Dominance and Subordination: A Case study of Race, Identity and Pedagogy in Higher Education

Submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

At the University of Northampton

2020

Nick Cartwright

Acknowledgments

It would be inappropriate for a study that concludes with a focus on acknowledging the primacy of race to fail to acknowledge my own white, male privilege.

I am privileged in that I was in the position professionally and academically to undertake this PhD. I am privileged in that I can undertake research in this area and that my voice is heard without me being side-lined as whining or angry. Finally, I am privileged in that I have an emotional distance from the violence done to women and people of colour that means that I can engage in work like this without it doing violence to me.

I am indebted to the students and staff who were the subjects of this research. I always intended this to be a study that gave back to the subjects of the research and did not just take. I have learned so much from my students and colleagues giving so generously of themselves. I hope and believe that I give back. I particularly hope that what I give back, and the benefits of this study, reach our Black students.

This study is older than my two youngest children and without a huge amount of support, love and understanding from my partner Olorunteleola and our boys it simply would not have been possible. Finishing writing up during the pandemic lockdown with home-schooling and virtual supervision presented a challenge and demanded extraordinary understanding and patience from my family and supervisory team and I am grateful for this.

My supervisors Professors Alejandro Armellini and Andrew Pilkington, and my Director of Studies Associate Professor Cristina Devecchi, have tolerated missed deadlines and patiently led me back on track on more occasions than I care to remember. Their patience, constructive comments, guidance and, pastoral support are appreciated.

Abstract

This study investigates the impact of social constructivist teaching methodology on the learning experiences of students. Using a case study approach this study evaluates how students 'participate' in group and team learning activities. Drawing on critical pedagogy and the Critical Legal Studies (CLS) tradition it investigated which students were dominant and subordinate during the learning activities. Focusing on the narrative of colour-blind and gender-blind meritocracy which is the dominant ideology of education policy it evaluates how the students described these activities and whether they perceived any power relations. To frame the case study within the context of the case study institution it also evaluated how staff within the institution described learning and teaching and whether they perceived a colour-blind and gender-blind meritocracy. Due to an institutional priority it adopted Team-Based Learning™ (TBL) as the social constructivist methodology.

This study was based on a case study and the data was collected using classroom observations, structured interviews with selected students and, semi-structured interviews with members of staff. The data was analysed using thematic, content and, thematic narrative analysis.

This study found that gender did influence the social relations of dominance and subordination, but that race was the dominant driver. White students almost always took relations of dominance and did so more when black students were present. The presence of blackness was more influential on students adopting social relations of dominance than any other observed factor. Black students rarely demonstrated relations of dominance and all did take relations of subordination. Mixed-race and Asian students also tended towards relations of subordination. The study further found that all the students did not report these social relations, instead reporting that power relations were based on merit and democracy. The students and the staff all described a colour-blind and gender-blind meritocracy, explaining away any inequalities on other grounds such as socio-economic deprivation, SEN (Special Educational Needs) or, personal choice.

This study concludes by recommending that the primacy of race should be acknowledged, whilst recognising intersectionality. That the endemic nature of racism and male dominance within Higher Education should be acknowledged. That reflexivity and conscientização should be part of the student learning journey and the CPD of teaching professionals. It also suggests that if any teaching methodology is going to succeed in being truly inclusive then it must be explicitly liberatory in its approach.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Appendices

List of Abbreviations

AUSSE   Australasian Survey of Student Engagement

BAFTA   British Academy of Film and Television Award

BAME   Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic

BME   Black and Minority Ethnic

CLS   Critical Legal Studies

CRF   Critical Race Feminism

CRP   Critical Race Pedagogy

CRT   Critical Race Theory

DfE   Department for Education

ECU   Equality Challenge Unit

EINA   Equality Impact Needs Assessment

HE   Higher Education

HEA   Higher Education Academy

HEFCE   Higher Education Funding Council of England

HEI   Higher Education Institution

IoE   Institute of Education

ISC   Independent Schools Council

JCNC   Joint Consultation and Negotiating Committee

KEF   Knowledge Exchange Framework

KPI   Key Performance Indicator

LGBT+   Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans +

LL.B   Legum Baccalaureus (Bachelor of Laws)

MCQ   Multiple Choice Question

MOBO	Music of Black Origin
NSSE	National Survey of Student Engagement
ODG	Operational Directors Group
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OfS	Office for Students
OSCOLA	The Oxford University Standard for the Citation of Legal Authority
PSED	Public Sector Equality Duty
RAT / t-RAT / i-RAT	Readiness Assurance Test / Team RAT / Individual RAT
REC	Research Ethics Committee
SEN	Special Educational Needs
TBL	Team-Based Learning™
TEF	Teaching Evaluation Framework
UCU	University and Colleges Union
UMT	University Management Team
URB@N	Undergraduate Research Bursary at Northampton
VC	Vice-chancellor
VLE	Virtual Learning Environment

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1   Background and rationale

In 2012 when working at a private college in London I was sat in a staff meeting. Due to Tier 4 visa restrictions the college, that had previously done well focusing on the international market, had diversified and opened its Foundation Programme to Home students. These Home students had started their 'A' levels but for a variety of reasons had not successfully concluded their studies, they were however driven enough to have continued in education. In the staff meeting one colleague after another complained about these "unteachable" students, one had been pinned against the wall, another had had a chair thrown at them. Students were answering back, walking out, arguing. Having recently tamed my own toddler, I felt emboldened and told the meeting that if I could teach the Foundation students anyway I wanted, then I would take them on. A colleague said he would join me if we were given the freedom to experiment.

We delivered one of the most innovative, immersive and, experiential programmes I have ever been involved in and it was the most exhausting and rewarding year of my teaching career. The college closed but not before the Foundation students graduated with comparable outcomes to their peers. Both of us who were involved in that teaching are currently pursuing doctorates in learning and teaching that can trace their genesis to that year.

I took my passion for experiential learning to the University I currently work at and immediately received support and funding to continue innovative learning and teaching practices. The positive responses from colleagues and students continued and generally the student outcomes were positive.

The inspiration for the PhD was a nagging concern I had that I was not being challenged enough. The overall positive outcomes were attracting praise but no one, me included, was checking that what seemed to work for most students in fact worked for all students. I was convinced that active and experiential models of learning enhanced learning and teaching and I wanted to prove this.

I was trained in the Critical Legal Studies (CLS) tradition and when I began my Masters' degree I worked as Research Assistant for several prominent radical feminists and queer theorists. CLS influenced my approach to lecturing law and I became involved with the Centre for Gender, Sexuality and the Law. I believed that the law and legal institutions were patriarchal and heteronormative, and this should be reflected in the way law was taught. I also recognised that the charge of patriarchy could be levelled at HEIs as well as legal institutions. I wanted to prove that

innovative learning and teaching was inclusive and that active models of learning engage and empower law students.

This research has shifted over the course of time from a project principally founded in learning and teaching and CLS to one now firmly grounded in Critical Race Pedagogy (CRP). The research did not show that social constructivist teaching created an egalitarian learning environment but neither did gender emerge as the key driver of discrimination. These findings were both a surprise to me. The research was established within a critical education framework but during the project CRP and Critical Race Theory (CRT) emerged as the guiding theories. I am now more critical of innovative approaches to teaching, although I remain excited that learning and teaching could be truly inclusive.

This research investigates the operation of TBL, through a case study, and central to this is a focus on the equality aspects of that operation. This is a project I remain passionate about and I intend to continue my career in HE (Higher Education) and ensure that the incredible opportunities that education can provide are available to all. This has meant that the research reflects my positionality, and this is examined in some detail in 3.1.1. This has also meant that I have made certain decisions about the way this research is presented. My background is as a lecturer in law and legal education research is my broad research area, this is a recognised and accepted research area.[1] CRT and CRP owe their existence to CLS and founding this research in legal education research acknowledges this. As anyone who has spent time with someone involved in the academic discipline of law can attest academic lawyers are a peculiar breed of pedants who like to differentiate themselves from other academics. Law has its own referencing system, the Oxford University Standard for the Citation of Legal Authority (OSCOLA),[2] which this research adopts. OSCOLA is also silent on some issues so certain conventions have been adopted for quotations. Short quotes (<50 words) are presented in text whilst longer quotes (50 words) are indented. Quotes from the research data however are all indented and italicised to make differentiation easier.

As someone who identifies as part of the critical tradition I have also adopted some feminist and CRT positions in this work. Where a gendered pronoun is necessary, but gender is not identified, I have adopted her / she throughout. Where I refer to an author in the body text I use her full-name at the

---

[1] For example see: Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, *Legal Education Research Network LERN* [online] available at: https://ials.sas.ac.uk/about/leadership-and-collaboration/legal-education-research-network-lern [accessed 28 July 2020]

[2] Donal Nolan, *OSCOLA* [online] available at: https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-subject-groups/publications/oscola [accessed 31 May 2020]

first mention in each chapter to give a broad sense of gender and ethnic origin, authors also have their full names in footnote citations, although not in the bibliography.

1.2   The research questions

The title of this study is: 'Dominance and Subordination: A Case study of Race, Identity and Pedagogy in Higher Education'. The key research aim was to establish what, if any, impact a social constructivist approach to teaching and learning (of which Team-Based Learning™ (TBL) is an example) have on the experiences of students with protected characteristics, specifically gender and race. This resulted in 4 research questions emerging as detailed in 3.1.3:

1. How do students 'participate' in group and team learning activities?
2. Which students display relations of dominance or subordination during these activities?
3. How do students describe these activities, specifically do they perceive a colour-blind meritocracy?
4. How do staff within the institution describe learning and teaching, specifically do they perceive a colour-blind meritocracy?

My positionality in relation to these questions was central to the design and execution of this study and is explored at 3.1.1.

1.3   Structure and content

This study draws heavily on the CLS and critical pedagogy movements and in its positionality sees HE as existing within a systematically unequal and hierarchical framework. It is therefore founded in a detailed examination of the relevant literature in Chapter 2 before the case study approach is explored in Chapter 3.

1.3.1   Chapter 2

It was anticipated that gender would feature significantly in this study as it does in CLS. Through the analysis of the data race emerged as a much more significant theme and the data on gender was less significant. Whilst the literature review discusses gender, especially as it relates to intersectional identities the focus of Chapter 2 is on race.

This chapter begins by exploring the theme of colour and gender-blindness and meritocracy in the context of HE and how radical discourses have responded to these themes. It explores how meritocracy emerged from the satirical writings of Michael Young[3] but became reframed as a desirable ideal. Meritocracy became the lexicon of achievement in modern Britain and the extent to which Britain is in fact a meritocracy is examined. The related issues of colour-blindness and gender-blindness are examined and how this has led to white transparency and formal equality of opportunity influencing ideologies behind education is discussed. It considers critical approaches to HE, especially CRP. Finally, it reviews the literature that discusses institutional discrimination in HE.

This leads into a discussion of HE policy, examining how the ideology of meritocracy has leached into the educational policies of successive governments. As the majority of the students in the case study grew up under the educational policies of Tony Blair's New Labour government and then the coalition government with Michael Gove as Secretary of State for Education these two sets of policies are explored in detail. This section considers how educational policy may have impacted upon the identities of those students in the case study, especially the framing of HEIs as white spaces and the continued side-lining of those from minority and disadvantaged backgrounds. Students, like all of us, often internalise and normalise dominant ideologies and the literature review goes on to examine how the subjects of the case study may have been impacted by the educational policies and the dominant ideologies of post-racialism and meritocracy. It considers the seminal work of Devon Carbado and Mitu Gulati[4] on working identities before evaluating what identity means for black and minority ethnic students in contrast to white identities. The complex and contested Black (with a capital B) identities of British and international students of colour are examined and it is considered how the literature suggests this impacts upon engagement and participation. Racial cognisance amongst white students is also examined and the link between a colour-blind dominate ideology and a lack of racial cognisance is discussed.

The third theme Chapter 2 considers is pedagogy and engagement. Critical education theories are introduced with a focused discussion on pedagogy, considering key critical pedagogic theories such as Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*[5] and relating these to social constructivist teaching methodologies including TBL, which is the teaching methodology deployed in the case study. The literature review then focuses on CRP which is most relevant to what the data in this study showed. It relates the argument central to CRP that education has been used as a tool of oppression against Black people to the statistics on educational outcomes in the UK. This illustrates that people of

---

[3] Michael Young, *The Rise of the Meritocracy (2nd Edn.)* (2017, Routledge), p.xii
[4] Devon W. Carbado and Mitu Gulati, *Acting White?: Rethinking Race in Post-Racial America* (2013, OUP USA)
[5] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2nd Revised Edn., 1996, Penguin)

colour are doing less well, as CRP would predict. Finally, Chapter 2 considers engagement. It considers the behavioural, psychological, holistic and, the socio-cultural perspectives and after evaluating the different approaches concludes that the socio-cultural best allies with the critical approach this study takes because it holds that disengagement is driven by socio-cultural disadvantages rather than by the individual.

1.3.2   Chapter 3

Chapter 3 is the methodology chapter and is broken down into 4 substantive areas: introduction, case study, observations and, interviews.

The introduction (3.1) begins with a statement on positionality (3.1.1) which examines my own situation in relation to this project as that of both an interpretivist and a constructionist. The introduction then outlines the pilot study, which was a small project carried out before my PhD proposal was drafted to identify the themes that might emerge and to help with the design of the main study. Finally, in this introductory section the research questions are detailed.

The case study section explains why a case study is the most appropriate way to collect the data to begin evaluating the research questions. It also discusses the value of the case study and how answers that emerge in the specific, i.e. the case study institution, are applicable to the general, i.e. the HE sector.

The observation section examines the collection of observation data and how the impact of being both practitioner and researcher can be mitigated. The observation data is central to this study as it provides the data on what was observed happening in each of the TBL sessions.

The interview section examines how structured interviews with students were set up. These were deployed to understand how the students narrated their experiences. Unstructured interviews with staff across the case study institution were also used to give an insight into the institutional culture and context within which the case study took place.

1.3.3   Chapter 4

Chapter 4 is the presentation of the observation and interview data. The observation data presentation takes each of the nine teams that were observed and gives an account of each of the observed sessions. This provides the detail of what was observed as happening within the case study. This data is analysed and discussed in later chapters. The student interview data is presented

using thematic narrative analysis, this was applied to three student interviews which served to exemplify the narrative themes. An outline of the staff interview data is also given.

1.3.4 Chapter 5

Chapter 5 is the data analysis chapter. It provides analysis of the observation, student interview and staff interview data.

The observation data is analysed in 5.2 using thematic and content analysis. Two over-arching themes of dominance and subordination are used to group the sub-themes that emerged from the data. These sub-themes are: participation; ignoring or interrupting others; volunteering for opportunities; taking control; disengagement and; contribution is ignored or interrupted. The conclusions drawn from this analysis are that the data shows some relationship between gender and dominant and subordinate relations, with maleness correlating with dominant relations and femaleness with subordinate relations. The data also shows a strong relationship between race and dominant and subordinate relations, with whiteness correlating with dominant relations and blackness with subordinate relations. There is also some relationship between subordinate relations and Asian and minority ethnic identities, but blackness stands out as the predominant in relation to subordinate relations.

The student interview data was analysed using thematic analysis. The thematic analysis was applied to 17 structured student interviews and identified four over-arching themes of behaviour; self-identity; identity of 'others' and; colour-blind or gender-blind. The conclusions drawn from this thematic analysis were that students narrated the learning experiences differently from what was observed to have happened. They explained domination in terms of merit, for example students who expressed dominant relations were perceived to know more and be better prepared. Conversely, they explained subordination in terms of a lack of merit or personal choice. Subordinate students were perceived to know less or to have chosen not to participate. The interviewees also reported a democracy in which all students were actively encouraged to take part. The narrative thematic analysis in Chapter 4 supported these findings and indicated that students were internalising the dominant and subordinate relations as part of their identities.

The staff interview data provides a limited view of some of the attitudes of colleagues at the case study institution. I interviewed staff who were in senior positions with some responsibility for learning and teaching going up the organisation flow-chart from me to the VC. There were three themes that emerged from these five interviews, these were risk-taking; colour-blind or gender-

blind and; participation. The data showed that there was an encouragement to innovate in learning and teaching and that this was described as a positive form of risk taking. It was also clear that there was no systematic process for assessing the impact of these 'risks'.   The data also demonstrated that the staff interviewed were colour-blind and gender-blind, all explaining away any apparent inequalities on other grounds such as socio-economic status, SEN or, personal choice.

1.3.5   Chapter 6

Chapter 6 is the data analysis chapter. It analyses the observation, student interview and, staff interview data in turn. It is arranged in themes that align to the title of this study and the research questions, analysing dominance, subordination, identity and, TBL for the observation and student interview data before acknowledging the limitations of the data. As the staff were not involved in the case study the themes this data is analysed against here are identity and, TBL before the limitations are acknowledged.

The analysis of the observation data revealed a relationship between gender and relations of dominance and subordination and a strong relationship between race and these same power relations. Maleness and whiteness were observed to correlate with dominance whereas femaleness and blackness were observed to correlate with subordination. The analysis of the student interview data revealed that the students did not report any inequalities like those observed, instead reporting a meritocratic and democratic learning environment. Where students did recognise differences in relation to participation or engagement they internalised and normalised this explaining it away as part of their identity or the identities of their peers. The analysis of the staff interview data revealed a similar reporting of HE as a colour-blind and gender-blind environment in which merit and democracy were the key features of any power relations. The analysis clearly illustrates that despite TBL claiming to be an inclusive pedagogy, gendered and racialised hierarchies persisted and that all those interviewed explained this away in the language of meritocracy and democracy.

1.3.6   Chapter 7

Chapter 7 gives the conclusions and recommendations as well as indicating how this study contributes knowledge, it finishes by acknowledging the limitations of this study and by setting out some future opportunities for research. The key contributions are noted below.

1.4   Key contributions

This study aimed, in a broad sense, to prove that innovative, active approaches to learning and teaching could address some of the inequalities that more conventional pedagogic approaches had perpetuated. These inequalities were, I believed, like those that CLS had identified within the ELS.

Whilst I knew that inequality was a complicated and systemic issue I believed that the way I taught could help alleviate some of those issues. On reflection I am sure that at the level of individual students there will be those from disadvantaged and minority backgrounds who have benefitted from my tutelage and those from positions of privilege who have been challenged to question some of their prejudices but I know now that even this is an example of me exercising my power and privilege and will also have advanced systemic power dynamics and oppressive structures.

This study surprised and humbled me in demonstrating so clearly that race was the primary driver of power relations within learning and teaching and, how deeply entrenched the disadvantage that accompanied blackness was. White students had power and in the presence of blackness they exercised this power to advance their own dominance. Innovative learning practices did little if anything to subvert these racial power relations and may, through generally improving educational outcomes across the board, have masked the extent of racial inequality.

The next surprise in the study was the complete lack of awareness of these unequal power relations that all the students interviewed demonstrated. They internalised and then explained away acts of dominance and subordination, normalising what critical educational theorists describe as oppressive practices.

The final contribution this study makes is to identify the extent of this explaining away of systemic and unequal power relations. The students who took part in the case study and the staff who worked at the case study institution universally explained power relations as meritocratic or democratic. Not only did they demonstrate colour and gender-blindness but they did so in such a way as to turn the effects of this into failings of the individual students, a form of victim-blaming which may result in deficit-model interventions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1.   Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature in the area of this study to contextualise the study and to identify gaps in the field where this study makes a contribution. The literature is classified and discussed in three broad themes to align with the research aims of this study.

The first theme considers the narratives of meritocracy and colour-blindness and contrasts them with CRT and other radical approaches. It considers these different theoretical perspectives as they relate to relations of dominance and subordination in the classroom.

The second broad theme considers the development of HE policy and how the neo-liberal accountability agenda in focusing on measurable outputs has ignored persistent micro-exclusions and micro-aggressions. It discusses the literature that proposes that such micro-exclusions and micro-aggressions are normalised and internalised and became part of the identities of marginalised students.

The third broad theme considers pedagogy and engagement. It focuses on innovative social constructivist approaches to learning and teaching, specifically TBL and how they relate to engagement. The study considers later whether racism and male dominance which the literature indicates pervade more conventional pedagogies are still evident.

Table 1 below shows the themes and sub-themes addressed and is structured in the same order as this chapter.

Themes	Sub-headings within themes	Key contributions	Key contributors
Theme 1: Meritocracy and radical discourses in HE	Young's satirical model of meritocracy	The definition of meritocracy as IQ + effort = merit	Young (2017); Bell (1972)
		Merit and desert are synonyms	McLeod (1998)
		This creates "a callous meritocratic society."	Rawls (1972)
	Meritocracy recast as a desirable ideal	Meritocracy redefined as IQ + effort + some chance = merit	Allen (2011)
		This definition is desirable	
	Is Britain a meritocracy?	Inequalities of outcome disprove a meritocracy	Halsey (1961); Tymms et al. (2018)
		We have a form of meritocracy	Allen (2011)
	Colour-blindness and distributive justice	Definition of colour-blind racism	Forman (2004)
		'Native endowments' are distributed unequally	Rawls (1972)
		Pragmatic objection to desert as a ground for DJ	Hume (1984)
		Goods are unfairly distributed	Lamont & Favor (2017)
	White transparency and formal equality of opportunity	Race is a cause of inequality of outcome in HE	Tatum (1997); Mirza (2018); Bhopal (2018a)
		White transparency means race is ignored	Reason and Evans (2007); Feagin et al. (1996); Forman (2004)
	Critical approaches to education	Education can operate as a tool of oppression	Friere (1996); Apple (1993); Nolan (2007); OECD (2006); Acker (1984); Francis and Skelton (2005); Khattak (2011); Spender (1982); Bhopal (2018a)
		Education is intentionally used to oppress minority groups	
	Critical Race Pedagogy	Education has been used as a tool of racial oppression	Woodson (1993); Butchart (1976); Anderson (1988)
	Institutional discrimination in HE	HE is institutionally discriminatory	Law et al. (2004); Pilkington (2004); Pilkington (2011);

			Pilkington (2014); Bhopal (2018b)
		This has led to Black students doing less well	Slaughter-Defoe and Carlson (1996); Gillborn (2008); ECU (2014); Hills et al. (2010)
Theme 2: The Development of HE Policy	The Development of HE Policy	Education has become more market driven	Apple (2003); Hill (1989); Frankham (2017); Edwards and Canaan (2015); Slaughter and Leslie (1997); Bhopal (2018a)
	HE policy under New Labour	"Education is the best economic policy…" led to further marketisation of HE	Blair (1995); Frankham (2017); Bhopal (2018a); Edwards and Canaan (2015); Ball (2007); Yandell (2013)
		Widening participation did not reduce inequalities	Whitty (2001); Hills et al. (2010); Bhopal (2018)
	HE policy under the coalition government	'Interest divergence' leads to greater racial inequality	Gillborn (2013)
		Freire's 'banking model' of knowledge is preferred by government	Freire (1996); Gove (2011)
		Value judgments are made about different disciplines	Gove (2011); Taylor (2010); Yandell (2013)
		Education policy leads to greater disenfranchisement of young Black men	Gillborn (2013); Bhopal (2018)
	The impact of educational policy on students and HEIs	HE institutions are 'White spaces'	Reason and Evans (2007); Bhopal (2018a); Stage and Manning (1992); Smit (2012)
		Students of colour become increasingly disenfranchised	
		Claims of institutional racism and male dominance	
	Working identities	People adopt 'working identities' to navigate different environments	Edwards and Canaan (2015); Carbado and Gulati (2013)

	Black identities	Black students have to adopt 'new ways of being' to navigate HE	Cheong (2007); Kundnani (2002); Black et al. (2002); Yousafzai (2019); Akala (2018); Lahiri (2004)
		Being Black *and* British creates a complex identity	Yousafzai (2019); Akala (2018); Lahiri (2004); Hirsch (2018); Olusoga (2017)
		Failure to accommodate identity is a driver of disengagement	Rogers (2015); Freire (1996); Burke (1994); Apple (1993)
	White identities	Racial cognisance reduces inequality	Reason and Evans (2007); Reason et al. (2005); Forman (2004); Ellis (2004); Evans et al. (2005); Hurtado et al. (1998); Ortiz and Rhoads (2000); Hu and Khu (2003); Friere (1996)
		Educational policy has encouraged colour-blindness and discouraged racial cognisance	
Theme 3: Pedagogy and Engagement	Pedagogy, oppression and liberation	The 'banking model' of education is emancipatory	Freire (1996)
	Pedagogy and exclusion	Power relations of dominance and subordination lead to exclusion and disengagement	Keverne et al. (1982); Bishop and Glenn (2003) Pérez Huber (2009) and (2011)*;* Fowler (2003) Picower (2009)
	Social constructivism	Definition of social constructivism and its advantages and disadvantages	O'Connor (1998); Collins (1981)
	Team-Based Learning™	TBL fits within the definition of social constructivism	Kanwas and Hamdy (2017)
		TBL is claimed to be inclusive and close attainment gaps	Michaelson (2014); Michaelson and Sweet (2011)
		TBL may perpetuate structural inequalities	Carbado and Gulati (1999-2000); Marx (1859); Apple (1993)

	The behavioural perspective	Limited, binary, definition of engagement	Kezar and Kinzie (2006); Kahu (2013); Buckley (2015); Brint (2008); Wefold and Downey (2009); Coates (2010); Christie et al. (2008); Krause (2003)
	The psychological perspective	Engagement defined as an internal, psych-social process	Kahu (2013); Fredericks et al. (2004); Newmann et al. (2002); Jimerson et al. (2003); Askham (2008); Libbey (2004); Corno and Mandinach (2004)
	The holistic approach	Combines the behavioural and psychological perspectives	Bryson et al. (2009); Kahu (2013); Christie et al. (2008)
	The socio-cultural perspective	Disengagement is driven by socio-cultural disadvantages rather than by the individual	Kahu (2013); Christie et al. (2008)

Table 1: Table of Themes

2.2.   Meritocracy and radical discourses in HE

2.2.1. Young's satirical model of meritocracy

Meritocracy is a concept about how desert should be calculated. Desert is the state of affairs deserved by the subject as a consequence of something about the subject.[6] Theorists like Owen McLeod argue that desert and merit are interchangeable terms[7] whilst others argue there is a relationship between the two (necessary or otherwise).[8] The most prominent argument is that merit is distinguished from desert on the grounds of responsibility, with merit having positive overtones describing the qualities that we benefit from but are not necessarily responsible for, whilst a *necessary* condition of desert is responsibility.[9] A pure meritocracy however requires that benefits are accrued in a just way, irrespective of, for example, race or gender from which we may benefit: "In general, a meritocracy is a social system in which advancement, reward, and status are based on individual abilities and talents."[10]

Meritocracy has become part of the common lexicon after its creation by Michael Young in his satirical monograph *The Rise of the Meritocracy*: "I had doubts about the key word which I made up. A friend, a classical scholar, said I would be breaking the rules of good usage to invent a new word out of one Latin and one Greek word."[11] Young's protagonist, his future self from the year 2034, reflects on a world were nepotism, bribery and inheritance as the basis for merit are replaced by the simple equation "I.Q. + effort = merit".[12] This is Young's answer to inequality - status and authority are earned in a purely egalitarian system. If meritocracy is the solution to inequality then not only does society need to be meritocratic but the system by which its members are educated also needs to be free from nepotism, bribery and inheritance: "Practically and ethically, a meritocratic education underpins a meritocratic society."[13]

---

[6] Owen McLeod, 'Contemporary Interpretations of Desert: Introduction' in Louis P. Pojman and Owen McLeod (eds) *What Do We Deserve: A Reader on Justice and Desert* (1998, OUP) 61-69, pp.61-62; Louis P. Pojman, *Justice* (2006, Pearson), p.21 and; George Sher, *Desert* (1987, Princeton University Press), p.7

[7] Owen McLeod, 'Contemporary Interpretations of Desert: Introduction' in Louis P. Pojman and Owen McLeod (eds) *What Do We Deserve: A Reader on Justice and Desert* (1998, OUP) 61-69, p.67

[8] For example, see: Louis Pojman 'Equality and Desert' (October 1997) *Philosophy* 72 (282) 549 who argues that merit is a "species" of the "genus" desert.

[9] David Miller, *Principles of Social Justice* (1999, Harvard University Press), p.125

[10] Peter Celello, 'Desert' in James Fieser and Bradley Dowden, *Internet Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* [online] available at: https://www.iep.utm.edu/desert/ [accessed 7 June 2019]

[11] Michael Young, *The Rise of the Meritocracy (2nd Edn.)* (2017, Routledge), p.xii

[12] *Ibid,* p.xiii

[13] *Ibid,* p.xiv

Daniel Bell was one of the early commentators on meritocracy, arguing that: "The post-industrial society, in its logic, is a meritocracy. Differential status and differential income are based on technical skills and higher education, and few high places are open to those without such qualifications."[14] Bell noted in his later book that the concept of meritocracy rested on education giving entry to a system that one then progressed through on achievement.[15] Like Young, Bell is writing partly in satire and presents both argument and counterargument. Young comments on this in the preface to the second edition of his text when he notes:

> … how sad, and fragile, a meritocratic society could be. If the rich and powerful were encouraged by the general culture to believe that they fully deserved all they had, how arrogant they could become, and, if they were convinced it was all for the common good, how ruthless in pursuing their own advantage.[16]

The logical conclusion of this argument is, of course, that those who have done less well are also deserving of their desert because of their lack of merit and John Rawls famously explores this in his *Theory of Justice.* Rawls is arguing for an egalitarian meritocracy in which the 'brute luck' of the conditions into which we are born are corrected for so as to avoid "a callous meritocratic society."[17] This 'brute luck' would include any trait that was discriminated against in a 'nearly just society', for example gender, sexuality, disability or, race. It is this that leads to Rawls' thought experiment of the 'veil of ignorance' - "to insure impartiality of judgment, the parties are deprived of all knowledge of their personal characteristics and social and historical circumstances"[18] - from behind which the rules for a 'nearly just society' are constructed.[19]

2.2.2   Meritocracy recast as a desirable ideal

Young's satirical model of meritocracy is susceptible to the criticisms outlined above, however the term has developed into an ideal that has become part of the lexicon of HE and was central to the educational policy of New Labour and subsequent governments, as is examined below. Ansgar Allen argues that the reason that attitudes to meritocracy changed is because the term itself has changed since Young first published his monograph in 1958: "the basic principles of meritocracy have since

---

[14] Daniel Bell, 'The Meritocracy and Equality' *The Public Interest* 29 November 1972
[15] Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (1973, Basic Books)
[16] Michael Young, *The Rise of the Meritocracy (2nd Edn.)* (2017, Routledge), p.xvi
[17] John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, (1972, Clarendon Press), p.100
[18] Samuel Freeman, 'Original Position' in Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2019 Edition) [online] available at: https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2019/entries/original-position/ [accessed 13 August 2020]
[19] *Ibid*

changed and that the system Young warned us against no longer exists."[20] In fact the term has become almost universally accepted as a benchmark of a developed and just society so much so that there is a plethora of literature investigating whether we have achieved meritocracy[21] or whether we in fact can,[22] whilst there is much less published on the more critical question as to whether meritocracy as an ideal is desirable.[23]

Meritocracy is, according to Allen, something that a nearly just society should aspire to whilst recognising that this is unachievable: "A perfect distribution of individuals according to their relative ability is now felt to be unattainable. Whilst patronage still remains unthinkable, chance and self-promotion fill the gap to become the principles of meritocratic society."[24] Chance at least is blind to characteristics, so Allen's model of meritocracy is, at least theoretically, free from prejudice and discrimination.

2.2.3   Is Britain a meritocracy?

Other theorists however argue that there is more than 'IQ + effort + some chance' at play in determining merit in either education or society more generally. The inequalities of outcome that persist, such as the gender and race pay gaps, it is argued, evidence that structural and institutional discrimination also determine merit. Many theorists who argue that a meritocratic society would be beneficial also argue that we clearly have not achieved this yet.[25]

Albert H. Halsey's argument that the English education system has been reasonably successful in creating the liberal based model of formal equality or equality of opportunity is widely accepted. His contention that it has not succeeded in achieving the more radical notion of equality of outcome, for example black men are underrepresented in high paid employment and over-represented in the prison population when assessed against the percentage of the population they account for, is

---

[20] Ansgar Allen, 'Michael Young's The Rise of the Meritocracy: A Philosophical Critique' (2011) *British Journal of Educational Studies* 59(4) 367, p.368

[21] Peter Saunders, 'Might Britain be a Meritocracy?' (1995) *Sociology* 29 (1) 23; Richard Breen, 'Is Northern Ireland an Educational Meritocracy' (2003) *Sociology* 37 (4) 657 and; Richard Breen and John H. Goldthorpe, 'Class, Mobility and Merit: The Experience of Two British Cohorts' (2001) *European Sociological Review* 17 (2) 81

[22] John H. Goldthorpe, 'Problems of 'Meritocracy' in Albert H. Halsey, Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown, and Amy S. Wells (Eds.), *Education: Culture, Economy and Society* (1997, OUP) 663-682 and; John H. Goldthorpe, 'The myth of education-based meritocracy: Why the theory isn't working' (2003) *New Economy* 10 (4) 234

[23] Spyros Themelis, 'Meritocracy through education and social mobility in post-war Britain: a critical examination' (2008) *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 29 (5) 427

[24] Ansgar Allen, 'Michael Young's The Rise of the Meritocracy: A Philosophical Critique' (2011) *British Journal of Educational Studies* 59(4) 367, p.379

[25] For example see: Sam Friedman and Daniel Laurenson, *The Class Ceiling: Why it Pays to be Privileged* (2019, Policy Press)

equally as widely accepted.[26] Aldridge, for example, notes that if lower class and middle class students with similar intelligence experience different levels of success in education then the: "barriers against bright working class children succeeding are quite low, the safeguards against failure enjoyed by dull middle class children are quite strong".[27]

Critical educational theorists do not necessarily disagree with meritocracy as an ideal, they argue however that merit is not the key driver of status or educational outcome. For example, CRT argues that the primary driver of structural and institutional discrimination is race and these arguments are explored in Chapter 3 to provide the context for CRP.

For both the fictitious future Young and Allen these forms of prejudice are part of an unfortunate history which we have cast off. For Allen, at least, we have gained a "current meritocracy"[28] in England. This model of meritocracy requires that society awards merit on the grounds of natural ability and effort, albeit with chance mixed in, and is blind to the impact of differences such as gender, race and, disability. This model of meritocracy was adopted by New Labour, as central to both their economic and educational policies.

CRP argues that pretending there is a meritocratic educational system is to defend the *status quo* which leads to sustaining and replicating the systemic drivers of privilege and oppression.

2.2.4   Colour-blindness and distributive justice

In terms of race, arguing there is a meritocracy leads to claims of colour-blindness - literally not being able to even see racial difference. After the civil rights era many Americans claimed that they "do not see race"[29] leading to an attitude described by many theorists as 'colour-blind racism'. As the journalist, broadcaster and author Afua Hirsch reflects this is also true in modern day Britain: "In Britain we are taught not to see race. We are told that race does not matter. We have convinced ourselves that if we can contort ourselves into a form of blindness, then issues of identity will quietly disappear."[30] If we have equality of opportunity for all, and structures which are objective in their treatment of *all,* the argument is progressed that we have the egalitarian basis for a truly

---

[26] Peter Tymms, Christine Merrell and Katharine Bailey, 'The Long-term Impact of Effective Teaching' (2018) *School Effectiveness and School Improvement* 29(2) 242

[27] Aldridge (2001) cited in Alex Callinicos, 'Meritocracy: Unequal Opportunities' (2001) *Socialist Review* 253

[28] Ansgar Allen, 'Michael Young's The Rise of the Meritocracy: A Philosophical Critique' (2011) *British Journal of Educational Studies* 59(4) 367, p.381

[29] Tyrone A. Forman, 'Color-Blind Racism and Racial Indifference: The Role of Racial Apathy in Facilitating Enduring Inequalities' in Maria Krysan and Amanda E. Lewis (eds.), *The Changing Terrain of Race and Ethnicity* (2004. Russell Sage Foundation), p.45

[30] Afua Hirsch, *Brit(ish): On Race, Identity and Belonging (Reprint Ed.)* (2018, Vintage), p.10

meritocratic educational system. However, if we have a system that privileges some whilst oppressing others, and those who benefit from this fail to see it then we risk sustaining structural injustices: "Privilege is never consciously recognised or defined. …Think of it as a collective mental block."[31]

Rawls is predominant amongst those who advance a metaphysical argument against desert as a basis for distributing goods and either, as is discussed in 2.2.1 above, merit and desert are interchangeable[32] or merit is a 'species' of the 'genus' desert.[33] Rawls' argument draws heavily on Herbert Spiegelberg's claim that there is an undeserved discrimination in the endowments we are born with or into.[34] Rawls' argues that these 'native endowments' are distributed unequally, as are the circumstances into which we are born. Rawls' therefore argues against desert (and thus merit) as the basis for distributing goods, including social goods. Depending on whose reading of Rawls you accept this is either an argument against desert having any role in distributive justice,[35] or an argument for it only having a minimal role.[36]

The philosophy of distributive justice is a broad and wide-ranging topic area which is beyond the remit of this study. It is sufficient here to note that meritocracy is grounded in the belief that goods should be justly distributed on grounds of desert and that there are criticisms of this model of distributive justice.

Alongside Rawls' metaphysical criticism strict egalitarians also counter desert-based principles because they permit for the distribution of goods on the basis of, to some extent, native endowments. David Hume, and others, advance more pragmatic objections to the workability of a desert-based system[37] as well as an epistemological objection about how we can claim to have knowledge of the native endowments of other agents.

Crudely grouping together feminists, critical race theorists, Queer theorists and other critical theorists it seems fair to say that they do not naturally ally with any particular model of distributive justice as they tend to be making descriptive claims about the fact that goods, including social goods,

---

[31] Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, 'Foreward' in Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: The Myth of a Post-racial Society* (2018, Polity Press), xiii-xiv, p.xiii

[32] Owen McLeod, 'Contemporary Interpretations of Desert: Introduction' in Louis P. Pojman and Owen McLeod (eds) *What Do We Deserve: A Reader on Justice and Desert* (1998, OUP) 61-69, p.67

[33] Louis Pojman 'Equality and Desert' (October 1997) *Philosophy* 72 (282) 549

[34] Herbert Spiegelberg, 'A Defense of Human Equality' (1944) *Philosophical Review* 53(2) 101

[35] George Sher, *Desert* (1987, Princeton University Press), p.22

[36] Jeffrey Moriarty, 'Desert and Distributive Justice in A Theory of Justice' (Spring 2002) *Journal of Social Philosophy* 3(1) 133, pp.136-7

[37] David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1983, Hackett), p.27

are unfairly distributed.[38] In relation to education these critical theories are discussed in 3.2.1. The focus here is on whether there exist structural and institutional biases that we should acknowledge, or whether fairness is achieved by being blind to difference and focusing on desert as would be the claim by those who favour what is described herein as a colour-blind meritocracy.

Critical theorists argue that the apparently objective rules against which one is measured in a nearly just meritocracy are in fact gendered, racialised, heteronormative and/or, ableist. The rules written by straight, white men privilege them and disadvantage others. This is why, it is argued, that the formal equality stance of equal treatment has done little to erode the inequalities of outcome we see in, for example, pay gaps and educational outcomes.

2.2.5   White transparency and formal equality of opportunity

For over two decades some have argued that the idea that one can be colour-blind to race, sometimes termed 'white transparency' is a fallacy.[39]

Henry A. and others focus primarily on college education in the United States where racial segregation is more apparent and diversity training and racial sensitivity workshops commonplace.[40] Whilst the experiences in the UK are dissimilar this may support an argument that colour-blindness is present here. American academics also argue that these arguments are a myth: "The very nature of academic environments continues to perpetuate multiple characteristics that excuse white students from seriously taking the time to examine the role of race (their own and others) in their lives."[41]

College campuses in the US are described as 'white spaces'[42] and similar charges have been made of HEIs in the UK which Heidi Mirza describes thus: "complex entrenched institutionalised gendered

---

[38] Julian Lamont and Christi Favor, 'Distributive Justice' in Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2017 Edition) [online] available at:
https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2017/entries/justice-distributive/ [accessed 7 June 2019]

[39] Henry A. Giroux, 'Rewriting the Discourse of Racial Identity: Towards a Pedagogy and Politics of Whiteness' (1997) *Harvard Educational Review* 67(2) 285

[40] Beverly Daniel Tatum, *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? And Other Conversations About Race* (1997, Basic Books) and; Sarah Susannah Willie, *Acting Black: College, Identity, and the Performance of Race* (2003, Routledge)

[41] Robert D. Reason and Nancy J. Evans, 'The Complicated Realities of Whiteness: From Color Blind to Racially Cognizant' (Winter 2007) *New Directions for Student Services* 120 67, p.67

[42] Joe R. Feagin, Hernan Vera, and Nikhita Imani, *The Agony of Education: Black Students at White Colleges and Universities* (1996, Routledge); Paul Kivel, 'The Culture of Power' in Frank W. Hale Jr. (ed.), *What Makes Racial Diversity Work in Higher Education: Academic Leaders Present Successful Policies and Strategies* (2004, Stylus) and; Nirmal Purwar, 'Fish in or out of Water: A Theoretical Framework for Race and the Space of Academia' in Ian Law, Deborah Phillips, and Laura Turney (eds.), *Institutional Racism in Higher Education* (2004, Trentham Books)

and classed racial discrimination in British universities".[43] The predominant belief among white Americans is that people of colour are doing as well as whites, and any differences in outcome are explained by merit, choices or sometimes social class.[44] There are four beliefs that are ascribed to what is described as colour-blind racism.[45] The first is that society is meritocratic. The second that for most race is something they pay little or no attention to. The third is that therefore any patterns of inequalities of outcomes for certain racial groups must be because of individual desert or collective cultural reasons. Fourthly there is therefore no need to act to address the causes of inequalities of outcome.

This colour-blind attitude steeped in a belief that our society is close to being a meritocracy could be argued to underpin British educational policy. If this is true, then it may also be the case that HEIs and those who teach and learn within them have bought into the ideology of colour-blind meritocracy.

2.2.6   Critical approaches to education

For critical education theorists, education that focuses on the transmission of existing dominant ideologies does not generate what Freire describes as "real knowledge".[46] Real knowledge is gained through a co-dependent process in which the purpose of education is to invent and re-invent knowledge. Freire contrasts dialogical education, which achieves liberation,[47] and anti-dialogical education which achieves oppression: "Anti-dialogical action explicitly or implicitly aims to preserve, within the social structure, situations which favour its own agents."[48]

The below discussion relates these models of education and knowledge to the identities students adopt to navigate their education. Where education becomes about transmitting ideas that are not part of a student's cultural identity then this is a driver of disengagement,[49] conversely where

---

[43] Heidi Safia Mirza, 'Racism in Higher Education: 'What Then, Can Be Done?'' in Jason Arday and Heidi Safia Mirza (eds), *Dismantling Race in Higher Educaction. Racism, Whiteness and Decolonising the Academy* (2018, Palgrave Macmillan) 3-23, p.4

[44] Tyrone A. Forman, 'Color-Blind Racism and Racial Indifference: The Role of Racial Apathy in Facilitating Enduring Inequalities' in Maria Krysan and Amanda E. Lewis (eds.), *The Changing Terrain of Race and Ethnicity* (2004. Russell Sage Foundation)

[45] *Ibid*

[46] *Ibid,* chapter 2

[47] *Ibid,* chapter 3

[48] *Ibid,* p.179

[49] Lynne Rogers, *Disengagement from Education* (2015, IOE Press), p.118

education empowers a student to invent or re-invent knowledge in a way that is relevant to their cultural identity then this is empowering.

The enlightenment elevated theoretical knowledge to a position of primacy, described as: "the century of philosophy *par excellence*",[50] philosophy meaning literally the love of knowledge, which has dominated subsequent debates about empiricism. Since the late 1940s theorists from differing disciplines have questioned this primacy, arguing that different forms of knowledge deserve greater recognition: "Over the past 50 years or so various practice disciplines have entered the fray, challenging the supposed superiority of theoretical knowledge, promoting instead the value of practical, tacit and experiential forms of knowing."[51] However, it is not only the relative values of different forms of knowledge that leads to the greatest inequalities, it is also the devaluing of knowledge that does.

The critical education movement in Britain, prior to rise of neo-liberalism, was primarily focused on class inequalities, although the issues of disadvantage and empowerment were recognised as also applying to race and gender.[52]

Marxists argue that the education system reproduces class inequality, legitimises this inequality and exists to serve the interests of capitalist employers. Although Karl Marx focused on class inequality, critical pedagogists highlight that this reproduction and legitimisation of inequality and oppression applies to all oppressed groups, not just those oppressed because of economic class.[53]

Whilst Apple is writing about the experiences of underprivileged groups in America as they experience the 'conservative restoration' he explicitly relates his observations to the experiences of the underprivileged in Britain: "In Britain too there is an ongoing attempt at a thoroughgoing dismantling of the gains for which the majority of people have struggled for decades."[54] Apple explains how the Marxist claim that educational institutions reproduce and legitimise oppression applies to other underprivileged groups:

---

[50] D'Alembert cited in William Bristow, 'Enlightenment' in Edward N. Zalta (ed.) *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2011 Edition) [online] available at:
https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2011/entries/enlightenment/ [accessed 7 March 2017]
[51] Mike Nolan et al., 'Introduction: what counts as knowledge, whose knowledge counts? Towards authentic participatory enquiry' in Mike Nolan, *User Participation in Health and Social Care Research* (2007, OUP) 1-13, 7
[52] For discussion see: Dave Hill, *The Charge of the Right Brigade: The Radical Right's Attack on Teacher Education* (1989, The Hillcole Group)
[53] Michael W. Apple, *Teachers and texts: A political economy of class and gender relations in education* (2013, Routledge)
[54] *Ibid,* p.3

... we see specific classed, raced, and gendered subjects, people whose bibliographies are intimately linked to the economic, political, and ideological trajectories of their families and communities, to the political economies of their neighbourhoods, and – in an identifiable set of connections – to the exploitative relations of the larger society.[55]

The answer that HE gives to the questions 'what counts as learning and knowledge' and 'whose perception of knowledge counts', according to critical educationalists, is that powerful white men's perceptions of the world count as learning and knowledge and it is powerful white man's perception of what knowledge is valuable that counts. The OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation Development) reflected this when in 2006, commenting on the content of textbooks, they noted that: "The impression gained is one of the women's inferiority, her domesticity, her lack of intelligence, ability, sense of adventure or creativity."[56] Women and individuals of colour are either invisible in the teaching materials or their contributions are trivialised.

Critical educationalists further argue that the oppression minorities suffer within education is intentional, that, for example, women's lived experiences are trivialised by men, including male teachers and peers, is well documented.[57] It is also argued that the belittling of minority experiences by white male teachers and peers is a form of control: "they [minorities] are not simply the unlucky recipients of prejudice!"[58] For critical theorists like Dale Spender the liberal project of widening participation in HE is flawed because the system into which they would be entering replicates and reinforces oppression because HE: "ignore[s] the distribution of power in society and the academic world, and the way in which males have appropriated and defended that power."[59]

CRP charges the institutions and structures within which they operate as being systematically racist. As an anti-essentialist approach it does not regard this claim as excluding other forms of prejudice, rather institutions and the society in which they operate can function in a way that privileges certain characteristics, such as race, gender and economic class, over others. Further, lived experiences are more complicated than this, for example a black woman may experience prejudice because of her

---

[55] *Ibid,* p.5

[56] OECD, *Women in scientific careers unleashing the potential* (2006, OECD), p.14

[57] For example see: Sandra Acker, *Teachers, Gender and Careers* (1984, Falmer) and; Becky Francis and Christine Skelton, *Reassessing Gender and Achievement: Questioning Key Debates* (2005, Routledge)

[58] Shammaas Gul Khattak, 'Feminism in Education: Historical and Contemporary Issues of Gender Inequality in Higher Education' (2011) *Occasional Papers in Education and Lifelong Learning: An International Journal* 5 (1-2), 67, p.74

[59] Dale Spender, *Invisible Women: The Schooling Scandal* (1982, Routledge), p.110

race or gender, however these are not distinguishable and the fact of the intersection of these characteristics may in fact be the cause of prejudice as Critical Race Feminism (CRF) argues.[60]

2.2.7   Critical Race Pedagogy

In common with CRT, CRP has its roots in the experiences of black Americans. Woodson argues from this tradition, holding that the American education system has historically taught black Americans about respecting another culture, but not their own.[61] Woodson was writing in 1933 and both Eugene Butchart[62] and James Anderson[63] have argued, much later, that this was part of a system of post-abolition emancipation and cites this as the main reason that free education for black Americans appeared before other welfare provisions.

Whilst this history of black education in the USA is disturbing, what is more disturbing is the claim that the institutional racism of the education system persisted into the 1990's, and arguably persists today:

> Several studies published during the Reagan-Bush years (1980-92) indicate that African American students in K-12 public schools are disproportionately represented in grade retentions, school suspensions, and dropout rates. Similar findings have been reported for Latino children. These studies conclude that prior to leaving school during the adolescent years, these students are frequently poor academic achievers in the elementary grades and experience' academic suspensions for related disciplinary problems.[64]

When an entire system or institution operates to disadvantage one racial group in relation to another, rather than individuals engaging in discriminatory practices, this is termed 'institutional racism'. Institutional racism is defined in the *Macpherson Report* as:

> The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting

---

[60] Adrien Katherine Wing (ed.), *Critical Race Feminism: A Reader (2nd Edition)* (2003, New York University Press)
[61] Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-education of the Negro* (1993, Africa World Press)
[62] Roger Eugene Butchart, *Educating for Freedom: Northern Whites and the Origins of Black Education in the South 1862-1875* (1976, Ph.D thesis, State University of New York at Binghamton, Department of History)
[63] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (1988, The University of North Carolina Press)
[64] Diana T. Slaughter-Defoe and Karen Glinert Carlson, 'Young African American and Latino children in High-Poverty Urban Schools: How They Perceive School Climate' (1996) *The Journal of Negro Education* 65(1) 60, 60

prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racial stereotyping which disadvantage minority

ethnic people.[65]

There is abundant data in relation to retention, progression and, attainment for minority ethnic students in HE which demonstrates that formal equality of opportunity and attempts at widening participation have done little, if anything, to remedy inequalities of outcomes.

BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) and BAME (Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic) (hereinafter BME) are labels that have attracted criticism from many. Hirsch argues that this is because white British people are uncomfortable with confronting issues of race and racism and therefore use 'comfortable' labels.[66] The statistics that demonstrate the gaps that exist between the educational experiences of students however homogenise students into 3 groups, namely international students (who are excluded from the data); home and EU students who identify as white; and home and EU students who do not identify as non-white. The latter group being labelled as BME. When referring to these statistics this study has therefore repeated the label BME, however this is not done uncritically.

2.2.8   Institutional discrimination in UK Higher Education

This part of the literature review looks at the symptoms – the inequalities of outcomes – that indicate that there may be systemic or institutional discrimination within UK HE.

BME students in British HE institutions in 2015 experienced the same disproportionate representation in statistics charting engagement,[67] retention and achievement,[68] as was reported in the USA in the 1990s. This study considers this data set as the case study data was collected in the 2014/15 academic year. The most recent data is also noted below at Figure 2.

---

[65] Home Office, *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: Report of an Inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny*, Cm 4262-I, February 1999, para 46.1

[66] Afua Hirsch, *Brit(ish): On Race, Identity and Belonging (Reprint Ed.)* (2018, Vintage), ch.4

[67] If we accept that attendance is a marker of engagement. For defence of this claim see: Nicola Hughes, 'Attendance as a measure of student motivation and engagement' *Inform - A journal for international foundation programme professionals* (2009) 3, 7-8

[68] For example see: David Gillborn, *Conspiracy? Racism in Education: Understanding Race Inequality in Education* (2008, Routledge)

The proportion of UK black first degree undergraduates receiving a first or 2:1 was lower than for all other ethnic groups.

UK BME — 57.1%   16.1%   UK WHITE — **73.2%**   26.4%   UK BLACK — 46.8%

The ethnicity degree attainment gap is at its lowest since 2003/4. Despite this, the gap in attainment remains considerable.

Equality Challenge Unit
www.ecu.ac.uk E: info@ecu.ac.uk
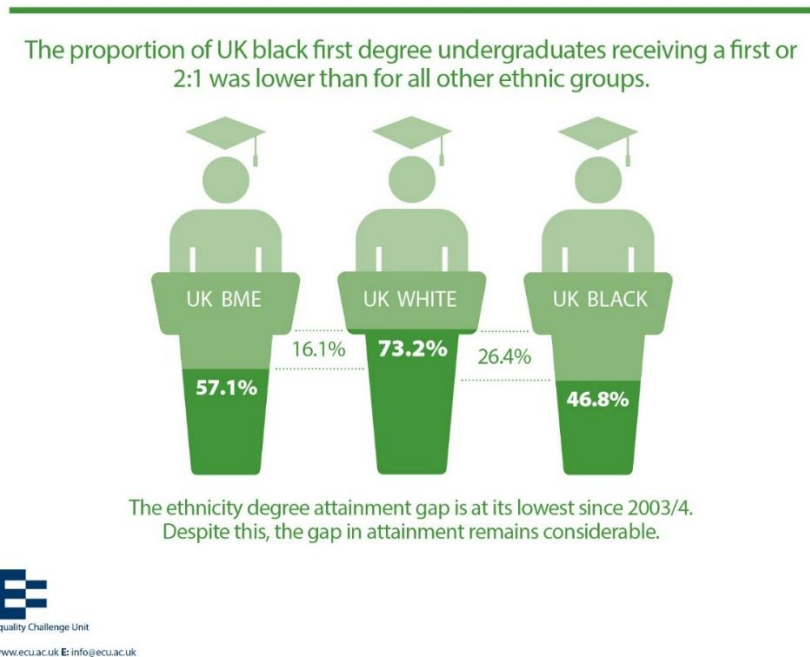
Figure 1: Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) graphic on the attainment gap [69]

In 2012 research published by the Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) (Figure 1) showed that 69.5% of white, UK domiciled, graduates achieved a first-class or 2:1 degree, compared to 51.1% of BME, UK domiciled, graduates and 40.3% of black, UK domiciled, students.[70] That's an award or attainment gap of 18.4% and 29.2% respectively. By 2014 the gap between white and BME students had reduced to 16.1% and with black students to 23.4%.[71] This is the lowest award or attainment gap since 2003/4 and if the trend continues the gap between white and BME students would theoretically have closed by 2028 and with black students by 2022. This is of course an optimistic assessment which ignores the realities of statistical analysis, it also ignores the fact that we are in a period of government cut backs which are hitting the most vulnerable and disadvantaged members of British society and "education reforms are being enacted that systematically disadvantage Black students and demonstrably widen educational inequalities".[72] This includes the abolition of the EMA, and the introduction of, and substantial increases in, tuition fees. The 2016 statistics from the ECU illustrate this with the rate of the reduction of the BME attainment gap slowing and a rise in the black attainment gap. The 2018 statistics show a continued decline in the BME attainment gap and a

---

[69] Equality Challenge Unit, *Equality in Higher Education: Statistical Reports 2014: part 2 students* (2014, Equality Challenge Unit)

[70] Equality Challenge Unit, *Equality in Higher Education: Statistical Report 2012* (2012, Equality Challenge Unit)

[71] Equality Challenge Unit, *Equality in Higher Education: Statistical Reports 2014: part 2 students* (2014, Equality Challenge Unit)

[72] David Gillborn, 'Interest-divergence and the colour of cutbacks: race, recession and the undeclared war on Black children' (2013) *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 34(4) 477, p.477

slight drop in the black attainment gap, although it is still higher than in 2014, as illustrated in Figure 2:
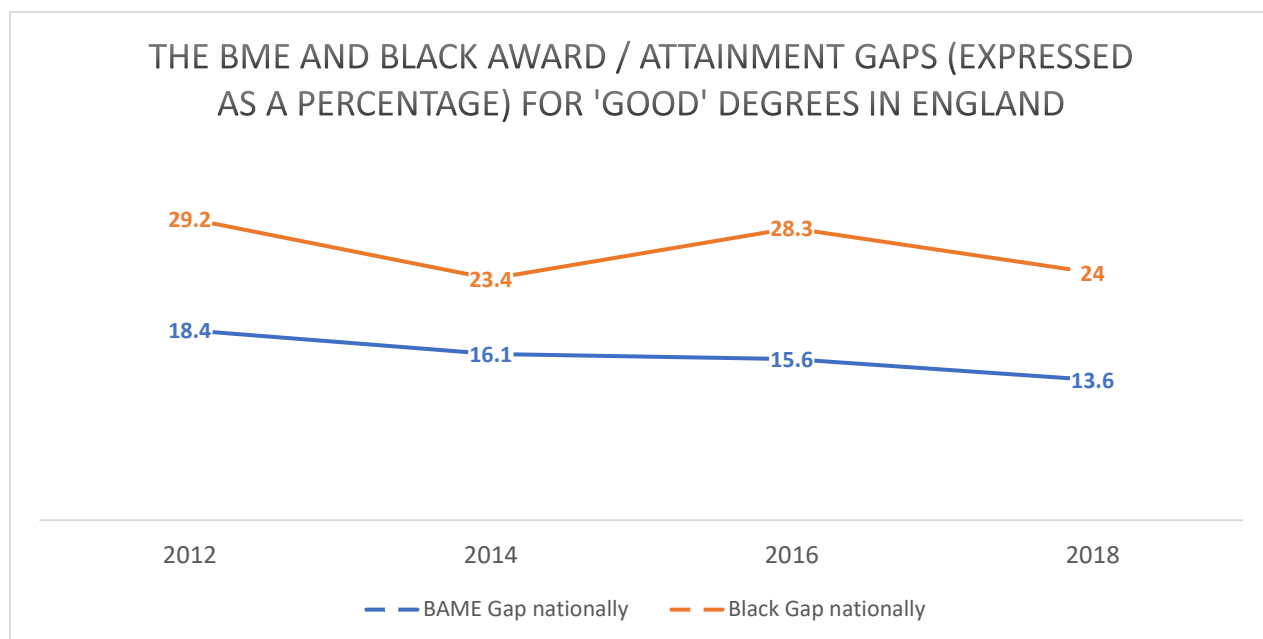
THE BME AND BLACK AWARD / ATTAINMENT GAPS (EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE) FOR 'GOOD' DEGREES IN ENGLAND

Year	BAME Gap nationally	Black Gap nationally
2012	18.4	29.2
2014	16.1	23.4
2016	15.6	28.3
2018	13.6	24

Figure 2: The BME and Black Award / Attainment Gaps (Expressed as a Percentage) for 'Good' Degrees in England[73]

All public bodies, including universities, are under a legal duty to collect and publish equality data.[74] As of June 2015 the most recent 'Student Statistics Booklet' available on the staff intranet at the case study institution presents this data for the academic year 2010/11 and although equality data was published for enrolment it was not published for achievement. As the results were not published the following data was obtained by requesting it from the case study institution. In 2012/13 68.9% of white and 51.5% of BME students achieved a first-class or 2:1 degree, equating to an attainment gap of 17.4%. In the 2013/14 academic year 70.8% of white and 54.8% of BME students achieved a first-class or 2:1 degree, equating to an attainment gap of 16%. No disaggregated data was available for black students.

For the purposes of this study it is therefore accepted, on the data available, that the case study institution is performing consistently with the sector averages reported by the ECU and is therefore an appropriate setting for a case study. The most recent data available at the case study institution

---

[73] Equality Challenge Unit, *Equality in Higher Education: Statistical Reports 2018* [online] available at: https://www.advance-he.ac.uk/knowledge-hub/equality-higher-education-statistical-report-2018 [accessed 13 August 2020]
[74] Equality Act (2010)

actually shows that there has been an increase in the BME attainment gap since 2015 and, that since they have started to report data on the black attainment gap, this has also risen.[75]

These inequalities are both more pronounced and more hidden because of the period of sustained economic growth and because the statistics mask the enormity of the problem, for example by looking at statistics for BME attainment the poor educational outcomes of black students are masked by being aggregated with the better outcomes of other minority ethnic groups, especially Chinese students: "For instance, a tenth of Chinese boys are ranked in the top 3 per cent overall, and a tenth of Chinese girls are ranked in the top 1 per cent."[76] This has happened at the case study institution who published performance data which compares academic outcomes of white students with those of BME students but was not disaggregated to the level where the performance of black students could be analysed.

The claim that these and other statistics identify that HE in the UK is institutionally racist is neither novel nor contentious. Ian Law et al.[77] published their edited collection on institutional racism in HE in 2004 and in it Andrew Pilkington notes that the "concept [of institutional racism] is not new",[78] crediting it to Stokely Carmichael in 1967. Kalwant Bhopal et al. identify "the White space of the academy"[79] where academics and students of colour feel like outsiders. The endemic nature of institutional racism in HE is again noted by Pilkington in his book *Institutional Racism in the Academy: A Case Study* in which he notes both that this is an under researched topic area and an issue that HEIs remain unwilling to acknowledge.[80] This it is argued is due to the "sheer weight of whiteness"[81] which is unrelenting in its pervasiveness.

