 1992, p. 84).

Bourdieu’s notion of capital analyses three forms: economic, cultural, and social capital. Economic capital can be ‘convertible into money and institutionalised in the form of property rights’ (Bourdieu, 1986b). Cultural capital involves forms of knowledge and can exist in three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized state. Embodied state is in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body, objectified state is in the form of cultural goods (e.g., books, machines), and institutionalised state is a form of objectification (Bourdieu, 1986a and 1986b). Third, is social capital ‘consists of valued social relations between people’ (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003, p. 523). Additionally, Bourdieu’s concept of ‘symbolic capital’ will be summarised later in the analysis, which represents the

prestige (e.g., elite, good name, honourable) of traditional Russell Group Universities like Durham (see chapter 7). Furthermore, Black cultural capital and a contestation of Bourdieu's cultural capital will be highlighting concepts articulated in the proposed research (Dumangane, 2016; Wallace, 2017). In the field of education, an individual's amount of capital varies (e.g., family upbringing) (Rollock, 2007). By projecting CRT and FTS alongside this work of Bourdieu, the complexity of race can be explored alongside gender and class, a CRT approach has been implemented in other research regarding experiences of education (Dumangane, 2016; Rollock, 2007; Rollock et al., 2011; Vincent et al., 2012a and 2012b; Gillborn et al., 2012; Wallace, 2017).

5.6.2 Black (African) Race-class

To start, Rollock, Gillborn, Vincent and Ball's (2011) interviews with parents who are Black African Caribbean and middle-class, illustrated that early educational experiences indicated their language and accent were central tools established to increase social mobility and belonging with their counterparts who are White. Therefore, a level of understanding manifested that their racially minoritised status permits them to apply a set of capitals to implement a racial resistance to survive a 'WhiteWorld' (Rollock et al., 2011). In addition to this study Vincent et al., (2012a) illustrated the concept of family habitus, which is the priorities parents place on their children that they deem 'right' and 'natural' (e.g., clothing, speech, involved in extracurricular activities). Further critique on this study will be described in more detail by evaluating the strategies parents invoke on their children to protect them from racial othering in their experiences in school (Rollock et al., 2011; Gillborn et al., 2012; Vincent et al., 2012a, 2021b, and 2012c).

Parents' family habitus revealed they were determined to put their children in the best position to have a successful educational outcome. Some parents would send their kids to private schools instead of state schools because they considered state schools as a problem - being complacent - accepting "average" achievement from their kids and not pushing them to their utmost potential (Vincent et al., 2012a). This corresponds to Dumangane's (2016) term 'school catchment surfing' (p. 147), where parents' primary focus is putting their kids in the best academic school possible. However, with private schools being majority White, this can cause a double dilemma for students who are Black and middle class. A private school can allow them to expand on their educational prowess, but on the other hand, can lead

to more discriminatory factors than if they went to a state school typically with similar peers. For example, a parent (Felicia) explained in private school her son was subjected to overt racism, resulting in grades dropping and the school criticising him for his lack of learning even though tests he took showed no learning difficulties (Vincent et al., 2012b). This failure to provide the correct measures to tackle racism and placing fault in the child is a clear sign of the student experiencing institutionalised racism (see definition in chapter 1).

Vincent et al. (2012b) suggests institutional racism (IR) focuses on the ‘consequences of actions rather than the intent’ (p. 146). Furthermore, Felicia’s son’s Black peers tried to avoid racist acts and pretended to be “White” in order to ‘fit in’ (Vincent et al., 2012b). The responses given by his friends demonstrate Anderson’s (2002) Reverse Relative Deprivation Theory, where discriminatory experiences are minimised and pushed to the side by victims. To add, these examples further illustrate the act of problematic Whiteness (Gillborn, 2008), being the norm in middle- and upper-class schooling and ignoring the racism that persists by putting the blame on the child. Therefore, students are unable to embrace their own blackness in school (Rollock et. al., 2011), which can controversially relate to slave history (mentioned in previous chapters) - unconsciously teaching children who are Black to hate their own skin colour/culture resulting in the same outcomes on students' today (Andrews, 2018). In the same incident, the headmaster deemed Felicia’s son a latent gangster with bling even though he didn’t have any jewellery (Vincent et al., 2012a). This highlights another challenge developed in the study that all Black families are viewed as the “stereotypical” Black working class, which brings another hurdle of prejudices that confront students who are Black and middle-class from achieving their highest capabilities (even though there should be nothing wrong with being Black from a working-class background in the first place).

In this Black-middle class study interviewees children did not experience many acts of overt racism, albeit blatant racism was more commonplace when they were younger. However, in the case of Lander’s (2015) study a girl pupil who is Black emphasised, ‘racism is a part of my everyday life’, and teachers took little action when an incident occurred. Therefore, a recurring theme in these studies illustrated teachers lacked an understanding of race and displayed low expectations for their students who are Black. To continue, one parent from Vincent et al., (2012a) indicated her son was

underperforming, but since he was nice and well-mannered the teacher permitted his underperformance and left her the responsibility to have him involved in extracurricular activities outside of the school. This demonstrates the teacher's and institution's low expectations placed on young pupils who are Black, with teachers who are White being complacent with students if their behaviour is good and grades are at a passing level (Gillborn et al., 2012). Also, on the flip side, when failing occurs the fault is always on the kids misbehaving in class, not caring, or parents not preparing them to be successful. Boys who are Black in particular, are a target for stereotypical views that academia personnel describe as 'unteachable black boys' failing themselves (West 2010, as cited in Gillborn et al., 2012).

Thus, both gender and race are significant factors, with teachers and higher personnel taking a reductionist approach by missing external factors (e.g., home life, past negative experiences in school, teacher relations, incidence of demotivation) leading the child to not doing their homework and/or paying attention in the classroom. This highlights Coard's (1971) three main approaches in teacher's involvement affecting Black children's performances by being, (i) prejudice, (ii) patronising, and (iii) having low expectations of a child's abilities (as cited in Andrews, 2013, p. 5). To note, it is understandable that not all pupils have the skills to achieve high grades and some parents took this into consideration taking extra pressure off their kids. However, the consistent low expectations by the educational system create 'powerful barriers' for children who are Black to succeed beyond expectations, and thus, parents must rely on their economic, cultural, and social capital outside of school more so than their counterparts who are White (Gillborn et al., 2012; Rollock et al., 2011; Vincent et al., 2012b).

To extend analyses on the Black middle-class, Wallace (2017) builds on Rollock et al.'s (2014) 'The Colour of Class' by identifying the benefits of Black cultural capital that focuses on the voices among pupils in South London (e.g., Black Caribbean Year 9, 10 and 11), rather than parents. Wallace (2017) expresses:

‘Black cultural capital reflects the simultaneous negotiations of race and class in the acquisition of resource advantages that more often than not are defined by white middle-class interests’ (p. 915).

For example, pupils knowing to make eye contact, ask questions, and discuss their Black British history were signs of their cultural capital shaping positive relationships with their teachers. In retrospect, respondents realised their status and the modest class advantages they had over their peers Who were Black and working-class highlighting the two competing forms of the Black middle-class: the ‘multi-class minded’, and the ‘middle-class minded’ (Moore, 2008, as cited in Wallace, 2017) The variations between the multi-class and middle-class minded is based on the position of recognition of White middle-class ideology (Moore, 2008). The middle-class minded are individuals whose class identity is traditionally middle-class, accepting the class difference between less economically advantaged people who are Black; and multi-minded people have an ‘outsider-within perspective’ (Collins, 1998, as cited in Moore, 2008), experiencing social mobility during childhood. The multi-class minded in Wallace’s study usually had working class family or friends, giving them an awareness to identify the class variations and the persistence of ‘racist classism in schools’ (Wallace, 2017, p. 919).

Therefore, the Black cultural capital the participants gained from their parents also brought consequences among students who are Black from different class backgrounds when teachers made comparisons. Thus, to navigate effectively through the educational system respondents learned multiple social fields to integrate their middle-class status to eliminate being racialised in a system that ultimately is synonymous with problematic Whiteness (Gillborn, 2005; Rollock et al., 2011). These ‘minded’ categories are important to highlight, yet dismantled in the Black community respectively, because it separates a group that is already dominated and marginalised by society, for this reason, Blackness should be embraced throughout the entire Black community outside of school regardless of class backgrounds. Additionally, Nicola Rollock (2007) – a Black female scholar - used Bourdieuan concepts (e.g., cultural capital) conducting semi-structured interviews with 24 pupils and 21 staff at a co-educational inner city secondary school to understand Black girls’ legitimacy to academic success, which rendered them invisible by ignoring the intersections of ethnicity and gender. Rollock (2007) emphasis,

Certain aspects of Black girls' embodied cultural capital, that is, their gender, as well as more dominant school discourses that unquestioningly situate the female body as academically predisposed, serve to increase Black girls' legitimacy in the school, minimize their surveillance compared to their Black male counterparts, and allow them to be included in school discourse as 'good pupils' (p. 201)

Thus, Black cultural capital for Black female pupils was extended here via gender, where their race-gender identity was invisible regarding their low levels of academic success and high numbers of exclusion rates, yet visible with similarities to the treatment of Black boys, mentioned previously. These findings correlate to the invisibility and/or struggle for students who are Black and female at Durham (see chapter 9).

Explaining experiences of students who are Black in schooling prior to higher education is important to consider. The field of education institutional habitus typically follows traditional norms (e.g., problematic Whiteness) that does not always coexist with culture practised by people that are Black, which impacts the student experience requiring more discipline from pupils who are Black or ReM. Also, it is important to understand parent's narratives since the stereotypical view of Black parenting (Caribbean in particular) is they are absent in their children's development in education, even though, 'they have always felt education was important starting with the first generation of migrants' (Andrews, 2013 p. 4). In conclusion, Rollock et al., (2011) demonstrated the Black middle-class strategically make use of their cultural capital to acknowledge their class status to people who are White in order to detract from racial inequality. These studies suggest subtle, everyday forms of racism remain in primary and secondary education, and social class advantage for people who are Black does not mean automatic success. Black middle-class parents have high expectations for their children, and they have developed strategies (Vincent et al., 2012a and 2012b) to prevent stereotypical views that arguably results in an extra effort to reduce scrutinization compared to their counterparts who are White. Black cultural capital is beneficial because of the positive teacher relations, yet problematic for pupils who are Black and middle-class due to the backlash towards their working-class peers, thus creating a gap between their own race highlighting a different raceclass conflict than their White counterparts (illustrated in chapter 4).

To conclude, parental expectation cannot be the only factor considered when understanding student underachievement in a system where teachers who are White are big contributors. Thus, FTS by fixating on the perpetrators i.e., teachers who exhibit implicit or explicit racial bias should be critiqued at higher levels. However, it's a shared situation so everyone must be involved with a parent-teacher-institution interplay between these three elements. Ultimately, teacher's implicit and/or explicit racial bias and schools exhibiting IR are considered two explanations for why Black pupils' attainment decreases overtime and why Black raceclasses compete for capital (comparisons in analysis chapter 9). Thus, illustrating *the racialised student experience* in early schooling intersects with REP one i.e., *pre-university educational attainment*, arguably having the biggest impact, affecting every other REP (university application choices, university admissions process, degree completion and achievement, and graduate career prospects).

5.6.3 Higher Education (*Student-teacher experience*)

Similarly, at university level, ReM experiences of education are different to their counterparts who are White. The disparity of experiences is amplified when considering more prestigious universities, whereby people who are White make up a large majority of the student population. Having an institution dominated by people who are White equates to a more 'traditional' culture, which constructs a social environment that is less responsive to ReM groups (Burke, 2018). Moreover, when attending a university that is notoriously accessed by middle- and upper-class individuals, there is further scope to cause inequitable experiences. For example, types of events that are put on, Black (African) History month is not a focal point and accessibility of events are limited. However, it is important to recognise the structure and function of education at university level differs from secondary school. At university it is commonly accepted that students are provided more responsibility for their own work and learning. At secondary school the curriculum is fully delivered by teachers and students are not necessarily expected to 'teach themselves' or source further information outside of their teacher's directions. Thus, at university level the onus is on the student to research for themselves. This creates a shift in the student's approach and is potentially unfair for some ReM groups and those from a lower socioeconomic background (Crawford et al., 2016). A greater proportion of students who are White parents have been in higher education and secured 'professional' jobs (as mentioned in previous sections). Having a support network that has already experienced university or that can

provide relevant expertise or advice is advantageous. Reay (2018) comments on the Cambridge results tables in 2001-03, which concluded students who received money from their parents had improved exam results. Thus, ReM groups and individuals from a working-class background are unprovided opportunities in their ability to access quality academic support but also financial support.

Having explored the Black middle-class experiences prior to university, I move to explore ReM group experiences with tutors/lecturers/professors/educators - a crucial aspect in understanding higher education for ReM groups. The impact a teacher has on a student's self-efficacy and the potential for subtle instances of racism to create inequitable experiences for students in the ReM is important to understand. Equally, it is important not to assume there are instances of racism in everyone's experience, as the existing qualitative data does convey positive student experiences for ReM groups, too. In each case, evaluation must consider the wider context that can be used to explain the outcomes. This section will include interactions with wider staff and those employed by the universities.

As mentioned, choosing a university is difficult, but for ReM groups the difficulties continue when attending institutions, too. Students in the ReM suffer academic and psycho-social challenges, finding overt and subtle forms of racism commonplace at "elite" institutions (Dumangane, 2016; Reay, 2018; Solozarno et al., 2000; Wilkinson, 2014). Particularly with academic staff, students who are Black at "elite" institutions had uncomfortable relationships that noticeably differentiated from their peers who are White. A scholar who is Black and male, Constantino Dumangane's (2016) study entitled, 'Exploring the narratives of the few: British African Caribbean male graduates of elite universities in England and Wales', explored the experiences of seventeen students who are Black and men at ten Russell Group Universities. Regarding a student-tutor dynamic, one respondent (Ted) explained the experiences he had with his tutor differed from his friend,

'At Oxbridge I didn't really have any personal relationships with tutors...but I think it has something to do with race...For example I had a nice friend who is now doing her finals...We shared a lot of tutors...and she would always tell me about this one-to-one that both of us had separately. How [the tutor] would tell her all this stuff about his life, and how they would talk a lot about stuff beyond the subject itself...And I never had that relationship with him. He never opened up in that way to me.' (Ted: as cited in Dumangane 2016, p. 180).

In Dumangane's (2016) findings, Ted mentions race as a contributing factor to his relationship with his tutor at Oxbridge, which arguably represents a White middle-class habitus. Therefore, there is a 'disjunction between Ted's embodied habitus regardless of his middle-class background and his elite universities institutional habitus' (Dumangane, 2016, p. 180).

Dumangane and other scholar's research in higher education has convincingly exposed the differential treatment the ReM receive from their teachers, which contributes to different forms of racial disparities in school (achievement, belonging, etc.) (Sue et al., 2009; Warikoo et al., 2016). With a growing number of ReM groups navigating in predominantly White schools and engaging with a majority of peers and teachers who are White, research on explicit and implicit bias are important concepts to consider when understanding the racial bias students in the ReM encounter (Dovidio et al., 2002; Warikoo et al., 2016). Explicit and implicit racial biases are usually determined by verbal or nonverbal responses. It is hard to determine implicit associations due to its unconscious nature, but easier to notice explicit attitudes because they can be controlled or monitored due to being overt (Dovidio et al., 2002). However, even though the principle underlying implicit and explicit bias is similar, they are important to distinguish because racism has become less overt and professed through more implicit means. Solórzano et al., (2000) in a similar study examined students who are Black Afro-American in three predominately White "elite" universities, researching their experiences with racial "microaggressions" and how they influence college racial climate. Racial "microaggressions" is a term theorised by Chester Pierce (1970) – a scholar who is Black and male – as 'a form of systemic, everyday racism, often subtle and seemingly innocuous in nature' (Johnson and Joseph-Salisbury, 2018, p. 145). Also, from a Black perspective it can be defined as, 'stunning, automatic acts of disregard that stem from unconscious attitudes of white superiority and constitute a verification of black inferiority' (Davis, 1989, as cited in Solórzano 2000, p. 60).

There are three well-known forms of "microaggressions" in literature: *microassault*, *microinsult*, and *microinvalidations*, which negatively impact an individual's psychological wellbeing (Sue, Capodilupo, and Holder, 2008). *Microassault* is more explicit 'old fashioned' racism; *microinsults* puts down an individual's character or racial heritage; and *microinvalidations* negate or diminish psychological thoughts (e.g., Blacks are told 'I don't see colour', declaring their racial/cultural experiences are invalid)

(Harwood et al., 2012; Sue et al., 2007 and 2008). Furthermore, a highlighting theme within Solozarno et. al., (2000) study illustrated a concern racial “microaggressions” had within academic and social spaces (in and outside of the classroom). For example, students who are Black confronted negative assumptions and low expectations from professors who are White for ‘looking like’ a person of the ReM and the fear of being stereotyped when meeting advisors (Solozarno et al., 2000). These stereotypes were similar in Dumangane (2016) study where a respondent’s (Damien) professor called him a ‘moron’ for not completing his homework overlooking that he was a joint honours student who had not been introduced to blackboard yet. Therefore, Damien was *misrecognised* because of the colour of his skin and choice of attire in a sociology department that should challenge racial “microaggressions” and sympathize with an underrepresented body of students who are Black.

Misrecognition is a developing concept when discussing student-staff experience in higher education. The term *misrecognition* is defined as,

‘a form of symbolic violence that operates at the level of feeling, emotion, subjective construction and embodiment in relation to wider social structures and power formations, producing subtle and insidious inequalities in, through and beyond higher education.’ (Burke, 2018, p. 366)

Misrecognition produces subtle processes of inequity in higher education (e.g., teaching and assessment) creating an unfair gap between students in the ReM and students from socially privileged backgrounds (Burke, 2015 and 2018). Consequently, the *misrecognition* of a student can vary between institutions and students who are Black have been seen as not ‘worthy’ in a predominately White “elite” university where Black culture is an anomaly. Some feel ‘Black boys are just not suited to academic work as the same genes that affect IQ affect skin colour’ (White science teacher: as cited in Mirza, 2015, p. 28). Literature has stressed Black boy’s masculinity as a threat to society, thus, *misrecognition* in forms of voice for instance, have been shown to devalue young men who are Black, decreasing their confidence in the classroom because ‘belonging’ and ‘inclusion’ in an “elite” institution is more about ‘fitting in’ the dominant culture (Andrews, 2013; Burke, 2015). Therefore, students who are Black from a non-traditional White background that lack the ‘proper’ university student dialogue creates an

ongoing cycle of *misrecognition*, reasserting “White hegemony” - i.e., *White Insecurity* - in higher education institutions (Burke, 2018).

As a result of racial “microaggressions” and *misrecognition* by teachers and/or the institution itself, ReM students' self-efficacy can decrease over time (Andrews, 2013; Arday, 2018a). This reduction in self-efficacy can contribute to mental health problems such as ‘racial battle fatigue’, where ‘the increased levels of psychosocial stressors and subsequent psychological, physiological, and behavioural responses of fighting racial “microaggressions” in MEES (mundane, extreme, environmental stress)’ occur (Smith et al., 2011, p. 68); and underachievement in ReM students’ academic success (Andrews, 2013; Arday, 2018a). In a self-report study of USA participants (N=2,864) experiences of racial “microaggressions” significantly predicted MEES ($p < 0.05$). The study showed that as educational attainment increases it is associated with higher levels of MEES that result from racial “microaggressions” (Smith, Hung, and Franklin, 2011, p. 68). An explanation for this finding is that as educational attainment increases, people who are Black in this study were exposed to more entrenched White environments. This overview is important, as racial “microaggressions” can be displayed by teaching staff and students within higher education. As higher attainment is achieved by those at more prestigious universities - which are notoriously attended by a White majority and have high levels of staff who are White - it can be said that the experience of students of the ReM in this environment consisting of racial “microaggressions” could lead to similar experiences of ‘racial battle fatigue’ (similar to participants experiences in chapter 9).

5.6.4 *Heuristics*

This section will provide a psychological approach to the topic of ‘race’ within education. Every day, teachers encounter situations that require automatic thinking within their class setting. In order to make a decision within a reasonable time frame, peoples ‘heuristics’ are used to decrease their efforts in decision making, allowing them to examine fewer cues (deal with fewer pieces of information) (Shah and Oppenheimer, 2008). Heuristics are generally understood as mental shortcuts that decrease the cognitive load when making decisions. This being said, the decisions one makes using heuristics are not always ideal, with it being recognised that humans use subjective considerations when making

decisions and bounded rationality (Simon, 1957). A commonly used approach is ‘availability heuristics’, whereby people make judgements on the basis of what comes to mind quickly when they perceive a phenomenon (Tversky and Kahneman, 1973; Rothbart et al., 1978). Applying this premise to the classroom, if a student is behaving in a way a teacher perceives as disruptive, their heuristics will impact the decision they make. If the teacher’s unconscious bias includes subjective instances around race/ethnicity (e.g., students who are Black are “badly behaved”) this is the information readily available to them in their memory and therefore impacts the instant decision they make to deal with that behaviour. The decision would be different if the information in their memory was that students are disruptive when they need more support. Thus, this type of decision making can be underpinned by ‘representativeness heuristics’, whereby the fallacious belief that small samples of a population (e.g., cases of poorly behaved students that are Black) represent the whole population of Black groups.

Heuristics can improve if cultural incompetency is addressed, because the lack of cultural competence teachers have is problematic for their responsivity to students. Cultural competence is known for its use in health professions as a set of knowledge, attitudes and skills that are brought together in a system to work effectively in a cross-cultural setting (Cross, 1988; Seeleman et al., 2009). The cultural incompetence teachers at “elite” institutions have developed from a lack of insight on the racialised “other” (ReM) and from more prejudices and discriminatory acts towards ReM groups is a cause for concern (Kumas-Tan et al., 2007). Also, “elite” institutions habitus stems from a 'cultural blindness' attitude (Cross, 1988), where colour and culture are not considered influences on racial inequality, and equal treatment manages race and diversity (Howson, 2014). So, there is an ongoing misunderstanding of ReM needs by unchanging ethnocentric views from the dominant culture claiming to be unbiased. To note, cultural competence curricula has been shown to enhance diversity between first- and four-year students and faculty members (N=260) revealing a significant difference ($p<.0001$) between the three groups (Sargent et al., 2005). Therefore, the enduring prejudices and exclusion students of the ReM experience from staff across predominately White academic spaces remains constant by ignoring the need for culture competent strategies. As shown, the student-staff dynamic plays an important role in *the racialised student experience* within higher education by potentially impacting REP 4- *degree completion and achievement*. Therefore, implementing practices

to improve heuristics and cultural competence is crucial for ReM students' relations with teachers (more on these two concepts is illustrated in chapter 11).

5.7 REP 6b - The Racialised student experience (social experience)

5.7.1 'Racism is a thing of the past'

As mentioned, the racialised student experience with teachers/professors is difficult, but for ReM groups the difficulties continue when interacting with their student peers, too. Through a survey of 153 post-graduate students, 49 had experienced racism (Brown and Jones, 2013). For one participant, their encounter included, “hey you Nigger, you black man. Do you have some weed on you?” (Brown and Jones, 2013, p. 1011). This statement is both overtly offensive, with the use of language but is also underpinned by bias, whereby they have an expectation for individuals who are Black to be associated with the selling of drugs, specifically marijuana. Within higher education, these experiences for students in the ReM highlight the ways in which racism manifests. The overt bigotry ReM students encountered illustrates that their student social experiences are permeated by racial discrimination. Equally, there are more subtle, potentially unconscious instances of racism, which can also contribute to negative feelings such as social isolation. These verbal assaults are symbolic in demonstrating the explicit and implicit attitudes students who are “non-White” have to endure from students who are White.

5.7.2 Student-student experience

Typically, university is associated with an array of social experiences that students can participate in. Prior to attending, prospective students may be interested in the social societies on offer, the night life, or the organised events. However, research shows that social experiences are influenced by one's 'race'. To extend on Dumangane's (2016) research, feelings of 'otherness' was an apparent theme for the participants who were Black that studied at these “elite” institutions (like participants in this study, highlighted in chapter 9). Eleven of his participants mentioned that some feelings of otherness resulted from stereotypes, racial “microaggressions”, exclusion, and class differences amongst peers. Whether it was Edmund who showed frustration due to his classmates who are White preconceived notions on his capability to read music, or James' accounts on being viewed as an international student, albeit

being British-African (Dumangane, 2016). These findings fit the stereotype that “elite” institutions do not include people of the ReM - specifically Black. Edmund’s incident where peers were quick to judge his music capabilities in a club choir based on his skin colour illustrates a *microinsult* form of racial “microaggressions” as described before (Sue et al., 2007). Student to student racial “microaggressions” differs from the student-teacher dynamic because it contributes to the student’s social experience outside of the classroom, too. For instance, racial “microaggressions” in residence halls/college accommodation where students live and study often come in overt and subtle forms affecting their experiences in housing life (Harwood et al., 2012) (similar experiences to participants in chapter 9). Students of the ReM at predominately White institutions are shown to be neglected by peers, teachers, and administrators due to the unconscious “microaggressions” that occur.

Students of the ReM share feelings of not wanting to make prejudgements of discrimination without overtness, highlighting the term ‘attributional ambiguity’ (Crocker et al., 1991) - the uncertainty for someone being a victim of an act of prejudice. It is common for ‘attributional ambiguity’ to be associated with people in the ReM because in a social environment prejudice acts are often hidden (King, 2003). ReM students at “elite” institutions are amongst a racially homogenous group (students who are White) and refrain from speaking out on racism because it can produce ‘White victimisation’, referred to as ‘reverse racism’, whereby people who are White claim to suffer discrimination (Cabrera, 2014). This is problematic due to proven ‘interracial anxiety’ where findings suggested people who are White experience higher levels of anxiety when interacting with a person who is Black, but not with their own race (Plant and Devine, 2003). For example, in a university lab setting, students who were White racial attitudes exhibited in interracial partnering with students who were Black found students who were White implicit prejudice significantly predicted their nonverbal friendliness ($p < 0.01$) (e.g., anxiety and less eye contact) (Dovidio et al., 2002). Thus, racial bias impacts the student-student experience for students of the ReM, underpinned by the interracial anxiety of students who are White. In sum, *the racialised student experience* from a peer-to-peer perspective intersect with REP 2-*university application choices*, because a university’s culture influences students decision making, and REP 4, *degree completion and achievement*, racial “microaggressions” affect Uni academic success. To note, many concepts such as interracial anxiety, reverse racism, and attributional ambiguity from this section are illustrated in the analysis chapters 8, 9, and/or 11.

5.7.3 Breaking through the glass ceiling (intersections between race and gender)

Race plays a significant role, however, within sociological research it is necessary to also consider gender. Women of the ReM have been shown to encounter a 'triple oppression', where their intersectionalities such as race, gender, and socioeconomic background influences their experiences (Bhopal, 2014). Through the use of a focus group, Sue, Capodilupo, and Holder (2009) looked at the experiences of racial "microaggressions" by Black Afro-Americans at graduate school. A key finding was the feelings of women who are Black being invisible compared to their counterparts who are White (similar to analysis chapters 9). The idea perpetuated was that women who are Black are less sexually appealing or desirable than women who are White (see chapter 9 for participant similarities), which contributed to general feelings of invisibility, "it made me feel like, okay, you have to do something above and beyond in order to be noticed" (Sue et al., 2009, p. 334). Therefore, these women who are Black social experience of university was hindered by their experience and feelings of invisibility, developed through their interpretation of racial "microaggressions". Thus, within higher education, racial "microaggressions" operate at the level of socialisation, too – contributing to potential psychological consequences.

Regarding gender, race is shown to be a dominating factor in social experiences for staff. Women who are Black feel they must work harder than their counterpart i.e., women who are White by 'contributing higher levels of professionalism' (Bhopal, 2014, p. 11). Also, men from the USA and UK experience a less sense of belonging than their colleagues who are White and are in less prestigious institutions (Arday, 2018c, Allen et.al, 2000). Therefore, as a result of discrimination, both women and men of the ReM confront a 'glass ceiling', fearing job security by having to work harder than people who are White and delaying career progression that reinforces a paucity of faculty in higher education (Ahmed, 2012; Arday, 2015 and 2018a; Bhopal, 2015). Thus, racialised experiences intersect with REP 5- *graduate career prospects*.

5.7.4 'I'm not racist?'

Very few people in society consider themselves to be a racist, because to be racist you must use overt immoral acts saying words such as "Nigger" or "Paki" that heavily transpired several decades ago as a

norm (Bonilla-Silva, 2002). However, the implicit or explicit bias individuals' have produces colour-blind racism, which creates some newer forms of racism (dysconscious and aversive) that manifests today (Bonilla-Silva, 2002; Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich, 2011). Colour-blind racism is the 'dominant racial ideology of the post-civil rights era' (Bona-Silva, 2002, p. 42). Colour-blind racism can be addressed through the Colour-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS) that Neville et al., (2000) developed to help evaluate the usefulness of multicultural training and intervention (Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich, 2011). Studies on students who are White, and "non-White" racial views and experiences have been implemented at predominately White universities to examine colour-blind racial attitudes. For example, students (N=144) perception of campus climate for racial-ethnic minorities (RECC) and perceptions of general campus climate (GCC) showed students who were White had more positive perceptions of RECC ($p < .001$) and GCC ($p < .003$), as well as greater unawareness of racial privilege ($p < .001$), institutional discrimination ($p < .001$), and blatant racial issues ($p < .003$) (Worthington et al., 2008). An explanation of these findings is that personal experience underpins the discrepancies between attitudes of students who are White and ReM. As ReM groups have potentially faced discrimination within the racial ethnic campus climate their attitude toward it is less positive than their counterparts who are White, who are less likely to have experienced racial discrimination. In student environments where racial discrimination is misunderstood inequity that is somewhat justified by accepting the inequitable experiences.

Dysconscious racism is a theory that encompasses the acceptance of White norms, racial inequality, and defends White privilege (King, 1991). There are three main types of responses that define dysconscious racism: Category I devalues Black cultural heritage; Category II devalues diversity by not recognising the importance of where opportunity comes from which is mainstream norms and values (e.g., problematic Whiteness); and Category III does not deny or defend White privilege (King, 2015). For instance, racial 'put-downs' where Black women's hair are questioned and considered distracting by staff who are White (Henry, 2015). Each category defends White privilege in its own way, which is why it is important to extend on teaching diversity through not just factual information on racial inequality, but through liberatory pedagogy (e.g., decolonising curriculum and antiracist education) (Lynn, 1999; Troyna, 1984). Liberatory pedagogy can also impact academic success and belonging for ReM students' university experience, as expressed by participants (see chapter 10). Students from

racially privileged i.e., White backgrounds are often unaware of their biases and feel threatened by diversity expressing guilt and hostility (King, 2015). Therefore, it is important to disrupt students and teachers dysconscious racism by critiquing problematic Whiteness, even though, some literature expresses the difficulty for people who are White (e.g., students, teachers, administrators) to be taught this type of liberatory pedagogy, finding it 'offensive' and 'sick of it being shoved down their throats' (Lynn, 1999; McIntyre, 2002, p. 46). Consequently, this neglects their own prejudices and ignores race inequality by trying to rationalise their White privilege in society.

Aversive racism "characterises racial attitudes of whites who endorse egalitarian values, who regard themselves as non-prejudiced, but who discriminate in subtle, rationalisable ways" (Dovidio and Gaertner, 2000, p. 315). Discrimination is not shown when an accepted social norm is present, and when inequality is obvious to everyone (Dovidio and Gaertner, 2004). Therefore, aversive racists can affect educational institutions: for example, when offering students' academic scholarships an administrator will choose a candidate who is White who attended a private school over a candidate who is Black who attended a state school but with better qualifications (e.g., grades), because the administrator would consider qualifications less important; or vice versa, if a candidate who is Black had went to a private school and their counterpart who is White had better qualifications from a state school the administrator would consider qualifications more important. This corroborates Boliver's (2016 and 2018) 'unfairness' critique on admissions demonstrating unconscious or conscious bias – as mentioned. Thus, the importance of aversive racism is crucial to expose because it arguably is shown in selecting applicants for university and when hiring staff, which can help explain why little progress has been made with staff and student diversity at predominately White institutions (Kayes, 2006). The mechanism of dysconscious and aversive racism contributes to *the racialised student experience*, thus impacting and intersecting with REP 3, 4, and 5- *university admissions process degree completion and achievement*, and *graduate career prospects*. To conclude, since very few consider themselves racist it is necessary to understand that everyone carries some form of prejudice, but to help produce effective equality one must acknowledge and/or change how they act on their prejudices.

5.8 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter illustrates the 6 Racism in Education Processes (REP) and how research conveys the external factors affecting resilient minorities educational chances within each process (see figure 3 below). First, *pre-university educational attainment*, arguably one of the most important yet harmful processes because pupils' grade attainment in their adolescent stage - where they have least amount of autonomy - ultimately impacts their future success in education and the job market. Consequently, clear racial disparities in grade attainment exist between the Black-White binary with pupils who are Black typically being the lowest. Second, *university application choices*, where socioeconomic, location, and culture of institutions highlights a persistent struggle for students in the ReM to apply and choose the right institution. Especially “elite” institutions like Russell Group Universities who detract students from attending due to their culture embodying problematic Whiteness, by catering to the White minority i.e., through middle- and upper-class exclusive interest. REP 2 in turn affects REP 3 - *university admissions process*, because a conscious or unconscious bias manifests in admissions processes where applicants who are White middle- and upper-class are favoured over ReM students - with similar qualifications - at “prestigious” institutions.

Additionally, REP 4 i.e., *degree completion and achievement*, illustrates the racial disparities in factors such as degree classification, retention, and postgraduate research once attending higher education. Despite students in the ReM attending university at a higher rate than students who are White, this is seen as ‘misplaced optimism’ because of the previous racial disparities and most importantly where students attend university (people who are White overpopulate “elite” institutions), which is impacted by them being selected through REP 3 (*university admissions process*). REP 5, *graduate degree prospects* is influenced by REP 4, because the university a student attends and their degree achievement impacts their career success. Research indicates regardless of the institution ‘ethnic penalties’ still exist in the job market for the ReM (Heath and Cheung, 2006; Li, 2015). For example, people who are White are given opportunities by virtue of having a White sounding name even when qualifications are similar to their ReM peers (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2002). Lastly REP 6, *the racialised student experience* has been split into two subsections. Subsection 6a exposes the student-teacher dynamic and the racial cultural-incompetence of teachers prior to university, where they racialise and mistreat pupils who are Black; thus, conveying why racial disparities are existing in REP 1 (*pre-university educational attainment*). Subsection 6b, highlights the social experience for students in the ReM in

higher education, where they experience different forms of racism (e.g., racial “microaggressions” and dysconscious racism) by their peers, impacting REP 2-5.

To conclude, *the racialised student experience* intersects with each of the previous 5 REP, demonstrating a level of racial injustice due to aspects of the ReM’s being - their race/ethnicity. However, if we ‘Flipped the script’ and removed majority of the persistent victimisations of these racially minoritised groups, research indicates the 6 REP is underpinned by racism in the form of *White Insecurity*, where the majority of racist perpetrators in these educational settings (e.g., teachers, administrators, vice chancellors) are dominated by people who are White. Unfortunately, the opportunity within the 6 REP is prohibited for future generations with underlying factors of *White Insecurity* manifesting. *White Insecurity* influencing the 6 REP is reinforced by the lyrics of Dave - a Black British rap artist - whose song entitled *Black*, ‘flips the script’ to Black identity whilst poetically articulating the work ethic in the socially misconstrued Black reality,

‘Look, black is beautiful, black is excellent
Black is pain, black is joy, black is evident
It's workin' twice as hard as the people you know you're better than
'Cause you need to do double what they do so you can level them’
- Dave (2019), *Black*

Therefore, conducting in-depth research methods such as hearing the voices of students who benefit and/or are vulnerable to these processes making racialised victims work ‘twice as hard’ provides opportunities to understand race, racism, and racial inclusion in education.

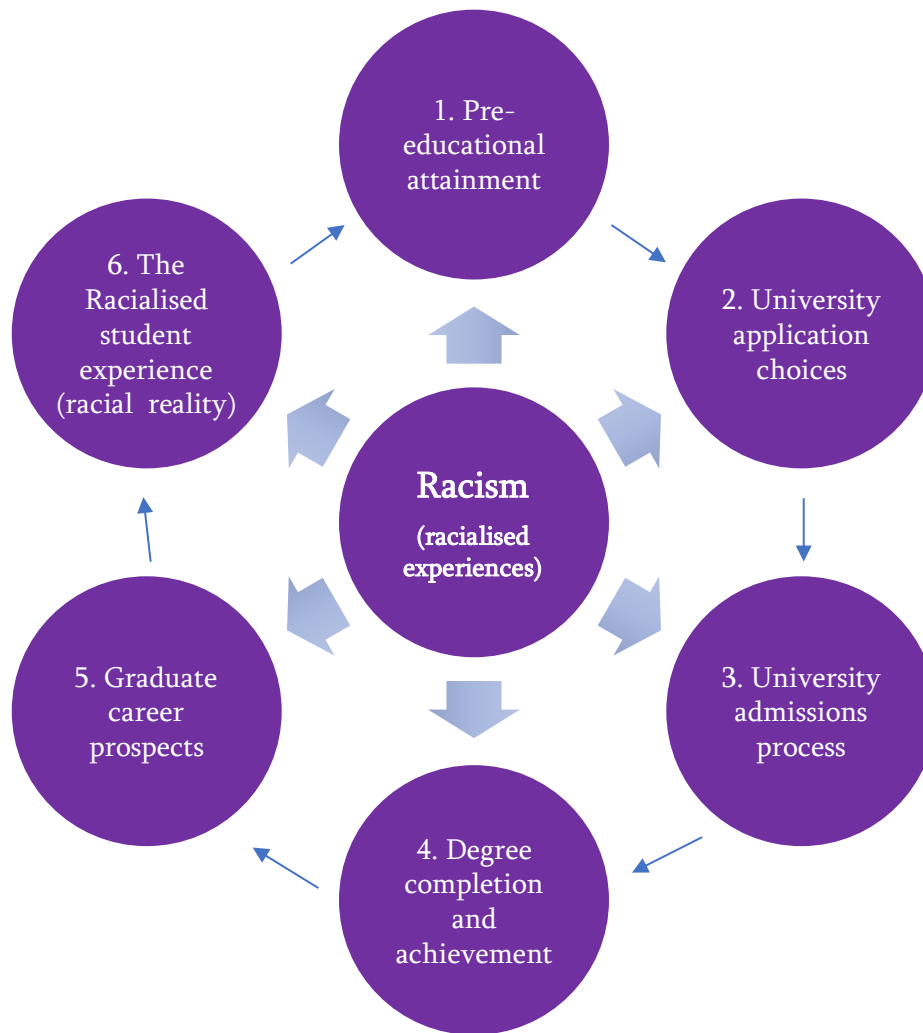


Figure 3: 6 Racism in Education Processes (REP)

As shown in Figure 3, each step is influenced by the processes that precede it, and thus the extent of an individual's success is ultimately constrained by their adolescent achievement. Racialised experiences impact each educational process and racism in the form of *White Insecurity* manifests through multi-faceted methods such as: (i) implicitly and explicitly, (ii) consciously and unconsciously, and (iii) institutionally, culturally, economically, psychologically and/or socially.

CHAPTER 6: METHODOLOGY, METHODS, AND DESIGN

6.1 Research Question

This research is directed by the following questions:

What are Durham students' perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusiveness at Durham University?
(Main)

- What influence do students perceive race, social class, and gender to have on students' experiences?
- How do students define racism?

What aspects of identity do students perceive are relevant to inclusion at Durham University?

- How do students describe a typical peer, teacher, and leader?
- How included do students at Durham University perceive themselves to be?
- What are perceived advantages and disadvantages to a Black and White racial identity?

What influence do students perceive their own racial identity to have on their experience of inclusion at Durham University?

- What barriers are there perceived to be for racial inclusion at Durham University?
- How can Durham University become more racially inclusive?

6.2 Critical Race Theory Methodology

'Epistemology and ontology is our theory of knowledge and view of reality, underpinning our theoretical perspective and methodology' (Raddon, 2010, p. 4). A Critical Race Theory (CRT) methodology is recognised by centring its attention on 'race and racism and its intersections and commitment to challenge racialized power relations' (Hylton, 2012, p. 27). A CRT approach has the

potential to challenge mainstream epistemologies that consist of the colour-blind, ahistorical, and meritocratic education system that influences racial oppression. As stated above, CRT methodologies consist of challenging oppression and the centring of Black voice/experience (Hylton, 2012). For instance, within education, the new trend on 'Why is my curriculum White' can be an example of a CRT practice that decolonises the curriculum through a 'global racial majority' (GRMa) perspective. Therefore, a CRT epistemology recognizes and illustrates the GRMa's contribution to the world while opposing the Eurocentric epistemologies that continues to misrepresent the knowledge we hold (Delgado Bernal, 2002). CRT's ontological position is that race is socially mis-constructed, and society systematically marginalises the GRMa. Critical race scholars must be aware of the social world and how it structures their realities by starting at the bottom to look for answers and questions. Moreover, as Hylton (2012) states,

'All things considered there is no positive spin on 'race' and racism because 'race' is a construct that is used to differentiate, (dis) advantage, and (dis)empower each time it is uncritically invoked. Even positive social transformation will involve remarking upon these racialised concepts and processes and to this end, simply, involves telling someone something about themselves/the world that needs to change' (p. 36).

Therefore, regarding this study, a positive environment for ReM groups may involve students and staff who are White to alter their ways of thinking which implicates a critical look at their own privilege as well as the disadvantages that underpin a more racially inclusive university.

Critical realism is a radical alternative to the more selective positivism and interpretivism paradigms (Bryman, 2016; McEvoy and Richards, 2006). While positivists identify laws and interpretivists identify experiences and/or views of individuals, critical realists investigate in-depth explanations and understandings of their realities, which echo the aims within the present research study. Critical realists acknowledge that 'research participants may be partial or even misguided' (McEvoy and Richards, 2006, p. 70). Bhaskar's (1989) critical realist approach holds the notion that the 'social world is reproduced and transformed in daily life' (p. 4; as cited in Bryman, 2016), thus discovering different perceptions on how the social world is always mediated and subjective (Bryman, 2016). Blaikie (2004) describes *retroduction* and *abduction* to be two strategies that move between induction and deduction. *Retroduction* is the logic underpinning critical realism (McEvoy and Richards, 2006) and 'focuses on

the building of abstract models of apparently real but not directly observable structures and mechanisms to explain empirical phenomena' (Gilbert, 2006, p. 207); 'In short it means asking why events have happened in the way they did' (Olsen and Morgan, 2004, p. 25, as cited in McEvoy and Richards, 2006). *Abduction* includes examples of Structuration Theory (see chapter 3), demonstrating our social world is impacted by interactions of individuals, 'which either generate social theories or are understood through existing social theories' (Gilbert, 2006, p. 207). Thus, critical realism has been adopted as it fits the scope of this study, helping to understand anti-oppressive interventions, which helps 'promote consciousness raising as a key strategy for tackling oppression' (Houston, 2001, p. 827). Furthermore, critical realism and CRT corroborate well together because they share similar views on the ontological and epistemological stance.

Lastly, the Flippin' the script (FTS) methodological approach centres the voices of the racially marginalised (i.e., resilient minority) and racially "privileged" (i.e., people who are White), building onto a CRT methodology and Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS). FTS focusses on what underlies the behaviours of the ingroup, interpreting these behaviours using the Power Threat Meaning Framework (PTMF) illustrated in chapter two, which fixates on alternative perspectives to understand behaviour (Johnstone and Boyles, 2018; see chapter 2, Flippin the Script section). FTS encourages the application of a strengths-based lens for the "outgroup" by capturing the dynamic between perpetrators of problematic behaviour and those it impacts. Whilst CRT and CWS centres voices of people that must be resilient- and/or contribute to marginalisation, FTS extends on this through a more critical consideration of language. FTS promotes a strengths-based approach for people who are less represented by encouraging deeper consideration of the derivation of racism (e.g., racialised experiences).

For example, the PTMF provides the opportunity to identify what underlies the racist behaviour for the perpetrator, considering what power is being sought. This approach can help those perpetrating racist behaviour to become more self-aware, being a chance to understand what drives their behaviour and how it has developed. In turn, this can support them to choose alternative ways of getting power/their intended needs met, without the subjugation of others. In doing so, the narrative changes regarding racism. It helps us to understand that labelling victims of racism as just

“oppressed/marginalised groups” is detrimental to our social and psychological functioning, and in turn removes their consistent victimised status by using alternative language (i.e., *adverse political terminology*) for self/group empowerment (e.g., ‘resilient from different forms of oppression’). Also, perpetrators are typically labelled as “privileged” groups, this is problematic due to removing their capability to learn from their problematic insecure behaviour- understanding where it stems from as mentioned (see chapter 4; White Insecurity section). This is underpinned by the *perpetrator fixation* approach in the FTS framework (see chapter 2 for explanation of the two approaches, (i) *adverse political terminology* and (ii) *perpetrator fixation*). Thus, a FTS methodology intends to provide an extensive description of the interaction and thus a more solution focused approach to the CRT framework and CWS. Subsequently, the FTS’s ontological and epistemological positioning works well with CRT and critical realism.

6.3 Research Design

This research will be methodologically innovative, because of opting for a qualitative design to conceptualise and amalgamate Black and White students’ perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusion. According to Braun and Clarke (2013),

‘The most basic definition of qualitative research is that it uses words as data collected and analysed in all sorts of ways.’ (p. 3)

Firstly, a qualitative model was implemented to allow the explanation of interpretation of meaning and a multifaceted social phenomenon (Braun and Clarke, 2013; Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006; Marshall, 1996). The qualitative study explores experiences of students that are men and women at Durham University, employing in-depth 1-1 semi-structured interviews, chosen to foster a casual, imminent, unrestricted environment (Roller and Lavrakas, 2015) and insightful data (Pereira and Alvaro, 2013). As Adams (2010) states, semi-structured interviews ‘aims to explore in-depth experiences of research participants, and the meaning they attribute to these experiences’ (p. 18). This study was originally mixed-methods, however, through in-depth 1-1 semi-structured interviews, I was able to grasp participants’ perceptions and counter-stories to implement extensive valuable and illustrative data on

their experiences and knowledge surrounding Durham University. Thus, quantitative analysis will be published separately in a journal article.

6.3.1 *Why Durham?*

Durham University has one of the lowest total numbers and percentage of students who are Black out of all the Russell Group Universities. Also, the percentage point gap between undergraduate students who are Black and White is one of the most significant with 71.2%% being White, and 2% being Black (including Mixed-Race Black ethnicities), resulting in an 69.2% percentage point gap (Ethnicity Summary, 2021). This is stark considering there is around 7.8% of UK domiciled students who are Black in all levels of study in higher education during the academic year of 2020/21 (HESA, 2022) Also, Durham's total ReM (BME) undergraduate population is amongst the least as well; 27.5% (4,378) out of 15,933, with almost half 13.6% (2,173) being from Chinese backgrounds (Ethnicity Summary, 2021). Furthermore, even though majority of Russell Group Universities are predominately White this study pursues to explore the presence of race, racism, and racial inclusiveness on student's perceptions from one of the most prestigious predominately White Russell Group Universities. Lastly, mainstream media outlets have publicised articles on the racism and classism that manifests in Durham University spaces. For example, The Tab, which is a site covering student and youth culture has posted two articles '*Students play drinking games with the N word*': *Black students on racism at Durham*, and *Racism is an Uncomfortable Reality at Durham*, illustrating the experiences of racism for students who are Black African (The Tab, 2018 and 2020).

6.3.2 *Recruitment and Sampling*

I carried out 1-1, semi-structured interviews, utilising an interview guide, which was constructed from the research questions. The information-gathering for this study took place between the months of December 2019 and February 2020. For the interviews, recruits must have had all of the following characteristics:

- Undergraduate from Durham
- UK resident or international undergraduate
- Black, White and/or Mixed race (Black and White)

For the one-to-one interview sample, Warren (2002) suggests a minimum of 20 respondents. Thus, the participants were recruited from Durham University, with a sampling of men (n=8) and women (n=13), Black and/or Mixed-race (Black and White) (n=13) and White (n=8). At first, an even number for race and/or gender was purposefully chosen so that there can be the same proportion of participants. Balanced gender groups are vital as research has shown peoples experiences are perceived differently based on their gender and the aspects of their social experience that they deem meaningful (Rollock, 2007; Sue, Capodilupo, and Holder, 2009). However, a balanced number was not achieved due to timeframe and some difficulties recruiting men to volunteer. Class was considered because research shows that social class is important to student experiences (Bhopal, 2014; Reay et al., 2005; Sue et al., 2007 and 2008) (see table 2 for participant overview at end of this section).

The sample consists of recruits that are White because they're the majority and it is essential to hear their views regarding race, racism, and racial inclusiveness. Also, a White racial identity is typically perceived the most "privileged" racial identity in UK society, and research suggests because of their undeserved racial "privilege" people who are White are typically the perpetrators of racism towards the ReM (Cabrera, 2014; DiAngelo, 2018; McIntosh, 1988). Students who are Black are included because they are on the receiving end of the racism (illustrated in previous chapters), and it is crucial that their voices and experiences are heard. Additionally, there is significantly fewer compared to other ethnic groups in "elite" institutions around the UK and are under-represented. Despite this study mainly focusing on students who are Black and White, one Asian (Brown) participant was considered to explore an Asian student experience within Durham spaces. For further clarification, since research in the media and literature has publicised students in the ReM face discrimination and racism amongst their peers who are White (Dumangane, 2016; Howson, 2014; Wilkins and Lall, 2011), this could suggest the experiences of students will differ depending on the racial inclusivity of the institution.

Students who aligned with the sample criteria highlighted above were recruited via four ways. First, I submitted a letter to Durham's 'dialogue signposts' to share the study, which is a form of internal communications within the university to share news and events to staff and students through a communications channel (Durham University, 2022). To add, I never received any volunteers to

partake in the study from the dialogue signpost. Secondly, I requested a recruitment email to a multitude of departments to be sent to students (global listing to e.g., Social Sciences, Psychology, Business, Anthropology, Law). A few departments such as Sociology and Anthropology departments agreed to share the study. Thirdly, I distributed flyers and posters within the University campuses (see appendix A) and places such as the Durham Student Union allowed me to use their facility. Lastly, many student-led organisations were contacted via email and Facebook. For example, Durham People of Colour Association, African and Caribbean society, 93% club, Conservative society just to name a few.

As mentioned, recruitment posters were spread out at different colleges and department buildings associated with the university (e.g., library, student union, business school, etc.). The emails and posters alike requested volunteers, explaining the premise of the study, the students' expected involvement and my email address, which was used for students to show their interest in participating or request more information. The selection criteria were outlined on the poster/in the email for the respective aspect of the study (qualitative). Since race is a sensitive topic for wider society, describing the research criteria in detail was important, thus, making students aware of the topic – race, racism, and racial inclusiveness. In the beginning stages, posters were posted inside the Sociology departments buildings and written information on the study was posted on Durham's dialogue signpost. However, around the first few weeks no participants volunteered and thus I contacted different student-led organisations via email and Facebook, which helped me gather more participants. Also, I delivered a presentation highlighting the study to one student-led Christian organisation, which also helped me recruit more participants. An effective contributor to recruitment was a participant-collective approach i.e., through snowball sampling, where I asked participants – or they themselves volunteered - after the interviews to communicate with peers about my study, and this really supported the increase in sample size. In sum, the participant sample was predominantly collected by (i) students emailing me having seen a recruitment flyer online or in person (mainly online from student organisations), (ii) were present at the presentation, and/or (iii) participants expressed the study to other peers.

Moreover, at the period prior to interviewing, students were emailed the information sheet (see appendix B) offering a sensible opportunity to be involved in the research. Individuals that decided to

be involved met me at the interview location by arranging a fixed time that was suitable for both interviewee and I. Durham University Bill Bryson Library is where all interviews were conducted, and this destination was selected for its assistance of confidentiality and privacy (no issues came with booking spaces for this process). Interview procedures were considered and will be discussed in the next section.

Table 2: Sample (Participant overview)

Name (Pseudonyms)	Race/Ethnicity	Socioeconomic class	Gender
Aimee	Black/African and British	Middle-class	Female
Ana	Black/African and Arab	Lower middle class	Female
Alma	Black/African and British	Middle-class	Female
Ciara	Black/Caribbean and British	Working-class	Female
Graham	Black/African and British	Working-class	Male
Jay	Black/African Caribbean	Middle-class	Male
Prisca	Black/African and British	Working-class	Female
Winston	Black/British	Middle-class	Male
Elesha	Mixed-race/Multi-ethnic	Working-class	Female
Ezekiel	Mixed race/Multi-ethnic	Lower middle-class	Male
Hazel	Mixed-race/Black Caribbean and White British	Working-class	Female

Mia	Mixed-race/Black Caribbean and White British	Working-class	Female
Angelic	White/International	Middle-class	Female
Ariel	White/British	Lower middle-class	Female
Dale	White/British	Upper middle-class	Male
Elena	White/British	Middle-class	Female
Elliot	White/British and Canadian	Middle-class	Male
Nathan	White/British	Middle-class	Male
Reuben	White/ British	Working-class	Male
Rose	White British	Working-class	Female
Hannah	Brown/Asian and British	Working-class	Female

6.4 Ethics and Challenges

Durham University's board of ethics granted ethical approval and thus, this research adhered to the British Sociological Association (2017) guidelines of ethical practice. Key ethical principles that were considered; (i) obtain informed consent; (ii) minimising the risk of harm; (iii) protecting anonymity and confidentiality; (iv) avoid deceptive practices; and (v) providing the right to withdraw. Initially, once a participant arrived at the interview, preliminary greetings, snacks were provided with a copy of the information sheet, and the information sheet was read out loud - these three steps assisted the ability of the participant to offer informed consent. Secondly, the consent form was signed when the participant agreed. The interviews were recorded by using a small voice recorder device that was

acquired from the Department of Sociology's inventory in Durham. The participant was then informed audio recording would commence and the interview guide was used with adaptability (explained below), permitting exploration of participants' insights. Due to the scope of this research including detailed discussions around a sensitive topic - race - there were important ethical considerations to make. When the conversation regarding race, racism, and racial inclusiveness finished, the recording was stopped, and I followed with unbiased questions and participants were signposted to relevant contacts of mental health support if they needed it to assure their well-being, because adequate safety protocols should be in place to minimise the risk of harm (Adams, 2010).

To also minimise the risk of harm and protect anonymity and confidentiality, some students may not have wanted to discuss personal previous experiences that have affected their well-being, and/or not want their identities revealed. To mitigate these issues, prior to conducting the interviews every participant was asked if there were any areas of the topic they would rather not discuss and assured that their anonymity will be protected. For example, to not jeopardise implicit disclosure, I protected anonymity and confidentiality by omitting specific data about participants (e.g., year of study) in this thesis, and participants were assigned a pseudonym (detailed in above section). Subsequently, if any student wished to withdraw from the study they could do so, and all of whom that met me in-person for the interview or after it was conducted never withdrew. It is also appropriate to consider protecting me the researcher (Adams, 2010), and thus supervisors were made aware and were provided with details around interview date, time, and location.

