



PhD thesis

An exploration of the experience of minoritised ethnic nurse academics in UK higher education institutions

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An Exploration of the experience of Minoritised Ethnic Nurse Academics in UK Higher Education Institutions

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Health and Education
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September 2024

Declaration of Originality

This thesis is my own work and is due to my efforts. It contains no material previously published or written by another person. Any ideas, data images or text obtained from the work of others are fully attributed to their originators in footnotes or bibliography. This thesis has not been submitted in whole or in part for any other academic degrees or professional qualifications.

I affirm that the research presented in this thesis has undergone ethical review and has complied with the terms of ethical approval provided by the Research Ethics Committee.

Abstract

Background

Studies suggest that British universities may not be meritocratic and inclusive institutions for all, especially for black female academics. They face barriers such as pay discrepancies, gendered racism, microaggressions, and under-representation in senior positions, leading to marginalisation and career stagnation. Limited research exists on the experiences of black minoritised¹ nurse academics and unique challenges within nursing faculties may impact their experiences.

Aims

The study aims to investigate the experiences of female minoritised nurse academics in UK higher education institutions (HEIs), focusing on racial discrimination, power dynamics, and the impact on their careers and well-being. It will explore how gender, ethnicity, nursing faculty culture, and migrant status intersect with these experiences.

Methodology

A snowball sampling technique was used to identify and recruit eleven academics, ten females and one male, from minoritised backgrounds in the UK. Data was obtained using in-depth interviews between 2017 and 2018. A narrative research methodology using a dialogic/performance approach was used to analyse the data and capture the experiences and significance attributed to them by the participants. Critical Race Theory (CRT) was used to understand and make sense of the participant's stories.

Findings

The findings align with research on black minoritised academics' challenges in UK HEIs. Many participants faced a combination of oppressions, with racial and gender discrimination being the two main intersecting issues. This led to feelings of exclusion, fatigue, and a lack of career progression, as well as evidence of racial trauma. Despite these challenges, the participants showed resilience and strength, using effective coping mechanisms such as impression management and building cultural and social capital through internal and external networks, allies, and personal resilience to succeed in higher education. A few participants did share positive experiences of receiving support from HEIs and seeing progress in their careers.

¹ "**Minoritised**" is increasingly popular in North America to describe groups with less representation and power than other societal groups. It's considered less derogatory than "minorities" and is the preferred term in this thesis. Though BAME/BME is now obsolete (CRED 2021), references will also be made to these acronyms cited from other sources.

Conclusions

The findings of this research study provide invaluable insights into the previously unexplored experiences of Black minoritised female nurse academics in the UK. Additionally, the findings advance our understanding of racial microaggressions and racial trauma theories, as these theories do not currently address how these concepts manifest within the context of nursing disciplines in HEIs in the UK. Furthermore, using a dialogic/performance methodology, the voices of these participants were amplified. The findings suggest that HEIs must incorporate anti-racist education that exposes the structures and processes perpetuating inequality and maintaining white privilege. This will empower individuals to advocate for a more just and equitable culture for all.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Introduction

There is strong evidence that ethnic minoritised academics in higher education institutions (HEIs) frequently encounter racial discrimination, both overt and subtle. This discrimination leads to marginalisation, decreased self-esteem, limited career progression, and under-representation in senior leadership roles (Wright, Thompson and Channer, 2007; Pilkington, 2011; Bhopal and Jackson, 2013; Bhopal, 2014; Alexander and Arday, 2015; EHRC, 2019; Rollock, 2019; UUK, 2020a). Notably, this issue is not confined to the UK, as international studies have shown that black minoritised academics face similar racialised experiences in global settings, suggesting that racism is a widespread issue (Bhopal, 2015b; Bhopal and Chapman, 2019; Holland, 2015; Beard and Julion, 2016; Hassouneh et al., 2012; Iheduru-Anderson, Okoro and Moore 2022; Leonardo, 2009).