Whilst institutional racism in HE is under researched there is adequate data to indicate to that it is a serious and persistent issue. Despite this, Pilkington's assertion that the issue remained unacknowledged by HEIs, and remains so, is evident in the case study institution, for example

---

[75] University of Northampton, *Student Data* [online] https://www.northampton.ac.uk/more/governance-and-management/compliance/equality-and-diversity/staff-and-student-equality-data-reports/student-data/ [accessed 8 June 2015]

[76] John Hills et al., *An anatomy of economic inequality in the UK: Report of the National Equality Panel* (2010, Government Equalities Office), p.73

[77] Ian Law et al. *Institutional Racism in Higher Education* (2004, Trentham Books)

[78] Andrew Pilkington, 'Institutional Racism in the Academy? Comparing the Police and the University in Midshire' in Ian Law et al. *Institutional Racism in Higher Education* (2004, Trentham Books) 15-26, p.15

[79] Kalwant Bhopal et al. 'Should I Stay or Should I Go? BME Academics and the Decision to Leave UK Higher Education' in Jason Arday and Heidi Safia Mirza *Dismantling Race in Higher Education: Racism, Whiteness and Decolonising the Academy* (2018, Palgrave Macmillan) 125-141, p.132 (cited as Bhopal (2018b) in Table 1: Table of Themes)

[80] Andrew Pilkington, *Institutional Racism in the Academy: A Case study* (2011, Trentham Books)

[81] Andrew Pilkington, 'The Sheer Weight of Whiteness in the Academy: a UK Case Study' in Richard Race and Vini Lander *Advancing Race and Ethnicity in Education* (2014, Palgrave Macmillan) 193-209

minutes of meetings of the JCNC (Joint Consultation and Negotiating Committee) at the case study institution evidence that staff of colour are disproportionately represented in disciplinary and performance management procedures yet more time was spent by senior staff expressing displeasure at the notion of institutional discrimination than on discussing the discrimination itself.

It is argued that institutional sexism is also present in the academy in the form of sexual harassment and gender-based violence. Both the staff and student unions have repeatedly reported on this issue[82] as have numerous other studies.[83] The institutional discrimination within the curriculum content, especially in relation to representation of women and their roles, is discussed above in 2.2.6. There is a substantial body of literature, both from feminists and others, that supports the view that HE is a male dominated realm. Whilst the links between institutional racism and the educational underachievement of students of colour, especially black students, are argued by critical educationalists to be clear the impact of male dominance on the educational outcomes of female students is much less clear. As Margariet van Hek et al. note: "women outperform men in educational attainment in many countries."[84] Hek goes on to explain how this outperformance may be however be a symptom of oppression as the socio-cultural context of HE disadvantages women.[85] Woman, it is argued, are rewarded by educational success when they fulfil the gendered stereotypes expected of them. Micro-exclusions and micro-aggressions are discussed in the second broad theme in 2.3 where the arguments that the neo-liberal accountability agenda has ignored these, instead focusing on measurable outcomes. Women may still be subordinated whilst achieving what is described as 'success' by this neo-liberal agenda.

In 3.2.1 this study explores CRT as its theoretical framework. At that point the idea of the colonised curriculum both in relation to endemic racism and male dominance is examined.

---

[82] NUS, *That's what she said: Women students' experiences of 'lad culture' in higher education* (2012, NUS); UCU, 'Sexual violence and harassment: a UCU statement' [online] available at: https://www.ucu.org.uk/sexualviolence [accessed 1 July 2020]

[83] For example, see: Melanie Crofts et al., *New Spaces: Safeguarding Students from Violence and Hate* (2018, HEFCE)

[84] Margariet van Hek et al., 'Comparing the gender gap in educational attainment: the impact of emancipatory contexts in 33 cohorts across 33 countries' (2016) *Educational Research and Evaluation: An International Journal on Theory and Practice* 22(5-6) 260, p.260

[85] For example, see: Joyce Stalker, 'Misogyny, women, and obstacles to tertiary education: A vile situation' (2001) *Adult Education Quarterly* 51 288

2.3 The Development of Higher Education Policy

The post-war educational policy in Britain could be described as one of liberal education and from the 1970's this policy was challenged by the capitalist ideology of the right. Scholars such as Michael Apple[86] and Dave Hill[87] argue that there has been a shift towards an educational system which develops human capital to serve the economic needs of the superstructure.

It is certainly true that the employability agenda in British HE has had a steadily growing influence on education policy, becoming a cornerstone of the TEF (Teaching Evaluation Framework).[88] Since the 1970's the pay and conditions of university lecturers have been in decline. Universities have seen a rise in the control of the State over what they teach and how they teach through the introduction of the TEF in 2016 and the creation of the Office for Students (OfS) in 2018.[89] Although lecturers' unions and the NUS have made attempts to resist the marketisation agenda through the rise of anti-Union sentiment from the mid-1990's has limited their effectiveness:

> However, from the mid-1990s until the Coalition government came to power, teachers have been relatively acceptant of a slow chipping away at their pay and conditions and at student assessment. Capital's increased mobility and its de-regulation of labour markets, coupled with a state encouraged sense of fatalism, and growing work precarity and intensification, have created a hostile backdrop to teacher trade union organization and to the belief that unions can do more than protect pensions and support teachers' and lecturers' disputes with management.[90]

There were huge changes to the HE sector introduced during the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990). Within the first four-years of her premiership university funding had been cut by 17% which institutions were expected to absorb through efficiency savings.[91] Fees for international students were first introduced in 1980 and in 1992 the government merged the university and polytechnic sectors, this led to a doubling of university students between 1990 and

---

[86] Michael Apple, *The State and the Politics of Knowledge* (2003, Routledge Falmer)

[87] Dave Hill, *The Charge of the Right Brigade: The Radical Right's Attack on Teacher Education* (1989, The Hillcole Group)

[88] Jo Frankham, 'Employability and higher education: the follies of the 'Productivity Challenge' in the Teaching Excellence Framework (2017) *Journal of Education Policy* 32(5) 628

[89] Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 'Higher Education: Success as a Knowledge Economy – White Paper' (16 May 2016) [online] available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/higher-education-success-as-a-knowledge-economy-white-paper [accessed 25 July 2016]

[90] Gail Edwards and Joyce Canaan, 'Radical, critical and Marxist education in neo-liberal Britain' (2015) *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 13(3) 71, pp.84-85

[91] Sheila Slaughter and Larry L. Leslie, *Academic Capitalism: Policy. Politics and the Entrepreneurial University* (1997, Johns Hopkins University)

1996 whilst staff numbers remained static and funding fell by a further 30%.[92] Gail Edwards and Joyce Caanan argue that this allowed the funding problems faced by the HE sector to be framed in a way that required the market to provide solutions.[93]

2.2.1   Higher Education policy under New Labour

In 1995 Tony Blair told the Labour Party conference that "Education is the best economic policy there is for a modern country".[94] This neo-liberal recasting of education as economic policy is criticised by some as dangerous because it denies the intrinsic value of knowledge, reducing it to a means to an end rather than an end in itself. HE, critics argued, started to be regarded from the things it led to, like employability and salary, and for the merit it allowed one to attain.[95] The idea of meritocracy, discussed above in 2.2, was seen by some as the foundation of HE policy.[96]

New Labour were elected to government in May 1997 and they continued with the centralisation and marketisation of education.[97] In 1999 New Labour introduced the 'widening participation' agenda: "The aim was to ensure that individuals from disadvantaged and less privileged backgrounds would be given equal access to university compared with those from privileged backgrounds."[98]

The widening participation agenda did achieve its aim of increasing participation in HE. Some have argued however that whilst it has increased the overall numbers of students participating in HE certain groups still remain disproportionately under-represented, including students of colour and those from lower socio-economic backgrounds.[99] Others also argue that this has led to greater segregation within the HE Sector "with elite Russell Group universities continuing to be populated by white middle-class students (many of whom were privately educated). By contrast post-1992

---

[92] Nicholas A. Barr and Iain Crawford, 'The Dearing Report and the Government's Response: A Critique' (1998) *Political Quarterly* 69 (1) 72

[93] Gail Edwards and Joyce Canaan, 'Radical, critical and Marxist education in neo-liberal Britain' (2015) *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 13(3) 71, p.85

[94] Tony Blair, 'Leader's speech, Brighton 1995' (British Political Speech) [online] available at: http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?speech=201 [accessed 22 November 2015]

[95] Dave Hill, *The Charge of the Right Brigade: The Radical Right's Attack on Teacher Education* (1989, The Hillcole Group)

[96] Gail Edwards and Joyce Canaan, 'Radical, critical and Marxist education in neo-liberal Britain' (2015) *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 13(3) 71

[97] *Ibid*, p.85

[98] Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: the myth of a post-racial society* (2018, Policy Press), p.89 (cited as Bhopal (2018a) in Table 1: Table of Themes)

[99] Geoff Whitty, 'Education, social class and social exclusion' (2001) *Journal of Education Policy* 16(4) 287, p.289

universities continue to be populated by working-class and black and minority ethnic students."[100] Kalwant Bhopal argues that this is intentional with Russell Group HEIs functioning so as to protect their positions as predominantly white spaces.[101]

As an economic policy HE had to be measured and therefore the measurable outputs become the focus of attention, anything that was not easily measurable was devalued. In this output driven environment students become the means of production, as do their lecturers, all defined by their success, or otherwise, in attaining quantifiable outputs, defined as targets. A good student, a good lecturer, a good Higher Education Institution (HEI) are all measured by their effectiveness in meeting these targets. The targets themselves become not what we measure success against but themselves the measure of success.

When a version of this chapter was presented to colleagues at the Approaches to Inequalities conference[102] Omar Khan, then of the Runnymede Trust, commented that this challenge to a target driven culture risked devaluing the importance of data. His argument was that for those challenging inequalities in structures like education data is an extremely valuable tool. Data is necessary for targets and therefore any attack on targets risks leading to a reduction in the collection of data which may be counterproductive. There are numerous examples of the importance of data and Georgia Bauman *et al.* cite one:

> We have a chance to look at where we are. We can make arguments supported with the numbers. Maybe we could even ask some new questions. For instance, I never knew to ask the institutional research department to disaggregate the data for the English department. I didn't have a reason. I had mentioned in meetings that our students were really, really white, but now I have proof that the department is white. It has been obvious to me, but I haven't been able to get some of my white colleagues to acknowledge this.[103]

In 2.2.8 I use the rich data collected by the ECU, and the more limited data collected by the case study institution, to identify some of the problems this study will investigate. I recognise that without this data this kind of study would be impossible. There is a real danger, that with the

---

[100] Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: the myth of a post-racial society* (2018, Policy Press), p.89 (cited as Bhopal (2018a) in Table 1: Table of Themes)

[101] *Ibid,* pp.91-2

[102] Nick Cartwright, 'From New Labour's 'Earning is Learning' to Gove's 'Chalk and Talk': Knowledge, power and education' presented at the *Approaches to Inequalities* bi-annual conference (22 June 2016)

[103] Georgia L. Bauman et al. *Achieving Equitable Educational Outcomes with All Students: The Institution's Role and Responsibilities* (2005, Association of American Colleges and Universities), p.31

marketisation of HE and the "bonfire of red tape"[104] justified on claims of budget constraints against a back-drop of an agenda of austerity, that this data may not be available in the future.

There is however a marked difference between data being collected to analyse behaviours and behaviours being driven by data. As Jonathon Jansen argues targets are valuable but their pursuit can lead educational policy in a dangerous direction:

> I should state immediately that this is not a criticism of *targets* as one instrument to track progress against investments, to give direction to national development efforts, or to mobilize resources for considered action. Rather, my questions have to do with the zealous pursuit of targets as ends in themselves...[105]

Most, if not all, commentators agree that data is invaluable but that there is a difference of opinion, with some holding that there is a real danger that by setting targets the focus is shifted away from targets that are difficult or impossible to measure to targets that are easy to measure, quantify and compare:

> … not everything worth doing in schools can be measured in a set of discrete outcomes. Schools, therefore, that build strong cultures of anti-racism among learners, or who foster democratic participation in the community, or who build cooperative cultures among teachers, or demonstrate high levels of curriculum innovation, are not taken as seriously in the performance stakes as those whose achievements are discrete and measurable... [106]

Nevertheless, in the boom years of New Labour this meritocratic policy appeared to work, universities embraced the widening participation agenda, welcoming this burgeoning class of those who had embraced opportunities and 'got their heads down'. During the boom times the many did do well, but Geoff Whitty argues that the few didn't: "education reforms couched in the rhetoric of choice, difference and diversity often turn out to be sophisticated ways of reproducing existing hierarchies of class and race."[107] The relative chances of students from disadvantaged backgrounds have changed by very little, if at all, and the National Equality Panel reported in 2010 that education

---

[104] Peter Scott, 'Beware, the central control that grips schools is heading universities' way' *The Guardian* [online] available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/jan/04/control-schools-universities-knowledge-business [accessed 30 June 2016]

[105] Jonathon D. Jansen, 'Targeting education: The politics of performance and the prospects of 'Education for All'' (2005) *International Journal of Educational Development* 25(4) 368, p.369

[106] *Ibid*, p.378

[107] Geoff Whitty, 'Education, social class and social exclusion' (2001) *Journal of Education Policy* 16(4) 287, p.289

and economic inequalities had in fact grown: "Britain is an unequal country, more so than many other industrial countries and more so than a generation ago."[108]

This Blairite meritocratic view of knowledge as a means to an end meant that New Labour has been criticised for focusing on what knowledge and learning can lead to, not what counts as knowledge or learning: "From Blair, in particular, came the message that what mattered was the use to which knowledge might be put in the world."[109] This was the beginning of a process of commodifying knowledge.

New Labour, it is argued, had no firm ideological stance about what counts as knowledge and the move to allowing the private sector to influence how knowledge is defined was, Stephen Ball argues, almost inevitable.[110] Kalwant Bhopal recounts the influence that the ISC, which represents the interests of non-State schools, has over Russell Group HEIs, especially Oxford and Cambridge Universities.[111]

2.2.2   Education policy under the coalition government

The economic crash that followed the boom was blamed, rightly or wrongly, on New Labour and the claim that 'learning led to earning' was dismissed by the subsequent coalition government. The widening participation agenda was however embraced by subsequent governments, but the coalition government also introduced an agenda of austerity where funding for education was rationed. [112]

Under the austerity agenda the coalition government trebled university tuition fees and to criticise what they characterised as the 'grade inflation' which, they argued, had shored up New Labour's education policies. David Gillborn described this as a period of 'interest divergence', which he contrasted with Derick Bell's model of "interest convergence"[113] which is central to CRT: "the

---

[108] John Hills et al., *An anatomy of economic inequality in the UK: Report of the National Equality Panel* (2010, Government Equalities Office), p.1

[109] John Yandell, 'Whose Knowledge Counts?' (2013) (Institute of Education) [online] available at: http://research.ioe.ac.uk/portal/services/downloadRegister/5316721/JY_knowledge131107.docx [accessed 23 November 2015]

[110] Stephen J. Ball, *Education plc: Understanding private sector participation in public sector education* (2007, Roultedge)

[111] Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: the myth of a post-racial society* (2018, Policy Press), p.89 (cited as Bhopal (2018a) in Table 1: Table of Themes)

[112] Gail Edwards and Joyce Canaan, 'Radical, critical and Marxist education in neo-liberal Britain' (2015) *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 13(3) 71, p.85

[113] Derick Bell, '*Brown v Board of Education* and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma' (1980) *Harvard Law Review* 93(3) 518

situation can be characterised as 'interest-divergence', that is, a period where White powerholders perceived an advantage in even greater race inequity."[114] What Gillborn argued was that the economic downturn had created the environment where white people felt that their economic well-being was threatened and they were therefore content to support policies that shore-up the historic structures of racial domination[115] by adopting the colour-blind attitude that the inequalities of outcome could be explained away and therefore did not require action.[116] He further cites clear evidence that an austerity agenda impacts disproportionately on black communities which compounds matters: "On both sides of the Atlantic, Black people are known to experience the effects of economic depressions more quickly and deeply than the ethnic majority."[117] Gillborn argued that his theory was born out in the development of HE policy by both the coalition and Conservative governments of recent years.

Michael Gove MP, Secretary of State for Education from 2010 – 2014, saw the fallacy of the claim that knowledge had only instrumental value and took the opportunity to give a Conservative answer to the question 'what counts as learning and knowledge' which is now entrenched in Britain's educational policies and structures. He said in his 2011 speech to Cambridge University: "I want to proclaim the importance of education as a good in itself."[118] Gove made some general comments about the importance of knowledge with which it is difficult to disagree, for example: "I think any society is a better society for taking intellectual effort more seriously, for rewarding intellectual ambition, for indulging curiosity, for supporting scholarship, for feting those who teach and celebrating those who learn."[119] It is however his specific, as opposed to general, comments which have attracted academic criticism.

Gove made important comments about the relative merits of different forms of disciplinary knowledge as well as what is culturally valuable. On disciplinary knowledge he praises: "mathematics, English, the sciences, foreign languages, history and geography … [as] rigorous

---

[114] David Gillborn, 'Interest-divergence and the colour of cutbacks: race, recession and the undeclared war on Black children' (2013) *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 34(4) 477, p.478
[115] *Ibid*, p.487
[116] Tyrone A. Forman, 'Color-Blind Racism and Racial Indifference: The Role of Racial Apathy in Facilitating Enduring Inequalities' in Maria Krysan and Amanda E. Lewis (eds.), *The Changing Terrain of Race and Ethnicity* (2004. Russell Sage Foundation)
[117] David Gillborn, 'Interest-divergence and the colour of cutbacks: race, recession and the undeclared war on Black children' (2013) *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 34(4) 477, p.487
[118] Michael Gove, 'The Secretary of State's speech to Cambridge University on a liberal education' (25 November 2011) [online] available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/michael-gove-to-cambridge-university [accessed 23 November 2015]
[119] Michael Gove, 'The Secretary of State's speech to Cambridge University on a liberal education' (25 November 2011) [online] available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/michael-gove-to-cambridge-university [accessed 23 November 2015]

intellectual disciplines tested over time",[120] whilst overseeing an educational policy which devalued less traditional disciplines like media studies.[121] Gove was having a direct influence on what counts as learning and knowledge and he is conservative (with a small 'c'). Gove preferred the traditional in terms of culture, discussed below, knowledge, and teaching methodology. Commenting on Gove's approach to knowledge John Yandell, of the IoE, characterises Gove's view as: "Knowledge, like culture, is something to be preserved, transmitted from generation to generation, not something to be made."[122] He further argues that Gove's conservatism extends to his view of teaching methodology, holding that Gove prefers the traditional didactic methods with the teacher venerated to the 'sage on the stage'.[123] Nick Gibb MP, Minister of State for Schools from 2010 - 2012 under Gove, was openly supportive of the 'chalk and talk' approach to teaching.

This view of teaching methodology as the student being a passive vessel waiting to receive knowledge from the teacher is exactly what Paulo Freire was describing, and critiquing, in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*[124]. Gove's vision of education relates closely to the banking model described by Freire and is discussed in 3.2.1.

On cultural value Gove argues that: "Richard Wagner is an artist of sublime genius and his work is incomparably more rewarding - intellectually, sensually and emotionally - than, say, the Arctic Monkeys."[125] Gove praises: "the genius of Pythagoras, or Wagner … the brilliance of Shakespeare or Newton, … [and] Balzac or Pinker"[126] and he derides *To Kill a Mockingbird, Of Mice and Men,* and *Lord of the Flies* whilst lauding the work of George Eliot, Jane Austin, Charles Dickens and Thomas Hardy:

> In English Literature, many students will only have read one novel for their exam - and the overwhelming number - more than ninety per cent - will have studied only either *Of Mice and Men, Lord of the Flies* or *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Out of more than 300,000 students who

---

[120] *Ibid*

[121] Matthew Taylor, 'My response to Michael Gove's response to my response to his speech' (January 19 2010) (Royal Society for the improvement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce) [online] available at: https://www.thersa.org/discover/publications-and-articles/matthew-taylor-blog/2010/01/my-response-to-michael-goves-response-to-my-response-to-his-speech/ [accessed 23 November 2015]

[122] John Yandell, 'Whose Knowledge Counts?' (2013) (Institute of Education) [online] available at: http://research.ioe.ac.uk/portal/services/downloadRegister/5316721/JY_knowledge131107.docx [accessed 23 November 2015]

[123] John Yandell, 'Curriculum, Pedagogy, Assessment: of rigour and unfinished revolutions' in Martin Allen and Patrick Ainley (eds), *Beyond the Coalition: reclaiming the agenda* (2013, RadicalEd)

[124] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2nd Revised Edn., 1996, Penguin)

[125] Michael Gove, 'The Secretary of State's speech to Cambridge University on a liberal education' (25 November 2011) [online] available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/michael-gove-to-cambridge-university [accessed 23 November 2015]

[126] *Ibid*

took one exam body's English Literature GCSE last year, just 1,700 - fewer than 1% will have studied a novel from before 1900 for the exam. … Whether its Austen's understanding of personal morality, Dickens' righteous indignation, Hardy's stern pagan virtue, all of these authors have something rich to teach us which no other experience, other than intimate connection with their novels, can possibly match.[127]

That Gove is saying one form of knowledge is more valid than another is concerning. That he derides every form of knowledge that reflects a cultural history other than white Englishness is, according to CRP, prejudiced against everyone who does not identify with white English culture. It was discussed in 2.2.8 that some argue HEIs can be institutionally white, male, middle-class spaces and theorists also argue that this means that success is framed to favour white, male and middle-class students: "Universities measure a particular type of success that is possessed by those from white middle-class backgrounds."[128] CRP holds that being taught someone else's culture, rather than your own, is a form of emancipation. In 2.2.6 it is examined how being othered by the institutional culture of HE impacts on the identities of students.

Gove's educational ideals fit the model of cultural invasion described by Freire and discussed in 3.2.1. Gove's model of education, Gillborn claims, contributed to the growing disenfranchisement of minority groups, particularly young Black men. Gillborn argues that this contributed to the London riots of 2011, yet the coalition government, and the subsequent Conservative government have pushed on with the reforms Gove heralded:

> But despite growing awareness of the anger and resentment that lay behind the disturbances, the government's response has been to push ahead with an educational reform programme wrapped in the rhetoric of high standards for all, but delivering even greater inequalities of achievement between White and Black students.[129]

2.2.3   The impact of educational policy on students and HEIs

The students involved in the case study started their degrees in September 2014, the majority of home students will have therefore started school when the Blairite agenda of 'learning is earning' was well established and concluded their GCSEs and studied their A levels when Gove was Secretary

---

[127] *Ibid*

[128] Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: the myth of a post-racial society* (2018, Policy Press), p.92 (cited as Bhopal (2018a) in Table 1: Table of Themes)

[129] David Gillborn, 'Interest-divergence and the colour of cutbacks: race, recession and the undeclared war on Black children' (2013) *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 34(4) 477, p.477

of State for Education. They will have been exposed to an ideology of education that is grounded in both meritocracy and colour-blind racism and "[a]s a result of this belief system, the true structural, institutional, and societal causes of inequity go unnoticed, and efforts to address these causes are viewed as illegitimate and unnecessary".[130]

The educational institutions that these students will have attended, including the case study institution, will have been influenced by government policy. Frances Stage and Kathleen Manning map six presumptions that educational institutions make when working with students of colour which reflect meritocratic and colour-blind attitudes.[131] Firstly, it is students of colour that are expected to change to fit the dominant white, Eurocentric culture and not vice-versa. Secondly, racial diversity and inclusion is made the responsibility of staff and / or students of colour. Thirdly, students of colour are expected to share the interests of other students and subjected to criticism when they do not participate or try to organise their own, race-specific groups. Fourthly, students of colour are criticised for their failure to engage with study skills or support sessions, being labelled as lazy or ungrateful. The assumption that underpins this attitude is claimed to be that all students of colour need remedial support. Fifth, the institution adopts the colour-blind stance of offering equal opportunities for all. Finally, the white culture of the institution is assumed to be functioning properly and not in need of any change. These characteristics may be true of aspects of the case study institution and this is reflected upon in latter parts of this study.

Whilst HE offers benefits through individual advancement to many, including economic prosperity and social mobility learning and teaching should be considered as: "socially embedded practices, and not as neutral activities."[132] This means that students who are unfamiliar with the culture and discourses of HE may be disadvantaged. The deficit model of education[133] explains that students from non-traditional backgrounds are viewed as being deficient and needing support to access the advantages that HE offers, focusing solely on the ways in which student identities can be changed to reduce the disadvantage they face. It ignores the barriers to advantage that exist within the system and institutions themselves:

---

[130] Robert D. Reason and Nancy J. Evans, 'The Complicated Realities of Whiteness: From Color Blind to Racially Cognizant' (Winter 2007) *New Directions for Student Services* 120 67, p.69

[131] Frances K. Stage, and Kathleen Manning, (eds.) *Enhancing the Multicultural Campus Environment: A Cultural Brokering Approach*: *New Directions for Student Services, no. 60. (J-B SS Single Issue Student Services)* (1992 Jossey-Bass)

[132] Renee Smit, 'Towards a clearer understanding of student disadvantage in higher education: Problematising deficit thinking' (2012) *Higher Education Research & Development* 31(3) 369, 374

[133] For discussion see: *Ibid*

Employing a deficit mindset to frame student difficulties acts to perpetuate stereotypes, alienate students from higher education and disregards the role of higher education in the barriers to student success. In the process universities serve to replicate the educational stratification of societies.[134]

The identities of students and their ideas as to what counts as learning and knowledge will have been shaped by the ideologies discussed above. In turn their conception of their own identity will shape how they position themselves in relation to knowledge and how they see knowledge positioned as it relates to them.

The meritocratic educational policies of New Labour directly correlated learning with earning and other socio-economic advantages. This neo-liberal, egalitarian approach frames education in the language of formal equality of opportunity and this is clear from Blair's speech to the 1995 Labour Party conference where he said: "The more you learn, the more you earn. It is your way to do well out of life - your route to jobs, to growth, to the combination of technology and know-how that will transform our lives."[135]

2.2.4 Student identities

The inequalities examined above may have an impact on students' identities in different ways. Penny Jane Burke argues that it leads to low esteem in students from minority backgrounds: "Students from under-represented backgrounds often experience feelings of unworthiness or shame, which are related to processes of misrecognition."[136] Many students therefore adopt an identity that allows them to 'fit in'. The identity of students and the identities they adopt to navigate education are, if one accepts the 'working identities' theory described below, a reflection of State policy. Some Marxist educationalists argue that how one sees oneself is as important to the educational experience as the content matter itself: "we believe that consciousness is shifted as much through engagement with class struggle as through ideas."[137] The super-structural, according to Marxist educationalists, influences both the institution and the individual and whilst this study

---

[134] *Ibid*, p.377

[135] Tony Blair, 'Leader's speech, Brighton 1995' (British Political Speech) [online] available at: http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?speech=201 [accessed 22 November 2015]

[136] Penny Jane Burke, 'Widening Participation in Higher Education: Racialised Inequalities and Misrecognition' in Claire Alexander and Jason Arday *Aiming Higher: Race, Inequality and Diversity in the Academy* (2015, Runnymede), p.21

[137] Gail Edwards and Joyce Canaan, 'Radical, critical and Marxist education in neo-liberal Britain' (2015) *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 13(3) 71, p.71

focuses on a case study of individual learners within an institutional framework it is necessary to, briefly, contextualise that within the societal.

2.2.5   Black identities

Pauline Cheong et al. chart a shift in the State's ideological approach to the cultural identity of minority ethnic communities from one of 'assimilation' in the 1950's to 'integration' from the mid-1960's to 'multiculturalism' from the 1970s.[138]

Assimilation describes the expectation that those from minority cultures will abandon their cultural identities in favour of adopting the culture of the majority. Integration describes an acceptance of the majority's culture through partial assimilation. Multiculturalism describes the acceptance of different cultural identities. More recently some commentators[139] have identified an end to multi-culturalism and others have argued that there is a return to 'assimilation'.[140]

If students of colour are expected to adopt a different culture at the expense of their own because one culture is to be preferred, according to State ideology, over another then this will impact on attitudes to what knowledge is to be preferred and how the student sees herself positioned in relation to this knowledge of the 'other'. This is explained by the educational activist and Nobel prize winner Malala Yousafzai when explaining the experiences of first-generation immigrants: "This means learning a new language, a new culture, *a new way of being* [my emphasis]."[141]

The situation is more nuanced and complex for the students described as BME or BAME who are included in the attainment gap statistics as the statistics compare black, Asian and, minority-ethnic British students with white British students meaning that a significant number, if not a majority, of the students being considered are not first-generation immigrants. This leads to a body of students who have to work out how to understand the duality of their identity, for example what it means to be both black (or Black) and British: "Throughout the 1970s, as the settlers' children – the 'second generation' – strove to make sense of the situation they found themselves born into".[142]

---

[138] Pauline Hope Cheong et al., 'Immigration, Social Cohesion and Social Capital: A Critical Review' (2007) *Critical Social Policy* 27(1) 24-49

[139] Arun Kundnani, 'The death of multiculturalism. Institute for Race Relations' (April 1, 2002) [online] available at: http://www.irr.org.uk/news/the-death-of-multiculturalism/ [accessed 13 June 2016]

[140] Les Back et al. 'New Labour's White Heart: Politics, Multiculturalism and the Return of Assimilation' (2002) *The Political Quarterly* 73(4) 445

[141] Malala Yousafzai, *We Are Displaced: My Journey and Stories from Refugee Girls Around the World* (2019, Weidenfeld & Nicholson), prologue

[142] Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The history of Black People in Britain (3rd^d Ed.)* (2018, Pluto Press), p.386

There has been an explosion recently in popular culture of artforms that explore the nature of identity for those who are Black *and* British. The MOBO (Music of Black Origin) and BAFTA (British Academy of Film and Television Awards) award-winning grime artist Akala[143] was renowned for exploring this through his music and, more recently, his monograph *Natives: Race and Class in the Ruins of Empire*[144] which was recognised on *The Sunday Times* Bestseller list and has led to him having a political platform and appearing on panels including the BBC's *QuestionTime.* Whilst Akala explores what it means to be Black and British Pulitzer Prize-winner Jhumpa Lahiri's novel *The Namesake*[145] explores the complex issues of identity for a second-generation Asian immigrant trying to come to terms with both his American and his Asian identity. There is a difference between the ideals, values and expectations of first-generation immigrants and their descendants.[146] The difference between these ideals, values and, expectations have an effect on the student's identity. For example, a typical international student who grew up in Nigeria may have assumed expressed and implied obligations from her upbringing that form the basis of her identity. She might have the implied expectation to get the best grades possible, to get the best job available to give back to the community from which she came, and most importantly take good care of her family. They came to the UK to get a degree in order to 'better themselves' and, more importantly, to look after their family in Nigeria. Even if such a student were to settle and make a life for themselves in the UK, becoming a first-generation immigrant, these expectations to 'give back' across generations persist, surviving even marriage.[147] For the ancestors of immigrants, born British, the experiences are different, as Hirsch notes:

> … racism operates on a deep structural level in our society, bedded down in socioeconomic circumstances, migration and the labour market, so that the child of an immigrant, born here, as British as me, as clever as me – more so – was never going to have the same opportunities as me in the first place. [148]

The students classed as BME in award and attainment statistics are British and most will have been born and raised in Britain. Some of these students may have been raised on the ideals of their first-generation immigrant parents and grand-parents to 'work hard and give back', as is the case with the protagonist in Lahiri's novel *The Namesake.* As second or subsequent generation immigrants the

---

[143] See: www.akala.moonfruit.com
[144] Akala, *Natives: Race and Class in the Ruins of Empire* (2018, Two Roads)
[145] Jhumpara Lahiri, *The Namesake* (2004, HarperPerennial)
[146] For example see: Afua Hirsch, *Brit(ish): On Race, Identity and Belonging (Reprint Ed.)* (2018, Vintage), ch.3
[147] Oloruntelola Ola-James and Nick Cartwright, 'Liberation is not the job of the oppressor: equality and inclusive practice from the bottom up' presented at *Race Equity through Pedagogy Conference,* Sheffield Hallam University, 1 July 2019
[148] Afua Hirsch, *Brit(ish): On Race, Identity and Belonging (Reprint Ed.)* (2018, Vintage), p.14

difference is that they live in a different culture and may therefore not relate to the importance of first-generation ideals. Although they most likely feel a sense of loyalty to those ideals their sense of belonging may gravitate to the society within which they exist:

> We are different from our parents in many ways. The only home we know is Britain… All the statutory and voluntary white agencies have now adopted the white race experts' label – 'second generation immigrants' – for black Britons. By the use of such labelling devices the vicious circle of racial discrimination becomes institutionalized and perpetuated. Merely because of the colour of their skin, black children become second class citizens, doomed to a life of ostracism, exploitation and difference.[149]

British society is one steeped in institutional legacies of slavery and oppression towards people of colour and since these legacies have yet to be properly acknowledged and addressed the identity of Britons of colour within this society is in limbo: "Since, in British thinking, all black people are immigrants and some are illegal, the only thing to do is suspect the lot."[150]

For some this leads to searching for an identity when they are disconnected from a culture that they did not grow up in and are not fully accepted into the 'hostile environment' where those who appear non-white are told to 'go home' and the contributions of people of colour are not fully recognised or are written out of history: "traces of black life have been removed from the British past to ensure that blacks are not part of British future".[151]

David Olusoga describes his experiences of growing up in England as: "My right, not just to regard myself as a British citizen, but even to be in Britain seemed contested."[152] Similarly Hirsch reflects on her economically privileged up-bringing as a mixed-heritage Briton, asking: "So why did I feel to the very core of my being that this [Britain] was not a place I could ever fully belong?"[153]

The ideals, values and expectations of students, which form an integral part of their identities, are also a key driver of engagement or disengagement, as Lynne Rogers notes: "One of the main factors associated with disengagement and drop-out is the mismatch between the curriculum and the interests and aspirations of students."[154] For students whose identity already matches with the curriculum they will feel comfortable, whilst a mismatch will mean a student will feel uncomfortable

---

[149] Chris Mullard, *Black Britain* (1973, George Allen & Unwin Ltd.), p.146
[150] Anon., 'Background – British racism' (Autumn 1981/Winter 1982) *Race and Class* XXIII/2-13, pp.243-4
[151] John Solomon et al., 'The organic crisis of British capitalism and race: the experience of the seventies' in Centre for Contemporary Studies, *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in Seventies Britain* (1982, Hutchinson), p.32
[152] David Olusoga, *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (2017, Pan Books), p.xv
[153] Afua Hirsch, *Brit(ish): On Race, Identity and Belonging (Reprint Ed.)* (2018, Vintage), p.37
[154] Lynne Rogers, *Disengagement from Education* (2015, IOE Press), p.118

and has to make more of an effort to relate to the curriculum. This means that many students adopt 'working identities' so that they have an identity that is accommodated within the curriculum.

The students' relationships to learning and knowledge and how they perceive knowledge is shaped by their 'working identity':

> Working identity is constituted by a range of racially associated ways of being, including how one dresses, speaks, styles one's hair; one's professional and social affiliations; who one marries or dates; one's political views about race; where one lives; and so on and so forth.[155]

According to this theory the roles and relations students adopt are racialised and students make unconscious, or even conscious, choices as to how they wish to be perceived: "In this sense, Working Identity refers both to the perceived choices people make about their self-presentation... and to the perceived identity that emerges from those choices (how black we determine a person to be)." [156]

Working identities are gendered as well as racialised and women of colour are especially impacted because of the intersection of these two identities: "these two identities interact and intersect in ways that materially shape a person's vulnerability to the experiences of discrimination."[157]

Devon Carbado and Mitu Gulati argue that the working identity that a student has – both how she sees herself and how others see her – impacts upon her experiences of education. If she has a working identity that assimilates whiteness and masculinity, then her position in relation to learning and knowledge and the power and privilege this gives her are different from if she has a working identity that incorporates blackness and femininity. Hirsch argues that this is a necessary consequence of colour-blindness, writing about the hairstyles of black women she states: "But one of the side effects of a society that claims not to see race is that anyone whose appearance is an excessive reminder of difference needs to conform."[158]

These ideas of empowerment and disempowerment being drivers of oppression in the learners' experiences are evident in the work of Freire in *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and the subsequent work of dialogic theorists like William Outhwaite[159] and Jürgen Habermas[160] and are expressed well by Apple:

---

[155] Devon W. Carbado and Mitu Gulati, *Acting White?: Rethinking Race in Post-Racial America* (2013, OUP USA), p.1

[156] *Ibid*

[157] *Ibid,* p.71

[158] Afua Hirsch, *Brit(ish): On Race, Identity and Belonging (Reprint Ed.)* (2018, Vintage), p.50

[159] William Outhwaite, *The Future of Society* (2005, Blackwell)

[160] For example, see: Jürgen Habermas, *Towards a Rational Society (reprint edition)* (1986, Polity Press)

What *counts* as knowledge, the ways in which it is organized, who is empowered to teach it, what counts as an appropriate display of having learned it, and – just as critically – who is allowed to ask and answer all these questions are part and parcel of how dominance and subordination are reproduced and altered in society.[161]

What this identifies is that there is an anti-essentialist narrative that recognises intersectionality and identifies class and power as key drivers in the above discussions.

2.2.6   White identities

The concept of white transparency or colour-blindness was discussed early on in 2.2. The racial cognisance, or otherwise, of white students and staff may impact upon how they interact with students of colour and, in turn, may impact upon those students' identities.

Theorists have categorised white student identities as being on a spectrum between those for whom race does not matter - usually termed colour-blind - and those who are fully racially cognisant.[162] It is recognised that there is a relationship between greater racial cognisance and acting in a racially just way, with some theorists arguing that this relationship is causation.[163] For the purposes of this study the behaviours of students within the case study is important and how white students interact with their contemporaries may be driven by their level of racial cognisance. As is explored in 2.2.4 above colour-blindness is grounded in a belief in a meritocracy and leads to the view that race is not a driver of disadvantage and can therefore be ignored (2.2.5). Where racial differences do have an impact they are instead characterised as outdated or traditional values, cultural differences or individual behaviours (2.2.5).[164]

Racial cognisance is defined as: "an understanding of guilt, power, and privilege yet avoids the paralysis and victim perspectives that some Whites assume. It involves the translation of this

---

[161] Michael W. Apple, 'The Politics of Official Knowledge: Does a National Curriculum Make Sense?' (1993) *Teachers College Record* 95(2) 222, p.222

[162] Beverly Daniel Tatum, *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? And Other Conversations About Race* (1997, Basic Books), p.68

[163] For example see: Robert D. Reason, E. A. Roosa Millar, and T. C. Scales, 'Toward a Model of Racial Justice Ally Development in College' (2005) 46 *Journal of College Student Development* 530–546

[164] Tyrone A. Forman, 'Color-Blind Racism and Racial Indifference: The Role of Racial Apathy in Facilitating Enduring Inequalities' in Maria Krysan and Amanda E. Lewis (eds.), *The Changing Terrain of Race and Ethnicity* (2004. Russell Sage Foundation)

understanding of Whiteness into positive action."[165] It is not correlated with more racially diverse institutions[166] but requires explicit consciousness raising.

Several studies have demonstrated that at some of the more racially diverse colleges in the United States, where diversity courses or racial sensitivity workshops are not offered, subtle forms of racism persist.[167]

Some theorists argue that racial cognisance is a necessary condition of an inclusive, multi-cultural learning and teaching environment.[168] It is demonstrated that diverse learning environments benefit *all* students, not just those from minority racial groups,[169] yet it remains relatively easy to avoid being conscious of one's race, beyond the colour of one's own skin, if one is white.[170] White educational experiences may benefit some white students but they also damage others[171] whilst excluding those from minority ethnic cultures.

The meritocratic and colour-blind attitudes discussed above are founded in a view as to what knowledge and learning are which stands in contrast to the views preferred by critical theorists such as Freire[172] that learning and knowledge should be grounded in praxis, specifically a combination of action and reflection.

---

[165] Beverly Daniel Tatum, *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? And Other Conversations About Race* (1997, Basic Books), p.71

[166] Sylvia Hurtado, Jeffrey F. Milem, Alma R. Clayton-Pedersen, and Walter R. Allen, 'Enhancing Campus Climates for Racial/Ethnic Diversity: Educational Policy and Practice' (1998) *Review of Higher Education* 21(3) 279

[167] Pilar H. Ellis, 'White Identity Development at a Two-Year Institution' (2004) *Community College Journal of Research and Practice* 28 745–761; N.J. Evans, S. Olsen, M. Conroy, M. Pederson, and J. Helling, 'Multicultural Leadership Summit 2005: Final Evaluation Report' (2005) [unpublished] cited in Robert D. Reason, Elizabeth A, Roosa Millar, and Tara C. Scales, 'Toward a Model of Racial Justice Ally Development in College' (2005) *Journal of College Student Development* 46 530 and; Sylvia Hurtado, Jeffrey F. Milem, Alma R. Clayton-Pedersen, and Walter R. Allen, 'Enhancing Campus Climates for Racial/Ethnic Diversity: Educational Policy and Practice' (1998) *Review of Higher Education* 21(3) 279

[168] Anna M. Ortiz, and Robert A. Rhoads, 'Deconstructing Whiteness as Part of a Multicultural Educational Framework: From Theory to Practice' *Journal of College Student Development* (2000) 41, 81–93

[169] Sylvia Hurtado, Jeffrey F. Milem, Alma R. Clayton-Pedersen, and Walter R. Allen, 'Enhancing Campus Climates for Racial/Ethnic Diversity: Educational Policy and Practice' (1998) *Review of Higher Education* 21(3) 279–302

[170] Shouping Hu and George D. Kuh, 'Diversity Experiences and College Student Learning and Personal Development' (2003) *Journal of College Student Development* 44 320 and; Robert D. Reason, E. A. Roosa Millar, and T. C. Scales, 'Toward a Model of Racial Justice Ally Development in College' (2005) 46 *Journal of College Student Development* 530–546

[171] Anne Bishop, *Becoming an Ally: Breaking the Cycle of Oppression in People (2nd ed.)* (2002, Fernwood)

[172] John Yandell, 'Curriculum, Pedagogy, Assessment: of rigour and unfinished revolutions' in Martin Allen and Patrick Ainley (eds), *Beyond the Coalition: reclaiming the agenda* (2013, RadicalEd)

The exploration of one's place within society is a powerful tool for illuminating oppressive structures, CRP scholars call this exploration reflexivity[173] whilst Freire refers to it as conscientização, literally critical consciousness.[174]

In order for white society to recognise the extent of the effect of race reflexivity and conscientização are necessary at all levels. In 2.2.8 it was noted that British history is a history that is steeped in institutional legacies of racism and patriarchy and this further complicates the identities of women and people of colour. Britain as a country has not acknowledged these and legacies and therefore there is a lack of reflexivity and conscientização at a societal level. This is reflected in educational policy as discussed in 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 and, as examined in 2.2.3 and 2.2.4 this affects the identities of students. Educational policy has also failed to show any reflexivity and conscientização as is illustrated in the discussion around the curriculum in 2.2.7 and 2.2.8 which identifies that the curriculum is white and male. This is a criticism made of education more broadly by CRP as discussed in 3.2.1.

The understanding of one's place that comes from reflexivity and conscientização is as vital for the dominant gender and race as it is for the minority. Although Freire argues that liberation must come from the oppressed it is for both the oppressed and the oppressor. Reflexivity and conscientização are, according to CRP and Freire respectively, necessary parts of liberation. Those who hold power must be aware and reflect upon their privileged position as much as those who are oppressed by this power.

There is a clear disparity between the views of successive governments that knowledge and learning are instrumental and about the transmission of information and the views of critical educational theorists that learning is a co-intentional process that focuses on the creation of new knowledge or new ways of knowing.

These different epistemological perspectives necessarily impact upon learners and how they respond to education and see themselves positioned in relation to knowledge. The dominant view of successive governments has been that knowledge is a means to an end rather than an end in itself. The view of critical educationalists can be summarised as viewing education as either empowering or oppressive depending on whether it is used as a tool of oppression or of liberation.[175]

---

[173] Lisa Delpit, *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom* (2006, The New Press), Chapter 2
[174] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2nd Revised Edn., 1996, Penguin), p.174
[175] *Ibid,* p.56

2.3 Pedagogy, Engagement and TBL™

In 2.2 the literature that suggests that HE in the UK is not a meritocracy but is endemically racist and male dominated was reviewed. In 2.3 HE policy was discussed and it was examined how the literature identifies that the neo-liberal accountability discourse, that is trying to remedy the gross inequalities that the widening participation agenda has highlighted, ignores persistent micro-exclusions and micro-aggressions that inform identity formation. In this section of the chapter literature around pedagogy is examined and related to engagement. This provides the basis for one of the areas of focus for this study which is whether the issues of gender and race that pervade conventional pedagogies are evident in more socially constructivist pedagogies.

2.3.1 Pedagogy, oppression, exclusion and liberation

Freire frames a pedagogy of the oppressed as a system that must be co-intentional, that is one in which the student and teacher work as equal partners discovering reality and that there must be a praxis to education that is about transforming and re-creating knowledge as part of the process of liberation.[176] Praxis, for Freire, is a combination of action and reflection. He argues that dialogue is not enough, but that people must come together to act to change their environment by reflecting upon it. For Freire the liberation is for both the oppressed and the oppressor but must come from the oppressed as the oppressor is too dehumanised to seek liberation:

> As the oppressors dehumanize others and violate their rights, they themselves also become dehumanized. As the oppressed, fighting to be human, take away the oppressors power to dominate and suppress, they restore to the oppressors the humanity they had lost in the exercise of oppression.

> It is only the oppressed who, by freeing themselves, can free their oppressors.[177]

It is in his second chapter that Freire sets out his infamous model of students as empty vessels that passively receive knowledge which he describes with an analogy to banking. In his analogy he describes the teacher as the subject and the student as the object of a system where knowledge is deposited by the teacher in the student: "This is the 'banking' concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits."[178]

---

[176] *Ibid*, chapter 1
[177] *Ibid,* p.56
[178] *Ibid,* p.72

Freire is critical of this not just because of how it creates an unequal power relationship and the position it puts the student in in relation to knowledge but because it fails to generate real knowledge. 'Real knowledge', as Freire calls it, requires the teacher and the student to engage in communication, inventing and re-inventing knowledge and throughout the process of being both teacher and student.[179]

The purpose of education, Freire argues, is not to understand the circumstances that cause oppression but to change them so that the student can achieve liberation. The banking model of education is, he argues, oppressive and the end achieved is domination. Freire proposes instead a model of education for liberation.[180]

Freire contrasts dialogical education, which achieves liberation,[181] and anti-dialogical education which achieves oppression: "Anti-dialogical action explicitly or implicitly aims to preserve, within the social structure, situations which favour [sic] its own agents."[182]

In Chapter 4 he sets out key characteristics of each form of education. "Cultural invasion" is a characteristic of anti-dialogical education which Freire contrasts with "cultural synthesis", a characteristic of dialogical education: "Cultural action is always a systematic and deliberate form of action which operates upon the social structure, either with the objective of preserving that structure or of transforming it."[183] Cultural invasion is a process where those in dominate positions impose their view and inhibit the creativity of the oppressed, Freire argues this creates a sense of inferiority which further fuels oppression. Conversely, cultural synthesis involves continuing dialogue between the student and the teacher:

> Dialogical cultural action does not have as its aim the disappearance of the permanence-change dialectic (an impossible aim, since disappearance of the dialectic would require the disappearance of the social structure itself and thus of men); it aims, rather, at surmounting the antagonistic contradictions of the social structure, thereby achieving the liberation of human beings. [184]

---

[179] *Ibid,* chapter 2
[180] *Ibid*
[181] *Ibid,* chapter 3
[182] *Ibid,* p.179
[183] *Ibid*
[184] *Ibid,* chapter 4

Oppression within the learning environment, he argues, manifests itself in the social relation of power. Those who oppress are dominant and those who are oppressed are subordinate, dominance and subordination therefore are social relations and not traits.

Dominate-subordinate social relationships is the language used in zoology when observing the social relation of power within groups: "Since its adoption by the early primatologists — notably Zuckerman (1932) — from the field of bird social behaviour, dominance came to be considered a fundamental principle underlying all primate behaviour, despite the fact that it was never clearly defined."[185] The terminology has transferred across to considering power relationships in learning environments.[186]

The history of racial supremacy and oppression is also discussed in the language of dominance and subordination, or what Russell Bishop and Ted Glenn call the "pattern of dominance and subordination",[187] which has parallels with the themes of this research. Dominance is held to be a part of native racism, Lindsay Pérez Huber defines native racism as:

> the assigning of values to real or imagined differences, in order to justify the superiority of the native, who is perceived to be white, over that of the non-native, who is perceived to be People and Immigrants of Color, and thereby defend the right of whites, or the natives, to dominance.[188]

Exclusion, according to this view, is a function of white dominance.[189] It is therefore essential to this research that dominance and subordination are defined in the context of HE. Jeff Fowler suggests there are six key behaviour types likely to be observed when observing to assess self-perception, these range from hostile behaviour at one extreme to submissive behaviour at the other.[190] Fowler describes dominant behaviour as:

> Dominant behaviour is used to directly control people or situations. Dominant behaviour may take the form of physical dominance, psychological dominance, or a combination of

[185] Eric Barry Keverne, Rachel E. Mellor and J.A. Erberhart, 'Dominance and Subordination: Concepts or Psychological States?' in A.B. Chiarelli and R.S. Corruccini *Advance Views in Primate Biology* (1982, Springer-Verlag) 81-94

[186] For example, see: Russell Bishop and Ted Glenn, *Culture Counts: Changing Power Relations in Education* (2003, Zed Books)

[187] *Ibid*, p.12

[188] Lindsay Pérez Huber, 'Challenging Racist Nativist Framing: Acknowledging the Community Cultural Wealth of Undocumented Chicana College Students to Reframe the Immigration Debate' (2009) *Harvard Educational Review* 79: 704, p.705

[189] Lindsay Pérez Huber, 'Discourses of Racist Nativism in California Public Education: English Dominance as Racist Nativist Microaggressions' (2011) *Educational Studies* 47(4) 379, pp.380-81

[190] Jeff Fowler, *A Practitioner's Tool for Child Protection and the Assessment of Parents* (2003, Jessica Kingsley Publishers), pp.71-73

both. At its extreme this behaviour involves the dominant person living in their world of constructed emotional and physical comfort whilst those around them are fearful, unhappy and powerless.[191]

Within CRT the dominance is the social relation of those who have privilege and power and subordination is the social relation of those who do not, expressed as Fowler notes as physical or psychological dominant or subordinate relations. According to Bree Picower, who identifies as a Critical Race Theorist, dominant behaviour is utilising: "a set of 'tools of Whiteness' designed to protect and maintain dominant and stereotypical understandings of race – tools that were emotional, ideological, and performative."[192] These emotional, ideological and, performative tools include microaggressions such as the ignoring or interrupting of people of colour, the advancement of colour-blind ideologies and, the adoption of avoidance techniques like the use of the term BME or BAME.

2.3.2   Social constructivism

Freire's work on critical pedagogy has been categorised by some as fitting within a broad family of educational theories sometimes termed "social constructivism".[193] However, as O'Connor notes in his extended article:

> An intensional [sic] starting point for this typology is hard to come by. While there are a number of writers who explicitly set out the tenets of "constructivism" (as discussed later), there are very few who claim to have distilled the criterial properties of social constructivism. If instead we explore the meaning of the term extensionally, looking at the set of published research that describes itself as "social constructionist" or "social constructivist" or that proclaims its concern with "social construction of (fill in the blank)," we find a very heterogeneous collection indeed.[194]

It has been suggested that strong social constructivism can be crudely paraphrased as the view that: "the natural world has a small or non-existent role in the construction of scientific knowledge", however whilst this tells us something about what the construction of knowledge *is not* it does not

---

[191] *Ibid,* p.72
[192] Bree Picower, 'The Unexamined Whiteness of Teaching: How White Teachers Maintain and Enact Dominant Racial Ideologies' (2009) *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 12(2) 197, p.197
[193] Mary Catherine O'Connor, 'Can We Trace the "Efficacy of Social Constructivism"?' (1998) *Review of Research in Education* 23 25, p.33
[194] *Ibid,* pp.26-7
[195] Harry M. Collins, 'Stages in the Empirical Process of Relativism' (1981) *Social Studies of Science* 11(1) 3, p.3

tell us what, for the social constructivist, the construction of knowledge is. However, for the purposes of this study the straightforward definition that social constructivism means literally what the name suggests, that knowledge is a social construct in that it is built in interactions with others is sufficient. This is a different from the model of knowledge ascribed to Gove, above in 2.2.2, amongst others, that knowledge is a pre-existing artefact that is merely transmitted from one to another. TBL fits within this definition of social constructivism.[196]

One of the key advantages of social constructivism as a pedagodic model is that it draws on student's prior knowledge, making it relevant to their own culture and experience rather than the cultures and experience assumed by the teacher. One of the most commonly cited disadvantages is the human resource cost of small group teaching, however TBL is claimed to mitigate these and to work well in large-group settings. Social constructivism is claimed by its supporters to remedy some of the challenges that critical educational theorists make of more conventional pedagogies.

2.3.3 Team-Based Learning™

The process of TBL is described in some detail in 3.2.3. The discussion here focuses upon the concept behind the model and what it claims to achieve, particularly in regard to closing the award or attainment gap.

TBL is described on its webpage as: "an evidence based collaborative learning teaching strategy designed around units of instruction, known as 'modules', that are taught in a three-step cycle: preparation, in-class readiness assurance testing, and application-focused exercise. A class typically includes one module."[197] Although TBL modules are based around a three-stage process the design and delivery of TBL is grounded on four principles.[198] These four principles are that: (1) groups should be properly formed and not self-selecting, and that these groups are fixed; (2) that the students take responsibility for doing their pre-learning and working in teams; (3) that team assignments promote both learning and team development; and (4) that students receive frequent and immediate feedback.

---

[196] Sausan al Kanwas and Hossam Hamdy, 'Peer-assisted Learning Associated with Team-Based Learning in Dental Education' (2017) *Health Professions Education* 3(1) 38
[197] Team-Based Learning™ Collaborative, *Overview* [online] available at: http://www.teambasedlearning.org/definition/ [accessed 19 June 2019]
[198] Larry Michaelson and Boyd Richards, 'Drawing Conclusions from the Team-Learning Literature in Health-Sciences Education: A Commentary' (2005) *Teaching and Learning in Medicine* 17(1), 85

Larry Michaelson claims that TBL is inclusive and closes the attainment gap.[199] Further, TBL is described as an innovative pedagogy that claims to be evidence-based: "Team-based learning (TBL), when properly implemented, includes many, if not all, of the common elements of these evidence-based best practices".[200] As an approach to learning and teaching it draws upon widely researched and accepted pedagogic theory and research subsequent to its creation claims improvements to the engagement, progression and attainment of students: "Generally, students are satisfied with TBL and student engagement is higher in TBL classes. Evidence also exists that students in TBL classes score higher on examinations."[201]

Most papers published on the efficacy of TBL evaluate it within a health-education setting, in fact of the 25 papers published between 2013 and 2018 that were surveyed for this chapter 13 focused on health-education. Of the remaining papers six were discipline agnostic, two were on management education, two were published in the journal *Teaching Sociology* and English and science had one apiece. There were no articles about law teaching, however a broader search revealed a 2010 outline of a plenary session on teaching legal practice using TBL.[202]

TBL allows for students to adopt different roles within the group, Michaelson suggests that this is inclusive however if students are simply fulfilling their "working identities",[203] as CRT would suggest, or the definite relations described by Marx,[204] or the models of patriarchy described by radical feminism, then learners are not empowered by TBL. These ideas of empowerment and disempowerment being drivers of oppression in the learners' experiences are evident in the work Freire, dialogic theorists like Outhwaite and Habermas and Apple as discussed above.

---

[199] Larry Michaelson, 'Masterclass in Team-Based Learning' (presentation at the University of Northampton, 10 November 2014)

[200] Larry Michaelson and Michael Sweet, 'Team Based Learning' (2011) *New Directions for Learning and Teaching* 128(Winter) 41, p.41

[201] Rebecca J. Sisk, 'Team-based learning: systematic literature review' (2011) *The Journal of Nursing Education* 50(12) 665, p.665

[202] Barbara Glesner-Fines, Margaret Sova McCabe, Franklin Pierce and Sophie Sparrow, 'Using Team Based Learning to Teach Collaborative Practice Skills' presented at Institute for Law Teaching and Learning Summer Conference June 17-18, 2010 [online] available at: http://lawteaching.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/plenary-UsingTeamBasedLearning.pdf [accessed 19 June 2019]

[203] Devon W. Carbado and Mitu Gulati, 'Working Identity' (1999-2000) *Cornell Law Review* 85 1259

[204] "In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness." Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859), preface

2.3.4 Engagement

Ella Kahu identifies the four dominant perspectives that appear in the research on student engagement, namely: the behavioural perspective; the psychological perspective; the socio-cultural perspective; and the holistic perspective.[205]

The behavioural perspective focuses on student behaviour and teaching practice and in this context student engagement is defined as the "time and effort students devote to educationally purposeful activities".[206]

This definition views engagement as binary, a student is either engaged or she is not, and is the definition that underpinned the NSSE (National Survey of Student Engagement) and its replacement, AUSSE (Australasian Survey of Student Engagement). Adrianna Kezar and Jillian Kinzie argue that the NSSE is widely accepted as the definition of student engagement,[207] however Ella Kahu notes that the validity of the NSSE is not universally accepted[208] and that: "the definition of student engagement within the behavioural perspective is limited and unclear."[209]

The UK's HEA (Higher Education Academy) also surveys student engagement, although there is no definition of 'engagement' in the reports and the focus of the report is described as being on: "the amount and quality of effort that they have invested in their studies".[210] This focus on student behaviour means that the HEA approach can be classified as having a behavioural perspective focus. The behavioural perspective is reliant on self-report surveys which amalgamate students across disciplines ignoring the fact that engagement in discipline A is qualitatively different from engagement in discipline B.[211]

The behavioural perspective is also limited in its value because of the issues with defining 'engagement' identified above which has led to a muddying of the waters between the factors that influence engagement and the psychological state of engagement.[212] Because the behavioural

---

[205] Ella R. Kahu, 'Framing Student Engagement in Higher Education' (2013) *Studies in Higher Education* 38(5) 758

[206] Australian Council for Educational Research *Doing More for Learning: Enhancing Engagement and Outcomes* (2010, Australasian Student Engagement Report), p.1

[207] Adrianna Kezar and Jillian Kinzie, 'Examining the Ways Institutions Create Student Engagement: The Role of Mission' (2006) *Journal of College Student Development* 47 149, p.151

[208] Ella R. Kahu, 'Framing Student Engagement in Higher Education' (2013) *Studies in Higher Education* 38(5) 758, p.759

[209] *Ibid*, p.760

[210] Alex Buckley, *UKES 2015: Student Perceptions of Skills Development* (2015, Higher Education Academy), p.3

[211] Steven A. Brint, Alison Cantwell and Robert Hanneman, 'The Two Cultures of Undergraduate Academic Engagement' (2008) *Research in Higher Education* 49 383

[212] Andy Wefald and Ronald G. Downey, 'Construct Dimensionality of Engagement and its Relation with Satisfaction' (2009) *Journal of Psychology* 143 912

perspective is utilised principally as a means of comparing and driving institutional performance[213] the focus is on institutional factors and other variables are excluded. Amongst the factors the behavioural perspective ignores is the students' emotions and learning as an emotional as well as a rational experience,[214] this leads Kerri-Lee Krause to note that international students traditionally score highly in measures of engagement whilst struggling emotionally and often feeling overwhelmed.[215] The focus on the rational, as opposed to the emotional, highlights structural inequalities in the behavioural perspective which is skewed to value male attributes over female attributes. Carol Gilligan writing in response to Lawrence Kohlberg's claim that there are five stages of moral development,[216] argued that women respond differently from men, rather than being less advanced than men, women were in fact focusing on the emotional which she called the ethic of care[217] while men were focusing on justice, rights and rules which she called the ethic of justice. This approach is not helpful to this research as the students are not self-reporting and there is no clear method for assessing the quality of engagement.

This narrow perspective on engagement is remedied in part by the psychological perspective. The psychological perspective considers engagement to be an internal, psycho-social process that is not binary but varies in intensity.[218] The psychological perspective is a model that attempts to define engagement as a combination of factors including the behaviour;[219] cognition,[220] which includes the use of deep learning strategies;[221] motivation and self-efficacy;[222] and emotion,[223] including a sense

---

[213] Hamish Coates, 'Development of the Australasian Survey of Student Engagement (AUSSE)' (2010) *Higher Education* 60 1

[214] Hazel Christie *et al.*, 'A Real Rollercoaster of Confidence and Emotions: Learning to be a University Student' (2008) *Studies in Higher Education* 33 567

[215] Kerri-Lee Krause, 'Engaged, Inert or Otherwise Occupied? Deconstructing the 21st Century Undergraduate Student' (*Griffith.edu.ac,* 2005) [online] available at:
https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/53465/Engaged,inert2005.pdf [accessed 16 November 2016]

[216] Lawrence Kohlberg, 'The cognitive-developmental approach to moral education' (1975) *The Phi Delta Kappan* 56(1) 670

[217] Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Reissue Edition, 1993, Harvard University Press), p.23

[218] Ella R. Kahu, 'Framing Student Engagement in Higher Education' (2013) *Studies in Higher Education* 38(5) 758, p.761

[219] Jennifer A. Fredricks, Phyllis Blumenfeld, and Alison Paris 'School engagement: Potential of the concept, state of the evidence' (2004) *Review of Educational Research* 74 59

[220] Fred Newmann, *The significance and sources of student engagement. In Student engagement and achievement in American secondary schools* (1992, Teachers College Press)

[221] Jennifer A. Fredricks, Phyllis Blumenfeld, and Alison Paris 'School engagement: Potential of the concept, state of the evidence' (2004) *Review of Educational Research* 74 59

[222] Shane Jimerson, Emily Campos, and Jennifer Greif, 'Toward an understanding of definitions and measures of school engagement and related terms' (2003) *The California School Psychologist* 8 7

[223] Phil Askham, 'Context and identity: Exploring adult learners' experiences of higher education' (2008) *Journal of Further and Higher Education* 32 85

of belonging.[224] Some theorists also contend that conation is a feature,[225] although this is disputed.[226]

The key weakness of the psychological perspective is that each of the aspects identified above is ill-defined: "Clear definition of the construct of engagement is essential for shared understanding, but Jimerson, Campos and Greif's (2003) review shows that, of the 45 articles examined, 31 did not explicitly define the terms."[227] Further, there is also disagreement around how the different aspects interact with one another.[228] Regardless of the strengths of the psychological perspective these weaknesses mean it is of little, if any, use to this study.