Furthermore, the interview length of participants varied, but altogether they lasted approximately 1 hour and 10 minutes. Prior to the interviews, the predicted timespan was around 1hr and 30min and participants were made aware to meet when they had around 2 hours of free time for interviews. Additionally, the type of questions created made me realise the interconnection between time and support needed to be considered for the mental health of participants. This planning made me split the interview into two sets of listed questions for the participant to take a short break if needed. It seemed to be a good idea as participants either needed a bathroom break, water, or just a breather. There was a total of 13 main questions listed for the interviewees with probing in between (see appendix D). The first set of questions consisted of asking participants their reasons for attending Durham and around

their perceptions of inclusion during their Durham experience (e.g., ‘How do you feel you fit within Durham?’ and ‘When do you feel most comfortable at Durham?’). These questions were asked first to build rapport and ease participants into the second set of questions i.e., the specifically race related questions. The race related questions were constructed by me to understand participants perceptions of their definition of racism, racialised experiences, and racial inclusion (e.g., ‘What would you like to share about your experiences of racism?’). During the beginning stages of the interview findings, topics such as decolonising the curriculum would be highlighted and this was not listed as an interview question. Thus, I adapted and added this topic to the subset of race related questions if decolonisation wasn’t vocalised by the participant (e.g., ‘How do you feel about decolonising the curriculum?’), and if the participant was unaware, I would explain the concept and movement. Once the interviews were completed, I asked each participant how they felt, and a majority enjoyed the questions, felt relieved and delighted to express their experience, and excited to see me doing research around this area. However, these types of reactions don’t always suggest the participants were completely open, as many challenges come with 1-1 semi-structured interviews.

Prominent challenges in this research surround social desirability bias and recruitment marketing. My Black presence when interviewing students on racial inclusiveness could result in students providing more closed responses. Research has shown that the interviewer’s race can influence different levels of openness and thus this has been considered as an influential factor on the findings (Hatchet and Schuman, 1975; Salazar, 1990). For instance, the possibility that White students might have been guarded when talking to me, but also the possibility that Black students might have felt more able to open-up to me than they would have with a White interviewer. Also, marketing for participants was challenging, but due to the high number of undergraduates within Durham University, inaccessibility was not expected to be a primary concern. Regarding recruitment, it was important to explore the best options of poster presentation to not deter students away and not recruit participants with homogeneous viewpoints on racial inclusiveness. However, racial discourse is considered an uncomfortable topic of conversation, which could attract students who are more inclined to the idea of wanting a more racially inclusive institution – which was most representative in the analysis – and thus attracting students with polarised views of wanting a racially inclusive environment and/or expressing those views in the interview with me may have caused restriction. The topic of this study

could also be why it took me almost a month after promoting to get volunteers, and afterwards receiving emails from certain volunteers dropping out. A few Black and White students dropped out without notifying me (e.g., stopped replying to emails after agreeing to take part). Furthermore, within the 1-1 interviews, challenges could have arisen around mental health, with a sensitive subject being discussed and potentially perceptions that could spark racialised flashbacks, thus mental health support was outlined in the information leaflets on expectations to help mitigate these potential issues (as mentioned above).

6.5 Reflexivity

Moreover, this method of data collection makes my influence evident, which was reinforced through a reflexive approach. Reflexivity is a commonly used term in organisational research and has been associated with qualitative research for decades (Haynes, 2012). Thus, reflexivity is an essential component of qualitative study (Fusch and Ness, 2015), illuminating my interaction with the research process. Everyone carries biases and through the means of self-reflection, I as the researcher can explore and recognise my involvement in the research and how my beliefs, position, and morals could affect the entire research process, along with the production of data and ensuing analysis (Berger, 2015). Therefore,

‘researcher reflexivity involves thinking about how our thinking came to be, how pre-existing understanding is constantly revised in the light of new understandings, and how this in turn affects our research.’ (Haynes, 2012, p. 72)

As a co-producer of the data, it is pertinent to consider the moral load ascribed to the research topic. As a man who is Black Afro-American exploring race, racism, and racial inclusion, my subjective biases and subjective axiology may display themselves within the interviews, with the research therefore being value bound. This can be reinforced by a snippet of my background forming subjective opinions from my experience. For instance, growing up all I saw was musicians and athletes as the hierarchal standard for Black achievement, as if that's all people who are Black are capable of and even then, in the sports and music we dominate, we continue to be portrayed as inferior in society (to note, I am a scholarship basketball athlete). Additionally, in the education system I grew up in, which was a middle-

class area in a predominantly White suburb, racialised experiences (e.g., racial “microaggressions”) were part of the norm. I had all White teachers and majority White peers for 17 years of my life until I attended one of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) in Texas, where I experienced being taught by a Black teacher/professor for the very first time. That can send the message that predominantly White spaces in schools aren’t for Black bodies (illustrated in chapter 9).

Thus, my well-being had to be considered during interviews since some students mentioned racialised experiences that fit within the scope of my own experiences, and therefore it was important for me to keep my personal experiences from disrupting the way I asked questions during the interview. Therefore, to protect any responsive emotions to racialised flashbacks disrupting the interview process, I used strategies such as writing self-reflective notes, speaking to loved ones, and meditating to protect my mental health. Ultimately, the self-reflections and write-up after the data collection stage were the few processes that led me to the FTS framework because it removed the problematic reoccurring racial victimisation discourse. Thus, making me shift and assess an under-represented critique of racialised experiences stemming from perpetrators (see chapter 2: Flippin’ the script section). As Seidman (1998) suggests,

‘Researchers must ask themselves what they have learned from doing the interviews, studying the transcripts, marking and labelling them, crafting profiles, and organizing categories of excerpts. What connective threads are there among the experiences of the participants they interviewed? How do they understand and explain these connections? What do they understand now that they did not understand before they began the interviews? What surprises have there been? What confirmations of previous instincts? How have their interviews been consistent with the literature? How inconsistent? How have they gone beyond?’ (p. 110-11, as cited in: Dilley, 204, p.128)

This highlights the need for me to explain a considerable amount of the FTS framework being rooted in Afrocentric feminist epistemology as illustrated in chapter two. I understand and acknowledge the framework I developed is from Black feminist thought which means there are limitations surrounding this framework. For instance, as a Black man I can never have the lived experience of a Black woman and removing the ingrained practices of Western masculinity is imperative of me to produce this type of epistemology. Through the research and as the reader will see in the analysis women who are Black are perceived to have the hardest struggle providing them with the widest lens to combat oppression

(illustrated in chapter 9), which also influenced how I developed parts of this framework. Collins (1986) suggests the dehumanisation of Afro-American women requires a consciousness of self-definition and self-valuation for their survival 'to reject internalised, psychological oppression' (p. s18) – hence *adverse political terminology* expressed in chapter two. Thus, for Collins (1986) Black female survival is dependent on those two factors (e.g., self-definition + self-valuation = Black female survival). Black feminist scholars may not acknowledge they have to be the most resilient i.e., experience the most oppression, but research suggest otherwise as I interpret their lived experience to be an 'expanding hierarchy of oppression'. Thus, my positionality can be biased towards woman from a Black background. Therefore, it seemed essential to contribute an epistemology framed by them as the underlying tools for the rehumanisation of humanity which is underpinned by their voices and liberation (see chapter 11).

Furthermore, a limitation of this research is that there is scope for participants' truths to differ from mine and that of evidence-based literature, which ultimately analysed by me the researcher, may be apparent in the final conclusions. Thus, again, whilst subjectivity is imperative to the research, this can have a negative impact on the interview data validity, with my biases permeating the overall research process. To account for these potential limitations, it was important that I as the researcher encourage different perspectives and not confirm nor deny any one truth: thus, adding support for the selection of a critical realist approach to the research.

6.6 Analytical structure

After the completion of all 21 interviews, reflections and certain post-interview notes were made. Reflections were also made to support my understanding of their initial experience with that participant (Wengraf, 2001). The following stage of the analytical structure involved the 'verbatim transcription' of the interviews to capture everything on the audio recording, whilst using the notation system of Jefferson (2004) to convert sound data to substantial, visual data. Transcribing followed Kings and Horrocks (2010) guidelines. I transcribed every interview to adhere to confidentiality agreements, to be completely involved in the entire research process, and have a personal in-depth understanding of the participants' perceptions, 'to prepare materials for analysis, theorising, etc.' (Jefferson, 2004, p.

13). These interviews provided insight into the students' experiences of university and their perception of race, racism, and racial inclusiveness at their respective institution i.e., Durham University.

Moreover, after the interviews notes and transcriptions were completed, I used Braun and Clark's (2006) 6-phase guide to performing thematic analysis; (i) *familiarising yourself with your data*; (ii) *generating initial codes*; (iii) *searching for themes*; (iv) *reviewing themes*; (v) *defining and naming themes*; and (vi) *producing the report*. According to Braun and Clarke (2012) a thematic analysis,

'is a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set. Through focusing on meaning across a data set, TA allows the researcher to see and make sense of collective or shared meanings and experiences.' (p. 57)

Thus, thematic analysis involves the development of themes from within the data. In phase 1, I familiarised myself with the data by constantly re-reading and noting down ideas (Braun and Clarke, 2006 and 2012). Phase 2, Kings and Horrocks' (2010) inductive model was implemented to stay grounded in the data using the software NVIVO, which involved two distinct coding stages: descriptive codes (DC) and interpretative codes (IC). DC involved highlighting relevant material, commenting, and defining the material as a code respectively, and this was repeated through each transcript – refining continuously (King and Horrocks, 2010). When the DC were defined in all the transcripts to make sense of what was meant from the participants, they were grouped into IC to make meaning. Thus, I went back to the transcript and, (i) viewed the DC, (ii) categorised them so they shared a similar concept – yet with individual characteristics within it – then (iii) IC were made heterogeneously.

For phases 3 and 4, the descriptive codes (DC) and interpretative codes (IC) were large and widespread and thus I transferred the NVIVO coded files into Microsoft word, colour-coded participants codes in a table format with participants names (e.g., yellow = racial abuse, grey = problematic Whiteness; see table 3). After colour-coding the tables were printed onto paper. This was exercised to have adequate cross-referencing to condense intersecting codes and arrange for IC and overarching themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006 and 2012; King and Horrocks, 2010). Scissors were used to cut the tables into pieces and then codes were spread across the floor to conduct adequate cross-referencing (this lasted over a week with codes covering up my living room floor, see figure 4). There were a total of 518 DC and 170

IC during this initial physical cross-referencing and once DC and IC were grouped together, separate sheets of paper were cut out and final IC were written with a summarisation to encapsulate the meaning of each grouped printed codes. Unfortunately, the extensive list of codes constructed from the interviews provided scope to remove certain codes underpinning the research question. For example, 'parental influence' codes formed because of probing around the question 'What made you apply to Durham University?', and thus, the logic for removal seemed suitable due to the lack of reoccurrence during the initial physical cross-referencing compared to the other codes and difficulty amalgamating them with the overarching themes during phase 5.

Table 3: Colour-coded descriptive and interpretative codes (Prisca)

Prisca	
Descriptive Codes (27)	Interpretative Codes (9)
Anti-Black communities Anti-Black pub culture Black antipathy Gender over race Not open space Mental health consequences Objectified microaggressions Racial assault Racism defined Studentlocal racism	Anti-blackness Abusing Blackness
Upper class White identity Weird world White-washed portrait Whiteness attacked	Whiteness personified White insecurity
Uni action Black staff affect	Black investigations
Background preparation Sixth form hell Teacher prejudices Woke Lone wolf	Desensitisation Racially woke
Call out obstacles Countering racism	Countering obstacles
Unthinkable experience Can't complain	Rare(fortunate) occurrence
members DEGREE Leverage	

Figure 4: Physical cross-referencing



Conducting phase 5 required *defining and naming overarching themes*, which are the top-level master themes that were formed by existing literature and related to each other for the overall argument.

Pieces of paper were cut out and overarching themes were written and summarised, likewise to the IC process to illustrate the meaning underpinning the initial codes, but with existing literature. Following this process, I formed tables onto Microsoft Word and documented (i) the DC, with (ii) summarisations of IC and overarching themes – with continual condensing/altering during write up (see table 4). Thus, overarching themes were developed for the analysis and a hierarchical diagram (e.g., Thematic maps) was constructed to have a visual aid, which will be shared at the beginning of each qualitative chapter. Eight overarching themes were initially constructed, but one theme (i.e., mainly data from the interpretative code, ‘Juxtaposed communities’) was combined with the “Black Reality” theme to conduct an enlightening in-depth analysis of the Black student experience (see chapter 9). Therefore, all themes were used in the analysis leading to phase 6, *producing the report*, which is ‘providing a compelling story about your data based on your analysis’ (Braun and Clarke, 2012, p. 69). In sum, after persistently condensing during the final write up stage, a total of 66 DC, 17 IC, and 7 overarching themes were formed from the 1-1 semi-structured interviews (see diagram 1 at end of chapter).

Table 4: Draft of initial condensed summarisations of an overarching theme

Archaistic Acceptance Theme (#1) This theme represents the participants perceptions of the unequitable foundations at Durham. The foundations have constructed a dominant identity, which demonstrate the beginning stages of an exclusive environment for the non-majority group.	
Oxbridge rejects Oxbridge influence	Oxbridge rejects This interpretative code refers to participants who are Oxbridge rejects or describing the general identity of the student population at Durham.
Male ego Very White Raging white men Male dominance (staff) Horrible lad societies Trump supporters Dominating conversations	Misinformed machoism This interpretative code reflects participants observations of how ‘men’ who are White at Durham behave.
White-washed portrait Signet rings Impactful Whites Stereotypical fit Staff male majority White and privileged Durham identity Majority private (state vs private) White confidence	Trump cards This code adopts the premise of card games whereby the trump card is the desired card in the deck. With regards to participant perceptions, the trump card equates to the identity of a typical Durham student, conveying valuable resources (e.g. white, upper-class, private school) students have that gives them an advantage to feel included over others at the University.
Elite Uni University grants Degree leverage Prestigious reputation Course influence Church influence	Elite reputation The elite status of Durham is why most participants applied with degree choice or high on the league tables being the main reasons. Only one student came because they liked the city.
Tokenistic Absent community Profit prioritising Disruptive prejudices Racist foundations Bias lecturers Durham recruitment-access Ineffective systems Unchanging image	Inequitable foundations Participants shared the lack of community Durham University exhibits, suggesting the foundations of the Uni have created a discriminatory environment.

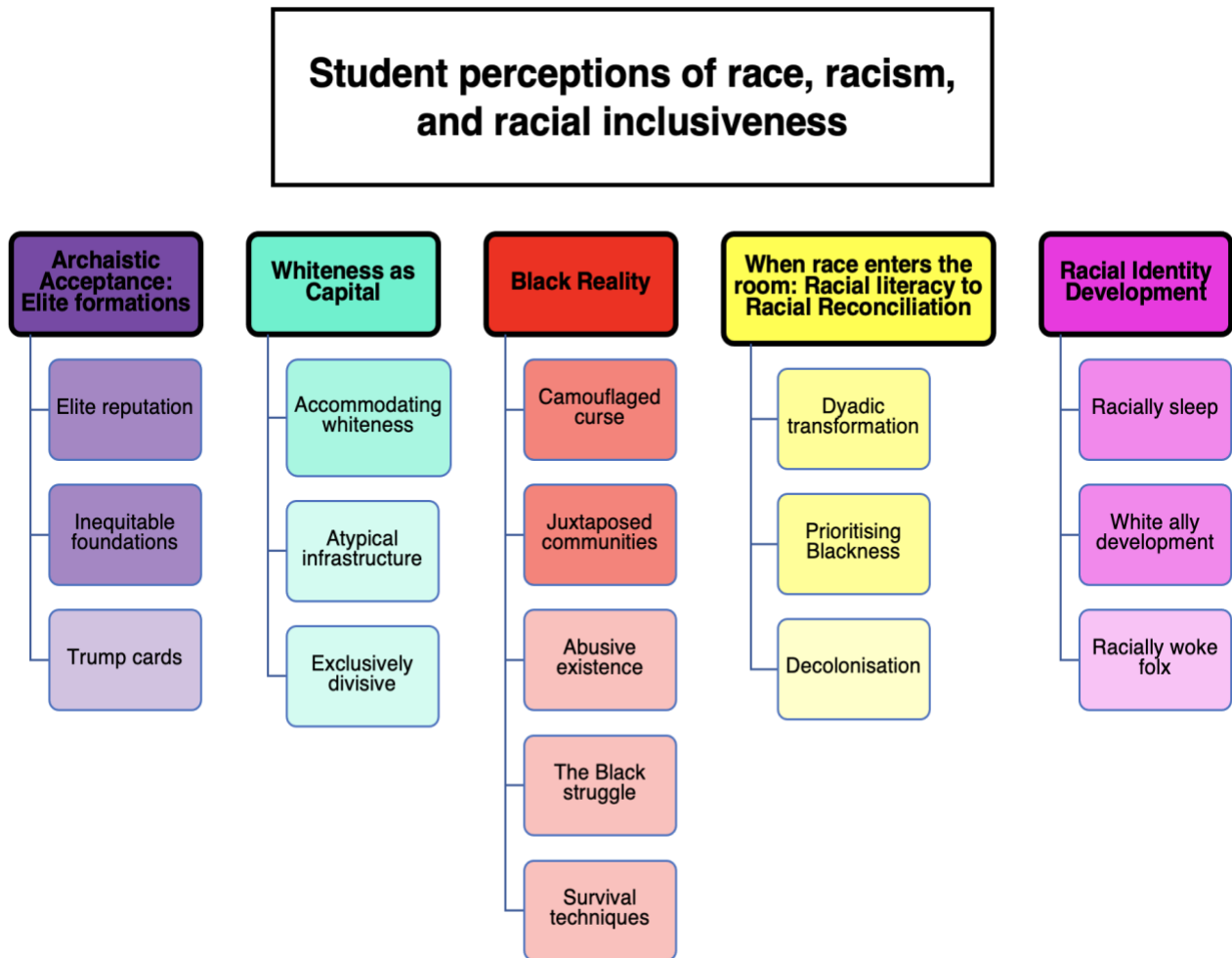
The left column are descriptive codes, and the right column are interpretative codes. As mentioned, codes/themes were continuously condensed/refined during the write-up after this process.

6.7 Analysis

The overarching themes primarily focus on the aims of the research. Overall, 5 overarching themes were constructed from the inductive thematic analysis of the data, which are chronologically formed by the participants' narratives of race, racism, and racial inclusiveness (see Diagram 1 below). The analysis write-up interprets the potential social constructs influencing the participants, because it is interpreted that participants' perceptions are a product of their social interactions and structures in their individual social worlds. The 5 overarching themes are "Archaistic Acceptance: Elite Formations", which interprets participants' perceptions of (i) why they chose to apply and attend Durham University, (ii) how its traditional "elite" identity was formed and practices different forms of discrimination, and (iii) a description of the perceived problematic student Durham attracts (e.g., typical Durham student (TDS)). Theme 2, "Whiteness as Symbolic Capital" is an extension to theme 1, because it describes the cultural environment of Durham by illustrating the groups who benefit and/or are excluded from it – typically benefitting people with White skin. Theme 3, "Black Reality", emphasises; (i) participants definition of racism and its discrepancy between students who are Black and White; (ii) how they interpret its functioning in education and Durham; and (iii) the reality of racism experienced by participants who are Black that is perceived as inescapable during their student experience at Durham University, which results in abusive outcomes (e.g., racial abuse) – a combination of Asian discrimination is also interpreted. Theme 4, "When Race Enters the Room: Racial Literacy to Racial Reconciliation" is an analysis plus recommendations chapter, exploring participants' perceptions of how Durham can transform and racially reconcile its institution by addressing its perceived racist and classist admissions, problematic culture, and curriculum. The final theme, "Racial Identity Development" is another analysis plus recommendations chapter, illustrating the perceived racist identity of the typical Durham student, and processes are recommended to racially reconstruct and reconcile the racial identity of students to become White allies, anti-racist, and racially woke for Durham's culture to thus become a racially inclusive institution. Thematic maps and tables of the entire thematic analysis i.e., the DC, IC, and overarching themes were constructed to make the full coding

and analysis process transparent. A thematic map for each overarching theme will be shared after the conclusion of every analysis chapter and tables are illustrated in.

Diagram 1: 5 Overarching themes and IC of the analysis

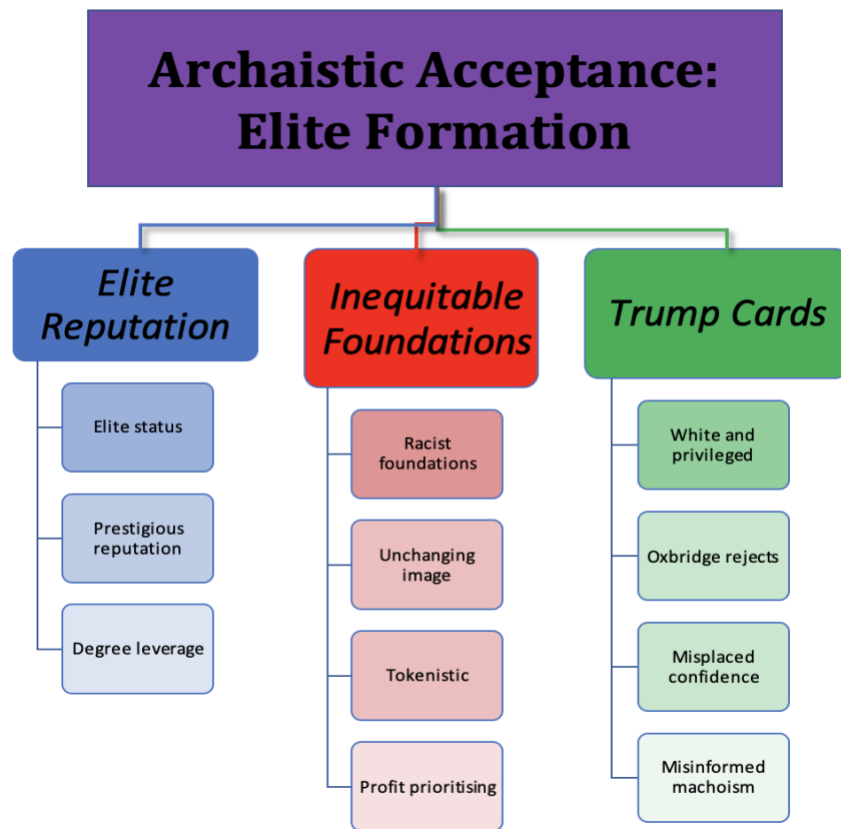


CHAPTER 7: ARCHAISTIC ACCEPTANCE: ELITE FORMATIONS

‘Absolute power corrupts absolutely
But absolute powerlessness does the same
It’s not the poverty
It’s the inequality that we live with everyday that will turn us insane.’
– Akala (2012), *Absolute Power*

This overarching theme title represents participants’ perceptions of the social formation of Durham University. The term ‘archaic’ means ‘very old, or old fashioned’ (Lexico Dictionaries, 2020), which reflects the elitist structure and identity discussed by participants. The title reference of ‘Elite formations’ was adopted from William and Filippakou’s (2010) work regarding elite higher education, which argues accessibility is specifically exclusive to those from “privileged” social groups. The interpretative codes constructed from the data were: (i) ‘Elite reputation’, (ii) ‘Inequitable foundations’, and (iii) ‘Trump Cards’. Elite reputation illustrates Durham’s symbolic capital and is underpinned by their “elite” status that is perceived to be synonymous with problematic Whiteness and Eurocentrism, nonetheless students attend the university anyway, because a Durham degree has long-term benefits (e.g., economic capital). Inequitable foundations, highlights participants perceptions of Durham’s early role in slavery, unchanging selection of students in recruitment - i.e., predominately White middle- and upper-class - that constructs a “quota-filler” identity for underrepresented groups, and lastly their prioritisation of profit over student well-being which are discriminatory formations that are interpreted as being synonymous with becoming a traditional “elite” university. Trump Cards, revealing the cultural capital of the typical Durham student (TDS) that is seen as advantageous for the student experience at Durham (e.g., White, posh, conservative), yet perceived as problematic to participants who believe the TDS *misinformed habitus* is racially divisive. The combination of these interpretative codes conveys the University to be accepting of archaic social structures contributing to the continuous representation of elitism at the University.

Diagram 2: Archaistic Acceptance: Elite Formation (Thematic Map)



7.1 Elite reputation

This interpretative code encompasses participant perceptions of the University as having an elite reputation, which was their motivation for selecting to study at Durham for their undergraduate experience. This code is underpinned by three descriptive codes: (i) *elite status*, (ii) *prestigious reputation*, and (iii) *degree leverage*. The amalgamation of these three descriptive codes constructs a surface level 'identity' - the university being elite and having a prestigious reputation that predominantly accepts a specific demographic.

7.1.1 *Elite status*

Participants who are Black and White described Durham University as an elite institution. For example, Angelica a student who is White (StWW) felt Durham is, ‘really trying to feed on this kind of elite idea, elite kind of image.’ This idea of an “elite” institution was explained by others,

‘It’s a really elite university, good name, good employment prospect.’ (Graham, Black student)

‘I think there is something like going to an elite university like Durham.’ (Ezekiel, Mixed-race student)

‘Yeah it was mostly the idea at being at a fairly elite institution.’ (Angelica, White student)

To understand the students’ perceptions, an understanding of “elite” is required. In the Cambridge English Dictionary (2020) “elite” means, ‘the richest, most powerful, best-educated, or best trained group in society.’ It appears that the respondents’ perceptions are synonymous with this generally accepted idea of “elite”, perceiving Durham University to encapsulate all these characteristics. Also, *elite status* is interpreted as students seeking Durham from an intrapersonal standard or for personal upward social mobility. However, being “elite” could have different meanings in different cultures and be represented through different social behaviours. The definition of elite appears to be encompassing a typical Eurocentric approach (Mills and Wolfe, 2000), and the participants have adopted it as such. Therefore, Durham’s *elite status* can be seen to also be accompanied by problematic Whiteness, excluding students from a working social class and ReM background (Meier, 2016; Mirza, 2020).

7.1.2 Prestigious reputation and Degree leverage

Furthermore, participants who are Black, Brown, and White perceive Durham to embody a prestigious reputation,

‘In terms of wanting to get into a good university that means basically for the CV to make it look like I got in somewhere that basically has a good reputation to help me later for jobs.’ (Rose, White student)

‘just prestige, like regardless of league tables Durham has the reputation of being a good university.’ (Mia, Mixed-race student)

‘Just position in league tables and kind of word of mouth.’ (Graham, Black student)

‘Durham in particular I looked at league tables and it was mostly the reputation of the university as being a very kind of Oxbridge adjacent kind of Uni.’ (Angelica, White student)

An interpretation is that participants’ perceptions of the University enduring a *prestigious reputation* is established through Durham’s positioning on the league tables and the University name holding value with regards to job prospects. Each year national rankings - based on a variety of standards (e.g., student satisfaction, and subject) - are established to inform undergraduate applicants about UK universities. At present, Durham is ranked 7th out of 130 on the league tables but has previously ranked 3rd and within the top 100 (#86) universities in the world respectively (Top Universities, 2020 and University League Tables 2021). To add, participants reinforce the idea of Durham’s elite reputation by applying for *degree leverage*,

‘it was one of the best in the country for my degree.’ (Reuben, White student)

‘the course...so yeah just literally the course.’ (Hannah, Brown student)

‘Not many other institutions offer medical anthropology at undergraduate level so for me it was a practical choice to apply here.’ (Prisca, Black student)

‘the department of the course basically that I was applying to I thought it was kind of better than the other options I had.’ (Mia, Mixed-race student)

The students appear to be seeking to attend the University due to an expected advantage of engaging in a course they perceive to be better than those offered at alternative Universities. Thus, upward social mobility seems a central motivator for attending Durham. In the students’ social worlds, a degree has economic capital within the labour market and this capital is further amplified by attending an “elite” university (Power and Whitty, 2008). Therefore, the conceptualisation of Durham is associated with an elite reputation and perceived opportunities for upward social mobility, resembling the internalised importance of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1993) within individuals’ lives. ‘Symbolic capital’ is a concept created by Bourdieu, ‘being known and recognised and is more or less synonymous with standing, good name, honour, fame, prestige and reputation’ (p. 37). According to Williams and Filippakou (scholars who are White) (2010), Bourdieu’s term ‘symbolic capital’ is often neglected when discussing higher education’s position in the formation of an elite group. Elite groups achieve symbolic capital by establishing an identity that is perceived by individuals in society as valuable. To add, there is a

perceived group of traditional elites, who are reflective of those born with ‘symbolic capital’ and typically associated with other forms of capital (e.g., economic, cultural, and social) (Bourdieu 1986; Williams and Filippakou, 2010). Therefore, ‘symbolic capital’ is an underpinning feature of the three descriptive codes (*elite status*, *prestigious reputation*, and *degree leverage*), together describing Durham to have an ‘elite reputation’. Whilst elitism is typically associated with problematic Whiteness and elevated social class, students who are outside of these social groups sought to attend Durham to access the benefits they associate with its elitism to acquire economic capital.

7.2 Inequitable foundations

Inequitable foundations is constructed by four aspects of a mix between Black and White students, including Brown: (i) *racist foundations*, (ii) *unchanging image*, (iii) *tokenistic* and (iv) *profit prioritising*. The combination of these descriptive codes illustrates the participants' views of how the University's elite status (e.g., elite reputation) has been formed and how this formation excludes specific groups.

7.2.1 *Racist foundations*

Hannah a student who is Brown (StWBr) emphasises Durham's roots in slavery,

‘like I recently learned the role that Durham had in slavery, the role that the Oriental museum had at war.’

...

‘I think they basically helped build a bar or something in a plantation in Barbados. There's very explicit links between like colonialism and Durham University or like most universities in the UK that have made Durham like most states and most constitutions where racism was very much impeded in the way the system works.’ (Hannah, Brown student)

In an article on OpenLearn (2006), *The profits of slavery: Bishop of Durham – Durham Cathedral*, it discusses Durham Cathedral's role in the Slave Trade whereby the Bishop of Durham, Thomas Thurlow was directly involved, being compensated for owning a plantation in Barbados until 1833. Also, Codrington College – a college based on a former Barbados Plantation – was funded by the same estates from Durham, and students from Codrington College were awarded degrees by Durham

University until the mid 1900s (Simmons, 1972). For example, ‘between 1875 and 1955, two hundred and eighty-three Codrington students were awarded degrees of Durham University’ (Simmons, 1972 p. 55). This history corresponds with ‘land ownership’ and ‘religious status’, two of the three bases that form traditional elites which builds ‘inherit symbolic capital for previous generations – which ensures their elite status’ (William and Filippakou, 2010, pg. 5). Also, Durham,

‘was founded by Act of Parliament in 1832 and granted a Royal Charter in 1837. It was one of the first universities to open in England for more than 600 years and has a claim towards being the third oldest university in England’ (Universitycompare.com, 2012).

Therefore, Hannah’s depiction of Durham’s role in slavery and its historic origins appears to underpin her view of the University having a racist foundation, noting, “I think in Durham specifically the institution of Durham is built to be racist” (Hannah, StWBr). Hazel a student who is mixed-race (StWMR) coincided with Hannah’s perception, “I think this university is institutionally racist”. Hannah and Hazel’s perception of Durham being an inherently racist institution reflects a substantial amount of research on institutional racism within UK higher education (Ahmet, 2020; Arday and Mirza, 2018; Sian, 2017).

The original construction of the concept ‘institutional racism’ (IR) was formed by Black Afro-Americans Kwame Ture (Stockley Carmichael) and Charles Hamilton during the Black Power movement in 1967 stating,

‘Institutional racism is far more subtle, less identifiable...but no less destructive of human life...it originates in the operation of established and respected forces in the society.’ (Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton, 1967, pg. 4)

Furthermore, the concept was not formed in British higher education until 1999 in the Macpherson report, after the murder of Stephen Lawrence - a teenager who was Black (African) (Mirza, 2018) (see chapter 1). Katy Sian (2017) highlights IR as structural practices excluding Black and ReM groups, which appears reflective of the narratives shared by participants. This coincides with the Critical Race Theory doctrine ‘endemic societal racism’ where humans create a racist social structure to make racism deep-rooted in society (see chapter 2). Therefore, the descriptive code *racist foundations* is emphasised

by Durham's role in the enslavement of Blacks and displaying IR, which helped form its traditional "elite" status.

7.2.2 *Unchanging image*

Durham's *unchanging image* is expressed by Angelica, an international student who is White (StWW), who stated, 'it's not easy to get into institutions such as Durham.', she further explains,

'I'm in a committee and we were talking about how the university is trying to diversify its intake of students and the people that are applying to combined honours are mostly White, coming from higher income classes and stuff like that. Um and it's because of where we market the University.' (Angelica, White student)

Angelica's view appears to be that Durham recruits a specific type of student, interpreting a higher social class and students who are White to be targeted within the marketing efforts of the university. These constructs of social power are associated with the formation of a traditional "elite" status (Bennet, 2005). According to Bennet (2005), elite universities are categorised as traditional or new. Thus, Durham's practice, described by Angelica with regards to marketing and "elite" recruitment, provides the basis of what is conceptualised as an 'elite formation' (Bennet, 2005; Wakeling and Savage, 2015; Williams and Filippakou, 2010). The concept of traditional elites is underpinned by 'closed recruitment, narrow pathways, and heredity or sponsorship access' (Williams and Filippakou, 2010, p.4). Extensive research has shown that Universities that fit within the scope of the 'traditional elite' label, e.g., Russell Groups, are not engaging in recruitment practices that are deemed equitable. For example, Boliver (2013) - a women scholar who is White - identified that access to Russell Group institutions is far from 'fair' (pg. 358) and 'ethnic inequalities in admissions chances widen as the percentage of ethnic minority applicants increases' (Boliver, 2016, pg. 260; highlighted in chapter 5). A theory to explain these differences is unconscious bias, a social phenomenon that has unfavourable outcomes for those who others hold negative beliefs about. Thus, it appears that the University's actions regarding recruitment are perceived to be less focused on students who are from a lower social class and/or Black backgrounds, contributing to them being underrepresented in Russell Group institutions (Blackburn and Jarman, 1993; Boliver, 2016 and 2018; Zimdars et al., 2009). This is reflected in Angelica's perception of people being underrepresented and further illustrated by Ariel, a student who is White and working-class,

‘I just think education and social class and like ability to move up like success wise in certain areas which require education is really barred to people with minority ethnicities.’ (Ariel, White student)

Thus, participants interpretation of Durham’s recruitment process and subsequent accessibility conveys a traditional elite identity, whereby the university sustains ‘a certain image, and then attracts people based on that image’ (Elesha, StWMR), hence *unchanging image*.

7.2.3 *Tokenistic*

Durham’s constructed traditional “elite” status is further highlighted by the stereotypical ‘quota filling’ narrative for students who are Black,

‘I feel like Durham obviously like tries to fulfil that quota so I kind of feel like they’re like “yeah you can come to our Uni” do you know what I’m saying?’ (Jay, Black student)

Jay, a student who is Black and middle-class interprets Durham as only recruiting students like him to fill quotas. Jay further elucidates his views by explaining an interaction with a student who is White,

‘I know one of my course mates told me the only reason I was in Durham is because I’m Black and needed to fill a quota and I probably didn’t work that hard.’

...

‘As long as you have one Black person in a course then they can turn around and say, “how are we not being inclusive? look at that one token Black person we have”.’ (Jay, Black student)

Jay conveys how he is perceived as a quota-filler by a student who is White, discussing his experience being the only Black person in his course. Jay depicts himself to have a role as the only student who is Black on the course, feeling he influences others’ perceptions of Durham, with his Blackness reducing the scope of Durham to be called non-inclusive. Jay illuminate’s others’ views regarding tokenism, being perceived as “not working hard” from a student who is White, constructing an environment whereby a student imposes the concept of their “superior” status over Jay. This coincides with Wright (2010) – woman scholar who is Black - who illuminates White middle-class perceptions of students who are “BAME” and White working-class. Wright describes the process of ‘othering’ - whereby the middle class construct themselves as superior, seeking to distance themselves from the ‘other’ social

groups, hence the label of ‘othering’. The concept of being told a student has a place at Durham based on “quota filling”, as described by Jay may be perpetuated by other actions the University takes to widen the accessibility of Durham, described by Ciara and Graham who participated in Durham’s UK Black Summer School,

‘I participated in a summer school which they lowered the grade requirements for me to come here.’ (Graham, Black student)

‘So, in 2017 I went to summer school here and we got to do a test and I passed the test and they lowered the entry requirements for me here so that’s why I literally applied because and plus the name.’ (Ciara, Black student)

Or Rose a student who is White and working-class,

‘I made a spreadsheet of what kind of grant and money options I would get at different universities and Durham’s one for poorer people was more than other universities’ (Rose, White student)

These explanations may be positioned within a positive context, appearing to have widened the accessibility for the students. These practices are described as characteristic of Bennet’s (2005) new elite universities. However, with the experience of ‘othering’ having already been discussed, which is associated with negative connotations (Wright, 2010), the formation of Durham’s “elite” status maintains and thus these participants may continue to be perceived as “quota-fillers”. The insinuation is that to be a Durham student is to be White middle- and upper-class and being a “quota-filler” characterises Durham students who are Black, Asian, and/or White working class. These perceptions continue to suggest that the *tokenistic* label within Durham University and the taxonomy of being “elite” is synonymous with problematic Whiteness, anti-Blackness, and classism. This social world therefore excludes students who are Black or working class that qualify academically or are supported by equal opportunity actions.

7.2.4 Profit prioritising

Moreover, Ana a student who identifies as a woman, working-class, and Black further illustrates Durham’s inequitable foundations from a class perspective, intersected with race,

‘Well what comes to mind to Durham in general probably prioritising profit first over like student well-being. Like the racial equality survey, it was literally just like by the history department or the Durham student department. I felt it was like antagonistic because it’s just a survey what is that going to do like they know what the problem is but they’re not willing to invest resources and like reaching out to more places where there is diversity and market it to like students that come up here.’ (Ana, Black student)

Ana’s perception coincides with Mills and Wolfe (scholars who are White) (2000), who suggest that ‘the elite’ are formed based on the distribution of available resources. This theory proposes that the elite receive the majority of the resource, which inevitably leaves less for others outside of this elite formation. Ana’s portrayal of Durham is that the University is aware of racial problems, which she appears to conclude from the student survey, this purposeful action being interpreted as an awareness of need but prioritising its resource elsewhere. Ana’s awareness of the survey may be explained by Reay (2018) who concluded that elite universities are not typically conceptualised as racialised environments. Thus, the race equality survey was an observable action that initially appeared to contradict this conceptualisation. However, prioritising money is a predominant function within an “elite” institution, Ana’s description of Durham as “antagonistic” conveys a tick box approach to the problem (e.g., Sarah Ahmed, 2017), whereby the University is not taking the perceived required actions for race equality.

Ana continues to describe class inequities within colleges,

‘In terms of class I think there is some sort of discrimination here. In terms of like college life they’re raising the rent. Like Durham has like some of the most expensive college rents in the country first off and it’s like the Northeast there is no reason for that. Um, they have this thing called like college membership and you have to pay like 150 pounds or something around that price and it’s like I never heard of that for any other university. In terms of like being a member of the college, you have to buy a gown, they’re increasing the rent further next year. So, it’s like they’re trying to push out people who aren’t like middle class out of the Uni.’ (Ana, Black student)

Thus, an interpretation of Ana’s comment is that the college system at Durham creates inequitable opportunities based on money, with irony appearing amplified due to her perception of the area (e.g., “Northeast”) in which the colleges are based. Ana’s perspective of the area as cheaper—compared to her

home in London – is exemplified in a way that it is synonymous with the Northeast. When considering social constructs of class, the social history of the location may contribute to Ana’s perception of the area being cheaper, with a working-class background more prominent outside the scope of the University student body. Also, her perceptions of the University “trying to push out” students could convey how Ana expects people in a higher socioeconomic class to purposely exclude working-class or ReM students in their controlled spaces. Similar outcomes are emphasised in Jack’s (2019) study, which discusses elite colleges failing “disadvantaged” students deeming them the ‘Doubly Disadvantaged’ (e.g., poor and unfamiliar with elite culture) or ‘Privileged Poor’ (e.g., poor but have previous introductions of “elite” culture) on a rich campus where they are reminded of their status every day. A concept ‘structural exclusion’ was expressed when students mentioned the university policies,

‘The concept of structural exclusion highlights the direct role that college and university policies play in structuring students’ social interactions, sense of belonging, and pathways through college. Structural exclusion focuses on moments when specific operational features of the college marginalize underrepresented groups in highly visible ways.’ (Jack, 2019, p. 244)

Structural exclusion can be underpinned by Giddens’s (1984) *duality of structure*, which emphasises social actors create structures while structures authorise and limit future actions (see chapter 3). Thus, whether deliberately or inadvertently, Durham’s elite college systems, ‘pushes poor students to the margins, thereby reminding them of their difference—often in ways that connect to racial inequalities on college campuses’ (Jack, 2019, p. 135), making students feel as if they don’t belong.

Durham’s ‘inequitable foundations’ are based on their (i) role in slavery/colonial origins, (ii) their unchanging predominately White (middle- and upper-class) recruitment, and (iii) exclusion of Black and underrepresented bodies. Therefore, from participants’ perceptions, to be elite is to be synonymous with problematic Whiteness, classism, anti-Blackness, and IR. To conclude, the amalgamation of the descriptive codes illustrates the elite formation of Durham, which excludes certain groups. However, race and class marginalisation is not only facilitated from the structure of the University but also by the type of students it attracts. The next code will discuss student’s construction of a specific student identity that occupies Durham University spaces, influencing participants to depict a problematic,

unchanging image of the university, which fosters a ‘typical Durham student’ (TDS) cohort i.e., predominantly students who are White, middle- and upper-class.

7.3 Trump cards

This interpretative code explains the student body participants feel Durham University attracts. ‘Trump cards’ is symbolic of the identity and cultural capital of the typical Durham student (TDS) - conveying valuable resources (e.g., white, upper-class, male, private school education) students obtain, giving them an advantage over others at the University. Thus, ‘Trump cards’ was developed from the following descriptive codes: (i) *White and privileged*, (ii) *Oxbridge rejects*, (iii) *Misplaced confidence*, and (iv) *Misinformed machoism*. Together, these codes highlight an archaic acceptance amongst “elite” universities, which prevents racial inclusiveness outside of affluent people who are White.

7.3.1 *White and privileged*

Participants’ construction of a typical Durham student (TDS) included,

‘White of course, probably like a White guy. Um like I said privileged background. Sporty in a sense.’ (Graham, Black student)

‘Like when I look around me (laughs) everyone is White and middle class.’ (Elena, White student)

‘I would say like upper class White British person...I would say at my college they are a bunch of upper-class people.’ (Reuben, White student)

‘White middle class obviously.’ (Nathan, White student)

‘Um a typical Durham student would be like White, fairly middle class-no not fairly but solidly middle class.’ (Ezekiel, Mixed-race student)

‘WHITE!! I mean I call a spade a spade...So yeah I would say like white middle class as well.’ (Prisca, Black student)

Participants include two specific descriptions of the student image, (i) White and (ii) middle- and upper-class. White middle- and upper-class identities are prevalent amongst “elite” institutions (Buck, 2012; Reay, 2018; Zimdars et al., 2009). Russell Group Universities like Durham are perceived as

‘finishing schools’ for wealthy students who are White, which continue to marginalise students who are Black, Asian, and White working-class (Boliver, 2016; Mirza, 2018; Reay, 2018). Diane Reay’s (a scholar who is White) (2018) *Race and Elite universities in the UK*, illustrates how the educational system, specifically “elite” institutions, benefit the White middle- and upper-class elites. Thus, the students appear to have internalised messages of problematic Whiteness, which is mirrored in their construction of the student body.

Participants also express the TDS schooling background, which is associated with being White and middle-class,

‘Went to a private school, relatively rich, like from Surrey or London etc....’ (Dale, White student)

‘Probably white, privately school educated, um sort of privileged...’ (Graham, Black student)

‘probably from the Southeast, probably privately educated.’ (Ezekiel, Mixed-race student)

‘You come to Durham and majority of people are White, middle class – private school students.’ (Jay, Black student)

The participant’s perceptions have been socially constructed from living in a society where students who are White, middle- and upper-class at “elite” universities are associated with private school backgrounds (Wakeling and Savage, 2015). Also, they have perceived students with private school identities to be from the South. This corroborates the work of Donnelly and Gamsu (scholars who are White) (2019) where it’s the ‘norm’ for the majority of students recruited to traditional elites like Durham to be studying farther away from home. With Durham being located in the Northeast, the interpretations of the participants would suggest they perceive people who are White from the South to be privately educated and have a higher-class status than people from the North. Thus, traditional elite universities like Durham are interpreted to recruit a specific cohort of students from private school backgrounds, whilst students who are Black, Asian, working-class, and from the Northeast are structurally underrepresented.

A few participants associated students within a hierarchical social context. For example, Nathan who identifies as a student who is White and middle-class said,

‘Um signet rings have you seen those?...Um yeah I had a housemate last year that was the pinnacle of that sort of thing and there’s the Durham Union here who were people who get involved in politics and you very often see the people go to higher politics through that and so that’s another sort of typical Durham student...this is where the people that make the decisions that impact on our lives go.’ (Nathan, White student)

In the UK, those in positions that are perceived to have resources such as money, power and employment, are typically men who are White. What is apparent in Nathan’s narrative is TDS impacts people in the UK’s lives and students who are men with signet rings are perceived as the definition of that image.

Rose also mentioned student attire within a hierarchical social context,

‘When I first came to university well just before and I was worried about not having any money and not looking a certain way my sister bought me a Barbour jacket. And that was a present like the day before I came because that’s what posh people wear so that I’d fit in (laughs).’ (Rose, White student)

Rose’s experience with her peers, whom they identify as ‘middle-class’ are perceived to be associated with a feeling of inferiority. When considering social class, her social world appears to have adopted a hierarchical approach or ‘habitus transformation’, whereby working-class students’ attire is “beneath” those of a higher social status (e.g., “posh people”) so they adapt and gradually self-transform to fit in an “elite” university (Lehmann, 2014; Jin and Ball, 2019). Thus, when considering Durham’s student identity, which is described as White middle- and upper-class, it can make those that do not feel represented within that majority feel inferior (e.g., students who are Black, Asian, and from a working-class background).

Participants further illustrate what they perceive a typical male staff (academic) member to be at the University,

‘like it’s very male the maths department with staff... Well I think I’ve had one female lecturer in the maths department in like my whole three years. So, I don’t think that’s great, and she’s like new this term.’ (Elesha, Black student)

'Yeah male for sure (laughs), I think yeah I don't think I have any female lecturers in economics.' (Dale, White student)

'Um, it seems mainly male but there's plenty of fe- (pauses)...well yeah it's mainly male..'
(Elliot, White student)

'Um all white men middle class.' (Hannah, Brown student)

'Again, probably White, I've only ever had one black lecturer and that's it and probably Asian as well there are a lot of Asians as well.' (Graham, Black student)

'White male, yeah but approachable.' (Ana, Black student)

'I think that staff are probably like White and middle class. Certainly, most of the staff that I've encountered.' (Elena, White student)

This further illuminates to the similar racial and class identity within the student cohort but added with a dominant gender (men). The same description was explained when participants were asked their perception of a typical leader at Durham,

'Oh well yeah that would be just be like a middle-class white guy.' (Alma, Black student)

'I think in terms of like the fact that like we don't have a counsellor of colour. I think the fact that like majority of the people in charge of the university of the Senate and stuff are like white men or white women.' (Hazel, Mixed-race student)

'Leader well you hear a lot of bad things about the vice chancellor I guess...Just like he would make decisions that are not beneficial to the Uni but just to get more money basically.' (Elena, White student)

'I'd say middle aged White that would be my first impression that I would get.' (Winston, Black student)

Again, the majority of participants portray someone with power as a man who is White. Those in UK society who are holders of power are predominately men who are White. Durham appears to be perpetuating a male dominant power structure, which demonstrates the privilege that continues to be reinforced for men that are White in patriarchal systems (Etchells et al., 2017). Therefore, students who are Black conceive power and privilege in higher education (e.g., academic/VC) to be synonymous with men who are White, which - in turn - affects them perceiving their own racial group in power.

7.3.2 *Oxbridge rejects*

Another shared identity Durham attracts and accepts was conveyed by students,

‘I mean I wouldn’t say I was like more students here most of them are quite privileged, maybe Oxford or Cambridge rejects. That wasn’t even a thought to me so.’ (Reuben, White student)

‘a lot of people that go here are privately educated Oxbridge rejects.’ (Graham, Black student)

An ‘Oxbridge reject’ is someone who has been rejected from the University of Oxford or Cambridge, which is common within Durham’s student body (Brown and Harding, 2016). Many students express being rejected from Oxford or Cambridge,

‘Well I got rejected from Cambridge.’ (Hazel, Mixed-race student)

‘Uh so I applied to Cambridge uh like got an interview and didn’t get in. So, like I sort of had my hopes banked about getting into Cambridge and after that it’s like Durham became the best option from the rest of my list so it sort of became the place I felt like I needed to go to.’ (Ezekiel, Mixed-race student)

‘I think that what the Uni is expected to be like a bunch of Oxford rejects...but I am one (laughs)... Like the expectation of an Oxford reject is someone who went to Eton or Harrow or whatever public school and either they weren’t smart enough to get to Oxford or they just didn’t care or really tried so they came here.’ (Dale, White student)

In the UK and globally, Oxford and Cambridge are known for their traditional elite status and are usually positioned as the top two universities in the country (University League Tables, 2021). Thus, Graham and Reuben identify Oxbridge rejects as those who are privileged and not representative amongst their own social groups – Black and working-class. An interpretation of these student’s perceptions would suggest Durham is an alternative or next best option for students depicted as Oxbridge rejects, resembling those who are seeking a ‘second chance’ (Brooks and Waters, 2009). When participants shared their experience of being rejected, the researcher noticed their emotional shift; Hazel and Ezekiel seemed lower in their affect, while Dale responded with laughter, a potential defence mechanism rather than a social response to humour. Rejection is a social psychological perspective associated with negative consequences: for example, feelings of anxiety, anger, insecurity, and affecting mental health (Link, 1987). Therefore, while an *Oxbridge reject* is synonymously perceived as a student with privilege in the ReM and White working-class student groups, it is considered a failure to the

TDS. Furthermore, the ReM and White working-class student groups attending Durham are seeking their place for elevated mobility, seeing it as an accomplishment that will benefit them long-term, whereas the TDS group could see their place as a disappointment, having to concede.

7.3.3 *Misplaced confidence*

Ezekiel a participant who identifies as a man that is multi-ethnic explains a TDS behaviour,

‘I think lots of them well it would be sort of fair for me to say that the typical Durham student is like arrogant and not very nice, but like they sort of are so...Um so like not an arrogance but like potentially a misplaced confidence in themselves. (Ezekiel, Mixed-race student)

“Arrogance” and “not very nice” could be perceived as negative consequences displayed by students who have felt rejected. Also, Ariel and Hazel highlights,

‘I think I just don’t feel like, I think a couple of people who have said that they just feel like everyone here is like very openly clever... like back home if you were really clever it wasn’t your main characteristic because it wasn’t just like as important back home whereas here I think there is a lot basically on like how outwardly intelligent you are’. (Ariel, White student)

‘I think the biggest signifier is loud voices...quite loud, quite unapologetic, yeah.’ (Hazel, Mixed-race student)

The “openly clever” and “loud voices” comments intertwine with Ezekiel’s “arrogance” and “misplaced confidence” comments, appearing to describe observations within a negative frame. The potential function of these personas may be to prove themselves and thus improve their affect, with their self-esteem potentially being impacted by their rejection to Oxford or Cambridge. For someone who may position themselves within an elitist group and who perceives those Universities to match that position, it is likely that being denied a place could feel a rejection, seeking to improve their affect by feeling above others - albeit while harming others (e.g., “not very nice”). This coincides with Johnson et al., (2010) where people who have confidence show authenticity, while people who exude arrogance are acting superior, but are trying to make others around them inferior. Thus, in the participants social world a TDS is perceived as insecure, displaying *misplaced confidence*, which is further explained by Dale,

‘I’d say yeah because the high percentage of international students from Hong Kong or China or the East Asian region there is some form of stereotyping and discrimination...Some of the

time people can feel threatened by international students...Because international students pay a bit of money and they have to travel this distance and like that just means that they work harder and people at Durham university tend to feel a bit uncomfortable with people that work harder than they do. They take it as slight of something...Well I think on one part it's kind of the expectation and like the hope of getting a certain degree classification from university and like the ramifications that has long term for people. So that kind of like...it's like competition in your lectures and when people see other people working harder than them then that can force out certain thoughts that are discriminatory or racist.' (Dale, White student)

Amongst Durham's ReM cohort, the East Asian community is highest, however, most are students are Chinese and not domicile (Ethnicity Summary, 2021). Dale proposing students who are Asian as hard working and perceived as threats corroborates with the concept "model-minority" illustrated in research (Ho and Jackson, 2001; Maddux, Galinsky, Cuddy, and Polifroni, 2008). Maddux et al. (2008), explains the "model-minority" as a 'realistic threat' to the majority group by demonstrating several characteristics such as success, capital, and prestige leading to intergroup competition and prejudice, as mentioned above. Thus, in Dale's social world, the TDS perceive international students as a 'threat', which is described as the reason for them exerting negative behaviours (e.g., stereotyping and discrimination). Dale's depiction of 'competitive discrimination' by the TDS may be a form of *White insecurity* (illustrated in chapters 4 and 11), causing harm to international students who are Chinese in an attempt to reduce their perception of a threat against themselves. Thus, the negative consequences associated with rejection can become a continuous cycle if left untreated - negative emotions, negative behaviour (discrimination, arrogance) - with each intake of TDS adopting a similar pattern of interaction. *Misplaced confidence* is underpinned by the TDS cultural capital encompassing an insecure identity that is problematic towards the ReM and White working-class student groups, as a result of being *White and privileged*, rejected and/or threatened by competition.

7.3.4 *Misinformed machoism*

Apparent insecurities and negative behaviours amongst the TDS – specifically men who are White – are discussed further,

'I do a module called developing Africa...I think it's just a typical man thing but then it's like a white man thing on top of it where like people are quite assertive with dumb thoughts if that makes sense.' (Hazel, Mixed-race student)

'I think when you are from a private school you are taught to basically say what you want to say. In my lessons right there is most of the time a White man dominating the conversation, because they have been told their whole life that they can do that and I think lots of times our seminar leaders will do a very good job of like lets tone it down and let somebody else kind of say what they need to say. (Hannah, Brown student)

Hannah's interpretation of men who are White may imply thoughts of superiority (e.g., "dominating conversations") being embedded in their consciousness before attending university. Also, Hazel's perceptions "quite assertive" and a "typical white man thing" is underpinned by this embedded superiority. When considering problematic hegemonic Whiteness is based on the premise of hierarchical racial status and that masculinity is a construct often associated with dominance (Cabrera, 2014), the combination of these concepts is likely to influence observations of those people being dominant in conversations and behaving in ways Hazel and Hannah articulate above. Thus, problematic hegemonic Whiteness and masculinity are perceived to intersect and continue social dominance in traditional elite spaces, typically by White middle- and upper-class men, even though the majority undergraduate population at Durham is women who are White (Ethnicity summary, 2019).