The experiences of black² female academics are notably poorer than other academic groups (Wright, Thompson and Channer, 2007; Rollock, 2019). While there have been studies in North America examining the experiences of minoritised nurse academics (Holland, 2015; Beard and Julion, 2016; Hassouneh et al., 2012; Iheduru-Anderson, Okoro and Moore, 2022), there have been few studies conducted in the UK (Tilki et al., 2007; Markey and Tilki 2007).

Research also confirms racism and discrimination within nursing practice, as well as the strong presence of whiteness in the nursing curriculum and its adverse impact on minoritised groups (Kushnick, 1988; Baxter, 1988; Smith et al., 2006; Xu, 2007; Likupe and Archibong, 2013; Hall and Fields, 2015; Holland, 2015; Kline, 2014; Iheduru-Anderson and Waite, 2022; Gatwiri, 2021; Allan, 2022; Brathwaite et al., 2022). However, there is a lack of research studies about the experience of black minoritised nurse academics in the UK.

It is not just race that has shaped women's experiences but the intersection of race and other social identities, particularly gender and class. I argue that nursing faculties' unique historical and cultural differences shape black minoritised academic experiences. Therefore, I will draw on multiple theoretical frameworks such as intersectionality, CRT, critical race feminism (CRF) and whiteness ideology to help me analyse and make sense of both my own experience and the participants' narratives (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins and Bilge, 2016; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Pratt-Clarke, 2010; Murji and Solomos, 2014; Harris 1993; Leonardo, 2009; Cabrera, Franklin and Watson 2017).

² **'Black'** is a term used in parts of the world, such as the US, UK and Europe, by people of African descent (African, Caribbean or any other black background) to describe themselves in the context of the oppression they experience. It's worth noting that the meaning of the word "Black" has expanded to include other communities, such as those of Asian and Arabian descent, who are also subjected to similar forms of oppression. These groups are motivated to come together and collaborate constructively in a political sense, to overcome these oppressive forces.

Rationale for study: What gaps will this study address?

When comparing studies of nurse academia, it is found that minoritised nurses in practice, particularly black minoritised nurses, consistently face racialised bullying, discrimination, and unconscious bias. This results in low self-esteem, marginalisation, career stagnation, greater barriers to career progression, and a higher probability of being involved in formal disciplinary processes. Thus, mirroring the findings about the experience of nurse academics.

The nursing and midwifery professional body emphasises the importance of having a diverse workforce to ensure quality care (Nursing Midwifery Council (NMC), 2018). This is underpinned by research (Hunt, Leyton and Prince, 2014; West, 2012) demonstrating the benefits of diverse leadership in organisations and that a valued, diverse workforce correlates positively with improved standards of care and efficiency (King et al., 2011; West 2012, West, Dawson and Mandip 2015). It is, therefore, surprising that there is little research on how nursing faculties adhere to these standards. Furthermore, given that the findings from North American studies into the experience of black minoritised nurse academics mirror those of the NHS and UK HEIs, the lack of research into this group of academics is even more puzzling and suggests disinterest, unawareness, or fear of the discomfort the results could produce.

Thus, given the findings from these studies, there is a significant gap in UK studies explicitly focusing on the experience of black minoritised nurse academics in higher education. Understanding whether they fare better than their colleagues in other institutions and faculties within HEIs could profoundly impact discrimination in governance and leadership, staff morale, innovation, and career advancement. The findings from this thesis could facilitate positive change in these areas (Jones, 2006; Smith et al., 2006; Bhopal, 2020a).

My study focuses on the journey of black minoritised female nurse academics as they navigate their way through HEIs. I use a narrative dialogic/performance approach, a unique method that promises to provide a fresh perspective. Further, while most North American studies alluded to previously, and Tilki and colleagues' study (2007) focused on a single HEI, my study interrogates narratives from different UK institutions. It includes data from individuals occupying a range of academic grades.