The holistic approach attempts to draw together the perspectives outlined above and the socio-cultural perspective, outlined below, as it is argued that: "The conception of engagement encompasses the perceptions, expectations and experience of being a student and the construction of being a student".[229] This means that it shares the common weaknesses with the above theories, it also focuses on internal drivers of engagement and dis-engagement and less on the external factors which are the focus of this study.

One of the key features of this study is that it aims to evaluate whether non-psychological characteristics, principally race, and external factors, essentially how racial identity is perceived, impact upon engagement. The above theories focus predominantly on the internal drivers of engagement which CRP does not regard as the key driver of student identity, as is discussed above in 2.3.2. This research is therefore more interested in the socio-cultural perspective which focuses more on the external drivers of behaviours around engagement and disengagement. The socio-cultural perspective focuses on the social context within which the student finds herself. The focus on HE as a means to an end, rather than as a means in itself, with destinations of leavers, particularly employability, being measured and compared alongside the other quantifiable aspects of education,

---

[224] Heather P. Libbey, 'Measuring student relationships to school: Attachment, bonding, connectedness, and engagement' (2009) *Journal of School Health* 74 274

[225] For example, see: Lyn Corno, and Ellen B. Mandinach, 'What we have learned about student engagement in the past twenty years' in Dennis M. McInerney and Shawn Van Etten *Big Theories Revisited* (2004, Information Age Publishing) 299 –328

[226] For example, see: Alex Buckley, *UKES 2015: Student Perceptions of Skills Development* (2015, Higher Education Academy), p.109

[227] Ella R. Kahu, 'Framing Student Engagement in Higher Education' (2013) *Studies in Higher Education* 38(5) 758, p.762

[228] *Ibid*, p.762

[229] Colin Bryson, C. Hardy, and Leonard Hand, 'An in-depth investigation of students' engagement throughout their first year in university', Paper presented at UK National Transition Conference, May 22– 24, 2009 in London, p.1 cited in *Ibid*, p.764

as examined in 2.2.1, have led to a system of HE that focuses on "performativity".[230] It is argued that this focus leads to a narrowing of the curriculum and a suppression of anything that is outside the experiences of white powerholders, privileging those who are already in positions of privilege and cementing the circumstances of oppression: "institutional habitus results in an inherent social and cultural bias within educational institutions in favour of dominant social groups, leading to poor retention of non-traditional students." [231] The 'culture shock'[232] of entering HE, it is argued, serves to alienate those who are not in the privileged group.

Much has been written about how the socio-cultural context of HE disadvantages women,[233] and although less has been written about race this also disadvantages students, as does intersectionality. Further some theorists have argued that the concept of engagement itself is too student centred, with discussions on disengagement focusing on a deficit within the student herself. They argue instead that the changes in the socio-cultural nature of HE are the cause of disengagement:

> The wider socio-political context also influences student engagement. McInnis (2001) asserts
> that the term disengagement is misleading, as it implies a deficit on the part of the students.
> Instead he argues that recent declines in academic engagement are due to societal changes,
> such as market-driven changes in universities, changes in societal values, increases in
> flexibility of delivery and online courses, and generational differences. The 'commodification
> of education' (Smith 2007, 684), and in particular the widening participation initiative and
> the introduction of student loans and higher fees, has impacted on non-traditional students
> in particular (Christie, Munro, and Wager 2005).[234]

One of the key strengths of the socio-cultural perspective is that it addresses the issues that cause students to disengage, with a focus on those issues that are external to the students herself. The approach particularly focuses on non-traditional students, which is also a focus of this research.[235] The socio-cultural model focuses on both the culture of the institution in which the student is studying but also on the broader society in which the student finds herself as well as the micro-exclusions and micro-aggressions she experiences.

---

[230] Ella R. Kahu, 'Framing Student Engagement in Higher Education' (2013) *Studies in Higher Education* 38(5) 758, p.763
[231] *Ibid*
[232] *Ibid*
[233] For example, see: Joyce Stalker, 'Misogyny, women, and obstacles to tertiary education: A vile situation' (2001) *Adult Education Quarterly* 51 288
[234] Ella R. Kahu, 'Framing Student Engagement in Higher Education' (2013) *Studies in Higher Education* 38(5) 758, pp.763-64
[235] Hazel Christie, Moira Munro, and Fiona Wager, ''Day students' in higher education: Widening access students and successful transitions to university life' (2006) *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 15 3

2.4 The gaps in the literature

This chapter introduces critical theories around education and race, considering what is regarded as learning and knowing and how students relate to this learning or perception of what knowing 'looks like'. It relates concepts of power, esteem and, identity to these key questions. The critical reading of education, which is the approach taken to this review, identifies the inequalities that are at the centre of this study.

This chapter considers how consecutive government policies on education have framed what counts as learning and whose 'knowledge' counts in a way that impacts upon students' identities and their perceptions of the identities of others. This allows for identity to be positioned in relation to esteem.

This chapter has looked at the influences of the school education system on the identities that students arrive at university with and looks at HEIs from the same radical education perspective to consider whether at a sector and policy level universities function to replicate or challenge the conditions that created these disempowered identities. Shammas Khattak focuses on how one aspect of our identity drives not only our own esteem but the esteem in which others hold us: "Gender shapes not only how we identify ourselves but also how others identify and relate to us and how we are positioned within social structures."[236] This study takes a non-essentialist position, however it is clear that identity is driven by internal and external loci of esteem. The internal loci are discussed above in relation to self-perception as to where one is positioned in relation to knowledge and what is perceived as knowledge. State policy on what counts as learning and knowledge as well the structural prejudice that exist at both an institutional and societal level are also explored as external loci.

Student identity is fed into by working identity, which is itself influenced by the identity we, consciously and unconsciously, are expected and perceived to have and how we perceive ourselves. Student identity is also influenced by structural inequalities and the education system, both of which are aspects of the superstructure.

Knowledge and learning are determined by the answers to the questions 'what counts as learning and knowledge' and 'whose knowledge counts' and this determines where knowledge is positioned in relation to where the student herself is positioned. These relative positions or relationships determine how a student is empowered or disempowered as she relates to knowledge. The impact

---

[236] Shammaas Gul Khattak, 'Feminism in Education: Historical and Contemporary Issues of Gender Inequality in Higher Education' (2011) *Occasional Papers in Education and Lifelong Learning: An International Journal* 5 (1-2), 67, p.70

of different teaching methods, especially innovative methods, on this positioning and relating is underexplored and it is here that this study makes its contribution to knowledge.

What the literature currently does not tell us is whether the issues of gender and race that pervade conventional pedagogies are still evident when innovative pedagogies like TBL are deployed. Whilst TBL makes bold claims to be inclusive this assertion has not been adequately tested. Pedagogies are only a tool and in the wrong hands their full potential will not be realised. The critical theories above focus on pedagogy rather than individual teaching practice and the claims made by TBL do similar however one limitation of a case study approach that is recognised is that the case study is limited by the skills of the practitioner. It may therefore be true that TBL may have been more (or less) inclusive as a tool in the hands of another practitioner. However, there is a gap in the literature about whether these innovative approaches to learning and teaching serve to empower or disempower socially disadvantaged learners. Whilst there is abundant monitoring of numbers and collection of performance data because of the neoliberal accountability agenda there is a lacuna in the literature about the experiences of micro-exclusions or micro-aggressions.

This study is informed by CRT and other radical approaches and explores dominance and subordination in the classroom. The focus of the study is on pedagogy and TBL is the lens through which this focus is directed. This allows the study to evaluate whether gender and race that pervade conventional pedagogies are evident in innovative, social constructivist pedagogies. Whilst the monitoring of numbers and recorded data are important the focus of this research is on the regular micro-exclusions and micro-aggressions that students encounter. The study also considers how these impact on the formation of identity and engagement.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1   Introduction

This study is informed by CRT and other radical approaches and explores dominance and subordination in the classroom. The focus is on pedagogy and the pedagogy chosen to explore these key concepts is one that purports to be more inclusive than conventional approaches, notably TBL. The key question is are gender and race inequalities which the literature reviewed in the previous chapter suggests pervade conventional pedagogies still evident here. While there are definite inequalities of outcome, the literature hasn't explored whether a radical pedagogy such as TBL can make a difference.

This case study is based on the use of TBL in an Introduction to Public Law module (the module) at the case study institution. The module is taught at level 4 to first-year students on the LL.B (Bachelor of Laws) degree and the joint honours degree.

3.1.1   Positionality

I was an interpretivist before I knew such a thing existed. My undergraduate degree was in law and philosophy and as early as my first-year I was arguing in seminars on Immanuel Kant that truth was relative. I studied law as a social science, and strongly believe this is where the discipline should sit. When I graduated I worked as a research assistant on projects from both radical feminist and queer theory perspectives, both from what I now understand to be an interpretivist and CLS approach. My MPhil thesis which I began in 2000 was interpretivist in its methodology.

I have been lecturing law since 2001 and have never agreed with the view that laws are objective absolutes. I have always been sympathetic to the claims made by CLS. The reality of the criminal justice system for a young Black male is different than it is for me, a middle-aged white man.[237]

David Orobosa Omoregie studied law, philosophy and ethics and was offered a place to study for his LL.B at University. Unlike me he did not take up his place at University, instead focusing on his music career. He is now better known simply as Dave[238] and is a talented and successful rapper, singer and songwriter. Had he taken up his place on a law degree he would have had similar lectures to the

---

[237] For example see: Home Office, *Stop and Search* (2018) [online] available at: https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/crime-justice-and-the-law/policing/stop-and-search/latest [accessed 7 December 2018]
[238] Wikipedia, *Dave (rapper)* [online] available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dave_(rapper) [accessed 4 June 2020]

ones I sat through and have since given. He would have read the same cases, journal articles and textbooks that I read, and now ask my students to read. He would have had similar assessments and his success would have been measured, like mine, against an apparently objective set of grading criteria. All this ignores that Dave's life before University was very different from mine and therefore his journey, were he to embark on it, from where he was at to graduation would have necessarily been very different from mine.

Dave was brought up by Nigerian parents in Streatham, his brother is in prison and in his song *Black* he talks of his childhood, saying: "I battled the law in the streets". Of his experiences of the criminal justice system he sings: "Black is bein' guilty until proven that you're innocent".[239] When I left home to go to University my experiences of the criminal justice system were all about watching *Inspector Morse* with my white, middle-class, parents.

Similarly, the law on sexual assaults provides a different reality for women than it does for men.[240] Even a system of rules that appears fixed and objective like the law of property is, according to Karl Marx, empowering to those who 'have' and oppressive to those who 'have-not' meaning the reality is different based on social class.[241]

My approach to everything I do, including this study, is therefore one of high-level interpretivism. This is important because the research aims to be sensitive to the claims of CRT and capture the lived realities of the students I am researching.

Legal education research is a recognised research area and is where this research sits. Legal scholars use the OSCOLA referencing system[242] and this is the system I have adopted in this study. This was questioned by the Research Ethics Committee when my proposal was submitted, and it was a recommendation of this committee that I include an explicit statement justifying my choice of referencing system in my methodology chapter. A similar statement appears in 1.1.

Interpretivism posits that reality is accessed through social constructs such as language: "interpretive researchers assume that access to reality (given or socially constructed) is only through

---

[239] Dave, *Black* (2019, Kobalt Music Publishing Ltd)
[240] For example see: Keir Baker, 'Gendered Legislation: Critiquing the Sexual Offences Act (2013)' *Keep Calm and Talk Law* (9 November 2015) [online] available at: http://www.keepcalmtalklaw.co.uk/gendered-legislation-critiquing-the-sexual-offences-act-2003/ [accessed 7 December 2018]
[241] Alan Hunt, 'Marxist theory of law' in Dennis Patterson (ed.) *A Companion to Philosophy of Law and Legal Theory (2nd Ed.)* (2010, Wiley-Blackwell) 350-360
[242] *OSCOLA Quick Referencing Guide* [online] available at: https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/oxlaw/oscola_4th_edn_hart_2012quickreferenceguide.pdf [accessed 21 December 2018]

social constructions such as language, consciousness, shared meanings, and instruments".[243] The focus of CRT on narrative, and more particularly counter-narrative, as a form of authentic knowledge necessitates an interpretivist approach. CRT provides the theoretical underpinning of the methodological approach to this study, as discussed later in this chapter in 3.2.1.

Interpretivism as an approach grows out of the criticism of positivism which posits there is an objective, tangible and single reality. Table 2[244] compares the key features of positivism and interpretivism:

Assumptions	Positivism	Interpretivism
Nature of reality	Objective, tangible, single	Socially constructed, multiple
Goal of research	Explanation, strong prediction	Understanding, weak prediction
Focus of interest	What is general, average and representative	What is specific, unique, and deviant
Knowledge generated	Laws Absolute (time, context, and value free)	Meanings Relative (time, context, culture, value bound)
Subject/Researcher relationship	Rigid separation	Interactive, cooperative, participative
Desired information	How many people think and do a specific thing, or have a specific problem	What some people think and do, what kind of problems they are confronted with, and how they deal with them

Table 2: Comparison of positivism and interpretivism[245]

[245] Adapted from: Abraham Pizam and Yeol Mansfeld, *Consumer Behaviour in Travel and Tourism* (2009, Taylor and Francis), p.1

My position is also that of a constructivist: "Constructivism is clearly linked to interpretivist approaches".[246] Constructivism "is an ontological position which asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors" [247] and this is central to this project. This study is particularly interested in how the constructions students and staff give of group and team based learning activities and the nature of HE relate to what was observed taking place in the classroom. Whether students construct and narrate working identities (2.2.4) to navigate these activities is a central focus of this research. In accepting that individuals may narrate realities differently and construct identities to navigate those realities there is an acceptance that ontology may be constructivist in nature and this is the perspective I took in approaching this project and the pilot study before it.

A case study approach to researching my own practice necessitates practitioner-based research. I was aware from the outset of this research that practitioner-based, qualitative research on the effects of pedagogy could be fraught with difficulty and would require substantive reflection. Any quantitative data may be questionable because of the myriad variables which affect student performance and that were beyond my control. I was constantly aware of the risk of adopting a quasi-empirical research methodology, as opposed to an empirical methodology, and mitigated this.

The quasi-empiricist assumes that the method of qualitative measurement does not affect that which is being measured, an erroneous assumption as can be understood through the work of the Frankfurt school amongst others. My presence as an observer within the classroom will have impacted upon that which was being observed. This is a limitation of practitioner-based research, however the focus of this research was on the relationship between participation and how students reported participation and the risks of this being impacted were therefore minimal.

I was also aware that my advance assumptions, drawn from my experiences, could unduly influence the research. To avoid this, I recruited a post-doctoral research assistant to cross-check the validity of my observations and to triangulate the results.

---

[244] Adapted from: Abraham Pizam and Yeol Mansfeld, *Consumer Behaviour in Travel and Tourism* (2009, Taylor and Francis), p.1
[245] Adapted from: Abraham Pizam and Yeol Mansfeld, *Consumer Behaviour in Travel and Tourism* (2009, Taylor and Francis), p.1
[246] Lakhbir Singh, 'Trust Me, I'm a Banker: Analysing the Issue of Trust between Banks, Media and Customers' (thesis) [online] available at:
https://derby.openrepository.com/derby/bitstream/10545/621614/1/UDORA+Thesis+Submission+Redaction.pdf [accessed 7 December 2018], p.97
[247] Alan Bryman and Emma Bell, *Business Research Methods (4th ed.)*, (2015, OUP), p.33

Finally, there were also power differentials between myself as lecturer/practitioner and the students/observees that I was conscious of. The structured interviews with students were conducted by a researcher to mitigate what is described as "one of the major areas of concern"[248] based on qualitative interviews, "the influence of the researcher".[249] The interviews with staff were carried out by me as they were all colleagues, and all in more senior posts than me.

3.1.2   The Pilot-study

The case study took place during the second academic year of running the module incorporating TBL. In the first academic year I ran a smaller pilot study. The module covers 24 weeks of teaching with one-hour of lecture and one-hour of seminar delivered in most weeks. In both the pilot study and the case study I taught my seminar groups by placing students in 'political parties' to explore the issues of English constitutional law central to this module through experiential learning, which is learning by reflecting on doing.[250] The other seminar groups were taught in a more conventional manner with large-group discussion around questions students had been asked to prepare in advance.

In the first seminar my students completed a questionnaire on their political views (Appendix 6: Political Preference Questionnaire) and this was used to group them into teams with peers who had similar political views. The aim was to: "creat[e] diverse teams with a range of talents"[251] as opposed to self-selecting groups. Jim Sibley argues this is valuable to the TBL process:

> This simple procedure has been used with great success in TBL classrooms for over 30 years. It might feel like it takes up valuable class time, but students really seem to enjoy the team formation process, and it is important that students know the teams were formed fairly and transparently. Once teams are formed, students will sit back down with their team, and we will give them a few minutes to do introductions inside their teams. Some teachers will at this point also ask the teams to come up with a team name. [252]

The method of creating teams was fair and transparent and once the teams were formed they were tasked with coming up with names for their political parties.

---

[248] Thomas Diefenbach, 'Are case studies more than sophisticated story-telling?: Methodological problems of qualitative empirical research mainly based on semi-structured interviews' (2008) *Qual Quant*43, p.876
[249] *Ibid*
[250] Patrick Felicia, *Handbook of Research on Improving Learning and Motivation* (2011, IGI Global), p.1003
[251] Jim Sibley, 'Creating Teams in Small Classes' *Learn TBL* (2018) [online] available at: https://learntbl.ca/creating-teams-in-small-classes/ [accessed 19 November 2018]
[252] *Ibid*

Table 3 shows the week-by-week outline of seminars in the module for the year of the pilot study:

Weeks	Topic covered in seminar
1, 2 & 3	Constitutional principles: an introduction
4, 5 & 6	Constitutional principles: separation of powers
7, 8 & 9	Constitutional conventions
10	Design your own constitution
11 & 12	Assessments (no substantive teaching)
13, 14 & 15	Parliamentary supremacy
16, 17, 18 & 19	The European Union and the UK
20, 21 & 22	Human Rights
23	Revision
24	Good Friday (University closed day)

Table 3: Topics by Week

Using HEFCE (Higher Education Funding Council of England) funding distributed by the case study institution's Institute of Learning and Teaching through the URB@N (Undergraduate Research Bursary @ Northampton) scheme I was able to fund an undergraduate researcher for 50 hours to carry out some interviews with students as part of the pilot-study. I then did some rudimentary thematic analysis to gain an understanding of student experiences of this experiential learning model.[253] The pilot-study identified that there were differences of student experience that seemed to correlate to race and gender.

It was this research that identified that there were gaps in the literature around how theories broadly characterised as critical education described learning and teaching and how these descriptions translated to more innovative group and team-based learning activities in HE. This provided the basis for formulating my PhD proposal which ultimately resulted in a series of research questions.

3.1.3   Research Questions

The four research questions this study addresses are:

1. How do students 'participate' in group and team learning activities?

---

[253] This was presented as a paper: Nick Cartwright, 'Parklife: Experiential Learning for Teaching Public Law' (2014) presented to the *Approaches to Inequalities: Perspectives from Higher Education* conference, University of Northampton

2. Which students display relations of dominance or subordination during these activities?

3. How do students describe these activities, specifically do they perceive a colour-blind meritocracy?

4. How do staff within the institution describe learning and teaching, specifically do they perceive a colour-blind meritocracy?

This research is grounded in the literature review (Chapter 2) and the research questions required that qualitative research methods were deployed to address them. The research was all framed around a case study and data from the case study was collected using both observations and student interviews. Staff at the case study institution were also interviewed to gain an insight into the institutional culture. This data was then analysed using thematic, content and narrative analysis (Chapters 4 and 5). The observation data and interview data was analysed using thematic and content analysis and selected student interviews were analysed using thematic narrative analysis. Whilst analysing the interview data considerable weight was given to the methodology of narrative analysis and it is reflected in the themes identified. Narrative analysis is: "an approach taken to interview data that is concerned with understanding how and why people talk about their lives as a story or a series of stories. This inevitably includes issues of identity and the interaction between the narrator and audience(s)."[254]

The reliability of results from case-studies could be a limitation of this study. This will be countered by triangulating the results both by having my observations checked and by using structured interviews for the student interviews. The verification of the trustworthiness of case study based research through triangulation is a sound methodological approach[255] and other qualitative methods can support and validate case study research.[256] If the findings from each qualitative method are mutually supportive of the conclusions reached then the validity of those findings is bolstered.[257] Although this approach raises a risk of "methodological chaos"[258] to avoid this risk I had a clear and detailed outline of the research methodologies adopted, the processes by which the data was to be analysed and, reflected honestly on the limitations of the research.

---

[254] Sarah Earthy and Ann Cronin, 'Narrative Analysis' in Nigel Gilbert and Paul Stoneman (ed's) *Researching Social Life (4th Ed)*, (2016, SAGE) 461-484, p.465

[255] Sylvie D. Lambert and Carmen G. Loiselle 'Combining Individual Interviews and Focus Groups to Enhance Data Richness' (2008) *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 62(2) 228

[256] Robert E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (1995, SAGE), pp.107-120

[257] Michael Bassey, *Case Study Research in an Educational Setting* (1999, OUP), p.83

[258] Sarah Earthy and Ann Cronin, 'Narrative Analysis' in Nigel Gilbert and Paul Stoneman (ed's) *Researching Social Life (4th Ed)*, (2016, SAGE) 461-484

3.2   Case Study

Case studies allow for complex social phenomenon to be investigated whilst capturing the narratives of the experiences of the subjects of that research:

> … the distinctive nature of case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomenon. … the case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events …[259]

It is for this reason - understanding the complex relationships between the students, their identities, the ethos of the institution, HE, and the socio-economic superstructure - that a case study approach was chosen. It would not have been possible to capture the lived experiences of the students if a case study approach had not been adopted.

This approach also allowed for the stories of the subjects to be captured. It is because the pilot-study indicated that race could be a key factor in this research and that capturing the stories of the subjects was so important that CRT and CRP, and to a lesser extent CRF, were chosen to provide the theoretical framework for the whole case study. The research questions also identify working identities as an issue to be explored and this is also part of the theoretical framework.

3.2.1   Theoretical framework for the case study

The pilot-study identified that there may be a gap between the experiences of students of team and group based learning based on their race and gender.

There is abundant literature about the relationship between curriculum and (in)equality, discussing the 'white curriculum'[260] and 'male curriculum'[261] in relation to race and gender respectively, however, as Kalwant Bhopal and Uvanney Maylor note, the relationship between teaching methodology and (in)equality is underexplored.[262] Whilst critical pedagogy proposes that 'traditional' approaches to learning and teaching perpetuate societal inequalities, based on class structures, and CRP focuses on the racial inequalities, both focus on choosing pedagogy primarily as

---

[259] Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (3rd Ed.) (Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol. 5)* (2003, SAGE), p.2

[260] For example, see: Kate Hatton, 'Considering diversity, change and intervention: how the higher education curriculum looked in on itself' (2011-12) *Widening Participation and Lifelong Learning* 13 34

[261] For example, see: Abdul Jabbar and Glenn Hardaker, 'Inclusion and the relevance of culturally responsive teaching in UK Business schools' (2010) [online] available at: http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/8109/ [accessed 20 October 2014]

[262] Kalwant Bhopal and Uvanney Maylor (eds), *Educational Inequalities: Difference and Diversity in Schools and Higher Education* (2014, Routledge)

a means to challenge inequalities within a learning and teaching environment: "The primary preoccupation of Critical Pedagogy is with social injustice and how to transform inequitable, undemocratic, or oppressive institutions and social relations."[263]

CRP, which owes much to CRT, attempts to explain the gaps in experiences of students from the perspective of race. Michael Jennings and Marvin Lynn however identify that CRP is not only based on race but must show an awareness of intersectionality with class, gender and sexual orientation; that racism is endemic; that power dynamics exist in learning and teaching environments; that exploration of one's place within society is a powerful tool for illuminating oppressive structures; and therefore that: "CRP must encourage the practice of an explicitly liberatory form of both teaching and learning. . . advocating for justice and equity in both schooling and education as a necessity if there is to be justice and equity in the broader society". [264]

The idea of endemic racism is expressed in different ways by different theorists. For example, structural or institutional racism are examples of endemic racism and if a structure or institution is described as 'colonised' then again this is form of endemic racism. It may be more constructive to avoid using the term 'racism' and to gravitate towards phrases like colonisation because of the reaction some have to the term racism, as Akala comments: "People get more upset by being called racist than by racist things happening."[265] However, circumventing the r-word may be what Afua Hirsch criticises as a tactic of avoidance,[266] effectively ways that white people avoid broaching difficult topics such as by the adoption of terms like BAME. This study holds that endemic racism, structural or institutional racism and, colonisation (when referring to race) are essentially synonyms and because of the broad recognition of the term colonisation within the current lexicon of HE this is the term that is defined here.

On 9 March 2015, during the process of completing this study, the #RhodesMustFall movement was born[267] and this was the beginning of a movement to decolonise the curriculum. Colonisation is not only a reference to the lasting effects of imperialism on people of colour but is used by post-colonial

---

[263] Nicholas C. Burbules and Rupert Berk, 'Critical Thinking and Critical Pedagogy: Relations, Differences, and Limits' in Thomas S. Popkewitz and Lynn Fendler (Eds), *Critical Theories in Education* (1999, Routledge)
[264] Michael Jennings and Marvin Lynn, 'The house that race built: Critical pedagogy, African-American education, and the re-conceptualization of a critical race pedagogy' (2005) *Educational Foundations* 19(3-4) 15 pp.25-27
[265] Akala cited in Roisin O'Connor, 'Akala: People get more upset by being called racist than by racist things happening' (8 August 2018) *The Independent* [online] available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/features/akala-interview-drill-music-london-violence-hip-hop-natives-book-a8483156.html [accessed 22 May 2020]
[266] Afua Hirsch, *Brit(ish): On Race, Identity and Belonging (Reprint Ed.)* (2018, Vintage), chapter 4
[267] Wikipedia, 'Rhodes Must Fall' [online] available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rhodes_Must_Fall [accessed 31 December 2019]

feminists to describe male dominance.[268] In order to understand colonisation in the context of HE it is first necessary to understand what colonisation is in a broader context. The definition that follows applies to both colonisation in the context of race and in the context of gender.

Historically colonisation has meant that the answers to certain epistemological and ontological questions were privileged to the extent that rather than being seen to be one perspective they were elevated to the status of irrefutable truths. The written record was privileged over the oral tradition. In the context of the law curriculum, within which the case study sits, Eurocentric ideas of right and just were reframed as universal human rights. Autonomy was elevated above relational concerns. Kantian deontology became the dominant ideology. These were not universal truths, although they are often represented as such, but are social constructs.

History was written, and rewritten, by the victors and State ran education became the way in which these perspectives became formalised and taught as 'truth'. If you knew these truths you were educated, if you refuted them you were uneducated or ignorant, especially if your perspective was emotional or uncodified, this becomes internalised and part of our identities as recognised in 2.2.4.

This history has informed a dominant ideology which means that all aspects of our everyday lives are colonised and the effect of this is that for those of us - white, male, straight – to whose advantage this alleged truth has been skewed feel comfortable, safe and if everything is right, as noted in 2.2.6. For those who are other – Black, female (if we take a cis-gender perspective), queer – this truth is jarring and uncomfortable, as if something is wrong, as noted in 2.2.5. It is against this background that people of colour are then expected to navigate a world in which places and structures are named after people like Cecil Rhodes, apparently uncritically. A colonised world in which everything is skewed in favour of the dominant race, gender and, sexuality. This is what Peggy McIntosh is explaining when she talks of the knapsacks of privilege and oppression we all shoulder,[269] or Afua Hirsch refers to as microaggressions.[270] This is what is understood as colonisation within this study.

As examined in 2.3 in relation to the curriculum the enlightenment privileged allegedly objective criteria, elevating them to irrefutable truths. The written word became the only respected way to communicate knowledge, expressed in the passive voice. Oral traditions were not regarded as reliable and appropriate academic sources. The active voice was also regarded as inappropriate for

---

[268] Ritu Tyagi, 'Understanding Postcolonial Feminism in relation with Postcolonial and Feminist Theories' (2014) *International Journal of Language and Linguistics* 1(2) 45

[269] Peggy McIntosh, 'White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack' (1990) [online] available at: https://www.racialequitytools.org/resourcefiles/mcintosh.pdf [accessed 22 May 2020]

[270] Afua Hirsch, *Brit(ish): On Race, Identity and Belonging (Reprint Ed.)* (2018, Vintage), chapter 4

academic writing. This diminished the importance of narrative as a source of knowledge as is recognised by CRT (Figure 3).

These allegedly objective criteria become reframed as merit and we are told that any achievements or failures are because of how we measure up against these 'objective' criteria. Race and gender have nothing to do with it, as examined in 2.2.2.

Meritocracy, we are told is class-less, colour-blind and gender-blind, although the very concepts of merit are classed, racialised, gendered and heteronormative. This leads to an epistemology where what counts as knowledge is tightly defined and those who are allowed to define what counts as knowledge become an ever more homogenous clique. Similarly, we are also faced with an ontology as to what counts as knowing. We are told that we must express our autonomous ideas rationally and in an accepted, codified form. There is no room for communal knowing, emotional knowing or, non-traditional forms of expression. The anti-histories central to CRT (Figure 3) do not meet these criteria.

A colonised curriculum may have texts predominantly by white, male authors. It may present a Eurocentric world view. It may be taught by white faculty in buildings funded by slave traders and named in their honour. These however are all symptoms of a bigger problem of endemic racism and male dominance. The entire structure within which HE institutions exist, the institutions themselves, the rules by which they must operate and the systems that measure and rank what is best are all themselves, according to CRT, endemically racist (Figure 3) and this is what is meant by a colonised curriculum within this study.

CRP also posits that the exploration of one's place within society is a powerful tool for illuminating oppressive structures, CRP scholars call this exploration reflexivity[271] whilst Freire refers to it as conscientização, literally critical consciousness.[272]

Having reflexivity or conscientização about your identity is more complex if your identity is contested or changes. In 2.2.5 it was discussed how Malala Yousafzai had discussed having to find "a new way of being"[273] as a first-generation immigrant and for many international students this includes learning how to adapt to no longer being a member of the dominant racial group. Being Black *and* British as an identity was also examined in 2.2.5 and it was recognised to be a contested

---

[271] Nicholas C. Burbules and Rupert Berk, 'Critical Thinking and Critical Pedagogy: Relations, Differences, and Limits' in Thomas S. Popkewitz and Lynn Fendler (Eds), *Critical Theories in Education* (1999, Routledge)
[272] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2nd Revised Edn., 1996, Penguin), p.174
[273] Malala Yousafzai, *We Are Displaced: My Journey and Stories from Refugee Girls Around the World* (2019, Weidenfeld & Nicholson), prologue

identity. Despite the fact that there were black people living in Britain before there were Anglo-Saxons[274] Englishness and whiteness have an uncontested recognition as part of a British identity that people of colour do not.

CRT grew out of the CLS movement of the late 1970s and 1980s.[275] CLS holds that those in positions of power use this power through the apparently objective legal system to maintain their positions of power and privilege.[276] This means that the apparently objective role of the judiciary in interpreting and applying the law as critiqued throughout jurisprudence[277] is illusory: "statutory interpretation is relativistic, not objective."[278] CRT as a movement grew out of the alleged failure of CLS to adequately address the issues of race and racism, as opposed to social class, within the law and legal structures.[279] However CRT itself is difficult to define because it:

> … spans many disciplines and the work often crosses epistemological boundaries. There is no single authoritative statement of CRT rather, it is a developing perspective with constant changes and debate.[280]

There are however some central tenets to CRT in that it holds that race and racism are prevalent in society and social structures in a way which privileges white supremacy and that race is the primary driver of oppression.[281] David Gillborn's conceptual map of CRT[282] (Figure 3) is useful in that it highlights how central 'story-telling and counter-stories' are as conceptual tools and how recognizing experiential knowledge/s of people of colour' is one of CRT's defining elements:

---

[274] Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The history of Black People in Britain (3rd^d Ed.)* (2018, Pluto Press), preface
[275] Adrienne D. Dixson, and Celia Rousseau Anderson, 'Where are We? Critical Race Theory in Education 20 Years Later' (2018) *Peabody Journal of Education* Jan 1 93(1), pp.121-31.
[276] Andrew Altman, *Critical Legal Studies: A Liberal Critique* (1993, Princeton University Press), pp.13-15
[277] Herbert Lionel Adolphus Hart, *The Concept of Law (3rd Ed.)* (2012, OUP)
[278] Yu'Jin Tay, 'Reading Law as Literature: A Forced Relation' (1986) *UCL Jurisprudence Review* 3 58, p.70
[279] Tshepo L. Mosikatsana, 'Critical Race Theory' in Christopher Roederer and Darrell Moellendorf (eds) *Jurisprudence* (2004, Juta), p.275
[280] David Gillborn, 'Burning the House Down? Refuting the Myths and Recognising the Promise of Critical Race Theory' in Andrew Pilkington et al (Eds), *Race(ing) Forward: Transitions in Theorising 'Race' in Education* (2009, HEA), p.64
[281] David Gillborn, *Racism and Education: Coincidence or Conspiracy?* (2008, Routledge)
[282] David Gillborn, 'Critical Race Theory and Education: Racism and Anti-Racism in Educational Theory and Praxis' (2007) *Discourse Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 27(1) 11

Critical Race Theory: A conceptual map

Defining elements

- racism as endemic… 'normal' not aberrant nor rare: deeply ingrained legally and culturally;
- crosses epistemological boundaries;
- critique of civil rights laws as fundamentally limited;
- critique of liberalism: claims of neutrality, objectivity, colour-blindness, and meritocracy as camouflages;
- call to context: challenges ahistoricism and recognizes experiential knowledge of people of colour.

Conceptual tools

- story-telling and counter-stories;
- interest convergence;
- critical white studies.

Figure 3: Critical Race Theory, a Conceptual Map

Critical pedagogy as a movement has been criticised because of its failure to adequately recognise the role of race as an emancipatory force within education.[283] Yet CRP recognises the connectivity between CRT and theories of "African American emancipatory pedagogy".[284] It recognises that education can be either oppressive or liberating, building on the foundational work of theorists such as Freire and contextualises oppression and liberty in terms of race and racism: "CRP encompasses the liberatory teaching practices of critical pedagogy with the tenets of critical race theory".[285]

CRP accepts CRT's assertions that racism is endemic in society; that intersectionality, incorporating recognition of race, should be central to any consideration of equality;[286] that the counter-narratives of people of colour are a legitimate source of knowledge;[287] and that whiteness is a position of privilege that perpetuates inequality.[288]

---

[283] For example see: Christine Sleeter and Dolores Delgado-Bernal, *Critical pedagogy, critical race theory, and antiracist education: Implications for multicultural education. Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education* [online] available at: https://www.slideshare.net/georgedumitrache399/critical-pedagogy-critical-race-theory-and-antiracist-education-implications-for-multicultural-education [accessed 5 February 2016]

[284] Marvin Lynn, 'Toward a Critical Race Pedagogy: A Research Note' (January 1999) *Urban Education* 33(5) 606, p.606

[285] Van T. Lac, 'In Real Time: From Theory to Practice in a Critical Race Pedagogy Classroom' (2017) *Inquiry in Education* 9(1) 3, p.3

[286] *Ibid,* p.4

[287] Nicholas C. Burbules and Rupert Berk, 'Critical Thinking and Critical Pedagogy: Relations, Differences, and Limits' in Thomas S. Popkewitz and Lynn Fendler (Eds), *Critical Theories in Education* (1999, Routledge)

[288] Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge (3rd ed.)* (2013, Temple University Press)

That disadvantage on the grounds of race is endemic to the education system is examined in Chapter 2. The case study tests the theory that intersectional identities impact upon participation, and perceptions of participation in group and team based learning activities. Structured interviews with the subjects of the case study and the observation data provide narrative, and counter-narrative, which is regarded as a legitimate source of knowledge and is examined through thematic analysis.

The interviews with students and staff allowed for an investigation into whether there is a perception of a colour-blind meritocracy which privileges whiteness, or as one colleague told me "race isn't an issue until people like you talk about it". The reality is that if there is privilege and oppression and someone in a position of privilege chooses not to see it the issue does not simply cease to exist:

> The discourse that is prevalent in schools is instead one of culture, equality, and difference - constructs that are part of the contemporary culture of Whiteness and that merely serve to obscure race, racism, and inequities based on race. The silences around race entrench and rationalize Whiteness because they allow most White educators to maintain the illusion that race either doesn't matter or doesn't really exist and to continue schooling in a business as usual fashion.[289]

I therefore wanted to select a methodological approach which allowed for rich narrative and this study is intentionally narrative in its approach because of the responsibility owed to the subjects of this research. That is not to charge other methodologies with a lack of responsibility but rather to recognise the responsibility that critical educationalists place on researchers to tell their subjects' stories, Michael Apple, for example, charges the critical scholar with the task of "describing reality critically" by "acting as secretaries"[290] to those groups who are experiencing the existing relationships of unequal power.

As Barbara Kawulich recognises observation data can provide: "rich detailed descriptions"[291] and this research aims to give "thick descriptions", as Apple calls them, of the lived experiences of my students, and achieves what Apple talks about, namely: "research that says: 'here is life'." [292]

---

[289] Angelina E. Castagno, '"I Don't Want to Hear That!": Legitimising Whiteness Through Silence in Schools' (2008) *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 39(3) 314, p.315

[290] Michael Apple, 'Educational Realities and the Tasks of the Critical Scholar/Activist in Education' presented as the annual lecture at the Centre for Research into Race and Education, University of Birmingham, 10 June 2015

[291] Barbara Kawulich, 'Collecting Data Through Observation' (2012) *Doing Social Research: A Global Context* 150-160 [online] available at: hhttps://www.researchgate.net/publication/257944783 [accessed 2 April 2018]

[292] Tshepo L. Mosikatsana, 'Critical Race Theory' in Christopher Roederer and Darrell Moellendorf (eds) *Jurisprudence* (2004, Juta)

3.2.2   The Case study Institution

It was identified in 2.2.8 that data from the ECU and the case study institution showed that the case study institution was comparable with sector norms for BME award or attainment. However, there was not a conscious attempt to select an institution that was representative of the sector because the nature of the research meant it had to be carried out at the institution at which I was employed. This is one of the limitations of this approach and it is recognised that the case study provides a record of a group of students at a specific moment in place and time. This record may not be replicated at other HEIs or even within other subject areas within the case study institution as factors such as topic area, institution type, student profile and diversity of the staff and students could impact upon the experiences of the students being observed. Data from the ECU and literature describing the experiences of students surveyed in the literature review does however highlight that there are commonalities to the experiences of students of colour and further research may be necessary to gain a picture beyond the case study.

The findings of this research may say little about the experiences of students outside of the case study however this research and the findings will be of relevance and importance to other HEIs. Although specific generalisations will not be able to be drawn from this research, as is true of much educational research, there is value to the "fuzzy generalisations" which can be drawn, these are: "… general statements with built-in uncertainty… in the use of the adjective 'fuzzy' the likelihood of there being exceptions is clearly recognized…"[293] Shying away from researching the specific because of the limits of drawing generalisations would undermine the project of CRT and critical educationalists more generally to give a voice, or counter-voice, to those who are too often 'unheard' and despite the limitations of a case study the specific is helpful in better understanding the general: "by providing a detailed study of the particular we may come to better understand the general and… case studies, when thoroughly conducted serve the purpose of providing… unique insights."[294]

---

[293] Michael Bassey, *Case Study Research in an Educational Setting* (1999, OUP), p.52
[294] Richard Rose et al. 'The Development of Case Studies within a Longitudinal Survey of Special Needs Provision in the Republic of Ireland' (2014) *JORSEN: The Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs* 16(2), p.3

3.2.3   Structure of Case study Sessions

The weekly seminar sessions in the module were taught using TBL alongside the students attending lectures with all the other students on the module. Each of the three seminar groups were divided into three groups or teams each of approximately seven students, although this was complicated by poor attendance in some seminars.

In the first seminar the students present filled out questionnaires (Appendix 6: Political Preference Questionnaire) ranking various political statements from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The statements covered diverse policy areas including family, defence, education, criminal justice and, foreign policy. As the teams would take part in the seminars as 'political parties' they were grouped with others who shared similar political beliefs. This meant that teams were formed, rather than self-selecting groups, which is important for TBL. According to Larry Michaelson and Boyd Richards the first of the four underlying principles of TBL is that: "Groups should be properly formed."[295]

For each of the topics covered in the module introductory material was provided in the lecture and via preparatory materials provided to the students via the VLE (Virtual Learning Environment). This is the first part of the three-step cycle, namely preparation, and is done by the students independently. The second step is in-class readiness assurance testing. The RATs took place in the first seminar of each topic. TBL as a teaching methodology requires that RATS consist of 5-20 questions, in the module all four of the RATs consisted of 10 questions. Students were first given 15 minutes to attempt the RATs individually using an answer grid. The paper answer grid required the students to allocate four marks for each question across the five possible MCQ (Multiple Choice Question) answers. For example, if a student was confident the answer was A they could allocate all four marks to A and if they were correct they would score four points, however if the answer was B, C, D or E they would score zero points. If, for example, a student was confident the answer was *not* C, D or E they could allocate two marks each to A and B and if either were correct they would score two points. An example scorecard is given below (Figure 4: Example scorecard), the red indicates the scoring system:

---

[295] Larry Michaelson and Boyd Richards (2005) cited in TBLC, *What is TBL?* [online] available at: http://www.teambasedlearning.org/definition/ [accessed 23 August 2018]

Constitutional Principles: Separation of powers

Individual Score Sheet

Name: Nick   Team: Two

Instructions: Each question is worth 4 points. You should assign a total of 4 points on each line. If you are uncertain about the correct answer you may assign points to more than one box.

	A	B	C	D	E	Indiv Score	Team Score
Q1	3	(1)		1		1	
Q2	4			(○)		0	
Q3		(4)				4	
Q4	1	1		1	(1)	4	
Q5			(4)			4	
Q6	(4)					4	
Q7	1	1	(1)	1		1	
Q8		3	1		(1)	1	
Q9	(2)	2				2	
Q10		1	1	(1)	1	1	
					TOTALS:	19	

If you are right then you should award yourself the number of points you allocated to that particular answer. So if you put 3 points for option A and 1 for option D and the correct answer is A, you score 3 points.

Figure 4: Example scorecard

This was followed immediately by a t-RAT (Team Readiness Assurance Test) in which the teams of students were given the same questions and twenty-minutes in which to answer them. The group answered by using a scratch card, if they scratched off the correct answer, indicated by a star, like this ☆, they awarded themselves 4 points, if they had to scratch off a second box 3 points and so on. If they scratched off all 5 boxes before revealing the ☆ they awarded themselves no points.

The point of the RATs is to check what most of the students know and where there are gaps that need further explanation. Having assured myself, as the tutor, to the readiness of the students (or provided additional explanation as necessary) we moved on in the next session to do an application exercise. An effective TBL application exercise requires students to work on the **same**, **significant** problem, make a **specific** choice in respect of their 'answer' which each group reports on **simultaneously** (the 4'S' technique).

The 'political parties' were all given the same problem and then a series of questions, one at a time, to which they had to provide simultaneous responses. Responses were made by fixing numbered cards to number holders to allow for simultaneous reporting. These classes were observed.

3.3   Observations

Observation is a research methodology regularly used by teachers to collect data on what students are doing in learning and teaching spaces: "Observation is the… description of the events, behaviours, and artefacts of a social setting."[296] For the purposes of this study, which focuses on how students participate, the preferred methodology was focused ethnographic observation as it allowed me to determine time spent participating in the way I had intended, verify how certain students acted and, determine who interacted with whom.[297] In arriving at the conclusion that this was the most appropriate methodology I focused on the research questions (3.1.3) and developed the study design and methodology from those.[298]

The limitations of this research methodology meant that multiple data collection methods[299] and triangulation were important to verify the data. Data from the case study institution was referred to extensively in 3.2.2 and data was also collected using staff and student interviews (method triangulation).[300] To further triangulate the research I recruited a post-doctoral research assistant who was involved in the substantive TBL project to check that my observations were accurate after each session (investigator triangulation).[301] Alongside method and investigator triangulation, by collecting data across nine teams on multiple occasions I was able to check the consistency of the data (data source triangulation).[302]

A further limitation of this type of research is that researcher bias in completing and interpreting the observations will shape the data. Carl Ratner suggests that to counter this the researcher must acknowledge their biases and put them aside, as far as is possible.[303] Reflexivity is fundamental to

---

[296] Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research (5th Ed.)* (2011, SAGE), p.79
[297] Richard A. Schmuck, *Practical Action Research for Change* (2006, SAGE)
[298] Alan Bryman, 'The Research Question in Social Research: What is its Role?' (2007) *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 10(1) 5-20
[299] Hubert Knoblauch, 'Focused Ethnography' (2005) *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 6(3) [online] available at: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/20/43 [accessed 6 July 2017]
[300] Norman K. Denzin (Ed.), *Sociological Methods: A Sourcebook* (2017, Routledge)
[301] *Ibid*
[302] Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography Principles in Practice (4th Ed.)* (2019, Routledge)
[303] Carl Ratner, 'Subjectivity and Objectivity in Qualitative Methodology' (2002) *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 3(3) [online] available at: http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/3-02/3-02ratner-e.htm [accessed 1 January 2012]

practitioner ethnographic observations like this: "Reflexivity is introspection and reflection about how and why we as researchers and participants think the way we think, what we pay attention to, what we overlook and take for granted, how we ask questions, interpret answers, and represent results in writing."[304] As an early adopter of new approaches to learning and teaching and a firm believer in the benefits of active forms of learning, especially experiential learning, I am aware that I was expecting that the observations would demonstrate that the learning and teaching activities observed were more inclusive and would go some way to addressing the concerns raised by critical educationalists. Coming from a CLS background and having previously researched from feminist and queer theorist perspectives I am also however sympathetic to the charge from critical educationalists that education can advance oppression and disadvantage. I acknowledged this positionality at the beginning of this study and reflected on this during the research process. As noted below after each session I added reflective commentary to my field notes.

The observations were ethnographic and to a large extent anthropological as this study was trying to understand as much as possible about the students' learning experiences.[305] Whilst this type of ethnographic study is time-consuming and resource intense[306] it can produce rich data as it did in this study. This rich data is sometimes called 'thick description'[307] and is important to critical educationalists as it captures the experiences of the participants as lived.

Traditional ethnography however is not appropriate to observing small group activities such as seminars, a focused ethnography is more suitable.[308] Focused ethnography is particularly suited to this study as I had substantial experience of being a participant in legal education on which I could draw but wished to understand more about a particular aspect of the experiences of the students: "Focused Ethnography applies to any small-scale research that is conducted in the everyday setting, explores shared practices and meanings from a cultural lens, and where the researcher may or may not have familiarity with the sub-culture under study."[309]

---

[304] Marghalara Rashid, Carol S. Hodgson & Thea Luig, 'Ten tips for conducting focused ethnography in medical education research' (2019) *Medical Education Online* 24 1087-2981, p.1090
[305] Paul Atkinson and Martyn Hammersley, 'Ethnography and participant observation' in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln *Strategies of Qualitative Enquiry* (1998, SAGE), 248-261
[306] Signe Holwell, 'Ethnography' (2018) *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Anthropology* [online] available at: https://www.anthroencyclopedia.com/entry/ethnography#:~:text=Ethnographic%20fieldwork%2C%20carried %20out%20according,is%20what%20defines%20social%20anthropology.&text=The%20method%20is%20base d%20on,observing%20it%20from%20a%20distance. [accessed 5 July 2019]
[307] Marghalara Rashid, Carol S. Hodgson & Thea Luig, 'Ten tips for conducting focused ethnography in medical education research' (2019) *Medical Education Online* 24 1087-2981, p.1093
[308] Janice M. Roper and Jill Shapira, *Ethnography in Nursing Research* (2000, SAGE)
[309] Marghalara Rashid, Carol S. Hodgson & Thea Luig, 'Ten tips for conducting focused ethnography in medical education research' (2019) *Medical Education Online* 24 1087-2981, p.1089

Focused ethnographic observation was chosen as the methodology because it is "inductive and open-ended"[310] allowing what is happening within the community being observed to emerge as opposed to testing a series of predetermined hypothesise. The ethnographic method undertaken is similar to participant observant although I was participating in a different role from the students. Whilst I was a participant in the activities being observed, although not in the group or team work, my observations were participant observations. Raymond Gold further subdivides observation stances into four categories.[311] The first two categories, namely the complete participant and the participant as observer are not relevant to this study, however my stance fitted into Gold's third category of observer as participant. I was a participant in that I was the teacher in the setting, however I was not a member of the groups being observed as Gold describes.

I was a participant in the student group before the process of data-collection began in that I led the early lectures for the whole year group in this and other first-year modules, lead all the seminars for the groups being observed before, between and after the sessions that were observed and was personal tutor for many of the participants. Focused ethnography requires that a relationship is built with the participants before observations commence to enable: "exploration, reflexivity, creativity, mutual exchange and interaction through the establishment of research relationships".[312]

I was interested in what the students actually did during the various TBL activities but was conscious that I wanted to avoid defining this as engagement, participation, domination etc… at the point of data collection, this meant that I was able to focus my attention on: "those activities that are likely to add to your data collection and, hence, help answer the research questions."[313] This meant that the data was comparable and that it could be coded and analysed in a systematic fashion using thematic analysis, discussed below. More structured observations would have necessitated decisions as to what I was looking for, and necessarily what I was not looking for, which would have meant that the themes were predetermined to an extent and did not emerge from the data. I was essentially collecting detailed fieldnotes in focused observations: "Field notes consist of facts, such

[310] Signe Holwell, 'Ethnography' (2018) *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Anthropology* [online] available at: https://www.anthroencyclopedia.com/entry/ethnography#:~:text=Ethnographic%20fieldwork%2C%20carried %20out%20according,is%20what%20defines%20social%20anthropology.&text=The%20method%20is%20base d%20on,observing%20it%20from%20a%20distance [accessed 5 July 2019]

[311] Raymond L. Gold, 'Roles in Sociological Field Research' (1958) *Social Forces* 36 217

[312] Ken J. Caine, Colleen M. Davison and Emma J. Stewart, 'Preliminary Fieldwork: Methodological Reflections from Northern Canadian Research' (2009) *Qualitative Research* 9(4) 489-513, p.491

[313] Barbara Kawulich, 'Collecting Data Through Observation' (2012) *Doing Social Research: A Global Context* 150-160 [online] available at: hhtps://www.researchgate.net/publication/257944783 [accessed 2 April 2018]

as the participants in attendance, time and date of the observation, detailed description of activities observed, who is present, and what is happening."[314]

For each of the activities being observed (t-RATS and application exercises) there was a strict time limit with a countdown displayed using PowerPoint in the classroom. I divided the time taken for each activity into six equal blocks of time (or the equivalent of two times the number of groups if attendance was low and groups had to be merged). I observed each group for two separate blocks of time for each activity observed. For example the t-RATS took 20-minutes, this is 6 equal blocks of 3 minutes and 20 seconds, I might observe the first team for blocks 1 and 4, the second for blocks 2 and 5 and the third for blocks 3 and 6. In each block of time I wrote down everything that happened, who picked up the scratch card, who spoke, who was on their phone etc… trying not to make any judgment but to collect: "detailed description of activities observed".[315] As soon as the block of time was up I moved on to the next group. This prevented me from looking for what I wanted to see and focusing my attention on that.   Next to my field notes about what had happened I also recorded my immediate impressions and after the sessions added notes to the end about any reflections I had: "Field notes also consists of researchers' thoughts and feelings, interpretations, and reflections on biases."[316]

All the observations were overt observations with the participants being informed of the broad purpose of the observations and completing consent forms (Appendix 3: Consent Form) in advance. The observations took place in the students' usual classrooms and the learning commons and therefore were uncontrolled observations as this was the 'natural conditions' for seminars. I was looking for evidence of 'participation' and/or 'engagement' or lack thereof in the seminar groups, therefore it was important that I had an understanding of these multi-faceted terms. According to Vicki Trowler and Paul Trowler: "the value of engagement is no longer questioned".[317] That female students may engage differently from their male counterparts and that this does not lead to less good measurable educational outcomes is because of the well-documented disconnect between engagement and performance. Jonathon Gordon, Joe Ludlum and Joseph Hoey note the lack of research that demonstrates a relationship between engagement and performance[318] and Robert Carini, George Kuh and Stephen Klein's study in 2006 found that there was little relationship

---

[314] Marghalara Rashid, Carol S. Hodgson & Thea Luig, 'Ten tips for conducting focused ethnography in medical education research' (2019) *Medical Education Online* 24 1087-2981, p.1092
[315] *Ibid*
[316] *Ibid*
[317] Vicki Trowler and Paul Trowler, *Student engagement evidence summary* (2010, HEA), p.9
[318] Jonathon Gordon, Joe Ludlum, and Joseph J. Hoey, 'Validating NSSE Against Student Outcomes: Are They Related?' (2008) *Research in Higher Education* 49 19

between the NSSE benchmarks and positive educational outcomes[319] and Amy Korzekwa found that: "there is little evidence for predictive validity".[320]

3.3.1   Models of student engagement

There are different models of student engagement described in the academic literature. The socio-cultural perspective is generally preferred by feminist scholars and is the perspective I prefer, to examine why it is preferable the different perspectives are discussed in turn below.

Although initially it was intended to assess contributions against Meredith Belbin's model of team roles,[321] which draws on the psychological perspective, this model does not describe what I witnessed in the classroom. In my observations those who dominated did so in all roles whilst once a student had disengaged they remained so, regardless of different roles becoming necessary. It therefore was not helpful in framing this study.

The socio-cultural approach is constructivist which, as outlined above (3.1.1), is where this research positions itself. This constructivist approach requires taking the ontological position that a student's identity and her engagement are interrelated, with some arguing that education must: "engage the whole person: what they know, how they act, and who they are".[322] This study aims to assess whether how students of colour engage is related to the 'working identities' they adopt to navigate HE and to consider how students report this experience. The issues of student identity and how they relate to CRT are explored in some detail in 2.2.4. It is important for the purposes of this research that the model of engagement adopted allows for student identity to be considered.

The literature review chapter explores these socio-political factors in detail and relates them to student identity and issues of engagement (2.2 and 2.36). The socio-cultural model of engagement supports this project and is the model that underpinned the observations (2.3.4). Therefore, in the observations I decided that I would simply record actions and activity, for example who took control of the scratch-card, who spoke, who interrupted, who was ignored etc… and their apparent identity i.e. black, female etc… I decided that I would not try to ascribe any value to these observations by saying whether there seemed to be engagement or participation etc… to avoid this being positioned

---

[319] Robert M. Carini, George D. Kuh and Stephen P. Klein, 'Student Engagement and Student Learning: Testing the Linkages' (2006) *Research in Higher Education* 47 1
[320] Amy M. Korzekwa, 'An Examination of Predictive Validity of National Survey of Student Engagement Benchmarks and Scalelets' (2007, MA Diss., University of Mexico), p.45
[321] BELBIN [online] available at: http://www.belbin.com/rte.asp?id=8 [accessed 19 April 2020]
[322] Gloria Dall'Alba and Robyn Barnacle, 'An ontological turn for higher education' (2007) *Studies in Higher Education* 32 679, p.689

within, as opposed to outside of the student herself. My initial thoughts were that this socio-cultural perspective and the models of power and participation described by critical pedagogists such as Apple[323] seem to describe what I witnessed and the observation data is compared against this in later chapters.

In the literature review this research positioned itself within a social context and the research questions focus, in part, on the culture of the institution. The critical approach central to this perspective also chimes with the approach taken to this research: "It [the socio-cultural approach] adds, therefore, a critical and often neglected piece to the task of understanding student engagement."[324]

The observations were followed by structured interviews with certain students. The observation data allowed for some preliminary interpretation that helped to develop the questions that were asked in the interviews (Appendix 1: Student Interview Script).[325]

3.3.2   Analysis of the observation data

One of the key aims of carrying out observations across different seminar groups was to see what common themes emerged.[326] I had anticipated that issues around dominance and subordination would emerge from the data and that then concepts around meritocracy, with dominance being perhaps linked to academic ability and preparedness and subordination to laziness, emerging from the interview data. The themes used to analyse the observation data were selected inductively, emerging from the data in a 'bottom up' approach.[327] The strength of thematic analysis is that it is flexible enough to respond to qualitative data that is varied as: "it offers an accessible and theoretically flexible approach to analysing qualitative data".[328]

Once the themes had been identified the observation data was coded to classify the data by theme. Each theme was then analysed to see what commonalities and differences there were between the observation data. This gave a clear picture of what the issues were within the sessions observed and

---

[323] For example, see: Michael W. Apple, *Knowledge, Power and Education* (2013, Routledge)
[324] Ella R. Kahu, 'Framing Student Engagement in Higher Education' (2013) *Studies in Higher Education* 38(5) 758, pp.764
[325] Victor C. de Munck and Elisa J. Sobo (eds), *Using Methods in the Field: A Practical Introduction and Casebook* (1998, AltaMira Press)
[326] Herbert J. Rubin and Irene S. Rubin, *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data (3rd ed)*, (2012, SAGE)
[327] Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke 'Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology' (2006) *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3 77, p.83
[328] *Ibid*, p.77

directed the choice of questions for the structured interviews with some of the students who had been observed.

Content analysis was used to create graphical representations of the data (Chapter 5) so that patterns could be visualised and compared: "The objective in qualitative con-tent analysis is to systematically transform a large amount of text into a highly organised and concise summary of key results."[329] Content analysis was also used to systematically transform the vast amount of data in the student interviews into concise summaries. Instances of the themes identified were counted and compared and this can be seen in the various graphs used in Chapter 5.

3.4   Interviews

3.4.1   Student Interviews

17 of the students who had participated in some of the classes were selected through purposive sampling and were interviewed about their experiences.[330] Purposive sampling ensured that the data set was manageable and that only those students who had participated in several sessions across a range of activities were interviewed.

The purpose of the interviews was to gain an insight into how different students *perceived* their experiences in group and team based learning activities and compare these against each other and against the observation data. It was therefore important that the interviews were structured so that answers to the same questions could be compared and contrasted.

In recognition of the dangers of participator research, especially of how my position of power and responsibility would taint the data, I decided to again use a research assistant to conduct the interviews. This was also a key reason that the interviews were structured with me preparing a detailed set of questions (Appendix 1: Student Interview Script) and meeting with the research assistant before the interviews to ensure this was followed.

The questions were open in their form to encourage interviewees to share their 'voices', this was especially important because it was the unheard or neglected voices that I was particularly interested in capturing.

---

[329] Christen Erlingsson and Petra Brysiewicz, 'A Hands-on Guide to Doing Content Analysis' (2017) *African Journal of Emergency Medicine* 7(3) 93-99, p.94

[330] Anton J. Kuzel, 'Sampling in qualitative inquiry' in Benjamin F. Crabtree, and William L. Miller (eds) *Doing Qualitative Research (2nd ed)* (1999, SAGE) 33–45

All the students in my seminar groups had already had the general nature of the research explained to them by me and were given a participator information sheet (Appendix 2: Participator Information Sheet) and a consent form (Appendix 3: Consent Form) to sign. The purposes of the research were framed broadly so that students were not aware that I was evaluating whether different characteristics, such as race and gender, impacted upon group and team based learning experiences as this may have led to students being overly sensitised to the issues. The purpose was therefore described to the students thus: "The purpose of this research is to gain an insight into your experiences of learning and teaching over the course of this academic year."

When we got to the end of the module I again explained the general nature of the research and gave different participator information forms (Appendix 4: Student interview consent and monitoring form) to the interviewees I had selected through purposive sampling. Students were told that the interviews would be conducted in a different room, that they would be recorded and, the recordings given a code related to an anonymous diversity monitoring form and then the interviews would be transcribed (Appendix 7: Sample of Transcripts of Student Interviews). The research assistant then took individual interviewees off and asked them the questions I had prepared, the final question asked whether there was anything the interviewee wished to add. Interview length varied from approximately ten minutes to approximately forty-minutes.

One of the aims of the research was to evaluate how students perceive teaching and learning activities, what identities they adopt and, what, if any, stories they tell to 'explain' dominant and subordinate relations within the activities. Narrative analysis was therefore adopted within the thematic analysis as the tool for analysing both the student and staff interviews and this is discussed below.

3.4.2 Staff Interviews

I also interviewed senior members of staff within the case study institution to understand how they perceived the learning and teaching culture and whether this reflected the liberal, meritocracy that is reported in the literature review and heavily critiqued by CRT. This gave a sense of the institutional culture which is necessary in contextualising the observation data as a socio-cultural approach was adopted, as discussed above (2.2).