Furthermore, they describe people at Durham who are White and male as either "raging Tories" (Hazel) or Trump supporters,

'it's really frustrating that like these people are voting for parties that don't represent anyone's well-being not necessarily views. Um it's just like what can you do stupid people are going to be stupid.' (Hazel, Mixed-race student)

'I was doing a module on like democratic political systems in America and the UK and we were talking about America and he made this very outrageous statement like 'oh I don't think you can call Trump a racist blah blah blah', and it's like you're actually an academic and I think it's safe to say when Trump like homogenises an entire racial minority then we can call him a racist...there was also this guy who had like a Trump sticker in the back of his laptop which made no sense because he was English. Um and he was like yeah no 'I don't think racism exists I think the American constitution isn't racist.' (Hannah, Brown student)

Within a political context, people who position themselves with the values proposed by the Tory (UK) and Republican (US) parties are often viewed as similar, underpinned by a conservative approach. Hannah and Hazel's references to political parties demonstrate their disagreement with them. This may

stem from them feeling frustration sharing spaces - as women who are Mixed-race (Black and White) and Brown - with students that hold predominantly right-wing, conservative views. Their descriptions identify racism and concerns regarding wellbeing, illuminating their perception that these political views are underpinned by epistemic violence that sustains problematic Whiteness, which subjugates their intersectional identities as women who are Mixed-race and Brown (Swan, 2010). Considering the identity of a typical student that is White and a man is associated with these political views, and that the typical student who is White and a man is frequent within the student population, there is an inevitable potential for their political differences to be problematic, exacerbated by the way in which their views are communicated, hence *misinformed machoism*. *Misinformed machoism* is a divisive habitus in the participants social world, influencing them to disassociate rather than assimilate to acquire social capital (Bourdieu, 1993; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Thus, the conservative views attributed to those that have valuable cultural and social capital within the University space, i.e., the TDS, can make others feel excluded. To conclude, the amalgamation of the descriptive codes illustrates the TDS cultural capital to be synonymous with privilege (in regard to the elite University context), *White Insecurity*, and archaic masculinity, which prevents racial inclusiveness outside of affluent people who are White.

7.4 Conclusion

The theme “Archaistic acceptance: Elite formations” is constructed from three key concepts, used to navigate participants perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusiveness at Durham. First, ‘elite reputation’, referring to the surface level identity of the University and why it is seen as a traditional elite with symbolic capital. Second, is ‘inequitable foundations’, indicating the university’s discriminatory formations (e.g., slave involvement and tokenism) to becoming an “elite”. Thirdly, ‘Trump cards’, referring to the advantages and/or cultural capital of the typical student the University accepts and attracts, which is perceived as non-inclusive. Additionally, this interpretative code can and does intersect with other themes such as “Whiteness as Symbolic Capital” (next chapter), but the TDS cultural capital is embodied with archaic tendencies that are practiced by the “elite”, which aligns with this current theme. The TDS identity also applies to students who are Black as well (illustrated in chapter 9), and as the researcher has proposed “Whiteness” should only be tied to skin colour i.e.,

people who are White (see chapter 4). Thus, throughout the rest of the analysis the researcher will emphasise other descriptive codes that are considered ‘Trump cards’ for the Durham student experience (for example, in chapter 11). Moreover, together these codes construct a traditional “elite” identity that is synonymous with problematic Whiteness, classism, IR, White insecurity, and anti-Blackness, which racially excludes the ReM and White working-class cohort whilst benefiting the typical Durham student (TDS). To conclude, students’ perceptions may indicate if the embodiment of being in traditionally “elite” circles are at the top of the capital hierarchy, yet discriminatory and problematic in most facets, is this something wider society should be striving for?

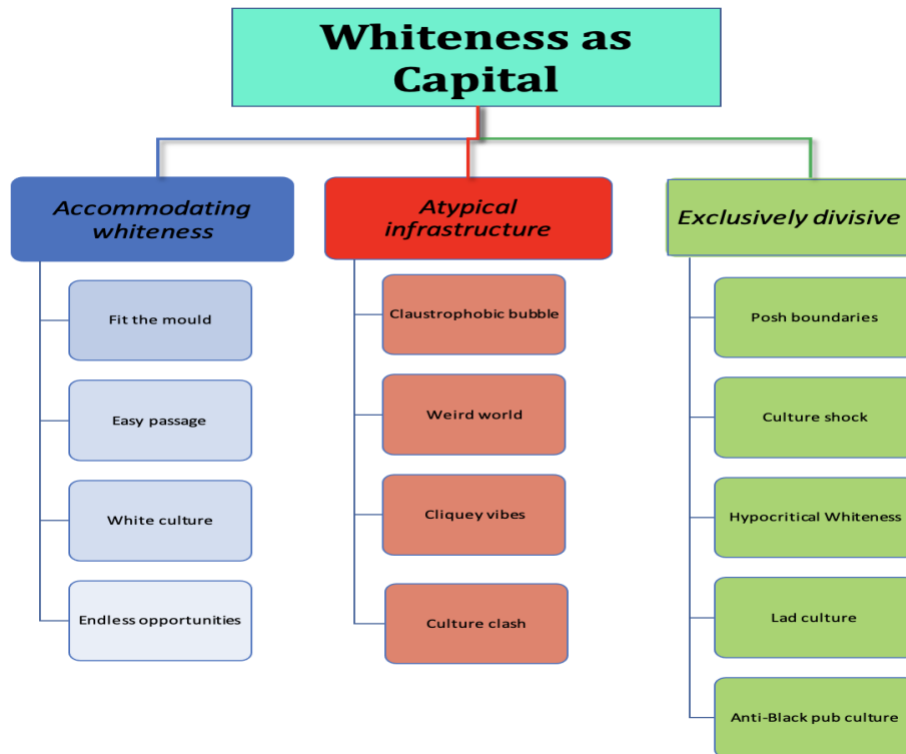
CHAPTER 8: WHITENESS AS SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

Schools are ‘designed to meet the conceptions and needs of the colonizers rather than the colonized’ (p. 334).

- Carter G. Woodson (1933), *the Miseducation of the Negro*

This overarching theme title represents three intersecting phases of the participants insight of “Whiteness as Symbolic Capital”. This theme is derived from Cheryl Harris (1993) – a scholar who is mixed race – who positioned racial identity and property as unified concepts, thus creating ‘Whiteness as property’, whereby the public and private privileges received in society are consumed by virtue of being White. In this chapter, Harris’ Whiteness as property is underpinned by (i) the Critical Race Theory (CRT) doctrine ‘white dominance’, where “White supremacy” normalises problematic Whiteness in Durham spaces (see chapter 2); and (ii) Bourdieu’s ‘symbolic capital’ - as mentioned in the previous chapter - where certain identities are perceived as “valuable” in society. The FTS framework continues to build onto these theories by challenging and naming the problematic behaviour stemming from the “valuable groups” i.e., the typical Durham student (TDS), navigating how problematic Whiteness is symbolic capital. Additionally, while students who are White don’t share equal advantages, each White raceclass benefits by virtue of their race, and thus students who are White and working class share racial capital with the TDS - unlike in the previous chapter (see chapter 4 illustrating White raceclasses). Moreover, this theme is an extension to “Archaistic acceptance: Elite formations”, because it describes the cultural environment of Durham by illustrating the groups who benefit and/or are excluded from it. Therefore, a theoretical combination of the three interpretative codes from participants perceptions suggest the university positions Whiteness as normative by accommodating students who are White (StWW) and excluding students who are Black (StWB), hence “Whiteness as Symbolic Capital”. The interpretative codes constructed from the data were: ‘Accommodating Whiteness’, ‘Atypical infrastructure’, and ‘Exclusively divisive’.

Diagram 3: Whiteness as Symbolic Capital (Thematic Map)



8.1 Accommodating Whiteness

This interpretative code is an extension of the university exhibiting a culture that allows an additional positive experience for the majority of students who are White. Accommodating Whiteness is constructed into four phases of the participant's perceptions; (i) *Fit the mould*, (ii) *Easy passage*, (iii) *White culture*, and (iv) *Endless opportunities*. Together, these descriptive codes highlight two property functions of Whiteness i.e., *the conception of reputation and status*, and *the right to use and enjoyment* amongst "elite" institutions, which further "White dominance" while racially excluding students who are Black.

8.1.1 *Fit the mould and Easy passage*

Majority of participants who were White said they fit in,

'I think I fit in fine I haven't really felt uncomfortable...Um I feel kind of I don't know I feel like I very much fit in to the kind of stereotype of Durham student in the sense like I look like everyone else here.' (Ariel, White student)

'Um I pretty much fit the style and look of Durham (laughs and points at her clothes). We joke often about me wearing a puffer jacket and "looking like every other White girl in Durham".' (Angelica, White student)

'I think I fit...with staff and students superficially cause like you know like I get by like that.' (Elliot, White student)

'I feel like I fit pretty well, not perfectly, but you know it's difficult to find that place where you do fit in perfectly. So, I say relatively well.' (Dale, White student)

'I think I'm pretty stereotypical, in terms of like socioeconomic class and like race and that.' (Elena, White student)

Above would suggest the majority of participants who are White feel that they fit in stereotypically or visually. When considering social constructs of race in elite institutions, the social history of White racial identity contributes to the participants' perceptions of fitting in, thus, White skin at a predominately White institution holds significant value and power (Bondi, 2012). Their perceptions are underpinned by Harris (scholar who is Mixed-Race) (1993) third property function of Whiteness; *reputation and status property*, whereby the status and reputation of a person who is White should be protected property. Therefore, participants who are White in Durham *fit the mould* by virtue of being White, producing a White skin capital, whereby their White skin comes with an accumulation of capital in their student experience.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Durham University capital is considered symbolic (e.g., *elite status*) and therefore White skin capital at Durham is reinforced as 'White symbolic capital'. Bourdieu's conceptualisation of capital is embodied in different forms (e.g., cultural and symbolic capital), which converts into market returns or economic capital (see chapter 5). White symbolic capital considers the physical aspects of Whiteness - i.e., White racial identity - as a dominant feature for the assets and resources accumulated at Durham by virtue of having White skin (Bourdieu, 2013;). Even Bourdieu and Wacquant (2013) demonstrate any characteristic is granted distinctive value that conveys a social position,

‘Proof is that the same ‘physical’ or ‘moral’ feature – for instance, a fat or thin body, a light or dark skin, the consumption or rejection of alcohol – can be given opposite (positional) values in the same society at different epochs or in different societies.’ (p. 297)

The above supports the analysis because students who are White and Black are granted juxtaposing values in their Durham student experience due to their physical attributes i.e., race (see next chapter for the Black reality at Durham). Thus, White symbolic capital is further underpinned by and supports the theme “Whiteness as Symbolic Capital”, and this form of symbolic capital is an extension to Bourdieu because it intersects race and capital, which is a form of knowledge less depicted in Bourdieu’s early research, but conceptualised recently by sociology scholars (see Wallace, 2017 and chapter 5). Furthermore, White symbolic capital at Durham will be articulated in the remaining sections of this chapter.

As mentioned, classism is experienced by students who are White and working class, however having White skin is interpreted to assist in their student experience. For instance, White symbolic capital is also perceived to come with positive emotional consequences amongst students at Durham University, because the university and wider community spaces are predominately White. Thus, in this descriptive code the benefit of White skin is interpreted to produce a sense of belonging for students who are White at Durham. To start, participants who are White share how they feel in Durham,

‘I’m happy here you know it’s a good situation.’ (Reuben, White student)

‘I think everyone has been really nice I haven’t encountered that many like people who aren’t friendly or who have prejudices towards me or like I feel like I’ve had a very easy kind of transition into Uni.’ (Ariel, White student)

‘Um I’ve never felt uncomfortable or kind of um like I didn’t belong, or someone was kind of looking at me weird. I’ve never had an issue with Durham city itself.’ (Angelica, White student)

‘I feel really good here, I really like it.’ (Elena, White student)

These participants share their experience at Durham with feelings of happiness and belonging. Belonging allows people to understand oneself, their social surroundings and creating an identity (May, 2011). Similarities and differences in a social environment amongst peer’s structure the way identity

allows someone to feel as if they belong (Anthias, 2008). This coincides with Aimee (StWB) commenting on students who are White feeling comfortable,

‘They feel more comfortable with the environment than I am. Even if I said some people come up North from living down South or live somewhere else in England or in Europe or something, but I just feel like still the environment is still more familiar to them.’ (Aimee, Black student)

An interpretation of Aimee’s comments suggest one aspect of their sense of belonging is associated with a surface level White racial identity, which allows them to feel racially included at Durham. Additionally, participants support this,

‘Um I think for me um being a White British person has meant that I have been um afforded quite easy passage into a social situation like Durham because I think I don’t stand out if you see me walking down the street no one thinks anything, I don’t stand out as someone who is a minority group here.’ (Ariel, White student)

‘I think generally I’m quite comfortable being myself here, because there is just so many students that I have the opportunity to be with that I can be open and honest with.’
‘So like with 14,000 people here I feel like I found whoever I can be.’ (Dale, White student)

‘People that I see briefly on a daily basis. Most of them are White. Like 90% are White then the other 10%, wait ok let me say 80% then the other 20% are like people of colour.’ (Aimee, Black student)

Thus, Ariel describes being White is an “easy passage” at Durham, because of not standing out and Dale illustrates having opportunities to be open because of “so many students”. An interpretation could be that statistically Durham’s White student population is very high (87%) compared to other ethnic groups and County Durham’s population is even higher (98.2%) (Ethnicity Summary, 2019; Office for National Statistics, 2011, as cited in InstantAtlas Durham – Population, 2021). Therefore, in Ariel’s and Dale’s social world their racial identity allows them to have an *easy passage* at Durham making it racially inclusive for students who are White skinned.

Majority of participants were asked if being White is an advantage at Durham,

‘It’s an advantage yeah.’ (Nathan, White student)

'I think it's definitely an advantage when getting into Durham because I think there must be a reason why so many Durham students are white. Um and I think that I don't really know I can't say, it definitely isn't a disadvantage.' (Ariel, White student)

'You're part of the norm so that's inherently advantageous because you can live a quiet life, you can go about your life and no one will notice you.' (Zeke, Mixed-race student)

'Ah this is the thing I personally don't see that just my colour not my background that's associated with it does affect me that much, but at the same time because of subconscious prejudices that we have I'm sure it does.' (Elliot, White student)

Participants perceive being White an advantage at Durham because of that racial identity being part of the "norm" and in our "subconscious". An interpretation would be in the participants social world there are race-based hierarchies where having White skin is an advantage. Similar to Peggy McIntosh's - scholar who is White - (1988) concept of 'White privilege', where White skin is an asset of unearned advantages often invisible to people who are White. However, participants who are White understood they had racial advantages in their life and Durham. Thus, regardless of other protected (personal) characteristics - as a group - students who are White at Durham do inherit an advantaged experience by virtue of being White.

To extend on Zeke's comments above, he also interprets being White as a disadvantage,

'you can be a White person when you walk around Durham and it's like you're almost invisible...Uh the invisibility bit could be a disadvantage...the disadvantage could be the diversity between White people at University is lost and because the University is so heavily White people aren't thinking about the differences between these White people like class, gender, cultural backgrounds so that could be a disadvantage, but I think it's hugely advantageous.' (Ezekiel, Mixed-race student)

Even though participants who are White were a mix of class and gender differences, these identities did not seem to completely affect their ability to fit in and have a good experience. However, Zeke's perceptions consider lost diversity as a disadvantage for students who are White, which produces *White invisibility*. Thus, a further understanding of White disadvantages and advantages is underpinned through the scholarship of Sharon Sullivan's (a scholar who is White) concepts of 'White class privilege' and 'White priority', using W.E.B. Du bois' 'wages of whiteness' (see chapter 4). The

researcher is not identifying the White participants perceptions as feeling entitled, he is just interpreting the perceived advantages they may embrace by virtue of being White, which is a disadvantaged experience for Black and Brown skinned participants (discussed in the next chapter). Also, *White invisibility* has the capability of producing ‘White priority’ in a social context, which continues facilitating a problematic White resentment towards Black and Brown people in society (e.g., Black lives matter vs. All lives matter). Therefore, the participants ability to *fit the mould* and have an *easy passage* produces an advantaged Durham experience overriding *White invisibility*, which is due to students’ White racial identity providing them skin capital.

8.1.2 White culture and Endless opportunities

In the next two descriptive codes, White symbolic capital at Durham is perceived to exhibit a property function of Whiteness, i.e., *the rights to use and enjoyment* being mainly accessible for students who are White. However, while this accessibility is seen as providing students who are White symbolic, cultural and social capital, it simultaneously racially segregates racially underrepresented groups. To begin with the participant’s perceptions of the White culture at Durham is understood to provide opportunities for students who are White,

‘like culturally the university is White.’ (Zeke, Mixed-race student)

‘I think that in terms of race in particular um Durham’s culture is very geared towards white people...I think in what I have experienced in the sense of like in particular I just think like going out in Durham is so White (laughs)...It’s just like the music scene is kind of Taylor Swift and it’s just very kind of like it doesn’t fit everyone it fits with a specific group of people...Um and I just feel like there’s a very kind of pop kind of white culture in Durham and I don’t know if that’s just the places I’ve encountered it might be just I haven’t been to the right places but I don’t know.’ (Ariel, White student)

Ariel perceives Durham to inhibit a “White culture” by the type of music being played on nights out. She further illustrates, ‘there’s no kind of culture of Black artists or Black music other than kind of the ones who have been mainstreamed into white music.’ She does proceed to call herself “boxy” by labelling White and Black music, however, an interpretation could be in Ariel’s social world pop music stereotypes seems to be synonymous with Whiteness while Black music is synonymous with Hip hop, even though pop music was originated by people who are Black. Stereotypes are like ‘heuristics’ (see

chapters 5 and 11), where mental shortcuts allow people to process information about different group memberships (Martin et al., 2014). Her perceived stereotypes may be influenced by media representation which construct racial bias responses towards groups who are Black (Mastro, 2015). Thus, the music scene in Durham is perceived to be absent Blackness, and Ariel (StWW) further imagines how students who are Black must feel, 'if my entire culture of music was never played here that would probably quite like you just wouldn't ever feel the same kind of like attach and comfort that you do at home.' This is further supported by Ciara and Aimee,

'I know White people get way more in terms of having fun here.'

...

'Um and I'd probably say again like nights out and stuff that's when they get to meet and to have fun and enjoy themselves because of nights out are like that a lot of Black people don't go on nights out. So, I think that's another opportunity where they probably get along more and they probably have a better experience than Black people do at Uni as well.' (Ciara, Black student)

Aimee highlights her experience of going out for the first time in Durham,

'I been once because I was curious, I didn't go again because it was a terrible experience.'
(Aimee, Black student)

Ciara and Aimee's comments are perceived to highlight another White advantage while segregating students who are Black. In her social world going out provides the ability for students to develop friendships producing cultural and social capital in the field. This also prevents 'intergroup contact theory', where peer to peer exchanges is exhibited by members of a clearly distinct group and research has shown intergroup contact increases the ability to create friendships and reduce anxiety/racial prejudice amongst different groups (Mendoza-Denton and Page-Gould, 2008; Pettigrew, 1998). Therefore, nights out accommodated by Durham continues to produce White opportunities, while simultaneously segregating students who are Black.

Another opportunity for students who are White is to see themselves in academic environments,

‘from what I’ve heard people’s curriculums are like very very like White and not very diverse and just the whole like general departments I’ve heard are like pretty yeah just not great.’ (Elena, White student)

‘I mean in the whole teaching population I’ve not actually been taught by anyone that isn’t White. I know there was like a law lecturer that was Black that’s only because my housemate does law. I don’t know any teaching staff really that aren’t White, so I don’t know what the process is with that like what their policies are about trying to employ staff that aren’t White how proactive they are about that.’ (Rose, White student)

Participants perceive the University to have a racially segregated academic environment, which continues to accommodate Whiteness. White “supremacist” ideology continues to be the invisible norm within predominantly White institutions and caters to the needs of the White middle-class (King, Houston, and Middleton, 2001; Gillborn, 1992). This invisible White norm in academia contributes to “brainwashing” (Burrell, 2010) all students by proceeding to create the socially mis-constructed identities of “White superiority” and “Black inferiority” (King et al., 2001). Thus, the codes *White culture* and *endless opportunities* are underpinned by Harris’ (1993) second property function of Whiteness; *the right to use and enjoyment*, whereby a person who is White has the privilege to use and enjoy resources from a social (e.g., nights out), political and institutional (e.g., White curriculum and staff) level simply by virtue of their Whiteness while further oppressing people who are Black (Walker, 2013). Therefore, the opportunities for students who are White seem endless at Durham University, hence *endless opportunities*.

In sum, Durham is perceived to accommodate Whiteness based on students who are White being able to, (i) *fit the mould* by having White symbolic capital, (ii) an *easy passage* by belonging (e.g., predominantly White population), and (iii) where the *endless opportunities* in their student experience is perceived to be a result of the *White culture* (e.g., nights out and predominately White academic environment). Therefore, from participant perceptions, accommodating Whiteness advances “White dominance” while simultaneously racially segregating students who are Black, which validates how they feel when vocalising about the tokenism Durham practices towards their recruitment (mentioned in previous chapter). To conclude, the amalgamation of the descriptive codes’ highlights “Whiteness as Symbolic Capital” within Durham by enacting Harris’ (1992) two property functions of Whiteness; (a) *the conception of reputation* and (b) *the right to use and enjoyment*. The next interpretative code will

discuss the participants perceptions of the environment at Durham, which illustrate how weird and segregated it is from “normal” society making it hard for them to interact with the ‘absent diverse opportunity’ cohort i.e., the typical Durham student (TDS).

8.2 Atypical infrastructure

This interpretative code illustrates the perceived weird environment at Durham displayed by the dominant student population, which racially segregates students who are Black. This code is underpinned by four descriptive codes: (i) *Claustrophobic bubble*, (ii) *Weird world*, (iii) *Cliquey vibes* and (iv) *Culture clash*. The combination of these descriptive codes demonstrates the ‘Atypical infrastructure’ at Durham.

8.2.1 *Claustrophobic bubble*

Participants share the type of environment at Durham,

‘I feel like it’s a good university but I don’t know it’s quite a closed environment so it can be a bit claustrophobic sometimes like it is a bit of a bubble definitely as people say.’ (Elesha, Mixed-race student)

‘I do think maybe I’m more open I kind of see the problems of the university more and like what needs changing and stuff like that where I think a lot of their students live in a bubble where it’s like ‘oh this is great and it works for me.’ (Alma, Black student)

‘I think I was expecting it to be a little bit more like normal life. Whereas though I think Durham is very much a student bubble.’ (Elena, White student)

Participants perceive Durham University’s environment to be “closed” and not “normal”, constructing an environment that is a *claustrophobic bubble*. Elesha interpreting Durham to be “claustrophobic” suggests her attitude towards the University’s culture inability to make her feel as if she belongs. When considering the term living in a bubble, it is a positive or negative metaphorical social concept relating to social relationships in a specific location between a group of people (Zaban, 2015). The participants perceive to associate the concept with negative connotations, referring to the dominant group integrating their own cultural habits within Durham while ignoring other surrounding cultures. Thus,

an interpretation from the participants perception would suggest non-typical Durham students consider their social worlds “normal” while the TDS displays a pervasive segregated culture of problematic Whiteness, which contrasts from “normal” society. For instance, Angelica (StWW) illustrates,

‘I’m finding Durham quite closed off and kind of problematic with certain attitudes...the way like I do politics in seminar get really political and people don’t shy away from saying very problematic um things.’

...

‘Jumping on very conservative views that do not fit with my own views.’

...

‘it doesn’t really match up with my own interests or my ideals I find that it’s very hard to get in conversations with people and not get shocked by some ideas that they might hold.’
(Angelica, White student)

As explained in the previous chapter (e.g., Trump Cards), the TDS demonstrates a perceived *misinformed habitus* i.e., elite white (and frequently men) identities that predominate at Durham, creating an environment with problematic politics participants perceive to be atypical to their social worlds (e.g., Angelica). Therefore, the *claustrophobic bubble* is understood amongst the ReM group as racially exclusive for the TDS, while synonymously displaying an unideal form of Whiteness. Lastly, this exclusiveness is further exemplified at Durham where the university is a bubble within a bubble, because of County Durham’s overwhelmingly predominately surface level White identity.

8.2.2 *Weird World*

The environment at Durham continues to be atypical for participants (majority of Black participants and White participants had this perception),

‘It’s just such a weird world here, it’s so small and so intense everything about here is intense, I get why black kids would be put off from like applying or attending here like that’s another thing.’ (Prisca, Black student)

‘it’s just foreign, I’d say foreign... Well maybe foreign is not the best word, but like it’s different.’
(Aimee, Black student)

‘I also didn’t realise it’s also a very weird kind of place Durham because I feel a lot of people kind of come from like the South and there’s like no mix in between the locals and the students.’
(Alma, Black student)

In the participants’ social reality, the University’s “weird” and “foreign” environment is “intense” because outside the scope of their social world their previous experiences allowed them to be comfortable in spaces where diverse groups are common. Alma’s perception of ‘no mix between the locals and the students’ suggests Durham University is a bubble within a bubble, as mentioned above. Also, Prisca’s comments about students who are Black being put off would suggest the constant exclusion Durham’s social environment displays, thus, contributing to further explanations on why students who are Black make up less than 2% of the Durham student population (Ethnicity Summary, 2021). Ciara’s perceptions corroborate why students who are Black are put off by the “weird world” of Durham by social interactions with the TDS,

‘I wouldn’t open up to them because it would be like weird like and uncomfortable.’

...

‘I think if they didn’t act weird like I feel like people when they talk to me they’d be scared to say certain things or they’d randomly just start talking about something Black related, they just make it weird in general.’ (Ciara, Black student)

Interracial anxiety amongst people who are White may suggest her perceptions of the TDS being “scared” of her Blackness. *Interracial anxiety* for students who are White is underpinned by intergroup and social anxiety, which leads to negative outcomes (e.g., hostility, anxiety) (Plant and Devine, 2003). Intergroup anxiety, results in expecting negative consequences within intergroup interactions, which are derived from negative experiences (e.g., false media representation) about the outgroup members (e.g., StWB) and social anxiety occurs when people anticipate difficulty in social interactions with others (Plant and Devine, 2003; Stephan, W.G. Stephan, C.W., 1985). Thus, *interracial anxiety* amalgamates these two concepts resulting in people who are White displaying ingroup bias towards people who are Black (Stephan et al., 2002), because of their hyper-racial awareness of their own White identity producing an “uncomfortable” negative outcome mentioned by Ciara. *Interracial anxiety* is further illustrated through Ciara’s personal and vicarious experiences by the TDS stereotyping students who are Black,

'It's like most the time it's with people I just met I'd say, so like one time I was in the club and someone came up to me and was like 'oh yea I went to a Kendrick Lamar concert' and I was like hmm so that's the first thing you're going to ask me and first thing you're going to tell me (laughs) just stuff like that it's just weird.'

...

'I just always hear other people's experiences, so like I think there has only been one time someone has said like I don't know like I wouldn't call it racism I just think it's weird it's I don't know not offensive but just someone said they were into Black girls they were just like "yeah I'm like really into Black girls". That's basically a way of trying to move to you, but I don't know I think that's weird and I wouldn't call it racist, but I just think it's weird seems like fetishy (laughs).' (Ciara, Black student)

In the first comment, racial stereotyping through music culture is perceived to be exhibited again like in the previous code – 'Accommodating Whiteness' – by randomly bringing up a Black Afro-American rap artist Kendrick Lamar in an interracial interaction, thus, displaying stereotyping as a consequence of *interracial anxiety*. Also, an interpretation of the second statement highlighting a weird Black girl fetish is underpinned by the 'Jezebel' stereotype based on the historical intersectionalities of hyper-sexualising Black women's body image (Watson, Lewis, and Moody, 2019). The Jezebel stereotype was used during slavery as a racist justification for portraying women who are Black as having an "appetite for sex", and sexual relations were mainly between insecure White abusers (slave owners) and resilient survivors (enslaved Africans) who were Women (Pilgrim, 2002, pg. 1). Even though Ciara perceives "yeah I'm like really into Black girls" to be not racist, history has shown to contradict her perceptions of this fetish. Ultimately, participants who are Black perceive cross-racial interactions to reveal 'White interracial anxiety', producing racial stereotypes and weird racism, which constructs the Durham student experience to be subjected to a *weird world*, marginalising students who are Black. To add, while the TDS is perceived to establish weird behaviour towards students who are Black, it is still positive that students who are White are willing to interact, which creates a space for a student who is Black to educate them – if necessary – to reduce White interracial anxiety besides disassociating with them. However, this does place more pressure and responsibility on people who are Black to further keep telling folks who are White how to act around them (illustrated in chapter 11).

Elena and Angelica, participants who are White further highlight the perceived weirdness,

'I think it's just like the culture of the place it's quite like I don't know what it is it's really weird actually it's just like everyone is trying to conform to a particular image which is quite like middle class and quite well off.' (Elena, White student)

'it's quite a lot of people try to fit into like one particular image and like you kind of have to if you want to be friends with them.' (Angelica, White student)

'It's a weird thing because I know like in other Uni's like my friends are like oh if you say you vote tory like people won't like you, if you say you're posh like that's you know it will make you unpopular whereas I feel like here a lot of people like want to be that image of like posh, wealthy, privileged like they think that's a good thing to be perceived as which is just strange to me.' (Elena, White student)

As mentioned in the previous chapter, being a Tory is a Trump card for the TDS, which predominately ReM groups disassociate from because it is perceived as a political identity underpinned by epistemic violence that sustains problematic Whiteness. Student's may conform to this "posh, wealthy, and privileged" image to be accepted and have social privilege (e.g., "if you want to be friends with them"), where people feel superior over others developing a sense of entitlement (Black and Stone, 2005) by demonstrating a "quite entitled attitude" (Elesha, StWW). An interpretation of Elena's social world would suggest social privilege oppresses others, which in turn, reveals her polarised views (e.g., "strange to me") by trying to make sense of the weird image conforming manifested by students. Another reason for conforming to this weird student image is explained by Nathan a participant who is White who comes from a racially diverse background,

'There's like different personas so when you come to a place like Durham I don't really feel like me and when I go back home they'll make comments about my accent, they'll make comments about the clothes I've chosen to buy over that term or whatever. Because you develop systems to survive in an environment and so I wouldn't say like I don't maybe the term I don't feel like me isn't right because I feel like that survival thing is me.' (Nathan, White student)

Nathan describes this conforming to be a type of "survival mode" he exhilarated as an identity to fit in, and his White skin helps with this transformation. Therefore, he instantaneously embodies a cultural, social, and White symbolic capital. Similar to Maxwell and Aggleton's (2015) study exploring young women from "privileged" class backgrounds where Ellie felt she was "a bit of a chav" and overtime adjusted to her private school environment becoming "really posher" (pg. 7). Thus, the TDS Trump cards (e.g., White, tory, posh, wealthy, and privileged) are perceived as a social privilege when students

try to conform to be accepted, but at the same time are modes of survival if a student wants to belong and fit in this “weird world” at Durham. This “survival mode” for students who are White may exhibit similarities to the survival technique *compromising Blackness* for students who are Black (illustrated in chapter 9). Furthermore, if weird image conforming is synonymous with problematic Whiteness, White skin is able to assimilate, but another barrier is created for students who are Black - as a group - to feel racially included. Thus, the *weird world* i.e., Durham is perceived to also produce a weird image of segregation demonstrating White modes of survival and weird racism.

8.2.3 *Cliquey Vibes*

Participants who are Black further illuminate to the strange vibes they experience at Durham,

‘It’s been different definitely, it’s like the kind of people just like the general kind of social I don’t know how to say it properly but just like the general kind of vibe of it is just very different.’

...

‘I don’t really know it’s almost like very cliquey like school is how I describe it. I don’t know it’s just quite immature it’s not very grown up the attitude it’s very like you have to be this one thing, it’s like in school you know where it’s like to be popular you have to like wear these clothes.’ (Elesha, Mixed-race student)

I don’t know, I was expecting the quality experience to be a lot more kind of thing. I found it kind of childish kind of school like and not a mature place where you could go do this do that and yeah.’

...

‘obviously I don’t know everyone’s experiences but my experiences I just felt like it was a high school thing very cliquey very um like everyone’s kind of judgmental slightly.’ (Graham, Black student)

The Durham vibe is perceived as two distinct concepts to the participants, (i) “cliquey” and (ii) “childish”. Elesha’s perceptions suggesting the Durham vibe to be “cliquey” was a result of the weird image conforming that some participants perceived as weird, which was just highlighted in the previous descriptive code. Friendship cliques are hierarchical and hold powerful influence on belonging, value, social support, and academic success (Wiist and Snyder, 1991). Elliot is perceived to agree by being “lonely” without a clique,

‘I don’t know I haven’t fallen into like a clique, which I know it sounds bad, but I wish you know I had fallen into a clique with students.’ (Elliot, White student)

Thus, cliques may seem childish to some students, yet hold powerful value to others. Also, cliques are perceived to personify youth and schooling (Wiist and Snyder, 1991; Specht, 2010), hence why in the participants social world cliques and this weird environment at Durham coincide with childish vibes. Thus, the descriptive code *cliquey vibes* is underpinned by the weird image conforming at Durham being perceived as childish to many participants, yet it may provide a sense of belonging and assist in students’ chances to fit in.

8.2.4 Culture clash

These Durham vibes may be explained through the lack of diversity at Durham,

‘Um I think there’s a lot of culture clash from a lot of different groups of people and whether that be race, sexuality, class, area of the country.’ (Ariel, White student)

This “culture clash” for students is further illustrated by participants,

‘to me Durham seems like a really non-diverse place, but to someone else it might be more diverse than where they come from so like yeah.’ (Elesha, Mixed-race student)

‘I still think in general like most of Durham or like most of the Durham that is associated with Durham culture is quite posh and privileged, yeah.’ (Elena, White student)

‘I literally didn’t know anyone from private school. Then when you get to Durham then everyone has a very similar background it’s just different. So, you feel like you know you’re not like them but then also for me I was pleased I wasn’t like that.’ (Rose, White student)

‘the nature of London is like people of colour so like English culture isn’t really a thing. It gets like suffocated and everything and like it has just been a culture shock to be honest.’ (Ana, Black student)

‘I don’t know maybe like a cultural shock so yeah maybe they don’t relate to me and I don’t relate to them.’ (Jay, Black student)

Graham perceives to highlight the “culture shock” for students who are Black,

'I think it's because a lot of them don't come from cities like London where the cultural demographics are a lot different. I think a lot of students come from these rural privately educated background and I don't know for a fact but I doubt as many Black kids go to those private schools if you know what I mean so you know I don't think they're raised like that and are raised in their own little bubble so when they come to a place like here where there's Black people they are kind of set in their ways and they don't know how to act if you know what I mean.' (Graham, Black student)

Graham shares his expectations of other students that are Black, anticipating them to be less likely to have been educated at a private school. This echoes statistics, as the private school population in the UK is around 6-7% (Ryan and Sibiet, 2010), with majority of pupils being White and wealthy (Kynatson, 2019), hence why the TDS is 'absent diverse opportunity': Also, Durham has an overwhelming 37.8% of students from private school background (Donegan-Cross, 2021). Graham then expands on how he expects the experience of students who are White that attended private schools to be detrimental to their ability to interact with students that are Black. Experiencing life in this private school "bubble" may contribute to students developing a socially mis-constructed "White superiority" identity (e.g., "stuck in their ways") (King et al., 2001), whereby their Whiteness is associated with "privilege", i.e., money to attend private school, but constrains their cultural experiences. Private school establishments are underpinned by a system that is elitist, achieved through selection processes that accommodate affluent people who are White whilst providing visible, unfair privileges that have a longer-term impact (e.g., most private school students enter elite institutions) (Cross, 1988).

Comparatively, those who do not attend private schools are anticipated to have a more diverse social experience, with a wider scope to interact with individuals from different social and racial backgrounds. Thus, an interpretation of the participants' perceptions would suggest the TDS has little if any interracial contact prior to University, explaining their perceived weird vibes and interracial anxiety, creating a *culture clash* amongst their ReM peers. Moreover, if an overwhelmingly majority of UK students are not from private school backgrounds, they may perceive their culture as "normal" since they are the majority outside the private school sector. Contrastingly, students who come from a private school background may feel Durham is the highest amount of diversity they have been exposed to (e.g., Elesha). Rose sums up the above,

'I think people like them are stuck in their ways probably similar to how I am, but you know like they're all for private school and pushing it and thinking it's like better. Whereas I look at it and think about all the experiences they have not had because they've just been around similar people the whole time, whereas most of the population is not from private school it's the opposite at Durham it's like the opposite way.' (Rose, White student)

Therefore, the social misconstruction of wealth and privilege could be perceived as a social disadvantage in most participants realities (e.g., "for me I was pleased I wasn't like that"), explained by the TDS sheltered racial (e.g., predominately White spaces), class (e.g., middle- and upper-class) and/or gender (e.g., all boys/girls schools) interactions, thus raising racial-culturally incompetent "privileged" students. Furthermore, the *weird world* at Durham creates a *culture clash* that further marginalises students who are Black.

To conclude, *claustrophobic-bubble*, *weird world*, *cliquey vibes*, and *culture clash* may be underpinned by acculturation, which is the process of socialisation exhibited between two cultural groups. Acculturation symbolises the adaptations made by either or both groups when co-existing (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, 1936; Berry et al., 1989). Berry et al., (1989) researched a fourfold model of acculturation strategies; *integration*, *assimilation*, *separation*, and *marginalisation*. The 'absent diverse opportunity' group (i.e., typical Durham students) conveys the *separation* strategy, illuminating their ability to continue their independent existence and thus continue their traditional way of life without making adaptations for others. This leads to the ReM group feeling anxious and confused (e.g., "claustrophobic"), losing their culture within the dominant group, resembled by the *marginalisation* strategy (Berry et al., 1989; Handelsman, Gottlieb, and Knapp, 2005). Thus, according to Berry (2006) a scholar who is White, *separation* enforced by the majority group is segregation, and *marginalisation* is a form of exclusion. Furthermore, people that conform to the TDS identity can use the *assimilation* strategy where an individual disassociates from their primary cultural upbringing and identity and chooses to adopt the cultures of the dominant society (e.g., Nathan's survival mode) to fit in (Berry, 2006). The perceived 'Atypical infrastructure' at Durham University highlights the perpetuated exclusion for students who are Black and is seen to create further exclusion by lack of diversity and acceptance demonstrated by the 'absent diverse opportunity' (TDS) cohort. Thus, 'Whiteness as

Symbolic Capital' is suggested to contribute to the racial segregation of students in the ReM at Durham University.

8.3 Exclusively Divisive

This interpretative code 'Exclusively divisive' is an extension of the *weird world* at Durham, with student insight of the University's culture only being exclusive to the TDS. Participants express following a hierarchy of standards (e.g., being posh, lad) or possessing assets (e.g., money) is required to be accepted. Therefore, within this code 'Exclusively divisive' Whiteness as Symbolic Capital is associated with cultural and economic capital i.e., White (class) privilege, more so than skin capital i.e., White priority. Thus, students who are White and working class can be excluded from the TDS and University, because of their race-class identity within this section. This code is underpinned by six descriptive codes, *posh boundaries*, *culture shock*, *hypocritical Whiteness*, *cultural bullying*, *lad culture*, and *anti-Black pub culture*. The combination of these descriptive codes constructs an 'Exclusively divisive' culture at Durham, where its exclusivity is designed to accommodate the TDS while simultaneously being divisive towards the ReM and some aspects of White working-class.

8.3.1 *Posh boundaries*

As discussed in previous codes, the repeated concept of being posh was an overwhelming emphasised characteristic of the TDS.

'Um yeah again there's like the class thing like there are a lot of people that are like stupidly posh here and my friends are not like that at all so I feel like yeah it's probably why we get on.'
(Elesha, Mixed-race student)

'there's always jokes about everyone being really, really posh.' (Ariel, White student)

'I think I also hadn't quite anticipated how much...how posh Durham was.'

...

'Um I think there are like definitely them people who are still very posh but not wanting to be quite so explicitly posh. There can be quite a lot of stigma against being like that raw and like very posh, like even in Durham at times like some people are like "oh no like we have to seem like less posh".' (Elena, White student)

The last comment from Elena depicts students camouflaging their poshness so they will not be judged. Therefore, to understand the process of students feeling excluded, the concept of “poshness” and how this is internalised needs to be understood. Poshness is typically understood from the perspective of middle- and upper-class individuals, yet it appears individuals extend the connotations of class to include overt behaviour and internal values. The description of students having to reduce their overt poshness indicates that they feel these values are perceived negatively by others and do not align themselves with these values. Consequently, they may seek to reduce the visible traits they think are associated with poshness with defence mechanisms. ‘Defence mechanisms’ can be categorised as denial and used to protect an individual’s self-esteem and strengthen the ego (Cramer, 1987; Freud, 1894). Therefore, students identify as “less posh” to avoid stigmatisation and reduce judgement. Thus, the social history that has reinforced class to be conceptualised within a hierarchical paradigm is conflictual with some students’ individual social worlds. At Durham University, students depict poshness as an exclusive identity and somewhat synonymous with problematic Whiteness, creating a culture that racially excludes students who are in the ReM and White working-class.

Being posh is seen as entry to an exclusive aspect of Durham culture for the TDS, the alternative to this is inferred as a divisive experience for those within a different class structure. This suggests that the White students are particularly attuned to the class dimension of TDS, and less so to the raced dimension,

‘I think you see it in the way that like formals are really expensive so that people with lots of money can only go to them. Like society memberships can be quite expensive like a big sample of like the union is like quite a high like subscription membership I don’t know actually what they call it’,

...

‘And I think by having that is something that is quite an expensive fee to pay you are discriminating against those that like don’t have that level of like disposable income.’ (Elena, White student)

‘Like let’s say the Charity fashion show which costs like 90 pounds to go to or Caledonian society like 75 pounds. If you tell me that’s not like closing off or hardening class boundaries then like yeah.’ (Dale, White student)

‘It’s just in terms of like for me personally college life for example, one reason why I never integrated within it is because it is a very White classist place.’ (Hannah, Brown student)

'I guess both my parents work two jobs and so like my relationship to money is different to some other peoples in the sense that I appreciate that the things I was able to do came from a lot of work which I think that some of the people I've chatted to just haven't um and I think it has just reflected on my spending um in that I feel like things like my maintenance loan I would never spend on just like my own fun. Um and so I tutor online and that's the money I'd spend on my own kind of spending and so I just think the attitude of spending is quite different to some people I've some to contact with here.'

...

'Um I mean it's only tricky when people want to do something and I'm like I don't really have the money right now and then it just makes you feel like you're missing out.' (Ariel, White student)

Participants comments suggest there are "class boundaries" at Durham. The outcome of these boundaries appears to be an exclusive class, i.e., for wealthy students and an excluded class i.e., those from less financially privileged backgrounds. The exclusive class seems to be established as the pinnacle, which may be due to the students perceiving there to be benefits attached to the identity needed to be within that class- money, which is typically positioned as desirable and functional to success in UK culture. Thus, the bound environment creates a divisive experience for students who are not in the exclusive group. These experiences are illuminated by Harris's (1993) concept of *the rights to use and enjoyment* (see code, 'Accommodating Whiteness'), whereby valuable resources are reserved for the TDS (White middle- and upper-class), whilst excluding the ReM and White working-class groups. Whiteness is again displayed as property, with the function being it provides the exclusive class with a perceived right to exclude those from particular goods who are deemed "non-White" (Walker, 2013). In history, institutions have used problematic Whiteness as an exclusive club membership, determining whether an individual was 'White enough' to enjoy the privileges associated with Whiteness (Harris, 1993; Walker, 2013). However, the class inequalities in Durham extend to the exclusion of working-class students who are White (historical similarities between White raceclasses illustrated in chapter 4). Therefore, the *posh boundaries* within the culture at Durham increases the value of the TDS experience, providing them with access to use and enjoyment, whilst excluding students who are the ReM and White working-class.

8.3.2 Culture shock

Some participants' expectations before attending Durham appears to have influenced their shock regarding the lack of inclusivity and culture,

'Um I was expecting a much more inclusive and kind of open environment. Looking back, I probably should have realised that was not the case with Durham.' (Angelica, White student)

'I didn't quite realise how much it was just like a little bit of the South Easters implanted in the Northeast.' (Elena, White student)

'It's not what I expected at all. It's like a massive shock because obviously living in London you're surrounded by different people of different races and classes as well. You come to Durham and majority of people are White, middle class – private school students. So yeah not really what I expected.' (Jay, Black student)

'Well they've not lived up to expectations. I expected it to be like less diverse than London obviously but the extent to which has been shocking.' (Ana, Black student)

'Through like various things like definitely part of the like the social side of it because it's definitely like exclusionary? Yeah I feel quite excluded from some things from some aspects of like Durham culture but I also think as well like yeah it's just not an inclusive place, it's not a place where it's not diverse so you have to be like one particular thing a lot of the time.' (Elesha, Mixed-race student)

The participants' perceptions are inferred as them (i) feeling that Durham is less inclusive than they expected and (ii) disappointment because of this. Bell (1982, 1985) and Loomes and Sugdan – scholars who are White – (1982, 1986), developed 'Disappointment and Regret Theory', which can be applied to interpret the experiences of the underrepresented groups at predominately White "elite" universities like Durham. Disappointment is a psychological reaction composed of secondary emotions (e.g., shock and sorrow) that occur when the outcome of someone's expectation is not met (Bell, 1985; Plutchik, 1991; Rainey, Yost, and Larsen, 2011). The fundamental proposition of 'Disappointment theory' is people form expectations about ambiguous situations, and if the actual outcome is worse or better than that expectation, people experience a 'sensation of disappointment (or elation)' (Bell, 1985; Loomes and Sugdan, 1986, pg. 271; Rainey, Yost, and Larsen, 2011). Furthermore, people accept a cynical outlook on the future when they are averse to disappointment (Bell, 1985). Similar to Prisca (StWB) where her experience at a predominately White sixth form in the Northeast was like "hell",

'I think if anything I think my experiences has been better than my expectations because sixth form was like hell. It was honestly the worst time of my life and so I was thinking if my sixth form was like this I was thinking Durham would be like that on steroids. So I was really just thinking okay 3 years I can hack it just go in get my degree, that's all I want so I really was just expecting the worst because my experience prior to Durham with middle class white people was not great.'

Thus, Prisca's previous lived experience influenced her to expect the "worse" when associated with individuals who are White skinned, middle- and upper-class, which she assumed to be the Durham student body. This likely protective approach appears to have inadvertently facilitated her ability to be "the only Black person in the room", interacting with the students who are White prior to University and ultimately having a "really fortunate" (good) experience, for a student who is Black. Thus, the "massive shock" of Durham's culture provides a perceived level of disappointment for students who are from a more diverse background but alternatively, those from non-diverse backgrounds may have expectations that mediate their lived experience and influence the perception of a more positive reality than anticipated.

Moreover, majority of participants endured the disappointing experience while two students who are Black mentioned leaving,

'Yeah, I like tried to leave (laughs).' (Jay, Black student)

'Oh, you tried to leave. Was this your first or second year?' (Researcher)

'Um from my transition from my first year to second year.' (Jay)

'Oh, I'm sorry to hear that. Where did you try to go?' (Researcher)

'To Warwick.' (Jay)

'Why couldn't you go there?' (Researcher)

'It was just too difficult, if you wanted to transfer you'd have to do it like months before cause of credits and stuff like that.' (Jay)

'Ok so how did that make you feel that you wanted to leave but had to stay?' (Researcher)

'Trapped.' (Jay)

As explained above, a perception of Jay's comments trying to leave Durham would suggest he regrets not going to Warwick., this could be because Warwick is more ethnically diverse than Durham (41.5% BAME undergraduates, see Warwick Counts, 2020). Regret is a cognitive response when making the wrong decision and comparing outcomes where someone believes they could have made a better choice

(Bell, 1982; Loomes and Sugdan, 1982; Bleichrodt, and Wakker, 2015). Moreover, the *culture shock* that manifested Ana's (StWB) disappointment and regret contributed to her transferring to other more ethnically diverse institutions,

'Um, but like I am transferring back down to London.' (Ana, Black student)

'Oh, so you're leaving Durham.' (Researcher)

'Yeah.' (Ana)

'Why is that?' (Researcher)

'Pretty much the reasons I've stated like the culture is just such a shock. It's like a slap in the face.' (Ana)

'Hmm and what is the culture? What is like the vibe and what do you mean the culture is a shock?' (Researcher)

'I feel like people I would consider friends I'm like a token to them and they make that very clear to me.' (Ana)

'How do they do that?' (Researcher)

'Like this one girl I remember we went out to dinner with like a couple of other friends and she just looks at me and says, "oh all my friends are Asian". It was just like unprovoked and she just looks at me and smile expecting me to say thank you or like I'm proud of you like...and she is like one of many. So, it's like am I a friend or a brag like...' (Ana)

'Ok. I'm sorry you're having to transfer. Do you know where?' (Researcher)

'I've applied to King's, Mary's and SOAS.' (Ana)

Ana's perceptions continue to suggest the TDS is visibly absent of interracial friendships, thus, perpetuating a divisive environment for students like Ana, resulting in her feeling like a "token" and leaving Durham to attend a more diverse University and/or area. Lastly, the extreme outcome of the *culture shock* of Durham is underpinned by student's perceived disappointment and regret, demonstrating the TDS power in manifesting unconscious divisiveness towards the ReM group.

8.3.3 Hypocritical Whiteness

The culture of rejection at Durham University was also constructed by participants from a social engagement perspective,

'I think it should be more accepting, like just people as well.' (Reuben, White student)

'Um I think I feel quite judged at parties and stuff like that. Like to be somebody who's like not getting drunk or like not getting with everyone I often find like that's something that like people are quite easy to judge them out, which I find really bizarre.' (Elena, White student)

'I'm definitely the most outspoken one. And I don't think that's because Durham is necessarily a very open space, where like when you speak people are like "oh yeah I'm really interested I want to learn more about people who aren't like me".' (Prisca, Black student)

'I'm not going to lie I don't know if it's racial or not, but I have like four friends in my lectures. So yeah I'm like alright with them but they're like internationals so I don't really have many friends in my lectures that are from the UK.' (Jay, Black student)

Participant's comments suggest they have peers at Durham whom are not open to others that present with behaviours that are atypical of the predominant Durham culture. Thus, the TDS is incongruent with an inclusive environment, stigmatising the Black and ReM groups, depicting an apparent hypocrisy and creating a culture that lacks acceptance and is discriminatory. Elliot (StWW), appears to be the only participant whose explanation for why students discriminate positions himself as a perpetrator of such discrimination, suggesting he identifies with the TDS constructed by the other participants,

'I don't know I don't see it that much like sometimes we struggle to validate weakness. Yeah we might discriminate based on someone whose got Asperger's, someone who is not as intelligent, yeah it seems like we don't discriminate too much but we're not tolerant of weakness.' (Elliot, White student)

Ok. Where do you think those thoughts come from? (Researcher)

'I think it's just a selective university that is selecting smart people. Usually just very on the ball people and you get a different culture from outside of the university. So maybe when you see people's weakness you might call them lazy or just anti-social or something like that. Yeah.' (Elliot, White student)

Elliot reinforces the narrative of students having discriminatory behaviours, utilising the concept of weakness to suggest this as a motivation, as though sharing an environment with those that are "weak" could be inhibitory to the TDS. In his social world, "smart people" attend Durham University and are more intelligent, therefore, their "intelligent" status may underpin the choice to discriminate against people, protecting their status against those who are perceived as different i.e., perceived as "weak". However, according to Robert Sternberg's (1984) triarchic theory of intelligence, intelligence is separated into three parts: *practical*, *creative*, and *analytical intelligence*. The TDS is seemingly absent of *practical intelligence*, whereby individuals find solutions to everyday life experiences and applies their knowledge, commonly understood as street smarts or common sense (Lumenlearning.com, 2018;

Sternberg, 1984). From the perceptions of the ReM participants, it appears to be common sense to allow people to be themselves. Yet, it may be harder for the TDS to acquire this form of intelligence if their cultural background is exclusive - surrounded by people with similar lived experiences to themselves hence 'absent diverse opportunity'. Elliott seems to widen the scope of those who perpetrate discriminatory behaviour to include people more generally rather than solely TDS. Elliott appears to take an evolutionary approach to understanding and explaining why students discriminate, identifying aspects of identity that they perceive as "weak", which are typically aspects that oppose the overt TDS identity.

Conversely, he appears to identify how this concept of weakness is applicable to himself, describing his experience as feeling "lonely and sort of isolated", which is perceived to be his definition of weakness (e.g., "lazy" and/or "anti-social"). However, he never experienced any discrimination while at Durham. Therefore, his apparent explanation of discrimination is further depicting the TDS behaviour to be perceived as a hypocritical form of Whiteness i.e., *hypocritical Whiteness* by stigmatising other groups cultural differences yet preserving their own culture (e.g., camouflaging poshness) to avoid stigmatisation, creating a harmful cyclical culture clash where the TDS lacks *practical intelligence* and accepting student groups who are in the ReM and White working-class.

8.3.4 Cultural bullying

Participant Jay shares some of his experience with the TDS regarding his culture,

'I feel like when I first came to Uni, in London like you have a barber around the corner you have a hairdresser around the corner or whatever. So it's like I came to Durham and it was like I don't know how I'm going sort my hair out. So it was kind of like I was supposed to wear a durag for like the whole year and I couldn't take it off because when I took it off people would be like "oh are you leaving your religion or are you a Rastafarian or blah blah blah." So I was kind of just like forced to leave my durag on because I didn't want any questions.'

...

'Yeah I feel like they also try to police my hair. So, it was almost like "oh we don't like that hair you should put this on instead" or blah blah blah, it's kind of just like it's my hair I can do whatever I want with it.' (Jay, Black student)

Jay's experience infers 'cultural bullying' is manifested in Durham's culture. According to Olweus (1993), 'bullying' is understood as repeated intentional acts of aggression carried out by individuals or groups on victims who cannot easily defend themselves. Therefore, an interpretation of Jay's experience is that an 'imbalance of power' facilitates the TDS to use social aggression to exclude students with less perceived power i.e., by not accepting their Blackness (Menesini, and Salmivalli, 2017, pg. 241; Olweus, 1993). Jay's experience coincides with Hazel's (StWMR) interpretation of the experience of international students,

'When like I hear people make stupid passing comments. I hear it a lot towards international students like if you're in the cue like for self-service and stuff people say stuff about international students under their breath or like in groups which is quite annoying.' (Hazel)

'Why do you think that is?' (Researcher)

'Because people just aren't considerate of the cultural differences and people aren't considerate of language barriers, I don't know people are just impatient and don't bother to take the time or consideration for other people that they expect other people to do for them if that makes sense.' (Hazel)

...

'So like for international students I know that one of my friends had been in a cue or something like that and we were cueing in Tesco and she was like trying to go through the machine and it took her awhile because I think people aren't conscious of the fact that international students don't only just speak their home languages they speak like many languages and like it's a scale that a lot of us don't have and I don't have. So instead of like shitting on it people should be like celebrating being a multilinguistic or whatever.' (Hazel, Mixed-race student)

The concept of 'egocentrism' is integrated throughout Hazel's words, with a culturally inconsiderate TDS presenting as absent of a sensitivity or awareness regarding cultures other than their own. Similarly interpreted by Jay regarding the use of colloquial language,

'I don't know I just can't it's just two different experiences I went to state school they went to private school and the way that I speak essentially it's not even much different from them. I don't know it's like you use a bit of slang and they're like 'oh speak English', and it's kind of like I am (laughs). Do you know what I'm saying?' (Jay, Black student)

It may be proposed from Jay and Hazel's social realities that the TDS construct are associated with egocentrism, which may be explained by a lack of self-awareness (Bocian, Baryla, and Wojciszke, 2020; Scaffidi Abbate et al., 2016), which contributes to a non-inclusive social experience for the Black and

ReM groups. Therefore, *cultural bullying* is presented as another behaviour of the TDS, which perpetuates harmful social exclusion towards student groups in the ReM and White working class.