The experience of nurse academics is worthy of study because a large body of research has confirmed the prevalence of racism within the healthcare sector and nursing within it. For nurses who identify as non-white, the literature paints a picture of a toxic and oppressive educational environment in the UK and globally, which adversely affects academics' well-being and career progression as well as students' well-being and learning.

The literature has criticised the structural dominance of whiteness in the nursing profession perpetuated through a Euro-centric pedagogy and colourblind ideology. A reluctance to acknowledge the existence of institutional racism perpetuates this dominance (Baxter, 1988; Lancellotti, 2008; Holland, 2015; Allan, 2022; Brathwaite et al, 2022). The influence of

whiteness on black minoritised academics could create institutional barriers that limit their chances for advancement and career progression within HEIs.

Due to a lack of awareness and understanding of the concept of racism, nurse academics lack expertise in teaching a curriculum that critically examines the connections between racism and other social oppressions. This lack of expertise contributes to health inequalities and perpetuates systemic racism.

It is crucial to study the experiences of ethnic minoritised nurse academics in HEIs, as the student population in the UK and worldwide is becoming increasingly diverse (Higher Education Statistical Agency (HESA) 2021/2022; UNESCO, 2022; UUK, 2024; Bolton, Lewis, and Gower, 2024). This is especially important because many nursing students come from minoritised backgrounds.

According to a recent report by the NMC (2023a), the nursing and midwifery register is becoming more ethnically diverse. The report indicates that the proportion of all registered professionals (nurses, midwives and nursing associates) from black and minoritised backgrounds has risen to 27.7%, more than a quarter of the register. This reflects a 7% increase from the figures in 2018. Moreover, NHS staff are now more ethnically diverse than in the past, with almost a quarter (24.2%) of its workers being from black minoritised groups (Workforce Race Equality Standard (WRES) 2023).

Many of the students taught by nurse academics will ultimately be employed by the NHS, where the figures for ethnic minoritised staff are even higher, particularly in London, where 52.1% of its NHS workforce have an ethnic minoritised background (WRES 2023).

The National Union of Students (NUS, 2011) conducted a survey that revealed students from ethnic minoritised groups value a diverse teaching staff and more ethnic minoritised academic role models. This underscores the significance of having senior ethnic minoritised academics, such as professors, as it fosters aspiration and inclusiveness among ethnic minority student groups. The absence of representation adversely affects students' learning, as the lack of visible ethnic minoritised role models can demotivate and alienate students from specific disciplines instead of inspiring them (Zirkel, 2002; Inyang and Wright, 2022).

Nurses comprise the most significant healthcare workforce segment in the UK and other global northern nations. Therefore, they are in a position to significantly diminish racism, which is a critical factor in health disparities and social injustice. Nurse academics and educators can play their part in ensuring that anti-racism and social justice are at the core of the curriculum and that their pedagogical processes can proficiently deliver this scholarship (Iheduru-Anderson and Waite, 2022).

Discrimination is a societal issue, and studies have established the existence of racial discrimination in UK HEIs. Therefore, it is likely that the experiences of nurse academics will be the same as those of others in similar large employment organisations. Empirical data can establish this argument's validity in the case of UK nurse academics. Further, the experiences of black nurse academics need empirical data to be taken seriously by HEIs, as

relying on anecdotal evidence will not give their voices the acknowledgement they deserve (Nasser 2020).

Background

Racial Discrimination is present in all strata of society.

Despite evidence from the 2021 census of increased diversity and a decrease in residential segregation in the UK (ONS, 2022a), one of the largest and most comprehensive cross-sectional surveys of Great Britain supports an increase in racism and racial discrimination experienced by people from minoritised and religious groups (Finney et al., 2024). Additionally, another large-scale survey investigating the lived experience of black minoritised people in the UK confirms this group face significant levels of discrimination across all strata of society. Concerning public sector services such as healthcare, they faced discrimination and exclusion. For example, 75% of 18-34-year-olds and 69% of Black Africans reported that they were discriminated against by healthcare professionals based on their ethnicity; 60% of responders stated that they were not promoted because of their ethnicity; 60% had no faith in systemic changes in institutions that discriminated against them with most support for discrimination related issues outside their organisation such as family and friends. However, the report also identified 'resilience and optimism' (p.10) among black minoritised respondents despite suffering systemic racism (Sword and Sheni, 2022).