Staff were given similar participant information sheets and consent forms (Appendix 5: Staff Participator Information Sheet and Consent Form) as the students, again only the broad purposes of

the research was given. One of the staff members interviewed is also the first supervisor for this study so had insight into what the aims of the research were.

Semi-structured interviews allowed me the flexibility to explore areas of interest with the interviewees and to escape the straight-jacket of a rigid set of questions.[331] Further, as I am drawing together the data to get an overall sense of institutional culture, rather than comparing experiences, the interviews did not need to be comparable which is one of the key advantages of the rigidity of the structured interviews used with the students. The interviews ranged from half an hour to nearly one-and-a-half hours in length. The interviews were transcribed and although names have been omitted from the study job titles remain and this means some participants may be identifiable. This was made clear to the interviewees before they gave their consent. I have however not included any transcripts of the staff interviews because in all the interviews the interviewees were easily identifiable.

3.4.3   Analysis of the interview data

Central to this CRT is the importance of narrative and counter-narrative. Part of the data collection focused on collecting students' 'stories' of their experiences so that narratives and counter-narratives could be constructed and analysed and the most appropriate research methodology to do this is narrative analysis. Staff interviews were also conducted to see how staff narrated the environment of HE at the case study institution. Narrative analysis generally requires a rejection of a realist perspective in favour of a social constructivist position,[332] as explored above (3.1.1) this is the approach taken to this research. Narrative analysis requires therefore that two philosophical presumptions are accepted, namely ontological relativism and epistemological constructivism.

This narrative analysis will be accompanied by thematic and content analysis so that what is said in the interviews can be compared to the analysis of the observation data.

Traditional social science research regards the stories told by the subjects of research as reasonably accurate representations of their experiences.[333] Narrative analysis as a methodology challenges this realist approach, preferring a social or constructivist position to epistemology: "They do not

---

[331] Silvia E. Rabionet, 'How I Learned to Design and Conduct Semi-structured Interviews: An Ongoing and Continuous Journey' (2011) *The Qualitative Report* 16(2) 203

[332] Sarah Earthy and Ann Cronin, 'Narrative Analysis' in Nigel Gilbert and Paul Stoneman (ed's) *Researching Social Life (4th Ed),* (2016, SAGE) 461-484, p.463

[333] Norman K. Denzin, *Interpretive Interactionism (2nd Ed.)* (2001, SAGE), p.14

represent 'life as lived' but our re-presentations of those lives as told to us."[334] The aims of the narrative approach to analysis also differ from more traditional approaches in that the aim is to understand how the subject of the research has experienced the world and how she relates that story, "the social reality of the narrator",[335] rather than aiming to find out something about the world through the story told: "narrative analysis, located within a social constructionist paradigm, first of all challenges this realist position and, second, offers an alternative approach to the understanding of both the production and the analysis of qualitative data."[336] According to Jerome S. Bruner there are different ways of knowing, principally paradigmatic modes of thought versus narrative knowing.[337] As I wanted to discover how students perceive their learning experiences and how this related to the observations capturing their lives as they tell them was crucial to this project:

> Narrative inquiry is a means by which we systematically gather, analyse, and represent people's stories as told by them, which challenges traditional and modernist views of truth, reality, knowledge and personhood…

As this research aims to evaluate whether students construct 'working identities' to navigate their learning experiences and whether they 'explain away' liberation and oppression through the language of meritocracy this is the appropriate approach to analysing the data: "Personal stories are not merely a way of telling someone (or oneself) about one's life; they are the means by which identities may be fashioned".[338]

The narratives given by staff serve to contextualise these student narratives and the research also aimed to evaluate whether there were dominant narrative themes that pervaded the case study institution.

Further, an important aim of this research is to have an impact on the educational experiences of students of colour and it is argued by Apple that "elite knowledge" does not serve progressive social

---

334 Kim Etherington cited in Fa Pasend Yezulu 'Narrative Approaches to Case Studies' [online] available at: https://www.academia.edu/33795489/Narrative_approaches_to_case_studies [accessed 20 April 2017]
335 Kim Etherington, *Becoming a Reflexive Researcher: Using Ourselves in Research* (2004, Jessica Kingsley Publishers), p.81
336 Sarah Earthy and Ann Cronin, 'Narrative Analysis' in Nigel Gilbert and Paul Stoneman (ed's) *Researching Social Life (4th Ed),* (2016, SAGE) 461-484, p.465
337 Jerome S. Bruner, Jacqueline J. Goodnow and George A. Austin, *A Study of Thinking* (1986, Transaction Publishers)
338 George Rosenwald and Richard Ochburg, *Storied Lives: The Cultural Politics of Self-understanding* (1992, Yale University Press), p.1

needs.[339] Because this study is charged with the responsibility to give back to its subjects I want to do "research that says, 'here is life'…" and includes "… thick descriptions".[340]

A narrative approach to analysis meant that analysis occurred throughout the research process rather than being a separate activity carried out after data collection.[341] Whilst this worked well for this project it challenges traditional research methodology which views data collection and analysis as two distinct, and clinically separate, tasks. This approach to the research meant that after each observation I reflected on the data, refined what I was looking for and started to research explanations for what had been observed. This embedded analysis influenced the writing of the structured interview questions for students (Appendix 1: Student Interview Script) and the semi-structured outlines for staff interviews. The approach also gives the research a narrative life of its own in that it grew and developed, sometimes going down dead ends but more often being flexible enough to adapt as the lived experiences of the students emerged through the data collection.

There are many forms of narrative analysis, these depend in part on the position of the researcher in relation to the narrative – is she telling her own story or is she analyzing the stories of another?[342] My standpoint in this research is that of 'story analyst'[343] and of the different forms of narrative analysis that are appropriate to this standpoint 'thematic narrative analysis'[344] is the most useful tool for this project as I am primarily interested in the themes that emerge from the different narratives. This form of narrative analysis also lends itself especially well to this project because it can be applied to the themes that emerged through the thematic analysis of the observation data. This involves indwelling, identifying stories, identifying narrative themes and, identifying the structure.[345] The indwelling involves listening to the recording of the interview and reading the transcript over and over until empathy, rather than mere sympathy, with the subject of the research is established. The story in the student data is restricted by the structured nature of the interviews to a narration of the experiences of learning activities within the case study. Once the stories are identified then the narrative themes can be identified, where there are common narrative themes across all the interviews then key stories will be used to illustrate the themes. As the narrative is only about the experiences of learning within the case study it may be that there is too brief a snapshot for there to be a narrative structure, this will be addressed in the discussion in Chapter 5.

---

[339] Tshepo L. Mosikatsana, 'Critical Race Theory' in Christopher Roederer and Darrell Moellendorf (eds) *Jurisprudence* (2004, Juta)
[340] *Ibid*
[341] Susannah Chamberlain, 'Narrative Therapy: Challenges and Communities of Practice' in Andy Lock and Tom Strong, *Discursive Perspectives in Therapeutic Practice* (2012, OUP) 106-125
[342] Brett Smith and Andrew C. Sparks, 'Narrative inquiry in psychology: exploring the tensions within' (2008) *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3(3) 169
[343] Arthur P. Bochner and Nicholas A. Riggs 'Practicing Narrative Inquiry' in Patricia Leavy (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2104, OUP) 195-222
[344] Silvia E. Rabionet, 'How I Learned to Design and Conduct Semi-structured Interviews: An Ongoing and Continuous Journey' (2011) *The Qualitative Report* 16(2) 203
[345] Brett Smith, 'Narrative Analysis' in Evanthia Lyons and Adrian Cole, *Analysing Qualitative Data in Psychology* (2011, SAGE), 202-221, pp.216-217

Figure 5: Data Characterisation below, shows how each of the methods of data collection described above relates to each of the four research questions:

Data Characterisation

	Observation Data	Student Interviews	Staff Interviews
Research Question 1	Main source of data		
Research Question 2	Main source of data		
Research Question 3		Main source of data	
Research Question 4			Main source of data

Figure 5: Data Characterisation

3.5   Ethical considerations

Changing the mode of delivery of a module for some students on a module solely to assess the impact of this strategy would be unethical as it could unfairly disadvantage those students. This however is not what was done in this case study. I was fortunate in that I was able to be opportunistic in observing a change of teaching strategy that was being piloted at an institutional level. TBL was being trialled across 3 Schools within the case study institution with a view to developing the learning and teaching strategy. This meant that the case study was running as a project, funded by the institution and that this study was examining the existing project. This also meant that there was a post-doctoral researcher involved in the project with whom I could check the validity of my observation data as noted in 3.1.1.

This study still raised valid ethical concerns that needed to be mitigated in relation to the following:

- The power relationship between me, as teacher and observer, and the students, as students and participants
- The presence of the post-doctoral researcher and the potential impact on the learning experience of the students
- The consent of those being observed
- The confidentiality of the observation and interview data
- The recruitment of participants for the interviews
- The research assistant's skills in carrying out the interviews
- Student involvement in the interviews

- The rights, safety and well-being of the participants and me
- The recording of the student interviews.

In relation to the above the following strategies and control measures were put in place:

- Full informed consent was obtained from all the students prior to the commencement of any research (Appendix 2: Participator Information Sheet and; Appendix 3: Consent Form),
- Students were given the opportunity to change to seminar groups not included in the study at the beginning of term and to change groups at any point during the academic year
- Observation data was checked by a post-doctoral research assistant for accuracy
- Interviews were carried out by a research assistant who did not have a role teaching or assessing on the module
- The presence of the post-doctoral researcher was explained to the students
- The post-doctoral researcher was not a participant in the learning and teaching
- Students were told that they could stop the observations at any time
- All data collected was anonymised and coded
- The identity of student participants in this research has not been revealed
- Data protection legislation was complied with
- The structured interviews were carried out by a research assistant who did not have a role teaching or assessing on the module
- Students were invited to take part in the interviews at least 24 hours before they took place and were given free choice (Appendix 4: Student Interview Consent and Monitoring Form)
- Student interviewees signed a consent form (Appendix 4: Student Interview Consent and Monitoring Form)
- Staff were invited to take part in the interviews at least 24 hours before they took place and were given free choice (Appendix 5: Staff Participator Information Sheet and Consent Form)
- Student interviewees signed a consent form (Appendix 5: Staff Participator Information Sheet and Consent Form)
- The confidentiality issues were explained, and the interviewees explicitly offered the opportunity to withdraw
- The research assistant received interview training
- There was no coercion or deception and ample opportunity was offered to first decide to take part and secondly to withdraw at any time
- Observations and interviews took place on university premises

- An assessment of risk to self and participants was carried out in relation to health and safety of premises in which activity takes place
- The audio recordings were transcribed, and the interviewees were asked if they would like to be shown and approve copies of the transcriptions.
- The transcriptions were coded, and no personally identifiable information is contained in the student interview transcripts.

The above were all agreed by the Research Ethics Committee (REC) as sufficient when approving the study.

Chapter 4: The Data

4.1   The Case Study

This section of the chapter presents the data collected from the observations of the case study described in Chapter 3. The data is then analysed in Chapter 5.

The TBL students were divided into teams based on their answers to a questionnaire (Appendix 6: Political Preference Questionnaire) aimed at assessing their political beliefs. There were nine teams or political parties of six to ten students as three seminars were each divided into three groups. Two other seminars ran for the same module and were taught in a more conventional style. There were 72 students who were supposed to attend the three TBL seminars and 36 who were supposed to attend the two non-TBL seminars.

The attendees are listed in Table 4, organised into their political parties. The information given comes from monitoring questions which were distributed in class in weeks 21 and 22 of teaching. Not all of the students were present to complete the monitoring questions and, in these instances, perceived age, ethnicity and, sex are taken from the observation data and nationality is not recorded. The participants are referred to by code, the number representing the political party and the letter the individual within that party. Where data was collected by interview, as opposed to observation, an 'i' is added to the end of the code, for example 1A was a British female, of Asian ethnicity, she was under 21 and had no declared disability. Data collected during observations which relates to 1A is coded as 1A and data collected during interview is coded as 1Ai.

Seminar	Party Name	Age	Ethnicity	Nationality	Sex	Disability Declared	Observation Code	Interview Code
Friday 2-3pm	Next Generation	<21	Asian	British	F	N	1A	1Ai
		<21	White	Romanian	M	N	1B	1Bi
		>21	Mixed race	British	M	N	1C	1Ci
		<21	Asian	British	F	N	1D	
		<21	White	Romanian	M	N	1E	
		<21	Black	N/A	M	N	1F	

	Laissez-Faire	>21	White	English	M	Y[346]	2A	2Ai
		<21	Asian	British	F	N	2B	
		<21	Asian	British	F	N	2C	
		<21	White	British	F	N	2D	
		<21	White	British	F	N	2E	
		<21	Black	N/A	F	N	2F	
		<21	Black	N/A	F	N	2G	
		<21	Black	N/A	F	N	2H	
	Your Party	>21	Asian	British	M	N	3A	3Ai
		<21	White	British	F	N	3B	
		<21	White	British	F	N	3C	
		<21	Black	N/A	F	N	3D	
		<21	Black	N/A	M	N	3E	
Friday 3-4pm	Socialist Party	<21	Asian and mixed	Mauritian	M	N	4A	4Ai
		>21	Mixed race	British	F	N	4B	4Bi
		>21	Black	British	F	N	4C	
		<21	White	British	F	N	4D	
		<21	Black	Nigerian	F	N	4E	
		<21	Asian	British	F	N	4F	
		>21	Black	Nigerian	M	N	4G	
		>21	White	British	M	N	4H	
		>21	Asian	N/A	F	N	4J	
		>21	White	N/A	M	N	4K	
	R LAW IS	>21	White	British	F	N	5A	5Ai
		<21	White	British	F	N	5B	5Bi
		<21	White	Polish	F	N	5C	5Ci
		<21	White	British	F	N	5D	
		<21	Black	British	F	N	5E	
		<21	Mixed race	British	F	N	5F	
		<21	Mixed race	British	F	N	5G	
	Consensus	<21	Asian	British	F	N	6A	6Ai
		>21	White	British	M	N	6B	6Bi
		<21	White	British	F	N	6C	
		<21	Black	N/A	F	N	6D	
		<21	Black	N/A	F	N	6E	

---

[346] "Metal plate in leg"

		<21	Black	British	M	N	6F	
		<21	Asian	Pakistani	M	N	6G	
		<21	White	British	M	N	6H	
		<21	Asian	N/A	M	N	6J	
		<21	Mixed race	N/A	F	N	6K	
Friday 4-5pm	Fair For All	<21	White	British	F	N	7A	
		<21	Black	British	F	N	7B	
		<21	White	British	M	N	7C	
		<21	Black	N/A	M	N	7D	
		<21	White	British	F	N	7E	
		<21	Black	N/A	M	N	7F	
		<21	White	N/A	F	N	7G	
	Citizens' Party	<21	White	British	F	N	8A	8Ai
		>21	White	British	M	Y[347]	8B	8Bi
		<21	White	British	F	N	8C	
		<21	White	British	F	N	8D	
		<21	Black	N/A	F	N	8E	
		<21	Black	N/A	F	N	8F	
		<21	Black	N/A	F	N	8G	
		<21	Asian	N/A	F	N	8H	
	Correspondence	<21	Black	British	F	N	9A	9Ai
		<21	Black	Zambian	M	N	9B	9Bi
		<21	White	British	F	N	9C	
		<21	White	British	F	N	9D	
		<21	White	British	M	N	9E	
		<21	Mixed race	N/A	F	N	9F	
		<21	Asian	N/A	M	N	9G	
		<21	Black	N/A	F	N	9H	
		<21	Asian	N/A	F	N	9J	
		<21	Black	Zambian	M	N	9K	

Table 4: Participants

---

[347] "Multiple sclerosis"

My observations report similar patterns of behaviour across all nine teams. This is important for data source triangulation[348] as discussed in 3.3. The transcripts of the structured interviews (Appendix 7: Sample of Transcripts of Student Interviews) also reveal patterns of student attitudes and behaviours on grounds of race and gender. Each of the nine teams is described, in turn, below. The interview data is introduced in 4.2 and 4.3. The teams were asked to come up with a party name for their team, the observation data below is subdivided by each of these different party names.

The first three 'parties' were in the same seminar group from 2-3pm on a Friday afternoon, these were Next Generation, Laissez-Faire and, Your Party. The next three 'parties', Consensus, R LAW IS and, The Socialist Party, were in the 3-4pm seminar on the Friday afternoon. The final three 'parties', Fair For All, Citizens' Party and, Correspondence, were in the 4-5pm seminar, also on Friday afternoons. This section is structured by taking each 'political party' in turn.

4.1.1   Next Generation

In the first seminars all the students completed questionnaires (Appendix 6: Political Preference Questionnaire) and, based on the results, were grouped into political 'parties' of peers with similar political opinions. In the second seminar the groups were announced and the 'parties' tasked with coming up with their political party names. It was 1B (white male) who suggested the name Next Generation because he felt the team was young and would be the next generation of politicians, the rest of the team agreed with little discussion.

1A (Asian female) and 1B (white male) are the two team members with the best attendance, 1C (mixed race male) also has good attendance. Their team was first observed during t-RAT on 23 October 2014. T-RATs are the second stage in TBL. Students first completed a multiple-choice i-RAT (Individual Readiness Assurance Test) based on the material covered in the lecture and preparatory reading, students were given 10 minutes to complete this. This was followed by the t-RAT in which the team was given 20 minutes to complete the same multiple-choice test. Present for this session were five members of the team 1A-C, 1D (Asian female) and 1E (white male). In discussions it was the male members (1B, 1C and 1E) of the group that were dominant, the most dominant being 1B (white male). When 1B (white male) discussed the answers, he directed his discussions at 1E (white male). 1A (Asian female) joined in rarely whereas 1D (Asian female) did not contribute at all. The team finished their t-RAT early and decided to try to choose a leader for their political party, all 3

---

[348] Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography Principles in Practice (4th Ed.)* (2019, Routledge)

male students (1B, 1C and 1E) nominated themselves, the female students did not. 1B (white male) was chosen to be the party leader.

The team was again observed on 14 November 2014. This time multiple-choice scratch cards (Figure 6: Multiple Choice Scratchcard)[349] were provided for the t-RAT exercise. There were four team members as 1D (Asian female) was absent. 1C (mixed race male) took control of the scratch card and again it was the males who dominated, although 1A (Asian female) did offer her answers. There was limited discussion or negotiation of the answers, instead the team adopted the practice of voting on answers. On two occasions 1C (mixed race male) asked the others what they thought, and a discussion developed between 1B and 1E (both white males), to the exclusion of 1A (Asian female) and 1C (mixed race male). When 1A (Asian female) did speak she was interrupted by 1B (white male) and he contradicted her, instead offering what he thought was the right answer.

Figure 6: Multiple Choice Scratchcard [350]

The RATs are meant to identify readiness to proceed by identifying any areas of common misunderstanding. Once errors in understanding have been remedied the class moves to an application exercise, applying their knowledge to a task. An application exercise took place on 28 November 2014, the original five team members were all present and the team was asked to complete two tasks.

In the first task 1B (white male) led the discussion and he did most of the talking, although he occasionally asked questions. The males conferred in a huddled group whilst 1A and 1D (both Asian

---

[349] Image adapted from Alison Papini, 'What is Team-Based Learning?' *Bryant University* (2019) [online] available at: https://cte.bryant.edu/support-resources/team-based-learning/ [accessed 22 October 2019]
[350] Image adapted from Alison Papini, 'What is Team-Based Learning?' *Bryant University* (2019) [online] available at: https://cte.bryant.edu/support-resources/team-based-learning/ [accessed 22 October 2019]

females) were passive and outside of the huddle. 1D (Asian female) appeared completely disengaged. During the discussion 1B (white male) proposed ideas, and 1E (white male) nodded along but was less engaged. 1C (mixed race male) took notes and nodded. 1A (Asian female) tried to offer responses but on *every* occasion 1B (white male) interrupted her. 1C (mixed race male) is confident and speaks up occasionally, although he speaks directly to 1B (white male), 1A (Asian female) also speaks directly to 1B, rather than to the group. 1D (Asian female) sat quietly rocking, showing no sign of engagement and no note-taking.

For the second task the team was asked to join in an instantaneous response exercise. This means they had to select a numbered response to a question using numbered cards and a menu holder. On the first question 1A (Asian female) immediately suggested that the answer was either 1 or 5 and 1B (white male) immediately suggested answer 1 and in defending it stifled any discussion – the correct answer was in fact 3. In all instances once 1B (white male) had spoken the rest of group was quiet, although 1C (mixed race male) made a show of re-reading the question. When 1B (white male) seemed uncomfortable with the silence he threw out a question but then quickly took control again, proposing answer 1 again and concluding discussion. 1A (Asian female) placed the number card on the menu holder. For the remainder of the time (2 of the 5 minutes given to the task) 1B (white male) bolstered his position, 1E (white male) supported him whilst 1A and 1D (both Asian females) had a separate conversation unrelated to the topic.

On 16 January 2015 the students were again observed completing a t-RAT, in this session attendance was low and the three teams had to be combined. Present were 1A (Asian female), 1B (white male), 1E (white male), 1F (black male, who had not attended any previous sessions), 2D (white female) and 3C (white female). 2D (white female) and 1B (white male) started the process by reading out the questions and 2D (white female) took charge of the scratch card. The discussion started with 2D (white female), 1B and 1E (both white males) offering their answers. 1B (white male) did try to elicit answers from other team members and took control of the scratch card. On every question 1B, 1E, 2D and, 3C (all the white students) offered their answers without prompting whilst 1A (Asian female) and 1F (black male) did not offer their answers until asked. The t-RAT continued with 2D (white female) taking the role of reading out the questions and 1B and 1E (both white males) taking the lead in offering answers. 1B (white male) was always the one to ask other students what they thought and he and 1E (white male) dominated in terms of providing the explanations for the answers. 1F (black male) said nothing and 1A (Asian female) only offered her view when she was asked directly. There was some negotiation in relation to the answers and there was some surprise when it transpired that the more dominant males were not right. On one question 1F (black male) did get one of the answers correct when other group members did not but he did not offer his

answer and so did not mention this to the group until after they had established the wrong answer and the right answer had been identified by a process of elimination. Feeling more confident when it came to the next question 1F (black male) did offer his answer, however he got no response from the other group members. As more questions were discussed 1F (black male) did engage a little more and 1A (Asian female) also offered answers and provided reasons for her answers, but discussions were still dominated by the 1B and 1E (both white males). 1A (Asian female) did get an answer right and pointed this out to the group but was ignored and the group answer was different from the one she had suggested. On later questions there was some attempt to establish answers democratically with all the students in the group 'voting' for an answer, however 1F (black male) simply said he did not know what the answer was.

The group were again observed on 6 March 2015, however due to low attendance the class was treated as one team, this is discussed below in 4.1.2.

4.1.2   Laissez-Faire

This group had low attendance across the whole year which dropped off further towards the end of the year therefore only 2A (white male) was selected to be interviewed as his attendance was excellent.

It was 2A (white male) who suggested the team name, as he is older it is a phrase that had meaning for him; he thought the group would adopt "liberal" policies and so the name was appropriate. It was observed that the other, younger, group members were not aware of the phrase but still accepted 2A's (white male) suggestion.

Laissez-Faire were first observed on 23 October, the group comprised 2A (white male), 2B and 2C (both Asian females), 2D (white female), 2F and 2G (both black females). The observation was of a t-RAT. This group had two dominant members, 2D (white female) and 2A (white male). The two dominant members were directly asking each of the team members what they thought, and everyone was making a contribution, suggesting answers and providing justification for them. 2A (white male) was noticeably older than the other members of the group and was described in my observation notes as "paternalistic" in his approach. When 2A (white male) clearly knew the answer he led the others, through maieutical questioning, to finding the answer. There was a lot of discussion and negotiation in this team. The more dominant members of the team were leading the discussions. The other members of the team were sitting back and listening more often, and occasionally making a contribution or confirming their answers.

I identified 2A (white male) and 2D (white female) as the more dominant members, and also noted that there were 2 students, 2C (Asian female) and 2F (black female), who made very limited contributions.

It was noticeable that as the session progressed there was not as much effort on the part of the more dominant students to illicit answers from the quieter members as there had been earlier on. Although some good discussions were had the tactic of asking direct questions of the less dominant members had ceased.

On one question there was disagreement and there was negotiation between the team members, however 2F (black female) was notable because of her lack of engagement in comparison to all the other group members.

The team was again observed completing a t-RAT on 14 November when four team members were present, 2A (white male), 2B (Asian female), 2D (white female) and 2F (black female). This time scratchcards were used to answer the questions and it was 2D (white female) who immediately took charge of the scratchcard.

Again, 2D (white female) and 2A (white male) were clearly dominant, taking charge and doing most of the talking. 2A (white male) again adopted a maieutic role. On all the questions 2A (white male) sought the opinions of other students, on one question 2F (black female) offered an answer but 2D (white female) always made the final decision in terms of which answer the team scratched off.

Throughout the discussion 2B (Asian female) said nothing and the other team members did not really engage with her. When 2B (Asian female) was asked for her opinion she just accepted the answers which were suggested either by 2D (white female) or 2A (white male).

On 21 November 2A (white male), 2B (Asian female), 2D (white female), 2F, 2G and 2H (all Black females) were present. The session observed was an application exercise. In this session there were 3 students whose participation was higher, these were 2A (white male), 2D (white female) and 2H (black female). The two active females discussed the issues while 2A (white male) interjected into the discussion to 'mansplain' areas of law he perceived they had not fully grasped. 2F (black female) was on her smartphone throughout whilst 2G (black female) was eating, 2B (Asian female) did not participate but did take notes throughout.

I felt that 2A (white male) controlled the discussion throughout and that 2D (white female) was making the final decision about selecting an answer, although 2H (black female) oversaw the numbered cards. When the group was asked to explain their reasons for choosing the responses it was always 2A (white male) that spoke for the group.

On 16 January this seminar group was again observed but due to low attendance the teams were merged into one group. The observations of this session are recorded above in 4.1.1.

Although the class was observed on 6 February 2015, only 2A (white male) attended so he joined Your Party and this observation data is reported in 4.1.3 below.

The group were again observed on 6 March 2015, however due to low attendance the class was treated as one team, present were 1F (black male), 2B and 2C (both Asian females) and 3A (Asian male). The session observed was a t-RAT. 2B (Asian female) took control of the scratch card and 2C (Asian female) and 3A (Asian male) were observed actively discussing the possible answers. 1F (Black male) did not make much of a contribution.

When 1F (black male) did participate it was to ask the rest of the group for clarification on certain points. 2C (Asian female) also asked questions and it was 3A (Asian male) that provided explanations. The main discussions were between the 2B, 2C (both Asian females) and 3A (Asian male) and that the 1F (black male) sat slightly outside the rest of the group.

During this session 3A (Asian male) and 2B (Asian female) were most dominant and 1F (black male) was the most passive. At one-point 2B (Asian female) did directly ask 1F (black male) what he thought but he was interrupted by 3A (Asian male) who wished to communicate his reasons for choosing his answer.

2E (white female) did not attend any of the observed sessions.

4.1.3   Your Party

3A (Asian male), 3B and 3C (both white females) were involved in the choice of party name which was intended to give the idea that the party intended to represent the views of the majority of people, a sentiment that might be described as 'popularism', although this term has since taken on pejorative overtones.

Your Party were first observed on 23 October 2014 during a t-RAT. 3A (Asian male), 3B and 3C (both white females) and 3D (black female) were present, this was the first seminar 3D had attended. 3B and 3C (both white females) were the most talkative and that 3A (Asian male) was particularly quiet.

No single student however dominated discussion, instead there was negotiation and discussion when deciding on answers. TBL includes an appeal process for when a 'team' feels that an answer is incorrect or a question poorly formulated. The group started to construct an appeal. The appeal

was written solely by 3B and 3C (both white females) while the other group members remained silent, although ultimately, they decided not to submit their appeal.

Your Party was again observed during a t-RAT on the 14 November 2014, 3A (Asian male), 3B and 3C (both white females) were present. All the members of the group participated in the discussion although 3A (Asian male) was quieter than the other two members. Overall, 3A (Asian male) took more of a listening role and 3B and 3C (both white females) a more discursive role, when 3A spoke it was usually to read out the question whereas 3B and 3C tended to offer answers.

An application exercise was observed on 21 November 2014. On this occasion 3A (Asian male) was in a group with 3B (white female) and 3D (black female). This was one of the more equal groups in terms of participation, however 3B (white female) did dominate, taking control of the numbered cards used in the application exercises and speaking for the team when reporting their answers to the class.

On 16 January 2015 the class was again observed, as already noted due to poor attendance all the teams were merged and the observation data is reported in 4.1.1 above. 3A (Asian male) was absent for this session.

On the 6 February 2015 only one member of Laissez-Faire, 2A (white male), attended the class so he joined Your Party. 3A (Asian male) and 3C (white female) as well as 3E (black male), who had not previously attended this seminar group, were also present. 2A (white male) dominated the discussion but 3C (white female) also participated. 3E (black male) was completely passive throughout the group work and 3A (Asian male) only joined in the discussion once. During discussions 3C (white female) tended to ask questions and 2A (white male) tended to answer them, 3A (Asian male) was clearly listening but 3E (black male) left the room and when he returned remained disengaged.

This class was again observed on 6 March 2015, however due to low attendance the class was taught as a single group which is discussed above.

4.1.4   Socialist Party

When these students were put into their group based on their answers to the political questionnaire (Appendix 6: Political Preference Questionnaire) they tried to identify where they sat on the spectrum of left to right. They self-identified as on the left-wing of British politics and decided to call themselves the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party were first observed participating in a t-RAT on 14 November 2014. Present for this session were 4A (mixed race male), 4B (mixed race female), 4E (black female), and 4H (white male). There was a lot of interaction between 4B (mixed race female) and 4H (white male) and 4A (mixed race male) was very quiet.

4H (white male) dominated the discussion by offering his opinion first then asking the other group members what they thought. As the discussion progressed the observer noted that the discussion between three of the team members was:

> *… quite even …* [Fieldnotes]

whilst 4A (mixed race male) was very quiet only talking when he was directly asked a question.

The Socialist Party was observed on 21 November 2014 completing an application exercise. Present for this session were 4F (Asian female), 4G (black male), 4H (white male) and 4J (Asian female). Both 4A (mixed race male) and 4B (mixed race female) were absent.

The first part of the application exercise is starting to identify the issues within the scenario, this group has more discussion than the other groups in the session. 4H (white male) took the lead in starting the discussion and outlined the main issues for the rest of the group before asking if they agreed.

The second task was to try to identify how many issues there were in the application exercise, 4F (Asian female) starts the discussion and 4H (white male) provides the answer.

Next the team were asked to identify the relevant legal rules relating to the issues they identified. 4F (Asian female) leads the discussion here and then asks 4H (white male) for clarification on certain points. 4J (Asian female) also joins in the discussion but 4G (black male) does not. 4F (Asian female) was being quite assertive in terms of what she thought the answer was.

Once there seems to be an agreed answer 4H (white male) confirms this with the group and takes charge of putting the number up on the menu holder which is how the teams were asked to provide their answers in this exercise.

On 28 November 2014 the team was given two tasks to complete. Present were 4A (mixed race male), 4B (mixed race female), 4F (Asian female), 4H and 4K (both white males).

On task 1 the female students started the discussion while 4H (white male) and 4A (mixed race male) had a private discussion unrelated to their studies. 4F (Asian female) took charge, bringing the team together to discuss the task. The discussion on the task was between 4B (mixed race female), 4F

(Asian female), and 4H (white male). 4A (mixed race male) and 4H (white male) did not participate. I noted that 4B (mixed race female):

… grew in dominance but that [4F (Asian female)] *remained dominant.* [Fieldnotes]

On task 2 4F (Asian female) was again dominant but I noted that:

… generally [the] *group was quiet and thoughtful.* [Fieldnotes]

The male who had not participated (4H) joined in and 4F (Asian female), 4H (white male) and 4K (white male) dominated the conversation with 4A (mixed race male) remaining passive.

The Socialist Party were again observed on the 16 January 2015, they were completing a t-RAT. Present were 4A (mixed race male), 4E (black female), 4F (Asian female), 4H and 4K (both white males). 4E (black female) arrived late for the class and initially positioned herself a bit outside of the team, however she did physically move in for the team discussions.

The team used a scratch card for the answers and 4F (Asian female) took control of the scratch card. I noted that:

There is quite a lot of discussion from all group members. [Fieldnotes]

4F (Asian female) started the conversation and 4A (mixed race male) responded most often. However, all the team members, except for 4E (black female), responded to questions and offered their answers. On one of the questions 4H (white male) disagreed with the rest of the group and asserted his position. He was able to convince the group that he was right however when they scratched off the answer they discovered he was incorrect, observing this group interaction I noted that:

It does look like the rest of the group look for approval from the dominant white male. [Fieldnotes]

I noted that 4E (black female) did make some contribution to the discussion but that it was brief*.*

I also noted that:

The group dynamics are good as there is a lot of joking and banter and all students are laughing and joining in. White male [4H] *does tend to dominate the explanations.* [Fieldnotes]

On 6 February 2015 the Socialist Party were again observed when the group were asked to discuss some questions. The only students present in this team were 4F (Asian female) and 4H (white male).

4F (Asian female) started the discussion however 4H (white male) did not respond as he was messaging on his phone. 4H (white male) did eventually acknowledge 4F (Asian female) and took some notes but I noted that there was:

> *… not much discussion going on here.* [Fieldnotes]

Whilst 4F (Asian female) tried to engender some discussion but 4H (white male) does not really respond and is distracted by his phone throughout the session.

On the 6 March 2015 the Socialist Party were again observed, this time during a t-RAT. 4A (mixed race male), 4B (mixed race female), 4F (Asian female), 4G (black male), 4H and 4K (both white males).

At the start of the session 4H (white male) organised the team into a tighter circle and 4F (Asian female) took control of the scratch card. I noted that:

> *All group members make a contribution in terms of discussion although it is the case that they are talking over each other quite a bit and occasionally having their own conversations.* [Fieldnotes]

4F (Asian female) took the role of determining which answer to commit the group to after their discussions. The least involved students are 4H and 4K (both white males), although they do make some contribution. During the discussion the team broke into sub-groups and 4H (white male) and 4F (Asian female) have one conversation and 4B (mixed race female) and 4G (black male) have another.

4C (black female) and 4D (white female) were part of this group but they did not attend any of the observed sessions.

4.1.5   R LAW IS

This group came up with their team name as it incorporates all their first initials, although the group had seven members two shared the same first initial.

R LAW IS were first observed on 14 November 2014 completing a t-RAT. Present were all seven team members. The team members were all reasonably vocal but it was 5A and 5B (both white females) who were most dominant with 5A taking charge of the scratch card and 5B taking the lead in reporting the correct answers from the discussion.

The team were again observed on 21 November 2014 completing an application exercise, for this session only 5A (white female) and 5F (mixed race female) were present. There was very little interaction and both students took turns in reporting the team's answers back to the class.

On 16 January 2015 the team were again observed completing a t-RAT exercise, 5A, 5B and 5C (all white females) and 5F (mixed race female) were all present. As with previous observations of this team no dominance was observed:

Very equal contributions and negotiations within this group. [Fieldnotes]

The same behaviour is noted when the team are observed on 6 February 2015 discussing questions, present for this session were 5A, 5B, 5C and, 5D (all white females). The homogeneity of colour and gender is unique across the nine groups as is the perception by the observer of equality in terms of dominance and subordination.

The final observation of this team was made on 6 March 2015 when they completed a t-RAT. Six members of the group were present, 5A, 5B and 5C (all white females), 5E (black female) and, 5F and 5G (both mixed race females).   Similar equality of contribution was noted as previously, however 5A (white female) again took charge of the scratch card and although all the team members contributed to the discussion the observer and I both noted that the conversations were started by the white students.

4.1.6   Consensus

Consensus were grouped together as a team because the students were the most centrist in their views. While the other two groups in this seminar comprised students whose answers to the political beliefs' questionnaire indicated their opinions roughly correlated with opinions traditionally described as 'left' or 'right' this team comprised either those with a mix of 'left' and 'right' views or those who had views allied with traditional 'centrist' views. In early discussions the team self-identified as occupying the traditional centre-ground in politics and they saw this as a position that represented the consensus of political opinion, hence the team name.

The team were first observed on 11 November 2014 completing a t-RAT, present for the session were 6A (Asian female), 6B (white male), 6C (white female), 6D and 6E (both black females), 6F (black male) and 6G (Asian male). 6G (Asian male) dominated the team, taking control of the scratch card. 6B (white male) initially took a leading role in answering the questions, checking with other group members if they agreed and it was noted that 6B (white male) and 6C (white female) were the most active contributors to the discussion and there was some sustained discussion between 6C and

6G (Asian male). Whilst all members of the team contributed to the discussion the participation of 6F (black male) was that he only made the:

> *… odd contribution.* [Fieldnotes]

The team were again observed on 21 November 2014 participating in an application exercise. Present for the session were 6A (Asian female), 6C (white female), 6D and 6E (both black females), 6G and 6J (both Asian males) and 6K (mixed race female). 6J (Asian male) started the discussion and he and 6K (mixed race female) dominated the discussion whilst the rest of the group were quite quiet. On one question there was some disagreement and the discussion was solely between 6J (Asian male), 6K (mixed race female) and 6C (white female) whilst the rest of the group (one Asian female, two black females and one Asian male) remained silent. Later 6J (Asian male) seems to be taking the lead but 6K (mixed race female) makes significant contributions and seems comfortable disagreeing with 6J (Asian male) and at times interrupting him. It was noted by the observer that 6C (white female), 6K (mixed race female) and 6J (Asian male) dominated the team throughout, with 6K (mixed race female) controlling the numbered cards.

A t-RAT session was again observed on 16 January 2015. Present for this session were 6C (white female), 6D (black female), and 6J (Asian male). 6J (Asian male) took control of the scratch card and led the discussion with most of the discussion being between him and 6C (white female), there was:

> *… good eye contact …* [Fieldnotes]

between them. There was good interaction throughout between all the team members in this session.

On 6 February 2015, when the group were next observed 6C (white female), 6D (black female), and 6J (Asian male) were present. 6C (white female) and 6J (Asian male) had considerable discussion with 6D (black female) making few contributions and sitting back from the discussion. I noted that the:

> *Discussions* [were] *very much excluding* [6D (black female)]. [Fieldnotes]

On 6 March 2015 the group were again observed completing a t-RAT, present were 6A (Asian female), 6C (white female), 6D and 6E (both black females) and 6J (Asian male). 6J (Asian male) took control of the scratch card. 6C (white female) is quite dominant and provides the first justification for her answer and 6J (Asian male) asks the rest of the group what they thought the answer was. 6C (white female) makes the same suggestion for the answer, but this is incorrect. 6D and 6E (both black females) do not make any contribution in terms of answers and the male student adopts the

117

role of 'mansplaining' the answers to the rest of the group. Later 6D (black female) offers her answer, but it appears that only one other group member is listening to her. 6J (Asian male) repeatedly asks all group members what they think, and they tend to go for the answer which has been provided by 6C (white female). 6E (black female) is sitting slightly outside of the group and looks a little disinterested.

6H (white male) did not attend any of the observed sessions.

4.1.7   Fair For All

The team felt that fairness and inclusivity were important to their political identity, they talked about ideas of linked hands of different colours as the kind of image they would like representing their team and decided that Fair For All as a name captured this ethos.

The team were first observed on 14 November 2014, present were 7A (white female) and 7D (black male). 7A (white female) was leading the discussion and offering her opinion first::

> *… because there is just 2 of them black male* [7D] *has to engage with her.* [Fieldnotes]

7A (white female) dominates the discussion and is clearly in control.

The team were again observed on 21 November 2014 completing an application exercise, present were 7A (white female), 7B (black female), 7C (white male), 7D (black male), 7E (white female) and 7F (black male), although 7F turned up half-an-hour late. 7A (white female) took the lead in identifying the issues and 7C (white male) responded to her suggestions, although there was not much discussion between the other team members, I noted:

> *… black students* [7B (female), 7D and 7F (both male)] *not making a contribution.*
> [Fieldnotes]

7A (white female) and 7C (white male) continue to dominate until 7F (black male) arrives and the conversation then continues between the three of them. 7B (black female) tried to make a suggestion:

> *… but isn't assertive enough.* [Fieldnotes]

The team were observed on 28 November 2014 completing two tasks, present were 7A (white female), 7B (black female) and 7G (white female). In the first task I noted that the 7A (white female) and 7B (black female) were dominant and that these both had high attendance in comparison with the other student. 7A (white female) set the agenda asking:

Should we put…. Something like that? [Fieldnotes]

but did not wait for a response. In the second task, which involved the instantaneous response cards, 7A (white female) immediately selected card 1 but talked about other options – the correct answer was card 3. 7B (black female) did reflect on the suggestion whilst 7G (white female) remained quiet, however there was limited discussion.

On 16 January 2015 only 7A (white female) attended so she joined with team Correspondence and this is reported below at 4.1.9.

On 6 February 2015 the team were again observed discussing questions, present were 7A (white female) and 7B (black female). Although both students seemed to contribute equally to the discussion the team dynamic was that:

White female [7A] *explains concepts to black female* [7B]. [Fieldnotes]

On 6 March 2015 7B (black female) was the only party member and joined the Citizens' Party which is discussed below at 4.1.8.

4.1.8 Citizens' Party

The Citizens' Party felt that the concept of 'personal responsibility' was key to their shared political beliefs and that this sense of responsibility was what citizenship meant. Their discussion included talk of how serving in the armed forces (8B (white male) is a former soldier) was a type of participation that citizens should engage with. It was this concept of citizenship that they were drawn to and this was why they chose their party name.

The Citizens' Party were first observed on 14 November 2014 completing a t-RAT exercise, present were 8A (white female), 8B (white male), 8C and 8D (both white females). 8D (white female) is a new group member and she was very quiet and sat a little outside of the group. There was quite a lot of discussion going on between the other group members and:

Contributions are quite even. [Fieldnotes]

8D (white female) however was not engaged, in my field notes I surmised:

… maybe because relationships in the group have already been formed. [Fieldnotes]

8D (white female) however does become confident as discussions continue.

The team were again observed on 21 November 2014 completing an Application Exercise. 8A (white female), 8B (white male), 8E, 8F and 8G (all black females) and 8H (Asian female) were present. 8E (black female) and 8A (white female) were having a discussion regarding the issues and 8B (white male):

> *… interjects to explain.* [Fieldnotes]

Although 8E (black female) makes some contribution I felt that:

> *The discussion seems to be controlled most by the white male* [8B]. [Fieldnotes]

8A (white female) confirmed the choices which the group had made. 8F and 8G (both black females), and 8H (Asian female) said very little. The team used number cards and menu holders to communicate their answers, 8E (black female) took charge of the numbers. When asked to justify their answers it is 8B (white male) that provided the answers on behalf of the group. Overall it was 8E (black female) that led the discussion in terms of identifying the issues in this group and explaining the principles of law with 8A (white female) and 8B (white male) also joining in the discussion. 8F (black female) spent most of the session looking at her phone and 8G (black female) was eating whilst 8H (Asian female) took notes. Only 8A (white female), 8B (white male) and 8E (black female) contributed to the discussions.

The team were again observed on 16 January 2015 completing a t-RAT exercise, 8A (white female), 8B (white male) and 8C (white female) were present. 8B (white male) took control of the scratch card while 8A (white female) read out the questions. All three students respond by suggesting answers to the questions, although there isn't much discussion about why the answers are as they are. When there is less certainty as to which answer is correct there is more discussion. I noted that:

> *Group dynamics are good. Quite a lot of laughing, but they stick to discussing the questions.* [Fieldnotes]

The team were again observed on 6 February 2015, again the same three students were present, and discussion was good with equal contributions made.

On 6 March 2015 attendance was poor and Fair For All and the Citizens' Party were merged for a t-RAT. 8A (white female), 8B (white male) and 7B (black female) were present. 8B (white male) took control of the scratch card and he and 8A (white female) started the discussion in relation to the first answer and came to an agreement. 7B (black female) joined in on the second question, offering an answer and providing a rationale which the group accepted:

> *… Black female* [7B] *provides quite a lot of excuses in case she gets it wrong (which she does).*
> [Fieldnotes]

8B (white male) points out that he and 8A (white female) had the right answer to the first question. Overall, the females did most of the talking and 8B (white male):

> *… likes to point out every time black female is wrong ("again").* [Fieldnotes]

This means that on a later question when there is disagreement in the team they go along with the answer that 8A (white female) and 8B (white male) suggest, this was wrong and 7B (black female) had identified the correct answer.

4.1.9 Correspondence

When deciding on the party name the team felt that discourse was important in finding out what the best policies were, especially seeking the views of the grass-roots electorate. Because they wanted to correspond with each other and their electorate they settled on the name Correspondence for their team.

The team were first observed on 14 November 2014 completing a t-rat, present were 9B (black male), 9C and 9D (both white females), and 9E (white male). 9C (white female) took control of the scratchcard. There was not much discussion and 9C (white female) and 9E (white male) proposed the answers and the other group members accepted them, I noted that:

> [9B (black male)] *not very vocal. Only responds when asked directly.* [Fieldnotes]

When 9C (white female) and 9E (white male) do not seem to know the answer then there is some discussion:

> *The discussion is not about the rationale for the answer though, just about what the answer should be, not why!* [Fieldnotes]

The team were again observed on 21 November 2014, this time completing an application exercise. Present for this session were 9A (black female), 9C (white female), 9F (mixed race female), 9G (Asian male), 9H (black female) and 9J (Asian female). 9G (Asian male) started off the discussion although the group was quite quiet. 9G (Asian male) made some points in relation to identifying the issues and he took the lead in terms of the discussion around identifying the issues. The discussion moved on to discussing the number of issues in the scenario and 9C (white female), 9G (Asian male), and 9F (mixed race female) led the discussions. 9C (white female) and 9F (mixed race female) presented

their answers and there was some discussion between them and 9G (Asian male) as to what the answer was, the other students (all females, two black and one Asian) said nothing. At one-point 9A (black female) does not seem to understand the task and asks 9C (white female) for clarification. The team move on to identifying the relevant rules of law relating to the issues they identified in the scenario, again 9C (white female) and 9F (mixed race female) took the lead in suggesting the answers. 9G (Asian male) also made some contribution and suggested answers, but again, the discussion was very much dominated by these three students and it was 9F (mixed race female) that placed the number card in the menu holder.

The team were next observed on 16 January 2015, present were 9A (black female), 9B (black male), 9C (white female) and 9E (white male). The activity was a t-RAT and 9B (black male) took control of the scratch card. 9C (white female) made most of the suggestions in terms of the answers, although both 9E (white male) and 9B (black male) offered their answers whilst 9A (black female) was quiet:

> White male [9E] dominates in terms of the discussion and providing the justifications.
> [Fieldnotes]

9C (white female) did join in but tended to simply agree with 9E (white male) and most of the discussion were between 9C (white female) and 9E (white male). The team were awarding marks incorrectly on the score-card, 9C (white female) and 9E (white male) challenged the awarding of the marks and this was amended by 9B (black male). After this when 9B (black male) was recording an answer he sought confirmation of the answer from 9C (white female). At this point 9A (black female) had not said anything during the exercise whilst 9B (black male) had only made the occasional suggestions regarding an answer. On one occasion 9B (black male) suggested an answer and the team went with this, however it was the wrong answer, 9C (white female) then made a suggestion which turned out to be the correct answer. After this 9A (black female) made her first contribution and suggested an answer which was correct, following this she joined in a little more. On one of the later questions all the members of the group gave a different answer and there was some discussion between the white students before 9B (black male) suggested a different answer, 9A (black female) was quiet for most of the discussion but then suggested a different answer, the team selected 9A's (black female) suggested answer but it was wrong. The team then selected the answer suggested by 9E (white male), this was also wrong, they then selected the answer suggested by 9B (black male), this was also wrong. As there were only 4 possible answers in the multiple choice test the team were left with the correct answer by default.

The team were again observed on 6 February 2015, present were 9A (black female), 9B and 9K (both black males). The team were observed discussing some questions and 9A (black female) and 9B

(black male) provided the pros and cons of the European Union and all three members of the team made a contribution to the discussion:

> *Black males tend to be saying more, but they do all contribute.* [Fieldnotes]

When I asked the team a question it was 9B (black male) who responded, he did not involve the other team members in the discussion, although as I asked more questions all the group members joined in in answering them.

The team were observed on 6 March 2015 completing a t-RAT. 9A (black female), 9B and 9K (both Black males) were present. 9B (black male) had control of the scratch card and 9A (black female) made suggestions regarding the answers, the two men in the group generally accept 9A's (black female) suggestions. Although they did go around the team and ask each member in turn what they thought there was not much discussion:

> *They are very quiet.* [Fieldnotes]

The team appear to have adopted a methodology of just giving the answers they think and then choosing the majority answer without discussion.

The observation data described above was subjected to analysis as explained in the methodology chapter. This analysis follows in Chapter 5 and both sets of data are discussed in detail later in the study in the discussion and conclusion chapters, Chapters 6 and 7 respectively.

4.2   Student Interviews

In the last two weeks of the teaching of the module some students were invited to participate in a structured interview with a research assistant to explore their perceptions of the case study. Purposive sampling was used to decide who to interview, this was to ensure that those who were interviewed had attended sufficient sessions to be able to discuss what had happened in them.

The interviews were structured (Appendix 1: Student Interview Script) and a research assistant was employed to conduct the interviews. The reasons for using a researcher are explored in Chapter 3 but in summary, as their lecturer, the power relationship between myself and the student participants would have affected the data, severely limiting its utility.

In 3.4.1 the method of interview is outlined briefly and Appendix 1: Student Interview Script illustrates this with examples. The criteria for selecting participants is noted above and in 3.4.1. The data was transcribed verbatim as can be seen in Appendix 7: Sample of Transcripts of Student

Interviews. Ethical approval was obtained from the REC as discussed in 3.2.4 and informed consent was obtained from all the interviewees (Appendix 4: Student Interview Consent and Monitoring Form) the interview data is analysed in chapter 5, themes and concepts were extrapolated from the data using thematic analysis as explained in 3.4.1. A selection of the interview data is presented here using narrative thematic analysis.

The presentation of the observation data in 4.1 is chronological for each of the 'political parties'. This chronological presentation gives the narrative of what was observed within each political party and this is analysed in detail in 5.2. This is the narrative against which the following narratives are contrasted in the discussion in Chapter 6, specifically the narrative of the Next Generation party in 4.1.1.

As is already identified in 4.1 above the observation data was consistent across all groups as were the themes across the student interview data (5.3), therefore not all the student interviews are presented here, instead the student interviews for Next Generation are presented as this provides a useful exemplar of the data.

The interviews of the three members of Next Generation who were interviewed (1A, 1B and 1C) have been analysed using narrative thematic analysis and these are presented in turn below. The analysis was conducted by indwelling as described in 3.4.3 and is presented below as "a move from a story analyst to a story teller".[351] The process of indwelling leads to empathy with the students and for this reason I have decided to present the accounts in the first person, using the students own words as appropriate. Where I have used the students own words these are *italicised and red*. This is preceded by a short description of the student to aid the reader in attaining empathy with the subject of the narrative – one of the explicit aims of indwelling.[352] For each student the descriptions are broad and not sufficient to identify them individually. The analysis is centred on the content rather than the dialogical as the structure of the narratives was pre-determined by the structure of the interviews.

4.2.1   Narrative Thematic Analysis of 1Ai

Miss 1A has long brown hair which she invariably wears down, her skin tone is similar to dark sand. She has a warm and friendly smile. She is of average height with a slender build, she looks her age,

---

[351] Brett Smith, 'Narrative Analysis' in Evanthia Lyons and Adrian Cole, *Analysing Qualitative Data in Psychology* (2011, SAGE), 202-221, p.219
[352] *Ibid,* p.216

which is 19. She looks Asian, although she was born and grew up in England, her family name is a Hindu name from North India and her first name is Hindi.

University is a little scary and *can get a bit confusing*, I think the other students *are a bit more stronger* than me *and they understand a bit more.* I enjoy doing activities because they are fun and help me to understand, but I also like it when the lecturer explains things as *most of our team doesn't, they don't turn up, so it's like you have a piece of information but then you can't then learn from other students, so it's better when the lecturer sort of takes over and just, like gets you all involved and explains what you're supposed to be learning.*

There are two lads in my team for Public Law *they understand a lot to do with like European Law and things like that, EU Law sorry, yeah, and they, and there's other students, for example me, that just, I get a bit confused.* One of the lads is really confident and ends up doing a lot of the activities on behalf the group*, like he's comfortable with public speaking, whereas I, like I don't know enough information, like I don't mind, you know, like doing public speaking and whatever but I don't know enough information so then he then like steps up and takes that on but then nobody else in our team turns up for them to, so it does affect each activity that we do.* talk to this lad a lot because the other members of the team are really quiet, *like some of the tasks that we've had to do, just* [1B] *and I like did them and it was only us two and there was like five, six people in our group and nobody like pitched in or anything.*

I try to join in as much as I can but I does get confused, *I kind of just want to participate and get stuck in really with what we're doing 'cause it is quite fun so, and I do enjoy like what we're doing and stuff 'cause it's quite cool.* But*, I just feel like I don't know as much as other people know.* I really enjoy the political party activities because it's like what is going on in politics, *I know it's quite like small and, 'cause you watch like, 'cause of the general election that's coming up, like that you watch on the news, it's quite exciting for, like you know, Prime Minister's Questions, you just, it's so intriguing and then to know that we're doing a similar thing but on like an amateur sort of, like a, you know, a stage, it's just nice, I think anyway.*

I tend to take a back seat because I don't know as much as the other members of my team, *I feel like the role I take is because I take a slightly back role, like 'cause there's other people that are, like as I said before, like are more vocal and they have a lot more insight into like, you know, Public Law.* I also sometimes feel childish, *there's people like me, that it's my first degree, I'm like just come from college and I'm still like slightly childish and naive in, like compared to some of the other students, like there's mature students that know a lot more.*

When I don't understand something, I don't ask the lecturer, *like he does help and he does like make sure that, you know, everyone's, kind of understands but I feel like, I don't feel like he's approachable to me.*

4.2.2   Narrative Thematic Analysis of 1Bi

Mr 1B has a pallid complexion with mid-brown hair which he wears long and scruffy, he has a goatee beard and wears glasses, he looks stern and appears slightly older than his classmates although he is only 20. His speech is heavily accented and it is clear that English is not his native language. His first name is Greek in origin and common across Central Europe, and his surname originates from Romania.

I find the Public Law teaching different from my other subjects and I like to learn from my peers, but *at the same time I think it can be a little bit to our detriment if not everybody is as involved as other people.* I feel very strongly that some students are not as motivated as they should be.

The classes are quite democratic, and everyone has a chance to join in*, usually when the answer is clear most of us have the same answer and we realise it so we just tick the answer most of us have chosen.* Sometimes though some people just don't want to join in *they just say, "Oh I go along with whatever you say." And I think they will not, engaging as much as they should to their detriment, because they're just accepting … and I think this is certainly not a good thing.* Some students didn't bother joining in, *I don't know how it felt for those who were sitting and listening to me, I don't know if, how engaging that was for them.* Other times there just wasn't much discussion because everyone agreed *and when everybody agrees it's not really that much of a discussion to be had.* I had to represent the party in activities because no one else wanted to, *they were all I think scared to talk in public I think.*

4.2.3   Narrative Thematic Analysis of 1Ci

Mr 1C is tall, with short cropped hair and wears glasses. He has an athletic frame and a serious demeanour. His skin tone is mid-brown. He looks his age, which is 20. His first name is Indian in origin and his surname is local to Mauritius.

I didn't get to choose my group for TBL, *we were not really allowed to like choose our team members and who you like to work with.* This was good *because we were able to meet people, different personalities, get to know them and the way it went on with team based learning is that you get to*

know how other people work. TBL was good and *it was interesting in the way that everyone did get involved in doing it, like for the team answer, team based learning and well, yeah, in a way, getting everyone involved because you, but this way, I don't know, it was.* Everyone was encouraged to join in and the stronger students supported the weaker students, *we tried to find the answer as a team and if we did not find the answer just say, we went through questions together, tried to understand it otherwise we'll be asking the teacher afterwards.*

In our group actually not everyone was keen to go forward for the debate so those students don't volunteer and other students did these tasks. For other activities some students just didn't pull their weight, *it tends to be like only two of us doing the work instead of the group itself, like the whole group, so not everyone get involved into it, which in a way is not good for the group itself because you are not participating.*

I did end up doing a lot of the work for our group, *so I could say that, I did pretty, most of the designing of the posters, though we did discuss it in the group but in the end I did end up doing it, me, myself, but we should say that we had a discussion in the group first so it does involve everyone else. I won't say that I did it only alone.* But there was quite a lot of democracy in the group, *well in our group it was pretty, everyone much was pretty on the same level* when it came to contributing to discussions. Those who joined in less did so because they *were not very interested to work on like really interested with the subject or what was being said,* it had nothing to do with anything else, *it wasn't really a problem of age difference, race or even gender, we did quite, get along very well.*

4.3   Staff Interviews

I carried out interviews with key staff members within the case study institution to gauge what the institutional learning and teaching culture was with a view to evaluating whether this may influence the learning and teaching experiences of the student participants in the case study.

The interviews were semi-structured. The reasons for adopting this approach is explored in Chapter 3.

In 3.4.1 the method of interview is outlined briefly. The data was transcribed verbatim but as every interview contained personally identifiable content these are not included as appendices. Ethical approval was obtained from the REC as discussed in 3.2.4 and informed consent was obtained from all the interviewees (Appendix 5: Staff Participator Information Sheet and Consent Form) the

interview data is analysed in chapter 5, themes and concepts were extrapolated from the data using thematic analysis as explained in 3.4.1.

The staff who were interviewed were the:

1. VC,

2. Dean of the School of Social Sciences,

3. Head of the Institute of Learning and Teaching,

4. Head of Learning and Teaching Development (Policy and Practice) and,

5. Learning and Teaching Co-ordinator for the School of Social Sciences.

These are the job titles the individuals had at the time of interview and there has been significant institutional restructuring since then. It is also important to recognise that these are views expressed at a moment in time, before certain learning and teaching strategies were fully explored, so may not represent the current views of those individuals. The jobs are ordered from the most to the least senior as per the organisational flow-chart. It is obvious from some of the comments what the identity of the contributor is, and in the consent forms all staff agreed to waive confidentiality, however the quotes in Chapter 5 have only been attributed where it is necessary to do so.

One of the staff members interviewed is also the first supervisor for this study. A colleague with research expertise in race and education has therefore reviewed the interview data of this individual and confirmed that my analysis is a fair representation of their view.

As the interviews were semi-structured they did not all follow exactly the same format, but the same broad themes were covered. I asked each interviewee to describe their role and how their role related to what I did in my learning and teaching practice. I asked how their role impacted upon learning and teaching practice more broadly and how their role impacted upon learning and teaching policy. I asked how considerations of equality come into their role in the context of the previous and if they ensured considerations of equality were fed down to colleagues to inform their practice. I also asked, where appropriate, how they ensured considerations of equality were fed up to colleagues.

Chapter 5: Data analysis

5.1   Introduction

The three data sources (observations and student and staff interviews) were described in Chapter 4. The observation data is analysed below using thematic and content analysis at 5.2. The analysis of the data from the structured interviews with students and the interviews with staff follow at 5.3 and 5.4. This analysis is discussed in Chapter 6.

5.2   Analysis of the observation data

The themes and sub-themes that emerged from the observation data are shown, with indicative observations, in Table 5 below:

Theme	Sub-themes	Indicative observations
1. **Dominance was observed**	a. High level of participation	In discussions it was the male members of the group that were dominant, the most dominant being…
	b. Ignoring or interrupting others	On *every* occasion he interrupted her.
	c. Volunteering for opportunities	All 3 male students nominated themselves [for party leader], the female students did not
	d. Taking control	He took control of the scratch card…
2. **Subordination was observed**	a. Low level of participation	She joined in rarely whereas [name removed] did not contribute at all.
	b. Contribution is ignored, or interrupted	When she did speak she was interrupted, and he contradicted her, instead offering what he thought was the right answer.

Table 5: Themes in the Observation Data

The thematic analysis was completed by coding every action that was observed and recorded.   From these 6 sub-themes emerged (Table 5) and these were then grouped into two over-arching themes. The two over-arching themes emerged from the data as it was clear when coding that the themes recorded demonstrated either a relation of power or one of subordination, or in the context of being

ignored or interrupted, of being subordinated. Each participant's observed behaviours, having been coded, were then tallied against the sub-themes (Table 6). The percentage of the members of each group that have represented that behaviour on one or more occasion was then calculated. Given the relatively small number of participants in certain categories there are limitations to using percentages to analyse the data therefore the actual numbers are also represented in the analysis, for ease this is indicated by either (percentage) or (actual numbers) being included against the analysis of the data. Students could be counted in different sub-themes with some displaying both dominant and subordinate relations across the observed sessions.   Table 6 below shows where the observation data was coded within a sub-theme and which student this behaviour related to.

Each sub-theme, and the specific data related to it is discussed in turn after Table 6 and some general conclusions follow in 5.2.3.