8.3.5 *Lad culture*

The exclusive culture is further explained by students,

‘It was just like very different and having to get use to everyone else being on the same page and you feeling like what the fuck is going on like why are people...so like freshers week even it’s just all about getting so drunk and I didn’t want to do that and then basically if you’re not doing that with everyone there’s nothing for you to do. Because the events are held on your corridor so it’s basically your home where you’re living and it’s all about you need to get drunk and if not you just don’t do anything. So, I guess like that just carries on it felt like everyone’s finding the same things fun and just are all very similar and you are kind of like well this is a bit shit.’ (Rose, White student)

‘Um mostly I just realised I may not be a society kind of person, there’s a lot of pressures at events and also first year there was an issue with me because there is kind of a drinking culture here. Um like I enjoy drinking but I’m not a big drinker but there was a lot of pressure to drink and I didn’t enjoy drinking and that basically kind of kept me away from societies.’

...

‘I was in Josephine Butler living in a flat and one of my flatmates were highly social active kind of people engaging in a lot of binge drinking and that kind of set me right apart from them right in fresher’s week.’ (Angelica, White student)

‘Yeah I think it’s quite “let’s go drink some alcohol lets go to a formal, let’s get sloshed” and that sort of stuff.’ (Elena, White student)

Participants comments suggest there is an exclusive drinking culture amongst the TDS group, which contributes to racialised environments that will be explained in these next two codes. Drinking is a social peer interaction of college culture and excessive alcohol consumption has been a prevalent issue amongst universities within the UK and globally (Borsari and Carey, 2001; Piacentini and Banister, 2009; Banister and Piacentini, 2006). The TDS perceives social environments like fresher’s week and other events to be a valuable social norm amongst peers. Similar to Banister and Piacentini (2006) study where students excessive alcohol consumption was perceived as a beneficial social facilitator and confidence booster for participants to enjoy their university experience. Also, peer pressure can influence students to this drinking culture, however, many participants suggest to not conform to this pressure. Therefore, in the participants social world more barriers are put in place for them to enjoy

the full Durham experience where getting drunk or binge drinking is the norm, creating further divisiveness amongst students.

The excessive alcohol consumption is perceived to result in offensive behaviour,

‘Um I do think that in the drinking culture and in the sports culture like from my experience there’s a lot of behaviour that um people might feel they can’t express because they’ll be punished for it under these kind of like legislatures that might have been put in place um but then once they’ve begun to drink once they’ve put themselves in an environment with this lad banter type of thing then suddenly all of those social rules that they feel constrained by get removed and you start to see. Like people dressed up as nuns um wearing like absolutely nothing underneath and then like flashing people and stuff. There’s been like horrible stories of sexual misconduct and stuff which doesn’t specifically relate to this sort of thing but it represents this kind of like release that yeah people might feel a little bit restrained from that.’ (Nathan, White student)

Alcohol consumption affects the cognitive functioning of the brain in several ways, for example, the fear of threat or punishment (Curtain et.al, 2001; Peterson et al., 1990). When considering Nathan’s social world, the negative implicit ideas of students plus alcoholic consumption result in offensive behaviour (e.g., “sexual misconduct”). Also, he mentions men (e.g., lad banter) as primary perpetrators of these actions producing a horrific *lad culture* perceived by him and other participants. This culture that is perceived to exhibit sexism is why Alma dislikes the *lad culture* as well,

‘Yeah so in college I didn’t really like the vibe because I’m at Collingwood and it’s big there is a lot of like lad culture.’

...

‘Yeah I suppose in college and stuff I was mixed in with everyone and there was a lot of lad culture and like stuff like that where it’s very gender based.’ (Alma, Black student).

Also, the intersections of Alma’s race-gender identity could be perceived as a double disadvantage interpreted by Nathan’s comments illustrating the racialised elements of this perceived *lad culture* at Durham,

‘in terms of culturally there was this friend who posted on Facebook and said he went to a formal last week and um saw people like with a like really dark shade of foundation on at a formal where one guy with the outline of Africa shaved into his head.’ (Nathan, White student)

In the early 19th century, Blackface minstrelsy was a form of racist entertainment used by people who are White to depict Black stereotypes about Black Africans (Lensmire and Snanza, 2010; Thompson, 2020b). Nathan's comment suggest anti-black attitudes are displayed in White spaces at Durham, highlighting one of Picca and Feagin's (2007) stages of two-faced racism, 'backstage performance', where participants expressed their peers who are White behaved remarkably different with their own race compared to their Black peers by demonstrating racist behaviour (e.g., jokes or using N-word) in White spaces. Thus, the *lad culture* in Durham is influenced by excessive alcohol consumption, which leads to anti-Black and sexist behaviour conducted by the TDS, despite literature typically focusing on the latter i.e., gender.

8.3.6 *Anti-Black pub culture*

Furthermore, when discussing Durham's *lad culture*, anti-Black behaviour was further illustrated in a variety of ways by Prisca,

'I've stayed away of sports because like I'm aware that the attitudes towards Black people are kind of more rampant there as well as the Durham Union who are like known for their anti-blackness and there plethora of their biases towards anyone who isn't rich, White, and like straight, or a Tory.'

...

'I can think of off the top of my head, I don't feel comfortable in pubs at all. Pub culture is very popular here in Durham I don't know if you've come across it but students love alcohol and but yeah.'

...

'To me pubs are sort of where white men hang so you know as like a black girl that is like a no no you know what I mean it feels like it's not a place where I'm accepted and people are kind of not open to having people like me there so I'm not comfortable around pubs.'

...

'Because like pubs just have this culture of being really sexist and also anti-black as like a person who is both black and a girl I just know that pubs just aren't for me and the people who go there also aren't open to just allowing me to be present and safe there.' (Prisca, Black student).

In Prisca's perceptions, the *lad culture* at Durham is exhibited through anti-discriminatory practices that intersect with race, class, gender, and sexuality. Particularly with overt segregation conducted by men who are White, revealing another form of divisiveness for women who are Black. An interpretation is that participants perceive men who are White at Durham to continue subjecting this

misinformed habitus (illustrated in previous chapter) that is perceived to be harmful, anti-Black, and divisive for students who are Black – particularly women. Therefore, the excessive drinking and *lad culture* at Durham is exclusively for students who are White and is underpinned by anti-Black attitudes that simultaneously is divisive for students of the ReM group, especially students that are Black (African women) – hence the descriptive code *anti-Black pub culture*.

8.4 Conclusion

To conclude, the theme “Whiteness as Symbolic Capital” is the amalgamation of the three key concepts that illustrates the cultural environment of Durham by highlighting the groups who benefit and/or are excluded from it. ‘Accommodating Whiteness’, whereby Durham is perceived to create an environment that only accommodates the majority of students who are White (e.g., nights out and White academic environment) providing them with a sense of belonging and thus furthering “White dominance”, while simultaneously marginalising racially underrepresented groups. ‘Atypical infrastructure’, where the *weird world* at Durham is perceived to exclude students who are Black, because of the TDS lack of diversity and acceptance of their cultures. ‘Exclusively divisive’ highlights six different ways the cultural environment is suggested to be only exclusive for the TDS, whilst being divisive demonstrating discriminatory behaviour (e.g., racism and sexism) towards students who are Black, Asian, and White working-class. The amalgamation of these codes gives the TDS power by demonstrating three functions of Harris’ (1992) Whiteness as property; (i) *the conception of reputation and status*, and (ii) *the right to use and enjoyment*, and (iii) *the absolute right to exclude* students who do not conform to problematic Whiteness, thus making students who are in the ReM and some aspects of a White working-class identity feel excluded in their experience. “Whiteness as Symbolic Capital” is considered problematic with the cultural environment at Durham being racist, classist, and sexist, preventing racial inclusivity by apparently only benefitting White racial groups - predominately affluent students who are White. In sum, problematic Whiteness is symbolic capital within Durham University spaces.

CHAPTER 9: BLACK REALITY

“Been on the wrong team so much, can’t recognise a win.
Seems like my only crime is having melanin”
– A Tribe Called Quest (2016), *The Killing Season*

This theme is constructed from the participants’ shared lived experiences of racism, by virtue of being Black African (Asian experiences are highlighted as well). As such, the researcher is applying the FTS framework to political terminology by taking a deeper Pan-Africanist approach (Abbas and Mama, 2014; Adi, 2000; Andrews, 2018; Geiss, 1969; Nantambu, 1998) with the unification of all Black African ethnicities (Black Caribbean, Black African, Black Afro-British, and Mixed race). In 15th century Africa, it is argued Pan-Africanism constructed because of European nationalism and economic exploitation (Geiss, 1969; Nantambu, 1988), i.e., racism in the form of *White Insecurity*. Thus, multi-ethnic Africans early resistance and unity from European (White) Insecurity stems from class struggle giving way to Pan-African nationalism. According to Nantambu (1988) Pan African Nationalism from an Afrocentric perspective is:

‘The nationalistic, unified struggle/resistance of African peoples against all forms of foreign aggression and invasion, in the fight for nationhood/nation building. The primary goal of Pan-African Nationalism is the total liberation and unification of all African peoples under African communalism.’ (p. 569)

In 1900, the first Pan-African conference in London was led by scholar-activists such as Henry Sylvester Williams (Trinidadian) and W.E.B. Dubois (Mixed-race Afro-American) to promote people claiming African descent to fight *White Insecurity* in the diaspora (every African society outside of the Motherland) and West Africa (Adi, 2000; Geiss, 1969). It is also important to acknowledge the role transnational Black feminists such as Claudia Jones (see chapter 2) and others played in the Pan-Africanist movement, fighting ‘a variety of complex positions around race, gender, class, national origin and culture within the larger goal of the liberation of African peoples internationally’ (Davies, 2014 p. 78). For example, in 1927 the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom co-organised a

Pan-African congress held in New York (Davies, 2014). This is important to convey when considering the current overarching theme since Black women are perceived to have *the hardest struggle*, giving them the capabilities to challenge multifaceted forms of oppression holistically (see chapters 9 and 11).

Moreover, “Black Reality” is constructed not to negate the separate African ethnicities ‘diverse adverse experiences’, but it’s a collectivist approach to focus on the evident similarities of the participants’ perceptions, which are underpinned by a shared experience of racism – by virtue of being perceived as having higher amounts of melanin i.e., Black, in the perpetrators who are predominately White (less melanin) social world. Thus, the political terminology of this chapter will be expressed differently than to other chapters that illuminate the term ‘Black’. While the researcher has applied Black to meaning everyone of African ancestry, for the entirety of this one chapter ‘Black African’ will be implemented to describe all African race/ethnic groups besides just ‘Black’. The depiction of visually seeing African being attached to our racial identities collectively is typically absent and is important for Black Africans in the diaspora and Africa to be aware of and reclaim some form of unity from the social misconstructions of race. However, participants ethnicities will remain the same, as the researcher is aware not to disrupt and impose his own political investment and homogenise participant identities - as this is a criticism of Pan-Africanism (Adeleke, 1998 - and will only be used in a broader context:

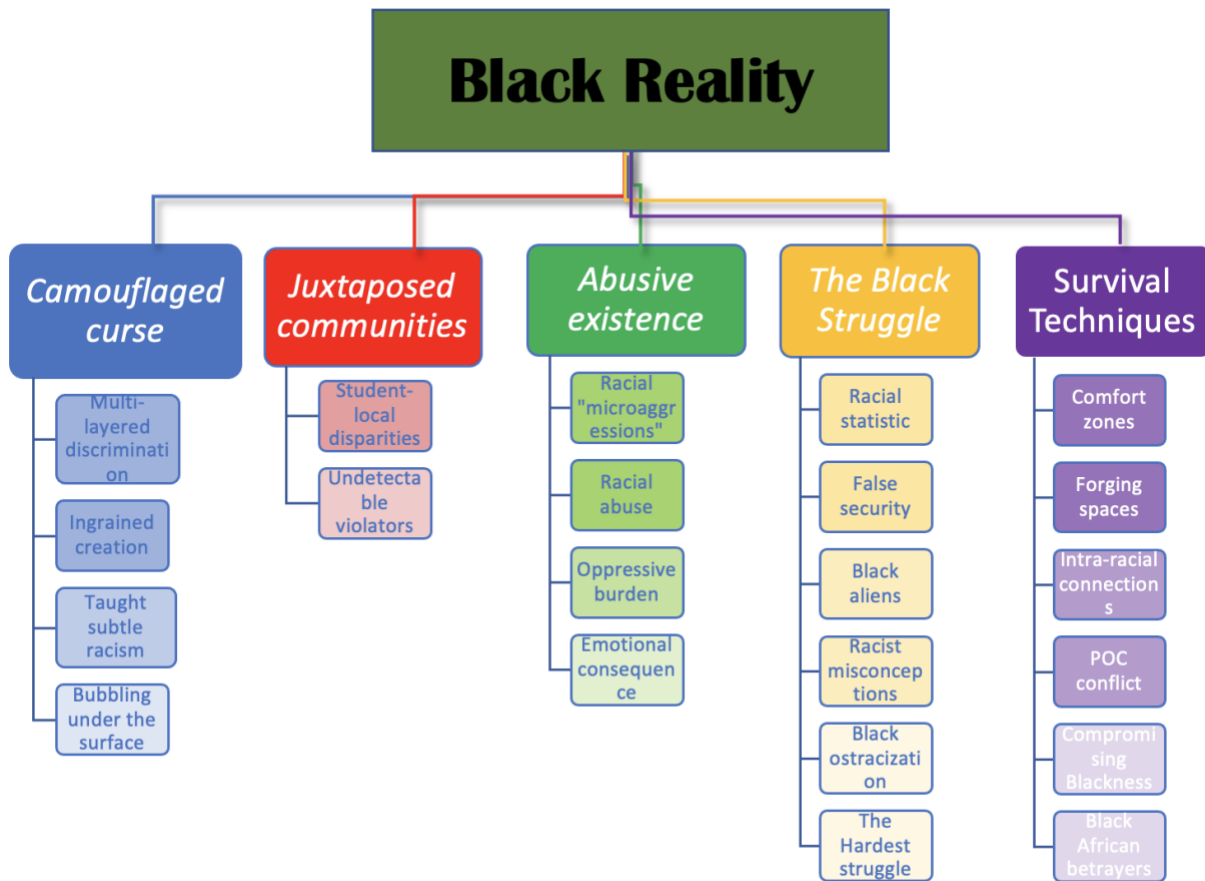
- Black African = people of African ancestry (Black Afro-British, Black Afro-Caribbean, Black African, Mixed-Race)

Moreover, the term ‘Black’ itself can be multi-faceted, as other resilient minority (ReM) ethnicities embody being ‘Black’. For example, in post-war Britain, ‘political blackness’ is identical to ‘people of colour’ (USA), unifying Black African, Asian, and Arabic decent groups experiencing racism based on skin colour (Andrews, 2020; Warmington, 2012). This further reinforces the need to illustrate ‘African’ adjacent to ‘Black’ when differentiating ethnic groups.

This overarching theme title represents five intersecting aspects of the participants’ perceptions, constructing the concept of “Black Reality”. The sociological concept of ‘reality’ emphasises that the world in which we live is socially constructed, developed through one’s interactions with others in

society. It is a day-to-day phenomenon that is inescapable (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), typically people have a shared sense of reality when their underlying beliefs, values or experiences are similar, which influence their construction of 'reality'. The reality of racism constructed by participants at Durham University positions negative outcomes for students who are Black African (StWBA). The interpretative codes constructed from the data were: 'Camouflaged curse', 'Juxtaposed communities', 'Abusive existence', 'the Black African struggle' and 'Survival techniques.' Together, these codes depict a narrative whereby the Black African experience at Durham University and the surrounding spaces is ambiguous, racist, and abusive, deriving an inescapable abuse that is survived by reliance on the self, with same-raced peers, and student societies.

Diagram 4: Black Reality (Thematic Map)



9.1 Camouflaged curse

‘I’m just a young black male, cursed since my birth’ – 2Pac (1995), *Heavy in the Game*

Within the participants’ realities there were repeated difficulties depicted with regards to racism. ‘Camouflaged curse’ deconstructs those shared interpretations. These include, first, the multifaceted manifestation of racism, which creates difficulties with validation and the response to this misconduct. Secondly, an awareness of how racism has been created and ingrained in the consciousness at an early developmental age, Albert Bandura’s social learning theory is applied to consider the implications of these experiences, such as a self-fulfilling prophecy of Black African “inferiority” and White “superiority”. Thirdly, a creation that is purposeful and taught but simultaneously hidden for perceived

societal and economic capital (e.g., *Goffman's Theory of Dramaturgical Social Action*, see section: *taught subtle racism*), discussed with regards to the role of political terminology and the concept of *colour-blindness*. Lastly, the consequential difficulties clarifying the existence of racism and implications at Durham University (e.g., self-concept clarity). Thus, 'camouflaged curse' discussed racism with regards to *multi-layered discrimination*, *ingrained creation*, *taught subtle racism* and an analogy, *bubbling under the surface*.

9.1.1 Multi-layered Discrimination

Participants' definitions of racism include,

'Somebody saying something about the other person based on their skin colour or culture or different background and where they come from, that's usually what I see.' (Aimee, Black African student)

'Any act that advertently or inadvertently will cause discrimination against someone on the basis of their skin colour or cultural background.' (Ezekiel, Black African student)

'Um, when you treat someone of a different skin colour at a lower standard. When the reason for your discrimination is usually because of the colour of their skin.' (Graham, Black African student)

'Discrimination based on race or discrimination based on an ethnic or cultural minority.' (Dale, White student)

'Well now I guess it would be like oppressing someone or facing oppression because of the colour of your skin.' (Rose, White student)

'Any form of prejudice, explicit and implicit based on the colour of your skin.' (Winston, Black African student)

'I think it's when you're prejudice or discriminative to someone based on off of their race or colour of their skin.' (Ciara, Black African student)

Shared aspects of participants' interpretations of racism is their depiction of it being discrimination based on skin colour and cultural background. However, something astute and important to decipher is every participant who is Black African except 1 (Winston) and Hannah who is Brown perceived

racism to be structural and systemic, unlike participants who are White where none specified racism being structural in their definition.

‘Systematic oppression. So essentially systems that have been put in place to make black people not achieve or not just Black people to make anybody over a lower caste.’ (Jay, Black African student)

‘I think in the most general sense I would define it as an institutional form of oppression on people who are not of a specific racial group i.e., White.’ (Hannah, Brown student)

‘I’d say that racism is both personal and it’s also structural I think that it’s the historical legacy of slavery and of White imperialism. I think that it’s not just against Black people but a lot of it is targeted towards us (Blacks) and the idea of political blackness you know what I mean. Where a small group can co-opt the traits of blackness. So yeah I kind of understand those things to kind of shape what racism is.’ (Prisca, Black African student)

Therefore, their construction of the ideology of racism includes three aspects of identity (skin-colour, cultural ‘othering’, and structural discrimination), demonstrating a shared social understanding that underlies the formation of the descriptive code – *multi-layered discrimination*. Despite the majority of participants demonstrating a theoretical acceptance of the definition, the complexity in understanding when it happens in their real world is different. Thus, they have a shared perception of what it is, but not how it functions.

9.1.2 Ingrained Creation

Elena and Ana share how racism is “ingrained” in people,

‘And I think that that means like there is an ingrained discrimination. Um I think on the whole most students would say that they’re not like discriminatory but like I don’t necessarily think that’s true. I think we discriminate a lot more than we realise that we do.’ (Elena, White student)

‘Um...because I feel racism isn’t something quite aggressive and it’s like deeply seated in someone’s mind.’ (Ana, Black African student)

Participants reiterate an ingrained perception and how it affects students who are Black African in education,

'I think that it starts from school days where teachers teach Black kids like we are like naturally more dumb and like we are just more crazy and as if we are just like natural trouble makers. And I think mentally that affects Black kids and it can make us believe that we aren't smart and so we can end up trying less. Then we obtain lower grades and it's not because we aren't smart but it's because we lack self-belief and also the teacher support that we kind of need to like thrive and grow academically and I think that's a point.' (Prisca, Black African student)

'I think um that probably even growing up...like definitely particularly the guys who are like black at school there was very much this opinion that like or like somewhere that they were going to be like rebellious or troublesome in some way.' (Elena, White student)

Research demonstrates that prior to University there is unequal treatment in education towards youth who are Black African compared to their White counterparts (Archer, 2008; Demie, 2019; Synergi, 2018). In the UK, for example, 'Black Caribbean pupils were nearly four times more likely to receive a permanent exclusion than the school population as a whole and were twice as likely to receive a fixed period exclusion' (DfE, 2012, p. 21). Thus, in the participants social world racism manifests through early ingrained racist perceptions towards Black African youth in school, contributing to them being perceived as "trouble-makers" and "rebellious" by peers, leading to problematic outcomes (e.g., "trying less") and low teacher expectations. Similar to Simson (2014), whereby racial stereotyping amongst teachers leads to disproportionate school discipline (e.g., expulsion and referrals), which negatively affected students who are Black African and of ReM backgrounds (as cited in Valdebenito et al., 2018). Moreover, Prisca's comment "lack self-belief", suggests that racism is functioning at an early age but with longer term consequences, creating a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' for students who are Black African, which may disrupt academic success while leading to rebellious behaviour (Johnson, 2016) (affecting *pre-university educational attainment*, see chapter 5). Rose (StWW) sums up her experience with Black African youth, prior to University by stating how she would behave if she was racially stereotyped at a younger age,

'I could imagine if you're a Black person and you're trying to just be yourself and someone is ridiculing you for that and making it an issue if that was me and I'm then going into their class feeling like they're persecuting me for no reason I'm going to be a dick.' (Rose, White student)

Students' observations of racism indicate that (i) racism is being perpetrated in an external and observable way in education prior to University, but that (ii) the racism is externally ignored. This

interplay between observed abuse and a lack of action creates a power dynamic that can be internalised by students. Albert Bandura's (scholar who is White) *social learning theory* proposes that people learn by observing the behaviour of others and the processes in their environment (Bandura and Walters, 1977). Thus, these early interracial interactions, whereby students are observing a figure of ideological power (a teacher who is typically White and female) abuse a student who is Black African without repercussions can be internalised, perpetuating social misconstructions of power – White “superiority” complex (Mills, 2007) – i.e., illegitimately reinforcing ideas of being “better” than another based on skin colour. This theory is corroborated by Ana's (StWBA) definition of racism, “when one race thinks they're superior to another race because of their own race”. This can inevitably produce an undetected Black African “inferiority” complex, leading to racialising youth at an early developmental period. Thus, early learning experiences, according to Bandura's theory, can moderate students' behaviour, which may help to explain the epidemic silence of observers of racism at Durham – they expect or know it happens and yet it is as though camouflaged, by silence. Therefore, early experiences of stereotyping and discrimination appear to become ingrained and replicated in one's own behaviour and expectations. Participants' depictions of ingrained discrimination at Durham suggests that attention needs to be paid to it or it will too easily be ignored, i.e., camouflaged, continuing a harmful cycle with racially inequitable outcomes for students who are Black African.

Participants further explain how ingrained discrimination may manifest at university,

‘Um oh I think in lots of places I think um like in terms of like who gets into what universities and stuff that's like definitely there will be some bearings to like races.’ (Elena, White student)

‘Um, yeah I think it's like 13% of Black people make up the population in the UK. But I think like 1% of them go to Uni, it's like disproportionate or something like that.’ (Jay, Black African student)

‘And then I think that kind of an unconscious bias definitely comes into it to in the sense that like um in the sense that there's an underlying whether it is realised or not idea of what for example what a university student should look like and sound like and what their name should be and where they should come from and what their background should be. Um and I think that whether the person making those decisions acknowledges that they have a bias against a certain race or a certain social group in general. Um I think that it does exist, and that um not enough is done to counter the unconscious bias people have when admitting people to the universities in particular I think, yeah.’

...

‘and then you realise that there really is a huge bias towards a certain type of person. I mean I can only speak for Durham but in the sense of looking at statistics and things a lot of other Russell Group universities have a similar issue.’ (Ariel, White student)

Ariel’s perceptions corroborate Boliver (2018), which proposes that admission selectors may exercise unconscious bias when making decisions through their stereotyping of ethnic groups (e.g., Asian and Black African groups), recruiting in their own image in the admissions process at Russell Group Institutions i.e., Durham. Thus, participants like Ariel perceive unconscious bias to be synonymous with racism, prohibiting increased representation of students who are Black African at Durham and again fostering camouflaged processes that creates racial inequity and exclusion.

9.1.3 Taught Subtle Racism

Participants continue to perceive that ingrained racism is a taught façade,

‘Yeah I think so but also like in all honesty I’m not sure how much that is like that their hearts are in a different place than everyone else’s or it’s just that they’ve been taught not to say things. And like I think there’s like I think it’s really difficult to tell like how much is going on in somebody’s brain as opposed to just like what they’re doing explicitly. I think if you’re like told not to hit someone you won’t hit someone, but that doesn’t necessarily mean you’re not thinking about hitting someone if that makes sense.’

...

Just because like we’ve been told to not do something we won’t like do something that doesn’t mean that we don’t necessarily like think about that stuff. It doesn’t necessarily mean that like because we’ve been like on the issue of race, because we’ve been told like growing up that we’re supposed to think we’re simple and we’re supposed to not see like Black people as any different than White people. Then like that means that we definitely want to give the impressions to the outside world that we don’t see that as any differently.’ (Elena, White student)

Moreover, Ariel states her “generation are assumed to be more politically correct”, but still hold “unconsciously a type of bias towards certain groups”. Thus, participants may perceive today’s generation are taught to be politically correct but to also adopt a colour-blind approach, the two of which are not interchangeable. ‘Political correctness’ is minimising offensiveness by using certain language and tactics that usually support subjugated groups to combat social norms (Rosenblum, Schroeder, and Gino, 2020). Politically correct language can also produce different forms of communication - self-censorship and multivocal communication (e.g., language appealing to a specific

audience). Depending on how this is implemented, political correctness may link to the communicator being less authentic and trustworthy (Albertson, 2015; Rosenblum et al., 2015), yet this is potentially better understood through how closely one's own values and belief in the sentiment behind 'political correctness' are aligned with the required actions. In contrast, *colour-blindness* is considered a problematic "post-racial" construct that detracts individuals from recognising the implications race and racism have in society (Bonilla-Silva, 2002). Therefore, in Ariel and Elena's social worlds, the current university generation are taught to be colour-blind and/or suppress their prejudices and have perhaps learned to use politically correct terminology instead of tackling ingrained racist perceptions. Thus, the combination of these two concepts is a mis-constructed social world, reinforcing a camouflaged form of racism- teaching people to ignore it.

Furthermore, for participants who are Black African, they perceived their experiences of this hidden and taught racism as unjust,

'I think it's more hidden,'

....

'Cause I feel like people who are just like racist is like bad innit, so nobody wants to be called a racist, but they'll still do racist things behind closed doors. So they don't really reap the repercussions of their actions. But they still get the rewards.' (Jay, Black African student)

It appears there is a shared expectation that the majority of people in the participants' social world do not want to identify with being labelled "a racist" in Durham, the TDS may not want to be deemed racist because of the implications on desired economic power, fearing career opportunities would be jeopardised if they're portrayed as "a racist". In *Goffman's Theory of Dramaturgical Social Action*, people act on a social stage and 'strategically calculate their behavioural moves and manipulate social situations for their own advantage' (Schimmelfennig, 2002, p. 421; Goffman, 1970). Thus, in a racial context, student's may present to their peers who are Black African in a way that purposefully refutes racist attitudes to create an anti-racist identity. Whilst the purposeful action of refuting racism and outwardly being antiracist may appear a positive and helpful action, it seems that the falseness is pertinent, i.e., if one's outward behaviour is not synonymous with their internalised beliefs it is seen as a type of two-faced racism (Picca and Feagin, 2007), whereby their 'frontstage' performance – as depicted by Jay – is unjust.

As discussed in the previous chapter, two-faced racism highlights the ‘backstage’ racist performance people who are White display behind closed doors, where a majority of their peers who are White can be ‘themselves’ when not around other members of the ReM (Cabrera, 2014; Picca and Feagin, 2007 and 2020). However, participant’s such as Jay perceives racism to illustrate Picca and Feagin’s (2020) ‘frontstage’ performance as well, meaning people who are White are aware of being politically correct on racial matters when having interpersonal relations around people of the ReM, but put on a façade for their own benefit. This corroborates with Rose (StWW) where she feels racism is “subtle” and the “average Durham students generally intelligent enough not to make too many outward rude comments”. In sum, Jay’s perceptions may suggest people who display a ‘neo-liberal’ or ‘post-racial’ form of racism i.e., *taught subtle racism* avoid accountability by putting on a front, while simultaneously receiving rewards – such as career opportunities – for their camouflaged racist bias. This camouflage creates further uncertainty amongst students who are Black African to understand how racism manifest in society and in this case, Durham. Thus, younger generations embodied cultural capital manifests through a fabricated identity, utilising an external façade i.e., performance, which creates further racial inequality.

9.1.4 Bubbling Under the Surface

Participants perceive racism at Durham to be ‘bubbling under the surface’,

‘it’s just not a nice feeling to remember that like there’s this weird underbelly of racism that is just there like under the surface of the university and sometimes it pops up and sometimes it doesn’t. Um and like there’s like times I almost forget that.’ (Ezekiel, Black African student)

‘I’d just like to say thank you for doing this genius PhD because I feel like it is really an important thing cause I don’t know Durham is definitely kind of university where you can imagine something bubbling under the surface and I feel like your PhD could really help with something like that.’ (Winston, Black African student)

It appears that students desire clarity of the racism at Durham. Campbell et al. (1996) *self-concept clarity* can be used to explain, with *self-concept clarity* referring to self-beliefs that are clearly defined and internally consistent representative qualities of the self (Campbell et al. 1996; Carter and Bruene,

2019). Evidence suggests self-concept clarity has positive and negative outcomes on social and psychological processes of identity (e.g., high or low self-esteem). Thus, students' lack of self-clarity underpins the descriptive code *bubbling under the surface*, whereby the camouflaged *taught subtle racism* at Durham is “pushed under” and “not a nice feeling” for students who are Black African.

To conclude, the construction of the interpretative code ‘camouflaged curse’ positions racism as a taught and ingrained creation, disguised in its multifaceted manifestation. Thus, racism is perceived to create further adversity for students who are Black African whilst simultaneously creating White “superiority” in the consciousness, especially in predominately White environments like Durham. The next interpretative code highlights how this ‘camouflaged curse’ (racism) interacts with juxtaposed identities in society, particularly in Durham, where “the locals” and TDS are perceived to portray opposing characteristics, with these contrasting social worlds constructing a perceived inescapable reality for students who are Black African.

9.2 Juxtaposed communities (social fields)

Bourdieu's notion of field is described as the structured setting in which social agents (StWBA) and their identified social positions reside (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Participants repeatedly illustrated their awareness of differences between the two social fields they reside in, which are the local community and university student body. Therefore, this interpretative code demonstrates the participants' construction of two opposite worlds, referring to “the locals” and “privately educated” students, discussing the interplay of these groups and consequential abusive reality, referring to the ‘undetectable racist identity’ that further complicates the experience for students who are Black African.

9.2.1 Student-local Disparities

Mia describes Durham University as a “whole other dimension...elite privately educated...Eton...top tier private schools”. Her and Alma contrasted this with their perception of people in the local community,

‘such a divide from the students who tend to come from such advantaged backgrounds and then the locals who don’t have the same opportunities, same educational opportunities and economic opportunities’ (Mia, Black African student)

‘Well definitely like social economically like obviously Durham and in the North there is a massive...this is like an old mining town there’s a lot of history and a lot of unemployment and like people who are very disillusioned, so there’s that. And then you then have like students are literally just coming from somewhere else with a lot of money especially now I think it’s gotten worse with Durham getting more international student’s in.’ (Alma, Black African student)

Their construction of two opposite worlds interacting with each other appears to place emphasis on educational attainment and economic opportunities. An interpretation is that Mia and Alma’s perception has developed through their experience of living in a society that constructs hierarchies based on class, which reinforces the theory of having more money and higher educational achievement is in a sense “better”. The use of the word “elite” signifies Mia’s position, interpreting the Durham student body as at the top of the hierarchy. In society, social class is deemed to produce major economic, cultural, and social differences’ (Hill, 2017) and ‘class distinctions are reinforced in the school system’ (Paulsen, 1991, p. 97), therefore, this is further reinforced by theories of Bourdieu’s forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986b). Privately educated students are typically assumed to come from higher socioeconomic backgrounds, which gives them better educational opportunities within the hierarchical society. As mentioned, the common perception of the TDS is White middle- and upper-class, compared with the local community at Durham, who are perceived to be working-class and White (98.2%) with the local population of the Northeast is overwhelmingly White as well (InstantAtlas Durham – Population, 2021), which appears to suggest to participants they have less educational and economic advantages compared to most Durham students. In participants social world this discrepancy between communities appears illuminated, creating a sense of “otherness” (Mia, StWBA), inferring they do not perceive themselves to fit within the scope of Durham’s polarised communities.

9.2.2 Undetectable Violators

The significance of the local and University communities interpreted by many participants is further explained through their stereotypical portrayal of a person who is racist (e.g., What is your portrayal of a racist person?).

‘Um I don’t know the most striking kind of portrayal that I have in my mind is someone screaming at a person of colour or calling them names. It tends to be in my mind for some reason razed head, White, wearing some kind of baggy pants and I don’t know it’s a very kind of stereotype probably borrowed from some BBC thing.’ (Angelica, White student)

‘Um so I guess a stereotype would be like the colour of the most extreme stereotype would be like a kind of skinhead white man...’ (Ariel, White student)

‘Like stereotypically when I think of a stereotypical racist person, the first thing that comes to mind is like a White skinhead like person.’ (Ezekiel, Black African student)

‘Usually like poor working-class White people in the UK or in America that I guess have been alienated by society and have a lot of anger in them, and have been fed and brainwashed by the news. I’m thinking like an elderly person.’ (Elliot, White student)

‘Shaved heads, fairly quite beer belly, um couple of tattoos that might be slightly outdated, um yeah probably from a quite rural area. Yeah that would be my description.

...

‘A lot of the people I play football with outside of the university fit that stereotype.’ (Nathan, White student)

A skinhead is perceived to be a stereotypical image of a person that is racist. Skinhead culture first developed in the South of England around the 1960s, where working-class individuals exhibited characteristics such as, toughness, violence, and a cynical world view towards certain groups to protect their culture (Brake, 1974). In the UK, racist skinhead attitudes are typically perceived as overt violence towards the ReM (Pollard, 2016). Other aspects depicted by participants are associated with perceptions of the local community in Durham, therefore positioning them to visually fit with the stereotype of a person that is racist. Due to students who are Black African not feeling a sense of belonging with their Durham peers, the added incongruence with the wider Durham population could create further exclusion for students who are Black African outside of university spaces.

Mia further comments on the dichotomy identified at Durham,

‘you’ve got the “locals” as well and you feel like well there’s a stereotype that is in and of itself quite classist, but you know like people up North are a little bit more resistant to race and maybe a little more racist even and I think that’s because of classist assumption that maybe people are working class here and they’re not educated when actually you can be very much educated and racist as well.’ (Mia, Black African student)

Mia makes a geographical reference; she associates individuals in the Northern area of the country with being (i) “working-class” and (ii) “not educated”. The combination of these social misconstructions appears to be linked with the expectation of racism - a “stereotype”, yet Mia explains the fallacy in this theory, specifying how she also understands those that are educated to also be “racist”. Mia’s depiction of a “classist assumption” has implications for the identification of racism within the behaviour of those that do not fit within the scope of this stereotype, because that description isn’t “among any students, it’s almost the opposite of a student” (Elliot, StWW). Mia’s experience around Durham students, whom she has described as “elite” likely influences her perceptions and acknowledgment that a person who is well educated has the capability of being racist, too. Some participants’ perceptions further exude the dichotomy of a racist identity when asked the same question articulated above,

‘Sort of upper class quite bigoted, slight narrow minded, sort of conservative.’

...

‘I think in my mind there is sort of this stereotypical person who is like this portly old gentleman who like sort of is just like White.’ (Elena, White student)

‘I don’t know I don’t think any racist person looks one way.’ (Jay, Black African student)

‘anybody can be racist right.’ (Aimee, Black African student)

‘on the other hand there’s more subtle posh student kind of identity on the other hand, so a more politically conservative person that just says things in a very passive aggressive way, I do not think that they’re bad but I just don’t think that they belong’. (Angelica, White student)

‘it could be anyone, it could be anyone who has any type of a conscious or unconscious view about a certain ethnic group.’ (Ezekiel, Black African student)

An interpretation of participants’ statements is that they are constructed from living in a society where they have seen and/or experienced racism from different types of groups. Participants’ expansion on the identity of a racist person contributes to a depiction of there being no observable trait, or rather,

no distinguishing anti-racist trait, which makes the racist or anti-racist identity potentially undetectable based on physical image, aka. *undetectable violators*. The Black African experience at Durham constructs an existence of racism along a polarised spectrum, in both the community (“the locals”) and the University (students), with an emotional impact for students who are Black African,

‘ironically having that stereotype in the back of your mind makes you feel like as a Durham student you’re not just dealing with the university but obviously the local environment and the feeling that you are seen as um someone else.’ (Mia, Black African student)

It appears that students who are Black African can feel trapped in an environment where their racial background impacts their experiences as a student at Durham University. Their experience may be exacerbated considering Durham has a White population of approximately > 95% and only 0.6% Black African (Kingdom and England, 2020). Therefore, the interpretative code ‘Juxtaposed communities’ (social fields) is underpinned by the two descriptive codes, *student-local disparities* and *undetectable violators*, where the participants’ reality of racism is perceived to be inescapable at Durham.

9.3 Abusive existence

Abusive existence is produced from four aspects of the participant’s experience: First, highlighted is *racial “microaggressions”*, where this concept of “microaggression” misrepresents its real way of functioning, being a hidden form of abusive racism through ‘subtle’ accumulative experiences. Secondly, is *racial abuse*, describing the experiences of implicit and explicit forms of racism (e.g., xenophobia, anti-Black treatment, attributional ambiguity) being inescapable and manifesting in the juxtaposed communities. Finally, the *emotional consequence* is illustrated, whereby the two previous descriptive codes cause racialised stress for students who are Black African affecting their mental health (e.g., racial battle fatigue). Therefore, in sum, this interpretative code refers to the experience of racism students encounter at Durham and how it is an uncontrollable form of abuse that affects their lives socially and psychologically through a range of behaviours.

9.3.1 Racial “Microaggressions”

Participants' construction of racial abuse is underpinned by experiences of racism on a 'micro and macro level'. Within Durham, participants discuss the micro level,

'I think they can occur on both levels. Yeah a lot of the racism that occurs in Durham does take place in the form of like microaggressions.' (Hazel, Black African student)

'like where I might be interacting with someone and I feel like I'm experiencing microaggressions or I hear people say things that are just wrong um about other races and stuff or about black people.' (Mia, Black African student)

There is a depiction of acts of racism as a form of "microaggression". Considering the premise that people do not want to typically be labelled as 'racist' and the reinforced idea of being 'colour-blind', the additional experience of "microaggressions" could be another barrier to inclusivity, being unlikely that (i) others may notice it and therefore (ii) that it will be addressed, again portraying a 'Camouflaged curse'. Moreover, an interpretation of Mia's comments is that racism on a micro level is wrong and can affect all racial groups, through personal or witnessed experiences. In particular, Mia and Hazel mention *racial "microaggressions"*, which is a term used in literature and society to describe a 'brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioural, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of colour' (Pierce, 1970; Sue et al., 2007, p. 273). Additional experiences of *racial "microaggressions"* with peers were described by participants,

'based on what I can remember the only racism if we're going to call it that it's been more covert, it's more microaggressions stuff so like the loaded questions like "where are you from? What are you?" question, the whole "can I touch your hair" thing your hair is really nice.' (Ezekiel, Black African student)

'I've also had endless occasions where White people come and touch my braids and stuff like that, bearing in mind I don't even know them.' (Prisca, Black African student)

'Um so I think like for the most part I've experienced microaggressions more than anything in terms of like people being surprised that I am quite articulate or that people are like making comments about my skin colour or like my hair and stuff like that,

...

'So I think I have like um a lot of people ask me like "do I know anyone who has been stabbed" and stuff like that. Which is I think is a microaggression, also when I started university with

braids I had like people like touching my hair and stuff like that, um yeah. (Hazel, Black African student)

Humans of different ethnic origins have different hairstyles and textures in society. Black African hairstyle is represented as unique in history, being used in Black African culture as political orientation, social status, comfort, and spirituality (Essien and Wood, 2020). However, Black African hairstyles such as afros, braids, dreads, and twists have been integrated into a socially mis-constructed oppression, with negative connotations that oppose statuses of attraction and beauty - especially for women who are Black African - whilst simultaneously representing hair of women who are White as the “status quo” of beauty (Essien and Wood, 2020; Robinson, 2011). In the social world of the participants, hair touching is perceived as “microaggressions” because of the perpetrators unwillingness to ask permission, which results in students like Hazel and Prisca experiencing direct harassment just for embracing their Blackness (O’Brien-Richardson, 2019). Thus, students who are Black African have their personal space violated, due to people without those virtues wanting to touch them, this may be underpinned by the absence of interracial contact for the TDS, reducing their conscious attention to this as an unacceptable behaviour.

Moreover, in the TDS social reality, their actions could imply feelings of infatuation and admiration by interpreting their Black African peers’ hair as being unique and different to their own. However, their position of their infatuation as preceding the rights and perspective of the students who are Black African could be reflective of their internalised upper status. The outcome of the action may seem irritating to students who are Black African, with research suggesting historical and modern anti-Black/African policies have been used to oppress Black Africans because of their hairstyle. Black Africans have to change their hairstyle in order to attend certain schools, fit in socially, and be hired in the workplace (Essien and Wood, 2020; Joseph-Salisbury and Connelly, 2018; Robinson, 2011). For example, Chikayzea Flanders experience in 2017, where his dreadlocks aka sacred locks (dread means ‘fear’ in British terms) were considered a “breach” of uniform policy at his school, Fulham Boys School in London, England (Joseph-Salisbury and Connelly, 2018). Therefore, hair touching is perceived to be an ironic *racial “microaggression”* experienced by students who are Black African, which is synonymously linked with direct harassment, because of their Black African appearance being

physically violated and/or punished, yet admired by students who are White, creating a further abusive student experience.

Participants demonstrate their perceived ambiguity of *racial “microaggressions”*,

‘I remember it being like something about like “people like you” and I don’t know what you mean by that do you mean like students, do you mean like people of colour, do you mean like people from London?’

...

‘Um yeah and like even more than that like subtle stuff but it’s like again it’s the stuff you can’t really say whether it was like racism or not or whatever.’ (Ana, Black African student)

“I don’t know when I’ve been discriminated against...I don’t know if that involves being mistreated or it involves being um treated differently...I guess I can’t differentiate that with like racism.” (Mia, Black African student)

‘Then sometimes it’s like it is so subtle can you even say something about it because they can just reply back with like “what are you saying? what are you thinking? like you’re out of your mind” and so it kind of makes you self-doubt what is actually happening.’ (Graham, Black African student)

Participants’ perception reflects the concept of ‘attributional ambiguity’, whereby an individual is unsure whether they experienced racism on a micro-level (Crocker et al., 1991; Hoyt et al., 2007) (illustrated in chapter 5). When considering *racial “microaggressions”*, the term should be contested, such as Ibram X. Kendi (2019) ‘Flippin’ the script’ by suggesting, there is nothing “micro” about tenacious daily abuse, consequently, a more reflective semantic could be racist abuse, which can create trauma. Symptoms of trauma are often discussed with regards to the psychological manifestation, such as ‘hypervigilance to threat, flashbacks, nightmares, avoidance, suspiciousness, and somatic expressions such as headaches and heart palpitations, among others, are similar to posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms’ (Comaz-Díaz, Hall, and Neville, 2019, p. 2). Racial trauma is shown to have a similar impact on the brain as soldiers who have PTSD symptoms from war (Hoge et al., 2008). Whilst trauma is typically understood from the perspective of an event, in which a person felt their lives were in danger, racial abuse in the form of *racial “microaggressions”* is distinct. Rather than an isolated overt event, it is an accumulation of “subtle” and often socially ignored experiences. *Racial “microaggressions”* are shown to have an impact on both the psychological and physiological

functioning of a person (e.g., high blood pressure) (Memon, et al., 2016; Synergi, 2018). Thus, *racial “microaggressions”* change the bodies of those who experience it. Therefore, in Durham, students who are Black African may experience racial trauma through *racial “microaggressions”* – a “hidden” form of abusive racism.

9.3.2 Racial abuse

In addition, experiences of overt racism were perceived to be perpetrated more from the “local than the student body” (Aimee, StWBA). Students who are Black African, as well as their ReM peers at Durham experiences, witnessed or shared examples of people who are Asian experiencing racism from local people while studying at Durham:

‘it’s weird because all the stories about properly overt racism that I have from my friends none of them come from my Black friends they all tend to come from like say I have an Asian mate, so he is from Hong Kong so experiences like everyday racism like people coming up to him speaking in Chinese accents doing like squinty eyes and stuff.’ (Ezekiel, Black African student)

‘Oh, so like in first year, I was like walking home and I heard a girl like screaming and there was a girl well I assumed it was a guy like pushing her against the wall. So I was like are you ok? And she was literally like “fuck off, you fucking paki” and I was like “Ok, that’s, that’s lovely. I thought you were in trouble”...or like people like whispering as you walk past them, stuff like that like I know my friend who is from Korea gets a lot of people like screaming “ni hao” at her even though she’s not even Chinese. Erm I know a lot of people call her like “k-pop” or scream stuff like that at her.’ (Hannah, Brown student)

‘I remember actually my friend told me, she’s Asian, she told me that on a bus she was coming to Uni there was this guy who was sat next her and he basically was saying something like why was she in this country and she’s lived here all her life. So, why she was in this country and he called her another ethnicity that she was not, he just assumed that she was. He was just basically shouting at her and everything and at that point people stood up for her on the bus, even the bus driver stopped, and he told him to get off the bus and he couldn’t be on the bus anymore and he told her to sit next to him and if anything happens you know.’ (Ana, Black African student)

Participants’ experiences could reflect that “the locals” are insecure towards people they perceive to be immigrants – in this case people who are Asian. According to research, people of a dominant group are opposed to multiculturalism, fearing the out-group’s culture will somehow change the cultural norms of their own (Bahry, 2016). What appears to be observed within the UK’s political climate is the

ideology of patriotism, which can inform beliefs and behaviours towards those who are not depicted as “British”. In theory, this approach positions the country (e.g., England) - a piece of land - to figuratively belong to some individuals more so than it belongs to others. Typically, this concept of owning a right to live in a country and thus assume a “British” identity is based on a person being born there. The global acceptance of land being divided and “owned” by separate groups of people likely reinforces beliefs about what belongs to people and the subsequent rights people have to be in a country. Considering the majority of the UK is White, this perceived sense of belonging and judging whether others belong may be extended to race, determining those that belong to be White. This demonstration of problematic Whiteness and/or *White insecurity* enforces the idea that those born in the UK are White and conform to problematic Whiteness, and thus people who are not White or are unwilling to assimilate to problematic Whiteness do not belong. Other aspects of “British” identity may be accent or first language, which could mean that those who do not have a British accent or English as a first language are not perceived to fit with being “British” and are therefore not accepted as the ‘in group’. This critical consideration of belonging explains the development of ‘xenophobic beliefs’, the expression of which can be understood through theories of threat responses (see ‘The Power Threat Meaning Framework’ in chapter 2). Moreover, Gough (2017) suggests that political strategies such as Brexit, use false narratives of immigrants to create a divide amongst the population of England, furthering capitalism, and constructing xenophobic ideas in British citizens consciousness (highlighted in chapter 4). Consequently, xenophobia in Durham may be perpetrated by those who were born in the local area, who have an internalised sense of rightfully belonging to the area – Durham.

Participants who are Black African illustrate this perceived internalised right and belonging from the community to result in experiencing racism outside of university spaces at Durham,

‘Apparently there was a time when someone ordered a cab or something like that and I don’t know I think this was in Durham or something like that and the cab man was like oh we’re not taking you in the cab. But then I think two White girls and a White guy came and the cab man let them in. And it wasn’t like a cab that you order it was just like a cab on the side of the road. So, it was like they didn’t let them into the cab, so I was kind of thinking like wow.’ (Jay, Black African student)

‘I’ve had friends who couldn’t get into an uber because the uber driver didn’t want to drive them basically. So, these were two black girls and the uber driver didn’t want to drive them

after a night out so they had to like order a new one...because they told me the story I'm going to assume it was racially motivated.' (Mia, Black African student)

Jay and Mia's reasoning is race-focused, interpreting the uber driver's refusal to drive their friends' home to be a direct consequence of their race. Under the Equality Act (2010) race is a protected (personal) characteristic and therefore it is unlawful to refuse service to someone based on the colour of their skin. Yet, research demonstrates the persistence of racist perceptions within customer service domains (Brewster and Rusche, 2012). Thus, the possibility that the experience Jay and Mia described was underpinned by racism is fathomable, yet a sense of ambiguity remains, suggesting that it is difficult to objectively establish an act as racist and thus assumptions are relied on – decreasing *self-concept clarity*. Participants expand on other friends' experiences of racism, describing a physical act,

'I've had a friend have a glass thrown at her and told her to go back to her country and stuff like that, so you know.'

...

'Yeah. I think that was done by a local man not a student but you know it's still outrageous.' (Prisca, Black African student)

'I had a friend who had a bottle thrown at her head and she told me that...it was a random local, a random man who just threw a bottle at her like outdoors she was just walking around and I'm not sure if it's night or day.' (Mia, Black African student)

Prisca and Mia appear to assume the acts are racially motivated. When people have experienced oppression, when they have a knowledge of historical oppression, and when the narrative persists that these actions were perpetrated against people that are Black African because of the colour of their skin, it is comprehensible that Prisca and Mia would attribute treatment they perceive as unjust to be underpinned by race. Yet, whilst this may be seen as pessimistic, it is also not unrealistic, with the elimination of oppression seen as unrealistic (Tessman, 2009). In modern British society this can equate to a shared expectation amongst people who are Black African and Asian, that random acts of abuse are racially motivated. This is different to racist language, where participants are verbally assaulted randomly by locals, being called a "fucking paki" (Hannah, StWBr) and the "N word" (Alma, StWBA), thus creating more reasons to insist on assuming assaults are racially motivated while living amongst "the locals". Consequently, the abusive reality outside of university spaces is perceived to be

inescapable, as the depiction of racial assaults was not only confined to the local community but also by students in university spaces,

‘recently a masters student told me that something was thrown at him...I’m quite sure it was a banana or something ridiculous...this was a student actually, yeah student in his halls or something. People had issues with him because I think he was playing music.’ (Mia, Black African student)

Mia shares an experience of a racial assault, highlighting the use of a banana, which can be interpreted as significant, symbolising racism. Throwing a banana at someone who is Black African can be interpreted as synonymous with inferring they are a “monkey”, which has been a derogatory term used against people who are Black African throughout history (Sue et al., 2008). This racist behaviour is a common theme in the sports world; for example, during football games fans chant monkey noises and throw bananas at players who are Black African (Ilopis, 2009; Winner, 2013). To add, this incident occurred within student accommodation, which is not an isolated incident for students who are Black African at predominately White institutions (e.g., Hotchkins and Dancy, 2017; see chapter 5, Worthington et al., 2008).

Lastly, Graham describes his frustration with the only Black African lecturer he had being “ridiculed”,

‘I don’t know I never really thought about it a lot but I get annoyed when they kind of get insulted in a way because I’ve been in lecturers sometimes where last year we had an African lecturer and her accent kept getting ridiculed and mocked and things like that in lecturers so that angers me a lot.’

...

‘Obviously there aren’t any specific things to be said but attendance dropped a lot when she started taking classes. And people would complain about her accent and they would laugh kind of thing. It’s if I can understand it you can understand it, so why are you laughing kind of thing?’

...

‘She was Black yeah she was African.’ (Graham, Black African student)

Research shows that professors who are Black African are generally viewed more negatively, and their knowledge is challenged by students who are White, which causes professors who are Black African to strategically develop methods to soothe them (Allison, 2008; Harlow, 2003; Rollock, 2019). When

considering staff in the UK, there are 14,770 professors, and 91.6% are White, while only 0.6% are Black (Advance HE, 2018), suggesting that in students social worlds to be a researcher is to be White. Graham's perceptions may suggest the "mocking" to be racially motivated and the TDS displaying deficit thinking towards scholars who are Black African and in positions of power, which may be due to minimal - if any - interracial interaction with Black African authority in the classroom. Thus, racism is – again - perceived to be experienced vicariously at Durham, whereby students who are in the ReM group experience a vicarious form of racial abuse by seeing or hearing of someone racialised in their environment (Harrell, 2000). Furthermore, the personal and anecdotal experiences participants internalise as racially motivated underpins the descriptive code – *racial abuse*, demonstrating implicit and explicit perceptions of racism perpetrated by both students and "the locals" in Durham, against students who are Black African and Asian. This constant abuse becomes an emotional toll for students that are Black African.

9.3.3 Emotional Consequences

Participants describe a range of emotional outcomes due to their experience of racism, such as how they feel "tired" and "angry" when they hear the word racism,

'Emotions would be anger, upset, and disappointment.' (Graham, Black African student)

'Like angry or sad um yeah that's what I'd say the two emotions are is like I'm like angry or I'm sad that it's about racism.' (Alma, Black African student)

'I mean angry, I think there is an immediate reaction to say that like um that is something that everyone else is doing and like well miss taking blame off myself.' (Elena, White student)

'I feel tired and angry...tired because...I always have to think about it and it takes a lot of energy out of me and people I care about. I think it's a problem that affects so many things it's really exhausting to just keep on having to deal with it and talk about it, but also angry because it's stupid.' (Mia, Black African student)

Student's perception of hearing the word racism reflects narratives found in Kwansah-Aidoo and Mapedzahama (2018), where the prevalence of racism affects everyday life. The interpretation is that *emotional consequences* of racism are not confined to one geographic area or seldom event, rather they reflect an every-day reality within the social world of individuals that are Black African, living amongst

those that are not. Moreover, the *emotional consequences* participants discuss are not confined to the individual, for participants it impacts those they care about, too. As mentioned above, experiences can be both direct and/or vicarious, also known as *secondhand racism* (Harrell, 2000; Truong et al., 2016) whereby an individual witnessing what they perceive to be racism can be impacted by it, too. Thus, racism can become a widespread phenomenon, whereby it is experienced not only by those on the receiving end of the abuse but by those witnessing such abuse.

For Mia and Jay, living in a space that is predominantly inhabited by people that are white appears to produce a specific awareness of race but also an apparent desensitisation,

‘I think at this point I’ve come a bit numb to it, it’s only when I bring it to the forefront and think about it that it really upsets me.’ (Mia, Black African student)

‘I don’t know because when you say racism like I feel like maybe I been like...conditioned to just not say anything or kind of feel any type of way or pretend it doesn’t exist. So, I don’t really think about it like that.’

...

‘But yeah I don’t really feel anything, it’s more like desensitised.’ (Jay, Black African student)

Through repetition of the same experience people can become detached from the source of their emotional response (e.g., the stimuli). This can be interpreted as an act of ‘self-preservation’, in order to continue being around the source, the response has to be managed. Thus, ‘self-preservation’ can be seen as a helpful adaptation or ‘survival technique’ (see code below), manifesting as desensitisation (Hui, 2017), which is apparent for Jay and for Mia, being “numb”. Also, it could be a result of *racial battle fatigue*, where students who are Black African drain and lose energy manoeuvring in White hostile environments because of abusive racism (Smith et al., 2011). Participants’ construction of a paradoxical awareness of racism (always thinking about it) yet being “numb” to it reflects the necessity for people that are Black African to ultimately adapt to tolerate the abusive actions - mentioned above - against them.

Lastly, students describe how the *emotional consequences* of racism affects their mental health,

‘Yeah I think Durham is not a good place for people’s mental health like definitely. Like personally as well it’s not been the best place for my mental health for sure.’ (Ana, Black African student)

‘I don’t think race in and of itself should play such a role in my life. That’s not because I’m not proud of my race I just notice that it’s more negative than positive and it shouldn’t be that way and it is something that I think about a lot like way too much I think it affects my mental health.’ (Mia, Black African student)

‘As far as like mental health and stuff um it was really poor first year especially like I said being a Black girl in Uni because in college the people you’re around are just literally just people in college so like it’s so hard to like find people that relate to you just in that one college.’ (Ciara, Black African student)

‘Like it really breaks me and I feel so grieved so yeah its really bad and its sad because it’s like a helpless thing.’ (Prisca, Black African student)

‘So how has your mental health been since you’ve been here?’ (Researcher)
‘Ah crap, yeah.’ (Jay, Black African student)

‘Probably worse than it was when I was in school. I feel like at times you go through like kind of sadness and kind of things. But it’s like I said it gets better when you find your people.’ (Graham, Black African student)

When considering the mental health issues of Black Africans in the UK, they are more likely to receive a diagnosis for severe mental health than their White counterparts and are also subjected to being over-diagnosed within mental health services, which creates barriers for them to receive the proper treatment and trust medical professionals (Arday, 2021). Jason Arday (2018) - a scholar who is Black African - suggests, ‘precipitating factors such as racial ascription, stereotyping, stigmatization, discrimination, hyper-surveillance, and a lack of access to opportunities regarding employment exacerbate mental health issues for ethnic minorities’ (p. 7). Thus, students experience of their mental health being negatively affected have been highlighted throughout this chapter and thesis, with factors such as, *multi-layered discrimination*, *racial abuse*, and *racial “microaggressions”* contributing to the deterioration. These factors are considered ‘racialised stressors’ and/or ‘minority status stress’, that makes university life harder for students who are Black African to adjust in a predominately White institution (Mushonga, 2020), which may explain why participants feel like “crap” (Jay) and “depressed” (Ana). For example, in Greer and Chwalisz (2007), they found higher levels of racialised stress for

students who are Black African at predominately White institution compared to Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU), because of the persistent racism and discrimination students experienced – like the experience of the participants in this study. Therefore, racism experienced by students who are Black African and Asian by the student and local community, could have negative mental health consequences for these students at Durham. Thus, the *emotional consequences* described by participants are underpinned by ‘racialised stressors’, which are pervasive in Durham and continue to create a racially exclusive and unhealthy- traumatising environment for students who are Black African.

9.4 The Black African struggle

This interpretative code conveys the intragroup consequences of being Black African in Durham. In particular, how a Black racial identity affects student’s lives in and outside of Durham university spaces. For example: (i) the university is perceived to reveal a false image of diversity leaving students who are Black African to feel like a racial quota and insecure; (ii) the low numbers of students who are Black African combined with the interracial inexperience of “the locals” and the TDS creates a hyper-visible identity that is perceived through racist stereotypes; and (iii) these stereotypes result in students who are Black African feeling lonely and alienated, especially affecting the experiences of women who are Black African. This code is underpinned by six descriptive codes: *Racial statistic*, *False security*, *Black aliens*, *Racist misconceptions*, *Black ostracization*, and *The Hardest Struggle*.

9.4.1 Racial Statistic

Black African representation in UK higher education has increased over the years, however, the majority of representation is within post-92 institutions. Russell Groups - like Durham - struggle increasing their Black African numbers, which may potentially be explained by concepts displayed throughout this thesis (e.g., racism, White Insecurity, unconscious bias in admissions). Therefore, the absence of students who are Black African in traditional “elite” universities like Durham is not uncommon and participants expressed their experience of low Black African representation throughout the interviews:

‘Um in my course I’ve seen one mixed-race girl...I know for a fact there’s one other Black girl in my course but last year she didn’t really go to any lectures. Um I just recently saw another one and I think either she’s new or didn’t go to any lectures either last year. So, you would say not that many. I’d say 3 max or maybe 4.’ (Ciara, Black African student)

‘Like I’m the only Black person in my college and there are like 270 people in my college. ... ‘St. Mary’s and I think I’m the only of colour person in every lecture except 1 or 2.’ (Ana, Black African student)

‘I’m like 1 of 2 other black girls who do languages and there is no Black boys.’ (Alma, Black African student)

An interpretation made is participants have an awareness of their peers’ racial identities within university spaces, which in turn, appears to affect the social realities of students who are Black African at Durham, in a multitude of ways. Firstly, feeling like a statistic,

‘I remember in first year one of my friends talked to me about how she was really glad to be in Durham, but she was a bit worried because I’m just paraphrasing but felt like she was a statistic. In terms of like she was worried that the only reason she got in was because Durham could fill this kind of racial quota. I’m not sure if Durham kind of has any kind of racial quotas that they try to explicitly hit but I remember that was interesting.’ (Winston, Black African student)

Being perceived as a racial statistic is a lived example of ‘quota-fillers’ described in the chapter “Archaistic Acceptance: Elite formations”, whereby students of the ReM and White working class are seen by their peers as tokens and unqualified to be Durham students. The identification of people as racial statistics encourages consideration of the motivation for Durham wanting to increase representation, which can be interpreted as the university having insincere intentions for increasing Black African representation, conveying the ‘quota-filler’ narratives perpetuated by the TDS. Thus, students’ self-identification as a *racial statistic* is underpinned by their concern of the University using their Blackness, seeking to reduce the negative connotations of underrepresenting people that are Black African and South Asian rather than actively promoting diversity and inclusion (illustrated further in chapter 10).

9.4.2 False Security

Secondly, the perceived struggle continues by Ezekiel’s comments of a campaign election,

‘Um and then at the moment we got this whole student Uni and election thing where for the first time ever we have guaranteed well almost guaranteed to have the first person of colour become the president of the students union and like the mostly likely candidate is this black girl, but now there is this whole campaign to like call the election off and like do it again with more candidates and like it stinks with racism. Um and it’s one of those things with me and my Black mates where over the past week it has really hit home on how people would really want to stop our progression.’ (Ezekiel, Black African student)

According to Welch and Sigelman (2011) negative racial attitudes people who are White have towards Black African leadership has declined over the years, however people who are White still view Black Africans as less hardworking and less intelligent. Similarly, Hajnal (2006) notes that ‘Black leadership spurs White backlash’ (p. 4), and historically Black progression in race relations has been correlated with ‘negative White solidarity’ aka *White Insecurity*. This may be because people who are White perceive their social status and their mis-constructed racial hierarchy to be threatened, so they mobilise and develop communities to reverse Black African progression (Stenner, 1995, as cited in Hajnal, 2006). Therefore, an interpretation could be students who are White that hold anti-Black/African ideas perceive Black leadership as a threat to their experience and the University’s culture. Ezekiel continues to describe the impact of the campaign racism and the ways it affects students who are Black African relationship with the university “as a whole”,

‘Like the opportunity to have a Black [campaign representative] would be like a huge thing for Durham and now there’s this minority people of students who want to stop that and it made me reconsider my relationship between me and the university as a whole. Um it’s yeah a really strange one I think.’

...

‘Um and yeah the discussions of the past week about it have been...we feel like we’ve been in a false sense of security in Durham as Black students like we feel like Durham has almost become a place where we’re accepted and now this is pushing us back to where we were when we started.’ (Ezekiel, Black African student)

Ezekiel’s comments are perceived to place responsibility on the University for their inability to protect the candidate who is Black African in the campaign from racism. Therefore, the “false sense of security” described by students who are Black African can be viewed as the University space being able to provide a façade, whereby students who are Black African can feel accepted but that this acceptance is underpinned by a lack of racial focus, hence the descriptive code *false security*. Similarly, within the

socio-political climate since the lynching of the hero George Floyd, the focus on race illuminated racism throughout the country (note: interviews were completed before George Floyd lynching). Communities, workspaces, and social groups that may have never discussed or consciously considered race before did. This intense focus on race and racism may be interpreted as an opportunity to develop and learn but is also an opportunity to be more aware of those who have racist beliefs, which appears to have made the students question how accepted they feel. The point at which this perceived feeling of acceptance is removed, appears to be when racial identity is overtly involved.

9.4.3 *Black Aliens*

Participants who are Black African comment about the University separating them,

‘Um at the moment like the Black community in Durham is sort of like fragmented and like thrown about.’ (Ezekiel, Black African student)

‘I feel like they literally put like one Black person in each building and like “integration for you”. I think there is only one example that I’ve heard of like a Black person in the same building, like you know what I’m saying.’

...

‘So like I was in this building, some guy was in another building, and everybody was in different buildings and it’s kind of just like you could pop a question saying ‘hey would you feel more uncomfortable being in a more diverse building’, you know what I’m saying. Cause like how can you have a Black person in a building with 80 people?’ (Jay, Black African student)

Participants’ perceptions indicate the university’s display of diversity is at the surface level, perceiving this to be at the expense of their experience, placing them across different colleges. Thus, the university is depicted as incompetent with regards to Black African racial inclusivity, with students feeling then helpless, as if they have “no autonomy” (Jay). Moreover, the combination of low Black African representation and Black fragmenting constructs a hyper-visible existence,

‘I think you kind of recognise you’re like a visible minority.’ (Hazel, Black African student)

‘Like I think if I walked around Durham town for like an hour people will notice me because I’m not the norm.’ (Ezekiel, Black African student)

‘I think as well you do get stared at a lot when you’re like walking down the street or something. I don’t know I always tell myself it’s because I look good (laughs) but it could be because I’m Black but I don’t know.’ (Ciara, Black African student)

Research suggests Black bodies are ‘out of place’ in predominately White spaces where problematic whiteness is normalised (Puwar, 2004; Joseph-Salisbury, 2019). Participants recognising their hyper-visibility contributes to the lack of diversity in and outside of university spaces, and the TDS and “locals” inexperience of interracial interaction – as previously mentioned. Ezekiel explains this inexperience by discussing a relationship with his friend,

‘Um like I have one of my mates from first year who I lived with in second year a couple weeks into Uni he told me that I was his first Black friend and before me he never spoken to a Black person before.’

...

‘So like there is some people at Durham who would have never spoken to a Black person at school, would never speak to a Black person in University and then when they get to the work place and will be in the work place with no black people so they can go their whole lives not having an actual meaningful conversation with a person of colour.’ (Ezekiel, Black African student)

He proceeds by mentioning people with no early Black African interaction “harbour bias” towards resilient minorities and view them as “aliens”. Participants like Ciara (StWBA) come from a more diverse background in England. Thus, in her social world being Black is “normal”, which is why she may think it’s “weird” that she is stared at so much. To add, in the global population people who are White are considered the lowest on the racial scale hence ‘global racial minority’. Therefore, the TDS misinformed social construction of students who are Black African being *Black aliens* is underpinned by their inexperience with Black African contact. Thus, the amalgamation of the juxtapose communities racial incompetence and the university’s lack of diversity contributes to the multitude of struggles in the Black African experience.

9.4.4 Racist Misconceptions

Participants comment on the racial pressures being “aliens” at Durham by virtue of being Black,

'I don't know I feel like there's a constant pressure especially being the only Black guy in my course as well.' (Jay, Black African student)

Historically, one of the racist originators of scientific racism Immanuel Kant, "objectively" socially misconstrued racial categorisations claiming Black Africans as mentally inferior to people who are White (Jablonski, 2012: see chapter 3). Thus, in Jay's social reality his Black African identity may be attached to feeling "academic" and "racial pressure" from socially mis-constructed ideologies of racism, because of historical and contemporary *White Insecurity* manifesting globally in society and education (see chapter 3). Mia concurs with this interpretation,

'like recently there's been in the news a political advisor who use to argue that blacks have low IQs and stuff you got kind of that disgusting obviously overt form of racism, but then you also have people that seem to think that because you're black and working class you just find things difficult or you just don't work hard or you just are not good enough and I have no idea why people think that...I definitely think that it's driven by racist misconceptions.' (Mia)

Mia assumes it is racism because there is no scientific evidence to suggest race is synonymous with an intellectual hierarchy. Therefore, the *racist misconceptions* associated with Black African identity in education is perceived to be underpinned by *White Insecurity* which creates an unseen experience of anxiety amongst students who are Black African.

Racist misconceptions affect Alma's fear of being stereotyped,

'I don't want people to label me and be like oh God she is going on about this again.'

...

'I think like being judged and I feel awkward like yeah if I say I wasn't to agree on something or because I think this person is marking my essay, so I don't want to be burning bridges. So, yea I think it's the idea I don't want to be playing into the stereotype of like this kind of angry black person who is trying to make everything a race kind of thing.' (Alma, Black African student)

Alma avoiding being labelled as the "angry Black person" could be associated with her race-gender identity and being in a predominately White space. Women who are Black African have been socially mis-constructed as the "Angry Black Woman" in society, whereby negative stereotypes (e.g., overtly aggressive, loud, and threatening) are coupled with their identity, due to redirecting actions of the real

aggressor to the victim i.e., women (Ashely, 2014; Jones and Norwood, 2016). This resonates historically as the 'Sapphire' label - 'a precursor to "angry Black woman"' (Ashely, 2014, p. 30) – which stereotyped Black African woman's resistance as matriarchal and aggressive, because it threatened 'white patriarchal definitions of femininity' (Collins, 1986, p. 517). Also, according to Jones and Norwood (2016), 'White fragility' is perceived to be one causal of this negative stereotype. White fragility leads to 'tone policing', which is an implicit or explicit tactic used by those with privilege to silence and focus on the tone of an individual's response to a threat besides the actual content (Saad, 2020, p. 46). Therefore, *racist misconceptions* of students who are Black African are underpinned further by living in a predominately White environment, where White fragility is perceived to create fears of being "judged", "awkward", and labelled the "angry Black person".

Alma's fears persist with the researcher,

'I think it's cool you're doing this as well. I think you're like brave for doing this, I'd be like scared as well if I had to do this id be scared people would come for me!! Or they'd be like "can we have a look at this?"' (laughs)

...

'I don't trust this place, I don't like it, I just would be scared someone would come to me and be like "tell me who these people are that are like giving you these interviews", so like yeah.'
(Alma, Black African student)

IR highlights the disadvantages accompanied with the Black African and Asian student experience (Pilkington, 2013). However, revealing IR at Durham could damage their reputation and in order to keep that reputation, Durham must control narratives, hence why Alma is "scared" for the researcher. An interpretation made is the University is aware of their racist institution but would rather keep it internal so problematic Whiteness and their prestigious reputation can proceed. So, in Alma's social world *White Insecurity* is the reason why the university is afraid to change, which may explain the false sense of security (e.g., "I don't trust this place") participants who are Black African have while studying at the university.

9.4.5 Black Ostracization

The struggle continues for students who are Black African feeling alienated on nights out,

'I think the lack of diverse events kind of options within the Durham city and the Durham student kind of thing. There aren't really events that kind of appeal to Black kids like me at all and things like that and there's not enough I'd say kind of a light shining on there.' (Graham, Black African student)

'I think as well maybe no nights out because obviously like nights out is like a big thing in University, like their music tastes are like really different from like my music tastes or like other Black peoples music taste that I know.' (Ciara, Black African student)

As mentioned in the previous chapter, nights out at Durham are perceived to be anti-Black and partying is typically a "big thing" for undergraduates at university. Even though nights out may be County Durham's responsibility, the music is perceived to still accommodate students who are White. Also, Graham perceives the university events to be for people not like him and it makes him feel "excluded" and "not welcomed". Thus, it is further perceived that the university accommodates a culture constructed as White while simultaneously excluding a culture constructed as Black African, which constructs a more ostracised experience for students who are Black African.

The *Black ostracization* endured by most participants who are Black African appear to result in a lonely student experience,

'Um kind of made me feel a bit lonely first term first year because I came here by myself, so I didn't know anyone. Um and obviously because of the collegiate system you kind of stay in your college and in my college there wasn't that many Black people either.' (Ciara, Black African student)

'In Durham, the university is already lonely anyways but like when you go to Uni and you're Black it's even more lonelier cause I don't know why, they can be nice to you but they'll never go the extra mile and be like "hey let's chill outside of Uni" or if they're doing something they're not like "oh you want to come".' (Jay, Black African student)

According to Hawkey (scholar who is White and female) and Cacioppo (scholar who is White and male) (2010), loneliness is when an individual's social needs are unmet (p. 218), feeling socially isolated. Thus, people can live alone but not feel alone - or vice versa. Ciara and Jay seem to suggest as Black Africans they are lonelier because of experiencing *alienation* from the students and the university. Research suggests *alienation* is the 'maladjustment or lack of fit between the minority student and the

institution' (Cabrera and Nora, 1994, p. 388). However, in Durham's case, many participants perceive the students and institution to exhibit exclusionary practices that contribute to their exclusion. Thus, the loneliness of students who are Black African may be underpinned by the students and university actions that influence them to feel ostracised i.e., *Black ostracization*.

9.4.6 The Hardest Struggle (female alienation)

Furthermore, through an intersectional approach, this perceived *Black ostracization* is potentially hardest amongst women who are Black African,

'Um on a gender basis I don't know I would say in like university spaces and academic spaces I haven't felt like discriminated because I'm a woman. I would more say because I'm a Black woman than anything else.' (Hazel, Black African student)

Hazel makes it clear her race-gender identity of being a "Black woman" is why she faces discrimination in Durham. As mentioned above, negative racial stereotypes (e.g., "angry Black woman") of women who are Black African manifest in society and are perceived to be in university spaces. Furthermore, participants mention race-gender disparities amongst students who are Black African,

'I feel like maybe as a Black woman...I feel like a Black woman would have a harder time being in Durham than a Black guy.' (Jay, Black African student)

'I know there's definitely a difference between Black guys and Black girls but I don't know why the difference is there to be honest they just have it easier I think the guys just like people just want to be friends with them, like the White girls definitely want a piece of them too.' (Ciara, Black African student)

According to Bany, Robnett, and Feliciano (2014), interracial intimacy amongst Blacks and "non-Blacks" has shown great disparities amongst young people, especially females who are Black African. In the study, they were the highest excluded group because of their perceived physical attraction by people who are White and social disapproval (e.g., hostile behaviour or personalities) by Latinos and Asians (Bany et al., 2014). This could be why Hazel describes dating as "structural self-harm",

'But like speaking specifically in terms of like relationships and stuff I think my friend she described it like quite perfectly when she was like going on tinder (dating app) as a black woman is structural self-harm.' (Hazel, Black African student)

Moreover, research suggests early interracial friendships has a significantly positive affect on young adult interracial intimacy (Shiao, 2018). Thus, it is interpreted that the TDS racially homogenise adolescence affects the dating life and interracial experience for women who are Black African. Therefore, *the hardest struggle* is underpinned by their race-gender identity being racialised as hyper-sexual (as stated in chapter 8: 'Jezebel stereotype') and/or hostile ("angry Black woman") – encompassing *the hardest struggle*. Lastly, Hannah summarises the struggles of women in the ReM,

'when you're a women of colour right, you have woman of colour, you have woman, you have of colour and most, probably, most likely working class and so every aspect of your identity is being attacked. Or, or every aspect of your identity is causing you some sort of like social disadvantage essentially.'

...

'it is essentially like, if you're, if you have more than, if you have more oppression you have more incentive to do more kind of thing, yeah.' (Hannah, Brown student)

Therefore, it must be highlighted that feminists who are Black African (e.g., Kimberlé Crenshaw, Heidi Mirza, and Nicola Rollock) have consistently illuminated to the intersectional inequalities amongst their group, which is why anti-racist scholar Ibram X. Kendi (2019) suggests, 'a theory for Black women is a theory for humanity' (p. 190-91). So, the descriptive code, *the hardest struggle* is reinforced by the alienation of women who are Black African at Durham University. To conclude, the interpretative code 'the Black African Struggle', is constructed by the amalgamation of the five descriptive codes, *Racial statistic*, *False security*, *Black aliens*, *Black ostracization*, and *the Hardest struggle*, whereby the intragroup consequences of being Black African in Durham, form struggles for students who are Black African in and outside of Durham university spaces.

9.5 Survival techniques (Black African capital)

'We ain't meant to survive, 'cause it's a setup
And even though you're fed up
Huh, ya got to keep your head up'
- 2Pac, (1993) *Keep ya head up*

This interpretative code extends Bourdieu's ideas of capital in relation to race and ethnicity by exploring the techniques students who are Black African use to acquire social, cultural, and economic capital. Therefore, this code highlights the resilient strategies participants who are Black African use in order to integrate at Durham. For instance, the social exclusion of students who are Black African results in two zones of comfort - isolation or intra-racial connections. Secondly, students who are Black African use internal 'locus of control' to forge their own intra-racial spaces by creating race/ethnic ReM-based societies to avoid retention and feel a sense of belonging. Thirdly, some participants who are Black African are perceived to view the Black struggle hardest amongst all other racial groups (e.g., *Afro-pessimism*). Lastly, students are perceived to disassociate from their Black African identity or same-raced peers by compromising their Blackness and/or harbouring in-group favouritism to integrate with the TDS to acquire capital, which is seen as a form of betrayal. These techniques are perceived to help them survive the racialised environments that socially exclude and alienate them. Therefore, the interpretative code 'Survival techniques' are underpinned by six descriptive codes, *Comfort zones*, *Forging spaces*, *Intra-racial connections*, *POC conflict*, *Compromising Blackness*, and *Black African betrayers*. These survival techniques are considered different forms of Black African cultural capital to feel racially included at a traditional "elite" university like Durham.

9.5.1 *Comfort Zones*

Sustaining and forming positive interpersonal relationships is considered an essential universal need for human beings (Baumeister and Leary, 1995). A developing theme throughout the interviews was when participants felt racially excluded at Durham they sought comfort, achieving this through one of two identified techniques - isolation and/or developing intra-racial connections. To start, many participants who were Black African had similarities in one of their most comfortable spaces at Durham,

'At home (laughs), literally like on [area of the city].' (Ciara, Black African student)

'My room.' (Jay, Black African student)

'Probably like in my room on facetime with my friend from back home.' (Ana, Black African student)

'I feel most comfortable in my room.' (Aimee, Black African student)

According to Narayanan, Tai, and Kinias (2013), two typical responses to social exclusion are to (i) actively pursue social connections and/or (ii) create further exclusion – many participants who are Black African describe the latter. An interpretation made for their isolation could be through Ana's reasoning of avoiding "awkward interactions", which may be from the TDS and the pervasive problematic Whiteness exhibited by the university. To continue, the social exclusion and lack of diversity at Durham makes Black African encounters important for people like Ana,

'I barely encounter any...Because when I see someone who is Black I feel like should I approach them and say hi? Cause like I remember when I was walking back to my college there was a Black boy who was walking back to the library and we smiled at each other, like I would never do that in London.' (Ana, Black African student)

She continues to explain why she felt the desire to approach him,

'Because just like a sense of comfort. When I feel so racially isolated and seeing someone who is like you can be comforting and like a form of security I guess.' (Ana, Black African student)

When considering social connections, the need to belong is very important (Narayanan et al., 2013). If the university and TDS socially exclude certain racial groups, the need for a student who is Black African to belong must emanate from someone who looks like them, which may be why Ana feels "a sense of comfort" and "security" when seeing another student who is Black African. Also, this could explain why some participants' friendship groups are like Graham's, "obviously I'm friends with more Black people here than White people". Thus, from participants' perceptions, a racial connection may be needed for students who are Black African to have their desired experience while studying in a racialised environment like Durham. Furthermore, when feeling an absence of intra-racial connections, the antithesis approach students who are Black African take at Durham is to isolate themselves away. This may be a response to their perception of the TDS creating a racial-culturally incompetent White cohort who has been 'absent diverse opportunity', their isolation therefore being a 'Survival technique', creating their own *comfort zones*.

9.5.2 Forging Spaces

To actively seek intra-racial connections, students who are Black African and Brown described a need to “forge” their own pathways, since the University is perceived to not provide support,

‘I think there are kind of like two parts of Durham. There’s a very like upper echelon, very White space that you just don’t really engage in if you’re not part of that crowd and then there’s the kind of group that you force on yourself because you have to as kind of like well if I don’t have that how am I going to survive.’ (Hannah, Brown student)

‘yeah the space is not for us and we’re constantly told the space is not for us and so yeah.’

...

‘I think it kind of makes me determined to forge my own space and stuff like that.’ (Hazel, Black African student)

Participants convey an ‘us against them’ mentality, feeling the university space forces them to forge and accept a separate social environment, perceived to be imperative for their survival. Their subsequent responses reflect Pierre et al., (2001) ‘locus of control’ - an ideology derived from social learning theory (see code, ‘Camouflaged curse’), whereby individuals determine their ability to control events in their lives. Participants’ display elements of both an external and internal locus of control; their perception of the external controls in their student experiences not benefitting them appears to be influencing their adoption of an internal locus of control, underpinning their decision to take action and thus govern their life events (Pierre et al., 2001). Extensive research suggests students who are Black African in predominately White institutions form strategies to help them face oppressive challenges (Hotchkins and Dancy, 2017; Shavers and Moore, 2014). Therefore, another ‘Survival technique’ is *forging spaces*, whereby students actively seek to create intra-racial spaces when being racially excluded from the TDS and the university to acquire social capital and/or feel racially included.

9.5.3 Intra-racial connections

An identified outcome of student’s actions forging their own spaces was the creation of race/ethnic ReM-based societies. The majority of participants who were Black African shared their perceived utility of these spaces, with many participants sharing that they are members of them. The criteria of one society is explained by Prisca,

‘It’s an association and so you don’t have to sign up. It’s basically for anyone who identifies as a person of colour. It’s not just for like Black people ... and its’ not just for like Asian people or any other ethnic minority it’s for everyone including international students as well as anyone and everyone across the spectrum who isn’t White.’ (Prisca, Black African student)

Forming and/or joining spaces absent of students who are White at predominately White institutions has been emphasised in much research. Specifically, Hotchkins and Dancy (2015) – two scholars who are Black African and male – found that student organisations that are Black were created as a resilient strategy to avoid ‘normalcy of Whiteness’ (p. 47) and the racism students encountered in residence halls, hence further activism to ‘flip the script’ and use ‘resilient minority’ (ReM). Thus, an interpretation made is race/ethnic ReM-based societies established in Durham are for students to “actively seek out non-White people” (Elesha, StWBA), feel racially included, and avoid White contact to be in a comfortable space. Participants explain the significance further,

‘So like [society] has always been a good space for me to go to when I’ve had enough of kind of the Durham general feel. They’ve always been very good at like having open spaces where you could go and kind of talk and obviously everyone relates to you on some sort of level, because of the shared experiences on whatever it may be.’ (Hannah, Brown student)

‘Yeah [society] is really good. Like yeah I think they’re like necessary I think they’re a good force in Durham because it can be quite hard for other people who are not White or would experience Durham in the same way as you necessarily.’ (Elesha, Black African student)

‘Well I’m a part of [society] and I think it’s great in the sense of like we created an environment where people can like opt in to like being involved if that makes sense.’ (Hazel, Black African student)

Participants appear to convey emotional and social benefits of their society membership. This is positioned as a strategy that increases their power and sense of belongingness at the university through interpersonal relationships, which again is known as a fundamental human trait to survive in society and UK higher education (Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Yorke, 2016). Therefore, the *intra-racial connections* through societies are underpinned by Black Africans and resilient minorities sense of belonging by the creation of this “safe space” (Hazel) that is void of White contact.

Moreover, other participants who are Black African spoke about their society tailored to only students who are Black African,

‘Um right now I literally just go to my seminars and lectures and just go home I don’t really do much other than maybe nights out, nights out are alright because I got my group of people like most of them are from [BA society] so majority Black.’

...

‘I think it helps a lot to be honest like when you come to a place like Durham and you think that there’s no one like you and you feel like you can’t relate, you don’t know if you’re going to stay the duration of time for your degree requirement. Like [BA society] is there for support like I said there are not that many nights out that I would go to here, but like [BA society] kind of like makes that a thing.’ (Ciara, Black African student)

Student drop-out is usually lowest amongst prestigious Universities in the UK (Roberts, 2020). However, when broken down into ethnic groups Black Africans tend to have the highest drop-out rate in UK higher education (Senior 2012, Wilkins and Lall, 2011). Thus, a sense of belonging is vital to retention, attainment, and success (Thomas, 2012). When considering same-race student organisations, research suggests students who are Black African have a healthier student experience, which can lead to better grade attainment, combat racist stereotyping, and reduce retention (Harper, 2009; Hotchkins and Dancy, 2017). Therefore, in Ciara’s social world, students who are Black African questioning their commitment to finish studying at Durham, connect with a [BA society] helping to reduce retention - even though two participants who are Black African tried to leave Durham and one was successful despite being a member of a race/ethnic ReM-based society. Thus, *intra-racial connections* are another ‘Survival technique’ for students who are Black African, allowing them to “feel comfortable” in a [BA society] they “love” and “feel nice to be included in something” where they can “meet other Black people” and thus, separating themselves to acquire social capital.

9.5.4 POC Conflict

Participants involved in the [BA society] consider their struggles to be different from other people of “colour”, which is why they do not attend other race/ethnic ReM-based societies:

‘I just don’t like it when people kind of group Black people with other Asians and stuff like that, obviously I respect their individual struggle, but I feel like with us it’s a lot...deeper! And more kind of harmful so when you group us together I think it belittles the Black struggle. So

that's why I don't go to [society] but it is good for those people as well.' (Graham, Black African student)

'Me personally, I'm not involved with [society] because I feel like there are ethnic minorities who will still be racist towards Black people.'

...

'I just feel like Black people wouldn't be people of colour because not everyone supports Black people.' (Ciara, Black African student)

Graham uses inclusive ('us') language to demonstrate his group membership and perception of a hierarchical struggle with regards to race. It appears his construction of the difficulties people who are Black African face being 'worse' than other ReM groups is associated with the idea of struggle and thus negative social experiences being accumulative, leading to more severe outcomes (Arday, 2018b; Chapman and Bhopal, 2019; Rollock et al., 2014; Suliman et al., 2009). In the UK, there are different social domains that have been highlighted as 'worse' for people who are Black African, the Lammy report (Lammy, 2017) with regards to the justice system; in the domain of healthcare, people who are Black African are identified to be discriminated against (Bhopal, 2007; Psorinos et al., 2011); in education, statistics and research identify anti-Black/African racism to be an underpinning explanatory factor for disparities in expulsion rates, "attainment" gap, access and participation compared to most other race/ethnic groups (Demie, 2019; Feagin, 1991; Gillborn, 1997; Richardson, 2015) (see chapter 5). These social areas are discussed in politics, research, and interpersonal conversation, which may have informed the participant's interpretation of people who are Black African having a "more harmful" experience. Participants' approach may be understood through the concept of *Afro-pessimism* (Gordon, Menzel, Shulman, and Syedullah, 2018), whereby the historical and contemporary oppression of people who are Black African 'cannot be compared with "nonblack" people of colour' (Ray, Randolph, Underhill, and Luke, 2017, p. 150).

Moreover, participants' social experiences of racism being perpetrated by people of different ReM backgrounds appears to have influenced their expectation that they may experience racism in the society they are discussing, influencing them to make a decision to avoid it. Likewise, Winston sharing his confusion in an interaction with another student of the ReM where the student's behaviour may coincide with Graham and Ciara perceptions,

‘there was this guy and I think he is from like a middle eastern background and this was like a year ago and I remember him being very kind of...we barely knew each other but he thought it was ok to make jokes based on the colour of my skin. Um I remember that was interesting because I clearly thinking you clearly know out of all people what it feels like to be judged on the colour of your skin and we’re both kind of on the same boat and when we talk about just the experience of ethnic minorities in the UK in general. Out of all the people why would you be the one who thinks that is ok because surely you’d understand.’ (Winston, Black African student)

Considering the concept of racism and the participant’s interpreted hierarchical racial structure, the suggestion is that those described as “ethnic minorities” still hold ideological social power that people who are Black African do not, enabling them to perpetrate racism against people who are Black African. Thus, it seems that the societies some students who are Black African are seeking to engage with are those where they will be exempt from feeling socially vulnerable to racism, removing the possibility of that by having a space they solely occupy. In sum, the descriptive code *POC (people of colour) conflict* is highlighted by the ‘Afro-pessimistic’ viewpoints of some participants, whereby people who are Black African are perceived to have the hardest struggle amid the socially mis-constructed biopsychosocial racial hierarchy.

9.5.5 *Compromising Blackness*

Another technique perceived to be used to survive at Durham for students who are Black African is self-adapting to the racialised environment by downplaying their Blackness,

‘I remember maybe in the beginning of my first year not feeling comfortable talking about being a part of [BA society] because there is a tendency, it’s something I’ve picked up going to grammar school and middle-class white schools. It’s just like you try to hide under to play your race sometimes that’s the only way to assimilate as it were because some people for some reason find your blackness offensive and by that I mean because a lot of White people don’t experience race in the same way and they don’t think it is a problem or thing.’ (Mia, Black African student)

There is a social stigma around Black Africans who embrace a pro-Black racial identity and anti-White beliefs (Fuller, 2016; Herring, Jankowski, and Brown, 1999). Mia appears to have been influenced by her previous contact with people that are White during education, interpreting there to be a benefit of assimilating, feeling more comfortable. These actions appear a response to wanting to mediate her interpreted expectation of people who are White being offended by social actions that are associated

with a Black identity. The *assimilation strategy* has been discussed as an individual adopting the cultures of the dominant group while simultaneously separating from their own (Berry, 2006). This may be why - outside of herself - Mia expresses other students who are Black African disassociate from the [BA society],

‘I’d mention it to my close closer friends basically and funny enough even mentioning it to some black people was like not taboo but like some black people resonated with the fact that they didn’t want to associate with [BA society] either.’ (Mia, Black African student)

Thus, to fit in it is perceived students who are Black African must cater to the White groups (e.g., the typical Durham student) while abandoning their own social spaces. The idea of students who are White being offended by Black African identity suggests they have an internal insecurity, potentially feeling a threat against their social world. Jay’s response was to feel a need to “pick a side” of the socially misconstructed Black-White binary. Additionally, Mia’s reference to students who are White not having the same experience regarding race, i.e., ‘they don’t think it is a problem or thing’, reflects the concept of a colour-blind approach. Warikoo and De Novais’ (2014) explored this concept, sharing 24 out of 47 students who are White at an “elite” predominately White institution expressed a *colour-blind frame*, whereby individuals perceive race to have diminutive social meaning. Thus, they proposed that racism has declined, making it “morally superior” (p. 865) to not see race – despite problematic Whiteness implicitly surrounding them. Therefore, Mia’s perceptions regarding students who are White at Durham may expose a response based on personal insecurity and/or an adopted *colour-blind frame*, restricting students who are Black African to embrace their race/ethnic identity and have a racially inclusive experience.

Participants who are from the [BA society] shared further experiences regarding assimilation,

‘When I first came to Uni it was kind of like I kind of had to change my name. My name is like [name] so it isn’t too difficult to pronounce but they were making such like a massive deal about my name, “like oh can we not just call you [name] instead whatever, whatever”. So then I just change my name to just [name] to shorten it. Yeah it was almost just like you kind of had to conform to what they kind of wanted from you and if you didn’t they would call you like difficult or whatever.’ (Jay, Black African student)

An interpretation made is that Jay felt forced to assimilate in response to his experience of *racial "microaggressions"*. Jay continues to discuss his perceptions of students who are White influencing peers that are Black African within the university,

‘Yeah like the groups are like they’re just homogenous if that makes sense. It’s kind of just like yeah and if I see a Black person chilling with a White person’s group it’s almost a bit like he’s had to compromise his blackness in order to fit inside of that group. So, I kind of feel like they’re not really accepting, it’s either you be like me or go away.’ (Jay, Black African student)

According to Jay, it is perceived that students who are Black African must “compromise” their Blackness and be like the TDS in order to fit in. Similar to Graham,

‘when I went to college I had to be a certain type of Black to be more accepted, because there were other Black guys in our college who are I think more...obviously they’re not White but their cultural they kind of identify more with White kids and obviously the White kids are more accepting of them.’ (Graham, Black African student)

Graham is perceived to identify cultural associations with race, and to be Black African and accepted, students may need to inhibit cultural norms that are considered White. Considerable research suggests students who are Black African must compromise their Blackness to fit into a predominately White campus by “acting White” (Feagin and Sikes, 1995; Fordham and Ogbu, 1986; Stinson, 2011). According to Fryer and Torelli (2010), ‘acting white exists if there are statistically significant racial differences in the relationship between social status and academic achievement’ (e.g., getting good grades, raising hand in class) (p. 382). The burden of “acting White” theory by Fordham and Ogbu (1986) – scholars who are Black African – suggested students that were Black African achieved higher academic success when conforming to the dominant culture by “acting White”. However, research has combated this theory, for instance Spencer et al., (2001) suggests self-esteem amongst Black African is a positive indicator of low Eurocentrism (e.g., White values) resulting in higher grades than pupils who are Black African with high Eurocentrism. (It must be stated regardless of criticism Ogbu has felt misinterpreted in this article, Ogbu, 2004). This term – “acting White” - is controversial in regard to education and identity because it’s meaning consists of socially mis-constructed stereotypes about a race that are deemed to have quantifiable benefits, creating a bio-racial hierarchy, despite race not being biologically synonymous with academic achievement. Thus, placing students who are Black African into a more “inferior” social role, negating the heterogeneity of racial experiences (Olitsky, 2015). Also, “acting

white” may be considered a complex concept, with people who are White that adopt a *colour-blind frame* preferring to consider the social importance of other characteristics (e.g., gender, class, sexuality) rather than race. Therefore, the assimilation of students who are Black African is underpinned by the descriptive code *compromising Blackness*, a form of Black African cultural capital at Durham, whereby the only way to survive with peers that are White, is for students that are Black African to “abandon your whole culture” (Jay) and adopt the habitus of the *White culture* (illustrated in chapter 8) in order to fit in at Durham and feel racially included.

9.5.6 Black African Betrayers (BAB)

Furthermore, Graham describes how students who are Black African may compromise their Blackness because they are “scared” and “maybe just want to fit in”. He also shares feeling “betrayed” when the students who compromise don’t accept their own peers who are Black African,

‘I feel they’re very kind of dismissive of people like us, of course you can’t ignore us but they’re kind of like...I always describe it as people who want to be the only Black person in the room. Like they love being, especially in like a White place I found like why they love the typical Black guy who brings the kind of culture thing but then that black guy who gets accepted doesn’t want another black guy also involved in that situation. And I feel like a lot of those Black students who fit in they don’t want to be associated with other Black people because you know we’re the Black group you know, those kind of things.’ (Graham, Black African student)

In Graham’s social world men who are Black African that are accepted in the TDS group, desire to have that space for themselves. However, this may seem like a paradox with developing codes in this study and other research suggesting being the only Black African in a majority White space is not an ideal experience (Currant, 2015; Johnson and Joseph-Salisbury, 2018; Lander, 2015; Mwangi et al., 2018; Wright, 2010). Graham’s perceptions may suggest male students who are Black African are accepted by embracing views of racial ‘in-group’ (TDS) favouritism and ‘out-group’ (StWBA) discrimination (Mei, Zhang, and Li, 2020). Sociologist William Sumner (1906) - a scholar who is White - developed two different social group concepts, (i) *in-group*, meaning members feel they belong to a group that have similarities to their own identity, and (ii) *out-groups*, where members do not belong and are outsiders (Hasler et al., 2017). *In-groups* may feel despise or competition in association to an *out-group*, for example, displaying negative behaviours such as racism and sexism. Therefore, the student who is

Black African may “want to be the only Black person in the room” because of favouring an identity associated with the TDS. Conversely, students who are Black African that fill this perceived role of Black betrayal could want social security for present (e.g., fitting in, as mentioned by Graham) and future (career) capital, due to few Black Africans being accepted and acquiring cultural, social, and economic capital in White spaces. This apparent social security results in *out-group* discrimination towards their same-raced peers by feeling the need to compete for a limited opportunity to acquire capital.

Furthermore, when considering Graham’s working-class background, the perceived betrayers may disassociate from people like him because they are “middle-class minded”. According to Moore (2008) – a woman scholar who is Black African – the “middle-class minded” is one type of Black middle-class identity where the Black middle-class integrate and favour White middle-class ideology – which at times embodies anti-blackness – and separate themselves from people who are Black African and working class (Wallace, 2017). Thus, the intersection of race and class may play a role in this perceived betrayal (for more on Black raceclasses, see chapter 5). Therefore, students who are Black African perceiving to compromise their Blackness to fit in the *in-group* is embodied by the descriptive code, *Black African betrayers*, whereby students who are Black African disassociate with their peers who are Black African to acquire capital and be accepted into a White space, leaving students like Graham feeling “annoyed”, “angry”, and “disappointed” for their supposed betrayal. Moreover, it is interpreted that in order for students who are Black African to survive and feel racially included in the dominant group is to assimilate by *compromising Blackness* and/or embody a *Black African betrayer* identity, and thus exhibiting a TDS identity does not only equate to White bodies but Black bodies as well. Similar to how problematic Whiteness can be displayed by multiple races (the argument for Whiteness to be only tied to skin colour, see chapter 4), so the TDS who is Black is perceived to be a Black African betrayer (adjacent to Contemporary Sambos illustrated in chapter 4). In sum,

Compromising Blackness + out-group discrimination + “middle-class minded” = Black African
Betrayal (TDS)

9.6 Conclusion

The theme “Black Reality” is constructed from five key concepts, used to navigate students who are Black African perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusiveness at Durham. ‘Camouflaged curse’, describing the manifestation of racism being a taught - ingrained creation that is disguised in multifaceted ways. ‘Juxtaposed communities’, referring to the exiling environments from *undetectable violators* of the university and the local community. ‘Abusive existence’, the endless hidden, overt, and ambiguous forms of abusive racism students who are Black African experience at Durham, resulting in *emotional consequences*, such as racial trauma. ‘The Black African Struggle’, which suggests the intragroup consequences creates a reality of struggles (e.g., *Black ostracization*) by virtue of being Black while studying at Durham. Finally, ‘Survival techniques’, where students who are Black African must use strategies such as isolation, *intra-racial connections* and assimilating through compromising their Blackness by a perceived identity, i.e., *Black African betrayer*, to acquire capital and survive the racialised environment at Durham. Together, these codes construct an environment whereby a student that is Black African in Durham is invisible, yet hyper-visible, with a negative psycho-social impact on their life, where experiencing abusive racism is “just another day” (Hannah) in their Black reality.

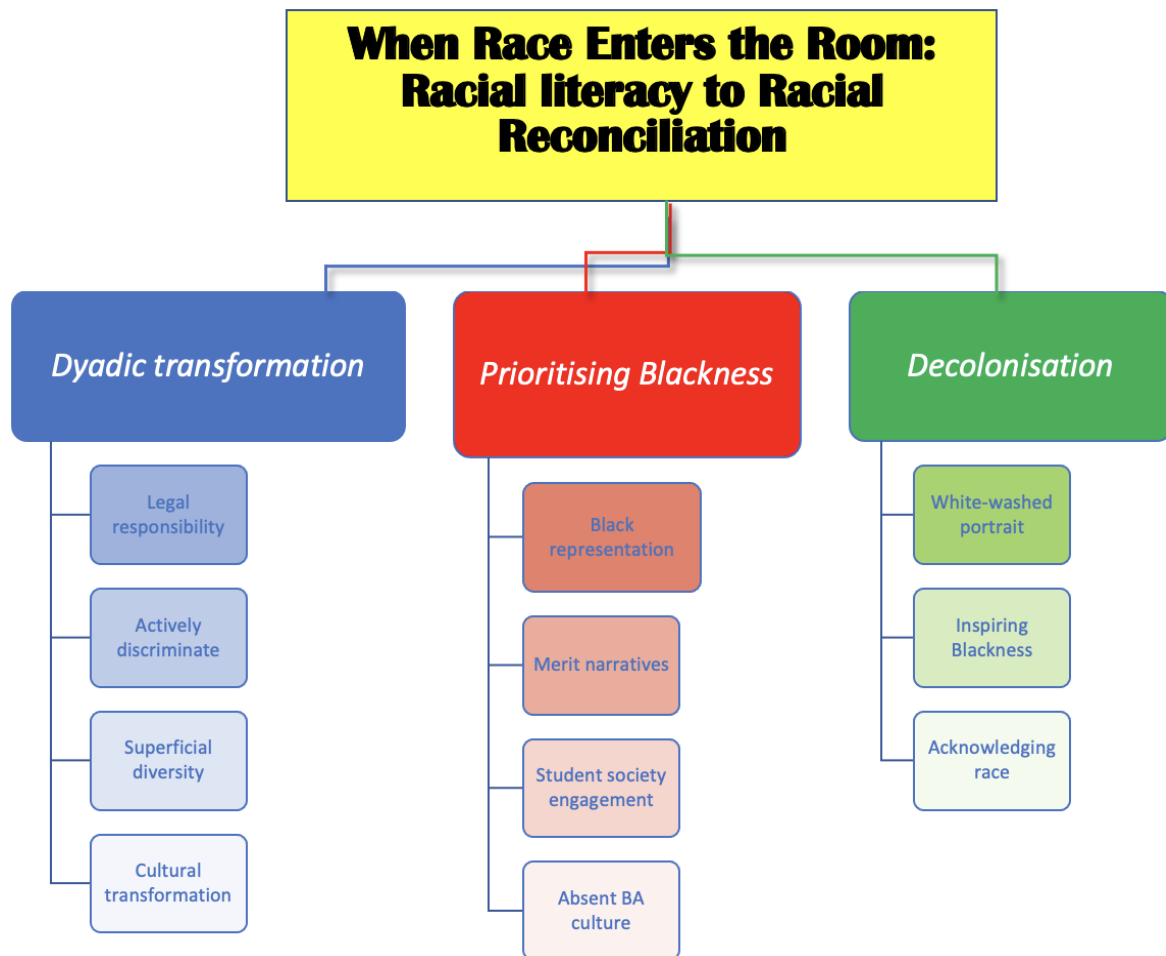
CHAPTER 10: WHEN RACE ENTERS THE ROOM: RACIAL LITERACY TO RACIAL RECONCILIATION

'I guess they say my dollars supposed to build roads and schools
But my [Black people] barely graduate, they ain't got the tools.
Maybe 'cause the tax dollars that I make sure I send
Get spent hirin' some teachers that don't look like them.
And the curriculum be tricking them, them dollars I spend
Got us learning about the heroes with the whitest of skin.
One thing about the men that's controlling the pen
That write history, they always seem to white-out they sins.'
- J. Cole (2018), *BRACKETS*

The overarching theme of this title represents three intersecting phases of the participants insight of the university transforming to become a racially inclusive space outside of affluent students who are White (StWW). The theme is influenced by Sonya Douglass Horsford (2014) – a SCHOLAR WHO IS BLACK and female – who presented a four-step process for educational leaders to improve racial equality in their schools. It starts with, (i) racial literacy, meaning understanding what race is and how it functions and reproduces racism in education (illustrated in chapters, “Archaistic Acceptance: Elite formations” and “Whiteness as Symbolic Capital”); (ii) racial realism, acknowledging the history of race and racism in society/education (illustrated in chapter, “Black Reality”); (iii) racial reconstruction, the ability to transform minds and the ways groups act on their racial biases by assigning new implications to race (illustrated in chapter, “Racial Identity Development”); (iv) racial reconciliation, which is healing the wounds produced by society and education in regards to race and racism. Leading up to this chapter participants perceptions have been highlighted through Horsford’s first two steps, and step three - i.e., racial reconstruction - encompasses the next chapter’s overarching theme “Racial Identity Development”. Now that the analysis has illustrated the issues with Durham University in regard to racial literacy and realism, this chapter will focus on step four – racial reconciliation, where participants share their opinions on how they believe Durham can become a racially inclusive university outside of affluent students who are White. Therefore, a theoretical amalgamation of the three interpretative codes suggests the university needs to make a dramatic transformation by developing new strategies to improve their racist and classist admissions, culture, and curriculum, while simultaneously increasing

Black African and ReM representation. The interpretative codes constructed from the data were: 'Dyadic transformation', 'Prioritising Blackness', and 'Decolonisation'.

Diagram 5: When Race Enters the Room: Racial Literacy to Racial Reconciliation (Thematic Map)



10.1 Dyadic transformation

Participants constructed university membership as a dyad, with members of the university that are racially marginalised and those who are the visibly catered majority.

racially marginalised + catered Majority = Durham dyad

This code represents the processes participants would like Durham to implement in order to transform the environment and thus the dyad, to create racial inclusiveness. The ‘Dyadic transformation’ constructed referred to the university’s legal responsibility to transform their culture, using authentic diversity and inclusion processes in institutional and social spaces to construct equity of opportunity for everyone. The four descriptive codes are: (i) *Legal responsibility*, (ii) *Actively discriminate*, (iii) *Superficial diversity*, and (iv) *Cultural transformation*. The amalgamation of these four approaches is perceived as required to transform the dyadic interaction and thus achieve racial inclusivity.

10.1.1 Legal Responsibility

For Hannah, creating a racially inclusive environment is perceived to be the university’s responsibility,

‘I think the university has a responsibility to make sure that it’s being responsible with how it treats its students with being inclusive being respectful like the different type of identities that attend the university.’ (Hannah, Brown student)

Throughout this study, participants have illuminated Durham’s elite status to exhibit racism on an institutional and societal level, affecting students who are Black African and of the ReM group. Therefore, an interpretation of participants experiences would suggest that Durham University fails in protecting the human rights of these marginalised groups, because social justice and equality are human rights principles. The Human Rights Act (1998) came into fruition within the UK in October 2000, establishing the fundamental rights and freedom citizens are entitled to. Hannah may perceive the university to be responsible for inclusivity because the institution holds the power when enforcing and/or creating policies – specifically enforcing human rights. One basic human right – access to education – is perceived to be disrupted in admissions,

‘And I guess from like a staff point of view I guess admissions I feel like trying to tackle some of the unconscious bias behind the admissions process and making an effort to make Durham look like more of the UK population as a whole.’ (Ariel, White student)

Ariel seems to interpret the low number of students who are Black African and Asian to be a result of admissions displaying unconscious bias. As mentioned throughout this thesis, inequitable representation within “elite” Russell Groups like Durham manifest through race and class discrimination. The Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) and Equality Act (2010) together require universities to implement policies that create racial equality at their institutions. With growing evidence of racism within the Higher Educational sector, the Race Equality Charter (REC) was implemented in 2014 to self-reflect and identify the cultural barriers of “BAME” staff and students to improve their access, progression, and achievement (Advance HE, 2020). Also, Durham has signed up with the REC in 2019 (Durham University, 2020), which may highlight racism does manifest in Durham spaces. Therefore, according to students racialised experiences and Hannah’s social world, if Durham wants to be racially inclusive, it is their *legal responsibility* to critique the admissions process that is perceived to discriminate on the basis of race, causing access racial inequities that is deemed illegal in the Race Relations Amendment Act and Equality Act (2010).

10.1.2 Actively Discriminate

A developing theme illustrated by participants suggested that a solution to the racially inequitable access to the university would be to actively recruit in favour of Black African applicants and students,

‘Yeah I really don’t know but if there is like a very clear kind of plateau in like the number of students ethnic background it might be necessary to do something and actively strive to reach out to people with more areas that are predominately poor or like actively try and make Durham a more multicultural place.’ (Winston, Black student)

‘But like at the same time I think we need like a whole bunch more diversity at Durham and I think if like if quotas are the way to do that there is potentially a value in doing it so you break out of the mould you are currently in to get to a point wherein like 10 years it would be like normal um to have like a lot more diversity and I think if that does mean like quotas for a couple of years where like that intentionality in meeting certain like demands as in certain targets...yeah I think basically things don’t change unless you’re intentional with them.’ (Elena, White student)

Affirmative action - or positive discrimination – policies are created by the government or corporations to actively discriminate in order to increase representation of under-represented groups (e.g., race, age, sex, marital status or sexual orientation) that were excluded in history within areas such as employment and education. Affirmative action is practiced in universities within the US, but in the UK, it is deemed illegal, because to favour one protected (personal) characteristic (e.g., race/ethnicity or gender) over another regardless of representation is considered unlawful discrimination (Bennet, Roberts, and Davis, 2005; Gilhooley, 2008; Herron, 2010). In contrast, the UK practises positive action, whereby universities are allowed to target underrepresented groups in their advertising and recruiting process but can only offer based on “merit” (see code, ‘Prioritising Blackness’) (Gilhooley, 2008). As mentioned in chapter “Archaistic Acceptance: Elite Formations”, Durham does have a summer school that is tailored towards students who are Black African and British. However, this does not seem enough and a noticeable absence and/or lack of positive action is highlighted by the participants,

‘I think the university should invest in like marketing and more like diverse parts of this country. I’ve never seen Durham, they never came to my school, I mean Cambridge came to my school and they have a serious problem with diversity. Um and even they’re making an effort so that’s one thing they can do, that would be really effective.’ (Ana, Black student)

‘I think Durham has to encourage applications from all socioeconomic and racial...yeah so all races and socioeconomic classes. So I don’t feel if they do enough to promote that in terms of the application process in Durham.’ (Dale, White student)

In the reality of the participants Durham only recruits a specific type of student (e.g., typical Durham student (TDS)), which does not reflect a diverse student cohort. Therefore, it is interpreted that Durham University should take positive action when recruiting their students to become more racially inclusive outside of affluent students who are White. Also, Rose (StWW) highlights the need for positive discrimination,

‘if you’re not being proactive not to discriminate then you are discriminating you know what I mean, you may not be personally trying to discriminate, but if you’re not proactively not trying to then you are so that’s on them.’ (Rose, White student)

In Rose's social world, if the majority are not catering to the minority, then they are consciously or unconsciously discriminating. Thus, it is understood that if the university structure already exhibits "subtle discrimination" towards the underrepresented groups (e.g., students who in the ReM and White working class) by not actively supporting them, the perceived way of an equitable outcome is for positive discrimination. As mentioned, positive discrimination on the basis of race/ethnicity and other protected (personal) characteristics is illegal in the UK, thus more emphasis should be put into policies to impact recruitment. Therefore, gaining a diverse student cohort is underpinned by the descriptive code: *actively discriminate*, whereby many participants recommend the university to be active in their recruitment by practicing some form of positive discrimination and/or action to become racially inclusive outside of affluent students who are White.

10.1.3 Superficial Diversity

When considering recruitment and diversifying the student population, Durham is perceived to recruit two types of groups, mainly international students on a "superficial level" and for "knowledge production...targeting white middle-class people" (Hazel, StWMR). Diversity is 'the varied perspectives and approaches to work that members of different identity groups bring' (Thomas and Ely, 1996, p. 80). However, research in higher education suggests diversity has come to mean, 'simplistically counting the heads of different bodies in organisations' (Puwar, 2004, p. 77), and predominately White institutions who practice superficial diversity keep problematic Whiteness intact (Ahmed, 2012 and 2018; Joseph-Salisbury, 2019). For instance, traditional "elite" universities like Durham develop habits of conscious or unconscious bias by managing to recruit in their own image – White middle- and upper-class – creating astounding underrepresentation for certain racial groups (Boliver, 2016; Tate and Page, 2018). Bourdieu (1977) shows us that habits can become 'second nature', meaning unconscious or repetitive, therefore, Durham's habitus demonstrates problematic Whiteness in university processes. Sara Ahmed (2007) extends an approach to Whiteness through phenomenology, with a phenomenology of Whiteness providing an awareness of institutional habits, bringing in to focus what is not typically seen by "non-White" bodies. Thus, perceptions of institutional- problematic Whiteness Durham practices are highlighted further by Hazel (StWMR),

‘But um I think like on a race basis, I think the university is trying to overcome their discrimination with like superficial like diversity schemes and stuff like that.’ (Hazel, Mixed-race student)

An interpretation of Hazel’s comments suggest she feels excluded and out of place like most participants who are Black African (illustrated in chapter 9), which is why she feels Durham may practice racially “superficial” diversity schemes. Lack of inclusion often brings criticism to diversity because diversity on its own is said to not drive inclusion, in sum, *Diversity Doesn’t Stick Without Inclusion* (Sherbin and Rashid, 2017). The practice of inclusion is beneficial to diversity, and works for everyone across multiple dimensions (Roberson, 2006). Inclusion has come to mean making groups feel as if they belong by ‘creating, fostering, and sustaining practices and conditions that encourage and allow individuals to be themselves’ (Ferdman and Deane, 2013, p. xxii), and to be treated fairly having equitable access to information and resources (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998; Roberson, 2006). Furthermore, Durham’s perceived lack of authentic diversity and inclusion is underpinned by displaying institutional-problematic Whiteness, with *superficial diversity* schemes that allows normative- problematic Whiteness to presume, creating a racially exclusive environment outside of affluent students who are White.