Theme	Sub-themes	Race and gender (M = male / F = Female)							
		White		Mixed Race		Asian		Black	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1. Dominance was observed	Participation	1B, 1E, 2A, 4H, 6B, 7C, 8B, 9E.	2D, 3B, 3C, 5A, 5B, 6C, 7A, 8A, 8C, 9C.	1C.	4B, 6K, 9F.	3A, 6J, 9G.	1A, 4F, 4J.		2H, 8E.
	Tally	8/9	10/16	1/1	3/5	3/5	3/9	0/8	2/14
	Ignoring or interrupting others	1B, 4H, 8B, 9E.	6C, 9C.		6K.	3A, 4A, 6J, 6G.	4F.		
	Tally	4/9	2/16	0/1	1/5	4/5	1/9	0/8	0/14
	Volunteering for opportunities	1B, 1E		1C					
	Tally	2/9	0/16	1/1	0/4	0/5	0/9	0/8	0/14
	Taking control	2A, 4H, 8B.	2D, 3B, 3C, 5A, 7A, 8A, 9C.	1C.	6K, 9F.	6G.	2B, 4F.		8E.
	Tally	3/9	7/16	1/1	2/5	1/5	2/9	0/8	1/14

2. Subordination was observed	Disengagement	4H, 4K.	7G, 8D, 9D.			3A, 4A, 6A.	1A, 1D, 2C, 2B, 6A, 8H, 9J.	3E, 4G, 6F, 7D, 7F, 9B.	2F, 2G, 1F, 4E, 6D, 7B, 7E, 8F, 8G, 9H.
	Tally	2/9	3/16	0/1	0/5	3/5	7/9	6/8	10/14
	Contribution is ignored, or interrupted			1C.			1A.	7B.	1F, 4G, 6D.
	Tally	0/9	0/16	1/1	0/5	0/5	1/9	1/8	3/14

Table 6: Occurrence of Themes in Observation Data

Figures 7 and 8 below show how the data in the table above divides between the broad themes of dominance and subordination by gender and race. Percentages are used to allow comparability between the classifications and for certain categories, this does however distort the data to an extent and actual numbers are also used in Figures 9 and 10 to mitigate this.

One of the limitations of the data set is the comparatively low number of Asian students, and that there was only one mixed-race male student. Figure 7 however is helpful in giving a visible comparison between the effects of gender and race. The X-axis shows the percentage of students who I observed display the behaviour (i.e. participation or disengagement) on one or more occasion. What was counted in the observation data as an act of participation is described in 5.2.1.1 and what was counted as an act of disengagement is described in 5.2.2.1. The Y-axis in both Figures 7 and 8 shows the students by race and gender with 'White Male' on the left and 'Black Female' on the extreme right. The racial groups are 'paired' so that the male of each racial group is next to the female of that racial group.

For every racial group, except the black students, the male students had a marginally higher level of participation (Figure 7) and there is some relationship between maleness and the propensity to ignore others (Figure 8). The more obvious pattern however is between the students based on race, especially if the white students (left of the graphs) are compared to the black students (right of the graphs). In Figure 7 the orange line, which charts disengagement, rises from the white students to the black students whilst the blue line, which charts participation, declines along the Y-axis. A similar pattern is evident in Figure 8 where the orange line, which charts being ignored, rises along the Y-axis and the blue line, which charts ignoring or interrupting others, declines.
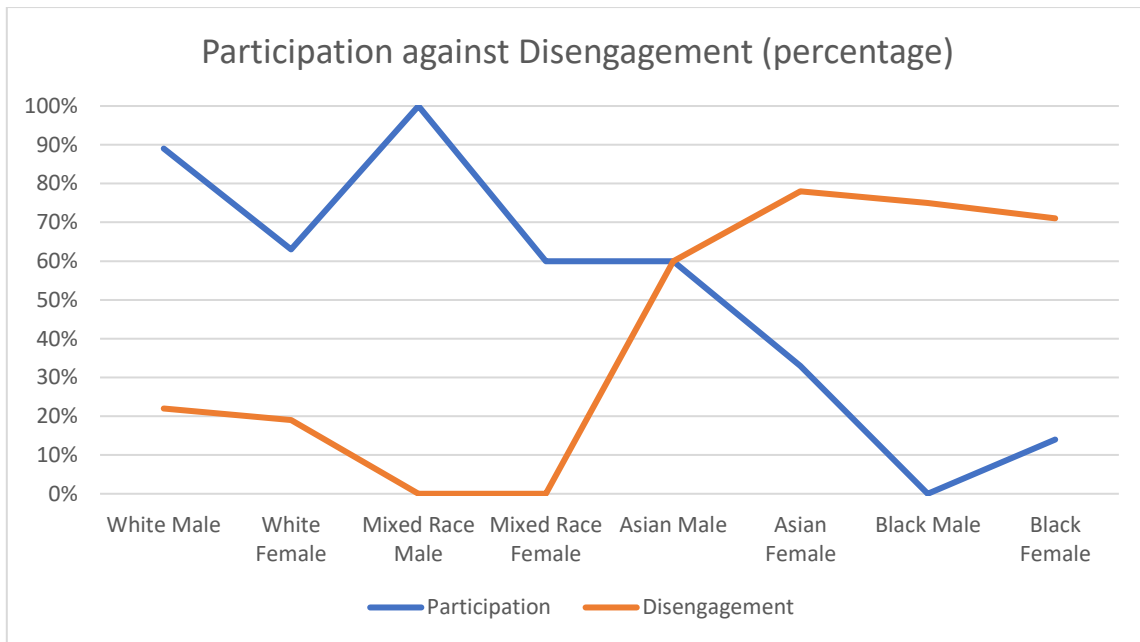
Figure 7: Participation against Disengagement (percentage)
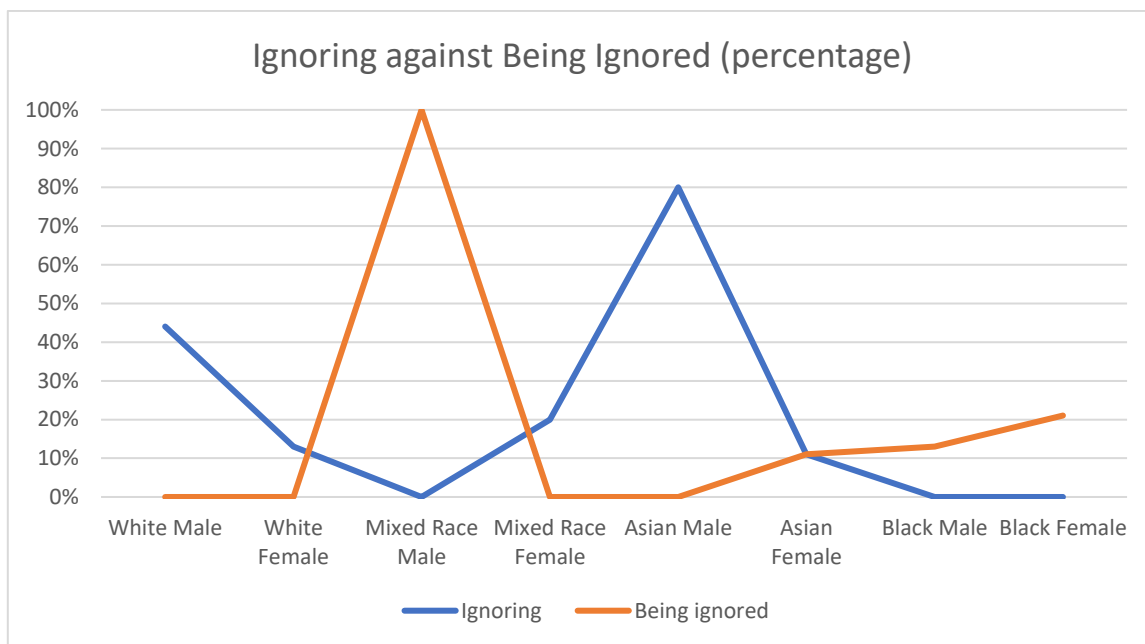
Figure 8: Ignoring against Being Ignored (percentage)

When the students are grouped together then the percentage data becomes more valuable and the gender disparity is clearer. There were 23 male and 44 female students in the case study and this is shown below in Figure 11.

The actual numbers also provide useful data when comparing white students with their black peers as there were similar numbers of each. There were 25 white students (nine male and 16 female) as

compared with 22 black students (eight male and 14 female) and the actual numbers are shown below in Figure 10.
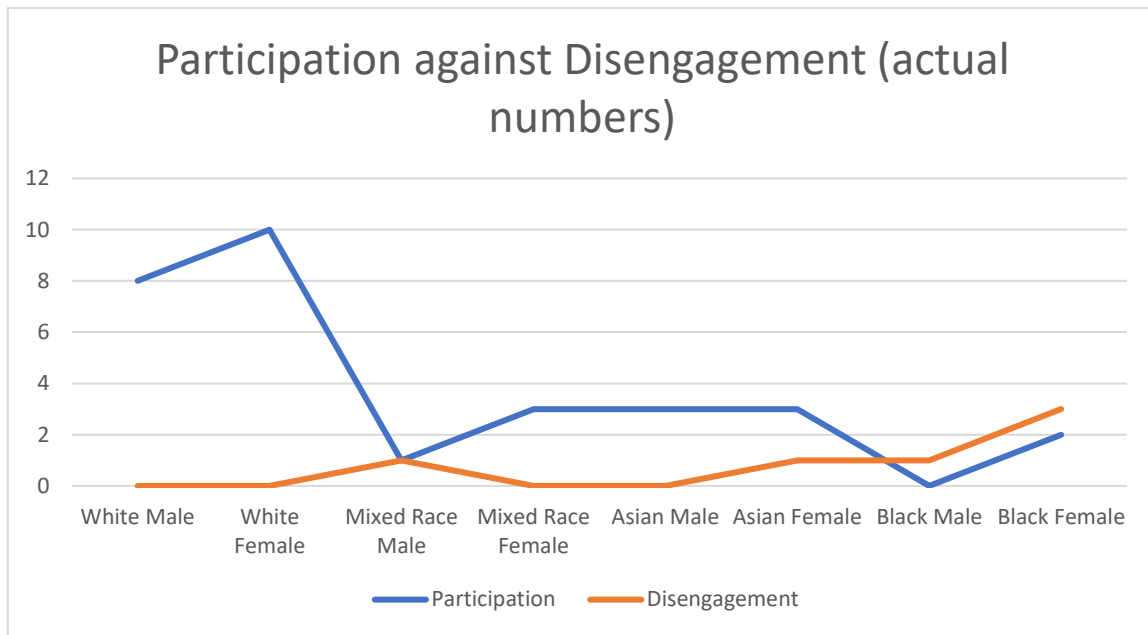
Figure 9: Participation against Disengagement (actual numbers)
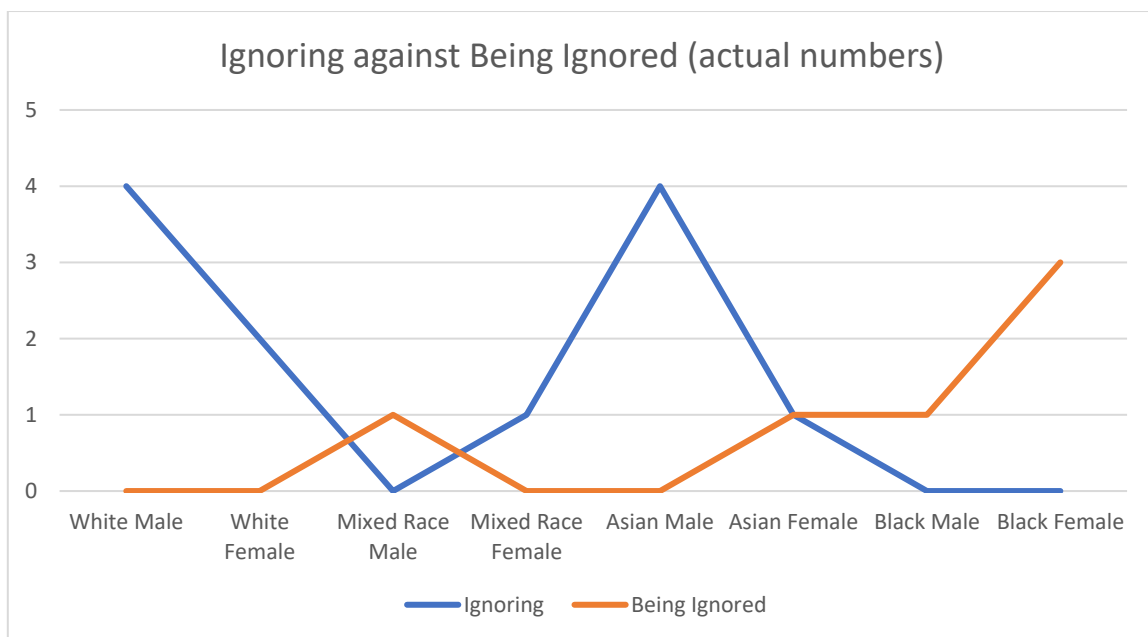
Figure 10: Ignoring against Being Ignored (actual numbers)

What this general data shows is that both gender and race correlate with participation and the relations of dominance and subordination within the case study. Whilst gender has an effect, race has a more noticeable effect and it appears that there is a strong relationship between whiteness and domination and an even stronger relationship between blackness and subordination.

5.2.1 Theme 1: Dominance

The first substantive theme that emerged from the observation data was dominance, this was a combination of the four sub-themes that emerged from the data. Figure 11 shows how these sub-themes correlated with gender. The Y-axis shows the percentage of students that were observed to display dominance on one or more occasions. The following can be noted in the context of the case study:

- Male students are more likely to be observed to have participated,
- Male students are much more likely to be observed ignoring or interrupting others,
- Female students did not volunteer for opportunities and,
- Female students are slightly more likely to take control.
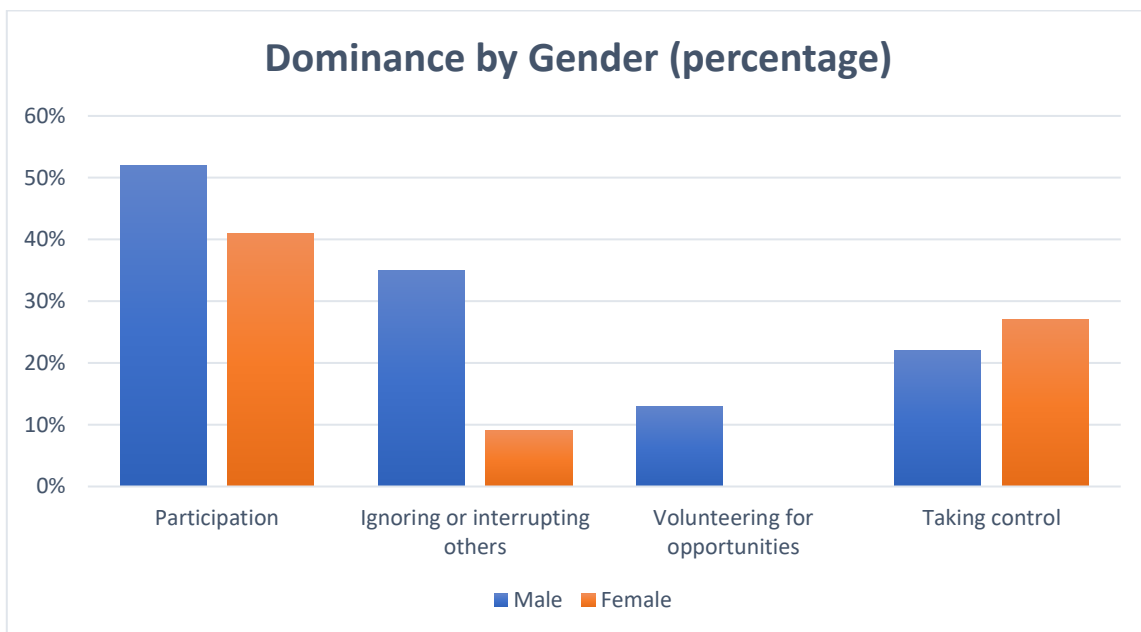
Figure 11: Dominance by Gender (percentage)

Overall there was a slight tendency for male students to dominant as compared with female students.

The next graph (Figure 12) illustrates how these sub-themes correlated with race and the pattern are much clearer than for gender. The following can be noted in the context of the case study:

- White students are much more likely to be observed to participate when compared with black students,
- There were no instances where black students were observed to have ignored or interrupted others,

- There were no instances where black or Asian students were observed volunteering for opportunities and,
- White students are much more likely to be observed to be taking control when compared with black students.
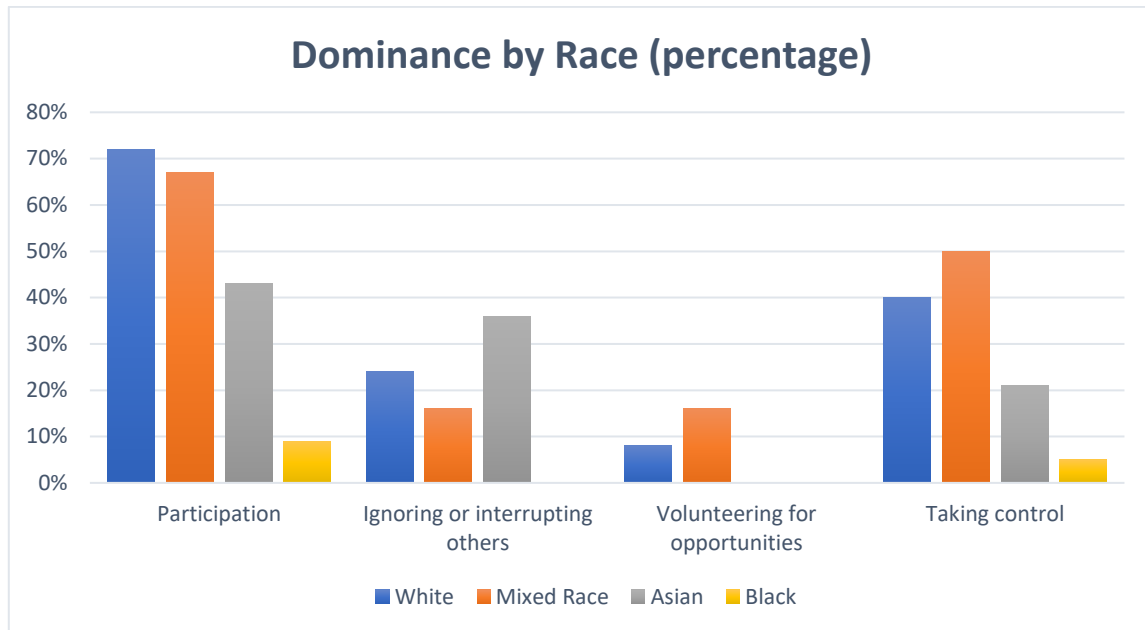
Figure 12: Dominance by Race (percentage)

The contrast is more apparent when the numbers for non-white students are aggregated and compared with white students as Figure 13 shows. This shows that:

- White students are more likely to dominant in every area that was observed,
- White students were more than twice as likely to participate than non-white students (72% compared with 30%),
- Nearly 10% more white students interrupted or ignored others than non-white students (24% compared to 15%),
- White students where more than twice as likely to take control than non-white students (40% compared to 18%).
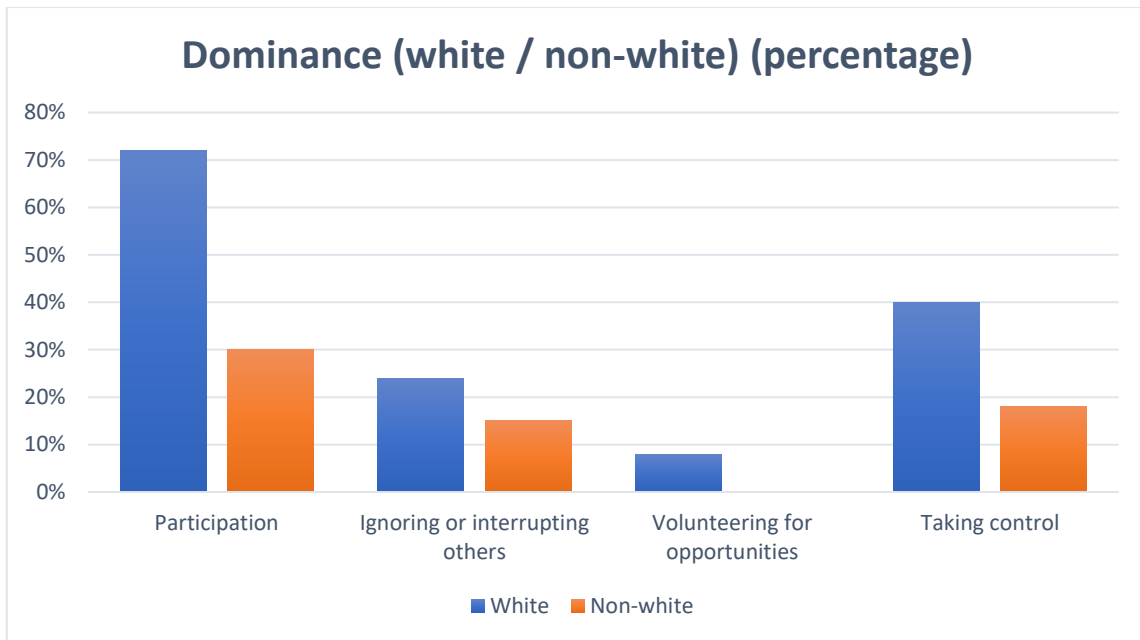
Figure 13: Dominance (white / non-white) (percentage)

As the data indicates a strong difference between white and black students and, as noted above, the actual numbers for these two groups are similar the below graph (Figure 14) is also illustrative of the relationship between dominance and race.
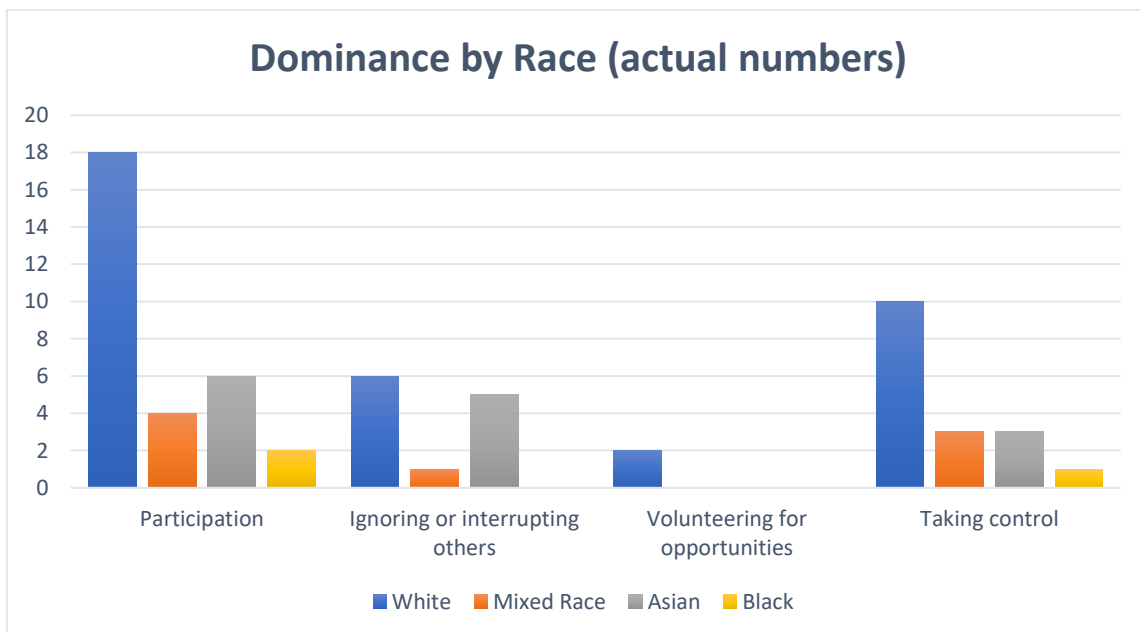
Figure 14: Dominance by Race (actual numbers)

Each of the sub-themes of theme one is now analysed in turn.

Participation in this study refers to participation in group or team based learning activities. Students who were observed to be doing things such as taking notes were not counted as having participated as they were participating in an individual learning activity. Students who asked questions, offered answers etc… were counted as having participated because they had participated in the group or team based activity. Figure 15 shows participation by both race and gender. The X-axis shows the percentage of students from each subset i.e. white male that were observed to have participated in team or group based learning activities on one or more occasion.
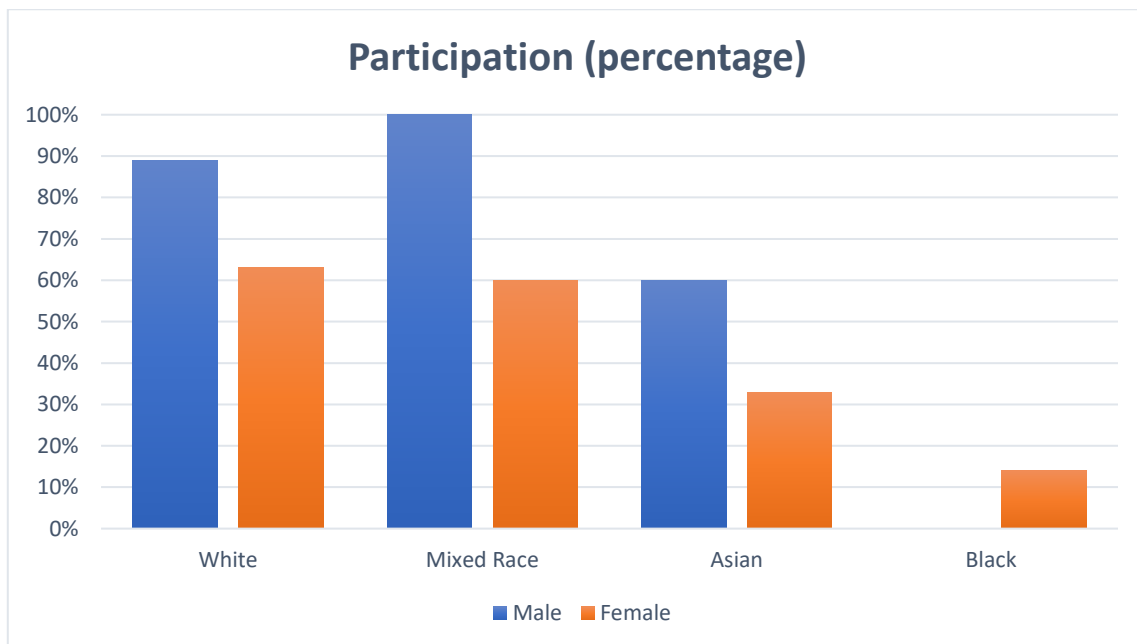
Figure 15: Participation (percentage)

The column for mixed race students is not especially useful in Figure 15 when expressed as a percentage as it represents such a small number of students. This column is therefore excluded in Figure 16.
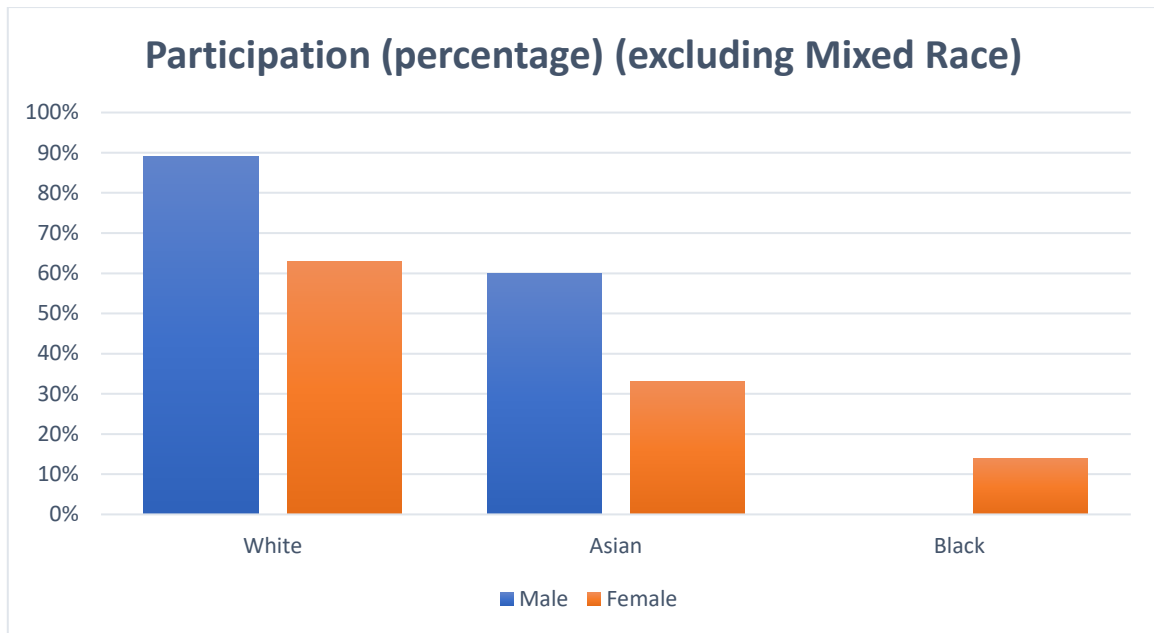
Figure 16: Participation (percentage) (excluding Mixed Race)

Figure 16 clearly illustrates that gender influences participation. This relationship is affected by race with black women more likely to be observed to participate than black men, the opposite to both white and Asian women. There is also a very clear relationship between the observation of participation and race, for example eight (89%) of the white male students were observed to have participated whereas this trait was not observed in any black males. The reasons for this may become more evident in the interview data and are discussed later, however being ignored or interrupted is a micro-exclusion and may be a driver of dis-engagement and this is examined in the next sub-theme.

5.2.1.2 Ignoring or interrupting others

A student was counted as having ignored another where they moved the group or team based learning activity on without acknowledging the contribution. The student who had made the contribution was also counted as having been ignored. A student was counted as having interrupted another when they made a contribution whilst another student was participating and this stopped the other student from making their contribution. The student who was interrupted was counted as having been interrupted. The numbers of single occasions of ignoring and interrupting behaviours however are not displayed in Figures 17 and 26 as these Figures show how many students ignored or interrupted someone, or were ignored or interrupted, on one or more occasion. The analysis is focused on determining which students displayed which traits not in counting the number of times the behaviours occurred.

140

Ignoring or Interrupting Others (actual numbers)
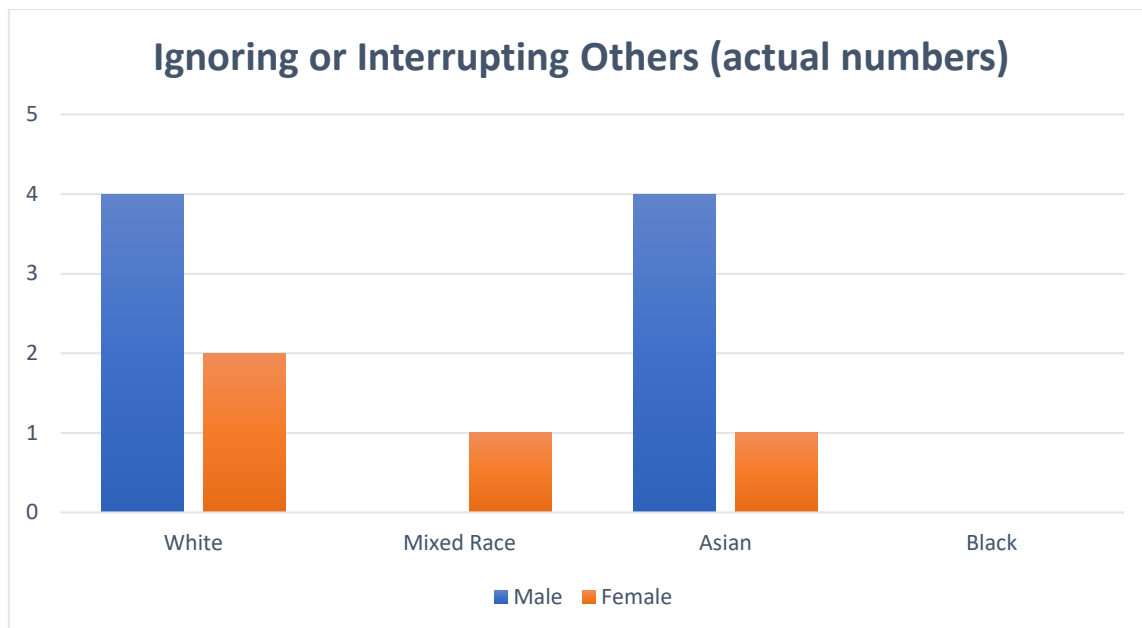
Figure 17: Ignoring or Interrupting Others (actual numbers)

Figure 17 illustrates that being observed to ignore or interrupt others clearly correlates with gender, with females markedly less likely to be observed displaying this behaviour. It is also stark how this correlates with race, and in particular with blackness. Whilst in all other racial groups some tendency to ignore or interrupt other students was observed, no black students were observed to display this behaviour during the entire case study. As is discussed below black students are also much more likely to be ignored or interrupted by others than any other racial group.

5.2.1.3 Volunteering for opportunities

Volunteering for opportunities was counted when a student put themselves forward for a role such as party leader or to the spokesperson for their party in one of the debates.
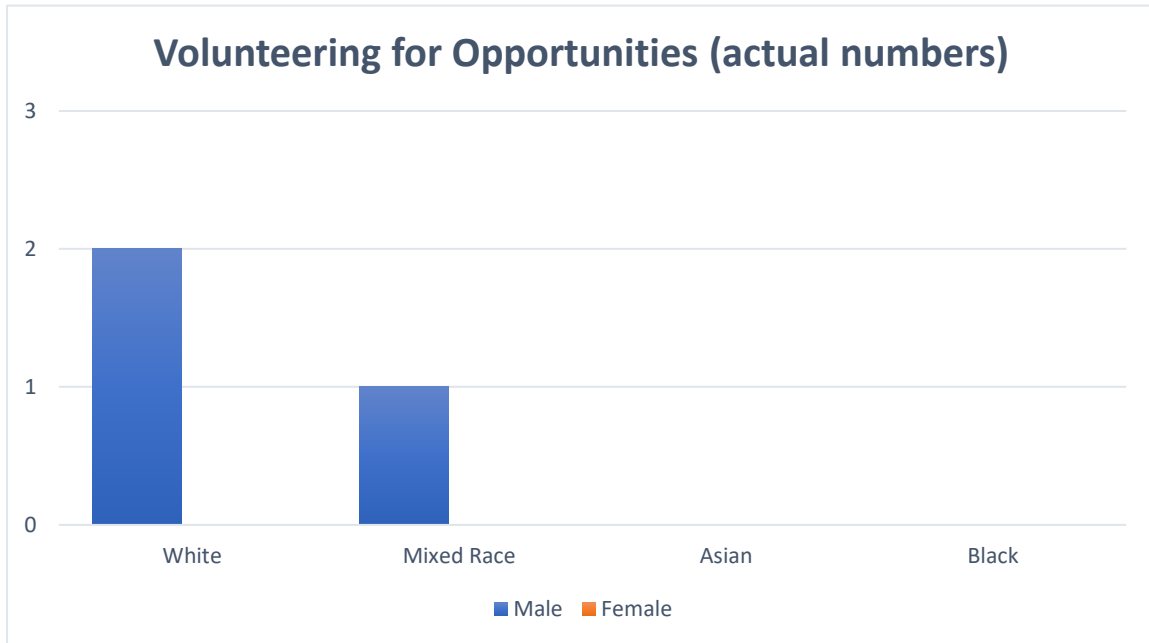
Figure 18: Volunteering for Opportunities (actual numbers)

Volunteering for opportunities was noted as a theme arising from the observations of the team Next Generation. This theme was included because although it was only observed on one occasion I noticed that it was very apparent that certain members of the team felt that they deserved recognition and that others felt this too. This is also a topic that is discussed in the student interviews. This qualitative data is important, however considering the low numbers it is not sensible to draw any conclusions from the quantitative data which is shown in Figure 18.

5.2.1.4 Taking Control

Taking control here is used to define those observed instances when an individual student took physical control of one of the tools of TBL, for example the scratch card used in t-RATS or the menu holder used for simultaneous reporting exercises. There is a clear relationship between both gender and race when taking control was observed. Female students take control more often in every racial group except for Asians. There is also a strong relationship between race and taking control, with white students much more likely to take control than any other racial group and black students the least likely to take control. Figure 20 shows the data for race without segregating by gender.
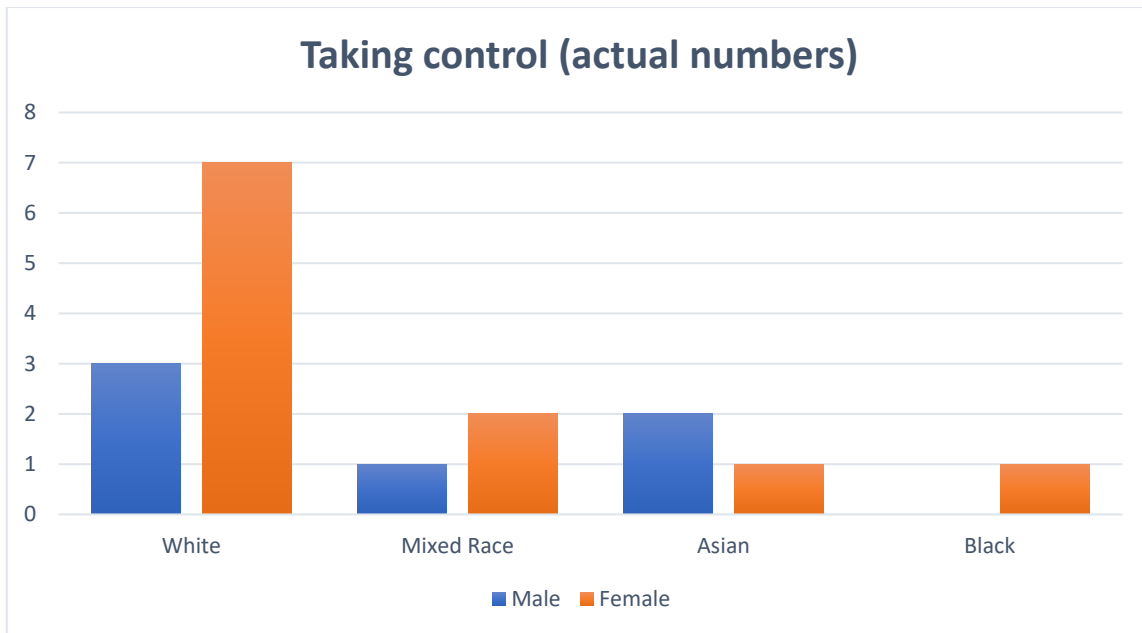
Figure 19: Taking Control (actual numbers)
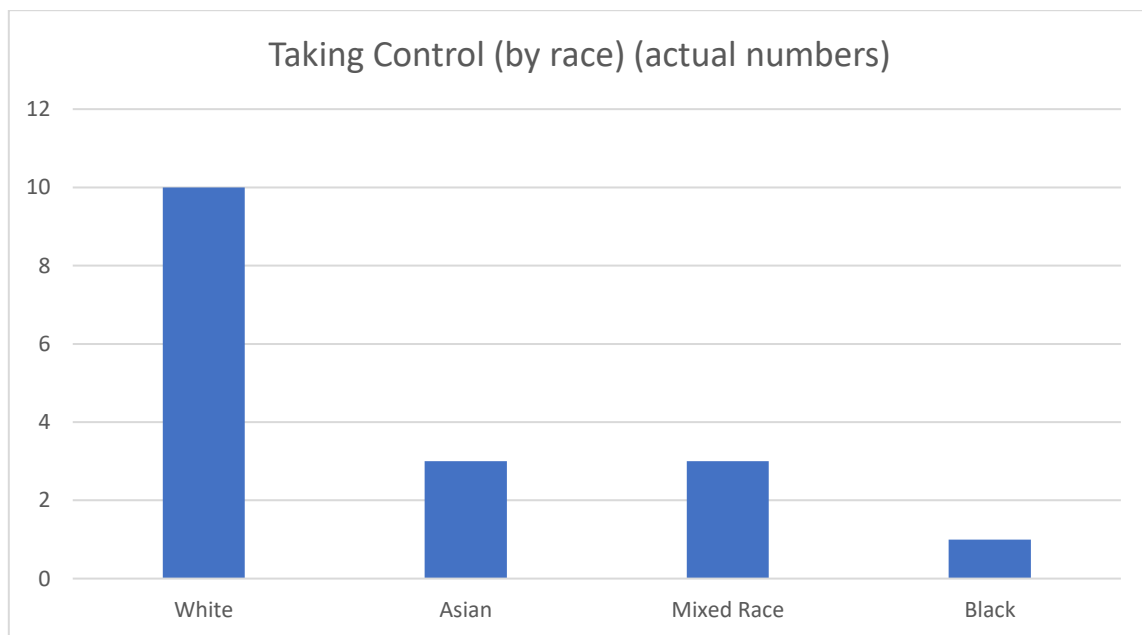
Figure 20: Taking Control (by race) (actual numbers)

The numbers of Asian and mixed-race students makes comparison difficult but as there were similar numbers of white and black students meaningful comparisons can be drawn there. White students took control ten times more often than their black peers.

5.2.2   Theme 2: Subordination

Figure 21 demonstrates that in relation to theme two there was no appreciable difference between the observation data as it related to gender. The graph gives the percentages for reasons of comparison.
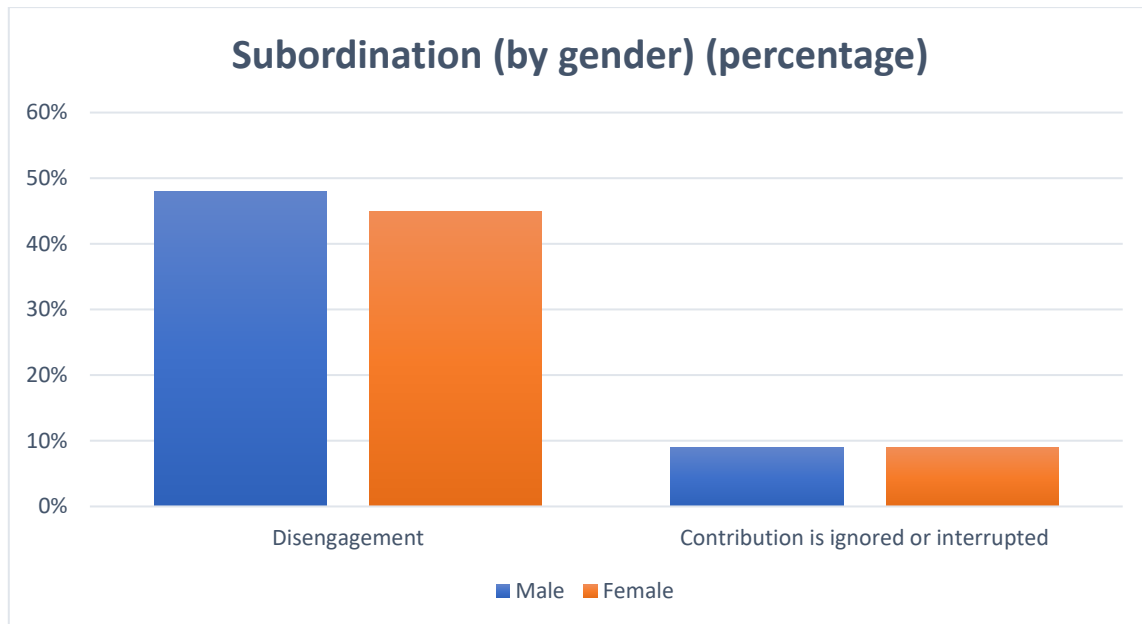
Figure 21: Subordination (by gender) (percentage)

Figure 22 however shows that there is relationship between race and observations of subordination. This graph shows the numbers of students and, despite white students being the most populous group, the numbers for both sub-themes are very low for white students and noticeably higher for mixed race, Asian and black students. It is also worth noting that the numbers of mixed race and Asian students were very small in contrast to the numbers of white and black students.

Subordination (by race) (actual numbers)
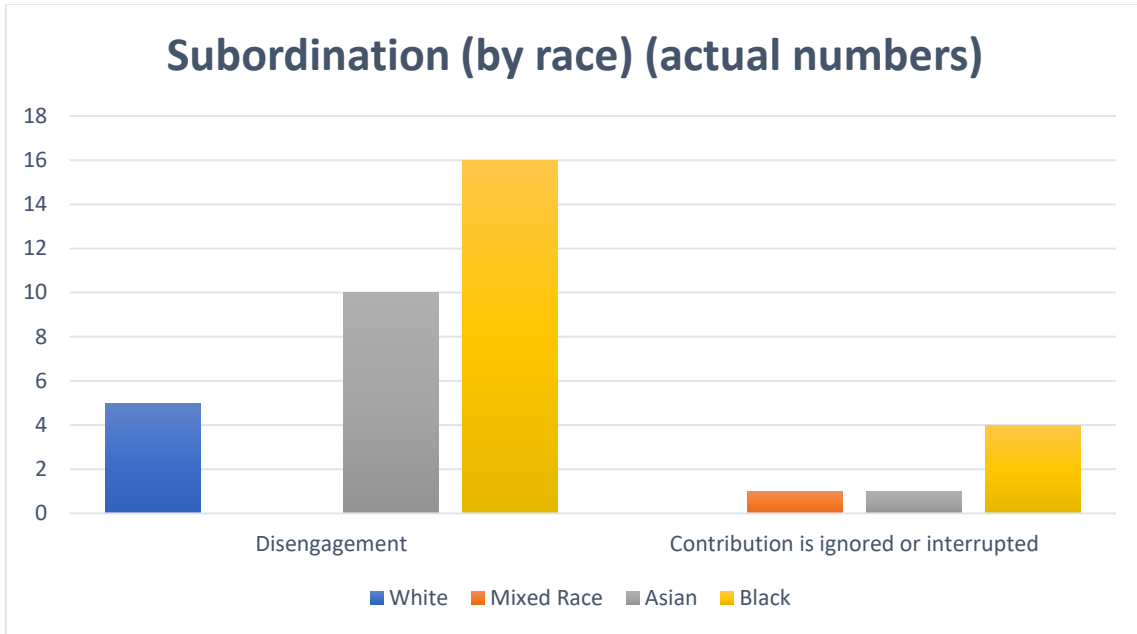
Figure 22: Subordination (by race) (actual numbers)

Figure 23 shows the percentages of white to non-white students to highlight this disparity. Non-white students are those that would be categorised as BME or BAME in many datasets and includes mixed race, Asian and black students. Percentages are used to highlight the disparity as the conflated datasets are large enough to justify analysing the data in this way.

Subordination (white / non-white) (percentage)
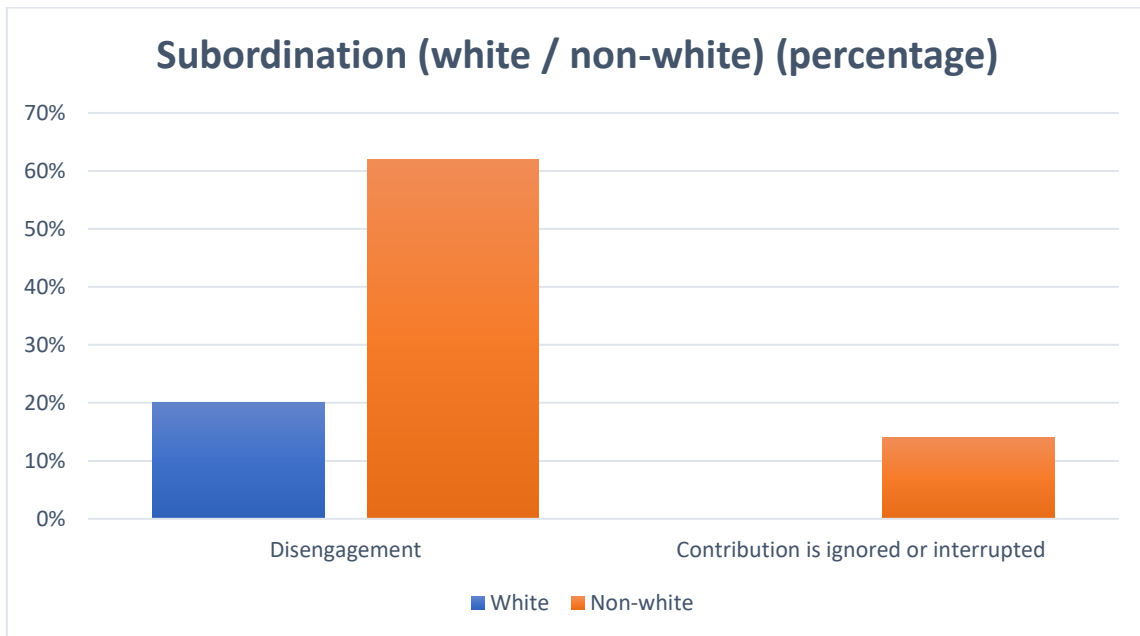
Figure 23: Subordination (white / non-white) (percentage)

5.2.2.1 Disengagement

Disengagement was counted when a student actively did something unrelated to the group or team based learning activity or actively withdrew from the activity. This is different from non-engagement which may be passive and included activities such as moving ones chair away from the group, doing something unrelated to learning on a mobile phone or laptop such as playing a game or checking social media, or having a conversation with a peer about something completely unrelated to the activity. Disengagement was observed in 62% of all students, rising to 72% of Asian and black students. The same behaviours were observed in only 20% of white students, this is illustrated below in Figure 24.
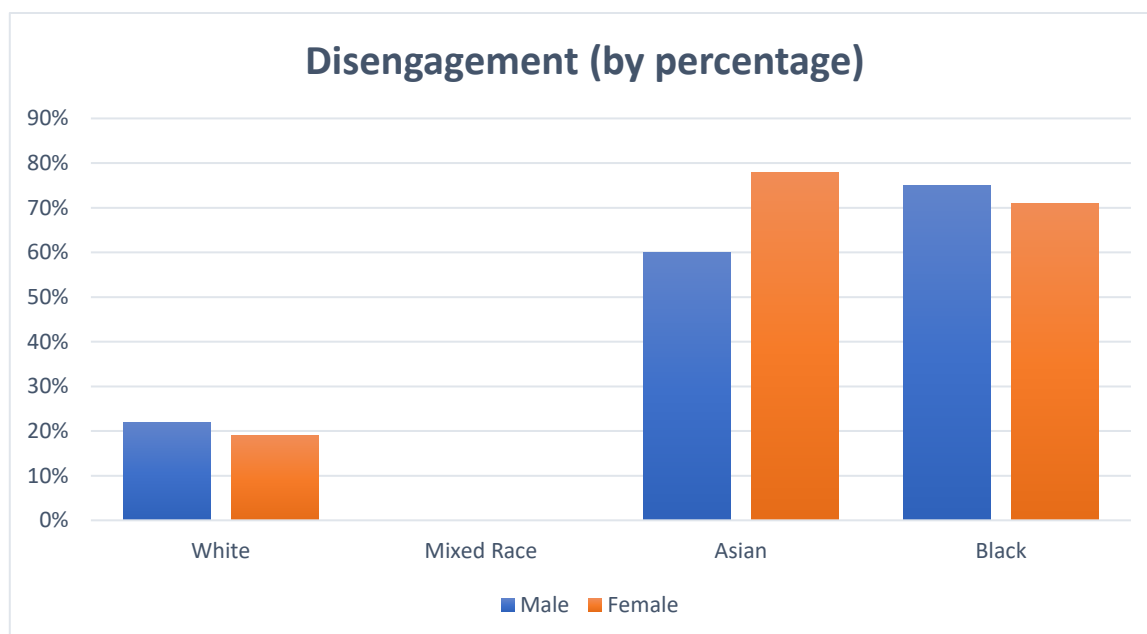
Figure 24: Disengagement (percentages)

There are limitations to presenting the levels of disengagement as a percentage, because of the comparatively low numbers of mixed race and Asian students. Figure 25 shows the data by actual numbers of students. There are a similar number of white and black students although black students are much more likely to disengage than white students. Asian students are also more likely to disengage than white students, by actual numbers, despite there being far fewer of them.
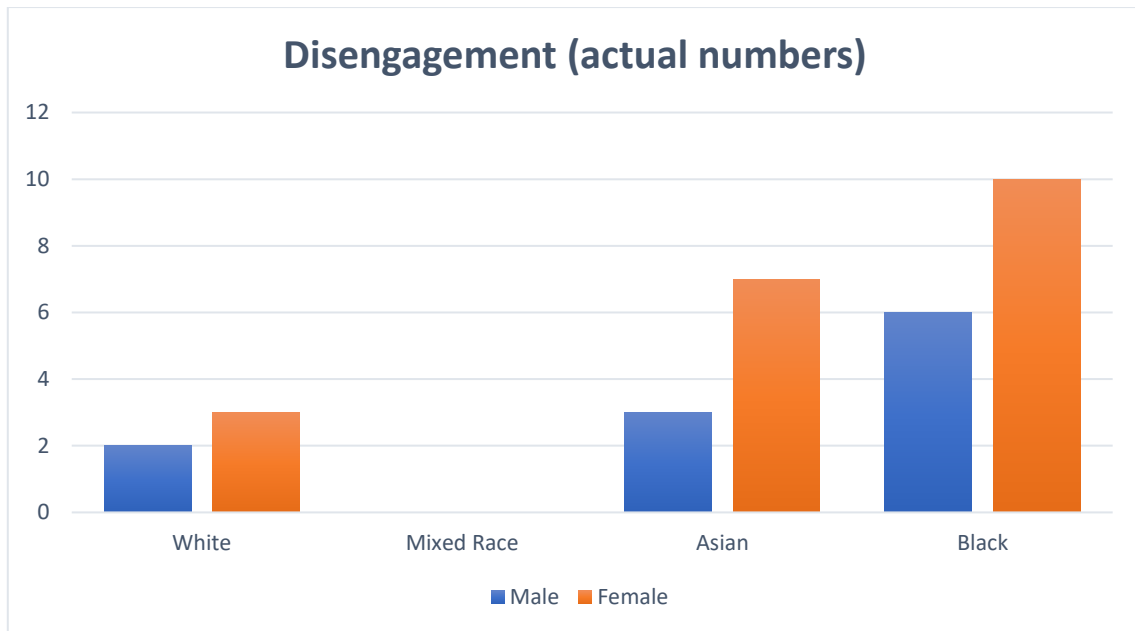
Figure 25: Disengagement (actual numbers)

The possible reasons for disengagement are discussed later in the study but there may be a relationship between being ignored or interrupted and a lower level of participation.

5.2.2.2 Contribution being ignored, or being interrupted

How this behaviour was counted in the observation data is discussed in 5.2.1.2. It was noted above that the majority of those students who were observed ignoring or interrupting another student were white. The below graph highlights that during the case study that I never observed a single white student being ignored or interrupted. This contrasts with the 71% of black female students who were observed being ignored or interrupted on one or more occasions during the case study.

147
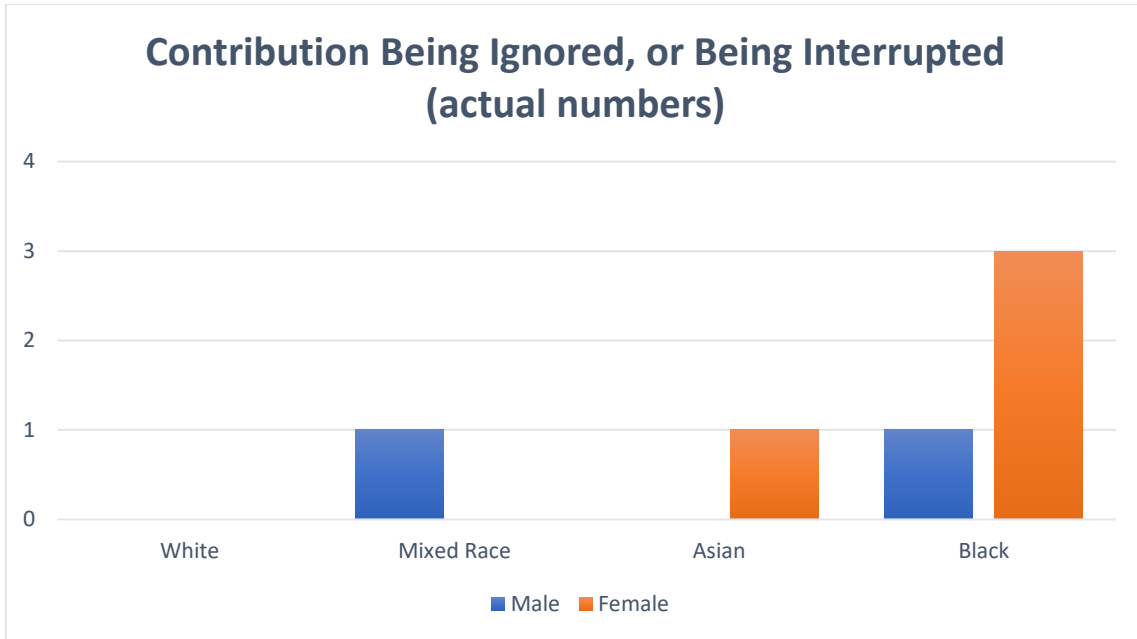
Figure 26: Contribution Being Ignored, or Being Interrupted (actual numbers)

Figure 27 maps ignoring or interrupting against the data on being ignored or interrupted by race.
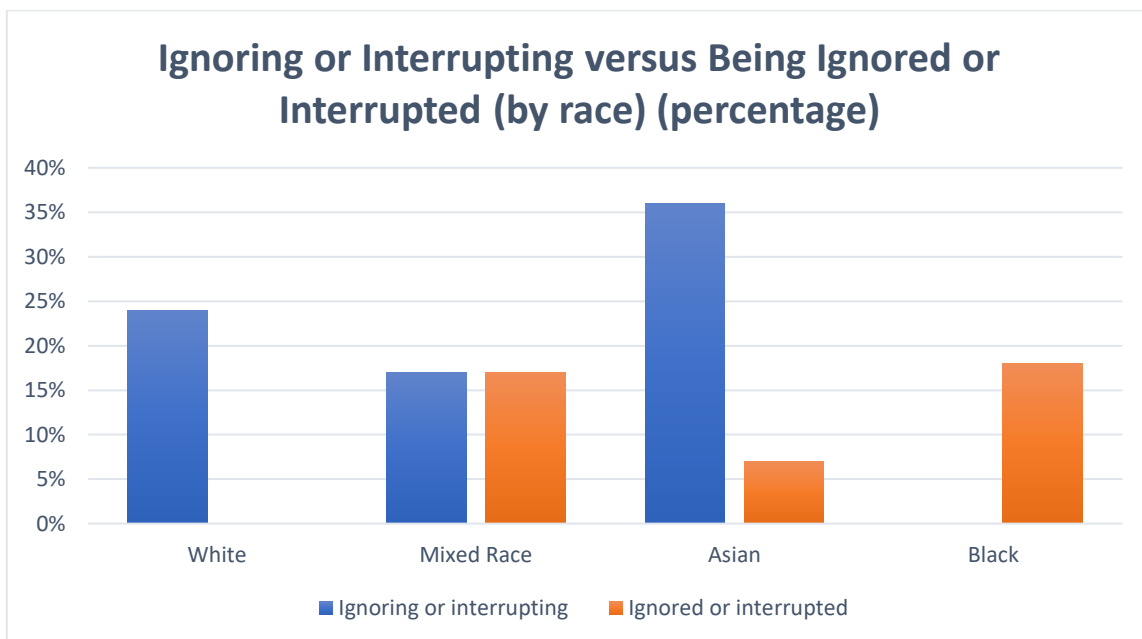
Figure 27: Ignoring or Interrupting versus Being Ignored or Interrupted (by race) (percentage)

The data, when represented as a percentage, is limited when considering mixed race and Asian students because of the comparatively low numbers however the comparison between white and black students is dramatic. No white students were ever observed being ignored or interrupted and no black students were observed to have ignored or interrupted another student, yet nearly a quarter of white students were observed to have ignored or interrupted another student on at least

one occasion and 18% of black students were observed to have been ignored or interrupted on at least one occasion.

5.2.3   Conclusions on observation data

The above themes relate to individuals' behaviours within the classes observed.   There is clearly some relationship between gender and dominance with male students statistically more likely to be observed interrupting others whilst female students are more likely to take control.   However, on every sub-theme of domination race was very clearly correlated in favour of whiteness and against blackness.   The corollary was true in the data relating to subordination.   These stark conclusions were also reflected in the discussion notes made about the functioning of the teams (Table 7), as opposed to the individuals within them.   These notes were made by me when reflecting on the observations after I had collected the observation data.   These observations are organised by teams on the next page.

Team	Observation
Next Generation	Contributions in this team tend to come mostly from the white students. The Asian [1C] male tends to listen to the discussions and reasoning and white female students make the decisions in terms of providing the answer.
Laissez-Faire	White female [2D] and white male [2A] tend to take charge and doing most of the talking. The white male always takes the role of asking the other students opinions and the white female makes the final decision in terms of which answer the team goes for. Throughout the Asian female says nothing and other team members do not really engage with her.
Your Party	What is apparent from this observation data is that the Asian male [3A] took a very subordinate role within the group throughout and that dominance and subordination within this group tightly correlated to race.
Socialist Party	This is generally quite a diverse group, I recorded that when white male students were present they tended to dominate, and it was generally the case that any black male students were much less engaged.

R LAW IS	The homogeneity of colour and gender in this team is unique across the nine groups as is my perception of equality in terms of dominance and subordination.
Consensus	Although the dynamics of dominance and subordination in this group are much more gendered than racialised it is apparent that race takes on an important position when blackness is introduced.
Fair For All	This group had low attendance although there was one white female [7A] with good attendance who tended to take charge. I noted that "she is definitely in control".
Citizens' Party	Although there was participation from students of different racial backgrounds it was predominantly white students who participated, with limited BAME participation, and [8B, white male] taking the most dominant role. It is clear that when there is no racial diversity in this team that the group functions in a much more egalitarian way.
Correspondence	This was a diverse group and the the white students took control of the discussion, with the black students only joining in when asked a direct question.