10.1.4 Cultural transformation

The goal of a university can strive to increase their numbers of the ReM to become more diverse. However, the university will struggle to maintain diversity if the campus climate is not racially inclusive (Hiraldo, 2010). Participants suggest approaches for Durham to have a racially inclusive social space,

‘I think that the emphasis shouldn’t be placed on just like bringing in loads of numbers of like black and people of colour because if you’re not creating a space that’s like safe and conducive to their learning and existence then it’s kind of bullshit. Yeah I think more emphasis needs to be made on like making the space like accessible, inclusive and safe.’ (Hazel, Mixed-race student)

As mentioned, authentic diversity and inclusion is perceived to be what Durham University needs to transform into a racially inclusive institution. However, even if Durham manages to increase the representation of racially underrepresented groups, these supposed unsecure racist, classist, hostile and

abusive spaces for them will continue the ongoing exclusion unless procedures are in place. Therefore, one way of social inclusivity is perceived to be transforming Durham's culture,

'Um and so I think there has to be a kind of change of culture and an acceptance of more variety and diversity of culture.' (Ariel, White student)

A developing theme throughout the analysis has interpreted Durham's culture to be 'exclusively divisive' and catering only towards TDS – predominately White middle- and upper-class – who apparently lack experience in interracial contact (illustrated in chapters 8 and 9). Therefore, participants proposal of a change in culture may demonstrate challenges to becoming a racially inclusive space, since the university seems to pervasively normalise problematic Whiteness on an institutional and social level. To start, the amalgamated perceptions of the participants will be incorporated with Nishii's (2013) study, which researches inclusive climates of gender-diverse groups. The overwhelming contrast between Nishii's research may suggest Durham demonstrates an exclusive climate. Nishii proposes that inclusive climates are successful when, (i) *minimising structural inequalities*, Durham is perceived to display classism and IR (illustrated in chapter 7); (ii) *diminishing norms for assimilation*, students who are White and working class go through a 'habitus transformation' (illustrated in chapter 7), while Black students strategize to assimilate or flee from the dominant White middle- and upper-class culture (illustrated in chapter 9); and (iii) *reducing exclusionary decision-making processes*, admissions apparently exercises unconscious bias when recruiting. Consequently, majority of participants perceive Durham to not embody any of these three steps to an inclusive intergroup space.

Secondly, if Durham's habitus exhibits institutional- problematic Whiteness, accepting a diverse group of students may disrupt the habitus of the institution and reveal its inequities, 'while habits save trouble, diversity work creates trouble' (Ahmed, 2012, p. 27). Therefore, when striving for diverse and inclusive spaces, more backlash is revealed by the dominant group, especially if the groups culture is deemed not "normal" and must be diminished. According to Brannon et al., (2018) pushing for racial inclusion results in three types of backlashes, (i) *alleged or tangible constraint of independence or autonomy* (e.g., freedom of expression and not feel forced to change), (ii) *status quo and colour-blindness* (e.g., 'All lives matter' and fear of intergroup discussions), and (iii) *equality achieved*, where

racial and social inequalities are seen as resolved and inequitable experiences are individual not structural. Thus, if Durham University is to become a racially inclusive space, they must overcome diversity and inclusion challenges by diminishing the habitus of institutional- problematic Whiteness that is perceived to be manifesting in institutional and social spaces.

Furthermore, participants suggest other institutional processes the university should implement when changing the culture and disrupting Durham's habitus that creates racial inequality,

'Um partly it's about making Durham more comfortable for people who aren't white and about making Durham more open to alternative culture and yeah more cultures that aren't present at the moment.' (Ariel, White student)

Ariel appears to indicate a need for a multicultural environment in Durham, contributing to a more racially inclusive space, to help support the groups who are racially underrepresented. Ariel's comment includes two stands, firstly making those already at Durham feel more comfortable and secondly to increase representation of cultures. Regarding the former, there have been different approaches for a 'racial form of education'. For example, multicultural education (MCE) was shown to contribute to better performance outcomes, understanding different cultures, improvement in interracial skills, and a reduction in cultural stereotyping (Sweeney, Weaven, Herington, 2008; Troyna, 1987; Wilson, 2012). This initially appears fitting with the students' requests. However, throughout history in UK education, studies suggest MCE is 'exclusive rather than inclusive' (Troyna, 1984, p. 57). For instance, being tokenistic, assimilationist, and criticised for opposing racial justice by people on the left (liberals); and creates a backlash as mentioned above, from people on the right (conservatives) deeming it divisive (Tomlinson, 2009; Troyna, 1987). Considering the TDS was associated with conservative values and an acceptance of representation being low, it could be that the implementation of MCE without alternative strategies could increase divisiveness at Durham, with a more race specific agenda being important.

According to Barry Troyna (1987) – a scholar who is White – MCE started around the 1960s because of the increasing presence of students who are Black. Consequently, MCE was mainly led by White middle-class professionals who supposedly understood the “interest” of students who are Black and

their parents, but the outcome is associated with the impediment of Black advancement and “encoded deficit thinking” towards students who are Black (Gillborn, 2008, p. 12; Mullard, 1982; Troyna, 1984 and 1987). Durham University also possesses a middle-class teaching structure, which could mean the same difficulties occur. Therefore, an MCE strategy could contribute to further racism and thus this focus on cultural differences transcended another form of racial education – anti-racist education (ARE) to be race specific. ARE is reflected in students’ proposed strategies to reduce racism at Durham,

‘I think that what would be more effective would be like improving conversations around racism and the Uni context itself. It will take a long time but I think that might have an effect in more people from outside the Uni wanting to look to Durham not just for it’s academic, but also seeing it as a place where it’s safe to be someone who is different compared to the normal student.’ (Winston, Black student)

Winston suggests having conversations specifically about racism would be beneficial to becoming a more racially inclusive institution. He also mentions how “it will take a long time”, which insinuates an expectation that there may be backlash or criticism that comes with racism as mentioned above. Alternatively, this may be due to the difficulty in changing behaviour that has been long associated with an institution’s culture, proposing,

‘there needs to be a culture where like people feel ok to kind of like talk about any kind of preconceptions that they might have, feel okay to discuss that and like work through that without being judged. I feel like that it needs to be kind of a cooperative aspects if that makes sense. (Winston, Black student)

Winston appears to integrate the concepts of culture and race, feeling that the culture at Durham generally needs to change, which will accommodate change regarding racism, too. Additionally, Angelica also proposes non-performative approaches to tackling racism and creating a safe, racially inclusive space for the ReM,

‘Um but yeah about racial inclusion it needs to stop being performative and just be like well we’re going to this because it looks good or because we need to do it and about actually changing the attitudes, punishing racism, and taking action that actually has an effect and actually sets the university apart from it.’ (Angelica, White student)

Whilst Angelica's approach may initially appear punitive, her desire for actions to change attitudes is reflective of a rehabilitative approach, wanting a longer-lasting outcome, whereby the University is incongruent with racism. This theme of punishment continues from the perspective of other participants who propose a few methods of punishing racism,

'in the one hand I think they need to have no tolerance when it comes to racism.' (Winston, Black student)

"Um and they have to be like I mentioned an adequate racial policy to make sure that racial incidents are taken seriously, there needs to be a zero-tolerance approach that actually works.' (Mia, Mixed-race student)

The interpretation of 'punishment' for racism could be replaced with 'consequences'. Rather than being viewed as a purely punitive approach and thus unhelpful or 'surface level', a strengths-based approach positions the consequences of racism for the perpetrator as an opportunity to learn. This approach encompasses the students' desire for a zero-tolerance policy, but with a more ingrained and embedded strategy to develop a racially inclusive space. To add, participants highlighted the improvements of sexual misconduct in Durham with the introduction of a consent course and how this could be replicated to be more race specific.

'I know like at the start of this year there was a massive push on like creating like a culture of consent in our college to do like with sexual misconduct and stuff and to make sure like everyone had it been so hammered into them that they should make sure that kind of inappropriate sexual behaviour wasn't happening and it has really worked I think and the same kind of push should be made towards discriminatory behaviour I think.' (Ariel, White student)

'I think that at the moment we have like before every student goes to university they have to do a course of like sexual consent and they have to pass the course to go to university and like I wouldn't mind something similar on like unconscious bias or something. Um like I feel like that could do a lot to like break down stigmas about certain ethnic groups from a certain population of people from the university.' (Ezekiel, Mixed-race student)

However, even with the consent courses, sexism is still on a wide level display at Durham (e.g., spiking epidemic, Ashkam, 2021). Therefore, changing the culture of Durham is underpinned by the descriptive code, *cultural transformation*, where participants suggest university processes such as overcoming the challenges of diversity and inclusion combined with introducing anti-racist forms of

education and policies to become a racially inclusive institution. To conclude, the benefits of participant's perspectives may result in a better reputation, more diversity, and safe spaces for all types of students, which has wider implications. Thus, 'Dyadic transformation' - i.e., the transformation of the members (racially marginalised and catered majority) of the university - sets the foundations for racial reconciliation between Durham's dyad, seeking to create a racially inclusive environment.

10.2 Prioritising Blackness

This code illustrates the perception that the university should prioritise the experiences of students who are Black African, endeavouring to transform the Durham student experience. In GOV.uk (2020), state school pupils that are White have the lowest entry rate to higher education amongst all ethnic groups (30.3%) and has been the lowest since 2007 (Black students are around 44.5%). However, in Hemsley-Brown (2015) - a woman scholar who is White - respondents from a private school background were one and a half times more likely to attend a Russell Group than pupils who were in state school (Black students entry scores were significantly lower). Thus, the TDS - who is predominately White and attended private school - has advantages prior to university than students who are Black and other underrepresented groups. Also, as a group,

‘when university applicants from ethnic minority backgrounds do apply to Oxford University or to Russell Group universities more generally, they are substantially less likely to be offered places than white applicants with comparable A-level qualifications’ (Boliver, 2016, p. 248).

Similar to participants perceptions in an examination sponsored by the NUS stated that ‘black students believe they are being “actively excluded” from the Russell Group of leading universities because of IR in the application process’ and socially excluded by the large number of students who are White (Vasagar, 2011). Additionally, students who are Black are one of the lowest ethnic group populations at Russell Group Universities, for example, in 2006, students who are Black Afro-Caribbean were more likely to be found in London Metropolitan University than the total of Russell group universities (19) combined (Curtis 2006). Thus, within the students' social worlds the increased awareness of low representation, specifically associated with “elite” institutions, is conflicting with ideas of fairness, meritocracy, and equitable chances. Considering Black representation at Durham is one of the lowest

amongst Russell Group institutions, the reality constructed may be underpinned by perceptions of IR, impacting participants' experiences of university, and thus instigating suggestions to prioritise strategies that transform the Black experience. The descriptive codes for 'Prioritising Blackness' are, *Black representation*, *Merit narratives*, *Student society engagement*, and *Absent Black African culture* (community).

10.2.1 Black Representation

Participants expressed the need for an increased representation of the racially underrepresented at the student and staff level, specifically Black,

'Um I think an effort to include more, in particular an effort to include more like British minority ethnicity groups because I think Durham has a large international kind of cohort which kind of allows them to fill like quotas I guess of like we have this many number of non-white people here but the number of people who are British minority ethnicity is really really low at Durham I think.' (Ariel, White student)

'I think there need to be very clear targets toward selecting black students or students from BAME backgrounds, but also staff members from BAME backgrounds and also black staff members. Um and that those staff members and students shouldn't only be male they should be female as well, and also across class, across everything that means disability as well.' (Mia, White student)

Mia seems to suggest representation needs to be increased through an 'intra-racial intersectionality' for both students and staff who are Black (see chapter 4: Contemporary Sambos). Underlying the proposals to increase representation of Black British individuals as well as those from underrepresented groups appears to be a desire for a more equitable social world, whereby those who are depicted as absent from spaces are specifically supported. Through increased representation, students may expect their social experience at the university to improve, having identified that the lack of representation can be associated with racialised experiences and feelings such as loneliness (illustrated in chapter 9). Seeking to diversify the university space may therefore be to enhance their own social experiences, which indicates an expectation for representation to be associated with inclusivity. Thus, for the Black experience, students may be anticipating an improved social experience through increased visibility, creating an increased sense of belonging. Research on Historically Black Colleges and Universities

(HBCUs) suggest students who are Black are more socially involved, develop higher self-esteem, perform better academically, and seek racial self-development compared to students who are Black at predominately White institutions (Allen and Epps, 1991; Torres, 2009; Van Camp et al., 2009). Thus, engaging with a similar culture and race may support students who are Black to have improved experiences in higher education, comparative to the description provided of isolation and exclusion experienced at Durham and more predominately White institutions.

Contrastingly, studies suggest when students who are White and are the minority at an HBCU have a unique and positive experience, understanding what it means to be a minority due to a perceived obligation to learn from different types of people (Hall and Closson, 2005). Thus, a negative social experience and being the minority group do not appear to be synonymous experiences, the disparity in the experiences may underpin either (i) feelings of exclusion and isolation (StWBA) vs. (ii) a positive experience (StWW). To add, visual isolation was still present, but their interpersonal/social experiences weren't negative. It could be suggested therefore that students who are Black at a predominately White institution should also seek to learn from the majority group as exemplified by Hall and Closson's (2005) research, yet this would be negating the key concept of 'difference'. For students who are White attending a predominantly Black space would likely be novel to them and thus an opportunity to develop culturally. For example, in the Wild Racist West i.e., the UK and the USA, the majority group is White and as such the application of 'difference' cannot be applied for students who are Black African, with the space again reflective of the wider population – majority White, minority Black.

Therefore, the disparity in the experiences for people that are White and Black when they are the minority group, may be explained by a lack of 'difference' from their typical social worlds. Also, the position of power and thus threat could influence the experience, which in the participants' social worlds is likely held by people that are White and used against those that are Black i.e., IR and *White insecurity* (illustrated in chapter 11). This perceived threat against students who are Black could function as a protective strategy, removing the expectation they will learn from the TDS group and thus influencing 'Survival techniques' to be employed (illustrated in chapter 9). Thus, at Durham increasing representation and thus interracial contact could benefit students who are White as well as students who are Black, with studies suggesting that overtime, this type of positive contact can reduce

group prejudice, intergroup conflict, and racial discrimination, enabling better outcomes regarding racial inclusivity and consequently students that are better equipped for future employment (Dixon et al., 2010; Shook and Fazio, 2008; Willow, 2003). Therefore, participants feel the university should “go to predominately Black schools” (Jay, StWB) and “push more Black students to come here” to reach “the wider UK population” (Ezekiel, StWMR) and become a racially inclusive institution for students who are Black.

Furthermore, in regard to academic staff in the UK, 0.6% identify as Black compared to 91.6% who identify as White (Advance HE, 2018). Also, a majority of scholars who are Black do not attend Russell Group Universities and at each echelon suffer the most disadvantages (Bhopal and Pitkin, 2020). Therefore, with an overwhelmingly low number of scholars who are Black, participants expressed benefits and the need to “intentionally employ Black staff” (Prisca, StWB) for diverse leadership representation at Durham. One benefit for increased representation is highlighted by Prisca,

‘I think that would help. Especially at degree level, I think that it’s so hard being a Black student and having a Black member of staff would actually like benefit us in terms of not only degrees but I think in terms a wider experience especially in like a White elitist place. I think its quite inspiring to see a person who looks like you and is like an expert in the discipline that you’re interested in. I think that have more Black members of staff can boost experience and ambitions a lot more.’ (Prisca, Black student)

Prior to university, teachers that are White are suggested to exhibit racism towards students who are Black and as a result, inequitable consequences such as disparities in disciplinary actions, academic outcomes, and low teacher expectations impact their experience (Rollock et al., 2011; Gillborn et al., 2012). The same could be suggested in higher education, where students who are Black experience some of the greatest disadvantages, in degree attainment, continuation rates, and graduate outcomes in their university experience compared to other ethnic groups, due to social exclusion and economic disadvantages, etc. (Bhopal, 2020; Advance HE, 2020a) (see chapter 5). Therefore, in Prisca’s social world, same racial group contact for student and staff may be beneficial to the Black experience. When considering same race/ethnic teachers in schooling, students who are Black and/or White benefit directly or indirectly academically and through disciplinary processes (e.g., reduction in expulsion for StWB) – especially lower performing students - when taught by a teacher of the same racial/ethnic

background, because they serve as mentors and role models (Egalite, Kisida, and Winters, 2015; Lindsay and Hart, 2017; Ladson-Billings, 1992). With the Black staff population being extremely low at Durham, the aspirations of students who are Black to feel as if they belong may be impacted and the same could be said for students who are White who will continue to only see themselves in positions of intellectual power, furthering “White superiority” perceptions. Therefore, with the wider population of the UK gradually becoming racially diverse, it is perceived to be imperative for all students to see a higher proportion of professors who are Black to disrupt racial biases of Black intelligence and inferiority thus influencing students who are Black to fulfil academic roles in institutional spaces. This increase in representation could avoid occurrences like Nathan’s anthropology classmate,

‘Um there is a distinct lack of like Black staff members, I know in anthropology a colleague of mine is I wouldn’t say the specifics but she is looking into the sociomedical overlap to the effect of people from Black origins social experience from the UK on medical issues and she hasn’t managed to find a single person who can share her understanding of being black in the UK in the anthropology department which is mad.’ (Nathan, White student)

To conclude, the descriptive code *Black representation* is underpinned by participants suggesting the increase of the staff and student Black population in Durham is focal for the experiences of all students. The increase is perceived to have the ability to positively affect present and future ramifications for student’s social and research experience while at Durham, alongside employment capabilities in the job market as the university and country are progressively becoming racially diverse. Consequently, even though transforming Durham to become a racially diverse space could improve the student experience, the opinions of who is deemed qualified enough to attend this “elite” institution constructs another barrier for boosting Black representation.

10.2.2 Merit Narratives

The majority of participants perceived Durham to need an increase in Black representation. However, as mentioned above, it was perceived that the best way to accept a higher proportion of students who are Black African, positive or legal action should be changed to positively discriminate (see code, *actively discriminate* above). However, two participants expressed the difficulties in implementing racial quotas,

‘At the same time I don’t know how I feel about quotas because sometimes I feel like everyone should be on an equal standing when they’re applying for a job.’

...

‘Yeah yeah should be based on merit. That seems the most equal way of doing things and if you say like a woman has more chance of getting a job than a man. It seems unfair.’ (Elliot, White student)

‘But at the same time you want to pick people based on merit as well. I know quotas aren’t the be all and end all but if solving like racial inclusion but yeah I wouldn’t necessarily say that something like a quota system would be the best thing now.’ (Winston, Black student)

Participants may believe quotas are mutually exclusive to meritocratic approaches, and merit is based on required entry grades being at a standard consistent with everyone. The myth of meritocracy has been shown to be racist, sexist, and classist, because it implies that people’s own failure is a result of them being at the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy (illustrated in chapter 3). Merit was previously interpreted as ‘ability plus effort’ (Daniels, 1978, p. 207), yet interpretations of a meritocratic approach can vary. As highlighted, the underpinning progressive idea is to ‘Flip the script’ by making use of contextual offers and as-yet-unrealised potential, basing the idea of meritocracy on individual’s scope for achievement, which could be fostered and realised, rather than a focus on social ascription (Boliver, Gorard, and Siddiqui, 2021; Boliver, Powell, and Moreira., 2018).

Regarding racial inclusiveness, research suggests concepts such as colour-blindness, and neutrality are known to combat the inclusion of positive action and/or discrimination for people who are from racially minoritised backgrounds (Bergerson, 2003; Morrison, 1993). The difficulties with the concept of merit are based on convincing policy makers – predominately people who are White – that the burden of racism prevents students who are Black to succeed in education (Bergerson, 2003). Therefore, to some these “problematic” processes such as merit that increasingly oppose positive discrimination are considered new forms of racism (e.g., new racism, colour-blind racism) (Augoustinos, Tuffin, and Every, 2005; Barker, 1981, Bona-Silva, 2002; King 2015). Specifically, King’s (2015) category II of *dysconscious racism* (illustrated in chapter 5), where diversity is devalued by not recognising the importance of where opportunity comes from which is mainstream norms and values (e.g., problematic Whiteness).

Elliot and Winston's perceptions may coincide with *dysconscious racism* considering they experienced private school and higher economic backgrounds, where problematic Whiteness is known to be more normalised or neutral. Therefore, in their social worlds they may have been taught that racism is more individual rather than institutional, which coincides with their definitions in the interview (see code *multi-layered discrimination* in chapter 9). Also, Winston being a student who is Black with these views suggest that merit perceptions are not only tailored to White privilege and viewpoints. The two did agree that Durham should be more racially inclusive, however it may prove difficult without some form of positive discrimination (e.g., racial quotas) considering most students who are Black in education are not from higher economic backgrounds like the TDS. Lastly, it is perceived that the university should dismantle *merit narratives* that are underpinned by new forms of racism impeding Black representation, and thus consideration of legal positive discrimination should be prioritised for Durham to increase its population of students who are Black and from a ReM background.

10.2.3 Student Society Engagement

When students who are Black get through all of the perceived challenges that build barriers to their representation, participants recommend ways to help improve Black inclusivity by promoting and/or aiding some 'Survival techniques', such as *intra-racial connections* and *forging spaces* (illustrated in chapter 9).

'If they actually really cared about the Black people that went to the University they would actually make an effort to make Black people feel included. You know how I said throwing an option out there to live in a more diverse hall or you know sending an email like "due to lack of diversity there is a society that you can join to help you blah blah blah." Um do you know what I'm saying like, to something you show you care about the individual and not just the universities appearance.' (Jay, Black student)

As stated in the previous chapter, *intra-racial connections* improve the experience of students who are Black leading to reduction in retention and sense of belonging, specifically societies catered to their racial/ethnic backgrounds. Jay appears to promote a strategy that is specific, inferring a perspective that students who are Black would benefit from communication specifically to them in response to their race. The idea within the student's social world may be that an *identity-first* approach to promoting

racial inclusion will help them to feel their individual experience is a priority. Thus, an approach that is responsive to individual differences could help students who are Black navigate the university space and lack of diversity, utilising the available student-led societies.

Utilising these race/ethnic ReM-based societies through promotion and aid may seem important to participants because students at Durham are apparently unaware of their existence,

‘I guess even for them putting out there what they’re actually doing because literally you see it at fresher’s fair and then you don’t see nothing about it again really. So, to integrate them more into the rest of the Uni kind of life will be helpful, because I think most people probably don’t then hear about them, don’t know what they’re doing, don’t know what they stand for.’ (Rose, White student)

‘I think it’s the fact that they don’t know it exists or if they do know it exists they know very little about what it does.’ (Ezekiel, Mixed-race student)

Implications suggest wider representation and acknowledgement of that society should be prioritised. However, if students are surrounded by problematic Whiteness, their attention may not be drawn, or they may feel the need to avoid a race/ethnic ReM led society. Conforming to mainstream attitudes is a strategy for social approval when associating with groups, and human survival rate increases and we benefit psychologically when in a group (Renkema et al., 2008), as mentioned for students who are Black (e.g., self-esteem and belonging). The same could be said for the White experience, and with students who are White being the majority race cohort conforming to the TDS identity may benefit socially. Therefore, it is interpreted if the TDS is perceived to embody problematic Whiteness, students who are White may recognise joining and/or attending events from a ReM led society to be a threat to their experience, fearing repercussions of intra-racial group judgement, as mainstream problematic Whiteness is perceived to be the antagonist of Blackness. It may also be stated that none of the British participants who were White mentioned associating with any race/ethnic ReM led society, even if they felt it was necessary to be promoted. Thus, a White survival technique is perceived to be the disassociation from ReM led societies, similar to students who are Black disassociating from the [BA society] or identity to assimilate and escape *racist misconceptions* to fit in, seeking social capital (illustrated in chapter 9).

This type of survival technique for students who are White may seem unproductive,

‘You know a lot of people in my first year they didn’t even know hardly any people that weren’t White before university and being here is not going to help that if they’re not accessing certain opportunities like that because they’re not going to go and join that society. So, being able to see them and hear people’s experiences would be good for everyone, maybe give some people like I don’t know a bit understanding about people.’ (Rose, White student)

It is perceived that listening to the experiences of students who are Black is vital to students who are White as well. Therefore, a ‘culture-centred approach’ could be considered, since it requires the dominant groups to listen to the voices of the ostracised group, and thus opening conversation by deconstructing current structures (Dutta, 2014). Similar to Critical Race Theory’s tool of *counter-storytelling* (illustrated in chapter 2), where experiential knowledge of stories is told by underrepresented racial communities to challenge and analyse the dominant existing culture that perpetuate racial stereotypes (Decuir and Dixon, 2004; Matsuda, 1995; Solozarno and Yosso, 2001). Thus, the more the TDS can be given the opportunity to develop their racial-cultural competence it may have a noble impact on everyone’s experience. Winston illuminates to the benefits of *counter-storytelling*,

‘I feel like...White students respect what those societies do and I feel like I remember there was a play last year that was kind of backed by [society] and it was about racial microaggressions in the UK and the response we got back from that is really positive well mostly positive.’ (Winston, Black student)

As mentioned, research suggests ReM led student societies combat racist stereotyping and according to Winston’s comments, a society at Durham apparently has similar results when *counter-storytelling*. Thus, participants perceive listening to student experiences through events or “open forum discussions” (Aimee, Black student) is sufficient in improving the racial climate at the university. However, highlighting racism in university spaces is also perceived to be an “uncomfortable” (Ezekiel, StWMR) conversation and promoting societies could “alienate” (Rose, StWW) students from racially minoritised backgrounds further. Ana and Ezekiel suggest,

‘I don’t really know to be honest, like I don’t think of a way they can do it without specifically like isolating us. They couldn’t hold like separate freshers’ fair that would be a bit weird. Um,

maybe like group the societies on the posters; like sports for example and specifically for like inclusion.’ (Ana, Black student)

‘In the Uni context it makes me feel uncomfortable that we’re still having to have this conversation. I’m not surprised by it like it’s not a conversation I want to be having but it’s a conversation we need to be having so we just have to get on with it and have it.’ (Ezekiel, Mixed-race student)

Participants may find promotional strategies uncomfortable because of the backlash (e.g., White fragility, reverse racism, and White insecurity) that usually occurs when race and racism are at the forefront of predominately White spaces. Additionally, students who are White may withdraw their involvement in ReM led initiatives considering discussions on race and racism usually positions them as the perpetrator or does not involve their racial identity in a positive fashion. Although, speaking about race and racism may make students uncomfortable Ezekiel understands it’s a necessary step forward to have a racially inclusive space. Conversations also conducts another step to disregard superficial promoting,

‘It shouldn’t be a “well now it’s good to have a very diverse booklet of information’s when you first get here,” if then the experience among the student community is not inclusive.’ (Angelica, White student)

Thus, it is perceived important to do race work in the student community to become racially inclusive for racially minoritised groups. Another interpretation made is students appear to be taking on the university’s responsibility by forging their own space, not just for belonging, but to create racial inclusivity with all students, which could be seen as free and overloaded labour by leaving the responsibility of transformational race work to the ReM groups. This could explain why some participants may feel the university does not care about their experience, and their push for diversity is superficial. Therefore, to counteract superficial narratives a perceived strategy is the descriptive code *student society engagement*, which is underpinned by Durham prioritising the promotion and aid of the two survival techniques (e.g., *intra-racial connections* and *forging spaces* illustrated in chapter 9) to create a racially inclusive space for all students.

10.2.4 Absent Black African culture (community)

Lastly, cooperating with the community is considered a priority for students who are Black,

‘I think as a community they can do more Black representation in Durham in generally, so like Black people in Durham feel excluded because there are certain things they wouldn’t be able to get in Durham.’ (Ezekiel, Mixed-race student)

Participants who are Black perceive the community outside of university spaces excludes them. They explain further in detail their struggles with the absence of Black African culture,

‘So like it’s like the small things like that that would really like help like the community in the same way like we have certain Chinese supermarkets popping up in Durham if you had like one Black supermarket or Black hair shop or like something that will cater to the means of like Black or like Black multi-ethnic students then like that would do a lot from one very small change from like the need and want from students.’ (Ezekiel, Mixed-race student)

‘Um as well as that I think there should be like as little as something like food or hair shops around here that shows that this place isn’t just for white people.’

...

‘See that’s another thing they should bring here like a food shop, like an African or Caribbean food shop in town like there’s quite a lot um like two or three Asian ones. I don’t see why they can’t bring a Black one around even if it’s not Black owned like at least there’s a shop there.’ (Ciara, Black student)

Essential cultural tools for living appears to be absent for students who are Black, but present for students who are Asian. This could be because the student population for Asians – specifically East Asians - is much higher than students who are Black, and economically those shops could benefit more. However, the reality is African shops within County Durham are non-existent. Therefore, it is interpreted that students who are Black face a double disadvantage by being socially and culturally isolated from the community as well. These disadvantages at Durham for Ciara are perceived to affect recruitment and retention,

‘I like went to some school last year for students who were applying to university, so they should be going this year I think to Uni, they were asking about my first year and they were asking questions like ‘what do you do for like hair? What do you do for food like your seasoning?’ and stuff like that and I’d be like you have to go to Newcastle and they’d be like “oh there’s not one in Durham why is there not one in Durham?” So, they think what’s the point of coming to Durham when there isn’t anything for me here.’ (Ciara, Black student)

These are similar questions within Dumangane (2016) study where Black participants attending Russell Group Universities are perceived to be concerned with the accessibility of these essentials in “non-urban areas” (p. 259). When the essentials are unavailable, students like Ciara have to travel outside of Durham to the neighbouring city of Newcastle to get products wanted by people that are Black. Consequently, while sharing experiences could help students who are White, it can prevent a higher proportion of Black representation unless the university prioritises the needs of students who are Black. Therefore, engaging with the community about incorporating Black African culture could be beneficial for the Black experience and representation. However, if the university itself is perceived to create social and cultural isolation for students who are Black, it may prove difficult for changing the community. Unfortunately, students who are Black are perceived to encounter a ‘quadruple disadvantage’, where the juxtaposed community of Durham socially and culturally isolate them. Therefore, Durham University needs to prioritise transforming their culture while simultaneously engaging with the community that is absent African culture for Black inclusivity.

To conclude, the amalgamation of the five descriptive codes *Black representation*, *merit narratives*, *student society engagement*, and *absent Black African culture* underline the interpretative code, ‘Prioritising Blackness’; where Prisca’s comments on Uni action will lead to the next code which will focus on transforming the curriculum,

‘I think they should accept more Black students. I think they should intentionally employ Black staff and I think they should intentionally like decolonise the content of all the academic reading list. I think that those three things could really kind of permanently change how Durham sees and addresses race.’ (Prisca, Black student)

10.3 Decolonisation

Higher education campaigns such as ‘Why is my Curriculum White’ and the Decolonising the Curriculum movement have taken an approach to challenge and dismantle the dominant Eurocentric epistemologies that exist in the current education system (Peters, 2015). According to Begum and Saini (2019),

‘Decolonisation is crucial because, unlike diversification, it specifically acknowledges the inherent power relations in the production and dissemination of knowledge, and seeks to destabilise these, allowing new forms of knowledge which represent marginalised groups – women, working classes, ethnic minorities, and LGBT to propagate’ (p. 198).

Therefore, this last interpretative code formed from participants is a strategy to create racial inclusiveness within academic spaces. It specifically illustrates participants insights for Durham University to start decolonising their curriculum, which is perceived to be “very White”, male dominant, and Eurocentric. This code is underpinned by three descriptive codes: (i) *White-washed portrait*, (ii) *Inspiring Blackness*, and (iii) *Acknowledging race*.

10.3.1 *White-washed portrait*

Participants shared their perceptions regarding the curriculum, consistently associating it with being “White” and depicting this as negative for various reasons. Firstly, the inference was that the curriculum, as it stands, ignores a sense of truth in its content,

‘I think the British curriculum is very White, very uncritical of the role Britain has played in completely destroying and dismantling other states and other countries and other cultures, but yea I guess that’s any national curriculum will do the same.’

...

‘Erm, diversifying, no decolonising the curriculum, because I think that then forces more perspective, that forces people to take recognition of maybe where things have been very biased from one side.’ (Hannah, Brown student)

‘I think that would be really good. Um I think that would be really beneficial in like every way...Because we do tend to do like quite a White history, and we do like quite a Eurocentric Western picture of what’s going on.’ (Elena, White student)

‘So, I think that can result in people having a very limited and very White-washed portrait of how people of colour are and kind of like how we live’. (Prisca, Black student)

Participants appear to attach meaning to race and demographics, inferring an underlying expectation that these aspects are causal to the type of information, ideas and knowledge that is produced. In the participants social worlds, problematic Whiteness and eurocentrism are associated with a lack of truth, which they portray as restricting, thus inferring they seek a wider breadth of knowledge. Similar to Arday, Belluigi, and Thomas (2021), where they suggest normative orthodoxies and dominant

European canons are central to critiquing knowledge that is predominately White middle-class and unfavourably impacting students from racially minoritised backgrounds. The reduced scope of the learning was inferred to also constrain the diversity of work they can produce,

‘If the curriculum is not inclusive, it’s not diverse it’s not really like for example I know in the history department there’s like only one person that can help you if you’re doing a dissertation on Africa’. (Angelica, White student)

Participants appear to be seeking a more representative curriculum, extending inclusivity at Durham from their social experience to their academic. Therefore, decolonising the curriculum at Durham may need to rely upon who they employ and sponsor within the university, putting an emphasis on preparing researchers and professors of diverse backgrounds to add or restructure the academic canon by disrupting the institutional habitus and facilitating new teaching practices (Begum and Sanin, 2019; Heleta, 2016; Radcliffe, 2017). Considering Durham lacks this representation as discussed in previous codes, increasing representation seems vital for different perspectives of academic learning for students, and thus improving diversity amongst staff is perceiving to be a crucial element for Durham to become a racially inclusive institution. Moreover, participants also illuminated gender as a relevant construct, again feeling this reduces their learning experience,

‘I think it is imperative, I think we need to like deconstruct Western modes of thought and knowledge. I think it’s necessary not just for people of colour and for black people to feel represented in the curriculum but like for academia as a whole because we just rely on white men for knowledge and understanding and criticism and as you can see they’re quite stupid.’ (Hazel, Mixed-race student)

‘I think it’s really important to not just be reading works by just White men who like haven’t really experienced the world fully because actually nobody can (laughs).’ (Elena, White student)

Hazel and Elena’s illustration of the university curriculum depicts the racial overrepresentation of men who are White as constraining to the breadth of knowledge they are exposed to. The curriculum is starting to be challenged for the overrepresentation of men authors and theorists who are White in many subject areas, questioning universities’ continuance in practicing a ‘dead White men’ approach to teaching (Begum and Saini, 2019). Hazel suggesting, they are “stupid” could be because the

knowledge in some of their literature continue to misrepresent people who look like her. The problematic Whiteness depicted in the curriculum has been shown to marginalise people who are Black through subtle racism and stereotypes, while simultaneously setting European knowledge as the valuable standard (Bird and Pitman, 2020; Heleta, 2016). Thus, her emotional ties to some of the current curriculum is linked with her identity being distorted and if Durham does not decolonise efficiently, research suggest the current curriculum may have an impact on students' sense of belonging, learning engagement, and other emotional consequences (Arday et al., 2021; Taha, Bakare, and Dagongdong, 2019). Furthermore, if the current curriculum is perceived to be dominated by traditional White principles, decolonising would help the TDS by expanding their knowledge with other perspectives that they may not have encountered prior to university. Therefore, 'Decolonisation' is underpinned by the descriptive code *White-washed portrait*, where the problematic Whiteness and Eurocentrism that is perceived to overwhelmingly dominate the current curriculum at Durham, needs to be critiqued by diversifying representation to impact all students positively by learning from different pedagogical perspectives, and thus avoiding racial exclusivity.

10.3.2 Inspiring Blackness

A repeated critique the participants had towards the curriculum concerned its lack of representation, discussing a lack of portrayal and thus lack of truth about people who are White and the ReM. It appears that the participants interpret the lack of representation as a missed opportunity to learn about others,

'Um I don't think it's fair that we don't get to learn about other culture...I know history is a big one because I know they don't really learn about African or Caribbean history I think that should be brought in.' (Ciara, Black student)

Ciara proposes fairness to not be demonstrated in the curriculum because of the absence of her culture in certain departments. Her perceptions could be a result of the lack of representation on reading lists within the curriculum. Thus, coinciding with Bird and Pitman (2020) – scholars who are White - on exploring diversity in reading list at two research intensive universities, where the evaluation of reading lists uncovered 'empirical basis for claims that university reading lists in the UK context are dominated by white, male and Eurocentric authors' (p. 911). For instance, the student population of the study was 39% "BAME" UK domiciled, but 7% of the Social Science authors reviewed were "BAME"

researchers (Bird and Pitman, 2020). Therefore, reading lists are understood to be a reconstructive step within challenging the curriculum. However, changing reading lists is not enough action and can be seen as token diversity, so for true decolonisation institutions must 'truly transform the university knowledge base' (Andrews, 2019, p. 710; Hack 2020). Ciara recommending African history to be considered could also be through her social world understanding Blackness is essential for decolonising. For example, Andrews (2019) – a SCHOLAR WHO IS BLACK and male – proposes Black studies is based on knowledge produced for the struggle of liberation, and to learn about people who are Black is to expand everyone's knowledge of the world. Therefore, teaching Black African history to students does not only benefit students who are Black, but benefits all British society (Arday, 2020b). Since the identity of the TDS is perceived to undermine scholars who are Black (illustrated in chapter 9), it may be beneficial for Durham to culturally integrate more Black African literature and representation within their curriculum to become more racially inclusive for students who are Black. Similar to Ariel's perceptions,

'Um so I think it would be better to have more integrated diverse curriculum that would at least encourage a kind of normalising the fact that academics are both Black and white.' (Ariel, White student)

Moreover, participants further discussed the curriculum with regards to it negating the opportunity to appropriately reflect ReM groups,

'I also feel passionate about the decolonising of the curriculum for that precise reason because like me and I think future generations need to see themselves represented'. (Mia, Mixed-race student)

'like you never heard of like what Asians or Black people contributed towards Chemistry. I feel like if you see a Black person that has contributed to Chemistry it makes you feel like wait "I can do that".' (Jay, Black student)

'And maybe I just haven't done my research, but I feel like most of the scientist and experimenters most of them are White. I'm like why can't we look for maybe some Black people, somebody Black that did something.' (Aimee, Black student)

'It can give you someone to inspire to as well and someone you can learn from in terms of their opinions and it can make your opinions on the subject feel more validated when you have someone with similar beliefs as you.' (Dale, White student)

Participants highlighted their expectation that decolonising the curriculum could improve the representation of people who are from 'global racial majority' (GRMa) backgrounds (e.g., scholars who are "non-White" globally/internationally), positioning this as having the influence to inspire others. Role models, mentorship, and support make a positive difference in student and academic staff sense of belonging (Arday, et al., 2019; Begum and Saini, 2019; Nazar et al., 2015) Thus, an analysis made is seeing oneself increases *self-determination*, which is known for impacting an individual psychologically, resulting in motivational outcomes such as, empowering a person to immerse in autonomous and goal-directed behaviour (Field, Sarver, and Shaw, 2003; Spittle, Jackson, and Kasey, 2009). These outcomes may disrupt problematic Whiteness and students having to self-educate on their own racial identity like Mia,

'I think I feel lucky that I've been exposed to thinkers from different backgrounds like African philosophers but those are things I had to activate and seek out. So it's like for example, I know this isn't related but I'm into classical music and I didn't know that there were black composers until I found them, I had to go find them myself and the fact that they weren't taught to me meant I didn't have those kind of role models and I wasn't able to aspire to become yeah to get that standard basically.' (Mia, Mixed-race student)

Therefore, the strategy to decolonise the curriculum is underpinned by the descriptive code *Inspiring Blackness*, where studying Black African pedagogy can liberate society's consciousness and inspire students who are Black to pursue academia and have a sense of belonging at Durham. However, to achieve racial integration and support those who are Black to recognise themselves in academia, the curriculum and the way it is delivered would need to utilise racial discourse.

10.3.3 Acknowledging race (racial silence)

In this code, it is interpreted that the academic staff is 'racially sleep' just like the TDS (see chapter 11). To start, participants perceive race to be "pushed under" and "silenced" in classrooms,

'So, like issues relating to like gender are spoken about a lot, but like race is quite ignored well not ignored but like it's done what's need to be done so like in modules of education that needs to be done, but in let's say the module about sex workers I don't think race is even mentioned once. It's been mentioned like ah some sex workers are like trafficked like going to different places, but like the racial element to that is sort of lost and I feel like that um obviously students

are uncomfortable to talk about it not me personally but on a more holistic level because they're really all White and the lecturers again they don't talk about it because they're really all White. So, it's more pushed under the carpet than actually engaging with it and that's changing I think.' (Ezekiel, Mixed-race student)

'I mean Durham doesn't really touch on race as much as I think it should especially with languages and stuff like Spanish and colonialism and stuff I think they kind of brush over it'. (Alma, Black student)

...

'You know it's like I said sometimes I feel awkward when people aren't touching on things or when things aren't talked about. So yeah I do kind of feel as though I'm not included in the curriculum.' (Alma, Black student).

'It's frustrating that they're not spoken about because I think it implies that they're not good enough to teach about'. (Mia, Mixed-race student)

Participants infer that the information they are provided within their learning experiences fail to integrate racial identity. By negating this aspect of identity, the idea reinforced may be that racial identity is not important, which appears to be conflicting with the reality of the participants' social worlds. Ezekiel mentioning that lecturers do not speak about race on a "holistic level" because they are "all White" is similar to research suggesting teachers who are White either lack knowledge in race or use colour-blind discourses to actively avoid race discussions and treat their students who are Black differently than their peers who are White (e.g., low teacher expectations) (Chapman and Bhopal, 2019; Segall and Garrett, 2013). Similar to Wallace (2018) where Black Afro-Caribbean pupils are assumed to be "poor or working class" (Akilah, p. 426) by teachers and administrators because of their Black identity. Thus, professors' habitus may stem from *cultural blindness*, where colour and culture are not considered influences on inequality (Cross, 1988), which may denounce the racial challenges participants have discussed.

Moreover, the lack of discussion regarding racial identity when learning about peoples' experiences does not equate to ignorance of it, enabling opportunities for assumptions to be made based on the cultural incompetence/misplaced Whiteness (illustrated in chapter 11) of the TDS, exemplified by Alma,

'So, like my year abroad for example I had people who were like oh "are you really actually from England, are you sure?" people would be like "nah I think you misunderstood the

question”. Or people in seminars would be like “hmm yeah so like the westerners civilised Africans because they were savages”.’ (Alma, Black student)

Alma’s experience is reflective of the psychological process of heuristics (see chapter 5), demonstrating that people make assumptions based on the racial identity of people, extending to groups of people (e.g., England) by utilising their knowledge of reality and applying it in a generalised manner (Shah and Oppenheimer, 2008). Generalisations, coupled with the lack of discussion regarding racial identity described by the participants constrains the potential for perceptions to be racially re-constructed, and thus more appropriately reflect what the participants see as reality,

‘Again, it feeds into the myth that blacks aren’t capable of doing great things I guess.’ (Mia, Mixed-race student)

By negating to actively consider racial identity in discussions about people, Mia highlights the concern for students who are Black that this can reinforce a restricted perception of people who are Black. In doing so, for those who are Black this may reinforce the self-fulfilling prophecy and for those that are White, re-establish the ideology of “White supremacy”. Coinciding Reuben’s perceptions, who was the only participant who felt Durham was racially inclusive and decolonising could be “detrimental”,

‘I feel like it might be quite a tough thing to do because the lack of maybe other races and the lack of female authors and stuff like that. It might be detrimental because the reading list might not be as good as it could be if they were just trying to include diverse. I mean I don’t really look at the reading lists anyway (laughs).’ (Reuben, White student)

‘So, where do you think those thoughts come from as far as like what you just said about? Like when you said there may not be that many authors.’ (Researcher)

‘Where it comes from? Um I think maybe in the past the majority of them have been male so there’s not as many female authors have come through so it might not be as many at the same level of research and stuff.’ (Reuben, White student)

The descriptive code *acknowledging race* is highlighted by lecturers avoiding the implications of race in the curriculum through *colour* and *cultural blindness*, which consciously or unconsciously reinforces racialised stereotypes to be used within individuals’ heuristic processes, influencing their subsequent decision making and ideas regarding the socially mis-constructed “Black inferiority” and “White superiority”. Therefore, participants’ perceptions advocate that Durham must respond to the perceived absence of discussion about race in the curriculum, applying attention to racial identities and

thus expanding the scope of racial inclusivity outside of people who are White at Durham, into the academic canon.

Moreover, a theoretical recommendation to start *acknowledging race* and racially reconciling the curriculum is to have a ‘woke pedagogy’, a form of critical multicultural education. Altheria Caldera (2018) developed a ‘woke’ pedagogical framework substantiated in Black feminist ideology that challenges the *cultural blindness* of teachers/professors. ‘Woke pedagogy’ describes implementing teaching practices in the curriculum that take an intersectional approach and critiques oppressive structures that historically and currently impact the lived experiences of marginalised groups, i.e., students and staff in education and society (Caldera, 2018, Ladson-Billings, 2014). Caldera (2018) highlights three approaches to ‘woke pedagogy’:

1. ‘Both teachers and students view their lived experiences as sources of knowledge and tools for knowledge creation.’
2. Teachers and students must ‘analyse multiple forms of oppression and the intersection among them.’
3. ‘Woke classrooms are led by teachers who exhibit activist care.’ (pg. 7)

Through these approaches it is interpreted to decolonise Durham’s curriculum is to have ‘woke pedagogy’, which would also be another mechanism to rehumanise the ‘racially sleep’ identity of the TDS and staff to become ‘racially woke folx’ (see chapter 11).

Finally, when considering ‘Decolonisation’, the participants critiqued the curriculum for its dominant problematic Whiteness and Eurocentrism, lack of academic of “colour” representation, the importance of Blackness, self-identifying with what is taught, and overcoming the silencing of race in the teaching processes. Implementing these strategies may create racial reconciliation and could possibly set Durham apart from other Russell Group Universities,

‘I think that there needs to be a step away from the obsession with being a Russell Group university that does the same courses as every other Russell Group university...’ (Ariel, White student)

‘I said this to someone last week that Durham has a chance to be like the leader of British Universities if we decolonise now like if we did it within the next academic year we’d be among

the first British Universities to properly Decolonise the whole curriculum and that would be a big sign. Yeah it's only a good thing.'

...

'like if we did all that decolonising thing early on before like Cambridge are like pushing it now but like if we got there before the other major universities then it would be a huge selling point for Durham University.' (Ezekiel, Mixed-race student)

10.4 Conclusion

To conclude, the theme “When Race Enters the Room: Racial Literacy to Racial Reconciliation” is constructed from three key concepts used to understand strategies to transform Durham into a more racially inclusive space for all students: (i) ‘Dyadic Transformation’, where it is the university’s responsibility to transform the culture by using authentic diversity and inclusion processes (e.g., positive action in recruitment, anti-racist education) in the university and social spaces; (ii) ‘Prioritising Blackness’, referring to the prioritisation of Durham increasing Black representation by avoiding merit narratives, promoting race/ethnic ReM-based societies, and integrating Black African culture within the community; and (iii) ‘Decolonisation’, describes challenging the problematic Whiteness and Eurocentrism in the curriculum, and critiquing the teaching processes that misinterprets the GRMA and silences race. This is perceived to be done through using liberatory processes such as increasing Black representation in staff and having a ‘woke pedagogy’, which will help inspire students who are Black and benefit every other student and academic staff member at Durham – especially the ‘absent diverse opportunity’ group i.e., the TDS. Together these three interpretative codes are perceived to help racially reconcile the university’s habitus in becoming a racially inclusive institution – outside of affluent Whites – “When Race Enters the Room”, specifically towards students who are Black.

CHAPTER 11: RACIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

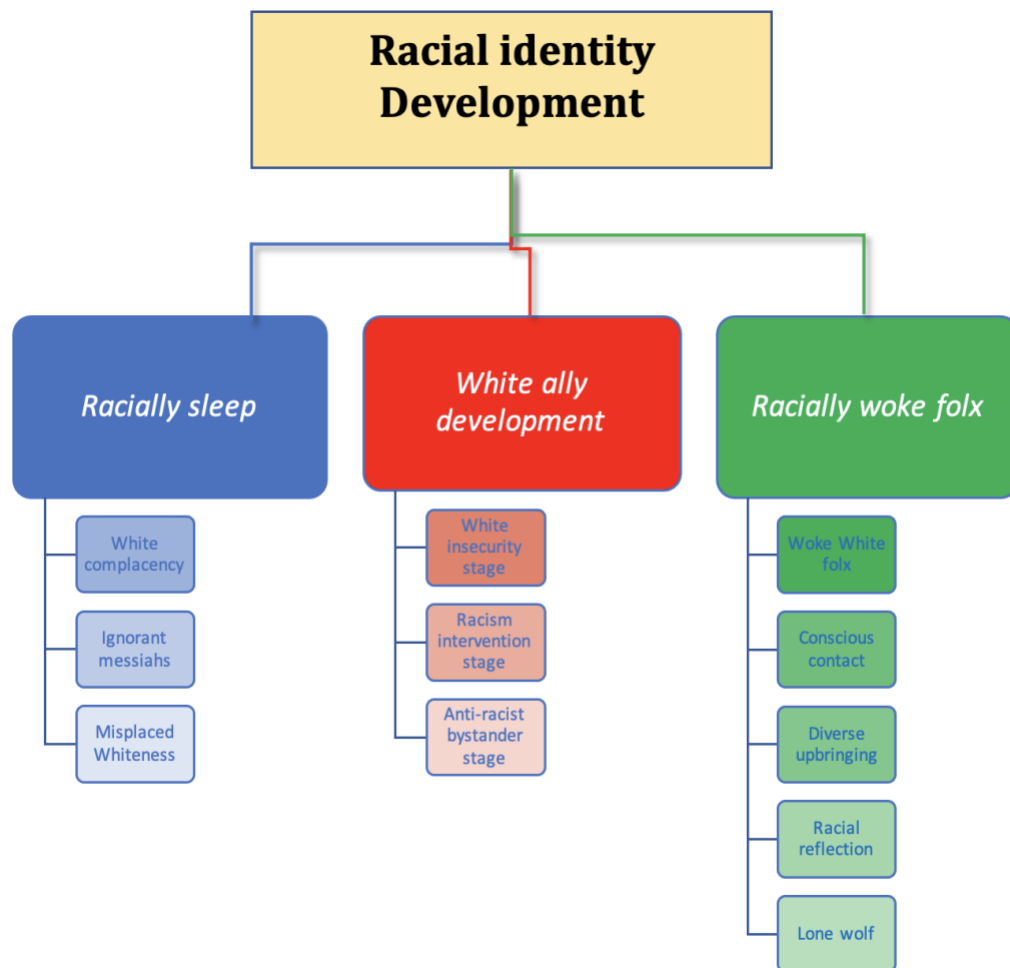
We gotta make a change
It's time for us as a people to start makin' some changes
Let's change the way we eat
Let's change the way we live
And let's change the way we treat each other
You see, the old way wasn't working so it's on us to do
What we gotta do, to survive
- 2Pac (1998), *Changes*

The previous chapter highlighted processes to racially reconcile Durham university's currently racially segregated identity. This overarching theme title "Racial Identity Development" focuses on understanding, racial reconstruction, and racially reconciling (see Horsford, 2014; illustrated in previous chapter) the social environment and/or culture amongst the two student groups i.e., TDS (e.g., White students, typically middle- and upper-class) and ReM (e.g., the global racial majority) at Durham, which is perceived to produce marginalisation because of the racist identity of the 'typical Durham student' (TDS). Therefore, this theme illustrates the juxtaposition between (i) the racial-cultural incompetency of the TDS and (ii) the racial-cultural competency of the 'non-typical' Durham student. Racial-cultural competence is defined by Sue and Torino (2005) as 'conscious knowledge of one's own racial-cultural group' (p. xiii) by self-exploration and development and understanding the historical influence of the out-group's status in society. Participants share through their lived experiences how and why they perceive the TDS to display racial-cultural incompetency, and the methods the TDS could use to racially reconstruct and reconcile their identity to become White allies or anti-racist. The title is derived from Janet Helms (1990) White racial identity development model, where she highlights six key stages a person who is White may embody in their racial development in regard to race and racism in society.

Therefore, this theme "Racial Identity Development" is composed of three key concepts that support students to racially reconstruct their identity, racially reconciling the culture at Durham. 'Racially sleep', illustrates the racial-cultural incompetence of the TDS who is perceived to lack empathy, feels superior, and practices unacceptable racist behaviour because of feeling "superior". 'White ally

development' has three stages of development for students who are White to understand their perceived insecurity, to then overcome being a passive bystander to have an anti-racist bystander racial identity, which is recommended as the racial responsibility of students who are White to racially reconcile Durham's culture. 'Racially woke folx', has five key phases for students to recognise different ways of forming a racially woke identity, with liberating the voices of women who are Black being perceived as the underlying consideration of awareness. The amalgamation of these codes illuminates a social environment and/or culture at Durham that is perceived to be racist. Processes are recommended to racially reconstruct the identity of students to become White allies, anti-racist, and racially woke for Durham's culture to be racially reconciled - thus becoming a racially inclusive institution.

Diagram 6: Racial Identity Development (Thematic Map)



11.1 Racially sleep (racial-cultural incompetence)

'Racially sleep' is used to reflect the TDS absence of competence observed in the participants social world in regard to race, racism, and out-group culture. The word "sleep" refers to the Black African use of the word "slept on" - meaning the opposite of woke - where someone does not pay attention to or is ignorant to something (Urban Dictionary, 2017). 'Racially sleep' can be synonymous with the term racial-cultural incompetence. Also, this code incorporates the *contact stage* of Helm's White identity development, which is 'a lack of awareness of cultural and institutional racism, and of one's own White privilege' (Tatum, 1990, p. 13). Thus, 'racially sleep' is constructed from three phases of the participants' perceptions, (i) *White complacency*, (ii) *Ignorant Messiahs*, and (iii) *Misplaced Whiteness*. Together these codes illustrate how and why race, racism, and out-group cultures are slept on by the TDS who has been 'absent diverse opportunity'.