Table 7: Observation Notes on Teams

These reflections show that although I had expected gender to be a key driver of dominance this was not the most significant driver and race was much more apparent than I had expected. These team observations are consistent with the data in relation to the observations made of individual students as presented above. With such clear relationship between race and engagement this study will now analyse the interview data to see how the students perceived the functioning of their teams and whether they felt that gender or race were contributing factors.

5.3 Thematic Analysis of student interview data

The themes and sub-themes that emerged from the student interviews are shown, with indicative quotes, in Table 8.

Theme	Sub-themes	Indicative quotes
Behaviour	a. Dominant / subordinate behaviour in the interview	N/A
Self-identity	b. Positive self-image / high self-confidence	*"…people who don't know as much as I do…"* (Mature white male)
	c. Negative self-image / low self-confidence	*"I don't know enough information … I just feel like I don't know as much as other people know."* (Asian female)
	d. Presents a situation or imposition as a choice	*"So I feel like the role I take more of a back role 'cause I don't know as much so I can't share as much as they can".* (Asian female)
Identity of 'others'	a. Positive views of others knowledge and/or abilities	*"Well there's two candidates in our team that are quite, they understand a lot".* (Asian female talking about two white males)
	b. Views of team work in TBL	*"Sometimes you can learn more from your peers than you can from the tutor."* (White male)
	c. Viewing others as lazy or otherwise at fault	*"The members who are, you know, less, are quiet, they usually rely on those who talk and seem to know more, to give proper answers for themselves and I think this is certainly not a good thing."* (White male)
Colour-blind or gender-blind	a. Belief in a meritocracy	*"No, to be honest, it's just about knowledge, who's got the most knowledge and they speak out…"* (Asian female)
	b. Belief in a democracy	*"usually when the answer is clear most of us have the same answer and we realise it so we just tick the answer most of us have given."* (White male)

Table 8: Themes in Student Interviews

5.3.1 Behaviour

5.3.1.1 Dominant / subordinate behaviour in the interview

The main behaviour that betrayed self-perception that was evident in the interviews was how assured some of the interviewees were in sharing their views, for example, 1Bi's (white male) interview in which only 18 lines spoken by the interviewer elicited 218 lines of response. 1Ci's (mixed race male) responses totalled 136 lines, and the interviewer spent three times as long, 35 lines, in eliciting these responses. This contrasts with 1Ai (Asian female); in her interview there are 144 lines of response to 79 lines spoken by the interviewer, 27 of her responses were one-word answers. 1Bi took control of the interview, choosing to explain in detail to the interviewer his experiences of a module on creative writing that he's studying, as a Joint Honours student and, whilst this is interesting, it is not relevant to the discussion. What is interesting is how comfortable 1Bi is in pursuing his own agenda irrespective of the aims of the interviewer. This pattern of white, male students, being more effusive than non-white, female students continues throughout the data.

Figure 28: Interview Ratios by Race and Gender, below, shows the ratio of responses to questions by number of lines by race and gender. For example, 1Bi has a ratio of 218 lines of responses to 18 lines of questioning, quantified as an average of 12.1 lines of response to every line of questioning or a ratio of 12:1, expressed as 12 on the graph. 1Ai has a ratio of 1.8:1, expressed as 1.8, and 1Ci 3.9:1, expressed as 3.9. Whilst this is a crude measure of dominant behaviour however it correlates with the observation data, presented above in 5.2.

There were an equal number of male and female respondents however there are limitations in the data on race. Of the males four were white, two mixed race, one Asian and one black. The female participants had a similar make up with four being white, two Asian, one mixed race and, one black. It is therefore necessary to group together the non-white participants as one homogenous group.
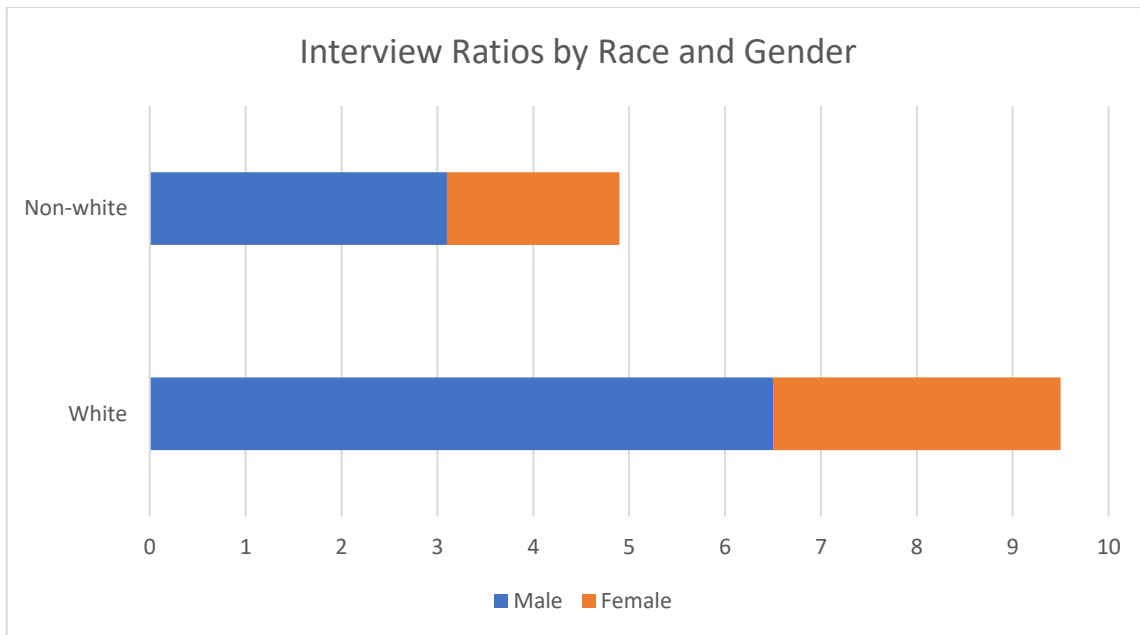
Figure 28: Interview Ratios by Race and Gender

Figure 28 shows that there is a very clear distinction to be drawn both on grounds of gender and race in favour of whiteness and maleness. White males are on average over five times more dominant than non-white females.

Given the relatively low numbers this data alone demonstrates little but read with the observation data there is a clear pattern of some male dominance and a very clear pattern of black subordination, with black students consistently being subordinate.

The interview data from here-on looks at how the students themselves narrated their learning experiences and whether they saw any of the differences in relation to race and gender that the observation data and this data demonstrates.

5.3.2   Self-identity

5.3.2.1 Positive self-image / high self-confidence

Generally, students were reluctant to explicitly demonstrate a positive self-image in the interviews, although 1Bi (white male) gives one of the clearest examples when he states:

…people who don't know as much as I do…

5Ai (white female) was the only other interviewee to have a response coded in this theme, when asked about her role in the team she stated:

> *I'd say I'm a leader.*

This certainly allies with the role she was observed taking in the team. Leadership, as a sub-theme, emerged in both 5Ai's (white female) interview and in the interview of 9Bi (black male). Observations referring to the election of leaders were also made where all 3 of the white males within a team put themselves forward for selection as 'party leader'. In his interview 9Bi (black male) identifies that he would have liked to have taken on a leadership role within the team but did not because he wanted time to build up to it:

> *I would have liked to say I was a leader but it takes a longer time for me to want to build up to that role…*

He later describes how his role developed throughout the module and how he took on more and more responsibility:

> *I felt I became more of an active member of the team doing a lot of the speaking and other leadership roles in that as well…*

Whilst 1Bi (white male) and 5Ai (white female) were observed immediately adopting a leadership role, and report doing so because of their confidence in their own abilities, 9Bi (black male) shares his desire to take a leadership role but lacks the self-confidence, at least initially, to assume this role. High self-confidence seems to be a key driver of not taking on a leadership role.

5.3.2.2 Negative self-image / low self-confidence

The 'shape' of the text in the interview transcriptions has been discussed above but it is noteworthy that even in this one-to-one environment, where experiences rather than academic material are discussed, some students were more reluctant to share their experiences and this, as seen above, strongly correlates to both gender and race. 1Ai's (Asian female) interview is discussed as an exemplar above and her interview contains a lot of description in her early answers and it seems that she does not feel that her perceptions or opinions have much value.

1Ai (Asian female) blames herself for her subordination accepting the disempowerment imposed on her because of a belief based on a lack of self-confidence in her academic abilities which may, in part, be rooted in the lack of recognition her opinions are given. She is one of the students who was observed being interrupted and ignored. This lack of self-belief is demonstrated when towards the end of the interview she says:

> *I just feel like I don't know as much as other people know.*

She however expresses a strong desire to be involved in activities, similarly to 9Bi (black male) above, but accepts exclusion on the basis of an opinion she clearly holds that her contribution is less valuable:

> *So yeah, just like, I kind of just want to participate and get stuck in really with what we're doing' cause it is quite fun so, and I do enjoy like what we're doing and stuff 'cause it's quite cool. I know it's quite like small and 'cause you watch like, 'cause of the general election that's coming up, like that you watch on the news, it's quite exciting for, like you know, Prime Minister's Questions, you just, it's so intriguing and then then to know that we're doing a similar thing but on like an amateur sort of, like you know, a stage, it's just nice, I think anyway.*

4Ai (mixed race male) was observed as being reasonably confident, although he did not dominate in the way others did. He does, however, express concern that he had taken over and perhaps should have taken more of a 'back seat', and when asked about his role he answered:

> *I can say that I was the one who did ask for everyone else opinion first. I won't be seen as the leader of the group but could be interpreted in this way…*

He did not perceive that anyone had dominated, except perhaps himself and when asked directly:

> *In terms of the, again thinking about the group dynamics, are there any members who perhaps take a more dominant role than other members?*

He answered:

> *Well in our group it was pretty, everyone much was pretty on the same level, but myself personally I might have taken, I might have taken a step forward…*

4Ai (mixed race male) seems to have perceived that he has overstepped some boundary, stepping outside of an acceptable norm.   espite the observation data showing that he took a passive role he described his own position as *'taking a step forward'*, perhaps because he had exceeded the boundaries of the working identity of a non-white student which is discussed in Chapter 6.

6Bi (white male) gives a short interview in which he describes how he is a mature student coming back to study and compares himself with other students who have not taken a study break. He is very quick to equate his lack of recent educational experience and knowledge to explain dominance and subordination within the team:

I find that I get impressed very quickly by someone who knows, who can run with something and know exactly what to do. So sometimes I try and take a back seat and let someone else lead.

5.3.2.3 Presents a situation or imposition as a choice

A number of students described situations that appear as impositions in the observation data through the lens of personal choice. For example, when asked to explain her role in the group 1Ai (Asian female) explains that she takes a less active role in the language of personal choice, despite it being observed that her views were ignored or dismissed by others. She justifies this through a narrative of self-blame based on her perception about the value of her own opinions:

I feel like the role I take is because I take a slightly back role, like' cause there's other people that are, like as I said before, like more vocal and they have a lot more insight into like, you know, Public Law. So I feel like I take more of a back role 'cause I don't know as much so I can't share as much as they can…

1Ci (mixed race male) also represents the imposition by 1B (white male) as a team choice and his own exclusion as a conscious choice. When he was asked how the team chose members to take part in activities like the leadership debate 1Ci (mixed race male) reports that for the first activity 1B (white male) put himself forward and for the second he was volunteered:

once [1B] *volunteered, he said himself he's going to do it, the second time there was no one else to do it so we ask him again…*

The observation data clearly shows that 1B (white male) was observed to have imposed himself, rather than being chosen by the group. 1Ci (mixed race male) further explains that he did not want to volunteer because:

I just forget things so it's lack of confidence.

Dominance is also expressed as the 'way things are' rather than the consequences of a choice to act that way. For example, 4Bi (mixed race female) explains her dominance because she is:

… just a dominant person…

and 2Ai (white male) described his *'avuncular'* role as one he had taken on with reluctance. When the interviewer asked him to elucidate on why he felt he had ended up in this role he stated:

156

I don't like to be the, you know, the older man who jumps in and talks over everybody else, apart from when I was speaking over [student's name removed] *in the lecture, in the speech, I'm very much a, I'll just try and sit back, let younger people, a bit less confident talk first, but then if nobody knows I will raise me hand and try and answer the question and I think then it comes then, it sort of gets where people can look to you.*

2Ai's (white male) perceptions and frustrations are illuminating as there is a slight disconnect between the observation data and his own perceptions. Compared with the observation data, which notes no reluctance, he downplays his role in asserting his position of dominance.

Although not framing dominance entirely as choice other students minimised their dominance, for example 6Ai's (Asian female) perception was that:

… if we're doing like a scratch thing then I'm the one who's scratching it, like it's just the little, it's like the little odd jobs around kind of thing, yeah.

5.3.3   Identity of 'others'

5.3.3.1 Positive views of others knowledge and/or abilities

Generally, where the interviewees expressed a view about a team member who had displayed dominant relations they correlated dominance with knowledge or expertise. Similarly, as discussed later, subservience was correlated by most interviewees with laziness, stupidity or, unpreparedness. When 1Ai (Asian female) is asked about the TBL exercises she unquestioningly relates dominance to expertise, despite the fact that the observations outlined in the previous chapter demonstrate that the dominant members sometimes got it wrong and the team suffered because the views of the less dominant members were not respected. She says of 1B and 1E (both white males):

Well there's two candidates in our like team that are quite, they understand a lot…

Later she, again, conflates confidence in expressing an opinion with knowledge, saying:

And [1B (white male)], *like he's comfortable with public speaking, whereas I, like I don't know enough information, like I don't mind, you know, like doing public speaking and whatever but I don't know enough information…*

2Ai (white male) also has an interesting perception of others' roles. In his interview 2Ai identifies students he would like to work with, highlighting those students who in his experience are motivated and able:

whereas I think if I was in a team of my own choosing, with people like [5A (white female)], [1C (mixed race male)] *and* [1B (white male)], *we'd get a whole lot more done but I think when you just get nominated into teams, it's almost bringing the level down.*

The students he identifies were observed as dominant and if he were in a group with those students it would be more homogenous than his own team, in which he was the only white male. Similarly, 9Bi (black male), when asked directly about gender, race and age put any differences down to confidence and ability:

some people who were more confident and more able with their skills in the group, but I don't think that was due to anything like age or gender or anything like that.

4Bi (mixed race female) noted that 4A (mixed race male) was reasonably dominant because of his maleness, explaining that he came from a culture where men were dominant, recognising that his dominance arose out of his self-identity which in turn was a product of his culture:

I think perhaps [4A's] *culture helped him put himself across because where he comes from, I think men are more dominant and they're more willing to put themselves forward.*

5.3.3.2 Views of team work in TBL

Several students reported finding group work beneficial, for example in 1Bi's (white male) interview it is clear that it is hugely beneficial to him:

… sometimes you can learn more from your peers than you can from your tutor.

He claims to benefit from TBL in the ways that Michaelson claims *all* students do.

1Ci (mixed race male) claims to have found TBL as a teaching method beneficial, expressing a strong preference for group work over individual work:

… because each subject we are doing as a group, the scratch cards and these things, that really helped me understand more about the topic we are doing…

He states that the support of other group members:

… will help a lot to do my work.

However, other students commented negatively on group work. In his interview 2Ai (white male) claims to:

… no longer get anything from doing team based learning… [it is] *… a hindrance…*

3Ai (Asian male) reports frustration about the lack of attendance from his team making it very hard for him to do the group work. 5Ai (white female) also reports not finding TBL effective because her team tend to deviate from the task set:

> *Just go off topic, just end up talking about random stuff. I think because we're a group of girls, four girls, so we get distracted quite easily.*

When talking about group work 4Ai (mixed race male) talks of those having the correct answer using collective language which includes himself, for example:

> *I and other members … different than ours … we could even help them …*

This contrasts with the language he uses when he talks of those who get it wrong, here he talks of the other - the them rather than the we - and his language is gendered, for example:

> *… ask her why did she put this answer … why is her answer different than ours?*

Some saw diversity within their group as a positive in some ways, for example 4Bi (mixed race female) said:

> *We have got quite a diverse team. I don't know if it impacts on the dynamics, but I suppose it helped us sort of get to know each other, discussing where we from…*

Others felt that the lack of diversity in their teams was a weakness, for example when asked about whether race or gender had an impact 5Ai (white female) said that she felt male members of the group may have helped prevent distractions:

> *… being females, we get side-tracked, that's the big issue. I think if there were maybe a few males there it would stop us talking about typical women things …*

5.3.3.3 Viewing others as lazy or otherwise at fault

This theme was clear, with many students reporting that lack of engagement by their peers was down to individual failings. For example where 1Bi (white male) perceives a lack of interaction he blames the other students, not the fact that they have been ignored or interrupted (as was observed):

> *The members who are, you know, less, are quiet, they usually rely on those who talk and seem to know more, to give the proper answers without trying to figure out the answers for themselves and I think this is certainly not a good thing.*

This reporting of others' failings is always in contrast to a positive view of the student's own contribution, 2Ai (white male) for example describes the whole academic year for this module as one where he has prepared and put in effort and everyone else has not, he reports that:

> *… there's no ambition to learn anything so I find it very frustrating.*

He stated that he used his *'experience'* to help others who were *'struggling'*:

> *I just, I feel like I'm a bit more experienced and I think, my natural thing is to help people who are, my natural inclination is to help people who don't know as much as I do or are struggling, if they, you know, if it's clear that that's what is appropriate. So I think it's, probably an avuncular role, just looking after people, but then it can tip over into just doing it because you're the one who does things because nobody else will do it.*

2Ai (white male) is also dismissive of inclusion, regarding certain individuals as:

> *… almost bringing the level down.*

He also explained that some female students are put off from engaging in classes because of what he calls the *'bitchiness'* of their peers. The gendered language reinforces that he is discussing behaviours of female students which he does not report of his male peers.

Overall there is a view amongst the more dominant students that:

> *… because sometimes people don't really say anything so you have to start …*

8Bi (white male) is also quite critical of the team members who do not turn up, and he correlates this to age:

> *I mean, I tend to find, I don't want to, I'm not going to, I don't want to slag off my group, they're quite, they're all quite young and I tend to find my age, my maturity, if that's the right word, because I want to get things done,*

5.3.4 Colour-blind or gender-blind

All interviewees were asked:

> Do you think there are other factors, thinking about your group dynamics and the group and the role that you play, things like race or gender that you think impact on how students interact in the teams?

No interviewee answered that they felt these things had an impact, instead describing a form of meritocracy, a system of democracy or, both.

5.3.4.1 Belief in a meritocracy

1Ci (mixed race male) was asked to describe the process of completing the t-RATs and he reports no dominance at all:

> *Well as we've been given the questions and answers, questions, and then we all like read the question, answers it, after that, then we do the scratch cards and compare who's got the most right and stuff and then we decide which one to go for. If you're not quite sure, again we like put like a toss on it which was go for the first* [inaudible] *'cause you're not being quite sure so that's why it's just...*

However, when asked directly if one member of the group is more dominant than others 1Ci (mixed race male) identifies 1B (white male) but states that this is because he is more knowledgeable and still describes the process as one of less dominance than was observed:

> [1B] *has got a lot of knowledge about Public Law and we all like discuss about questions that we get and then the answers to it and then we compare the question to the answer.*

Further, when asked if 1Ci (mixed race male) felt that race or gender affected group dynamics he said they did not, he instead said that the dynamic was driven by knowledge:

> *No, to be honest, it's just about the knowledge, who's got the most knowledge and they speak about* [inaudible] *whoever's got more confident, it's not about race, not about gender, whatever comes first and whoever knows the most and they will understand the most, they talk the most.*

1Ci (mixed race male) therefore recognises 1B (white male)'s dominance, albeit it to a lesser extent than I observed, however he does not think this is to do with his maleness or whiteness but rather his knowledge, viewing the team as meritocratic.

Uniquely 2Ai (white male) does identify some differences, but only in relation to gender. He commented that the female students were less domineering than their male counterparts and asks:

> *so I wonder why, you know, say you don't get, say female students putting themselves forward?*

He discusses age in relation to general knowledge but relates this only to young women and not young men, as with his discussion on race (where he talks about nationality) he has conflated different characteristics to try to explain differences in engagement and attainment. In relation to both race and gender he demonstrates a desire to explain away any dominance or subordination.

3Ai (Asian male) though describes a meritocracy where knowledge and ability equate to dominance and is silent on issues including race and gender. This contradicts the observation data and is again an example of a narrative of meritocracy being superimposed over a reality of dominance and subordination based on racial and gender identities. When he was asked specifically about issues of race and gender 3Ai (Asian male) reports that discrimination does not occur at this University:

> *Personally I tell you actually, I can't find any difference in the university, but I have experienced that in school, you know what I mean, because I come from Corby town which is very racist and a very deprived town.*

Some students do not even seem aware that there are different levels of participation, for example 5Bi (white female) reports that all the participants made equal contributions:

> *Yeah, so basically we all try and take an equal role in it, so especially like when we did the poster making to start up our campaign, we all kind of started it together in the seminar, then we emailed it round and we all took sort of a go in it and then we all emailed it to each other, like, 'What do you think?' and stuff and that's how we came up with our poster.*

This view runs as a thread for her interview, being apparent throughout as is exemplified when she is asked about her role within the team:

> *Oh wow. I do think we're all equal, we do all take an equal cut in it. Yeah, I don't know what to say.*

Similarly, 5Ci (white female) told the interviewer that it:

> *don't matter what age or what sex, race, whatever they are, because them groups fitted each other anyway*

Asked if 6Ai (Asian female) felt gender, race or age affected roles within her team she simply answered:

> *Not in my group actually.*

To the same question 6Bi (white male) answered:

We're very multicultural. I think there's three young, three girls, all of a minority actually. I consider myself white British and I'm quite arrogant at putting white British, even though I have all sorts in me, I've some sort of Asian heritage and stuff like that going way back, but I'm white British, so we have across the board, I think, but I don't think it impacts on how we are as a group, I don't think it impacts on how we make decisions. I don't know.

9Ai (Black female) does have a slightly different view from other students, seeing dominance as sometimes a negative:

Like they just generally want to put their mind across but sometimes it's a bit too much, then when you tell them it's too much then they just stay quiet for like the whole group discussion. … Every group, there's always one person that thinks they know everything so, yeah. … Then they keep on going on, going on, then he no idea, people not interested to what they saying and then just be quiet.

Yet when asked if she thought gender or race had affected participation she answered simply:

No, no.

5.3.4.2 Belief in a democracy

In his semi-structured interview 9Bi (Black female) reported that:

… we work as a team to see who's comfortable with doing what so maybe presenting the idea or actually drawing up what we need to do …

When the interview returns to TBL 1Bi (white male) explains how he perceives the group discussion:

usually when the answer is clear most of us have the same answer and we realise it so we just tick the answer most of us have chosen.

However, this perception of democracy may not be accurate, when 1Bi (white male) talks of the whole group he is talking of him and the other white male student, where they agree he perceives a democratic consensus of the whole group, apparently unaware that other members of the group have not contributed, 1Ci (mixed race male) claims that the team worked democratically and that any dominance was where an individual had more knowledge:

Well, I wouldn't say bad but a bit less knowledgeable and then the person who's got more knowledge and then we all like put in which questions to go for and give reasons, that's why like, the most of the group, things will be done in the Public Law, was like I think we most

nearly at the top 'cause we were discussing the question, have like questions about [inaudible] discussing it among us and then whoever's got the most, we just go for that question, answers as well so...

1Ci (mixed race male)'s perception was that all the team members present contributed:

… we got together and then we're doing everything like everybody had to join in and do the work.

The interviewees reported the TBL process as democratic with team members being equally involved in discussions, for example 4Ai (mixed race male) said:

… it was interesting in the way that everyone did get involved in doing it, like for the team answer, team based learning and well, yeah, in a way, getting everyone involved …When we did it in our team we did ask for each one of us what we answered first…

He also reported a democratic process:

… each one of us gave the answer and sometimes we, if we could not, we did not all agree on the answer, some did get the other answer. I and other members would try to like ask her why did she put this answer, try to find the reason behind it which was good because we could also see, why is her answer different than ours? So in a way we could even help them if they did not understand it or if we got it wrong we might even one get an answer wrong, well four get it wrong actually, one get it right, so yes, in this way there was, we tried to find the answer as a team and if we did not find the answer just say, we went through questions together, tried to understand it otherwise we'll be asking the teacher afterwards for more explanation because we might have not covered it properly. That's it, actually, yeah.

Similarly, when 6Ai (Asian female) was asked what happens in the t-RATs she describes a very democratic and discursive session with no mention of certain team members being more dominant than others. She describes a similar democracy in relation to the application exercises, stating:

So it is really just discussion, it's really people saying, well, it's really through a process of elimination and we just talk about, say, well like, you all bring your own knowledge to it and everybody has like different pieces, which I didn't think, I mean it sounds really cliché that you think loads of people do bring different things to it but I've actually seen it now that actually, yeah, there are people in my group who are like a bit older so they are bringing in a different kind of experience and then people who are more technology aware, I'm not, so it just, it brings it in and it like meshes it really well together.

When asked to explain the t-RAT exercise 6Bi (white male) describes a democratic process which goes as the literature on TBL, discussed previously, suggests it should with teams outperforming individuals:

> *And every time we've done it as a team we come out with a better result than we did as individuals which is, it shows the interaction between each other …*

8Ai (white female) also reports a very democratic process:

> *I think it's more, kind of a, like majority thing so we'll discuss what each person's put and why they put it and if, like, people aren't sure on the answer, they might, like, give their reasons or listen to other people and then we decide based on that.*

8Bi (white male) agrees with 8Ai (white female)'s assessment that there is no dominance within the group but instead everyone is listened to equally:

> *In our group, there's only a few of us seem to turn up but we'll get the information or the question, everyone sort of, I don't know what it's called, brains chugs all the ideas in and then between myself, it's usually* [8A]*, we sort of all agree on what is possibly the right answer and don't justify it, but you give your reasons for the answer and, well it seems to be working so far, so…*

Later he adds:

> *Everyone listens to each other and in the end we all make the decision, it's quite good.*

Some students also reported that there was quite a formal structure that their team had developed to aid this democratic process, 9Ai (black female) saying:

> *So let's say, like, one question and then we'll see what each person got. So if it's more than two people got the same question, I mean the same answer, then you go with that answer and if it's right, it's right, if it's wrong, it's wrong. So let's say two people go for question A, one person goes for question B, one person goes question C, then we'll go with A, 'cause the majority has gone for it so you've got the question right.*

And describing these group discussions as:

> *quite formal … Yeah, it was quite formal, yeah.*

5.3.5 Conclusions on Student Interview Data

The thematic analysis highlighted that the students explained levels of participation as to do with the merit or personal choice of the individual students. Students who dominated were characterised as knowing more, being better prepared and having to step up to the plate because others were not pulling their weight. Subordinate students were characterised as being less capable, less well prepared or, lazy. None of the students said that they felt that some students were ignored or discouraged from joining in, in fact they reported the opposite describing a democratic environment in which everyone was encouraged to contribute and join in.

This was echoed in the narrative thematic analysis in 4.2 where 1A (Asian female) seemed to have internalised any exclusion and blamed herself for her subordination within the team. She reported no-one taking over but talked of the dominance of others as a positive, they were stepping up and taking responsibility. Her own back seat role was, she says, chosen by her because of her own lack of understanding. In contrast 1B (white male) was quick to see the laziness in others, they were choosing not to join in. The team functioned as a democracy but in the end he had to represent them because no one else would take on that role. 1C (mixed-race male) also talked of the laziness of others and levels of participation being about personal choose.

In terms of TBL there was a real mix of how the students felt, some felt it was positive learning from others but some felt it was a hindrance, that they were carrying some of their team. In the narrative thematic analysis 1C (mixed-race male) clearly felt very positive about the TBL process, seeing the benefits of teamwork and the staged process of the teaching method.

5.4 Thematic analysis of the staff interviews

The themes and sub-themes that emerged from the staff interviews are shown, with indicative quotes, in Table 9.

Overarching themes	Sub-themes	Indicative quotes
Risk taking	Attitude to taking risks in a learning and teaching context	*"wanting staff to experiment and do different things. Some of it will work and some of it won't work. What we can do here, I guess, is, as an executive team, to make sure staff have the space, have the*

		time, have the resources, umm, and if you like the absolute permission to get things wrong, because that's the only way we'll learn, by making mistakes."
	Risk assessments	*"It was entirely ad hoc, entirely, entirely, entirely ad hoc."*
	Equality as a priority	*"There's nothing that's come down to me from the ILT or from the, the um, from the ILT basically that, in terms of policy and practice that's focusing on equality and the attainment gap, err"* *""Equality and diversity I see as part of everything we do, rather than a group sitting in a room somewhere. So it needs to inform a culture rather than it be something that's a bolt-on or, erm it needs to be organic rather than separate from"*
Colour-blind or gender-blind	Not accepting there may be an inequality	*"No, wherever you work you're going to have to work with a mixture of personalities and genders. I don't know. Do we get too hung up on it?"*
	Explaining inequality on other grounds i.e. socio-economic class or previous educational experience	*"What I've learned from the classroom is that the kid from the working-class estate, if they come from a BTEC route, will get quite quickly alienated by the middle-class ways of universities."*
Participation	Drivers of participation and non-participation in a learning and teaching context	*"… ultimately, really ultimately, no tutor and no system will make me want to do things. I will do them if I want to do them, particularly if I'm 20 years-old and a, erm I mean I'm not going to be sent to the naughty step to, err, because I didn't engage."*

Table 9: Themes from Staff Interviews

5.4.1 Risk taking

5.4.1.1 Attitude to taking risks in a learning and teaching context

Innovation in learning and teaching may be viewed as taking risks, conversely doing nothing can also be seen as a risk. As noted in 2.2.8 there is an award gap both in the HE sector as a whole and in the case study institution, to do nothing may be to allow this to persist. In several of the interviews however the interviewees spoke of risk-taking when referring to innovation in learning and teaching and that is the reason for this theme.

It was clear from the interview with the Vice Chancellor (VC) that he wants the University to be an institution at which risk-taking is encouraged, explicitly expressing that he is:

> *… wanting staff to experiment and do different things.*

He identifies that he wants a top-down encouragement to taking risks in the context of learning and teaching:

> *What we can do here, I guess, is, as an executive team, to make sure staff have the space, have the time, have the resources, umm, and if you like the absolute permission to get things wrong, because that's the only way we'll learn, by making mistakes.*

He further made the case that universities should be spaces where risks are taken, decrying other HEIs for their conservatism:

> *I'm not adverse to taking a few risks! So erm, I think hopefully that, that from the top, that awful expression but you know what I mean, is erm, you know it gives umm a certain level of comfort and assurance to staff, all staff, that it's perfectly acceptable in an environment that should be dominated by creative thought and freedom of expression, this is a university, to do this sort of stuff, umm I want to* [inaudible] *back and say part, this is an observation of having worked in, I don't know, seven different universities, maybe eight in the UK and overseas, in all the different mission groups, you know all flavours and types is how conservative universities can, tend to be in terms of, the err teaching and learning and that's to me quite striking.*

This attitude was replicated further down the institutional structure with other staff expressing an eagerness for staff to adopt innovative approaches.

5.4.1.2 Risk assessments

Whenever risks are being taken there is an expectation that some formal or informal process of risk assessment will take place. The ECU (now subsumed into AdvanceHE) advised all public bodies to carry out Equality Impact Needs Assessments (EINAs)fs to evaluate the potential for breaches of the PSEDs (Public Sector Equality Duties) contained within the Equality Act (2010). All interviewees were directly asked whether the potential impact of innovative projects in the context of learning and teaching was evaluated.

Several staff held that the potential for a negative impact was very real, but that this was acceptable:

> *Some of it will work and some of it won't work.*

There were also clear indications that failure really does not matter, talking about Hydra, an immersive learning and teaching technology, the Dean of the School of Social Sciences said:

> *If it's used and it falls flat, so what …*

The process by which the potential equality impacts were considered was described thus by the Learning and Teaching Co-ordinator:

> *It was entirely ad hoc, entirely, entirely, entirely ad hoc.*

Although it was recognised that staff should pay some attention to the potential equality impacts, the Head of Learning and Teaching Development (Policy and Practice) said:

> *… with my learning design hat on, when we are working with staff we very much try to say that you need to think about universal design for learning so, you know…*

but concludes:

> *Should it be formal? I don't know that you can do anything more than that to be honest.*

The Head of the Institute of Learning and Teaching also reflected on this 'ad hoc' approach, admitting that if the equality impact of learning and teaching decisions is considered it is often done retrospectively:

> *I'm kind of relying on the people who do the project, if they come with a strong equality theme to it then that's fantastic, if they don't and they haven't thought about it then it may be that retrospectively you look at whatever it was that they did and see what the equality impact is likely to be …*

There is criticism of this approach, the Learning and Teaching Co-ordinator for the School of Social Sciences musing that some form of EINA should be part of the decision-making process:

> *Ideally we should be thinking about this stuff, erm, it should almost be one of the requirements of the funding, erm, not only is there a dissemination strategy but there is an element of it, yeah, maybe a whole separate category 'what are you doing to ensure the equality of this, this particular project' 'cause what, we yeah, I wouldn't be comfortable if there was any thought that the case study was, to pick the example, if it was actually widening the attainment gap it would be a really bad thing to roll out because it just makes the situation worse.*

When I asked what had been done to ensure that there was no negative equality impact of the institution's learning and teaching strategy it was admitted that as there was no EINA:

> *… there's no way of knowing, and there's no way of stopping which is bad.*

It is clear that innovation at the case study institution was actively encouraged in learning and teaching and that little, if any, regard was given to assessing the impacts of such projects. It is also true however that the HE sector is notoriously conservative, as the VC notes at 5.4.1.1 and that the amount of encouragement did not necessarily lead to risk-taking within the case study institution.

5.4.1.3 Equality as a priority

EINAs did not appear to be routinely carried out which led to each interviewee discussing how much of a priority equality was at the institution. What was clear from the interview data was that those at the top of the institution said they regarded equality as a priority.

The VC gave a very clear commitment to ensuring that 'kids', whatever their background, should be allowed to access the benefits of Higher Education:

> *Other than clearly, we wouldn't want any, I mean the whole mission, the university is about transforming lives and inspiring change isn't it so its getting children, kids from whatever backgrounds, and they will come from challenged backgrounds and I'm a really big fan of, the more people we can get into this university from non-traditional backgrounds the better, end of, you know.*

The Dean of Social Sciences also demonstrated a commitment to equality, seeing it as everyone's responsibility:

> *Equality and diversity, I see as part of everything we do, rather than a group sitting in a room somewhere. So, it needs to inform a culture rather than it be something that's a bolt-on or, erm it needs to be organic rather than separate from …*

This approach has received some criticism because some feel that in making it everyone's responsibility they are really making it no-one's responsibility. It is however fair to recognise that the Dean seemed to have a genuine belief in egalitarianism:

> *We have to generate a level playing field, not to the detriment of one or the other but to allow them equal shout.*

The Head of the Institute of Learning and Teaching did identify that the business case might be a driver for equality and presented a more sceptical view, citing 'certain colleagues' who are worried that the equality agenda might lead to a 'dumbing down':

> *reducing the attainment gap between different students, err, paint, err, a completely different picture because err there is, is, there is a national driver to reduce that gap and err, erm there is crucially money associated with that so, yes, that's, err, is a different beast altogether. Part of the money we have in the small pot of the Institute of Learning and Teaching comes from, err, OFFA which, err, promotes the reduction of the attainment gap hopefully in our view by, by doing this rather than doing this* [hands up and hands down to indicate raising up the bottom rather than dragging down the top] *there is err, there is a, the obsession is, certainly mine to err prevent situations which I've been asked about err whereby introducing something new might be seen by certain colleagues as dumbing down and, err, particularly where they involve assessment.*

With interviewees further down the institutional structure not feeling that equality is a priority at the case study institution:

> *I don't get the impression it's* [equality and diversity] *a massive institutional priority unless it's going to change* [inaudible] *the priority, I think institutionally it's retention, progression and achievement all of which have massive equality aspects to them but what the institution seems to be interested in is just the end result, improving retention. If it happens to have an equality strand in it brilliant, if it doesn't that's also brilliant.*

Importantly this is the only member of staff I interviewed who had substantive teaching responsibilities as part of their role. I also asked about reducing the so-called attainment gap, which at the time was an institutional KPI (Key Performence Indicator):

You'd be hard pushed to know that it's an institutional priority at all, frankly. There's nothing that's come down to me from the ILT or from the, the um, from the ILT basically that, in terms of policy and practice that's focusing on equality and the attainment gap …

5.4.2 Colour-blind or gender blind

Given the nature of this research every interviewee was asked explicitly about race and gender. Some did not accept that there was any inequality, others explained it by reference to other factors such as socio-economic background or prior educational experience. Not one of the interviewees explicitly accepted that there was any inequality on the grounds of race or gender.

5.4.2.1 Not accepting there may be an inequality

Personality type as a factor was identified when asked whether race or gender had an impact on dominance and subordination, with The Head of the Institute of Learning and Teaching responding:

I'm led to believe that personality type is another factor to consider and erm, if you ask certain individuals in the erm psychology erm area of knowledge they would argue that if you do a Myers Briggs type test then you will quickly discover who are likely to be the dominant and the erm less dominant characters in a, er, in any given group, and they go further to suggest that groups [cough] should be constructed on the basis of the Myers Briggs results for example, and there are other tests too.

Later he explicitly drew the link between personality type and participation:

I would suspect that a factor affecting, err, levels of participation and, err, non-participation would be, err, personality type …

The Head of Learning and Teaching Development, when asked specifically about male dominance, responded:

… wherever you work you're going to have to work with a mixture of personalities and genders. I don't know. Do we get too hung up on it?

She felt that TBL, in the context of the case study, may have been working and that black students were doing less well simply because they were not getting the right answers:

Maybe it was working as it should, maybe the team did listen [to the black students] *and then discount the answer because it was wrong.*

172

5.4.2.2 Explaining inequality on other grounds

The VC almost immediately related differences on the grounds of race to socio-economic class and prior educational achievement:

> *They will learn* [inaudible] *in very different ways from the middle-class student who's got three A's at A level to a BTEC student from, err, an estate in East London will learn very differently. In my mind they are, umm, equally valuable, equally as intelligent as each other but we need to be really super sensitive in how we deliver the teaching and learning. What I've learned from the classroom is that the kid from the working-class estate, if they come from a BTEC route, will get quite quickly alienated by the middle-class ways of universities. Erm, that of course will impact them perhaps even more so if they are from, you know, a different ethnic minority studying hard.*

He talks about his own experiences of teaching ethnic minority students and almost immediately identifies class as the issue:

> *I used to get quite a lot of Asian kids in my class and you could see they would get quite turned off much quicker than the white ones, the more middle-class kids. Because the ones that have been to university through FE college, through BTEC route have just learned, they've just learned differently and expect a different style from what I was brought up with, yeah, and I think as a staff member if you're not aware of that, you know, um then you should be and back to the founding part of the question, it's my duty and our duty here to make sure we provide all the resources necessary that err that academics can deliver, you know, the really meaningful experience that doesn't discriminate.*

The Dean instead related race and gender to SEN:

> *I have a err very long term interest in that area* [equality and diversity] *and used to be responsible for special needs stuff, erm which used to be called special needs stuff but it was for people going on erm, I used to lead stuff on, lead courses on umm people learning to teach students with particular learning requirements yeah.*

The Head of Learning and Teaching Development also focused on SEN, talking about differentiation which as an educational term is usually more about academic ability than race or gender:

> *We've got to take account of whether what we're doing is erm err in sync with what we're expected to be doing and bearing in mind that, that in terms of pedagogic approaches*

equality is about treating everyone differently rather than, than, than applying a method err, and rolling it out as err one size fits all method. We are, I am forever looking at, err, at what aspects of differentiation we can capitalise on to make an approach work.

5.4.3   Participation

5.4.3.1 Drivers of participation and non-participation in a learning and teaching context

Although only the Head of Learning and Teaching Development discussed the drivers of participation in response to questions around equality and inclusion the focus and the length of the answers justify treating this as a separate theme. He very clearly equates dominance with an intrinsic motivation to join in:

If I'm part of a TBL environment as a student, erm, ultimately, really ultimately, no tutor and no system will make me want to do things. I will do them if I want to do them, particularly if I'm 20 years-old and a, erm I mean I'm not going to be sent to the naughty step to, err, because I didn't engage. The level of engagement I show either by turning up or doing something if I do turn up will be driven by my own intrinsic motivation and, err, and those variables are common to any teaching method that you have.

He also equates a lack of engagement with a lack of preparation, similar to how many of the students did:

Often if you, err, haven't done your homework you speak less and together, between us, we kind of wing it along the way … Others will just listen and react rather than be proactive.

5.4.4   Conclusions on Staff Interview Data

The staff interviews identify that adopting innovative approaches to learning and teaching was encouraged throughout the case study institution and that risk assessment, including equality risk assessment, was not part of the process of implementing such approaches. This is the background to establishing the case study for this study and one of the reasons, as is explained in Chapter 1, for wanting to carry out this research.

The staff interviews also show that the staff interviewed do you not see race or gender as issues when considering participation, instead they see socio-economic status, SEN or, personal choice as the drivers.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1   Introduction

CRT, which is examined in 2.2.7, is different from many academic theories in that it calls for activism, blurring the distinction between research and practice. Kafi D. Kumasi for example talks of the "intellectual and activist roots of CRT".[353] In both Chapters 2 and 3 the work of Critical Race Pedagogists is examined and in Chapter 3, in 3.2.1, it is noted that CRP is an activist research methodology. Professor Michael Apple is cited throughout Chapter 3 and the title of the one of the presentations quoted references the 'critical scholar/activist'[354]. The work of Paulo Freire is also examined in Chapter 2 and at 2.3.1 his work on the relationship between theory and practice, and specifically the importance of praxis, is discussed. This study draws on this critical, activist tradition as noted in 3.1.1, and this is apparent in the approach to this discussion and to Chapter 7 which adopt an unapologetic scholar/activist or 'scholactivist'[355] approach. This is not dissimilar from Freire's merging of theory and practice into praxis or Karl Marx's famous eleventh study in Eleven Theses on Ludwig Feuerbach: "Philosophers have sought to understand the world. The point is to change it."[356]

The research question for this study focuses on four substantive areas, namely:

1.   Dominance,
2.   Subordination,
3.   Identity, and
4.   Team-Based Learning (TBL).

The analysis in Chapter 5 identified some clear themes that emerged from the three sets of data (observations, student interviews and, staff interviews). This chapter is structured around each of the three sets of data and the four substantive areas with the themes cross-referenced across the

---

[353] Kafi D. Kumasi, 'Critical Race Theory and Education: Mapping a Legacy of Activism and Scholarship' in B. A. U. Levinson (Ed.), *Beyond Critique: Critical Social Theories and Education* (pp. 196-219) (2011, Paradigm Publisher, Boulder: CO) 196-219, 217

[354] Michael Apple, 'Educational Realities and the Tasks of the Critical Scholar/Activist in Education' presented as the annual lecture at the Centre for Research into Race and Education, University of Birmingham, 10 June 2015

[355] "The phrase 'scholactivism' is a mash-up of 'scholarship' and 'activism'. The driving thought behind scholactivism is that creators of knowledge can work to ensure the impact of their knowledge is positive. Scholactivists intentionally embrace the reality that their work can lead to social change." Rebecca Farnum, 'Scholactivism: A Growing Movement of Scholar Activists' *University World News* 3 June 2016 [online] available at: https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20160530142606345 [accessed 5 May 2020]

[356] Karl Marx, *Eleven Theses on Feuerbach (1845)* (1969, Progress Publishers), Thesis XI

discussion. There is a recognition at the end of each of the substantive areas of the limitations of the data. There is a final section which draws together the common threads throughout the discussion in an overarching dialogue. The tables below (Table 10, Table 11 and Table 12) give an overview of this structure of each sub-chapter:

Data set	Substantive Area	Themes	Summary
Observations	Dominance	High level of participation	Male students dominated more than female students. There was race disparity in relation to dominance with white students much more likely to dominate.
		Ignoring or interrupting others	White students were more likely to ignore or interrupt others, these behaviours were not observed to be exhibited by any black students.
		Volunteering for opportunities	White male students were the only students to put themselves forward for opportunities.
		Taking control	Female students were marginally more likely to take control when compared with male students. White students were much more likely to take control than non-white students.
	Subordination	Low level of participation	Lower levels of participation were observed amongst non-white students.
		Contribution is ignored, or interrupted	White students were not ignored or interrupted, whereas black students were ignored or interrupted most often.
	Identity	Dominance	White students were more likely to dominate. Male students were slightly more likely to dominate.
		Subordination	Black students were less likely to dominate. Female students were slightly less likely to dominate.
	TBL	Ignoring or interrupting others	TBL had no discernible effect on those who ignored or interrupted others.

		Contribution is ignored, or interrupted	TBL had no discernible effect on those whose contributions were ignored or interrupted.
		Taking control	Female students were marginally more likely to take control when compared with male students. White students were much more likely to take control than non-white students.
	Limitations of the data		Sample size. The narrow focus of the case study. The influence of the observer on the observed.

Table 10: Observation Data

Data set	Substantive Area	Themes	Summary
Student interviews	Dominance	Dominant / subordinate behaviour in the interview	White, male students were much more likely to express themselves in interview than any other group.
	Subordination	Belief in meritocracy	Students did not equate behaviours with race or gender. Students generally felt that dominance related to merit and subordination to demerit.
	Identity	Positive self-image / high self-confidence	Students who dominated said that they knew more than other students and were better prepared.
		Negative self-image / low self-confidence	Students who did not participate felt they knew less and were less well-prepared.
		Presents a situation or imposition as a choice	Many students expressed imposition as a matter of personal choice.
		Positive view of others	Students who participated less felt that those that dominated were more knowledgeable and prepared.
		Negative view of others	Students viewed those who did not participate as less knowledgeable, less well-prepared and lazy.

	TBL	Views of TBL	Students had differing views of working in teams.
		Belief in democracy	Students generally reported that decisions were made in a democratic way.
	Limitations of the data		Sample size. The influence of the interviewer on the interviewees.

Table 11: Student Interview Data

Data set	Substantive Area	Themes	Summary
Staff interviews	Dominance / Subordination	Belief in a colour and gender blind meritocracy.	Staff did not equate behaviours with race or gender.
	Identity	Student identity was not acknowledged.	Staff explained inequalities by reference to other criterion, i.e. socio-economic class or Special Educational Need (SEN).
		Participation.	Participation is primarily about personal choice.
	TBL	Innovation	Innovation in learning and teaching was actively encouraged. Innovations were not being routinely assessed and this was, generally, not regarded as necessary.
	Limitations of the data		Sample size. The influence of the interviewer on the interviewees.

Table 12: Staff Interview Data

6.2 Observation data

6.2.1 Dominance

Although dominance is defined in 2.3.1, as discussed in the methodology in 3.3.1 it is a difficult trait to quantify. In Chapter 5 where the observation data was subjected to content analysis a binary approach was taken, with individuals counted if they demonstrated dominant behaviour on one of more occasions. Dominance was identified where there was one or more instance of dominant behaviour, although individual instances of dominance were not counted. This is because this research focuses on who is dominant, and who is not, and when. There are obvious practical problems with identifying how many individual dominant acts there are in a relation of dominance and separating them out and quantifying them would not have served the aims of this study. The approach taken allowed an understanding to be gained of who dominated, and who did not.

There was some difference in relation to gender (5.2.1), with male students more likely to dominate by ignoring or interrupting others than female students, but female students more likely to take control. In 2.2.8 it was noted that the literature reviewed theorised that males dominate within education intentionally, as a means of preserving their position of power and influence. The observation data in relation to ignoring or interrupting others is in line with this theory, although it is not clear whether males dominated intentionally or not. However, the observation that female students take control more often than male students seems *prima facie* to contradict this theory. The taking of control was observed in relation to students who took control of the scratch card used to record the answers for the team during t-RATs. In 2.2.6 it was also noted that the OECD had surveyed educational resources and found that women were stereotyped in these resources, depicted as doing domestic work and as of lesser intelligence. In 2.2.8 it was also discussed how the education system rewarded those who fulfilled the role expected of their identity by society. Apple has argued that females outperform males in some parts of the education system because they are rewarded for accepting their position within society, for example by performing well at what Apple describes as 'women's work'.[357] That female students take control of an administrative duty whilst not ignoring or interrupting others therefore may not contradict the literature reviewed but may be a reflection of them conforming to their expected gender roles and assuming the working identities that correspond with these roles. Essentially, as Jessica Ringrose argues, females are rewarded for being 'good *girls*':

---

[357] Michael W. Apple, 'Teaching and Women's Work: A Comparative Historical and Ideological Analysis' (1983) 86 *Teachers College Record* 455

> There are massive contradictions now facing girls and boys within an educational terrain where feminine qualities of adaptation and flexibility, and masculine levels of assertiveness and performance are rewarded, but it is girls who are viewed primarily to be adapting and succeeding …[358]

It is also worth noting that the trend some commentators have cited about the superior educational outcomes of girls and women ignores the complexities of the data with the good outcomes enjoyed by some from higher socio-economic backgrounds masking the poorer outcomes experienced by those from lower socio-economic backgrounds:

> … high performance is based in the superior performance of particular girls …[359]

The key variances in this study, however, were in relation to race with white students dominating more than any other racial group and black students not dominating at all, Asian and mixed-race students sitting between these two extremes.

Intersectionality did not feature strongly in the data, although white male students dominated marginally more than white female students there were no discernible differences between black, Asian or, mixed-race students on the grounds of gender (Figure 8).

Racial identity here is distinct from national identity or nationality. As can be seen from Table 4 the relationship between non-whiteness and non-Britishness is not strong at all; roughly half (three out of seven) of the black students who declared their nationality identified as British, the vast majority (six out of seven) of Asian students and nearly half (2 out of 5) of the mixed-race students also identified as British. Whiteness and Britishness does have a stronger relationship with seven-eighths (23 out of 26) of white students who declared their nationality identifying as either English or British. What was clear however from the observation data was that differences were apparent on grounds of visual racial identity, not on nationality which in most cases could only have been guessed at. For example, characteristics observed to be common to all white students, who were predominantly British, were not also common to black British, Asian British or, mixed-race British students and almost a third (11 out of 34) of the students who identified as British were non-white. Further one of the most dominant students as can be seen in Chapter 4, both in the observation data and the student interview data, was 1B/1Bi, a white Romanian student.

---

[358] Jessica Ringrose, 'Successful girls? Complicating post-feminist, neoliberal discourses of educational achievement and gender equality' (2007) *Gender and Education* 19(4) 471, p.488
[359] *Ibid,* p.487

The complexity of identity and the intersection of race and nationality is discussed in 6.2.3 and in Chapter 7 as it is central to the conclusions reached in this study. The dominance of race over any other observed characteristic, or above the combination of any characteristics, i.e. intersectionality, is as CRT would predict. As noted in 2.2.7 critical race theorists argue that the primary driver of structural and institutional discrimination is race. Blackness is the most visually distant characteristic from whiteness, with Asian and mixed-race students appearing 'less black.' As Angela P. Harris notes according to CRT:

… white status and identity was defined by whites, literally, as the absence of blackness …[360]

CRT would then, applied to the students observed, predict that it would predominantly be the white students who dominated and that the black students would, most often, be the most oppressed. This is what was demonstrated in the observation data in Chapter 4 and in the analysis of that data in Chapter 5.

The most observed dominant trait amongst white students was ignoring others and interrupting others, something that I never observed *any* black students doing (Table 6). White students were also observed putting themselves forward for opportunities and taking control, again *no* black students were observed displaying this behaviour.

It was the black students who tended to demonstrate the majority of the subordinate relations, as discussed in the next section.

6.2.2   Subordination

Subordinate relations, such as lower levels of participation were observed amongst non-white students. The relationship between external oppression, for example being ignored, and the internalising of oppression, for example withdrawing or not participating, is examined below in 6.2.3, at this point in the discussion the occurrence of the behaviours in the observation data is the focus. The two subordinate relations which emerged as themes from the observation data (Table 6) where a low level of participation and being ignored or interrupted.

As Figure 21 clearly illustrates there is no gender difference as regards disengagement and the difference in relation to being ignored or interrupted by gender is only negligible. This echoes what is discussed immediately above, where it was noted that CRT identifies race as the principal driver of

---

[360] Angela P. Harris, 'Foreward: The Jurisprudence of Recognition' *California Law Review* (1994) 82(4) 741, p.760

discrimination. There is however apparent intersectionality between gender and race in Asian students with only 60% of male Asian students being observed with disengagement compared with 78% of female Asian students, the highest of any group (Figure 24). This however relates to relatively low actual numbers - three male Asian students compared with seven female Asian students. Disengagement was also observed in 20% of white students and 62% of non-white students (Figure 29) which, as noted in 6.2.3, may be the adoption of a 'working identity', essentially an internalised response to the experiences of oppression. Exclusion, which is being expressed here a non-participation, is a function of white dominance.

The amalgamated data also hides the scale of non-participation in certain racial groups with on average 73% of black students (71% of black female and 75% of black male students) being observed disengaging (Figure 30). In the observation data the absence of whiteness is the key determining factor when looking for low participation, with blackness equating to a high-level of non-participation. The lowest participating group were Asian females highlighting that for this racial group the intersection of gender and race is important. CRF, first proposed by Professor Richard Delgado,[361] has been applied by Adrien Wing to Asian women in a study published in December 2014, the same time that the observation data for this study was being collected. Wing notes that:

> These [Asian] women have been stigmatized and have faced substantial discrimination both in Western countries, where they are a minority, and in their countries of origin.[362]

Wing argues that the effect of the September 11 terrorist attacks and the Arab spring have led to stigmatisation of, and prejudice against, Arab and Asian women. The oppression of Asian woman may not only come from the micro-aggressions and micro-exclusions experienced from outside of their own racial communities but may also come from within them. Yea-Wen Chen in her 2018 paper examining the silence of Asian women within their own communities talks about:

> … silence and voice in the context of institutional whiteness from the standpoint of a racialized Asian/immigrant/woman …[363]

It is perhaps then unsurprising that faced with micro-aggressions from outside of Asian communities and expectations that woman are to be silent from within the Asian community that Asian women

---

[361] Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge (3rd ed.)* (2013, Temple University Press)

[362] Adrien K. Wing, 'Critical Race Feminism' in Karim Murji and John Solomos *Theories of Race and Ethnicity: Contemporary Debates and Perspectives* (2014, Cambridge University Press) 162-179, p.162

[363] Yea-Wen Chen, '"Why Don't You Speak (Up), Asian/Immigrant/Woman?" Rethinking Silence and Voice through Family Oral History' *Departures in Critical Qualitative Research* (2018) 7(2) 29, p.29

did not participate in, or were more excluded from, group learning activities as much as other students.

The most prominent oppressive treatment in the observation data was being ignored or interrupted by others. This is the opposite of the behaviour discussed above in 0 but it is important to appreciate that because of the way observation data was collected, recorded, and analysed that any participant could have been recorded in both categories, i.e. both interrupting and being interrupted. Dual relations were not however recorded, as noted above there was not a single incident of a black student ignoring or interrupting others (Figure 17) and conversely neither I never observed any white students being ignored or interrupted. This confirms the discussion in 0 that there is a strong relationship in the observation data between race and dominant and subordinate relations that is as CRT would predict. It also important that one behaviour operates, in this learning and teaching setting, to the exclusion of the other. In family and friendship groups it is common that people interrupt one another and one behaviour i.e. interrupting does not seem to be to the exclusion of the opposite i.e. being interrupted. It is argued that certain groups interrupt more than others, for example:

> … men often interrupt and "mansplain" things to women …[364]

This finding in the data indicates that interrupting or ignoring others, and conversely being interrupted or ignored, are not a part of *everyone's* behaviour but are an aspect of the identity of some and not an aspect of the identity of others. The students in the case study were either interrupters or they were interrupted - none were both.

Given the strong relationship between these behaviours and race it appears that interrupting or ignoring others is part of the identity of whiteness and that being interrupted or ignored is part of the identity of blackness, and to a lesser extent of being Asian or mixed-race.

6.2.3   Identity

Identity may be adopted consciously or sub-consciously, but it is clear from the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, especially in 2.2.4, that some adopt different identities to navigate different settings, for example students may behave differently in the classroom than they do in a family setting. It is also clear that some of the causes of this adoption of identity are internalised responses to

---

[364] Teal Burrell, 'The Science Behind Interrupting: Gender, Nationality and Power, and the Roles They Play' *Post Magazine* (14 March 2018) [online] available at: https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/long-reads/article/2137023/science-behind-interrupting-gender-nationality [accessed 13 April 2020]

experiences of oppressive relations, for example a black woman may sub-consciously decide to not wear her hair in braids in the workplace because of the micro-aggressions expressed by others.

It was also suggested in the literature review in 2.2.4 that government educational policy may be one of the external drivers of identity, for example by promoting the myth that educational opportunities are available to *all,* those who do not benefit from these apparent 'opportunities' adopt an identity of self-blame, seeing themselves as lazy or less capable. This is clear in the student interview data presented in Chapter 4, particularly in the narrative thematic analysis, which is discussed in 6.3 below.

Across all the observation data the issues of race were more nuanced than a white / non-white divide. Whiteness certainly brought with it a tendency to express dominant relations, but it was the presence of blackness, rather than the absence of whiteness, that brought with it the greatest chance of being subordinated. Whiteness is clearly a constant, but it seems from the observation data to be the presence of blackness that provokes white people to assert their dominance, for example white students were mostly observed ignoring or interrupting others when the others were black students and in homogenous all white groups these power relations were extremely rare. This gives an advantage to the white students in the case study, whether invited or otherwise, that they are generally not interrupted or ignored when participating in group learning activities, a form of privilege which CRT terms 'white privilege'. According to Delgado and Jean Stefancic white privilege is: "… the myriad of social advantages, benefits, and courtesies that come with being a member of the dominant race."[365] Conversely non-white students, and particularly black students, experience a disadvantage merely because of their race: "… race operates as a form of disadvantage in modern-day society."[366]

It was racial identity that was most prominent in the observation data, in fact the data demonstrated a primary of race with intersectionality barely featuring. CRT accepts anti-essentialism or intersectionality: "Everyone has potentially conflicting, overlapping identities, loyalties and allegiances."[367] However, CRT does identify a unique 'voice of colour' that is often the primary driver of oppression and which is confirmed by this data - Delgado and Stefancic recognise what they describe as the "… uneasy tension with anti-essentialism …"[368] that this appears to create. CRT however does not argue that race is the *only* driver of oppression, a claim that would clearly be nonsensical as Kalwant Bhopal explains: "Discourses of inequality cannot simply be explained by one

---

[365] Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction (3ʳᵈ Ed.)* (2017, NYU Press), p.89
[366] Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: The Myth of a Post-racial Society* (2018, Polity Press), p.1
[367] Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction (3ʳᵈ Ed.)* (2017, NYU Press), p.11
[368] *Ibid,* p.12

single factor (such as race), other competing factors operate to produce different outcomes of social and power relations."[369] Race does intersect with other identities, however race is central to CRT[370] and whiteness and white privilege dominate the HE sector: "The academy works to perpetuate white privilege and protect the position of white groups who hold the most senior roles."[371] What this white privilege allows, as is discussed in 6.3 when the focus shifts to the interview data, is for these apparent acts of racial oppression to be explained away. None of the student interviewees recognised race as a driver of behaviour and nor did the staff interviewed, who were all white power holders. As Yasmin Alibhai-Brown acknowledges in her foreword to Bhopal:

> Privilege is never consciously recognised or defined. It Is normalised, internalised, maintained, diffuse. Facts, figures and challenges provoke vehement denial. Think of it as a collective mental block.[372]

The research also identified that oppression is also never consciously recognised or defined, and the same tactics of normalisation and internalisation are adopted.

6.2.4   TBL

As explained in 2.3.3 TBL modules are based around a three-stage process and the design and delivery of TBL is grounded on four principles. These four principles are that:

1   teams should be properly formed and not self-selecting, and that these groups are fixed,

2   that the students take responsibility for doing their pre-learning and working in teams,

3   that team assignments promote both learning and team development and,

4   that students receive frequent and immediate feedback.

The formation of the teams by political questionnaires (Appendix 6: Political Preference Questionnaire) ensured that the teams were 'properly formed and not self-selecting' (4.1) and were fixed, although there were occasions when teams were merged into larger groups due to low attendance. The teams however remained fixed, although merged into groups for occasional activities (4.2, 4.3 and, 4.8), reverting to the fixed teams in the next seminar. This is one of the key

---

[369] Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: The Myth of a Post-racial Society* (2018, Polity Press), p.47
[370] *Ibid,* p.49
[371] *Ibid,* p.63
[372] Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, 'Foreword' in *Ibid,* p.xiii

differences TBL highlights between teams and groups, teams are intentionally formed and fixed whereas groups can be more *ad hoc* and formed for a short classroom activity.[373]

The teams were therefore a fixed constant with groups, containing members from several teams, sometimes being formed for a specific activity. There was also a need for pragmatism in the teaching, teams of one or two students simply cannot complete the activities and as was made clear when ethical approval for this research was sought the learning and teaching needs of the students would remain paramount. The observation data was consistent across teams and groups, showing that the merging of groups did not have a discernible impact on the data.

The pre-learning, i-RATs and, t-RATs ensured that the students took responsibility for their learning as prescribed by TBL, I also ensured that working in teams remained the responsibility of the students by not intervening to correct groups or ensure parity of contribution as I would normally do in group work. This was something I found extremely challenging as a teacher. Normally in group work I will move between groups and interject, encouraging equal participation and asking maieutic questions. TBL required that I was passive, allowing the groups to go through the process of choosing their answers without my input. This may have compounded some of the dominate and subordinate relations, but it also forced teams to work together to try to discover the correct answer and these discussions are central to TBL. According to Larry Michaelson the discussions draw out knowledge with the teams generally scoring more highly than their best individual, [374] and this was generally true, although in one t-RAT the team did not do better than some of the individual members of the team. On one difficult question 1A (Asian female) and the 1F (black male) both had the correct answer, however they did not present their answer with confidence and said they were unsure, 1B and 1E (both white males) took over and talked the group into the wrong answer, then repeated this. The team scored 0 for this as the answer offered by 1A (Asian female) and 1F (black male) was the last answer scratched off. The odds are also mathematically stacked in favour of teams, using scratch cards, over individuals, using score sheets. The scratch cards allow teams to score 4 points if their first answer is correct and to have another chance to choose an answer if it is not. The score cards require students to commit totally to one answer to gain the full 4 points and encourages a form of spread betting if the student is unsure.

The team assignments were designed to promote both learning and team development and there is nothing in the observation, or any of the other data including the results for the module, which

---

[373] Larry K. Michaelson, Arletta Bauman Knight and L. Dee Fink, *Team-Based Learning: A Transformative use of Small Groups in College Teaching* (2004, Centers for Teaching and Technology)

[374] Larry K. Michaelson, Warren E. Watson and Robert Black, 'A realistic test of individual versus group consensus decision making' *Journal of Applied Psychology* (1989) 74(5) 834–839

raises any concerns that there was not learning however not all the teams developed as inclusive teams. According to Michaelson it is when an individual who has been ignored gets an answer correct that the group dynamic changes and teams value the contributions of previously ignored members.[375] He argues this is why TBL develops inclusive teams. In relation to the example given in the paragraph immediately above that this did not change the dynamic of the group, rather when 1B (white male) felt unsure he shared responsibility by taking soundings but when he thought he was sure he railroaded discussion. On the more difficult questions there was lots of discussion but as the group were unsure of the correct answer the discussion did not seem to lead to meaningful learning.

The i-RATs and t-RATs as well as the application activities all provided formal formative feedback as described in TBL methodology.

6.2.5 Limitations

The key limitations of the observation data are the size of the sample, the narrow focus of the case study, and the influence of the observer on the observed.

Whilst the sample size was small there was sufficient numbers and diversity for patterns to emerge from the data and for "fuzzy generalisations", as discussed in 3.2.2, to be drawn.

The impracticality of accessing other subject areas or other institutions would have made a different approach to the focus of the case study impractical, if not impossible, risking leaving this important area of research underexplored. The case study was focused on three seminar groups, within one module in a single academic year, this was important as it fixed variables that might otherwise have influenced the data. There is however clearly scope for future studies to build on this to examine how replicable the findings are and this is discussed later in 7.4.

The final key limitation to the observation data is that of participator as researcher, although as the observations were of classroom-based activities the presence of a tutor was anticipated and my habit of continually taking notes should have meant that the subjects of the observation did not feel that they were in an artificial environment. The post-doctoral researcher sat in many of the sessions that were not being observed from the very beginning of the academic year and because of the layout of the classroom was able to confirm my observations without moving from her usual position. The students were fully aware that the research was taking place and had consented to be subjects however they were not aware when observation data was being collected and when it was

---

[375] Larry Michaelson, 'Masterclass in Team-Based Learning' (presentation at the University of Northampton, 10 November 2014)

not and the process of collecting observation data would not have stood out as unusual. Whilst it is true that the data can only really tell us what happened with one group of students, in one room, on one day, in one location, whilst being observed, the repetition of the observed behaviours across different groups, at different times and in different rooms, with no contradicting data, would indicate that what was observed were behaviours from which it is possible to draw generalisations.

This observation data stands in stark contrast to the interview data which is now considered.

6.3 Student interviews

In this part of the discussion I am looking at the analysis of the data from 17 student interviews. These are presented as one data source with commonalities discussed as though the interviews were a single data source. This is because there were consistencies in the analysis (themes) and it does not ignore the fact that each interview is a separate source of data and that each student has her own distinct perceptions and narratives.

6.3.2   Dominance

The students' relations that were noted in the observation data were replicated in the way students behaved in the interviews, with white, male students again dominating and doing so more than any other group as evidenced in Figure 30. This is consistent with the observation data discussed in 6.2 which related dominance with race and, to a lesser extent, gender.

The content of the interviews identified that the students universally equated any dominance with merit. Reasons for dominating were variously given as, for example, being "*better prepared*" (1Bi), "*experience*" (2Ai), and "*knowing things*" (9Ai). The students who were observed to have interrupted or ignored others did not generally portray a positive self-image, with the exception of 1Bi who perceived himself as being more knowledgeable or better prepared than other students, which can be seen in the thematic analysis of the interview data in 5.3.2.1 and more specifically in the narrative thematic analysis of 1Bi's interview in 4.2.2. These dominant students however did not have a negative self-perception either, seeming to prefer to be mute on their perceptions of self, a trait which is not shared by those who were perceived as being subordinate who, as is discussed in 6.3.2, adopt a narrative of low self-esteem. The exception to these generalisations was 4Ai (mixed race male) discussed in 5.3.2.2 who perceives himself as having taken a dominant role and questions the appropriateness of this.

Where students saw others as dominating, as 1Ai did (5.3.3.1) they explained it as due to that student's merit. The students who had been interrupted or ignored seemed unaware of this giving a narrative of the "*more knowledgeable*" (1Bi) students being the ones who spoke more often, this is again especially apparent in the thematic narrative analysis, particularly in the analysis of 1Ai in 4.2.1. The analysis of the observation data in 6.2 above shows that I was consistent in my perceptions that some students took over and effectively pushed others out. I observed several students such as 2B trying to participate only to be interrupted or ignored, these students then participated less. None of the interviewees however narrated their experiences in this way instead all the students reported a meritocracy in which those with more merit were awarded with attention and those who were excluded were to blame for their own exclusion as is discussed in 6.3.2.

All the student interviewees were asked directly whether they felt that factors like race or gender influenced participation. This is something that is clear from the observation data discussed in 6.2. 2Ai mused that growing up abroad might have an effect, and correlated this with race, although seemed to decide it did not have an impact and all the other 16 interviewees came to a similar conclusion as 1Bi that: "*I didn't feel like backgrounds really impacted our interactions*".

Differences between the observation data and the interview data are clear across all the themes, with some stark contradictions in places, and this is one of those incidences and the first to be discussed in this chapter. It is therefore appropriate here to reflect on the positionality statement in 3.1.1 and the constructivist interpretivist approach that underpins the theoretical framework of the case study as discussed in 3.2.1. This research is not about working out which of these different perspectives is true, in fact the whole notion of competing truths is alien to the theoretical frameworks of this research. CRT is clear that the project of ensuring that counter-narratives are told is not to challenge the truth of dominant narratives but to highlight that there are multiple perspectives (3.2.1) and to give voice to those that are unheard. The observation data is not presented as the measure of truth against which the students' interviews are checked, rather they are what I perceived in the case study and are compared here against how the students reported their perceptions of the same. It may of course be the case that there is a difference between what the students perceived and what they say they perceived and this may be intentional or unintentional and may relate to their identity as discussed in 6.3.3. There may therefore be three different sources of narrative: what I observed, what the students observed and, what the students say they observed. They help us to know that students report different perceptions from mine about what happened in the case study. This is as the theoretical framework in 3.2.1 and the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 would predict and it is suggested in 6.3.3 is related to the identities of the students.

The biggest contrast between the observation data and the student interview data is that race and gender are consistent drivers of domination and subordination in the observation data and are largely absent from the student interview data. Despite being asked directly none of the students recognised the race and gender issues that I perceived and emerge from the observation data in the analysis in 5.1 and the subsequent discussion in 6.2.

6.3.3 Subordination

The key difference between those students observed to dominate and those observed to be subordinate was that the latter readily internalised their subordination or lack of involvement. Whilst the analysis of the observation data in 6.2.2 shows that the students were observed to be trying to participate, and this is echoed in some of the interview data, for example 1Ai says "*I try and participate as much as I can*" (4.2.1), drawing back from participating only after they had been interrupted and/or ignored, the students who were observed to have displayed subordinate behaviour blamed themselves for this. That whilst they reported being interested and motivated to study when they had disengaged they blamed themselves for not being able to participate. The thematic narrative analysis of 1Ai in 4.2.1 illustrates this well. Despite 1Ai being keen to be involved and having been observed to have been both ignored and interrupted (4.1.1) she said of herself variously that "*I don't know enough information*", "*I don't always understand what's going on*", "*I can't share as much*", "[I am] *slightly childish and naïve*" and "*I just don't get it*". Students also reported in interviews that they had made a conscious choose not to participate because of their perceived lack of merit as discussed in the conclusions in 5.3.5, this contrasts with the observation data which identified students being excluded from group work (4.1).

When commenting on the subordinate relations of other students, student interviewees also focused on the internal, rather than the external, causes of the relations: lack of preparedness (5Ci), "*laziness*" (2Ai) and, generally relating a lack of participation to a lack of merit. Again, this was in contrast with the observation data which identified external causes such as being interrupted or ignored (5.2.1.2). These internal factors may be part of a student's identity, or adopted working identity, as discussed in 2.2.4.

6.3.4 Identity

The students did not acknowledge in their interviews any differences on grounds of race or gender, despite these being clear in the observation data. It seems that students both normalised and

internalised their privilege and oppression. Alibhai-Brown identifies that privilege is often: "normalised, internalised, maintained, diffuse".[376] In the case study a lack of privilege, or oppression is also normalised and internalised by the subjects of this research. Behaviours like interrupting others, taking control and, ignoring certain group members were normalised by all students to the extent that none of the students interviewed acknowledged such behaviours. The effect of these relations was then internalised with students who dominated claiming merit (6.3.1) and students who were oppressed claiming that it was their own failings that meant they were not able to fully participate (6.3.2).

This self-perception was also mirrored in the students' perceptions of one another, with dominant students being regarded as better prepared and more knowledgeable and oppressed students being labelled as lazy and unprepared. Where students did notice difference based on race they focused solely on nationality, perceiving that white students had grown up in Britain and would have a native advantage in understanding the political system which underpinned the case study module, while blackness was perceived as foreign and therefore lacking that native understanding. The reality was that not all of the white students had grown up in Britain whilst many of the black students were born and raised British as discussed in 6.2.1.

The literature review for this research identified in 2.2.4 that people, consciously or otherwise, adopt 'working identities' to navigate their lived experiences. These identities were influenced by dominant ideologies, in the context of the case study these may have been the dominant ideologies of educational policy examined in some detail in 2.3. In 2.2.5 and 2.2.6 it was explored how these identities were different for black students than for white students and how the identities of students who were both Black (with a capital B) and British were especially complex. Despite race and gender being observed to influence the case study and all student interviewees being asked directly about the impact of race and gender none of the students discussed the complexities of identity, especially how being Black *and* British is a complex identity.

In 2.2.4 it was examined how 'working identities' may be adopted consciously or sub-consciously, or only partly consciously. Determinism is not a necessary part of the theory, individuals may have personal choice but this choice is influenced by cultural factors. It may be true that the student interviewees, especially the black students, recognised some of the complexities of identity but felt discomfort in exploring this in the interviews. It is noteworthy that the interviewer is white and that the interviews were conducted on the University campus. It remains the case however that the

---

[376] Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, 'Foreword' in Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: The Myth of a Post-racial Society* (2018, Polity Press), xiii-xiv, p.xiii

students did adopt a narrative, however consciously, that ignored the effects of race and gender. CRT argues that blackness leads to being subjected to oppressive practices and in 2.2.5 it is examined how some theorists argue that oppressive practices lead to the strategic adoption of a 'working identity' to survive, in the context of the case study, both a colonised education system and a colonised existence. What is meant by colonisation and how it manifests itself in the education system is explored in 2.2.8, however the complexities of identity are relevant here. The data examined in the literature review around the BME or BAME 'attainment gap' only considers home students, the ECU excluding other data to limit the variables. This data shows that even where nationality is corrected for Universities are not awarding black students the same way as they are awarding white students and then using the language of 'attainment'. Recognition and reward are external to our students, it is what we as the academy do that leads to the awards our students receive at graduation. Attainment is what our students do and by deciding to call the gap between the awards received at graduation an attainment rather than an award gap the sector is shifting responsibility away from the awarding institution and on to the attaining student. The language of attainment gaps again normalises as well as internalises the problem. This internalising is what makes an issue that the observation data shows is related to external behaviours driven by race and gender, into an issue of identity and internal to each student.

The case study students have been exposed to an ideology of education that is grounded in both meritocracy and colour-blind racism as explored in 2.3. According to the literature reviewed in 2.3 this has meant that: "[a]s a result of this belief system, the true structural, institutional, and societal causes of inequity go unnoticed, and efforts to address these causes are viewed as illegitimate and unnecessary".[377] Educational policy and the views of some of those working in HE examined in 5.4 have meant that there is a colour-blind and gender-blind narrative that places a high value on meritocracy and may have led to the students talking of meritocracy and democracy more than race and gender. The interview data showed that the students seemed to regard TBL as both meritocratic and democratic and this chapter will now move on to consider TBL.

6.3.5   TBL

The student interviewees were asked about the TBL process and specifically how decisions were made in their respective teams. None of the students interviewed reported any members of their group taking control nor did they report that anyone's contributions had been ignored or that

---

[377] Robert D. Reason and Nancy J. Evans, 'The Complicated Realities of Whiteness: From Color Blind to Racially Cognizant' (Winter 2007) *New Directions for Student Services* 120 67, p.69

participants had been interrupted. Taking control (5.2.1.4), ignoring and interrupting (5.2.1.2) were however all themes that emerged from the observation data, conversely the student interviewees reported a democratic process (5.3.4.2) in which all participants had an equal voice. In the thematic narrative analysis of 1Ci (mixed race male) in 4.2.3 a process where everyone is given a turn to speak and decisions are reached by consensus is described. This perception is common to all the student interviewees and this is what TBL aims to achieve, a process through which learning is achieved through teamwork.

Where certain students do take control of the TBL exercises this is perceived as a positive, a meritocratic process in which they are exposed for their knowledge and expertise is narrated (5.3.3.1). Conversely where students did not fully participate in TBL again a meritocratic process was described which exposed their lack of knowledge, laziness and lack of preparation as discussed in 6.3.2 above. These relations were internalised as part of the identity of the students as explored in 6.3.3 and not attributed to external factors. The observation data however identified that the reticence to participate was exhibited by those same students, specifically black students, who had been interrupted and ignored, this may indicate that there were external factors that influenced these behaviours as well, or instead of, the internal factors.

Overall when asked directly about TBL as a methodology, students had mixed views (5.3. 3.2). 1Bi (Asian female) and 1Ci (mixed race male) generally felt it was a positive approach and that they learned from their peers. 9Bi clearly says that he prefers it as a method to his other classes because the workload can be shared across the team. In contrast 3Ai (Asian male), 2Ai (white male) and, 4Ai (mixed race male) all felt let down by their team mates.

6.3.6   Limitations

Some of the general limitations of the data are discussed at 6.2.5, these are not discussed again here. There is one specific limitation of the student interview data which is discussed here, that is the representation of the sample.

This limitation of the interview data is as a result of the case study itself. The observation data illustrated that participation was less amongst some groups of students and it was clear from Chapter 4, which describes the case study, that as the module progressed attendance decreased. The student interviewees were selected by purposive sampling but necessarily only included the students who attended the last two seminar sessions when the participants were invited to

participate. This has meant that the students interviewed were not representative of the student participants in the case study.

Figure 29: Split of Attendees and Interviewees by Gender (Percentage) illustrates that whilst the majority of the class were female the interviewees were quite evenly divided, meaning males were proportionately over-represented in the interview sample. Figure 30: Split of Attendees and Interviewees by Race (Percentage) shows that Asian students made up 19% of the class and 18% of the interviewees, white students 39% of the class and 47% of the interviewees, mixed race students 9% of the class and 18% of the interviewees and, black students 33% of the class and 18% of the interviewees. Black students were therefore underrepresented in the interviews whilst white students were marginally over-represented and mixed-race students were highly over-represented.

Figure 31: Split of Attendees and Interviewees by Declared Nationality (Percentage) only included those students for whom nationality was recorded as all those interviewed completed the Participator Information Sheet (Appendix 2), which included nationality, but not all other students did, therefore there we no interviewees for whom nationality was not recorded. This shows that non-British students were slightly over-represented amongst the interviewees.
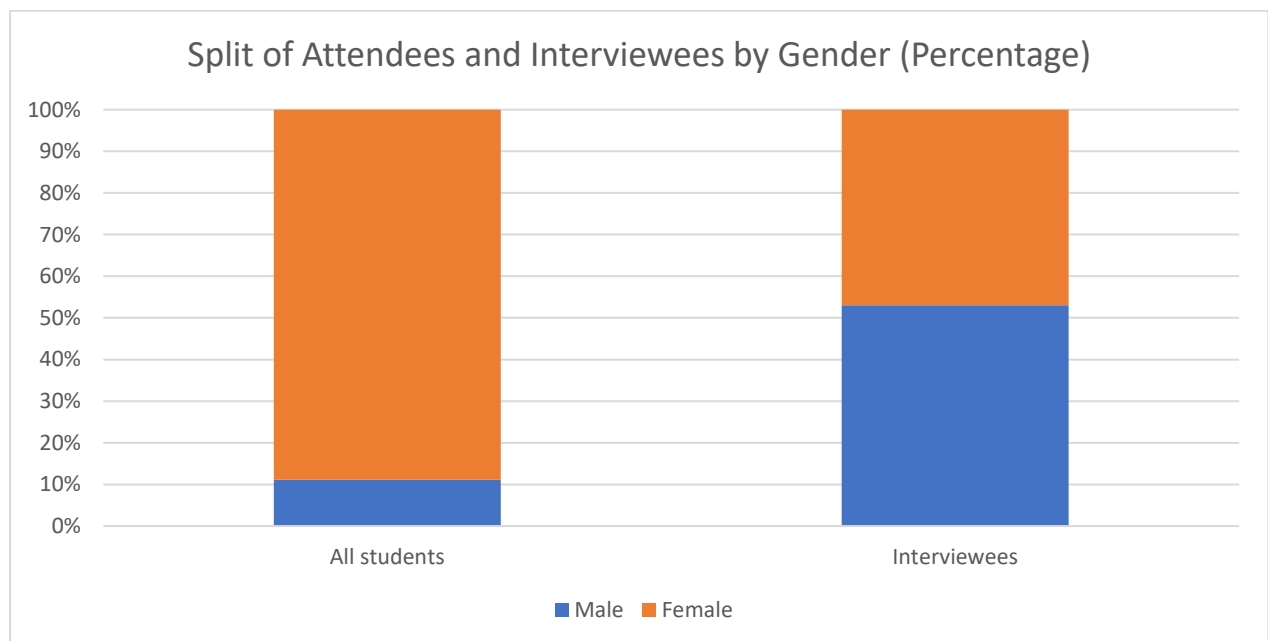
Figure 29: Split of Attendees and Interviewees by Gender (Percentage)
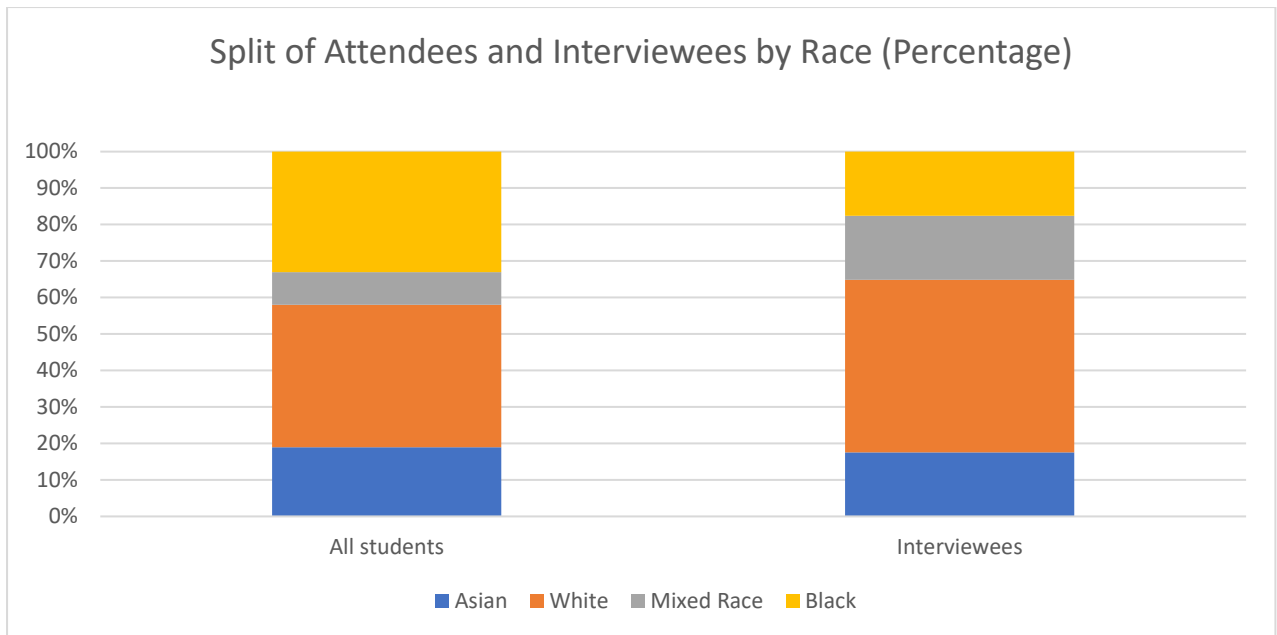
Figure 30: Split of Attendees and Interviewees by Race (Percentage)
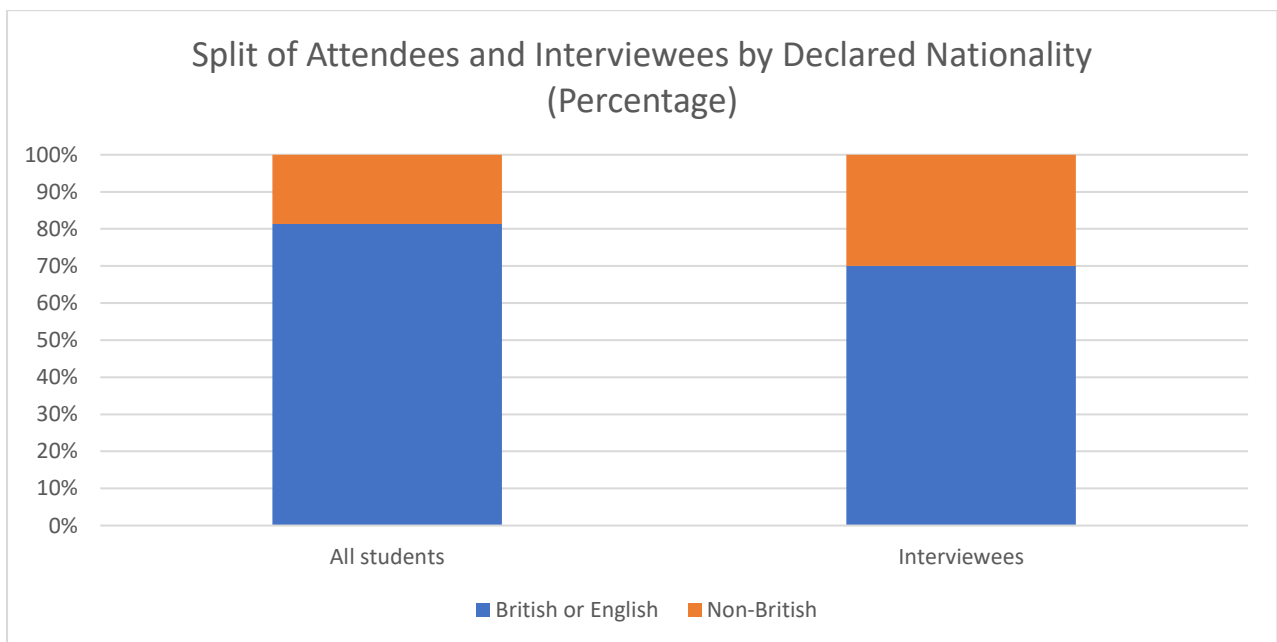
Figure 31: Split of Attendees and Interviewees by Declared Nationality (Percentage)

The purpose of the interviews was not to collect quantitative or statistical information therefore I was not concerned when purposive sampling with ensuring representation by number of participants. I concerned myself with selecting students who had reasonably good attendance overall so that they were able to comment on the sessions and with ensuring that there was representation by gender, race and, nationality, so that no perspective was omitted from the data. Interviewing students who were not present about experiences they did not have so as to correct for under-representation did not seem prudent and would not have benefitted this research.

6.4 Staff interviews

None of the staff interviewed had any direct involvement of the case study and it is therefore recognised in 6.4.5 that this data set is of limited value to analysing the case study itself. The purpose of collecting this data however was not to develop knowledge of the case study itself but rather to contextualise the case study within an institutional framework. It was argued in 2.3 that the educational policy of government was relevant to the case study in the way that it advanced an ideology about education and knowledge. The institution may have a role in advancing or diminishing this ideology within the case study.

It was identified in 2.2.7 that Frances Stage and Kathleen Manning map six presumptions that educational institutions make when working with students of colour which reflect meritocratic and colour-blind attitudes. The first of these is that any disadvantage because of race is internalised and made part of the student's identity, as this analysis suggested in 6.3.3 had happened with students within the case study. The assumption, they argue, that underpins this is that there is something about race that means students of colour need remedial support. It was identified in 5.4.2.2 that the staff interviewed had correlated race variously with SEN, socio-economic background and, prior educational experience. These are all attributes that HEIs try to remedy. The fifth presumption that Stage and Manning map is that HEIs adopt a colour-blind stance, this would be the same as the colour-blind attitude that the students interviewed were noted to have exhibited in 6.3. The below analysis in 6.4.1 suggests that this colour-blind attitude, as well as a gender-blind attitude, existed amongst the staff interviewed.

The staff interview data was not directly related to the case study itself, but the institutional context. This discussion does not therefore include the themes of dominance and subordination discussed in relation to the other data sets in 6.2.1, 6.2.2, 6.3.1 and 6.3.2 but instead starts with the theme of identity.

6.4.2 Identity

It is important to note that all the staff interviewed were white and all, bar one, were male. This is because staff were selected for interview on the basis of the posts they held, and most of these posts were senior posts within the University. Merely by choosing to interview senior post holders I had inadvertently chosen to limit the number of women I spoke to and to completely exclude anyone of colour. It was true at the time of the interviews, and remains true at the time of writing, that the top two tiers of the University, namely the ODG (Operational Directors Group) and UMT

(University Management Team), which include the Executive and all Deans and Deputy Deans, are exclusively white. As Bhopal notes this therefore makes it probable that they will not see anything that challenges the *status quo*, rather explaining away inequality on other grounds:

> Those in senior academic positions – namely white groups – work to maintain the status quo and protect their own positions of power and privilege.[378]

Given the demographic of the staff interviewed the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, especially in 2.2.6, would predict that there would be limited racial cogniscence. Staff interviewees were asked about the impact of race and gender and generally talked about it at some length. In all the interviews however, any issue that was initially connected with race or gender was quickly related to another issue. The VC for example in 5.4.2.2 discussed race in the context of socio-economic class and prior educational attainment, whilst the Dean related race with SEN.

This 'explaining away' of race as a manifestation of other disadvantage is what is described as colour-blind racism, refusing to see colour or race as an issue. There is a relationship between socio-economic class and race, although this is a symptom of societal-wide race discrimination rather than the former being the cause of any disadvantage because of the latter, as is examined in 2.2.3. This also relates to the issues identified in 2.2.4 where the 'learning is earning' and employability agendas tried to correlate economic disadvantage with lack of educational attainment pinned solely on the individual students who had, to paraphrase the discussion of Geoff Whitty's work in 2.3, 'failed to take advantage of the opportunities available to them.' Correlating race with SEN is concerning, this clearly shifts blame away from the institution and onto some special need the student has apparently because of the colour of her skin, bearing striking resemblances to the deficit model and diffusing a collective issue of racial discrimination to an individual issue of needing additional support or adjustments. As Stage and Manning note, and was discussed in 2.2.5, where special educational support is offered to students of colour and they refuse this is again made part of the identity of the student, they are labelled as lazy and unwilling to accept opportunity. This internalising was also present in the staff interviews around participation.

Staff reported that participation was a matter of personal choice; students of colour were not excluded but rather chose to exclude themselves. This is especially true in 5.4.3.1 where the Head of the Institute of Learning and Teaching discussed the drivers of participation. This description had similarities with the deficit model where there perceived to be an internalised deficit which, if addressed, will resolve issues. The issues are seen to be internal to the student herself, a deficit in

[378] Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: The Myth of a Post-racial Society* (2018, Polity Press), xiii-xiv, p.63

her identity, and the HEI is absolved of any responsibility. Stage and Manning's final presumption of the six they map (2.2.7) is the presumption that the HEI is operating as it should and the institution itself does not need to change. Their mapping fits the interview data collected from staff.

6.4.3 TBL

As discussed in Chapter 1 one of the key drivers behind choosing to investigate race and pedagogy was because of the largely uncritical reception I had received whenever I had trialled what were best described as innovative approaches to learning and teaching. If something did not have a positive impact on student outcomes and experiences, then this was seen as a justifiable cost of risk-taking. If it had a generally positive impact, then it was labelled as 'good practice' and we were encouraged to disseminate and replicate. This was true in relation to TBL. This readiness to try new things was driven by many pressures and one of those pressures was the data on the educational attainment of BME students examined in 2.2.8. It is clear from that data that the existing modes of learning and teaching were creating and perpetuating inequalities of outcome not only in the case study institution but across the entire HE sector.

Against this background the interviews with staff demonstrated that risk-taking in learning and teaching was not only allowed but encouraged. From the interview data it is fair to characterise the majority of those interviewed as encouraging innovation or risk-taking. The case study institution was the UK's first AshokaU Changemaker University[379] recognising and rewarding it for its culture of transformation, innovation and, change. There was pride in the way that colleagues discussed risk taking in their interviews, as examined in 5.4.1. The VC, for example, has publicly pushed this perspective which the *Times Higher* described in 2013 as 'Ready, Fire, Aim' (Figure 32: Times Higher Education Cartoon): "Universities should "get ready, fire and then think about it afterwards" when trying something new instead of spending "too much time aiming, trying to get it just between the cross hairs", [the VC] told a conference…"[380]

There was however at the time of the case study, as examined in 5.4.1.3, no system of checks and balances to mediate the risk, risk assessments such as EINAs were not required and, according to the interviewees, equality issues were only considered where a project had an explicit equality focus.

---

[379] See: AshokaU, 'Overview' [online] available at: https://ashokau.org/changemakercampus/ [accessed 9 May 2020]

[380] David Matthews, 'University of Northampton v-c tells sector to 'ready, fire, aim' *The Times Higher* (March 17, 2013) [online] available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/university-of-northampton-v-c-tells-sector-to-ready-fire-aim/2002294.article [accessed 30 December 2019]

Figure 32: Times Higher Education Cartoon

Many within the case study institution were welcoming of innovation. By selecting those with senior roles within learning and teaching within the case study institution it is likely that these are over represented in the sample. More conservative colleagues are less likely to have posts with responsibility for driving through learning and teaching initiatives. This is noted in 6.4.3 below. What is apparent from the interview data is that in an institution where doing nothing presented a very real risk of perpetuating inequalities there was some freedom to take risks with learning and teaching and this case study is an example of that.

6.4.4   Limitations

I did not interview a wide range of senior colleagues but had a very focused and small sample. Some of those I interviewed have since left the case study institution and those that remain have been part of a HEI that has gone through huge transformation, relocating to a new purpose-built campus and adopting a new, institution wide, learning and teaching strategy. It is probable that the views they shared in 2015 do not represent the views they hold today. This means that broad categorisations about institutional culture cannot be made and that this data set, like the case study itself, only represents a snapshot of some very particular things at a very particular point in time.

6.5 Concluding discussion

I consistently perceived the same or very similar behaviours that correlated strongly with race and, to a lesser extent, gender. Based on the literature review which noted the prevalence of colour-blind racism and an unrelenting belief in a meritocracy this was to be expected. What was unexpected was that the subjects of this research, the students who had sat in classes being observed, were unable or unwilling to see any disparities on the grounds of race or gender.

Universally they explained the events of dominance away as down to knowledge, effort and, merit and subordination as down to laziness or choice. All instances of disadvantage were internalised and reframed through a narrative of colour-blind meritocracy.

In the observation data, student interview data and, staff interview data there is a commonality in that each data set identifies at least two distinct groups of students. This is simply referred to in this discussion as groups A and B. What is different between the data sets is the identified traits of the students in each group and the explanations as to why the students are in each group. There are however commonalities between the students in each group, for example all data sets recognise a group of students who disengaged (shown as group A in Table 13) and a group and students who participated (shown as group B in Table 13).

Table 13 is an ideal-typical table which deliberately simplifies these two groups. Table 13 shows the different traits or ideal types each data set recognises for each group of students.

	Group A	Group B	Environment
Race / Gender	Black Female	White Male	N/A
Observation Data	Were ignored Were interrupted Disengaged	Participated Took control Ignored others Interrupted others	Dominance Subordination Oppression
Student Interview Data	Lazy Unprepared Unknowledgeable Childish	Hard-working Prepared Knowledgeable Mature	Meritocratic Democratic Colour-blind Gender-blind
Staff Interview Data	SEN Working-class BTEC background Disengaged	Middle-class 'A' level background Engaged	Meritocratic Democratic Colour-blind Gender-blind

Table 13: Student Characteristics

The data shows that blackness was a more common trait in Group A and whiteness a more common trait in Group B. This was not however identified in either the student or staff interview data. Not seeing race or gender is a common feature of HEIs as discussed in 2.2.4 and colour-blindness and gender-blindness were both identified in both sets of interview data.

There is in the data sets presented a relationship between race and gender and positive and negative traits. The racist and sexist theories that have historically tried to explain this due to people of colour or women being less capable than the white man were debunked in the last century and they deserve no place here. An explanation of the relationship is however necessary.

It appears from the data that perceptions of certain characteristics leads to making certain presumptions, for example in the student interview data white students who dominated were perceived as being more knowledgeable, better prepared and, experts (6.3.3) and in the staff interview data black students who did not participate were presumed to be from a low socio-economic background or have SEN (6.4.1). These presumptions led to certain behaviours that are apparent in the observation data (5.2.1). The literature reviewed in 2.2.4 and 2.2.5 surmised that certain behaviours became internalised and adopted as part of the student's identity for which she is then held responsible both by herself and others, for example a student who is persistently ignored or interrupted, a form of micro-exclusion, stops participating and narrates this as a lack of knowledge or expertise (5.3.2.2). The data supports this theory presented in the literature review. These relationships are illustrated in Figure 33: Relationship between Characteristics and Identity3. There is also a cyclical nature to this in that when low esteem is adopted as an identity this reinforces the presumptions and may serve to cement certain prejudices.
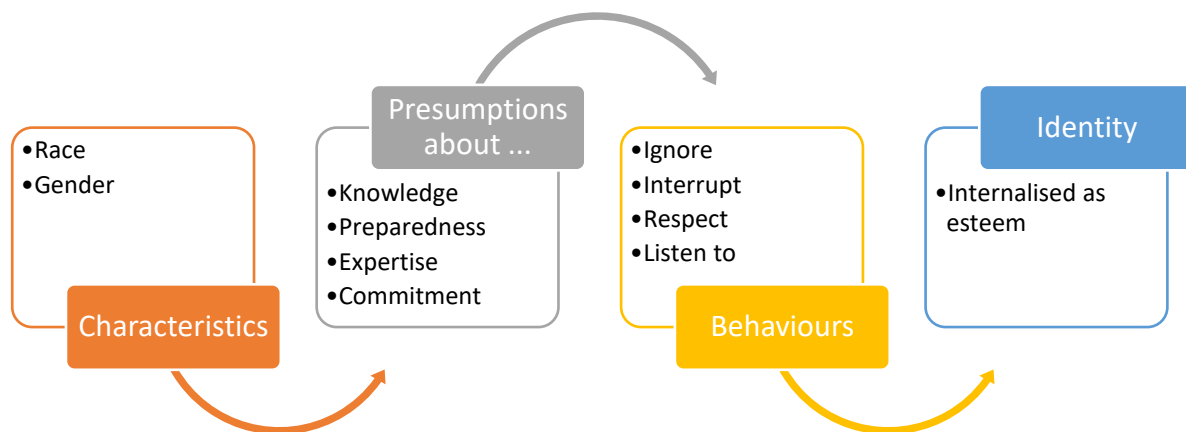

Figure 33: Relationship between Characteristics and Identity

If one does not see race or gender then the characteristics are not seen, instead you see two groups of students. Group A is lazy, unprepared, unknowledgeable, childish, has SEN, is working-class,

comes from a BTEC background and, is disengaged. Group B is hard-working, well-prepared, knowledgeable, mature, middle-class, comes from an 'A' level background and, is engaged. The students in Group A are either there through choice or because of SEN or socio-economic class. The students in Group B are either there through choice or because of socio-economic class. This would make the behaviours in Figure 33 seem reasonable - why should we listen to a student who turns up to class unprepared? Without the characteristics in Figure 33: Relationship between Characteristics and Identity the diagram looks like a meritocracy, similar if not identical to the meritocracy identified in the student interview data in 5.3.4.1 and the staff interview data in 5.4.2. A belief in a colour-blind meritocracy may therefore cause and perpetuate racist and sexist presumptions and lead to discrimination, this is discussed in Chapter 7.

There is a presumption here that group A does not include all those with good leadership skills and those who are more academically able. Ignoring or interrupting others at the appropriate time is a sign of good leadership, for example. Whilst it is unlikely that within this group of students there was coincidentally relationship between race and leadership skills and academic ability this cannot be completely ignored. It is a limitation of this study which highlights that a further study in which the variables of leadership and academic ability were controlled for may be of value.

The data also illustrates that the learning and teaching culture identified in the literature review of a colour-blind and gender-blind meritocracy is reflected within case study institution. That is not to say that there is an institutional culture of colour-blindness or gender-blindness, there is insufficient data to substantiate such a claim, but these attitudes are present within the case study institution. In learning and teaching practice the data shows that staff were not always encouraged to look for race or gender issues whilst being permitted to introduce innovative learning strategies. The case study itself was an insightful process as the project which was being studied, and was funded by ILT, was now subject to REC approval because it would be forming part of this study. The process was appropriately robust and minor amendments to the project were made in light of insightful comments. What stood out was that there was no similar process for the learning and teaching project itself, were the case study not to have been part of PhD research there was no ethical approval or risk assessment process.

The TBL process observed for the case study purported to be inclusive as noted in 2.3.3 however the data demonstrates that it entailed a racial hierarchy which the student interviewees did not recognise but explained away.

Chapter 7: Conclusions, contributions to knowledge and recommendations

7.1 Conclusions

7.1.1 The Research Questions

There were four research questions set out in 3.1.3. The answers to these questions have clearly emerged from the research and this is illustrated in Table 14. Table 15, at the end of section 7.1, relates these four questions to CRP and identifies key themes and recommendations. These recommendations are developed in 7.2.

Research Question	Summary of Findings
How do students 'participate' in group and team learning activities?	It is apparent from the observation data presented in Chapter 4 that participation has gendered and racialised aspects to it and is not a colour-blind or gender-blind meritocracy.
Which students exhibit dominant or subordinate behaviours during these activities?	The observation data clearly illustrates that dominance correlates with whiteness and maleness and subordination correlates with blackness and femaleness.
How do students describe these activities?	The student interview data demonstrated that the students did not perceive, or at least did not report perceiving, racial or gendered dominance or subordination. The students instead described a meritocratic learning environment in which those with knowledge, expertise and, who worked hard rose to the top and those who were unable or unwilling to pull their weight contributed less. They reported a democratic learning environment in which

	everyone had an equal voice and decisions were reached as a team.
How do staff within the institution describe learning and teaching?	The staff within the institution who I interviewed described a colour-blind and gender-blind meritocracy. They reported a learning environment where any disengagement could be explained by SEN, socio-economic class, previous educational experience, or personal choice.

Table 14: Summary of Findings

The purpose of this conclusion is to examine why, drawing on the data and discussion in the preceding chapters, the data suggests these answers to the research questions.

In 3.2.1 CRP,[381] which is the theoretical framework for the case study, was examined. This study maps onto the key facets of CRP that were explored. This is not to ignore gender, which was also an aspect of this research, this is discussed alongside race as CRP is an anti-essentialist and intersectional theory. This mapping is interesting because TBL purports to be an inclusive teaching methodology and the CRP framework was critiquing more traditional, didactic methodologies. The five key facets of CRP that were identified from Michael Jennings and Marvin Lynn's work at 3.2.1 were:

1. The role of intersectionality,[382]
2. The understanding of racism as endemic,[383]
3. The presence of power dynamics within learning and teaching,[384]
4. One's place within society and,[385]
5. They conclude that CRP must be explicitly liberatory.[386]

---

[381] Michael Jennings and Marvin Lynn, 'The house that race built: Critical pedagogy, African-American education, and the re-conceptualization of a critical race pedagogy' (2005) *Educational Foundations* 19(3-4) 15
[382] *Ibid*, p.26
[383] *Ibid*, p.25
[384] *Ibid*, p.26
[385] *Ibid*, p.27
[386] *Ibid*, pp.27-28

This study took CRP as its theoretical framework and these themes help to explain the data and frame the recommendations as shown in Table 15 below. This section of the study will now take each of the research questions in turn.

7.1.2 Research question 1: How do students 'participate' in group and team learning activities?

The data showed that participation was marked by power relationships of dominance and subordination and that these correlated with race and gender as discussed in 7.1.3.

CRP holds, as is identified in the third facet of Jennings and Lynn's work above, that power dynamics exist in learning and teaching environments. Power exists within the various social relations that existed in the case study, principally the relationship between me, as teacher, and the students and, the relationships between the students themselves.

Paulo Freire in his description of oppressive pedagogy focuses on the relationship between the educator and the educand, as examined in 2.3.1. Freire also proposes a non-emancipatory form of education which considers all inter-relationships and this is applied to this case study in 7.1.3. The model of education that Freire was critiquing in chapter 2 of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*[387] is what he describes as the banking model of education.

The relationship between the model of education Freire is critiquing and the identities students adopt to navigate their educational experiences is examined in 2.2.4 and how that may be challenged to create a more liberating model of education is discussed below in 7.1.3. TBL, as applied in the case study, remained susceptible to the criticisms of Freire and other critical pedagogists relating to the relationship of power between myself and the students.

Freire describes the banking model of education as one where the teacher 'deposits' knowledge in her students, expecting them to memorise and then, later, recall it. This he argues emancipates her students. As described in 3.2.3 the first stage of TBL is to provide preparatory material to the students, the students then participate in readiness assurance testing. These first two stages do map onto Freire's model, the preparatory material is deposited in the students and they are expected to recall it in i-RATs and t-RATs. The application exercise however (3.2.3) is similar to Freire's 'problem posing model'[388] which breaks the vertical power relationship between teacher

---

[387] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2nd Revised Edn., 1996, Penguin)
[388] *Ibid*, p.79

and student.[389] The application exercises however are not the real-world problems that Freire suggests posing, nor is application a joint endeavour that aims to achieve what Freire describes: "The role of the problem-posing educator is to create; together with the students, the conditions under which knowledge at the level of the *doxa* is superseded by true knowledge, at the level of the *logos*".[390] The application exercises have a right and wrong outcome, predetermined by the teacher, reinforcing the vertical power relationship that Freire and others are critical of.

TBL may therefore be more active and participatory than other teaching methods and is therefore likely to lead to deeper knowledge in that the students are better able to memorise and recall *doxa.* It is not however what critical pedagogists describe as 'dialogic' and therefore the vertical hierarchy of the teacher/student relationship remains.

The educational environment is one in which, according to Lisa Delpit, there exists a "culture of power"[391] and this culture was apparent in the observation data where dominant and subordinate social relations were observed in *every* observation. Delpit argues that the culture of power in educational settings is created and implemented as a reflection of who the power-holders are in society more generally so, regardless of the diversity within the classroom, if society is one where white men hold power then this will be mirrored in the culture of power in the classroom.[392] The power of the teacher, in the case study a white man, reflects and reinforces the social relations in society more generally.

At 2.3 the development of HE policy in Britain was examined in some depth and this explains the relationship between power-holders in society generally and the ideology this creates in educational environments as Delpit suggests. The observation data detailed in Chapter 4 clearly shows that there was a culture of power between the students in the case study and that this reflected the culture of power in the teacher/student relationship and that in broader society. This culture of power explains how students participated in the case study.

---

[389] *Ibid*, p.80
[390] *Ibid*, p.81
[391] Lisa Delpit, *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom* (2006, The New Press), Chapter 2
[392] *Ibid*

7.1.3 Research question 2: Which students exhibit dominant or subordinate behaviours during these activities?

The discussion around the first research question in 7.1.2 identified that the answer to this question is racialised and gendered.

The first theme identified in CRP above at 7.1.1 was the importance of intersectionality. Whilst the research demonstrated a clear prominence of race in determining dominant or subordinate relations, it did recognise an intersectionality with gender. The intersectionalities that may exist for other protected characteristics, such as disability, socio-economic class or, sexual orientation, present an opportunity for further research but are outside the scope of this study.

Gender was recognised as important in 5.2.1 where it was noted that male students were more likely to participatE, to be observed ignoring or interrupting others, and to volunteer for opportunities and, that female students are slightly more likely to take control. Any patterns of dominant or subordinate relations however are not consistent when we dissaggregate the data by race. For example Figure 17 illustrates that white and Asian males interrupt more often than white and Asian females but that for mixed-race students the opposite is true, and that for black students there is no difference regarding gender. Across the data race has a bigger and more consistent impact than gender, the disadvantage of blackness effectively levelling down so that there is no difference on the ground of gender. The data from the case study clearly illustrates that gender correlates with difference but that this relationship is not consistent and does not indicate systemic advantage or disadvantage.

In relation to race both this data and the data from the ECU examined in 2.2.8 shows that race correlates with difference both in terms of the social relation of power within the learning environment and in terms of educational outcomes and that this relationship is consistent. The data does therefore indicate that there is systemic advantage and disadvantage by race.

This does not however justify an essentialist or non-intersectional stance, but it does support recognising the primacy of race in social relations of power and as it relates to educational outcomes. CRP, CRT and CRF are all anti-essentialist in their perspective as is the work of the anti-dialogic theorists discussed in 2.3.1.

There are, of course, theories such as CRF which are intersectional in focus and acknowledge all aspects of one's identity. CRF for example argues that the experiences of Black (with a capital B) women are different from the experiences of Black men or of white women: "black or Latina women experienced problems or issues related to their black or Latina femaleness that were not

encompassed in the experience of either white women or minority men."[393] As is discussed in 6.2.2 there is evidence within this research that the experiences of Asian women differ both from the experiences of Asian men and the experiences of other women, including other non-Asian women of colour. Given the size of the case study and the relatively low numbers of black, Asian and mixed-race women observed and interviewed there is not enough data to examine whether the experiences of these women differ outside of the notable issue discussed in 6.2.2. The data shows that the experiences of black woman are similar, if not identical, to the experiences of black men however this may be to do with sample size. CRF does not diminish race, it recognises both race and gender as contributing factors to oppression.

The place within society in the context of the case study is the place of social relations in the classroom culture of power. In this case study they are either places of domination or places of subordination. In the case study there are no students who inhabit both dominant and subordinate places, as was noted in 6.2.2: "The students in the case study were either interrupters or they were interrupted but none were both." The students whose place was one of dominance were predominantly white and more likely to be male (Figures 9 and 10), no white students were ever observed to be ignored or interrupted (Figure 23). All of the black male students observed occupied a place of subordination and only 2 of the fourteen black female students observed ever displayed any dominant social relations (Table 6). Other students of colour were more likely to inhabit the place of subordination (Figure 22). The social relations the students occupied in the classroom were universally racialised and to an extent gendered. Merit or democracy were not observed in determining these social relations, in fact when black students did identify the right answer the merit that TBL proponents say they should receive (2.3.3) was not forthcoming as noted in the examples cited in 4.1.8 and 4.1.9.

As shown in Figure 33 and in 6.5 there is a strong relationship between blackness and subordinance and between whiteness and dominance. There is also a relationship between gender and the social relations of dominance and subordination. There is not a direct causal link between race and gender and these social relations, rather there is a complex chain of causation where presumptions about race and gender lead to certain behaviours which are internalised as working identities (2.2.4). The interview data illustrates that the students are aware of their identities or place within society. For example, 1Ai and 1Ci recognise their own subordinate positions in 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 and the dominance of 1Bi. 1Bi also recognises their subordination and his own dominance in 4.2.3. This

---

[393] Richard Delgado, 'Foreword to Second Edition' in Adrien Katherine Wing (ed.), *Critical Race Feminism: A Reader (2nd Edition)* (2003, New York University Press) xiii-xvi, p.xiv

consciousness of place however is not a critical consciousness and falls short of reflexivity and conscientização because it is neither reflective nor critical. None of the students' awareness extended to reporting any relationship between race or gender, in fact when asked directly about this they denied any such relationship as is noted in 5.3.1.4 and examined in 6.3.3. This is because identity and place are being understood through normalising and internalising the social relations of power[394] as discussed in 6.3.3 and this in turn maintains the social relation and diffuses the issues masking any inequalities.

The students who dominated were white and more likely to be male. The subordinate students were black, or mostly non-white, and more likely to be female.

7.1.4   Research question 3: How do students describe these activities?

Jennings and Lynn draw on the work of Delpit but are slightly critical of her as: "she does not go far enough in delineating how power and identity are negotiated amongst teachers and students of color."[395] This negotiation is part of how students described their learning activities and this chapter now moves on to consider identity within the theoretical framework of one's place within society (7.1.1).

In this study it is clear from the observation and interview data that students have a set place or identity within the classroom culture of power and the interview data tells us how they report their consciousness of this place. Although CRP, and critical pedagogy more broadly, focuses on reflexivity or conscientização (3.2.1) the place as well as the awareness of place within the society or culture of power will be discussed in this section.

CRT and CRP both hold that racism is endemic and as examined in 2.2.8 this is what is meant when one talks of a colonised curriculum. Similar to CRT and CRP, radical feminists, as introduced in 2.2.6, hold that male dominance is endemic whilst CRF posits that racism and sexism are both endemic and this leads to unique experiences of oppression for women of colour.

There is a clear failure to acknowledge race and gender universally evidenced in the student and staff interview data. The staff interview data is discussed below in 7.1.5. Whether conscious or

---

[394] Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, 'Foreword' in Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: The Myth of a Post-racial Society* (2018, Polity Press), xiii-xiv, p.xiii
[395] Michael Jennings and Marvin Lynn, 'The house that race built: Critical pedagogy, African-American education, and the re-conceptualization of a critical race pedagogy' (2005) *Educational Foundations* 19(3-4) 15, p.27

otherwise this failure is a form of colour-blind racism as described in 2.2.4 and white transparency as described in 2.2.5.

The observation data clearly demonstrates that there is a strong relationship between students of colour being interrupted and ignored and white students displaying dominant behaviours such as taking control. These power relations are persistent and may be symptomatic of endemic racism. The data also identifies some differences in relation to gender which may be symptomatic of endemic male dominance.

7.1.5   Research question 4: How do staff within the institution describe learning and teaching?

The staff interviewed also demonstrated a failure to recognise endemic racism and male dominance within HE. For HE to be decolonised reflexivity and conscientização are necessary at all levels. In 2.2.5 it was noted that British history is a history that is steeped in institutional legacies of racism and patriarchy and this further complicates the identities of women and people of colour.

Britain as a country has not acknowledged these legacies and therefore there is a lack of reflexivity and conscientização at a societal level. This is reflected in educational policy as discussed in 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 and, as examined in 2.2.3 and 2.2.4 this affects the identities of students. This educational policy also seems to be reflected in the attitudes of the staff who were interviewed.

Educational policy has failed to show any reflexivity and conscientização as is illustrated in the discussion around the curriculum in 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 which identifies that the curriculum is white and male. This is a criticism made of education more broadly by CRP as discussed in 3.2.1. The data illustrates in 5.4.2 that the staff who were interviewed did not show reflexivity and conscientização but adopted a colour and gender-blind stance, not reflecting on their white and, in most cases, male privilege. This lack of racial and gender cognisance is shared by all the students in the case study as already noted above in 7.1.4.

The presence of these power relationships demonstrates that the learning environment within the case study was colonised that this colonisation took the form of endemic racism and male dominance. The student interview data (5.3) clearly illustrates that none of the students reported the culture of power within the case study, instead reporting meritocratic and democratic power structures. The students' interviews reflected the dominant ideology that underpinned educational policy (2.2), this is a dominant ideology of colour-blindness, white transparency and, meritocracy.

The students bought into "The Myth of a Post-Racial Society"[396] and the staff I interviewed had done the same.

That race is a fundamental driver of educational disadvantage (7.1.2) and that HE and the case study institution are endemically racist and male dominated (7.1.3) is disturbing. The culture of power this led to in the case study is also disturbing, but what is perhaps the most disturbing is that not one student nor staff member demonstrated any awareness of this state of affairs.

7.1.6 Summary

This study set out to explore the impact of social constructivist teaching methods on the criticisms of HE raised by CRP. The teaching method chosen for the case study was TBL which purported to be inclusive (2.3.3) but which is not explicitly liberatory. As praxis TBL did not remove the culture of power that led to different educational experiences due to race and gender and CRP would predict this as it is not explicitly liberatory (3.2.1).

During the writing of this chapter I have witnessed the viral clip of a Minnesota police officer murder George Floyd on 25 May 2020.[397] This was not an isolated innocent but another example of State perpetrated racist violence. The rap *Black* by Dave was referenced in 3.1.1, when he performed this at the BRIT Awards 2020 he added a final verse, concluding:

> But Grenfell victims still need accommodation
>
> And we still need support for the Windrush generation
>
> Reparations for the time our people spent on plantations
>
> I'm done [mic drop][398]

State sanctioned racist violence, the Grenfell tower disaster, the impact of Covid-19 on Black communities are some of the unacknowledged consequences of endemic racism. The unacknowledged consequences of male dominance also persist in the form of, for example, the gender pay gap, sexual harassment and gender-based violence.

---

[396] Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: The Myth of a Post-racial Society* (2018, Polity Press)
[397] The New York Times, *How George Floyd was Killed in Police Custody* [online] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vksEJR9EPQ8 [accessed 1 June 2020]
[398] Dave, *Black (BRIT Awards version)* (2020) [online] available at: https://youtu.be/mXLS2IzZSdg [accessed 28 May 2020]

This study concludes that the issue of the colonised curriculum requires a response of an appropriate scale. An appropriate scale would be commensurate with the scale of the problem and not the interest convergence (2.2.2) or virtue signalling that we have witnessed after the most recent #BlackLivesMatter protests. Change of this scale cannot happen until power-holders, of whom the staff interviewed are examples, recognise and acknowledge the issues.

7.2 Contribution to knowledge

That there is a relationship between gender and the social relations of dominance and subordination is evident from the data. That this relationship exists in relation to race and that it is strong has also been evidenced and examined.

In the case study TBL did not address the issues of discrimination because it operated within a colonised curriculum. Teaching methodology alone is not going to address these problems.

Proponents of TBL argue that it is an inclusive teaching method because there are moments within the structured sessions in which individuals will have to be recognised for their merit, regardless of their characteristics, and at these moments other team members will appreciate their merit. There were instances (4.8 and 4.9) where students of colour were observed to have given the right answer and where the team would have benefited from this, yet the team members continue to ignore and interrupt them. This alleged inclusivity was not evidenced in the observation data. It is arguable whether this alleged inclusivity could be regarded as liberatory, but it is certainly not explicit. It is not in fact a key aim of TBL (2.3.3) as is clear from the TBL web page at the case study institution.[399] The web page cites the key aim of TBL as to overcome concerns about group work projects, these concerns are that some students "free-ride" in group work whilst others put in "considerably more work".[400] The language used is not liberatory but reinforces oppression by describing those who do not engage as free-riding, i.e. choosing not to take part, which as discussed at 5.3.3.3 is not always a choice but may be a response to micro-exclusions and even micro-aggressions such as being interrupted or ignored (5.2.2.2). This research also showed that those that are perceived to have done 'considerably more work' are sometimes perceived this way because of their dominance and not because of their efforts (5.3.3.1). TBL is therefore not, nor does it claim to be, explicitly

---

[399] Institute of Learning and Teaching in Higher Education, *Team-Based Learning* [online] available at: northampton.ac.uk/ilt/current-projects/team-based-learning/ [accessed 28 May 2020]
[400] *Ibid*

liberatory which some critical theorists argue is necessary for a pedagogy to be truly inclusive (2.2.6 and 2.3.1).

7.2.1   The primacy of race

This study clearly demonstrates the centrality that race plays in how students participate. The recognition of intersectionality and the adoption of an anti-essentialist position should not be allowed to detract from this. In every power relation analysed white students were the most dominant and the least subordinate. Black students in every power relation were the least dominant and the most subordinate.

The discovery that race was the primary factor in how students participate in group and team learning activities is a contribution to knowledge in this area. The stubborn persistence of racism was underestimated in much of the literature.

That it is the presence of blackness, as opposed to the absence of whiteness, that is the biggest factor in determining how students participate is also a contribution to knowledge. The Correspondence Party on occasion participated with no white students (4.1.9) and R LAW IS was entirely white (4.1.5), all the other teams were mixed. In Table 7 in relation to team R LAW IS (4.1.5) it was noted that:

> *The homogeneity of colour and gender in this team is unique across the nine groups as is my perception of equality in terms of dominance and subordination.* [Fieldnotes]

Regardless of this mix of diversity and homogeneity it remains evident that white students were rarely ignored nor interrupted (5.2.2.2) and that black students never ignored or interrupted other students (5.2.1.2). Where students were ignored or interrupted it was usually white students that displayed the dominant relation (Figure 12) and black students the subordinate relation (Figure 22). As no white students were observed to have been interrupted or ignored and this was not observed to happen in the homogenous white team (Table 7) or when the Correspondence Party had only black attendees (4.1.9), this behaviour was only observed in the presence of (and directed at) non-white students, and predominantly in the presence of (and directed at) black students. It is not the case therefore that white students, more than any other racial group, interrupt or ignore others as a character trait, rather it is the case that the white students who interrupt or ignore others interrupt or ignore non-white students, especially black students. This is an important qualitative difference because expressing dominant character traits as a characteristic at all times is different from treating

someone as subordinate because of their visual racial characteristics. The former may be insensitive and perpetuate existing inequalities whilst the latter, consciously or otherwise, is discriminatory.

Table 15 relates the research questions to the recommendations. This contribution to knowledge arises from research questions 1 and 2 and contributes to recommendations 7.3.1 and 7.3.2.

7.2.2   Student use of narrative

The students within the case study demonstrated colour-blindness, gender-blindness and, white transparency because they had not engaged in reflexivity and conscientização as part of the learning and teaching process.

The identification of the extent to which students adopt narrative devices such as 'working identities' (2.3.1) to explain away any power relations is a contribution to knowledge.

The observation data illustrates that where micro-exclusions and micro-aggressions, in the form of being interrupted or ignored when contributing to the learning activities, were never directed at white students (Figure 22) and were most often directed at black students (Figure 22). The narrative thematic analysis' in 4.2.1, 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 exemplify how the students narrated this. 1Ai in 4.2.1 expresses an enthusiasm for the topic and a desire to participate but says she chooses not to because she feels less capable. 1Ci in 4.3.1 talks of instances where he had to contribute because others in the group were unprepared or unwilling to contribute. The observation data however for the Next Generation (4.1.1) illustrates that when 1Ai and other students of colour participated they were always interrupted or ignored and that 1Ci dominated, even when others were taking part. This was not to the benefit of the teams, in 4.1.8 and 4.1.9 students of colour were ignored when they had the correct answers. All the students interviewed were asked about the impact of race and gender on participation (6.3.4) and none acknowledged that race was an issue, instead adopting narrative devices like working identities (2.2.4) and reporting a meritocratic and democratic learning environment.

This contribution to knowledge arises from research questions 3 and 4 and contributes to recommendation 7.3.3.

7.2.3   Colour-blind and gender-blind narratives

The staff who were interviewed demonstrated these same beliefs because again they had not engaged in reflexivity and conscientização as part of their professional practice.

217

This is an original contribution to knowledge, as is the identification of the extent to which students and staff relate a narrative of HE as a colour-blind and gender-blind meritocracy.

In common with the students, the staff were all asked about whether race had an impact on learning and teaching. Most staff acknowledged it did but explained it not on the grounds of race but on the grounds of socio-economic status, SEN or, personal choice (5.4.2.2). The staff interviewed, who were all white power-holders in a HEI where all the power-holders were white and displayed the "collective mental block"[401] discussed in 6.2.3.

This contribution to knowledge arises from research questions 3 and 4 and contributes to recommendation 7.3.3 and, to a lesser extent, 7.3.2.