11.1.1 *White complacency*

To start, Angelica (StWW and international) highlights her observations of why Durham is not an open and inclusive environment,

'It's not even just from the locals but people from the University like students they're very comfortable not questioning and not challenging received kind of ideas and you just came across it as very complacent sometimes and not as critical as you want them maybe to be.'
(Angelica, White student)

The TDS is perceived to be "complacent" and not challenge the ideas of racism in Angelica's perceptions. Students may not challenge their ideas because they are perceived to not care,

'Yeah and then like I don't know I do feel like there's no point in telling an organisation or a group of people like "oh this is what you need to do to stop racism" if like they don't even care about stopping it in the first place. Like yeah I think the first step is like if you actually want to like make people do stuff you have to make them care about it or like find it an issue that needs to be dealt with.'
(Elena, White student)

In Elena's social world, to stop racism students must care first, however, literature suggests discussing racism can be a challenging process for people who are White (e.g., White fragility and White students' resistance) (DiAngelo, 2018; Evans-Winter and Hines, 2020), like participants experiences. Elesha describes the difficulties of having conversations about racism with her peers,

'I don't try to have those conversations necessarily all the time with White people that's what I'm saying like.

...

Just like it's just a bit like just a bit pointless sometimes. (Elesha, Mixed-race student)

Elesha acknowledges that conversations of racism in her experience with peers who are White are "pointless", elaborating she believes racism conversations are "irritating" and her peers "don't really have respect" for people who experience racism, perceiving this to be because they do not have to experience it themselves. Smith's (2010) theory of moral sentiments (as cited in Sayer, 2004) is underpinned by sociological and psychological theory, and conveys that whilst humans have the capacity to understand others' situations and emotions, for we all have similar experiences and emotions, that - importantly - our experiences are not identical. The gap between similar and identical can explain Elesha's interpretation of conversations about racism. Applying Smith's theory, it may be anticipated that empathy and understanding could be conveyed by people who are White, potentially relating to their own experiences of feeling victimised and discriminated against. However, Elesha acknowledges conversations with peers to be "pointless" and "irritating" demonstrating that she does not feel their understanding reflects hers. Therefore, people who are White are absent from the experience of racism and therefore their response and understanding to it (e.g., in conversations) are not the same. Expanding further, the TDS, who is constructed as privileged across areas of social and economic capital, is unlikely to experience discrimination in a similar way to others, making it more difficult for them to relate to racialised experiences. Consequently, the gap between similar and the same is understood to be more drastic with regards to race, people who are White are absent from the experience of racism, and therefore it is less likely their response will be compatible with those who do experience it.

To further explore the perceived absence of an empathic response from the TDS to instances of race and racism, the concept 'White solipsism' and the theory of 'lay normativity' (Sayer, 2005) can be applied. According to Adrienne Rich (1979) 'White solipsism' is,

'not the consciously held belief that one race is inherently superior to all others, but a tunnel-vision which simply does not see "non-white" experience or existence as precious or significant, unless in spasmodic, impotent guilt-reflexes, which have little or no long-term, continuing momentum or political usefulness.' (As cited in Aleinkoff, 1991, p. 1060)

Thus, the TDS could use a colour-blind perspective to racialised experiences 'to conceal the partiality of their perceptions' (Alcoff, 1998, p. 11). Secondly, 'lay normativity' refers to how social agents rationalise what they perceive as important based on their position, i.e., for someone who experiences racism, responding empathically is important and of value; for someone who does not experience racism, an empathic response to racism is not of value and therefore the perceived importance is different within their social worlds. Thus, for those who do not experience racism and have racism absent from their moral ascription (Morrison, 2015; Sayer, 2000), an empathic response is not triggered when observing or responding to racism. As such, through the concept of 'lay normativity' empathy is absent for the TDS with regards to race and racism, and throughout this chapter the TDS 'lay normativity' is positioned as *hypocritical Whiteness* (illustrated in chapter 8). This is because the TDS expresses a contradictory rationalisation of their moral values, depicting their White racial identity to receive unfair treatment – i.e., claiming "reverse racism" (illustrated in next interpretative code 'White ally development') – yet denounces the racialised experiences of students who are Black.

Furthermore, empathy is defined as resonating with the positive and negative feelings of others (Peters and Calvo, 2014). For example, we can 'feel happy when we vicariously share the joy of others and we can share the experience of suffering when we empathize with someone in pain' (Singer and Klimecki, 2014, p. R875). This perceived lack of empathy towards racism is "very frustrating" to Hannah (StWBr) because in her social world when you're at a certain age (e.g., "20-21 years old") "you've had time to formalise" ideas about race and she perceives students who are White to refuse to. This frustration leads to Hannah feeling conversations "won't go anywhere", similar to Elesha's impressions of race and racism discussions being "pointless" with the TDS. Thus, the descriptive code *White complacency* is

underpinned by the theory of moral sentiments, White solipsism, lay normativity, and/or complacent reactions (e.g., lack empathy and challenging racist ideas) the TDS has when discussing racism.

Moreover, another reason for *White complacency* and the TDS being unbothered of race and racism discussions may stem from their homogenise racial backgrounds and lack of interracial contact (illustrated in chapter 9), explained by Elesha,

‘if you are from a village and you go to a private school and everyone’s the same and you come to Uni it’s just different you’re not going to have the same awareness.’ (Elesha, Mixed-race student)

This unawareness leads to the type of discussions Jay explains with a friend,

“I don’t know...maybe it’s like I had a White friend from first year and I was trying to explain to her my situation or how I feel and blah blah. She just never really understood, so it’s just kind of like I don’t really talk about it to be honest, ‘cause either people be like “oh racism doesn’t exist anymore like you guys are not getting lynched”.’ (Jay, Black student)

An interpretation made is the TDS may identify racism as old-fashioned, where violence and blatant racist attitudes have to be displayed overtly in order for Jay’s feelings to be taken seriously (Dovidio and Gaertner, 2004; Henry and Sears, 2002) - coinciding with ‘White solipsism’. These types of reactions from his peers’ results in him being “desensitised” and “conditioned” not to “feel any type of way” when he hears the word racism. Thus, *White complacency* also results in *emotional consequences* (illustrated in chapter 9) for students who are Black. *White complacency* is also perceived to lead to racial “microaggressions”,

‘Ok like one of my friends who is Black had a comment made about him and I think they said “oh he’s really good looking for a Black guy”.’ (Ciara, Black student)

‘Was this from another student?’ (Researcher)

‘Yeah who was white, but you know what she didn’t actually know what she said was wrong, we were like “why would you say for Black guys?” and she was like “what do you mean? like he is nice for a Black guy”. She didn’t know she was being racist.’ (Ciara, Black student)

According to Ciara’s perceptions, specifying someone’s race while complimenting them is racist and again her experience like Jay’s illustrates their peers’ who are White inability to understand the implications of racism. An interpretation made is if students who are White are complacent in

discussions, they will continue to be unaware of racist behavior that will offend students who are Black and Asian, resulting in students experiencing an accumulation of racial “microaggressions” (see chapter 5), thus preventing racial inclusion. Therefore, *White complacency* leads to absent racial understanding, and thus students are unaware of their alleged racist behaviour, hence ‘racially sleep’. This apparent ignorance is perceived to result in their habitus inhibiting a White “superiority complex” (consciously or unconsciously).

11.1.2 Ignorant messiahs

When considering students who are complacent, it can be suggested that they embed wider society racial stereotypes, which is perceived to be ignorance by their racial-culturally competent peers,

‘it’s not racism it’s ignorance’

...

‘I don’t think ignorance can like be put in with racism but it’s just as irritating and just as like unthoughtful.’

...

‘Um, not racism but like ignorance there’s quite a lot of ignorance. Someone was like complaining about the college food and someone was like “oh it would be so much worse in a poor country” and I was like what do you mean by that and she was like “oh in Africa they just eat like porridge”. I was like wow a whole continent that is so big and it’s like offensive because as an African my culture has so much more to offer than the perception that’s just like given by the media or uni surface etc...’ (Ana, Black student)

Again, as mentioned in the previous chapter the TDS generalises groups by making inaccurate assumptions, which may be portrayed as ignorant. Ignorance can be defined as the lack of knowledge, awareness, and/or education of an individual (Merriam-Webster, 2021). Applying the FTS framework when considering the sociology of ignorance, being ignorant would be conveyed as a conscious tool, used by the TDS. McGoe (2012a) – a woman scholar who is White – suggests individuals who are ambiguous and/or ignorant to knowledge deny disturbing facts (e.g., racism), choosing to know the minimal amount possible. This approach is seen as a strategy to cope when feeling there is a threat and to absolve guilt or responsibility after a tragic incident (p. 3). Applying this theory, ignorance is interpreted as a strategic form of knowledge for the TDS and University, the embodiment of ignorance being a valuable resource to deny racism and as a tool for power and social control (McGoe, 2012a

and 2012b). Therefore, the theory of ignorance manifests as an anti-epistemology i.e., ‘the nature of non-knowledge’, which refers to how knowledge can be covered and obscured (Galison, 2004, p. 237).

Additionally, Ana responds to racialised comments from other students with shock (e.g., “wow”) and sarcasm. Ana may perceive this experience to be the outcome of ignorance rather than racism, because the TDS is not specifying a racial group. However, her cultural ties to Africa and generalised depiction of African identity as people who are Black, makes the comment personal and results in her being offended. Whether defined as racism or ignorance, the interpretation made is that the *emotional consequence* is the same. To continue, comments perceived as ignorant about Africa were prevalent amongst the interviews. Aimee a student born and raised in Africa suggests - like many participants - it’s a lack of knowledge, ignorance, or the TDS believing their country or identity is superior to Black Africans,

‘And most people tend to refer to Africa as a country not a continent. That also I think people need to know more about that part of the world and maybe they can appreciate people more.’

...

‘Lack of knowledge. Going back to what I said earlier it’s just I feel like they don’t know about your experiences of who you are and where you come from and they’re there to judge based on what they see. And maybe what they hear other people talking about and talking about like dating back to like colonialism and stuff like that...maybe they think they’re superior.’

...

‘They’ve probably formed this thing in their head, like I heard a person say they think we live in huts, they think we live with animals. And I think they have just this...image of how we should be and when they see that it’s different they can’t help but comment on it. That’s where I think it comes from, lack of proper knowledge.’ (Aimee, Black student)

In Aimee’s perceptions the TDS may see themselves as “superior” or formed generalisable ideas of her Black identity because of the curriculums that silence race (illustrated in chapter 10: *acknowledging race*). Therefore, students could possibly rely on mainstream media, where research has shown media’s involvement in producing misconceptions and negative stereotypical images of Africans globally, which affects not just people who are White but Blacks in the diaspora as well (Darboe, 2006; Harth, 2012). It is interpreted that the TDS racial-cultural incompetency towards Blacks could manifest from the amalgamation of two practices; (i) Durham’s *cultural blindness* approach to their curriculum that does not acknowledge race, intersected with (ii) their racially homogenous White background.

However, this may seem contradictory because the TDS are perceived to attend private schools that are apparently at the top of the educational hierarchy. Even within these “elite” spaces that provide students who are Black an opportunity to have a “better” education - prior to university - they still experience marginalisation and racist abuse (e.g., Blackface, prejudice, gang stereotyping) from their peers and teachers who are White (Kuriloff and Reichert, 2003; Lough, 2020).

Thus, with increasing racial diversity in England and in “elite” institutions, schools prior to higher education should play a role in racial inclusivity to help combat the “Messiah attitude” participant Ana (StWB) perceives the TDS to embody. Also, the non-typical Durham student may avoid this perceived ignorance and forming generalisable ideas by growing up in diverse backgrounds (illustrated in code, ‘Racially woke folx’). Finally, in the participants social world the TDS displaying ignorance and not racism is highlighted by their generalisable assumptions of Black Africans and demonstrating a superior attitude constructed the descriptive code *ignorant messiahs*. These alleged *ignorant messiahs* could be interpreted as another ‘Trump card’ for the TDS, and unfortunately this identity leads to unacceptable racist behaviours in the participants social worlds.

11.1.3 Misplaced Whiteness

The racial-cultural incompetency of students at Durham generates *misplaced Whiteness*, whereby the *White complacency* and *ignorant messiah* attitude of the TDS produces an irrational justification to use racist language/behaviour towards students who are Black. To start with this misplaced racial identity, Mia illustrates ambiguity with regard to freedom of speech and race,

“we were discussing freedom of speech and obviously in philosophy we look at the boundaries of freedom of speech and hate speech and whether it should be legislated as something illegal or whatever.” (Mia, Mixed-race student)

The unspecified boundaries of freedom of speech may be reflected in UK legislation for hate crime concerning race, defined as, ‘any incident/crime which is perceived by the victim or any other person to be motivated by hostility or prejudice based on a person's race or perceived race.’ (cps.gov.uk, 2020). There is a shared expectation that people in society follow laws, but to Mia it appears that the subjectivity of the law is problematic. This UK legislation may seem ambiguous because it is only by

the “perception” of someone’s interpretation that the law can be enforced. This apparent ambiguity is reflected in Mia’s lecture discussion, whereby Mia described feeling “frustrated” and “angry”,

‘One student, a white girl was trying to justify the use of the N word um on the grounds that “it gives black people like a means of celebration, like it enables them to celebrate in that experience of blackness and that experience of struggle”. Um but I suppose I took issue with the fact that white people can use the term simply because it allows black people to celebrate in a struggle and the way I see it was responsible well slavery was responsible for that struggle.’
(Mia, Mixed-race student)

Mia’s description of the student as “White” infers the student’s race is pertinent within the discussion. Within discussions about race there are assumed societal norms, this has developed through the social history that has occurred, whereby the use of the word “nigger” was associated with abuse to people that were Black. The interpretation is that words can carry with them a social history (e.g., Hunt, 2012), which is reflected in Mia’s use of “N” word, not only indicating she has a shared assumption that her intended meaning of the word will be understood, but in the way she refrains from saying it in its entirety. Generally, there is a societal ban on the word, for example, in that it is not typically tolerated when used by a person that is White to describe a person that is Black (de Klerk, 2011). The underpinning reason for this may be reflected in the legislation, within the context of history when a person that is White used the word it was abuse, it was derogatory and so the motivation expected when a person that is White uses the word towards a person that is Black is that it is hateful, and thus fits within the scope of the law as a crime.

Alternatively, music that is widespread within society does contain the “N” word ending in an “a”, however, this is typically said by people that are Black, whereby the motivation is not interpreted in the same way. Thus, in Mia’s social world, a person’s race influences the language that they should use regarding race. For the student Mia describes, their perceptions may reflect their experience of seeing people that are Black using the word in what they see as a potentially uniting way, with research suggesting Black African hip hop artist express the use of the word being a “term of endearment” (Lindsey, 2013, p. 96) - despite research suggesting otherwise (see chapter 3). However, Mia suggests the use of the “N” word ending with an “a” should not be adopted by people who are White. This may have been constructed through Mia’s understanding of Western slavery, with the origins of the word

being meant in a derogatory way perpetrated by people who were White (Browder, 1989; Kendi, 2016; Lindsey, 2013; Moore, 1992) (illustrated in chapter 3). Thus, to Mia it appears to be inappropriate for people who are White to then celebrate in that struggle they created.

The use of the “N” word ending with an “a” was highlighted in Ariel and Jay’s experiences,

‘So, like I think the worst is probably like you know like Gold digger by Kanye West it has the “N” word in it and I watched an entire group of white people like sing along with that word and at home that would not be acceptable at all... Yeah in like a private area, a pre drink setting.’

...

‘I am a White female British person and therefore there are words I don’t think I’m allowed to use because of my background and people here don’t always have the same opinion on that.’
(Ariel, White student)

‘One of my course mates called me nigga and was like “oh it’s ok I’m not meaning it in the context of the past blah blah blah”.’ (Jay, Black student)

Ariel’s experience of “unacceptable” jokes being in a “private area” illuminate to the backstage performance mentioned in previous chapters, where students who are White display racist behaviour (e.g., telling racist jokes, mocking Black dialect) behind closed doors (Picca and Feagin, 2020; Watkins-Hayes, 2009). Ariel also perceives that her White identity is prohibited to use certain language, but her and many other participants suggest the TDS uses language and ‘banter’ that in their social worlds is deemed unacceptable. Participants like Ariel may view this behaviour unacceptable because of her diverse upbringing (illustrated in code, ‘Racially woke folx’). Similarly, in Jay’s experience his course mate used the “N” word in a “light-hearted” way in the frontstage, i.e., in front of others. Jay continued to mention the TDS tries to “trivialise” their use of the word and other stereotypical jokes because, “the only type of black people they’ve encountered are like the ones on TV and stuff”. As mentioned above, Jay’s perceptions coincide with mainstream media negatively stereotyping Blacks (Darboe, 2006; Harth, 2012), which could influence the TDS to be perceived as ‘racially sleep’ i.e., racial-culturally incompetent.

It appears that the lack of social diversity the TDS has been exposed to influences them to utilise inappropriate behaviours without an appreciation of the harm this can do. To overtly suggest that it is

“ok” due to an intended context could be interpreted as them believing their intention overrides the experience for the student who is Black. This prioritisation of the person who is White reflects the TDS composition, with the *ignorant Messiah* identity influencing a sense of superiority. Thus, the concept of a person who is Black being able to use terminology they are not conflicts with their inner beliefs, i.e., that they are able to assert themselves as they choose, unaccepting of the discrepancies in social history as a reason for enabling people who are Black to use the word, but not them. Thus, the descriptive code *misplaced Whiteness* is underpinned by the TDS defining other racial groups culture outside of their own and justifying the use of racist language/behaviour through a camouflaged ‘banter’ in the frontstage, and explicitly in the backstage. Thus, *misplaced Whiteness* creates further marginalisation for students who are Black at Durham University, because “I think we have expectations and have made little clusters of behaviour that we as White people think is correct” (Rose, StWW).

To conclude, participants perceptions about how the TDS lacks empathy, feels superior and uses that “superiority” to conduct unacceptable behaviour about issues of race, racism, and cultures outside of their own constructed the three descriptive codes, *White complacency*, *ignorant Messiahs*, and *misplaced Whiteness*. Together, these codes create the interpretative code ‘Racially Sleep’, demonstrating the lack of racial-cultural competence the TDS is perceived to have. Cultural incompetence reflects the perpetuation of racial stereotypes, beliefs and thus racial inferiority (Lujan, 2009), which corroborates with students’ experiences at Durham. Thus, Durham is positioned as a non-racially inclusive space, with the dominant culture (White) lacking familiarisation with people that are Black and thus observed to be culturally different to them. This leads to discriminatory actions towards the ReM culture, “denying the larger structural and systemic realities of racism” (Kumas-Tan et al., 2007, p. 554). The findings therefore construct a student body and space that has been ‘absent diverse opportunity’ to be ‘racially sleep’, having implications for those on the receiving end of such incompetence (e.g., students who are Black).

11.2 White Ally development

Showing compassion can help to overcome being ‘racially sleep’. If students who are White understand the emotional consequences of racism they may not want to sympathise with a victim, because they would have to share that suffering and may reduce their own resilience and ability to challenge it. However, research suggests compassion is not mirroring the distress of others, it is characterised by concerning and caring for another’s suffering and being motivated to help and support when witnessing the suffering of others (Peters and Calvo, 2014). In sum, ‘compassion is feeling for and not feeling with the other’ (Singer and Klimecki, 2014, pg. R875) and highlighting the benefit of compassion can support members of the University to construct a more inclusive environment.

When the racial identity of an individual is ‘racially sleep’ and exhibits problematic behaviour, it is important to understand how to recognise and challenge such behaviour. This interpretative code ‘White ally development’ consists of three descriptive codes, which resemble three key stages of development for a typical Durham student (TDS) to become a White ally. An ally’s role ‘is to speak up against systems of oppression, and to challenge other people who are white to do the same’ (Tatum, 1994, p. 474). To start, the *White insecurity stage* has been highlighted throughout this thesis from the local community (e.g., *racial abuse*) and students (e.g., ‘Trump Cards’). However, regarding this interpretative code an internal insecurity (e.g., White backlash) amongst the TDS is suggested to be directed towards students who are Black for using survival techniques (e.g., race-based societies). Whilst students who are Black may perceive these as brave spaces to feel racially included, the TDS feels a need to be defensive to this, appearing to feel their potential exclusion from these groups as unjust, reinforcing the students’ perceptions of the TDS being ‘racially sleep’. Thus, the initial stage of becoming an ally is to address one’s own insecurity, which may be achieved by considering the perspectives of students who are Black, recognising their perceived need for these safe spaces within a social world whereby they are marginalised. In doing so, there is increased scope to feel more understanding and thus less defensive. Once their apparent insecurities are understood, the *racism intervention stage* illustrates student perceptions on the difficulties in tackling racism, producing a student that is a passive bystander. Lastly, the *anti-racist bystander stage* in the participants social world is overcoming a passive bystander role to transform into an active anti-racist bystander, and thus embracing a White Ally identity to help create an anti-racist culture for all students at a traditional “elite” university.

11.2.1 *White insecurity stage (White threat responses)*

As mentioned in the chapter “Black Reality”, the lack of racial inclusion created a range of ‘survival techniques’ for students who are Black to feel a sense of belongingness. A developing theme amongst the participants was the perception of unjustifiable reactions from students who are White towards the two survival techniques *forging spaces* and *intra-racial connections*. As such, a suggested first stage of ‘White ally development’ is the practical suggestion of inclusion, requiring the students who are White to proactively seek to integrate with the students who are Black and ReM, for example through their race/ethnic based societies and events,

‘I think people think it’s cool and they’re just like “yeah” but I don’t know I think they feel a bit removed like we don’t really have people who aren’t people of colour coming to our stuff which would be nice if they did come.’ (Alma, Black student)

‘I don’t think they’re happy about it.’ (Jay, Black student)

‘I know for a fact they feel they can’t come to it, they feel like it’s a closed group and like you always have to tell people like it’s not closed.’ (Ciara, Black student, referring to BA society)

‘I think they’re quite uncomfortable with it, a lot of conversations I have with people about [society] they kind of like seem as though they’re kind of tired of like whatever I have to say in like relation to [society] and what we’re doing in the university.’ (Hazel, Mixed-race student)

The majority of participants suggested they expect their race/ethnic ReM-based societies and events would not be accepted by their peers who are White at Durham. An interpretation of Hazel suggesting students are “uncomfortable” or “tired” of her society could stem from ReM spaces discussing race and racism, which could involve students’ Whiteness being deemed negative or a causal factor in their peers racialised experiences (illustrated in chapter 10). This may explain why students who are White noticeably engage in the [society’s] events around “environmentalism” and “LGBT+ month” (Hazel, Mixed-race student), because their race may align or not be seen as problematic in these events – even though research reveals racism in those two factors as well. Thus, students who are White are apparently “uncomfortable” or “out of place” (Ana, StWB) and would rather disassociate than support race/ethnic ReM-based societies. Participants continue by sharing previously discussed insights on why students may dislike their societies,

‘Um I think people generally see it as a space that is like white hating and not supposed to be for whites and it’s not supposed to be for whites in any way shape or form, but we try to encourage a lot of white people to come to our talks and stuff like that, but they only come to like specific discussions if that makes sense.’ (Hazel, Mixed-race student)

‘I think that a lot of White kids feel offended...I think they kind of take it as a personal attack on their Whiteness. I think that comes from a place where they just don’t understand how different the experience of like a person of colour is. So, I think they are use to having access to like everything so they kind of take it as a personal attack. Like they can’t join a group because they aren’t the norm and they’re use to being the norm.’ (Prisca, Black student)

It is suggested that students who are White may see it as a space for “White hating” and feel their Whiteness is being attacked – as mentioned above. In Prisca’s social world students who are White not receiving the same benefits as the ReM is seen as an attack on their racial identity, because they are possibly unaware of the benefits they may already consume. An interpretation made is students who are White exhibit ‘White backlash’ towards race/ethnic ReM-based societies, which is also mentioned in the chapter “Black Reality”. ‘White backlash’ can be understood as negative responses perpetrated by White groups when they perceive the ReM to have new power or status, at the expense of people who are White (Hajnal, 2006; Hewitt, 2005; Hughley, 2014; Rhodes, 2010). Another form of ‘White backlash’ is highlighted by participants Dale and Graham,

‘I think that some people wrongly feel as if a society that helps other people feel included shouldn’t make them feel excluded. I mean like a society that makes Black Asian and minority ethnic group feel included to other like White students would feel like “oh that group is exclusive and you know I can’t be involved in that or like included in that”. And I think that some people have like that kind of attitude where it’s like “oh I don’t like the fact that I’m explicitly excluded in name from this group” and that can like harbour negative views against those societies.’ (Dale, White student)

‘I feel like they feel kind of adverse like negative well not negative towards it but kind of like say if I were to invite my White friends they would kind of say “oh I don’t want to go to a Black event because I will stand out or be the only White guy there” so they kind of feel as though it’s a way to exclude them but at the end of the day it’s not about them it’s about celebrating us and they’re invited to be a part of that celebration but they see it as “oh they have their own little group let’s leave them it’s a there thing” kind of thing if you know what I mean.’ (Graham, Black student)

In Dale and Graham's perceptions students who are White have negative views of societies because they feel excluded. Also, in Graham's social world he wants his society to be a space where his racial identity is celebrated, which may be underpinned by the subordination in the wider community and university. Nevertheless, it appears that students who are White are seeking a society formed for a racial-cultural identity opposite to theirs, to prioritise their needs too. Thus, two other forms of White backlash are interpreted: (i) when students who are White express unfairness and (ii) being fearful by standing out or fear of ReM group "stereotypes" (Ciara, StWB). This acknowledgment and misunderstanding of stereotypes resonate in Jay's interpretation,

'I remember talking to one of my course mates and he was like "oh I don't know why these Chinese people always stick together, like what's the point of them coming to Uni and to just chill with your own people." So, I kind of just turned to them and was like "well how many non-White people are in your group?" and he kind of just froze. And I'm just like why would you get mad that the Chinese choose to chill with each other, but you do the exact same thing, you know what I'm saying? Have you gone out of your way to try and put a Chinese person or somebody who is not White into your group?' (Jay, Black student)

In Jay's experience students who are White are quick to negatively judge other groups exhibiting the same behaviour as their own. Thus, an interpretation made is students who are White may demonstrate an unconscious form of *hypocritical Whiteness* (see chapter 8) stigmatising other racial groups whilst conducting the same behaviour of belongingness (e.g., *intra-racial connections*), again reinforcing the concept of being 'racially sleep'.

Moreover, Jay again explains another form of 'White backlash', but from a student who is White and female regarding his [BA society],

'I think it was two years ago some White girl tried to run for the president of the [BA society]...so it was kind of just like we're not excluding you, but I don't think you kind of understand the purpose of [BA society]. Then she kind of made it seem like we were racist and we didn't want to have a White president, it's not like we don't want to have a White president we just want to do things the way that we want to do it. At the end of the day the person of the [BA society] is supposed to represent the [BA society] so like why would you choose a minority to represent the whole [BA society]?' (Jay, Black student)

In Jay's reality the student who is White imagines herself to be a victim of racism illustrating the concept "reverse racism", which is another form of 'White backlash' (Hughley, 2014). The term "reverse racism" means, people who are White feel they are a victim of racism and believe Black and ReM groups receive preferential treatment (Lawrence, and Keleher, 2004). Thus, racism through this lens is positioned as a bidirectional experience, i.e., is experienced by people who are White, too (Ho and Cavanaugh, 2019). Furthermore, Jay continues to say the student was never a member of [BA society] before she ran for [elected official] and she may have only participated in the election to "prove that the [BA society] was racist". The suggested intention in these actions can be interpreted through a range of racially harmful outcomes. Firstly, when considering the social history of "White dominance", the expectation of a person who is White to lead a group developed to provide safety for people who are Black is underpinned with irony, negating the very power the students who are Black are seeking. Alternatively, this may be an example of the constructed *ignorant Messiah* attitude and *misplaced Whiteness* of the TDS intersecting, resulting in behaviour where students who are White need to feel validated, extending and prioritising their needs outside the vast space they already dominate to those pockets of safety within students' social worlds. Conversely, Jay also mentioned interactions with students who are Asian and mixed-race regarding their perceptions of a [BA society],

"oh what's the need for an ACS". I've even had a mixed-race person come to me and be like "oh why did you come to Durham if you didn't want to chill with White people". (Jay, Black student)

Jay's experience positions that other racial groups outside of his own "don't comprehend" the need for a [BA society], which led to some frustration in his tone, proceeding to say,

'they're kind of just like thinking it's a race exclusive thing and just like "oh we don't have a Caucasian society so why do you need one", but like the whole university is a Caucasian society you know what I'm saying. So, I don't think they're happy about it.'

Consequently, a response of backlash towards ReM-based societies includes other racial groups outside of students who are White too. When considering this type of behaviour and responses by their peers, discussion explored what could encourage students who are White to feel more comfortable and thus reduce their backlash,

‘I can’t lie, I don’t really care about making White people uncomfortable (laughs). If you feel comfortable you feel comfortable, if you don’t then that’s your business. (Jay, Black student)

‘I really don’t know how. What more do you want the societies to do? Do you want like a whole white day? or I think just saying all is welcome is enough.’ (Graham, Black student)

The students’ responses appear to demonstrate that they anticipate resolving ‘White Backlash’ to their race/ethnic ReM-based societies to be an expectation of them, which they disagree with. Alternative approaches to what could be done may have included the responsibility of those demonstrating the backlash. This initial internalised expectation may have been constructed from the repeated experience of being made to feel responsible for how people who are White feel. Their reality of experiencing backlash is reminiscent of this process, whereby their response to being isolated by people who are White and a social history whereby people who are White have ultimately mistreated them. These processes influence students who are Black to seek solace, together. However, this is then interpreted by people who are White as unfair to them, missing the catalyst factor that triggered their development of safe spaces - mistreatment from people who are White.

The students’ choice to prioritise their own wellbeing is a reflection of thinking the “whole university is a Caucasian society” (Jay), with the ‘White backlash’ towards the students who are Black constructing their awareness of students who are White having an advantage. They see this as unfair and whilst place responsibility on others to resolve the ‘White backlash’. Ultimately, this response highlights that the White students exhibited behaviour marginalises Black identities. Therefore, students who are Black seem to encounter a dilemma with their ‘survival technique’ *forging spaces*. The competing aspects of their experience include their awareness of being criticised and perceived as racist/exclusive from a student group yet highlighting that this same student group and institution marginalises them. The criticism is therefore seen to be perpetrated by the ‘racially sleep’ TDS, with the ‘survival technique’ *compromising Blackness* (illustrated in chapter 9) forming in response to the ‘racially sleep’ TDS behaviour. The TDS desire to feel included in all aspects of the student experience highlights the requirement for racial-cultural competence to be developed, recognising the function of race/ethnic ReM-based societies could mitigate the ‘White Backlash’.

In sum, the requirement of the TDS needing to feel racially included in a small space - even though they dominate majority spaces - is perceived to show an internal insecurity or 'White priority' because White lives have to matter (illustrated in chapter 4). This may seem contradictory in regard to race, since people who are White are typically the 'invisible majority' with their racial group demonstrating the use of colour-blind frames (illustrated in chapter 9), which continues to manifest a 'racially sleep' identity. Therefore, the beginning stages of 'White ally development' seeks to understand why students who are White at a traditional "elite" institution like Durham do not accept processes created by students who are Black to feel racially included. Thus, instead of responding to the actions of students who are Black with compassion and support of acceptance, the TDS exhibits various forms of White backlash (e.g., *hypocritical Whiteness* and "reverse racism") towards these counter-racist strategies. The TDS response is underpinned by an internal insecurity, constructing the descriptive code *White insecurity*. Insecurity refers to an internal lack of confidence, feeling one's position is potentially unstable and responding to this perceived threat against their power with backlash. This cyclical sociological process is supported in psychological literature (e.g., PTMF, Johnstone and Boyle, 2018) and demonstrated in history such as with slavery or colonialism, with a threat response (e.g., violence, aggression, theft) being used to acquire or maintain power because of an underlying, internal insecurity (see chapter 4)

Overcoming *White insecurity* is interpreted as the first stage of ' *White ally development*', required to create an anti-racist culture, dismantling the "I don't think that I am qualified" (Nathan and Elliot, StWW) narratives for students who are White, seeking them to assist in a racially inclusive environment. Understanding this stage is fundamental to achieving racial inclusivity, because it 'Flips the script' to typical "unconscious bias" narratives. This is because decreasing the perception of racial bias is different to understanding *White insecurity*. Racial bias is the typically observed outcome, whilst *White insecurity* is the cause of such racial bias and therefore *White insecurity* should be a substitute to the all-encompassing term "White supremacy" (illustrated in chapter 4). Furthermore, *White insecurity* cannot be reconciled unless made aware, so the second obstacle to racial inclusivity is understanding the intricacies of overtly identifying and communicating racist behaviour and/or 'White backlash', producing an active bystander effect.

11.2.2 Racism intervention stage

The TDS may continue to be ‘racially sleep’ if they are not woken up from their perceived insecure actions, which continue to manifest a racist culture. Therefore, once the multifaceted forms of insecurity are made aware, the next stage emphasises the struggles of calling out implicit or explicit forms of racism. The insecurity highlighted throughout this thesis constructs a need to challenge behaviour. However, when challenging racist behaviour there are barriers, and it is interpreted from the participants’ social worlds these barriers result in students being a passive bystander. A bystander is an individual who is made aware or sees someone experiencing some form of violence (e.g., bullying or violent behaviour) that needs to be commented or acted upon (Scully and Rowe, 2009). Bystanders tend to respond actively or passively (Paull et. al., 2012). Research has demonstrated the term ‘bystander effect’ as the leading development of intragroup factors on why some bystanders persist in being passive. Darley and Latané (1968) defined bystander effect as a ‘phenomenon in which the presence of people (i.e., bystanders) influences an individual’s likelihood of helping a person in an emergency situation’ (Cieciura, 2016, p. 1). Therefore, in this stage participants perceptions will illuminate to some causes of the bystander effect.

To start, Ciara comments her perceptions on barriers to responding to racism,

‘I think that if they’re not involved in it then they’ll probably just walk past, a lot of people don’t intervene like it took me awhile to like start intervening in certain situations like that anyway. So, I wouldn’t expect other people to find it that easy I think um people are just scared of the outcome. It’s like fights for example people are scared to get involved to stop it because they don’t know what’s going to happen next after that.’ (Ciara, Black student)

In Ciara’s social world, people may not intervene because (i) the situation does not involve them, (ii) they ignore witnessing racism (e.g., “walk past”), and (iii) fear the outcome if they respond. Other responses were,

‘Maybe people feel like they might be...uh I don’t know how to describe it but might be judged or something or they might be too scared to sound potentially racist themselves.’ (Reuben, White student)

'I'm still making new friend's kind of thing you don't want to be to kind of standing out you know what I mean.'

...

I guess for example if there's one person in the group who feels like the rest of the group that is making the joke is unacceptable you feel very outnumbered, or you don't want to stand out or feel kind of like especially in a jokey situation It's like the whole idea of spoiling the fun.'

(Ariel, White student)

Reuben suggests there is a consequence of being "judged" or sounding "racist", and Ariel is "not a very confrontational person" and does not want to "stand out" to fit in. Ariel's perceptions indicate 'group onus' whereby she has an awareness of the ingroup-bias behaviour i.e., "racist jokes" being a normative process amongst the TDS group (Mulvey et al., 2016). Furthermore, Aimee's perceptions are similar to Alma,

'Fear. Maybe fear that something would happen to them or people would come for them, or fear that they wouldn't be listened to...I guess or maybe just fear that yeah people won't believe them. I think it's mostly fear.'

(Aimee, Black student)

'I mean I think for like me I'm not going to attack this guy that I think I have to have seminars for the rest of the year and it's also the fear of being black-listed and I don't want to like get beaten up in the street to some guy that says something to me. So like yeah I think I've got a lot more to lose to saying something than not saying something at all.'

(Alma, Black student)

In their perceptions, Aimee believes it is the fear of being ignored or experiencing a negative reaction, and Alma fears being "attacked" or "black-listed" and expecting the consequences of being a passive bystander to be more beneficial than being an active bystander. In Alma's social world her race has implications when trying to actively stop racism, similar to Hazel's response,

'Um like being like the only black or person of colour in a room having to fight your own existence I could imagine that could be difficult. Like I don't know like when you're in a space our mental space to be able to respond to racism. Um yeah I think we always consider the environment instead of the person who is like the recipient of racism. Like you don't always feel comfortable or have the capacity to kind of call people out.'

(Hazel, Mixed-race student)

An interpretation made from the accumulation of the participant's perceptions could suggest students are passive bystanders to racism because of self-fulfilling intragroup factors. The participants have a shared expectation that individuals may choose not to challenge racism to protect themselves by having

an alertness of group-related consequences (Mulvey et. al., 2016; Palmer et. al., 2017). This suggests that the bystander effect at Durham is associated with (i) an expectation that actively challenging racism increases the scope of one's own vulnerabilities, potentially meaning they will be victimised or targeted, and (ii) people choosing to protect themselves from theoretical victimisation, rather than prioritising others direct and realised victimisation. Thus, the lack of action against racism can be understood as individuals implementing self-protective strategies and they "don't consider the person" (Dale, StWW). There is also a racial discrepancy between the vulnerability people are subject to. For example, for students who are Black, this appears to be protecting themselves from literal violence. In contrast, for students who are White, there is a protection from judgment, potentially losing social capital by intervening.

Both approaches appear to accept that challenging racism is idyllic and would be achieved if there were not threats to oneself. However, there is also scope within the University for students to not align themselves with this shared moral understanding, instead it could be that students do not challenge racism because they support it. Yet, the perspective shared by students suggests the minority seek to be racist and possess values that actively support it, with the majority protecting themselves and in doing so, facilitate and enable its presence. Thus, students who are Black and Asian may have more to lose by potentially being a victim of racism (e.g., explicit, implicit and/or vicarious), fearing physical harm, and being further isolated from the White cohort. Therefore, to form an anti-racist culture in a traditionally "elite" university the responsibility is suggested to be acknowledged by students who are White. This acknowledgement to Hannah (StWBr) is perceived to be courageous,

'to actually like recognise the fact that you have systemic privilege or recognise the fact that there are people in your society that are disproportionately affected by certain policy because of a certain way they look or where they're from or what they're citizen status is. That takes a lot of like guts and a lot of courage, it also makes you feel like a shit person, once you recognise the fact that oh do you know what I'm part of a wider social group that is causing a lot of people pain and a lot of people to essentially die (if we're taking it to the most extreme).' (Hannah, Brown student)

Acknowledging privilege in Hannah's social world takes "guts" and "courage", which may be an underlying reason why overcoming the passive bystander role at Durham is difficult for students who

are White. Therefore, an interpretation of Hannah's perception would suggest students must have 'bystander competence', which Murrell (2020) defines as having 'the awareness to notice and perceive an event (or warning signs), define the event as requiring action/intervention, taking responsibility for acting (i.e., feel a sense of personal duty) and having a sufficient level of self-efficacy (i.e., perceived competence to successfully intervene) to effectively intercede' (p. 64).

Furthermore, the apparent racist culture in Durham may prove challenging to reconcile if its culture exhibits racism in the form of racial "microaggressions", which research and participants suggest is sometimes hard to identify (Johnson and Joseph-Salisbury, 2018; Rollock, 2015). Thus, highlighting Elliot's reality,

'when it becomes subtle it's hard to...you can't really discipline racism if it's not racism, if you're not sure that it's racism'. (Elliot, White student)

However, when considering the actions and consequences of racism it may be hard to prove intention, but not hard to prove outcome (illustrated in chapter 9: *emotional consequences*) and thus transforming the culture relies upon the institution and the students it enrolls. To conclude, the *racism intervention stage* is underpinned by the identity of a passive bystander where students use self-protective strategies to overcome different forms of victimisation instead of preventing racism. When the identity of this second stage is understood the next and final stage to 'White ally development' is to overcome these perceived barriers by making sacrifices to create a culture that is anti-racist and thus racially inclusive.

11.2.3 Anti-racist bystander stage

This final stage of 'White ally development' focuses on how the TDS can racially reconstruct their identities and Durham's culture once understanding the amalgamation of the *White insecurity stage* and *racism intervention stage*, which produces a racist culture.

Participants were asked how students should respond to racism at the university,

'I think the important thing is to call it out there and then. I think people should have a greater sense of duty to stand up against what is wrong whether they know the person or not.' (Prisca, Black student)

'Um we should get better at calling it out and identifying it as such. Um not um falling back on well 'I'm not really sure that was racist' or 'well he was just saying something which his point of view and his point of view is valid.' (Angelica, White student)

'Don't be a bystander like squash it as soon as it happens.' (Ana, Black student)

'So yeah I think it's like the idea of actively stamping it out.' (Alma, Black student)

In the participants' social world, students should respond to racism by "calling it out", "actively stamp it out" and "don't be a [passive] bystander". The desired actions from the participants suggest students who are White should practise becoming active, instead of passive, as highlighted in the previous stage. Active bystanders are defenders of an individual being victimised and play an active role in "squashing" discrimination when it transpires (Poteat and Vecho, 2016; Scully and Rowe, 2009). Evidence suggests active bystanders are effective at reducing bullying and racism (Mulvey et. al., 2016; Palmer et. al, 2017). Therefore, an interpretation made of the participants realities may suggest their peers who are White need to be anti-racist. When a bystander wants to be active when witnessing racism, the term underpinning participants perceptions is 'bystander anti-racism', which is,

'Action taken by a person or persons (not directly involved as a target or perpetrator) to speak out about or to seek to engage others in responding (either directly or indirectly, immediately or at a later time) against interpersonal or systemic racism.' (Nelson, Dunn, and Paradies, 2011, p. 265)

Research suggests the outcomes of anti-racism practices have educational, social, and psychological benefits (Boykin, et. al. 2020; Gillborn, 2006; Ladhani and Sitter, 2020; Nelson et. al., 2011). Therefore, it is perceived the one possible outcome for students desiring a racially inclusive social climate must be through an active bystander identity, with a particular focus on being anti-racist (e.g., bystander anti-racism). Rose highlights why she feels it is important for a particular student racial group to call out racism.

'I guess as a White person you don't have to deal with it on a personal level. Well, you don't have to feel bad, but I feel like it goes hand in hand- if you want there not to be racism when

you do hear it you're going to feel like well it's just a bit shit. Um and it affects you but obviously not in comparison to someone that's not White but in a way that is like technically your responsibility for it, and you should be doing something about it.' (Rose, White student)

The implication of race is pertinent in her response because in her reality the responsibility to combat racism is on students who are White. Rose identifies different emotional consequences when witnessing racism, which constructs a distinct difference between bystanders that are White and those that are "not White". Rose highlights that people who are White can also have a negative internal affect - "bit shit" - witnessing racism but separates this from the reality of people who are racially marginalised, stating it is not "on a personal level". She continues to say why it's students who are White responsibility,

'In terms of for it to stop, I would see it, well White people are the only ones that can stop it. Black people aren't making racism, White people made it, they're going to have to get rid of it.' (Rose, White student)

In Rose's social world people who are White are perceived to be responsible for the production of racism, and thus supports Alma's suggestion that students who are White need to stop "waiting for people of colour" (Alma, StWB). Similar to research proposing it is the 'racial responsibility' of people who are White to stop racism by (i) seeing themselves as a race and (ii) educating themselves by hearing and listening to ReM groups who experience racism, because knowledge is essential to reducing racism (Iyer, Leach, and Crosby, 2003; Jungkunz and White, 2013). This is similar to Hannah and Prisca's perceptions,

'I think like white students and staff should try and engage with people of colour more, like spark up conversation, but not necessarily like walking up to a black person and being like hi how are you. Um but not like contribute to the isolation of like people of colour and black people in these spaces. I think that like engage with alternative forms of knowledge or um like reading lists and stuff like that and being more like self-critical.' (Hannah, Brown student)

'I think that's quite important and I also think people can educate themselves more. It's also really important for people here to know the legacy of their past ancestors in order to understand how their actions now have an effect and why. As opposed to like expecting POC to explain everything at all times it's like exhausting and we aren't all kids anymore and everyone has a duty to educate themselves and there really is not an excuse not to you know what I mean. Especially when so many resources are available.' (Prisca, Black student)

Therefore, it is interpreted that racial responsibility should belong to students who are White and not on Black and ReM groups, yet history has shown to place responsibility onto the latter (Boykin et al., 2020), resulting in *emotional consequences* as experienced by the participants (see chapter 9). Thus, to help manage and dismantle racism it is recommended that *White insecurity* becomes the focus, not the ‘survival techniques’ students who are Black and Asian construct in response to experiencing racism.

Moreover, Rose believes

‘In terms of actual on the spot kind of racism I think it’s for everything like the same way it is for bullying, like if you’re not saying anything then you’re showing that you um, being passive is the same as agreeing. You know that person that is experiencing it, if they’re not hearing you say something well you may as well be accepting that you’re racist too. So, if that was me I would want people to say something for me. If you witness it you should definitely confront it.’ (Rose, White student)

An interpretation made is that internally feeling or perceiving yourself not racist is insufficient, you are either racist or anti-racist, which is also highlighted in Hannah’s perceptions,

‘I don’t know where I heard it but someone was like it’s not enough to be like against racism, you have to be anti-racism, which means like going out of your way essentially to implement, whether it be like by the university to implement policy changes or like institutional structural changes to make sure racism isn’t something that just happens and people have to deal with it.’ (Hannah, Brown student)

Research corroborates with these shared realities, proposing that people can only identify with one (racist) or the other (anti-racist) (Boykin et. al., 2020; Kendi, 2019; Murrey, 2018) and for racial inclusivity, responsibility may need to be focused on students who are White being anti-racist, as well as holding “the powers in account like the departments or DSU” (Prisca, StWB). Thus, once someone understands the identity of an anti-racist active bystander by listening to students who are Black and Asian educating themselves, certain actions are deemed necessary to reduce racism,

‘I feel like people should be reporting it. I feel like people do report it, but I’m just not sure it’s taken not very seriously, you never hear anyone getting punished for what they’ve said.’ (Dale, White student)

In Dale's perceptions, students should and do report incidents of racism, yet it is unclear of the consequences inflicted on the student who perpetrates the racism, which may stem from the insecurity of the university not wanting to be perceived as a racist institution or being unclear/not wanting to manage this in line with what antiracist students expect. This is common, with universities coveting a positive institutional image,

'I think just the lack of...it's like who can you really talk to if you have a racial incident here because there's like your White college leader, you're a White person. I remember when they did like for our college, like culture rep or something I'm not sure what it was but like nobody even stepped forward so they picked a random Black person to do it so it's like who or where do you go to if this happens. I don't know or it's like they don't make it known enough like is there a diversity officer? Is there like a person in staff who specifically tasked with diversity and inclusion? Because I don't know who that is.' (Graham, Black student)

Thus, Black representation is perceived to be pertinent when reporting or discussing racial incidents. This is similar to Ciara and Jay's comments,

"I think they need to start first of all getting support for Black people, because going to a White counsellor is not the same as going to the Black counsellor for sure.' (Ciara, Black student)

Then you're like let's go talk to a counsellor but then like the counsellor is White and they're like "oh don't worry about it just keep going to your lectures and just stay positive" and it's kind of just like wow.' (Jay, Black student)

According to Graham, Ciara, and Jay's social world, whether they report it or share their experiences, the university lacks the required representation to assist in their racial mistreatment. Thus, in their reality, race is important when conveying a racialised experience or confessing to feeling racially excluded from the university and peers. Similar to studies highlighting people in the ReM in predominantly White environments feel more comfortable sharing their racialised experiences with same-race peers (McGee and Bentley, 2017). Therefore, it is perceived the university needs to assist in this stage to increase the likelihood of active bystanders. Furthermore, Dale also mentions the need for multiple people to report an incident if they witness it,

‘And I think when the recipient reports it on their own it carries much less weight than when someone can back that up and say as well like yeah I witnessed this.’ (Dale, White student)

Research suggests his perceptions may prove difficult, because when there are more bystanders witnessing an incident the less likely they will be an active bystander, emphasising the bystander effect ‘diffusion of responsibility’ (Darley and Latané, 1968). Therefore, to combat the ‘diffusion of responsibility’ and perceived hesitancy in reporting Hannah highlights,

‘when it comes to like dealing with people at the top, the people at the top are white, tend to be male, and like, I think our lives should be as important because it’s like you guys are the ones that can use your privilege...the importance of having like white allies is the fact that you guys can really utilise your privilege to kind of get us to a, a better place, or get us to a place that we can start instituting change and you guys are the ones who are at the top.’ (Hannah, Brown student)

Therefore, in Hannah’s social world it is students who are White responsibility to “utilise their privilege” to help combat racism and those who hold the power within the university. An interpretation made is people who are White have majority power whilst the ReM have limited power. So, it is perceived that students’ who desire an anti-racist active bystander identity may need to understand racism from an interpersonal and structural perspective. Lastly, in this stage participants suggests students who are White should respond to racism by (i) calling out racist behaviour, (ii) taking responsibility by educating themselves through scholarship and listening to ReM voices, (iii) be anti-racist, and (iv) utilise their privilege. The amalgamation of these four processes constructs the descriptive code *anti-racist bystander stage*, which seeks to encourage racially reconstructing the TDS identity from being ‘racially sleep’ to ‘racially woke’ and thus embrace an anti-racist culture, making Durham a racially inclusive institution.

In summary, the White ally developmental stages are: The *White insecurity stage*, which highlights the different forms of White backlash (e.g., “reverse racism”) that have been expressed throughout the analysis towards students who are Black and Asian. This stage provides interpretations of why the TDS uses racist actions and is perceived as ‘racially sleep’. The *racism intervention stage* focuses on the barriers of responding to racism resulting in a passive bystander identity for students and the final stage – *anti-racist bystander* – illustrates how to overcome the first two stages, with students suggesting an

anti-racist culture in Durham spaces is the racial responsibility of students and staff who are White. The recommendation is for students who are White to be active bystanders and thus wake up from being racially sleep regarding the ways racism functions in society. These three stages encapsulate the journey of a student to develop from being someone who is 'racially sleep' (racial-cultural incompetent) from a TDS or 'absent diverse opportunity' background to becoming a White ally i.e., someone who can embody the *anti-racist bystander stage*.

11.3 Racially woke folx

'White ally development' discusses how to challenge and tackle the insecurity that is synonymous with racist behaviour, conducted by people who are 'racially sleep'. Moreover, 'Racially woke folx' is juxtaposed with 'racially sleep', it is the underlying processes to reconstructing and reconciling an individual's racial identity and avoid being 'racially sleep'. A person that is 'Racially woke' develops knowledge to understand why it is important to be a White ally and thus recognises when to challenge racist behaviour. Thus, the researcher interprets how the non-typical Durham student is racial-culturally competent, and thus the opposite of 'racially sleep' (racial-culturally incompetent). The Black term 'racially woke' is synonymous with racial-cultural competence, meaning being awake and having social awareness of the impact race and racism has in society (Babulski, 2020; Kynard, 2018). The term 'woke' was originated by Afro-American William Melvin Kelley, implying an awareness of abuse and inequity targeting the Black community in America (Babulski, 2020). It is worth acknowledging that over time, the term 'woke' has been used globally and criticised as an 'umbrella' term, largely by the 'racially sleep' conservative right. The right claims it punishes people with contrary beliefs (Brookes, 2020; Ellie Mae O'Hagan, 2020). For instance, Brooks (2018) highlights that wokeness 'leads to a one-sided depiction of the present and an unsophisticated strategy for a future offensive'. The term 'woke' is also misused as a façade or watered-down term (Kunda, 2019), such as by the two-faced neoliberal left who claim to be anti-racist but are seen to have false integrity. These are criticisms that are similar to the critiques of Critical Race Theory (CRT). Thus, *rehumanising self* is for every racial group and allows groups to be human and gain knowledge from where their racial-cultural identity stems from – whether positive or negative – without feeling ostracised for being their authentic self. This process should be another tool/tenet used in unison with CRT to combat the criticisms that suggest it is a one-

sided pessimistic approach that only “attacks” people who are White, while continuing to fight racial oppression.

Moreover, with the researcher being a Black Afro-American from the South, ‘White folks’ and ‘Black folks’ is usually emphasised when describing a racial group. However, the word folx is an alternate to the term folks because it denotes a gender-neutral collective noun. The “X” pinpoints the reality of binary gender systems and insinuates support of and unity with people who are marginalised and/or oppressed. Also, the “X” specifically emphasises the oppression the ‘global racial majority’ (GRMa) encounters e.g., people who are Black and LGBTI+, which makes its meaning different from ‘folks’. Therefore, ‘racially woke folx’ (e.g., the non-typical Durham student) is the opposite of ‘racially sleep folks’ (the typical Durham student) and is underpinned by four descriptive codes: (i) *Woke White folx*, (ii) *Conscious contacts*, (iii) *Diverse upbringing*, (iv) *Racial reflection*, and (v) *Lone wolf*.

11.3.1 *Woke White folx*

During the interviews many participants were asked their perspective of whether being White was an “advantage or disadvantage”. This was used to explore the concept of White skin privilege (illustrated in chapter 4) and its presence within their social worlds. Participants were also asked, “to what extent do you think race affects your life?” and all the participants who are White believed being White provided them with an advantage but conversely felt race was of less relevance in their lives. The perceived advantages and awareness of racial identities are interpreted throughout this section, illustrating the levels of being racially woke for folx who are White. The beginning of this code will be conveyed by Elena’s perceptions,

‘Undoubtedly an advantage because everyone cause like so many people are white and it’s such the accepted thing to be like it is advantage because like you don’t have a disadvantage in terms of getting into things if that makes sense. Um like yeah I think that that’s a really sad truth.’
(Elena, White student)

In Elena’s social world, she recognises the “acceptance” of her White identity being an advantage, which accommodates “getting into things”. For example, people who are White with similar qualifications of other racial groups are more likely to attend Russell Group Institutions and be hired

for managerial roles (Arday and Mirza, 2018). An interpretation made is Whiteness has no modifiers, meaning people who are White have the capabilities to navigate and be accepted in spaces because their race is perceived to be a societal norm or standard, especially in the juxtaposed community at Durham (illustrated in chapter 8). Thus, in the participants social realities a White racial identity is perceived to be an advantage in society and Durham. Elena also illuminates how she feels her White identity affects (i.e., emotional affect and/or influence) her life,

‘I don’t think it affects it a lot. I think it affects it relatively little, like having grown up as like a White middle-class kid I don’t actually think that it’s affected me personally very much except from having seen it hurt other people. Like I don’t think I’ve ever really experienced any sort of racism... like there is definitely this thing of like reverse racism that has been adopted to speak about at times, but I don’t think that’s true. I don’t think racism really happens to White people.’ (Elena, White student)

As mentioned, “reverse racism” is when people who are White are being discriminated against based on their skin colour. However, Elena refuses the term and believes her racial group cannot experience racism which is seen to “hurt other people”. She highlights why,

‘Like as in I think White people in general have power and I think in my head there is some part of me that thinks racism has to come from power.’ (Elena, White student).

Racism has historically been interpreted in a multitude of ways in society (e.g., institutional or skin colour prejudice), but an accepted classification of racism in Western research suggests power is the underlying factor to who can inflict racism on who (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020; Lawrence and Keheler, 2004; Marable, 1992; Warmington, 2020). In Elena’s social world, people who are White hold majority power and thus cannot be a victim of racism, which coincides with research, yet the TDS is perceived to believe they are victims of “reverse racism” (illustrated in code, *White insecurity stage*) hence why they are perceived to be ‘racially sleep’. Thus, folx who are White like Elena are perceived to be ‘racially woke’ because they understand their White racial identity is accepted in society and therefore are protected from the experience of racism.

Furthermore, ‘racially woke’ participants who are White also highlighted the necessity for the racially resilient to have race/ethnic based societies,

‘I think it’s really cool that that sort of stuff happens. I actually know what they stand on, I don’t know what they’re like in terms of having like non-people of colour like I’ve never really explored it and I don’t really know much about it but I think it’s really cool that it happens.’ (Elena, White student)

‘those groups have a really positive um presence and that they are really important for people of those minority groupings to feel comfortable and more at home at Durham.’ (Ariel, White student)

‘I think it’s really important um one of my friends from my course leads, has a leadership role in the [BA society] and um...yeah I think for him at least it’s obviously great to have friends that do your course, it’s great to have people around you that um have these similar interests. But in terms of like just people who you don’t have to just explain the basics to, I think can often be very helpful.’ (Nathan, White student)

In the participants’ social realities, race/ethnic ReM-based societies help the racially resilient feel “comfortable” and “included” (Dale), suggesting the university should “back them” (Elena) and “promote” (Dale) them more. Nathan’s perception appears to be that societies are helpful for ReM groups, as they do not have to “explain the basics”, which could be understood as not having to explain the implications of race and racism, which can be a burden for people who are racially minoritised to do and has been shown to be responded to by *White insecurity* (see code *White insecurity stage*). As mentioned, in this thesis and existing research, the recommendation is that it is the ‘racial responsibility’ of students who are White to be anti-racist (see code *ant-racist bystander stage*) and not the responsibility for racially underrepresented groups to always educate people who are White about the consequences of race and racism (Iyer, Leach, and Crosby, 2003; Jungkunz and White, 2013). Therefore, participants are perceived to be *woke White folx* by demonstrating three levels of wokeness: (i) recognising their White privilege, (ii) understanding their inability to experience racism, and (iii) the need to support the ‘survival techniques’ of Black and ReM groups. These three levels of wokeness underpin the descriptive code *woke White folx*.

11.3.2 Conscious contacts

Throughout the analysis participants have highlighted the TDS being absent of interracial contact prior to university, which contributes to their perceived ‘racially sleep’ identity. In this code, participants Ariel and Angelica – who both are White – highlight reasons why they are perceived to have a racially

woke identity through interracial contact. To start, in Ariel's interview she emphasises the combination of educating herself by "reading", "social life experiences", and "parents" helped form her social reality of how racism manifests in society and education. Ariel then mentions why the TDS is observed to be 'racially sleep',

'Um I think within Durham there's a lot of sheltered people. I think there's a lot of people who wouldn't necessarily even the reason why they haven't realised this unconscious opinion of this whole group of people is because they haven't ever been in contact with that group of people that could call it out on them.' (Ariel, White student)

In her perceptions the TDS is "sheltered" lacking any "contact" with ReM groups prior to and at the university, which could extend to the reasons why Black students are perceived to be interpreted as *Black Aliens* (see chapter 9). Ariel highlights how contact with different racial groups is important,

'Because I think if you spend your life around people who are of a different race to you then you become conscious of what they find offensive and what they find acceptable so you learn what you think is appropriate and if you don't come into contact with that group of people I think you can go through life without ever having to confront your own racist underlying prejudices.' (Ariel, White student)

Therefore, in Ariel's social world being around different races encourages one to be "conscious" of racist behaviour, and thus it is interpreted that if the TDS experiences more interracial contact, the potential contact could possibly wake them from sleeping on race and racism. Similar to research suggesting people with 'cross-race friendships' perceive the world to be unjust and are motivated to engage in diverse education (Ragins and Ehrhardt, 2021).

Moreover, Angelica's (international student) interracial contact never occurred until coming to Durham,

'it's weird because I put in a dichotomy White and people of colour but I don't think being of colour comes into it as much as I found a group of people that are likely left wing and think along the same lines as me and that I found it harder to find that kind of similarity and like political alignment with White people I come across in the uni.' (Angelica, White student)

Angelica's experience of interracial contact stems from political views instead of physical attributes, i.e., race. As mentioned in this thesis, the TDS are perceived to be "raging Tories" who hold right-wing conservative views (illustrated in chapter 7), which contrast the predominately held left-wing political views of Black and Brown groups that apparently promote their interests (Just, 2017). Thus, Angelica has become more conscious of race through a political context, allowing herself to develop personal friendships with students who are in the ReM group. An interpretation made of Ariel and Angelica's perceptions may suggest for students to be 'racially woke', they need to educate themselves and develop interracial relationships with different racial groups. Therefore, the descriptive code *conscious contacts* is underpinned by students having interracial contact intersected with being conscious about the implications of race and racism in society, which is why participants like Ariel and Angelica are perceived to embody a racially woke identity. Establishing *conscious contacts* may help Durham develop a racially inclusive culture if students could embrace interracial discourse.

11.3.3 Diverse upbringing

This code will extend on *conscious contacts* but will highlight participants – Black and White - perceptions of interracial contact prior to university.

'Compared to uni it was obviously a lot more diverse um it was a lot. I just think London is a different place so it was just for people who were very different. I think I don't know those two don't seem really comparable to me like it was just a completely different thing.' (Elesha, Mixed-race student)

'my school my sixth form especially...I'd say 40% like Black and African Caribbean, 40% White, and then like 20% um like quite a lot of people from like Muslim majority countries in Asia.' (Nathan, White student)

'Uh so my state school was fairly diverse I'd say and like my friendship group was like specifically fairly diverse as well.' (Ezekiel, Mixed-race student)

'Much more diverse than at university. So, I went to different schools, I guess my original high school was pretty much White we had some Black people, some Asian people but mainly White. But then when I moved to college it was the complete opposite like I was the token White person instead it was much more diverse than the other schools I went.' (Rose, White student)

Research suggests diversity at an early age could influence cross-race friendships and a reduction in racial bias in education (Bohman and Miklikowska, 2021; Gaias et. al., 2018; Ragins and Ehrhardt, 2021). An interpretation made is the participants who had an early experience of diversity has contributed to their perceived level of racial wokeness and desires for Durham to become a racially inclusive institution, hence the descriptive code, *diverse upbringing*.

Furthermore, Ezekiel was the only participant to highlight why the lack of diversity at Durham was positive for his student experience,

‘I feel like I think it’s quite a good thing for me to realise leaving London that the world isn’t like that like multiheritage like London is a bubble in itself like a liberal diverse open bubble and I think it is why I have taken positives coming to Durham and realising that not everyone is like that and I live in a country where like there is like this foundation of systemic racism but like in London you would never notice that like if you never left London in your entire life and you were born there you would be shocked at every election result and every random news story because you wouldn’t really realise the rest of the country is like that.’ (Ezekiel, White student)

In Ezekiel’s social world, his experience at Durham has allowed him to also see the world from a different lens, revealing that the representation of the UK does not reside in London and to understand why inequalities persist one may need to experience different parts of the country. An interpretation made is a lived experience amongst the juxtaposed communities (i.e., TDS and “locals”) at Durham is suggested to contribute to a ‘racially woke’ identity, because of developing an awareness to why England is continued to be perceived as a country exhibiting racism within different types of institutions (e.g., education and the criminal justice system) (Arday and Mirza, 2018; Lammy, 2017; Gillborn, 2018). Therefore, it is suggested that having a lived experience amongst folks who are ‘racially sleep’ may amplify a ‘racially woke’ identity. Additionally, participants reflecting on past lived experiences also contributes to a racially woke identity.

11.3.4 Racial reflection

In the previous codes, the lived experiences of past and present interracial contact of the participants who are racially woke have been illustrated. Another developing theme throughout the interviews was

participants sharing their lived experiences prior to university, reflecting how they've interpreted the impact race and racism has shaped their lives or consciousness.

To start, Elena grew up in a predominately White background with “maybe five people” who are Black in her year and reflects on her lived experience,

‘But like I think increasingly realising like there are like racists things that have been ingrained in me from a young age that like I actually can’t control necessarily. The fact that they’ve affected the way that I see the world.’ (Elena, White student)

In Elena’s world, as mentioned in the chapter “Black Reality”, racism has been “ingrained” in her consciousness. Elena continues,

‘Um I think um that probably even growing up like I don’t recall there having been very many like people of race in school and like definitely particularly the guys who are like black at school there was very much this opinion that like or like somewhere that they were going to be like rebellious or troublesome in some way.’ (Elena, White student)

Even though Elena is perceived to be racially woke, she still illustrates why research suggests many people who are White do not see themselves as a race by her comments “like people of race in school”. On the other hand, she continues to mention as others in the interviews the underlying prejudices towards boys who are Black, and how this early stage of development influenced her ingrained perceptions. Following Elena’s early schooling, she attended international school in a different country which helped “make a difference” to the way she “perceives everything”. Thus, Elena’s reflection of negative ingrained perceptions of race was overcome by attending an international school.

Prisca shares her previous racialised experience in a predominately White sixth form that was like “hell” which made her apply to Durham,

‘So, when I got into sixth form I was one of the only Black people there. And when it came to sort of discussing degrees and higher education my teachers just thought I wasn’t capable of applying here or like I know what else that was regarded a good place. So, they were like oh I think you should aim lower you know you’re being a bit over ambitious and so I was just like know well no actually I’m smart enough to get into Durham I’m smart enough to do what I

want to do like know your place. So, I applied it was kind of as a way of proving them wrong and not letting their limitations of me define me.’ (Prisca, Black student)

In Prisca’s social world, her teachers’ low expectations regarding her academic capabilities were perceived to be racially motivated, which is known to be an educational norm for students who are Black (Gillborn et. al., 2012; Rollock et al., 2014). Prisca also illuminated, “they didn’t have the same energy for my White classmates”, and thus her reflections reveal discrepancies of racial mistreatment at an earlier age. Prisca’s reality is reinforced by Nathan’s perceptions of his White-middle class identity being undermined because of the “seesaw between races”, where “Whites on one side and Black people on the other”. Nathan explains the seesaw in his lived experience,

‘Like for example, specific benefits with like people encouraging me to apply to university. There’s a very strong possibility of that was because of the way I look or even in primary school I wasn’t the smartest kid but I was always the one that people would say oh he’s going to Cambridge he’s going to Oxford and I was 1 of 3 White people in my primary school. And looking back I was starting to realise that that was yeah.’ (Nathan, White student)

Both Prisca (StWB) and Nathan (StWW) were racial minorities at one stage in their previous schooling. However, in contrast to Prisca’s experience Nathan is encouraged to apply to “elite” universities by his teachers, and his peers viewed him as achieving these standards reinforcing the socially mis-constructed idea to be academically intelligent is to be White. An understanding of their perceptions may suggest when students that are White experience education as a racial minority or majority they are still perceived to be associated with academic intelligence, which is known as a stark contrast to the perceptions of students who are Black. Thus, participants’ reflections of their lived experiences regarding race and racism, illustrates their understanding and acceptance of racial discrepancies that have shaped their racial identity in society and education, constructing the descriptive code - *racial reflection*. This type of *racial reflection* is perceived to assist in racial identity development, which may ultimately *rehumanise* folx and thus amplify a racially woke identity (see Kinuoani, 2021, on race reflections and racial trauma). Finally, when considering students and staff who are perceived to be ‘racially sleep’, facilitating discussions for folx to racially reflect on their past lived experiences in regard to race and racism is recommended to help transform the culture at Durham University.

11.3.5 *Lone wolf*

The final code will begin with a poetically articulate song from Black artist Janelle Monae that emphasises the liberation and revolution of women who are Black,

‘Yeah, let's flip it
I don't think they understand what I'm trying to say...
Are we a lost generation of our people?
Add us to equations but they'll never make us equal
She who writes the movie owns the script and the sequel
So why ain't the stealing of my rights made illegal?
They keep us underground working hard for the greedy
But when it's time pay they turn around and call us needy (needy)
My crown too heavy like the Queen Nefertiti
Gimme back my pyramid, I'm trying to free Kansas City (yup)

Mixing masterminds like your name Bernie Grundman
Well I'ma keep leading like a young Harriet Tubman
You can take my wings but I'm still goin' fly
And even when you edit me the booty don't lie (what?)
Yeah, I'ma keep singing, I'ma keep writing songs
I'm tired of Marvin asking me, "What's Going On?
March to the streets 'cause I'm willing and I'm able (what?)
Categorize me, I defy every label
And while you're selling dope, we're gonna keep selling hope (uh)
We rising up now, you gotta deal, you gotta cope
Will you be electric sheep?
Electric ladies, will you sleep?
Or will you preach?
- Janelle Monáe (2018), *Q.U.E.E.N.*

Throughout this thesis, it has been highlighted that woman who are Black are perceived to have ‘the Hardest struggle’ in their student experience at Durham (see chapter 9). They are perceived to be (i) the “Angry Black Woman” (e.g., Sapphire), (ii) hyper-sexualised (e.g., “Jezebel stereotyped”), and (iii) alienated, this list not being exhaustive. Therefore, *lone wolf* is a descriptive code to understand the experiences and racial identity of folx who are ‘racially woke’ in a particular race-gender group i.e., women who are Black. Thus, *lone wolf* will specifically illustrate the perceptions of participant Prisca (StWB), and it is interpreted that the ultimate process to potentially racially reconciling a racist culture is by liberating the voices of students who are Black and identify as women.

When discussing how open Prisca felt she was with her peers regarding her culture, Prisca responded,

'I think I'm pretty open. I've reached a point where again I'm not afraid to speak about race, I'm not afraid to speak about politics and the things that have had affects than sort of less privileged. I think so far I'm definitely the most outspoken one.' (Prisca, Black student)

In Prisca's perceptions, she is "not afraid" and the most "outspoken" one amongst her peers in regard to injustices in society. Prisca further explains why she is unafraid,

'I sort of feel like have a duty to speak on these things especially cause like I'm in a space where nobody is even aware of you know different things. So, yea I just, if I feel I need to address a problem then like I will regardless if like people are interested or not. I feel like again its given me the reputation of like I'm outspoken. People think I don't care about the emotions of white people. Say for instance I don't think cause you know the world doesn't revolve around them so like me I won't coddle their emotions and not speak about the truth. So, you know if no one else is speaking about it I feel like I have to.' (Prisca, Black student)

In Prisca's social world, it is her "duty" to have a voice and not "coddle" students who are White, which is perceived to give her the reputation of being "outspoken". As mentioned in this thesis and research, outspokenness may lead to stereotypes of women who are Black being deemed loud, angry, aggressive, and confronting *White Fragility* (Ashley, 2014; Jones and Norwood, 2016). It is perceived that Prisca's prioritisation to speak out about racial injustice is synonymous to her not caring about how students who are White feel. However, through her own lens, her truth about racial injustices is more important than "coddling" students who she perceives to be 'racially sleep'. Consequently, Prisca's social reality appears to include hierarchies of oppression in regard to racial discrimination, with women who are experiencing what Bhopal (2014) calls a 'triple oppression' (e.g., race, class, and gender) would make the student experience challenging.

Additionally, research highlights further forms of oppression that women who are Black encounter: First is colourism, women with darker skin tones are perceived as more threatening, socially undesirable, and associated with derogatory terms contrasting to their lighter skinned peers who are seen as accepted and valued (Charles, 2009; Martin, 2020; Wilder, 2020). Secondly, sexism is experienced amongst interracial contact as well as same race contact with research suggesting many

men who are Black refute Black feminism to keep their sexist ideals of oppressing women who are Black intact (Combahee River Collective, 2014; McGee and Bentley, 2017). Lastly, sexualism, where it is argued that transgender women of “Colour” experience discrimination at higher proportions, have a life expectancy of around 35 predominantly as a consequence of violence, and even experience racism within their own LGBTI+ community (Bachmann and Gooch, 2018; Brown, 2019; Carcaño, 2021; Kendi, 2019). Therefore, based on the premise of accumulating experiences of oppression, women who are Black could experience a ‘pentagonal oppression’ based on the social mis-constructs identified. This approach could categorise the capacity of oppression people have, providing an ‘expanding hierarchy of oppression’. Similar to Collins (1986) – a woman scholar who is Black – illustrating the interlocking nature of oppression,

‘Black women experience oppression in a personal, holistic fashion and emerging Black feminist perspectives appear to be embracing an equally holistic analysis of oppression’ (p. S21).

Furthermore, this is interpreted as Prisca’s perceptions that the majority of students are perceived to be racially sleep and/or passive bystanders, because if they were anti-racist bystanders and/or racially “woke” reflective of how Prisca views her friends and herself, she would not have to speak out as much. Thus, the “angry Black woman” (e.g., Sapphire) stereotype could be observed as an actuality due to women who are Black being seen as the most oppressed in society and at Durham, and thus this experience in their social world triggers a response. Alternatively, the response women who are Black may have to being oppressed is often invalidated and interpreted as misplaced, terms such as “outspoken” suggests that their speech is not warranted. There appears to be a lack of consideration when interpreting the reactions, meaning within the social worlds of women who are Black their response to threat (oppression) can be used as a barrier by people who are White, further oppressing those that are Black by invalidating their experience. Thus, the failure to focus on what may have happened to the person, i.e., their experience of oppression, means racial reconciliation of the culture at Durham will be blocked. If people ‘Flipped the script’ by asking, ‘What happened to you?’ (Johnstone and Boyle, 2018, p. 8) and thus adopted a different lens to view the behaviour, there may be scope to identify and challenge the instigating problem (racism) and support change. Therefore, re-constructing the lens in which others’ behaviour is interpreted may support those witnessing different forms of discrimination to view responses such as Prisca’s as brave rather than “not afraid” and competent rather

than “outspoken”. It is important to take a strengths-based approach to validate people who are Black whilst synonymously identifying and challenging the injustices, helping these to be prevented and dismantled.

Moreover, Prisca also shares that her personal background living amongst a predominantly White community in the North-East has “prepped” her for the environment at Durham, which assisted her having a “fortunate” and “positive” student experience unlike her peers,

‘I think it did, being around so many white people my entire life it sort of made me reach a point where being the only black person in the room is no longer something that will stop me entering the room, it doesn’t mean when I’m in the room I’m like “oh I’m the only black one here, like yay me”. Like no I want other black people in the room. I’m not uncomfortable being the only black person in the room, I’m used to being the only black one in the room.’ (Prisca, Black student)

For students who are Black to enjoy the Durham experience, being accustomed to the juxtaposed identities of Durham could be seen as an advantage to their student experience. The TDS and “locals” are seen as inescapable and thus constructs a student experience that is perceived as a struggle and abusive for students who are Black and Asian (illustrated in chapter 9). This coincides with Prisca’s perceptions,

‘I think like being a northerner and staying within the northern region has also helped me. Like I don’t feel like I’m an outsider where I think if I was black and had grown up in the south like London even if id grown up around white people I think and moved up north to come to Uni I’d have a different experience.’ (Prisca, Black student)

Prisca’s perceptions may highlight why the majority of participants who are Black and from the South are perceived to be having a negative student experience at Durham. She explains the impact of other students’ experience,

‘Yea like I wouldn’t go anywhere else. I think that’s a rare experience because the other people of colour I know here have like hated it and it has like really impacted on like their mental health and stuff like that so my experience is quite rare.’ (Prisca, Black student)

Prisca's experience being "rare" demonstrates the racial climate of the university, with other participants illustrating their regret attending Durham (illustrated in chapter 9), despite others' regrets, in Prisca's social world she "wouldn't go anywhere else". Also, it is interpreted that Prisca's lived experience in the North-East intersected with being her authentic self-facilitates in her "rare" experience and thus recognising her positioning amongst her peers,

'I'm quite a lone wolf if that makes sense. I don't try to fit in with other people if the people around me get me and understand me that's good but I'm not losing sleep over them.' (Prisca, Black student)

Prisca's lived experience of growing up in the North-East, attending Durham, and being "outspoken" - i.e., competent - about racial injustices is suggested to influence her perceptions of claiming to embody a "lone wolf" identity. The *lone wolf* could be identified as strong, independent, and courageous, which may be how Prisca perceives herself. Thus, despite the difficulties illustrated in the participants' perceptions of fitting in, with many taking self-protective strategies (see code, *passive bystander stage*), Prisca is standing up for what she believes in and being anti-racist. This may also contribute to her "rare" experience, because research suggests people who speak out against racism have better mental health outcomes compared to individuals who use self-protective strategies (Kinuoani, 2021). Therefore, it is argued that the "angry Black woman" (Sapphire) stereotype may be synonymous with being a selfless individual, whose responses that are detected as "angry" is an attempt to reconcile a threat against them or others. Again, applying the FTS framework, less attention may need to be placed towards what women are doing (e.g., actions) and more focus could be directed towards the threat they are responding to. In 1963, Malcolm X Flips the script best,

'Accusing a man who is being lynched on a tree simply because he struggles vigorously against his lyncher the victim is accused of violence, but the lyncher is never accused of violence... The various racist groups that are set up in this country by Whites and who have actually practiced violence against Blacks for 400 years are never associated or identified or made synonymous with the term violence.' (Reelblack, 2018, 3:22-4:00).

Therefore, the descriptive code *lone wolf* is underpinned by the 'racially woke' identity of students who are Black and identify as women having to navigate a space that is perceived to constantly exclude them. However, their bravery allows them to overcome having 'the Hardest struggle' i.e., living in

Durham and trying to racially reconcile a culture that allegedly exhibits racism. To conclude, when considering the theory for humanity being the liberation of women who are Black (illustrated in chapter 9) (Kendi, 2019), the researcher would extend this theory for humanity by considering the liberation of folx who are Black and marginalised or oppressed based on other aspects of their identity (e.g., ‘pentacle+ oppression’ and/or ‘expanding hierarchy of oppression’), with the intersection of these personal (protected) characteristics associated with a wide range of barriers, globally (Buckle, 2019; Charles, 2009; Follins et. al, 2014; McGee and Bentley, 2017; Wilder, 2020; Williams, 2016).

Lone wolf= A brave and selfless Black African woman (liberation of humanity)

In summary, ‘racially woke folx’ is interpreted in five phases: First, *woke White folx* refers to participants who are White demonstrating three levels of wokeness, which is (i) understanding White privilege, (ii) not being able to experience racism, and (iii) supporting race/ethnic ReM-based societies. Secondly, *conscious contacts* highlights’ participants who are White educating themselves and developing interracial friendships, which is understood to help students who are White that are ‘absent diverse opportunity’ to understand the implications of race and racism in society and education. Thirdly, *diverse upbringing* where participants consider their lived experience prior to University that helped them understand the benefits to diversity. Fourthly, *racial reflection* encompasses participants’ conscious acknowledgement of their lived experiences regarding race and racism and how these experiences shaped their racial identity. Lastly, *lone wolf* concludes that students who are Women and Black can be viewed as selfless, challenging racial injustices despite being negatively stereotyped, with the liberation of their race-gender identity explained to be a crucial process for racial inclusiveness. To add, folx who are White that embody and practice a ‘racially woke’ and *anti-racist bystander* identity could be considered a new form of Whiteness i.e., mpya-Whiteness (‘mpya’ means ‘new’ in Swahili to encompass an African language), to ‘Flip the script’ on majority concepts of Whiteness being associated with negative connotations and having a unifying concept to dismantle the Black-White binary.

‘Racially woke White folx’ + *anti-racist bystander* = ‘mpya-Whiteness’

Therefore, these five phases highlight different processes and characteristics to embody a ‘racially woke’ identity, and thus racially reconciling Durham’s culture to encourage Durham University to become a racially inclusive institution.

11.4 Conclusion

To conclude, the interpretative codes constructed from the data were: ‘Racially sleep’, ‘White ally development’, and ‘Racially woke folx’. The amalgamation of these codes provides; (i) an in-depth interpretation of the problematic racist identity of the TDS, which has been demonstrated throughout the analysis as facilitating the racially segregated social environment at Durham and (ii) a recommendation that becoming anti-racist and racially woke could help combat their racist identity and thus support in the development of a student social space that is racially inclusive for all students at a traditional “elite” university like Durham. Therefore, now that an individual is woke, putting in the work and practicing these anti-racist processes will support in the racial reconciliation of humanity.

CHAPTER 12: DISCUSSION

'Bus-a-Bus
[BR] Woo-HAH!
[MD] How you feel?!
[BR] Feelin GREAT!
[MD] Whatchu want?
[BR] I want to do it to death, WHATTUP wit you?!
[MD] You know my steez!
[BR] True indeed
[MD] Say it LOUD!
[BR] Black and proud!
[MD] Ain't no time to hesitate at the gate
Do it now!
What what, we got to do it, do it
We got to do it, do it, make me do it, do it
What.. wha-what-what, we got to do it, do it
Make me do it, do it
Do it do it do it now!
- Mos Def feat. Busta Rhymes (1999), *Do it now*

The aim of this research was to explore the presence of racism at a predominantly White, Russell Group institution - Durham University. The conclusion from the findings is that Durham is inclusive for the typical Durham student (TDS), who the study participants perceived to be students who are White, middle- and upper-class with private school experience. Students of the ReM feel racially excluded in their social worlds because the university and the TDS construct a racist culture exhibiting different forms of racism (e.g., abusive, institutional, and implicit racism). Additionally, students who are White and working class have increased scope to fit in due to White symbolic capital. However, they experience different forms of discrimination (e.g., classism). Race was identified as a crucial and acknowledged aspect of identity that directly influenced the scope of students feeling included and therefore the scope of being excluded. Racism was described as an inescapable experience for people who are Black and of the ReM, being difficult to avoid due to the widespread presence, being perpetrated by university members and those in the local community. Finally, barriers to racial inclusion were (i) students' difficulties identifying racism, (ii) the university's façade involvement in racial equity, (iii) knowing how to safely respond to racism experienced or observed, and (iv) deficits

in the current competence of students that are White, specifically their understanding of what racism is and conducting racist behaviour.

The thesis applied a critical realist position that enabled interpretation of the potential social constructs influencing the participants' perceptions and experiences, being a product of social interactions and structures in their individual social worlds. Within each analysis chapter the conclusions are stated, with the final two chapters – “When Race Enters the Room” and “Racial Identity Development” – providing both an analysis and recommendations from mainly the participants and some of the researcher's perspective.

The amalgamation of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) was used to hear the *experiential knowledge* of the ReM and White students' perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusion, within their wider student experience. Additionally, the Flippin' the Script (FTS) framework derived from the researcher's own personal engagement with CRT and CWS through his own life experiences and positionality. A unique aspect of this thesis is its focus of interpreting students' perceptions when applying the FTS lens, which uses *perpetrator fixation* (illustrated in chapter 2). The purpose of this approach was to shift the association of the racism with people who experience it to racism and people who perpetrate it. This helps to consider the potential function underpinning the actions of those that are racist, providing insight into what is preventing racial inclusiveness. Student perceptions highlighted Durham's traditional “elite” status predominately recruits one type of race-class student identity i.e., students who are White, middle- and upper-class, with private school experience. This is reflective of studies suggesting “elite” institutions in higher education mainly recruit students with this same image (Boliver, 2016 and 2018; Burke, 2018; Nahai, 2013; Pilkington, 2018). However, contrasting to other studies this thesis uses student perceptions by interpreting the combination of (i) the personal characteristics and (ii) the behaviour of these students' traditional “elites” tends to offer and let populate their university spaces. For example, to fit in at a traditional “elite” like Durham you must have the typical Durham student (TDS) identity by encompassing an array of what has been described as ‘Trump cards’ (e.g., *White and privileged, misplaced confidence, ignorant Messiahs*). This key finding in the analysis is interpreted to display *White insecurity*, which sets the stage for the student experience leading to the key finding of the “Black Reality”. With the

widespread of data in the analysis I will briefly discuss these findings that impacts the student experience in university spaces.

12.1 Key finding 1: Trump cards of the typical Durham student (TDS) and White Insecurity

The 'Trump cards' specifically illustrates the personal characteristics through an intersectionality approach, but also the behaviour through literature such as Bourdieu's (1986b) forms of capital (e.g., social, and cultural capital). The importance of encompassing many Trump cards assists in students feeling racially included and have a sense of belongingness at Durham. The negative side of most Trump cards perceived from student perceptions is that the behaviour embodied by the TDS demonstrates problematic discrimination or a divisive habitus, e.g., racism, classism, and sexism: thus, creating a segregated and marginalised environment for students who do not possess many or if any Trump cards. An alternative explanation to perceptions could potentially be a bias generalising the identity of their peers as the TDS, by attaching Trump cards to students who may not possess those perceived negative traits. Due to the vast number of Trump cards interpreted in the analysis and being embodied by the TDS at Durham, I will discuss their behaviour being perceived as capital and underpinned by *White insecurity*, which sets the stage for two newer forms of problematic Whiteness - prohibiting racial inclusiveness outside of affluent students who are White.

In the analysis, *White insecurity* produces different forms of 'White backlash', which is negative responses from groups who are White because of an internal insecurity and/or Black progression. One type of backlash the TDS chooses to embody unconsciously or consciously is *hypocritical Whiteness*. Firstly, students' perceptions suggest the TDS preserves their cultural identity through camouflaging their poshness yet stigmatises and bully's people who are Black and ReM for displaying their own cultural identity. As mentioned, an alternative explanation could be the TDS camouflages their perceived posh identity because people who are posh can be viewed negatively in society. For instance, sounding posh is associated with negative connotations to the upper echelons of society like ignorant, stuck up, and mean. However, the concept posh is a social construct and does not objectively equate to being racist or a bigot, but this type of identity could impact participants perceptions if their social

worlds connect with societal stereotypes. Also, if the TDS is perceived to align with poshness and has an awareness of this, camouflaging could be considered a positive trait by (i) deciding to not make other people uncomfortable, or (ii) a self-protective strategy to not be associated with negative stereotypes attached to their identity. This would be contrary to my interpretations of participants' perceptions suggesting camouflaging is a defence mechanism through denial or to strengthen the ego (Cramer, 1987, Freud, 1894). Also, if participants bias generalises most student's identity by associating poshness as a negative Trump card, participants could potentially be displaying the same type of negative bias implicitly but are unable to express it explicitly in student spaces because of their perceptions/beliefs aligning with minority populated groups. Despite possibly generalising and developing this bias towards the TDS, participants perceptions and experiences supports research suggesting the negative Trump cards (e.g., posh, right-wing tory) are typically associated with problematic Whiteness, where people who are White marginalise and have the right to exclude other groups as expressed in the analysis (Gough, 2017; Harris, 1993; Walker, 2013).

Moreover, the TDS exhibits *hypocritical Whiteness* for stigmatising other racial groups structuration-*intra-racial connections*, i.e., being producers by creating their own race/ethnic ReM-based societies with their limited resources to have their own social capital to survive the racialised environment the TDS actively co-creates. Thus, the stigmatisation from the TDS is interpreted as unjustified and hypocritical to the participants because 'the whole university is a Caucasian society'. The combination of these two responses illuminates to the TDS demonstrating an internal insecurity, through lacking confidence of their own identity or perceiving a threat – hence *White insecurity* (see Color-Confrontation theory Welsing, 1974; and PTMF, Johnstone and Boyle, 2018 in chapters 2 and 4). This is considered a post-modern behaviour coinciding with literature discussed in history such as slavery or colonialism, with a threat response (e.g., violence, aggression, theft) being used to acquire or maintain power because of an underlying, internal insecurity (illustrated in chapters, "The Wild Racist West"). Thus, from student perceptions, the TDS being a social agent of *hypocritical Whiteness* results in racist behaviour, preventing racial inclusiveness.

The second form of Whiteness developed from *White insecurity* is *misplaced Whiteness*. *Misplaced Whiteness* is interpreted to present itself in two ways from participants perceptions: (i) students that

are White defining Black African culture, and (ii) presenting a two-faced racist identity. Firstly, the TDS defines Black African culture by justifying the use of the “N” word ending with an “a” in interracial spaces as a term to celebrate. This is perceived as problematic, however, while research suggests people who are White are the cause of negative connotations being associated with the “N” word historically, recent studies suggest people who are White do use the term “my nigga” more positively than their peers who are Black (illustrated in chapter 3). Secondly, the TDS has an awareness that certain racist behaviours are not socially acceptable in society, so the TDS displays this racist language/behaviour through a camouflaged “banter” in the front stage and overtly in the backstage, which literature describes as two-faced racism (Picca and Feagin, 2007). *Misplaced Whiteness* is complementary to two-faced racism because it focuses on why racist behaviour is being exhibited, not just what the perpetrators of racist behaviour are doing. An explanation for Whiteness being misplaced is the intersections between the TDS inexperience with racial-cultural diversity – hence ‘absent diverse opportunity’ - and having White privilege. The inexperience involves limited or no Black and/or ReM contact prior to university, and thus, being unaware of what is perceived to be racist behaviour that is unacceptable to participants.

Also, having White privilege is an explanation because students who are White are accustomed to unforeseen and unearned advantages that are attached to their White racial identity coinciding with research (Bhopal, 2018; Cabrera, 2014; McIntosh, 1988). Thus, the TDS is classically conditioned (illustrated in chapter 2) - consciously or unconsciously - to feel superior to the ReM. This results in another internal insecurity, with the TDS requiring a need for attention due to a façade threat to their student experience (e.g., *intra-racial connections*) because “White lives have to matter”, despite already being the racially homogenous group in Durham (see Sullivan, 2017, e.g., White class privilege and White priority illustrated in chapter 4). However, an alternative explanation could be the TDS may conduct this behaviour because they believe the ReM should assimilate to their culture, but this again ignores difference with problematic Whiteness being the norm in majority UK educational spaces. Also, participants suggesting students disapprove of their societies is generalisable from a small sample with the scope that majority of students could potentially have positive or neutral opinions of their societies. Furthermore, the consequence of *White insecurity* is a multitude of disadvantages for students who are Black, and the two disadvantages highlighted is experiencing racism through racial

integration and ironically racial separation. The two mechanisms reveal different forms of racism to the Black student experience, thus preventing racial inclusiveness outside of students who are White. Therefore, the negative Trump cards (e.g., *hypocritical Whiteness*, and *misplaced Whiteness*), is interpreted as the main explanation for the TDS co-creating the racist culture at Durham, which is underpinned by *White insecurity*. This notion of *White insecurity* highlights the need to challenge the overarching theme “Whiteness as Symbolic Capital”. If we ‘flipped the script’ to the diverse embodied forms of problematic Whiteness practiced by the TDS preventing racial inclusivity, symbolic capital in the form of Whiteness could be reimagined as ‘abstract capital’, disingenuously profiting White racial groups – predominately affluent students who are White embodying a misinformed/insecure habitus (illustrated in chapters 8 and 11). Finally, understanding what *White insecurity* is, why it functions, and how it is a form of racism is one key finding. The next key finding highlighted throughout this thesis is how racism in the form of *White insecurity* has been socially constructed to impact the Black student experience.

12.2 Key Finding 2: The Black Reality = a curse for resilient survivors

The second finding I would like to discuss is participant perceptions of racism being a combination of (i) an *ingrained creation*, and (ii) taught to young people in education. Multiple students illustrated growing up witnessing their teachers mistreating young boys who are Black in early schooling. This corroborates with research expressing racist teachers have low expectations for young pupils who are Black, describing them as unteachable (Andrews, 2013; Gillborn et al., 2012; Mirza, 2015). Thus, the social misconstructions of the Black-White binary are witnessed by participants, which suggests “Black inferiority” and “White superiority” is ingrained at an early age – hence *ingrained creation*. At the same time, this teaches pupils to become powerless passive bystanders in their early adolescence stage. Thus, from the analysis racism is achieved through a camouflage of silence with kids who are White being conditioned to witness abuse vicariously, to then become social agents and reproducers of this abusive behaviour potentially or internalise racist ideas – socially mis-constructing *White insecurity*. Whilst kids who are Black continue to be in a victimised state and/or forced to dissociate from their Blackness – socially mis-constructing “Black inferiority”.

Furthermore, participants like Elena (White) and Ariel (White) expressed they are taught not to see race in schools, suppress their prejudices, and majority of participants highlighted the curriculum does not acknowledge race and lacks Black representation. Thus, their perceptions are interpreted as demonstrating colour-blind racism. A substantial amount of research suggests being colour-blind is a post-racial form of racism that is conscious or unconscious (illustrated in chapter 5: Bonilla-Silva, 2002; Bonilla-Silva and Dietrich, 2011). Participant Ariel also expressed how people are taught to be politically correct, which this potentially creates a façade anti-racist identity in the frontstage. Thus, the amalgamation of being politically correct and colour-blind constructed the descriptive code *taught subtle racism*.

Political correctness + taught colour-blindness = *taught subtle racism*.

Ingrained creation and *taught subtle racism* could be considered a newer- and very harmful forms of racism i.e., camouflage racism, because of its implicit and unconscious nature being hard to tackle, reproducing racism in institutions socially mis-constructing a façade identity – hence ‘Camouflaged curse’ (illustrated in chapter 9). Applying the FTS framework, the analysis suggests describing racism as ignorance that is conscious or unconscious does not focus on the real perpetrators. The perpetrators would be the institutions who are miseducating each generation to be racist by not acknowledging race holistically in the curriculum or not holding teachers accountable for their racist behaviour. This corroborates with Kendi (2019) suggesting ‘racial discrimination led to racist ideas which led to ignorance and hate’ (Kendi, 2016, p. 9). Therefore, acknowledging that racism is ingrained and taught by institutions should be considered the primary focus for race, racism, and racial inclusion, because it leads to another key finding, the unfortunate reality of racism for the Black student experience at Durham.

The early stages of racism being ingrained and taught (‘camouflaged curse’), is why *White insecurity* manifests and constructs the Black Reality at Durham. Students who are Black being the smallest racial group at Durham are perceived to have the hardest struggle by virtue of being Black in their student experience. An explanation for this interpretation could potentially be that this thesis predominately considered the experiences of students who are Black. The racial exclusion accompanying the Black

student experience is further exacerbated by the juxtaposed communities (e.g., “locals” and TDS) who use implicit and explicit forms of abusive racism (towards Asian groups as well). Additionally, from participants perceptions anyone can be racist, making the reality of racism harder to recognise and dismantle. Thus, from a holistic level, racism at Durham University is inescapable for students in the ReM, affecting their mental health and sense of belonging, preventing racial inclusion. The participants experience of racism align with research suggesting predominately White universities is a harmful experience for ReM students (Arday, 2021; Dumangane, 2016; Harwood et al., 2012). Furthermore, any individual being able to portray a racist identity in the participants social worlds could increase the scope of their lived experiences involving discrimination being perceived as racialised. For example, an alternative explanation of an implicit act (e.g., racial “microaggressions”) that is assumed as racially motivated could be interpreted as another form of discrimination/bias outside of race. Thus, a universal image of a racist intersected with an implicit act can fit the scope with participants’ belief that they are experiencing racism. However, this further supports the findings suggesting the reality of racism is hard to identify and tackle, especially in university spaces where participants describe experiences of racism to be implicitly ambiguous (illustrated in chapter 9).

As mentioned, even when students are implicitly or explicitly told they do not belong by the TDS (e.g., quota-fillers) and forge their own spaces through *intra-racial connections* aka racial separation to avoid being racialised, the TDS proceeds to impose their power generating unjustified conflict (e.g., claiming reverse racism thus demonstrating *hypocritical Whiteness*). On the flip side, racial integration is only achieved for students who are Black if they assimilate by compromising their Blackness. From the findings, one compromise being highlighted by participant Graham’s perceptions constructed the descriptive code *Black African betrayers*, which could potentially lead to contemporary Sambos explained in research to be harmful for Black progression (illustrated in chapter 4). These ‘Survival techniques’ used to acquire different forms of capital to survive the ‘WhiteWorld’ in the educational institutions coincides with literature suggesting students and parents use different strategies of racial resistance to overcome their racially minoritised status (Rollock et al., 2011; Wallace, 2017, illustrated in chapter 5). Additionally, the code *Black African betrayers* corresponds with historical research suggesting *resilient survivors* (enslaved Africans) during their forced enslavement did everything they could to survive and resist their inescapable abusive environment, or alternatively used maladaptive

self-protective strategies, i.e., being “Sambos” who would betray their enslaved brothers and sisters to ensure their safety by pleasing their *insecure White abusers* i.e., slaveowners (e.g., TDS) (illustrated in chapters, “The Wild Racist West”). Thus, from the analysis, traditional “elites” like Durham are considered modern day plantations aka ‘forced labour camps’ for students who are Black, because students are considered modern day *resilient survivors*; (i) they are mis-educated from the curriculum that is absent their race/culture, (ii) forced to survive the racialised student experience on their own by using survival techniques that are self-protective, and (iii) experience abusive racism that is inescapable (see chapters “The Wild Racist West” to find correlations in research of *resilient survivors* during their enslavement).

12.3 Key Finding 3: Lone wolf = racial reconciliation

‘Black girl magic, y'all can't stand it
Y'all can't ban it, made out like a bandit
They been tryin' hard just to make us all vanish
I suggest they put a flag on a whole another planet
Jane Bond, never Jane Doe
And I Django, never Sambo’
- Janelle Monae (2018), *Django Jane*

Moreover, the last major finding I will discuss from the interpreted Black Reality at Durham is participants who are Black (men and women) highlighting women endure *the hardest struggle*. Perceptions were interpreted as women experiencing anti-Black behaviour (e.g., weaponizing hair) and being deemed racist stereotypes (e.g., Jezebel, Sapphire, outspoken), while having a hyper-visible yet invisible existence. This correlates to research suggesting young girls and women who are Black are forgotten and experience different forms of racism in society and education (Bhopal, 2014; Crenshaw, 2018; Essien and Wood, 2021; Rollock, 2007). Particularly demonstrating the ‘misogynoir’ they must be resilient from, identical to the experiences of historical activist Claudia Jones (as shown in chapter 2). This led the analysis to suggest women who are Black experience an ‘expanding hierarchy of oppression’ showing history repeats itself, providing them with the tools to recognise oppression before other groups, which is why participant Prisca –a participant displaying similar activism as Claudia Jones - identifies herself as a *lone wolf* (illustrated in chapter 11). This is no coincidence as much of this thesis and the FTS framework is underpinned by Black women and their Afro-feminist epistemologies, for

example, Cress Colour-confrontation theory (Welsing, 1971), interlocking systems of oppression (Collins, 1986), Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989), Whiteness as property (Harris, 1991). Additionally, solutions for racial inclusivity in the analysis plus recommendations chapters are underpinned by Black female scholars suggesting for ‘woke pedagogy’ (Caldera, 2018), and understanding racial literacy to racial reconciliation (Horsford, 2014) to improve racial equality in schools (see chapters 10 and 11). Thus, from interpreting students’ perceptions it is important to ‘flip the script’ and stop labelling Black women’s misinterpreted retaliations as problematic (e.g., tone policing), and instead perceive them as brave/selfless individuals. However, an alternative could be that women do use aggressive behaviour when confronting a perceived threat, handling the situation in ways that could be problematic and essentially living up to the stereotype. Ultimately, a combination of focusing on the perpetrators who are ‘racially sleep’ marginalising women’s existence and understanding women’s resiliency and struggles is interpreted as the liberation for humanity (Kendi, 2019), racially reconciling educational institutions socially reconstructing ‘racially woke folx’. As Queen Latifah poetically articulates,

‘(Who you callin’ a bitch?)
 U.N.I.T.Y., U.N.I.T.Y. that's a unity (Here we go, you gotta let him know)
 (You go, come on, here we go)
 U.N.I.T.Y., love a black woman from (You gotta let him know)
 Infinity to infinity (You ain't a bitch or a ho, here we go)’
 - Queen Latifah (1993), *U.N.I.T.Y.*

12.4 Future and Potential research

In conducting this research, I had to be selective on what to include within my analysis. The original research consisted of a mixed methods approach, however, with my extensive rich data evolving from my qualitative analysis, a journal article as an extension to this thesis implicating my quantitative data will be constructed. Also, I had conducted two focus groups consisting of ReM students that was not used. I refrained from using this data due to the rich 1-1 interviews and the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic restricting my capability of doing an all-White focus group as intended. Furthermore, taking a critical realist position I used as much data as I could to ask, ‘why events have happened in the way they did’ (Olsen and Morgan, 2004, p. 25, as cited in McEvoy and Richards, 2006). So, I used as

much relevant information answering the research question from my participants, which is why I was able to gather rich data and only use my 1-1 semi-structured interview findings.

Outside of this thesis, with institutions being challenged to decolonise their curriculum (more so after George Floyd), future research considering the impact of institutions who transformed or decolonised its curriculum is important to consider. Researching its impact overtime and how it has affected the student experience and their perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusiveness- from primary schools to universities. This is important because in America institutions are using or banning Critical Race Theory (CRT), and backlash has been exhibited, e.g., parents writing letters of complaints and/or removing their kids from schools who teach CRT. Also, with traditional “elites” like Durham recruiting people like the problematic typical Durham student (TDS), more research should consider student perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusiveness in the private school sector. Lastly, applying the FTS framework, less attention should be focused on individuals racial biases and the victims suffering as a result, and more research should be centred around (i) the resiliency of the victims and most importantly (ii) holding accountable and fixating on the perpetrators; which are the policy makers of institutions, definers of knowledge, and people who are social agents (e.g., folks who are racially sleep) continuing to use their power to socially reproduce said biases (e.g., racism, sexism, and the erasure of Black African history).

12.5 Limitations

My presence as a Black Afro-American researcher could produce limitations. Racism in British society is typically viewed as an American issue not British. Participants could perceive I think racism is real, deterring them from speaking their truths by answering questions in a way they may feel would appease me. Also, as research and the analysis suggest people do not want to be viewed as racist. Therefore, reflecting the sample mainly consisting of participants who want racial inclusion, limiting my chances of recruiting volunteers who believe racism does not exist or believes it isn't a major issue. Additionally, protecting the safety of participants is also a limitation. Understanding how safe participants feel and protecting their health is limited because the interview questions; (i) do not build rapport, (ii) they're trusting me with their perceptions and experiences, and (iii) they must assume I

am being non-judgemental. These limitations could be why many students who originally volunteered through email never got back to me when provided an information sheet or being unresponsive when a date was finally scheduled.

Another limitation concerns the prioritisation of Durham. The Durham University student experience is not adjacent to all traditional “elite” Russell Groups with the wider Durham community being around 98% White. Thus, further research could exhibit a Russell Group that is in a diverse location (e.g., London), and a diverse student population amongst the ReM groups, which as mentioned, was the original purpose of this study. Lastly, since this is a small-scale study taking a qualitative approach based on student’s interpretative experiences, it is not probable to generalise from the analysis. Alternatively, a theoretical generalisation has been provided, and I assert that the rarity of research in this field delivers awareness and understanding of the Black-White binary in a traditional “elite” university.

12.6 Final remarks

The question remains can racial inclusiveness be achieved? Are Black African groups (‘Black African’ will be used in this final section) better off separating from a group that constantly illustrates different forms of camouflaged racism that is underpinned by *White Insecurity*? During the Civil Rights Movement in America, many Black African scholars and activists have mentioned cases such as Brown vs Board of Education (i.e., Black African pupils being able to integrate within White schools) was very harmful to the advancement of Black communities, because integration means assimilating to a culture that teaches consciously or unconsciously Black inferiority. This thesis has shown the complications of ReM students – especially Black Africans - integrating in these White spaces. Thus, should funding be facilitated towards developing Black studies programs like Birmingham City University? Should Britain start developing Black schools/universities? Even though Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in America are largely structurally underfunded compared to non-HBCUs and students from HBCUs have higher debt than those from non-HBCUs (McGee, 2020), thus *White Insecurity* still disrupts Black African progress when Black separation is percolating – as shown in the student experience within this thesis; however, Black African students do have a positive student experience

at HBCUs. What seems prominent in the Black African student experience at Durham is Black African cultural integration (e.g., curriculum and community) is crucial for racial inclusivity.

At the end of the day, 'What's a Black nation, without Black unity' (A Tribe Called Quest, 1991). Francis Cress Welsing highlights the need for Black African rehumanisation by illustrating people who classify themselves as White are not going to unshackle their chains restricting our human rights because their chains are underpinned by racism in the form of "White Supremacy", and the question is whether we care enough about ourselves to deliver us (Welsing, 1991). Therefore, it is apparent to us folx who are Black African that it's our own responsibility to unify, lift ourselves up, and understand how to overcome the psychological and cultural damaging effects of *White Insecurity*; to thus construct our own generational liberation - i.e., power - by embedding valuable alternative Black African institutions and epistemologies (e.g., political party, Black studies, and Black skin capital). It also takes other ReM groups to rehumanise their anti-Black/African prejudices embedded in their culture.

Moreover, applying the FTS framework aka *Afroscript*, because it is predominately Afrocentric in its epistemology and functioning is a useful tool for Rehumanisation, providing an empowering alternative epistemology (transforming racial discourse) for the racially resilient (Black African and other racially marginalised groups) and perpetrators of racism. These lyrics from J. Cole provided the name for my framework and captures the basis for FTS through my experience as a researcher and will hopefully inspire others to apply it to their day to day lives,

'Only nigga [brotha] up in first class, old lady tryna be friendly, ayy
She think I'm in the NBA, why a nigga [brotha] can't have his MBA?
Next time I'ma **flip the script**, you know, kick some shit that's gon' shock her
"You're so tall, what team do you play for?" No bitch, I'm a doctor.'
- J. Cole (2013), *Chris Tucker*

In conclusion, this study explored the presence of racism and its subsequent influence on the wider student experience by hearing the voices of the racially resilient and racially privileged. Analysing these two racial groups perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusion has helped to challenge and reconcile the socially misconstrued Black-White binary, by revealing that for humanity to achieve solidarity and liberation in the Wild Racist West is to: (i) eradicate *White Insecurity*; by (ii) embodying

Black African Rehumanisation. This process of holistic inclusiveness should start with the group who has historically and presently been maintaining their resiliency against the world when experiencing 'expanding hierarchies of oppression', that group being Black Africans. I leave the reader with lyrics from our ancestor 2Pac – a Black African rapper – who is universally one of the most articulate poets of all time, and thus his lyrical activism in the song *Me Against the World* speaks to folx who are rehumanising and trying to be resilient against the insecure oppressive forces misconstruing this inequitable world,

 'With all this extra stressin'
 The question I wonder is after death, after my last breath
 When will I finally get to rest? Through this suppression
 They punish the people that's askin' questions
And those that possess, steal from the ones without possessions
 The message I stress, to make it stop study your lessons
 Don't settle for less, even the genius asks-es questions
 Be grateful for blessings
 Don't ever change, keep your essence
 The power is in the people and politics we address
Always do your best, don't let the pressure make you panic
 And when you get stranded
 And things don't go the way you planned it
 Dreamin' of riches, in a position of makin' a difference
 Politicians and hypocrites, they don't wanna listen
If I'm insane, it's the fame [research] made a brother change
 It wasn't nothin' like the game
 It's just me against the world.'
 - 2Pac (1995), *Me Against the World*

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A: Recruitment Poster

Durham University

FREE FOOD 🥪 🍕

Tell us your perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusiveness at Durham University

Do we live in a post-racial society?

Is there racism at this University?

Should we stop talking about race?

UK undergraduate? Student of colour or white?
Interested in sharing your opinions for a focus group or interview?

So why not take part in this study?

If you would like to take part in this PhD study or have any queries, please contact PGR student **Christopher Jones** christopher.c.jones@durham.ac.uk

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet



Information Sheet (1-1 interview)

Students' Perceptions of Race, Racism, and Racial Inclusiveness **Within Their University**

Researcher: Christopher Jones, PhD student, Durham University
Christopher.c.jones@durham.ac.uk

Supervisor: Vikki Boliver, vikki.boliver@durham.ac.uk

I would like to invite you to participate in my research project. Please read the entirety of this information sheet before deciding whether or not you are happy to participate.

The research is for my PhD thesis with the Department of Sociology at Durham University. The research aims to explore student perceptions of and attitudes toward race, racism, and racial inclusiveness at university. With racial inclusion and belonging becoming a movement across UK higher education and the rising number of students of colour attending university, I am interested in hearing the voices of students, both of colour and White, discussing how they feel about the racial climate at their university.

You are invited to take part in a 1-1 interview on this topic. The purpose of this interview is to hear your views and experiences at your university. You are encouraged to be as open as possible. There are no right or wrong reactions and the purpose of the interview is to explore your viewpoints so please feel free to answer honestly. In order for the interview to be a success it is crucial that the researcher and interviewer treat each other with respect.

The 1-1 interview session should not take more than 60 minutes. Breaks will be provided as appropriate but please be assured that you can take personal breaks at any point. During the interview you can decline to comment on any of the questions. You can leave when you wish and withdraw from the research entirely within six weeks of participating. If you are considering withdrawing from the research please contact me at the earliest instance. There are no repercussions for leaving the research project and you will not be penalised in any way.

The findings of this interview will be utilised in my thesis. Your responses in the interview will be audio recorded and transcribed, however, at no point will your personal information be linked with any answers. Every part of this research project will be entirely anonymous. Your real name will not be used throughout the interview and a pseudonym shall be assigned to you instead. There are circumstances in which information you disclose would be passed on to the relevant services, these are if you disclose a risk of harm to yourself or another person or disclose details about criminal activity. Also, if any of the content discussed today are causing you any worries, please see the useful contacts list below for more help.

After the interview is completed please feel free to provide feedback on anything raised during the discussions. Please also contact me if you have any further comments or questions once you leave.

Participation in this study is voluntary; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Furthermore, if you do decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

Researcher: Christopher Jones
Email: christopher.c.jones@durham.ac.uk
Supervisor: Dr Vikki Boliver
Email: vikki.boliver@durham.ac.uk

Useful contacts

Student Support: 0191 334 2000

Durham Samaritans: 0191 384 2727

Durham counselling service: 0191 334 2200

Appendix C: Consent Form



Consent (1-1 interviews)

Students' Perceptions of Race, Racism, and Racial Inclusiveness Within Their University

Research: Students' perceptions of race, racism, and racial inclusiveness within their university

Researcher: Christopher Jones, PhD student, Durham University

Christopher.c.jones@durham.ac.uk

Supervisor: Vikki Boliver, vikki.boliver@durham.ac.uk

Everyone individual taking part in this research project is required to give their informed consent. Therefore it is my responsibility to ensure you fully understand what is required of you as a participant. It is crucial you understand so that you can agree to your involvement knowingly. Attached is an information sheet that you are required to read, if you have any questions about the research project and your involvement in it then please contact me.

I have read the information sheet and been given the opportunity to ask questions about the research project, with satisfactory responses.	YES	NO
I understand that I have the right to not answer any question I do not want to and will not be penalised in any way for doing so	YES	NO
I agree to take part in a 1-1 semi-structured interview with the researcher.	YES	NO
I give my permission for the interview to be audio recorded and transcribed.	YES	NO
I understand that the audio recording and all data will be stored securely; once the recording has been transcribed it will be destroyed, and that any personal details will not be included in the write-up.	YES	NO
I am aware that my participation my identity will be kept anonymous in any publications related to this research project.	YES	NO
I will not discuss the content of the 1-1 semi-structured interview, including participant identities or their opinions.	YES	NO
I understand my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any point both during and after the interview has been completed, up until 6 weeks after the date of the interview.	YES	NO
I commit to being respectful towards the researcher at all times, not purposefully speaking over them.	YES	NO
I understand that I can keep a copy of this consent form for my own records.	YES	NO

Having read the information sheet and consent form, I confirm that I understand what is required of me for this research project. I agree to every part of this consent form and that I am happy to take part.

Signed: _____ (Participant)

Signed: _____ (Researcher)

Date: ____ / ____ / ____

Appendix D: Interview questions (main)

Inclusion (pertaining to Durham):

1. What made you apply to this university?
2. How open do you feel you are with your peers?
3. Tell me about your experience in lectures
4. How do you feel you fit within your university?
5. When do you feel most comfortable at your university?
6. What similarities do you feel you share with others at your university?
7. What is your description of a typical peer at Durham?

Race related questions:

8. When you hear the word racism, what do you feel?
 - a. What situations make you feel that way?
 - b. What thoughts do you have when you think about racism?
9. What is your definition of racism?
 - c. When do you think your definition occurs?
10. What is your perception of discrimination at your university?
11. What would you like to share about your experiences of racism?
 - d. What are some advantages and/or disadvantages to a Black and White racial identity?
12. How should people respond to racism at your university?
 - e. What are barriers to people responding that way?
13. What do you feel should be done about racial inclusion at your university?

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Flippin' the Script Framework Playlist

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