In conclusion, the response to endemic racism and male dominance must be intentional and explicit and acknowledge the endemic issues it is seeking to address. Table 15 shows how CRP maps on to the research questions, the conclusions above and, the recommendations that follow at 7.3. Table 5 in Chapter 3 aligned the research questions with the primary data sources for answering them, these are the data sources that have been used to arrive at the recommendations shown in Table 15 from the research questions.

---

[401] Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, 'Foreword' in *Ibid,* p.xiii

Research question	Theme in CRP	Theme from the case study	Recommendation
How do students 'participate' in group and team learning activities?	Power dynamics in learning and teaching	Race was a fundamental aspect of the learning experience and there was an intersection with gender.	That the primacy of race should be acknowledged (7.3.1).
Which students exhibit dominant or subordinate behaviours during these activities?	Racism and male dominance as endemic The role of intersectionality	In the case study TBL did not address the issues of discrimination because it operated within a colonised curriculum.	That HEIs should acknowledge the extent to which racism and male dominance exist within their institutions (7.3.2).
How do students describe these activities?	Place within society	There was a universal lack of awareness of the power dynamics within the case study and the case study institution.	Reflexivity and conscientização should be part of the student learning journey and the CPD of teaching professionals (7.3.3).
How do staff within the institution describe learning and teaching?	Place within society	The students and staff within this study demonstrated colour-blindness, gender-blindness and white transparency.	
	Explicitly liberatory practice	TBL was not intentionally and explicitly an inclusive teaching methodology.	Learning and teaching should be an explicitly liberatory endeavour (7.4).

Table 15: Alignment of findings and recommendations to the research questions

7.3 Recommendations

As noted at the end of Chapter 6: "The TBL process observed for the case study purported to be inclusive as noted in 2.3.3 however the data demonstrates that it entailed a racial hierarchy which the student interviewees did not recognise but explained away." The above conclusions in 7.1 explain why this racial hierarchy as well as a gendered hierarchy persisted despite TBL being a social constructivist teaching method. For a teaching methodology to not entail a racial hierarchy this study proposes that the recommendations in Table 15 would need to be adopted.

If these recommendations were adopted by a HEI then it may break the chain of causation identified in Figure 33. In order to adopt and implement these recommendations however there needs to be a shift from the abstract recommendations in Table 15.

7.3.1   Recommendation 1: that the primacy of race be acknowledged

The data shows that race and gender have an impact and that race was the primary characteristic in determining the social relations of dominance and subordination within the case study. The data indicates that students and staff did not acknowledge the role of race or gender nor the primacy of race.

The primacy of race is not only ignored but actively denied in educational policy, as examined in 2.2.1 and 2.2.2: "within a neo-liberal context policy making in its attempt to be inclusive has portrayed an image of a post-racial society, when in reality vast inequalities between white and black and minority ethnic communities continue to exist."[402] The first recommendation of this research is that the 'primacy of race should be acknowledged.'

The best outcome would be for the primacy of race to be acknowledged at government policy level but there is a danger in making such a recommendation that individual HEIs or even the whole sector feel excused from local action until this happens. There is also a need to temper recommendations with realism.

The ECU's work on collating and communicating statistics around the gaps in HE was a rich source of data for this research in 3.2.2 but as was examined in 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 race equality work is one of the first victims of austerity agendas. The ECU has subsequently been merged with the HEA and the

---

[402] Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: The Myth of a Post-racial Society* (2018, Polity Press), p.1

Leadership Academy as result of the Bell Review[403] to create Advance HE and one of the stated purposes of the merger was to "deliver value for money".[404] Advance HE's website has a single page devoted to what it describes as "Degree attainment gaps."[405] The single page represents the data from the 2015/16 academic year and states that: "The biggest differences are found by ethnic background."[406] In the short section of the webpage entitled "Causes and Remedies" there is no explicit acknowledgment of the causes of this racial inequality, although there is an implicit acknowledgment that any failings are institutional and not failings of the student herself: "Action needs to focus on institutional barriers and inequalities, rather than 'improving' or 'fixing' the student. Traditionally the language of the attainment gap has focused on students' underachievement or lack of attainment, whereas it should focus on the institutional culture, curriculum and pedagogy." This clear shifting of responsibility from the body created by Universities UK, "the collective voice of 137 universities",[407] to individual institutions requires that any realistic recommendation must focus on action at the institutional level.

HEI's "employ a rhetoric of inclusion"[408] whilst failing to accept that they are predominantly white spaces that operate to the disadvantage of black and minority ethnic students and staff. Any acknowledgment of racism as a systemic problem is an example of "interest convergence".[409] For example, at the case study institution in 2018 the post of 'BAME Project Lead' was created and the institution funded the sabbatical post within the Students' Union of 'Vice-President (BME)', both of the post-holders contributed to the *Self-Evaluation Document* for the TEF and neither post now exists with institutional funding for both posts withdrawn after the TEF submission. The fixed-term, part-time post of 'University Equality and Diversity Lead' concluded in April 2020 after just 9-months and currently at the case study institution there are no staff employed in an equality and diversity focused role. An explicit and adequate acceptance of the primacy of race needs to extend beyond interest convergence and as the first step towards an explicitly liberatory learning environment is elementary.

An explicit acceptance would be any statement at an institutional level that recognised without caveat or obfuscation that students and staff of colour experience disadvantage as a direct

---

[403] Universities UK, *Report of the Review Group on UK Higher Education Sector Agencies* (2017, Universities UK)
[404] *Ibid*, p.5
[405] Advance HE, *Degree Attainment Gaps* (2019) [online] available at: https://www.advance-he.ac.uk/guidance/equality-diversity-and-inclusion/student-recruitment-retention-and-attainment/degree-attainment-gaps [accessed 30 May 2020]
[406] *Ibid*
[407] Universities UK [online] available at: https://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/ [accessed 30 May 2020]
[408] Kalwant Bhopal, *White Privilege: The Myth of a Post-racial Society* (2018, Polity Press), p.103
[409] Derick Bell, '*Brown v Board of Education* and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma' (1980) *Harvard Law Review* 93(3) 518

consequence of their race. An adequate acceptance would need to acknowledge that the institution was perpetuating the predominance of whiteness. This recommendation is a necessary first-step and would be a bold step, but it is clear and straight-forward.

7.3.2 Recommendation 2: That the extent of racism and male dominance be acknowledged

This recommendation builds on the first recommendation and requires that having acknowledged the primacy of race, we must seek to understand the extent to which racism and male dominance perpetuate policy, procedure and, practice.

This study has demonstrated in 2.3 that HE exists within a colour-blind and gender-blind policy environment and these attitudes are reflected in the attitudes revealed by staff and students in the interview data (5.4.2 and 5.3.4). This has led to a policy environment within HEIs that has accepted that objectivity and formal equality of opportunity are adequate to achieve equality. This leads to the colour-blind and gender-blind acceptance that HE is a meritocracy as examined in 2.2.

HEIs seem to have convinced themselves that they are non-racist and non-sexist because their policies, procedures and, practices treat everyone the same and treating everyone the same has become the objective of these institutions. The growth of unconscious bias training focused on formal equality across the education sector stands testament to this. As staff we are trained that if we do not acknowledge race or gender then we will stop seeing it and this will lead to our unconscious biases being corrected. This white transparency was evident in the staff interview data (5.4.2.1).

The data examined in the methodology in 3.2.2 clearly demonstrates that at the case study institution and across the entire HE sector formal equality of opportunity has not led to substantive equality of outcome. The observation data illustrates that students who did not acknowledge race or gender as issues in the interview data perpetuated social structures of dominance and subordination and HEIs seem to be doing the same.

Whilst HEIs may justifiably claim to be non-racist and non-sexist in that they do not actively seek to discriminate against individuals based on their ethnicity or gender, inequalities will persist until they are actively anti-racist and feminist. In an environment that is endemically racist, and male dominated, any meaningful activity that is not explicitly anti-racist and feminist will perpetuate inequality.

In order to understand the extent of endemic racism and male dominance HEIs will need to collect and interrogate data. The importance of data in recognising inequality was discussed in 2.2.8. This recommendation is not about acting on racism or male dominance, rather it is about recognising it.

The legal requirement that all organisations with 250 or more employees report their gender pay gap, which was introduced in 2017,[410] has succeeded in its aim of exposing endemic male dominance within pay structures and illustrates the importance of collecting and publishing data. Valerie Amos and Amatey Doku conclude in their joint report *#ClosingTheGap* that: "Getting the evidence and analysing the data"[411] is key to understanding inequalities in UK HE.

The lack of some data being available at the case study institution was noted in 2.2.8 and it was also noted that this was in spite of the PSEDs to publish data imposed by the Equality Act (2010). This made researching the nature of inequalities at the case study institution more complicated than it needed to be. Where data is available across HEIs it shows, for example, persistent inequalities in disciplinary actions against staff of colour,[412] systemic bullying and harassment of staff of colour,[413] endemic sexual harassment of female[414] and LGBT+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans +) students and staff,[415] gender and ethnic pay gaps for staff,[416] a lack of women and people of colour in the professoriate and amongst senior university managers[417] and, gaps in retention, progression and, achievement for students of colour.[418]

---

[410] The Equality Act 2010 (Gender Pay Gap Information) Regulations (2017)
[411] Valerie Amos and Amatey Doku, *Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic Student Attainment at UK Universities: #ClosingTheGap* (2019, Universities UK and the NUS), p.2
[412] The UCU, *The experiences of Black and Minority Ethnic staff in further and higher education* (2016) [online] available at: https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/7861/The-experiences-of-black-and-minority-ethnic-staff-in-further-and-higher-education-Feb-16/pdf/BME_survey_report_Feb161.pdf [accessed 30 May 2020], p.8
[413] *Ibid*
[414] David Batty, Sally Weale and Caroline Bannock, 'Sexual Harassment at 'Epidemic Levels' in UK Universities' (5 March 2017) *The Guardian* [online] available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2017/mar/05/students-staff-uk-universities-sexual-harassment-epidemic [accessed 30 May 2020]
[415] The UCU, *Pride and Prejudice in Education An exploration of experiences and perceptions of sexual orientation and gender identity among post school education learners and staff* (2016) [online] available at: https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/7929/Pride-and-Prejudice-in-Education-Feb-16/pdf/ucu_prideandprejudiceineducation_feb16.pdf [accessed 30 May 2020]
[416] The UCU, *Black academic staff face double whammy in promotion and pay stakes* (18 October 2019) [online] available at: https://www.ucu.org.uk/article/10360/Black-academic-staff-face-double-whammy-in-promotion-and-pay-stakes [accessed 30 May 2020] and; The UCU, *Gender Pay* [online] available at: https://www.ucu.org.uk/genderpay [accessed 30 May 2020]
[417] Kalwant Bhopal, *The experiences of Black and minority ethnic academics: a comparative study of the unequal academy* (2016, Routledge)
[418] Valerie Amos and Amatey Doku, *Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic Student Attainment at UK Universities: #ClosingTheGap* (2019, Universities UK and the NUS)

The TEF, REF and KEF (Knowledge Exchange Framework) and the OfS all compel HEIs to share certain data and this is raising awareness of the persistent inequalities that exist within HE. Other data however is either not collected or is not published. There is no legal requirement to report the ethnicity pay gap as there is for the gender pay gap and institutions are not consistently collecting and analysing data on, for example, academic misconduct referrals and outcomes, hate incidents or, disciplinary action against students. The Equality Act (2010) requires universities to consider the equality implications of any decision, including the implementation of policies and procedures. Good practice would be to systematically collect and analyse data as part of the EINA process every time a policy or procedure was approved or updated but this is not a legal requirement.

The recommendation here is that HEIs collect, record and, analyse data on all aspects of the student and staff experience of HE. Whilst this recommendation does not require that the data is acted upon it does require that HEIs investigate and acknowledge the full extent of endemic racism and male dominance.

7.3.3   Recommendation 3: Reflexivity and conscientização should be part of learning and development

Once the existence of the oppressive power structures within the learning environment are acknowledged then all of those involved in the educational endeavour must engage in reflexivity and conscientização.

The data clearly demonstrates that power relations existed in the case study and that these correlated with race and gender. It was argued in 7.1.5 that there needed to be reflexivity and conscientização for HEIs and those who work and study within them. The two recommendations above at 7.3.1 and 7.3.2 would require HEIs to begin this consciousness raising; this recommendation focuses on teachers and students doing the same.

The culture of power that exists within the learning environment as was evidenced in the observation data (Table 5) correlates with race and gender. Power cannot therefore correlate with merit or have been distributed democratically as educational policy suggests (2.3) and as the staff and students reported in the interview data (5.3.4.1 and 5.4.2). The learning environment is not meritocratic nor democratic. Neither is the learning environment a neutral space, rather it has a culture of power which reflects the culture of power of society more generally as examined at 7.1.4.

bell hooks[419] describes the expressions of power as political statements and argues that learning environments are never neutral but are political, as the decisions that shape them are political statements.[420] These political statements or expressions of power contribute to the endemic racism and patriarchy of the colonised curriculum (7.1.3). Educational policy as discussed in 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 is one of these expressions of power and as examined in 2.2.3 this directly effects the students' identity and her relationship with the learning experience. Many students, especially students of colour do not, bell hooks argues,[421] feel comfortable in the learning environment especially when it is misrepresented as an objective and neutral setting. The absence of a feeling of safety often promotes a lack of student engagement. [422]

We must first acknowledge the culture of power and then seek a teaching methodology that accepts and challenges the power relations as they exist. A teaching methodology that is founded on the mistaken belief that the learning environment into which it is being deployed is either a meritocracy or a politically neutral environment will serve to replicate the oppressive culture of power that exists there as TBL did in the case study.

To achieve this, the learning environment needs to be a safe space where there is constructive confrontation of the positions of power the students (and teacher) inhabit, and meaningful critical interrogation of these positions of power.[423]

Reflexivity and conscientização as a process must be engaged with by *all* staff and students. Liberation requires, as Freire recognises, reflection and practice from both the oppressed and the oppressor.[424] This is for teaching staff and students the first and foundational stage of liberatory transformation.[425]

Neither Freire nor CRP advocates for theory without practice, both require praxis. The action that follows reflexivity and conscientização is necessary to move from theory to praxis and is what Freire describes as "cultural action"[426] and is action plus reflection. Praxis therefore becomes a cycle of action research where there is action, followed by reflection, followed by further action. If an action

---

[419] Gloria Jean Watkins publishes as bell hooks. She has taken the conscious decision not to capitalise the initial letters of her pen name.

[420] bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (1994, Taylor and Francis), Chapter 4

[421] *Ibid*

[422] *Ibid*

[423] *Ibid*

[424] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2nd Revised Edn., 1996, Penguin), p.56

[425] *Ibid,* Chapter 3

[426] *Ibid,* Chapter 4

does not achieve liberation this apparent failure is part of the process of praxis provided it is reflected on and this reflection informs future practice.

It is acknowledged that TBL in the case study did not achieve liberation, yet if it is reflected upon and becomes part of praxis then it is part of the liberatory endeavour. Progressive endeavours sometimes fail to achieve their aims because of a failure to understand the cyclical nature of praxis, giving up at early signs of apparent failure rather than reflecting and then continuing to act.

A teaching methodology that actively encouraged reflexivity and conscientização as part of the learning process and recognised the lived experiences of all students as a valuable part of their learning would be liberatory. It would elevate characteristics of identity, such as race and gender, that may have been the cause of oppression to valuable learning experiences which are shared and credited.

There are practical steps that can be added to a socially constructivist teaching methodology like TBL to achieve this.

Recommendation 4, that learning and teaching should be an explicitly liberatory endeavour is a supposition that would require further data to support it. It is therefore discussed in 7.4 below as an area for further research.

7.4   Limitations and future research

The limitations of the observation data are explored in 6.2.5, the limitations of the student interviews in 6.3.5 and the limitations of the staff interviews in 6.4.3. The limitation resulting from the uncontrolled variables is acknowledged in 6.5. There is a further limitation of this research in terms of the theories on which it was based. CRP and CRT have influenced this study as is acknowledged in the analysis, discussion and conclusion.

Jennings and Lynn's five facets of CRP utilised as the framework for the above analysis has an unacknowledged descriptive to normative shift. This is because CRP, in common with many critical approaches, brings together scholarship and activism. Scholarship here helps us to analyse and explain data and activism compels us to develop transformative responses to the data.

Explaining that intersectionality operates within societal structures and that these structures are endemically racist and male dominated are the descriptive outputs of scholarship. Similarly examining the culture of power that exists within learning environments is also a largely descriptive output of scholarship. However, there is also an explicit call to action, an activist endeavour that

results in a normative output when one is compelled to assess their place within society. CRP is no longer saying how the world is but is saying how people should behave. This continues where CRP compels us to explicitly liberatory actions.

This study required that alongside the reflexivity and conscientização called for in 7.2.3 that there was also a way to describe and analyse how the subjects of the research had acted within the case study itself, it is not sufficient to acknowledge how they should have acted. Here this research drew on Devon W. Carbado and Mitu Gulati's work around 'working identities', as explored in 2.2.4, for its analysis of student identity. Student identity was a key theme that emerged from the interview data (Table 8) and is central to the analysis and discussion. At 7.1 it was concluded that TBL was not explicitly liberatory, but CRP did not provide the tools for analysing what would be explicitly liberatory. The work of Freire is drawn upon to analyse how oppressive or liberatory TBL is as a teaching methodology.

This research does not adequately address the issue of intersectionality of identities of race and gender as the size of the sample was too small as explained at 7.1.3. A further study of social constructivist teaching methods from a CRF perspective would helpfully address this.

The limitations of TBL as an explicitly liberatory methodology were examined in 7.1. If the primacy of race is acknowledged (7.2.1) and the endemic nature of race and male dominance are also acknowledged (7.2.2) then a teaching methodology that hopes to change things without acknowledging that that is the intent will not succeed.

Once HEIs have acknowledged the extent and complexity of the problem then any student who is conscious of the power relations that exist within the learning environment would rightly expect HEIs to do something about it and to be clear about what that something is. Similarly, once teaching staff have gone through the process of reflexivity and conscientização then they should be compelled to explicitly liberatory action. This is the fourth recommendation that is given in Table 15 but further research will be necessary to establish it.

Any explicitly liberatory action must be grounded in the acknowledgment of the primacy of race and the endemic nature of racism and male dominance and then seek to bring about liberation through the strategies outlined in 7.2.3.

This study recommends that if the TBL methodology used for the case study is to be used it should be developed in the following ways:

- Making reflexivity and conscientização part of the pre-learning rather than following the banking model

- Recognising the learners lived experiences as part of their previous learning and valuing that as pre-learning

- Ensuring the course content is developed so that it represents a multi-cultural rather than euro-centric or mono-cultural perspective

- Changing the process of "strategically-forming"[427] teams so that it is democratic, permitting the students a voice in determining their educational experience. Forming communities rather than teams would be the aim

- The process in the application exercises should be developed so they are truly democratic. The application exercises are intended to produce choice so that there is not "a different – and inevitably unequal – experience"[428] for each student. The application exercises as observed in the case study clearly did generate an unequal experience and introducing a system by which every student must use their voice, uninterrupted, as bell hooks did through journals, could remedy this

- A process of reflection and action research so that teachers learn from past practices

- Finally, we as teachers need to create communities rather than teams. The element of competition that TBL introduces through scores for t-RATs being used to compare team performances and students within teams having to argue for the right answer does not create cohesive and mutually supportive communities of learners

The model of a methodology that incorporates the above recommendations has not been tested and a case study assessing the efficacy of such a model, following the research design of this study, would be beneficial.

Such a methodology might be helpfully described as Community Based Learning and could function thus:

- The first step would to change the culture of the learning environment from one that reflects the dominance of whiteness and masculinity of mainstream culture to a multicultural learning environment. This could be achieved by shifting perspectives from euro-centric to multi-cultural in subject matter, reading lists and accepted dominant ideologies. Allowing space within the curriculum for critical perspectives such as feminism or CRT, privileging different voices and allowing students to hear from people who sound like them

---

[427] Michael Sweet, *The Least You Need to Know About Team-Based Learning* [online] available at: https://www.northampton.ac.uk/ilt/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2016/06/LeastToKnowTBL.pdf [accessed 30 May 2020]
[428] *Ibid*

- The second step would be to then consciously create a culture of power that is appropriate to the learners - a democratic environment. This fits well with a group or team based learning methodology which should be democratic and with the content of the Public Law curriculum which was the module used for the case study. bell hooks argues that such a learning environment can be created where there is a shared desire to learn which was evidenced in the case study at 4.2.1 where 1Ai shared her interest in the learning but encountered the obstacles of her own subordinate identity in realising this. This mutual endeavour is then co-intentional as opposed to the banking model of education[429]

- The third step would be to create a community within this democratic power structure with a common commitment to the mutual advancement of learning. To achieve this bell hooks advocates recognising the voice of each individual learner,[430] something that cannot happen when the culture of power leads to interrupting or ignoring others as happened within the case study (5.2.1.2). Recognising the voice of *every* student necessarily involves adding something into the learning and teaching process that requires *every* student to participate without interruption, bell hooks does this through students keeping and reading from journals[431]

This could take the form of Community Based Learning and I intend to refine and deploy such a model in my teaching practice, reviewing it through a process of action research.

---

[429] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2nd Revised Edn., 1996, Penguin)
[430] bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (1994, Taylor and Francis), Chapter 4
[431] *Ibid*

Reference List

Acker, S., *Teachers, Gender and Careers* (1984, Falmer)

Advance HE, *Degree Attainment Gaps* (2019) [online] available at: https://www.advance-he.ac.uk/guidance/equality-diversity-and-inclusion/student-recruitment-retention-and-attainment/degree-attainment-gaps

Akala, *Natives: Race and Class in the Ruins of Empire* (2018, Two Roads)

Alexander, C., (Ed.), *Children, their World, their Education: Final Report and Recommendations by the Cambridge Primary Review* (2010, Routledge)

    -- Arday, J. *Aiming Higher: Race, Inequality and Diversity in the Academy* (2015, Runnymede)

Allen, M and Ainley, P (eds), *Beyond the Coalition: reclaiming the agenda* (2013, RadicalEd)

Allen, A 'Michael Young's The Rise of the Meritocracy: A Philosophical Critique' (2011) *British Journal of Educational Studies* 59(4) 367

Altman, A., *Critical Legal Studies: A Liberal Critique* (1993, Princeton University Press)

Amos, V. and Doku, A., *Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic Student Attainment at UK Universities: #ClosingTheGap* (2019, Universities UK and the NUS)

Anderson, J., *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (1988, The University of North Carolina Press)

Anon., 'Background – British racism' (Autumn 1981/Winter 1982) *Race and Class* XXIII/2-13

Apple, M., 'Educational Realities and the Tasks of the Critical Scholar/Activist in Education' presented as the annual lecture at the Centre for Research into Race and Education, University of Birmingham, 10 June 2015

    -- 'Teaching and Women's Work: A Comparative Historical and Ideological Analysis' (1983) 86 *Teachers College Record* 455

    -- 'The Politics of Official Knowledge: Does a National Curriculum Make Sense?' (1993) *Teachers College Record* 95(2) 222

    -- *Knowledge, Power and Education* (2013, Routledge)

-- *Teachers and texts: A political economy of class and gender relations in education* (2013, Routledge)

-- *The State and the Politics of Knowledge* (2003, Routledge Falmer)

Arday, J. and Mirza, S. (eds), *Dismantling Race in Higher Education. Racism, Whiteness and Decolonising the Academy* (2018, Palgrave Macmillan)

AshokaU, 'Overview' [online] available at: https://ashokau.org/changemakercampus/

Askham, P., 'Context and identity: Exploring adult learners' experiences of higher education' (2008) *Journal of Further and Higher Education* 32 85

Australian Council for Educational Research *Doing More for Learning: Enhancing Engagement and Outcomes* (2010, Australasian Student Engagement Report)

Back, L. et al. 'New Labour's White Heart: Politics, Multiculturalism and the Return of Assimilation' (2002) *The Political Quarterly* 73(4) 445

Baker, K., 'Gendered Legislation: Critiquing the Sexual Offences Act (2013)' *Keep Calm and Talk Law* (9 November 2015) [online] available at: http://www.keepcalmtalklaw.co.uk/gendered-legislation-critiquing-the-sexual-offences-act-2003/

Ball, S., *Education plc: Understanding private sector participation in public sector education* (2007, Roultedge)

Barr, N. and Crawford, I., 'The Dearing Report and the Government's Response: A Critique' (1998) *Political Quarterly* 69 (1) 72

Bassey, M., *Case Study Research in an Educational Setting* (1999, OUP)

Batty, D., Weale, S. and Bannock, C., 'Sexual Harassment at 'Epidemic Levels' in UK Universities' (5 March 2017) *The Guardian* [online] available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2017/mar/05/students-staff-uk-universities-sexual-harassment-epidemic

Bauman, G., et al., *Achieving Equitable Educational Outcomes with All Students: The Institution's Role and Responsibilities* (2005, Association of American Colleges and Universities)

BELBIN [online] available at: http://www.belbin.com/rte.asp?id=8 [accessed 19 April 2020]

Bell, D., '*Brown v Board of Education* and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma' (1980) *Harvard Law Review* 93(3) 518

-- 'The Meritocracy and Equality' *The Public Interest* 29 November 1972

-- *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (1973, Basic Books)

Bhopal, K. and Maylor, U., (eds), *Educational Inequalities: Difference and Diversity in Schools and Higher Education* (2014, Routledge)

-- *The experiences of Black and minority ethnic academics: a comparative study of the unequal academy* (2016, Routledge)

-- *White Privilege: The Myth of a Post-racial Society* (2018, Polity Press)

Bishop, R. and Glenn, T., *Culture Counts: Changing Power Relations in Education* (2003, Zed Books)

Bishop, A., *Becoming an Ally: Breaking the Cycle of Oppression in People (2nd ed.)* (2002, Fernwood)

Blair, T., 'Leader's speech, Brighton 1995' (British Political Speech) [online] available at: http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?speech=201

Braun, V. and Clarke, V., 'Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology' (2006) *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3 77

Breen, R. and Goldthorpe, J., 'Class, Mobility and Merit: The Experience of Two British Cohorts' (2001) *European Sociological Review* 17 (2) 81

-- 'Is Northern Ireland an Educational Meritocracy' (2003) *Sociology* 37 (4) 657

Brint, S., Cantwell, A. and Hanneman, R., 'The Two Cultures of Undergraduate Academic Engagement' (2008) *Research in Higher Education* 49 383

Bruner, J., Goodnow, J. and Austin, G., *A Study of Thinking* (1986, Transaction Publishers)

Bryman, A. and Bell, E., *Business Research Methods (4th ed.)*, (2015, OUP)

-- 'The Research Question in Social Research: What is its Role?' (2007) *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 10(1) 5-20

Buckley, A., *UKES 2015: Student Perceptions of Skills Development* (2015, Higher Education Academy)

Burrell, T., 'The Science Behind Interrupting: Gender, Nationality and Power, and the Roles They Play' *Post Magazine* (14 March 2018) [online] available at: https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/long-reads/article/2137023/science-behind-interrupting-gender-nationality

Butchart, R., *Educating for Freedom: Northern Whites and the Origins of Black Education in the South 1862-1875* (1976, Ph.D thesis, State University of New York at Binghamton, Department of History)

Caine, K., Davison, C. and Stewart, E., 'Preliminary Fieldwork: Methodological Reflections from Northern Canadian Research' (2009) *Qualitative Research* 9(4) 489-513

Callinicos, A., 'Meritocracy: Unequal Opportunities' (2001) *Socialist Review* 253

Carbado, D. and Gulati, M., 'Working Identity' (1999-2000) *Cornell Law Review* 85 1259

    -- Gulati, M., *Acting White?: Rethinking Race in Post-Racial America* (2013, OUP USA)

Carini, R., Kuh, G. and Klein, S., 'Student Engagement and Student Learning: Testing the Linkages' (2006) *Research in Higher Education* 47 1

Cartwright, N., 'From New Labour's 'Earning is Learning' to Gove's 'Chalk and Talk': Knowledge, power and education' (2016) presented at the *Approaches to Inequalities* bi-annual conference (22 June 2016)

    -- 'Parklife: Experiential Learning for Teaching Public Law' (2014) presented to the *Approaches to Inequalities: Perspectives from Higher Education* conference, University of Northampton

Castagno, A., '"I Don't Want to Hear That!": Legitimising Whiteness Through Silence in Schools' (2008) *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 39(3) 314

Centre for Contemporary Studies, *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in Seventies Britain* (1982, Hutchinson)

Chen, Y., '"Why Don't You Speak (Up), Asian/Immigrant/Woman?" Rethinking Silence and Voice through Family Oral History' (2018) *Departures in Critical Qualitative Research* 7(2) 29

Cheong, P., et al., 'Immigration, Social Cohesion and Social Capital: A Critical Review' (2007) *Critical Social Policy* 27(1) 24

Chiarelli, A. and Corruccini, R., *Advance Views in Primate Biology* (1982, Springer-Verlag)

Christie, H., *et al.*, 'A Real Rollercoaster of Confidence and Emotions: Learning to be a University Student' (2008) *Studies in Higher Education* 33 567

    -- Munro, M. and Wager, F., ''Day students' in higher education: Widening access students and successful transitions to university life' (2006) *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 15 3

Coates, H., 'Development of the Australasian Survey of Student Engagement (AUSSE)' (2010) *Higher Education* 60 1

Collins, H., 'Stages in the Empirical Process of Relativism' (1981) *Social Studies of Science* 11(1) 3

Crabtree, B. and Miller, W., (eds), *Doing Qualitative Research (2ⁿᵈ ed)* (1999, SAGE)

Crofts, M., et al., *New Spaces: Safeguarding Students from Violence and Hate* (2018, HEFCE)

Dall'Alba, G. and Barnacle, R., 'An ontological turn for higher education' (2007) *Studies in Higher Education* 32 679

Dave, *Black* (2019, Kobalt Music Publishing Ltd)

> -- *Black (BRIT Awards version)* (2020) [online] available at: https://youtu.be/mXLS2IzZSdg

de Munck, V. and Sobo, E., (eds), *Using Methods in the Field: A Practical Introduction and Casebook* (1998, AltaMira Press)

Delgado, R. and Stefancic, J., *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction (3ʳᵈ Ed.)* (2017, NYU Press)

> -- Stefancic, J., *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge (3ʳᵈ ed.)* (2013, Temple University
> Press)

Delpit, L., *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom* (2006, The New Press)

Denzin, N., (Ed.), *Sociological Methods: A Sourcebook* (2017, Routledge)

> -- Lincoln, Y., *Strategies of Qualitative Enquiry* (1998, SAGE),

> -- *Interpretive Interactionism (2ⁿᵈ Ed.)* (2001, SAGE)

Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 'Higher Education: Success as a Knowledge Economy – White Paper' (16 May 2016) [online] available at:
https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/higher-education-success-as-a-knowledge-economy-white-paper

Department for Education and Skills, 'Excellence and Enjoyment: A Strategy for Primary Schools' (20 May 2003) [online] available at:
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20040722013944/dfes.gov.uk/primarydocument/

Department for Education, 'The National Curriculum in England: Framework Document' (July 2013) [online] available at:
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/210969/NC_framework_document_-_FINAL.pdf

> -- *The National Curriculum in England: Framework Document* (2013)

Dickens, C., *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859, Tauchnitz)

Diefenbach, T., 'Are case studies more than sophisticated story-telling?: Methodological problems of qualitative empirical research mainly based on semi-structured interviews' (2008) *Qual Quant* 43

Dixson, A. and Anderson, C., 'Where are We? Critical Race Theory in Education 20 Years Later' (2018) *Peabody Journal of Education* Jan 1 93(1)

The Education Act (1988)

Edwards, G. and Canaan, J., 'Radical, critical and Marxist education in neo-liberal Britain' (2015) *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 13(3) 71

Ellis, P., 'White Identity Development at a Two-Year Institution' (2004) *Community College Journal of Research and Practice* 28 745

The Equality Act (2010)

The Equality Act 2010 (Gender Pay Gap Information) Regulations (2017)

Equality Challenge Unit, *Equality in Higher Education: Statistical Reports 2018* [online] available at: https://www.advance-he.ac.uk/knowledge-hub/equality-higher-education-statistical-report-2018

>   -- *Equality in Higher Education: Statistical Reports 2014: part 2 students* (2014, Equality Challenge Unit)

>   -- Equality Challenge Unit, *Equality in Higher Education: Statistical Report 2012* (2012, Equality Challenge Unit)

Etherington, K., *Becoming a Reflexive Researcher: Using Ourselves in Research* (2004, Jessica Kingsley Publishers)

Francis, B. and Skelton, C., *Reassessing Gender and Achievement: Questioning Key Debates* (2005, Routledge)

Farnum, R., 'Scholactivism: A Growing Movement of Scholar Activists' *University World News* 3 June 2016 [online] available at: https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20160530142606345

Feagin, J., Vera, H. and Imani, N., *The Agony of Education: Black Students at White Colleges and Universities* (1996, Routledge)

Felicia, P., *Handbook of Research on Improving Learning and Motivation* (2011, IGI Global)

Fieser, J. and Dowden, B., *Internet Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* [online] available at: https://www.iep.utm.edu/desert/

Fowler, J., *A Practitioner's Tool for Child Protection and the Assessment of Parents* (2003, Jessica Kingsley Publishers)

Frankham, J., 'Employability and higher education: the follies of the 'Productivity Challenge' in the Teaching Excellence Framework' (2017) *Journal of Education Policy* 32(5) 628

Fredricks, J., Blumenfeld, P. and Paris, A., 'School engagement: Potential of the concept, state of the evidence' (2004) *Review of Educational Research* 74 59

Freire, P., *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2nd Revised Edn., 1996, Penguin)

Friedman, S. and Laurenson, D., *The Class Ceiling: Why it Pays to be Privileged* (2019, Policy Press)

Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain (3rd^d Ed.)* (2018, Pluto Press)

Gilbert, N. and Stoneman, P., (ed's) *Researching Social Life (4th Ed),* (2016, SAGE)

Gillborn, D., 'Critical Race Theory and Education: Racism and Anti-Racism in Educational Theory and Praxis' (2007) *Discourse Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 27(1) 11

    -- 'Interest-divergence and the colour of cutbacks: race, recession and the undeclared war on Black children' (2013) *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 34(4) 477

    -- *Conspiracy? Racism in Education: Understanding Race Inequality in Education* (2008, Routledge)

    -- *Racism and Education: Coincidence or Conspiracy?* (2008, Routledge)

Gilligan, C., *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development (Reissue Edition)* (1993, Harvard University Press)

Giroux, H., 'Rewriting the Discourse of Racial Identity: Towards a Pedagogy and Politics of Whiteness' (1997) *Harvard Educational Review* 67(2) 285

Glesner-Fines, B., McCabe, M., Pierce, F. and Sparrow, S., 'Using Team Based Learning to Teach Collaborative Practice Skills' presented at Institute for Law Teaching and Learning Summer Conference June 17-18, 2010 [online] available at: http://lawteaching.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/plenary-UsingTeamBasedLearning.pdf

Gold, R., 'Roles in Sociological Field Research' (1958) *Social Forces* 36 217

Goldthorpe, J., 'The myth of education-based meritocracy: Why the theory isn't working' (2003) *New Economy* 10 (4) 234

Gordon, J., Ludlum, J. and Hoey, J., 'Validating NSSE Against Student Outcomes: Are They Related?' (2008) *Research in Higher Education* 49 19

Gove, M., 'The Secretary of State's speech to Cambridge University on a liberal education' (25 November 2011) [online] available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/michael-gove-to-cambridge-university

Habermas, J., *Towards a Rational Society (reprint edition)* (1986, Polity Press)

Hale, F., (ed.), *What Makes Racial Diversity Work in Higher Education: Academic Leaders Present Successful Policies and Strategies* (2004, Stylus)

Halsey, A., Lauder, H., Brown, P. and Wells, A., (Eds.), *Education: Culture, Economy and Society* (1997, OUP)

Harris, A., 'Foreword: The Jurisprudence of Recognition' *California Law Review* (1994) 82(4) 741

Hart, H., *The Concept of Law (3rd Ed.)* (2012, OUP)

Hatton, K., 'Considering diversity, change and intervention: how the higher education curriculum looked in on itself' (2011-12) *Widening Participation and Lifelong Learning* 13 34

Hill, D., *The Charge of the Right Brigade: The Radical Right's Attack on Teacher Education* (1989, The Hillcole Group)

Hills, J., et al., *An anatomy of economic inequality in the UK: Report of the National Equality Panel* (2010, Government Equalities Office)

Hirsch, A., *Brit(ish): On Race, Identity and Belonging (Reprint Ed.)* (2018, Vintage)

Holwell, S., 'Ethnography' (2018) The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Anthropology [online] available at:
https://www.anthroencyclopedia.com/entry/ethnography#:~:text=Ethnographic%20fieldwork%2C%20carried%20out%20according,is%20what%20defines%20social%20anthropology.&text=The%20method%20is%20based%20on,observing%20it%20from%20a%20distance

Home Office, *Stop and Search* (2018) [online] available at: https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/crime-justice-and-the-law/policing/stop-and-search/latest

-- *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: Report of an Inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny*, Cm 4262-I, February 1999

hooks, b., *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (1994, Taylor and Francis)

Hu, S. and Kuh, G., 'Diversity Experiences and College Student Learning and Personal Development' (2003) *Journal of College Student Development* 44 320

Huber, L., 'Challenging Racist Nativist Framing: Acknowledging the Community Cultural Wealth of Undocumented Chicana College Students to Reframe the Immigration Debate' (2009) *Harvard Educational Review* 79: 704

-- 'Discourses of Racist Nativism in California Public Education: English Dominance as Racist Nativist Microaggressions' (2011) *Educational Studies* 47(4) 379

Hughes, N., 'Attendance as a measure of student motivation and engagement' *Inform - A journal for international foundation programme professionals* (2009) 3

Hume, D., *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1983, Hackett)

Hurtado, S., Milem, J., Clayton-Pedersen, A. and Allen, W., 'Enhancing Campus Climates for Racial/Ethnic Diversity: Educational Policy and Practice' (1998) *Review of Higher Education* 21(3) 279

Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, *Legal Education Research Network LERN* [online] available at: https://ials.sas.ac.uk/about/leadership-and-collaboration/legal-education-research-network-lern

Institute of Learning and Teaching in Higher Education, *Team-Based Learning* [online] available at: northampton.ac.uk/ilt/current-projects/team-based-learning/ [accessed 28 May 2020]

Jabbar, A. and Hardaker, G., 'Inclusion and the relevance of culturally responsive teaching in UK Business schools' (2010) [online] available at: http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/8109/

Jansen, J., 'Targeting education: The politics of performance and the prospects of 'Education for All'' (2005) *International Journal of Educational Development* 25(4) 368

Jennings L., 'The house that race built: Critical pedagogy, African-American education, and the re-conceptualization of a critical race pedagogy' (2005) *Educational Foundations* 19(3-4) 15

Jimerson, S., Campos, E. and Greif, J., 'Toward an understanding of definitions and measures of school engagement and related terms' (2003) *The California School Psychologist* 8 7

Kahu, E., 'Framing Student Engagement in Higher Education' (2013) 38(5) *Studies in Higher Education* 758

Kanwas, S. and Hamdy, H., 'Peer-assisted Learning Associated with Team-Based Learning in Dental Education' (2017) *Health Professions Education* 3(1) 38

Kawulich, B., 'Collecting Data Through Observation' (2012) *Doing Social Research: A Global Context* 150 [online] available at: hhttps://www.researchgate.net/publication/257944783

Kezar, A., and Kinzie, J., 'Examining the Ways Institutions Create Student Engagement: The Role of Mission' (2006) *Journal of College Student Development* 47 149

Khattak, S., 'Feminism in Education: Historical and Contemporary Issues of Gender Inequality in Higher Education' (2011) *Occasional Papers in Education and Lifelong Learning: An International Journal* 5 (1-2) 67

Knoblauch, H., 'Focused Ethnography' (2005) *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 6(3) [online] available at: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/20/43

Kohlberg, L., 'The cognitive-developmental approach to moral education' (1975) *The Phi Delta Kappan* 56(1) 670

Korzekwa, A., 'An Examination of Predictive Validity of National Survey of Student Engagement Benchmarks and Scalelets' (2007, MA Diss., University of Mexico)

Krause, K., 'Engaged, Inert or Otherwise Occupied? Deconstructing the 21st Century Undergraduate Student' (*Griffith.edu.ac,* 2005) [online] available at: https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/53465/Engaged,inert2005.pdf [accessed 16 November 2016]

Krysan, M. and Lewis, A., (eds.), *The Changing Terrain of Race and Ethnicity* (2004, Russell Sage Foundation)

Kundnani, A., 'The death of multiculturalism. Institute for Race Relations' (April 1, 2002) [online] available at: http://www.irr.org.uk/news/the-death-of-multiculturalism/ [accessed 13 June 2016]

Lac, V., 'In Real Time: From Theory to Practice in a Critical Race Pedagogy Classroom' (2017) *Inquiry in Education* 9(1) 3

Lahiri, J., *The Namesake* (2004, HarperPerennial)

Lambert, S. and Loiselle, C., 'Combining Individual Interviews and Focus Groups to Enhance Data Richness' (2008) *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 62(2) 228

Law, I., et al., *Institutional Racism in Higher Education* (2004, Trentham Books)

-- Phillips, D. and Turney, L., (eds.), *Institutional Racism in Higher Education* (2004, Trentham Books)

Leavy, P., (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2104, OUP)

Levinson, B., (Ed.), *Beyond Critique: Critical Social Theories and Education* (2011, Paradigm Publisher)

Libbey, H., 'Measuring student relationships to school: Attachment, bonding, connectedness, and engagement' (2009) *Journal of School Health* 74 274

Lock, A. and Strong, T., *Discursive Perspectives in Therapeutic Practice* (2012, OUP)

Lynn, M., 'Toward a Critical Race Pedagogy: A Research Note' (January 1999) *Urban Education* 33(5) 606,

Lyons, E. and Cole, A., *Analysing Qualitative Data in Psychology* (2011, SAGE)

Marshall, C. and Rossman, G., *Designing Qualitative Research (5th Ed.)* (2011, SAGE)

Marx, K., *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859)

-- *Eleven Theses on Feuerbach (1845)* (1969, Progress Publishers)

Matthews, D., 'University of Northampton v-c tells sector to 'ready, fire, aim' *The Times Higher* (March 17, 2013) [online] available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/university-of-northampton-v-c-tells-sector-to-ready-fire-aim/2002294.article

McInerney, D. and Van Etten, S., *Big Theories Revisited* (2004, Information Age Publishing)

McIntosh, P., 'White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack' (1990) [online] available at: https://www.racialequitytools.org/resourcefiles/mcintosh.pdf

Michaelson, L., Knight, A. and Fink, L., *Team-Based Learning: A Transformative use of Small Groups in College Teaching* (2004, Centers for Teaching and Technology)

-- 'Masterclass in Team-Based Learning' (presentation at the University of Northampton, 10 November 2014)

-- Richards, B., 'Drawing Conclusions from the Team-Learning Literature in Health-Sciences Education: A Commentary' (2005) *Teaching and Learning in Medicine* 17(1), 85

-- Sweet, M., 'Team Based Learning' (2011) *New Directions for Learning and Teaching* 128(Winter) 41, p.41

-- Watson, W. and Black, R., 'A realistic test of individual versus group consensus decision making' *Journal of Applied Psychology* (1989) 74(5) 834

Miller, D., *Principles of Social Justice* (1999, Harvard University Press)

Moriarty, J., 'Desert and Distributive Justice in A Theory of Justice' (Spring 2002) *Journal of Social Philosophy* 3(1) 133

Mullard, C., *Black Britain* (1973, George Allen & Unwin Ltd.)

Murji, K. and Solomos, J., *Theories of Race and Ethnicity: Contemporary Debates and Perspectives* (2014, Cambridge University Press)

Myers, M., *Qualitative Research in Business & Management* (2008, SAGE)

New York Times, *How George Floyd was Killed in Police Custody* [online] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vksEJR9EPQ8 [accessed 1 June 2020]

Newmann, F., *The significance and sources of student engagement. In Student engagement and achievement in American secondary schools* (1992, Teachers College Press)

Nolan, D., *OSCOLA* [online] available at: https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-subject-groups/publications/oscola [accessed 31 May 2020]

Nolan, M., *User Participation in Health and Social Care Research* (2007, OUP)

NUS, *That's what she said: Women students' experiences of 'lad culture' in higher education* (2012, NUS)

O'Connor, R., 'Akala: People get more upset by being called racist than by racist things happening'' (8 August 2018) *The Independent* [online] available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/features/akala-interview-drill-music-london-violence-hip-hop-natives-book-a8483156.html

O'Connor, M., 'Can We Trace the "Efficacy of Social Constructivism"?' (1998) *Review of Research in Education* 23 25

OECD, *Women in scientific careers unleashing the potential* (2006, OECD)

Ola-James, O., and Cartwright, N., 'Liberation is not the job of the oppressor: equality and inclusive practice from the bottom up' presented at *Race Equity through Pedagogy Conference,* Sheffield Hallam University, 1 July 2019

Olusoga, D., *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (2017, Pan Books)

Ortiz, A. and Rhoads, R., 'Deconstructing Whiteness as Part of a Multicultural Educational Framework: From Theory to Practice' (2000) *Journal of College Student Development* 41, 81

OSCOLA Quick Referencing Guide [online] available at: https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/oxlaw/oscola_4th_edn_hart_2012quickreferenceguide.pdf

Outhwaite, W., *The Future of Society* (2005, Blackwell)

Papini, A., 'What is Team-Based Learning?' *Bryant University* (2019) [online] available at: https://cte.bryant.edu/support-resources/team-based-learning/

Patterson, D., (ed.) *A Companion to Philosophy of Law and Legal Theory (2nd Ed.)* (2010, Wiley-Blackwell)

Picower, B., 'The Unexamined Whiteness of Teaching: How White Teachers Maintain and Enact Dominant Racial Ideologies' (2009) *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 12(2) 197

Pilkington, A., et al (Eds), *Race(ing) Forward: Transitions in Theorising 'Race' in Education* (2009, HEA),

    -- *Institutional Racism in the Academy: A Case study* (2011, Trentham Books)

Pizam, A. and Mansfeld, Y., *Consumer Behaviour in Travel and Tourism* (2009, Taylor and Francis)

Pojman, L., 'Equality and Desert' (October 1997) *Philosophy* 72 (282) 549

    -- *Justice* (2006, Pearson)

    -- McLeod, O., (eds) *What Do We Deserve: A Reader on Justice and Desert* (1998, OUP)

Popkewitz, T. and Fendler, L., (Eds), *Critical Theories in Education* (1999, Routledge)

Rabionet, S., 'How I Learned to Design and Conduct Semi-structured Interviews: An Ongoing and Continuous Journey' (2011) *The Qualitative Report* 16(2) 203

Race, R. and Lander, V., *Advancing Race and Ethnicity in Education* (2014, Palgrave Macmillan)

Rashid, M., Hodgson, C. and Luig, T., 'Ten tips for conducting focused ethnography in medical education research' (2019) *Medical Education Online* 24 1087-2981

Ratner, C., 'Subjectivity and Objectivity in Qualitative Methodology' (2002) *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 3(3) [online] available at: http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/3-02/3-02ratner-e.htm

Rawls, J., *A Theory of Justice*, (1972, Clarendon Press)

Reason. R. and Evans, N., 'The Complicated Realities of Whiteness: From Color Blind to Racially Cognizant' (Winter 2007) *New Directions for Student Services* 120 67

-- Millar, E. and Scales, T., 'Toward a Model of Racial Justice Ally Development in College' (2005) *Journal of College Student Development* 46 530

Ringrose, J., 'Successful girls? Complicating post-feminist, neoliberal discourses of educational achievement and gender equality' (2007) *Gender and Education* 19(4) 471

Roederer, C. and Moellendorf, D., (eds) *Jurisprudence* (2004, Juta)

Rogers, L., *Disengagement from Education* (2015, IOE Press)

Roper, J. and Shapira, J., Ethnography in Nursing Research (2000, SAGE)

Rose, R., et al. 'The Development of Case Studies within a Longitudinal Survey of Special Needs Provision in the Republic of Ireland' (2014) *JORSEN: The Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs* 16(2)

Rosenwald, G. and Ochburg, R., *Storied Lives: The Cultural Politics of Self-understanding* (1992, Yale University Press)

Rubin, H. and Rubin, I., *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data (3rd ed)*, (2012, SAGE)

Saunders, P., 'Might Britain be a Meritocracy?' (1995) *Sociology* 29 (1) 23

Schmuck, R., *Practical Action Research for Change* (2006, SAGE)

Scott, P., 'Beware, the central control that grips schools is heading universities' way' *The Guardian* [online] available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/jan/04/control-schools-universities-knowledge-business

Sher, G., *Desert* (1987, Princeton University Press)

Sibley, J., 'Creating Teams in Small Classes' *Learn TBL* (2018) [online] available at: https://learntbl.ca/creating-teams-in-small-classes/

Singh, L., 'Trust Me, I'm a Banker: Analysing the Issue of Trust between Banks, Media and Customers' (thesis) [online] available at: https://derby.openrepository.com/derby/bitstream/10545/621614/1/UDORA+Thesis+Submission+Redaction.pdf

Sisk, R., 'Team-based learning: systematic literature review' (2011) *The Journal of Nursing Education* 50(12) 665

Slaughter, S. and Leslie, L., *Academic Capitalism: Policy. Politics and the Entrepreneurial University* (1997, Johns Hopkins University)

Slaughter-Defoe, D. and Carlson, K., 'Young African American and Latino children in High-Poverty Urban Schools: How They Perceive School Climate' (1996) *The Journal of Negro Education* 65(1) 60

Sleeter, C. and Delgado-Bernal, D., *Critical pedagogy, critical race theory, and antiracist education: Implications for multicultural education. Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education* [online] available at: https://www.slideshare.net/georgedumitrache399/critical-pedagogy-critical-race-theory-and-antiracist-education-implications-for-multicultural-education

Smit, R., 'Towards a clearer understanding of student disadvantage in higher education: Problematising deficit thinking' (2012) *Higher Education Research & Development* 31(3) 369, 374

Smith, B. and Sparks, A., 'Narrative inquiry in psychology: exploring the tensions within' (2008) *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3(3) 169

Spender, D., *Invisible Women: The Schooling Scandal* (1982, Routledge)

Spiegelberg, H., 'A Defense of Human Equality' (1944) *Philosophical Review* 53(2) 101

Stage, F. and Manning, K., (eds.) *Enhancing the Multicultural Campus Environment: A Cultural Brokering Approach*: *New Directions for Student Services, no. 60. (J-B SS Single Issue Student Services)* (1992 Jossey-Bass)

Stake, R., *The Art of Case Study Research* (1995, SAGE)

Stalker, J., 'Misogyny, women, and obstacles to tertiary education: A vile situation' (2001) *Adult Education Quarterly* 51 288

Sweet, M., *The Least You Need to Know About Team-Based Learning* [online] available at: https://www.northampton.ac.uk/ilt/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2016/06/LeastToKnowTBL.pdf

Tatum, B., *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? And Other Conversations About Race* (1997, Basic Books)

Tay, Y., 'Reading Law as Literature: A Forced Relation' (1986) *UCL Jurisprudence Review* 3 58

Taylor, M., 'My response to Michael Gove's response to my response to his speech' (January 19 2010) (Royal Society for the improvement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce) [online] available at: https://www.thersa.org/discover/publications-and-articles/matthew-taylor-blog/2010/01/my-response-to-michael-goves-response-to-my-response-to-his-speech/

Team-Based Learning™ Collaborative, *Overview* [online] available at:
http://www.teambasedlearning.org/definition/

-- *What is TBL?* [online] available at: http://www.teambasedlearning.org/definition/

Themelis, S., 'Meritocracy through education and social mobility in post-war Britain: a critical examination' (2008) *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 29 (5) 427

Trowler, V. and Trowler, P., *Student engagement evidence summary* (2010, HEA)

Tyagi, R., 'Understanding Postcolonial Feminism in relation with Postcolonial and Feminist Theories' (2014) *International Journal of Language and Linguistics* 1(2) 45

Tymms, P., Merrell, C. and Bailey, K., 'The Long-term Impact of Effective Teaching' (2018) *School Effectiveness and School Improvement* 29(2) 242

University and Colleges Union (UCU), *Black academic staff face double whammy in promotion and pay stakes* (18 October 2019) [online] available at: https://www.ucu.org.uk/article/10360/Black-academic-staff-face-double-whammy-in-promotion-and-pay-stakes

-- *Gender Pay* [online] available at: https://www.ucu.org.uk/genderpay

-- *Pride and Prejudice in Education An exploration of experiences and perceptions of sexual orientation and gender identity among post school education learners and staff* (2016) [online] available at: https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/7929/Pride-and-Prejudice-in-Education-Feb-16/pdf/ucu_prideandprejudiceineducation_feb16.pdf

-- *Sexual violence and harassment: a UCU statement* [online] available at: https://www.ucu.org.uk/sexualviolence

-- *The experiences of Black and Minority Ethnic staff in further and higher education* (2016) [online] available at: https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/7861/The-experiences-of-black-and-minority-ethnic-staff-in-further-and-higher-education-Feb-16/pdf/BME_survey_report_Feb161.pdf

Universities UK, [online] available at: https://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/

-- *Report of the Review Group on UK Higher Education Sector Agencies* (2017, Universities UK)

University of Northampton, *Student Data* [online] https://www.northampton.ac.uk/more/governance-and-management/compliance/equality-and-diversity/staff-and-student-equality-data-reports/student-data/

Wefald, A. and Downey, R., 'Construct Dimensionality of Engagement and its Relation with Satisfaction' (2009) *Journal of Psychology* 143 912

Whitty, G., 'Education, social class and social exclusion' (2001) *Journal of Education Policy* 16(4) 287

Wikipedia, 'Rhodes Must Fall' [online] available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rhodes_Must_Fall [accessed 31 December 2019]

Wikipedia, 'Dave (rapper)' [online] available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dave_(rapper)

Willie, S., *Acting Black: College, Identity, and the Performance of Race* (2003, Routledge)

Wing, A., (ed.), *Critical Race Feminism: A Reader (2nd Edition)* (2003, New York University Press)

Woodson, C., *The Mis-education of the Negro* (1993, Africa World Press)

www.akala.moonfruit.com

Yandell, J., 'Whose Knowledge Counts?' (2013) (Institute of Education) [online] available at: http://research.ioe.ac.uk/portal/services/downloadRegister/5316721/JY_knowledge131107.docx

Yezulu, F., 'Narrative Approaches to Case Studies' [online] available at: https://www.academia.edu/33795489/Narrative_approaches_to_case_studies

Yin, R., *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (3rd Ed.) (Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol. 5)* (2003, SAGE)

Young, M., *The Rise of the Meritocracy (2nd Edn.)* (2017, Routledge)

Yousafzai, M., *We Are Displaced: My Journey and Stories from Refugee Girls Around the World* (2019, Weidenfeld & Nicholson)

Zalta, E., (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of* Philosophy (Summer 2011 Edition) [online] available at: https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2011/entries/enlightenment/

    -- *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2017 Edition) [online] available at:
    https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2017/entries/justice-distributive/

Appendices

Interview Schedule

Summary/Aims

The aims of the research are to identify how different teaching methods affect the engagement/participation/progression and success of different students.

Themes/Questions:

1) Can you explain the different teaching methods you have experienced at
   ██████████?
   a. How do these different teaching methods compare?

2) Focussing on your experience of Public Law, can you talk me through what happens in your team/group when you are asked to complete an activity.
   a. Can you tell me more about - TRATs, poster exercise, group discussions/campaigning?
   b. Can you tell me more about your role within the group?
   c. Issues re dominance of group members, how they see themselves as fitting into the group, why they take on the role they do, why they perceive themselves in this position, how this impacts on what they feel they learn.

3) Explain your experiences of whether factors such as race, gender or age impact on how you and other students participate in Pubic Law, and in particular, the team activities?

4) Please feel free to mention any other issues may not have specifically asked about previously.

A study of the impact of different teaching methods in 'Introduction to Public Law' seminars.

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask questions if anything you read is not clear or would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not to take part.

Purpose.

The purpose of this research is to gain an insight into your experiences of learning and teaching over the course of this academic year. It is intended that the results of this research will be shared across the University to influence learning and teaching policy and will be used in research which will be included in my PhD thesis and may be presented at conferences or published.

Taking part.

You are free to choose whether or not to participate in all, or any part, of the research. You are free to withdraw from the research at any time – you do not have to give a reason.

If you choose to take part I will describe the study to you and go through the consent form, which I will give to you. I will then ask you to sign the consent form to show you have agreed to take part.

All records of observations and any responses to interview questions will be anonymised and any personally identifiable information will remain confidential.

What happens if you choose to take part?

You will participate in my seminars in much the same you would any other seminars, I will observe what happens in the seminars and these observations will form some of the data for my research.

During some seminars another tutor may be present to observe the session; this is to ensure that my observations are accurate.

You will be invited to reflect on the sessions and record your observations in a 'communications book'. This reflection and feedback will be primarily used to ensure that you are learning effectively and allow me to respond to your feedback. Information you write in your book may also be used in the study. Any information would be anonymised before being used.

Some students in each seminar group will be invited to be interviewed about their experiences. Anyone who is invited to be interviewed will be asked to sign a consent form prior to the interview and anyone can choose not to be interviewed.

What happens if you choose not to take part?

If you don't want to take part then you don't have to.

If you choose not to participate at the beginning of the academic year you will be moved to another seminar group which is not being observed. Most seminar groups are scheduled at the same time so this shouldn't cause any disruption to your timetable.

If you change your mind and want to withdraw from the study during the academic year then you are free to do so. You will be moved to another seminar group.

If at any time during the study you decide you don't want any data about you to be used then you can say so, you don't have to give a reason, and this data will not be used in the study.

Thank you,

Nick Cartwright

Consent

I have read and understood the participant information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

I understand that some classes will be observed and give my permission for this.

I give my permission for observations to be used in research.

I agree to take part in the study.

Name	Date	Signature

Purpose

The purpose of this research is to gain an insight into your experiences of learning and teaching during the course of this academic year. It is intended that the results of this research will be shared across the University to influence learning and teaching policy and will be used in research for my PhD which may be presented at conferences or published.

You are free to choose whether or not to participate in all, or any part, of the interview. You are free to leave the interview at any time – you do not have to give a reason and you do not have to answer any questions if you do not want to.

If you choose to participate all your responses will be anonymised and any personally identifiable information will remain confidential. The conversation will be tape recorded and transcribed, all personally identifiable information will be anonymised in the transcription. Once transcribed the recordings of the interview will be deleted.

Thank you.

Consent

I have read and understood the information above and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

I understand that the discussion will be recorded and transcribed and give my permission for this.

I give my permission for anonymous quotes from the interview to be used in research.

I agree to take part in the study.

Name	Date	Signature

About you

Please complete the following monitoring form before the interview.

1. How would you describe your gender? (please tick one)
   - o Male
   - o Female
   - o Prefer not to say

2. What age are you?
   - o Under 21
   - o Over 21

3. How would you describe your ethnic origin? (please tick one)
   - o Asian
   - o Black
   - o Mixed / multiple ethnic origin
   - o White
   - o Other ethnic group (please state) _____
   - o Prefer not to say

4. What is your nationality? (please state) _____

5. Do you have a disability? (please tick one)
   - o Yes (please state) _____
   - o No
   - o Prefer not to say

Case Study Institution Logo

School of Social Sciences

Interview

Purpose

The purpose of this research is to gain an insight into your experience of being involved in learning and teaching. It is intended that the results of this research will be used in research which may be presented at conferences or published and will contribute to my PhD.

You are free to choose whether or not to participate in all, or any part, of the interview. You are free to leave the interview at any time – you do not have to give a reason and you do not have to answer any questions if you do not want to.

If you choose to participate all your responses will be anonymised although you may be identifiable from your role, however any personally identifiable information will remain confidential. The conversation will be tape recorded and transcribed, all personally identifiable information will be anonymised in the transcription.

Thank you.

Consent

I have read and understood the information above and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

I understand that the discussion will be recorded and transcribed and give my permission for this.

I give my permission for anonymous quotes from the interview to be used in research.

I agree to take part in the study.

| _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Name | Date | Signature |

What are your political views?

Name:

Seminar group:

	XX	X	√	√√
The Economy				
The way to deal with the 'structural deficit' is by investing in growth, **NOT** spending cuts.				
The unemployed should receive a living wage from the State.				
The government should clamp down on tax avoidance and tax havens and increase tax rates for high earners.				
Immigration	XX	X	√	√√
The government should ensure that only migrants who will benefit the economy are allowed to enter the UK.				
Asylum seekers should not be entitled to State benefits.				
All immigration should be frozen for 5 years and the number of illegal immigrants deported should be trebled.				
Defence & Foreign Policy	XX	X	√	√√
The government should scrap all nuclear weapons.				
The defence budget should be cut and the money should be spent on education and welfare.				
In times of austerity the UK should still be giving aid to less-developed countries.				
Crime & Justice	XX	X	√	√√

The UK should re-introduce corporal (physical) punishment for petty criminals and vandals and introduce capital punishment (the death penalty) for paedophiles, terrorists and murderers.

Prisoners are not entitled to the same human rights as law-abiding citizens and should not be allowed to vote.

Foreign nationals who are sympathetic to the aims of terrorist organisations should be deported.

Family

	XX	X	√	√√

Married parents should pay less tax than unmarried and single parents.

People should only have children if they can afford to raise them without financial support from the government.

Child benefit should only be available to British citizens.

258