In another recent poll carried out by Number Cruncher Politics for ITV (Singh, 2020), most Britons felt racism remained prevalent in UK society, with black ethnic groups more likely than white respondents to state that it is 'very widespread'. Others (Katwala, 2021) contend that significant progress in race relations has been made in the UK over the last 25 years, and what this finding represents is frustration at the pace of change and that, in the light of the impact of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement (Lebron, 2017), what people, especially young people, want to see is rapid transformation.

The results from these studies suggest increased tension and mistrust in race relations between minoritised and religious groups in Britain today. Some argue that Brexit and the COVID-19 pandemic may have exacerbated this somewhat fragile relationship (Devakumar et al, 2020; Finney et al., 2024).

Diversity but no equality

The NHS workforce is the largest in the UK and comprises one in four black minoritised staff, not forgetting the diversity in the number of patients it cares for (Rolewicz, Palmer, and Lobont, 2024). This includes overseas-educated health professionals (Mallorie, 2024).

Despite the substantial black minoritised workforce described above, the senior NHS leadership numbers remain proportionately low. Kline (2014) used the term 'Snowy White Peak' in the NHS to describe the dearth of ethnic minority representation at the senior level and the over-representation of white chairs and senior managers. Despite the many initiatives to improve representation, improvements have been marginal, and the 'snowy white peak' remains in situ.

Kline and Warmington's (2024) latest report asserts there has been minimal improvement in senior-level representation, and racism remains embedded and insidious in the NHS. They conclude that this state of affairs is possibly sustained by the inability of the organisation to openly talk about race because of fear, denial and or discomfort. When confronted with racism, it is either dismissed or minimised, and it 'remains shrouded in silence and ignorance' (p. 8). This situation resembles the US (Iheduru-Anderson and Wahi, 2022).

Racism in HEIs is deep-rooted and institutional (Pilkington, 2013; Bhopal, 2014; Arday and Mirza, 2018; EHRC, 2019; UK Parliament Committees, 2022). Parallels can be found in other large employment organisations across the country, such as the Metropolitan Police Force (Met) (Macpherson, 1999; Casey, 2023), the National Health Service (NHS) (Smith et al 2006; Kline, 2013, 2014; Likupe, and Archibong 2013; Kline and Warmington 2024), housing (JRF, 2021), maternity services (Khan, 2021; MacLellan et al, 2022), the film industry (Nwonka, 2020) and the civil service (BBC, 2022). The fact that insidious racialised practices can be found in the fabric of these and other social and political institutions suggests that racism is structurally endemic in UK society.

Lived Experience of minoritised groups in the NHS

The institutionalised racism described above means that Black and minoritised individuals experience both blatant and hidden forms of racial discrimination, resulting in unfair policies, marginalisation, and exclusion from institutions. These experiences have been present for many years in Britain, becoming particularly evident with the arrival of the Windrush generation from the Caribbean in the 1940s. Despite their influential role in shaping the NHS by joining its workforce, they encountered significant discrimination at every level, including substandard housing and escalating immigration policies, limited job options and open racial violence (JRF, 2021; Sword and Sheni, 2022).

The public highly values the NHS. Indeed, the NHS's underpinning values and tenets are its service to its staff members and the public (Department of Health & Social Care (DHSC), 2023). However, it is concerning that despite its diverse workforce and widespread public support, research studies have consistently shown that staff and patients from minoritised backgrounds face racism and discrimination within the NHS. These studies reveal that minoritised staff experience racial harassment, bullying, and discrimination from both patients and colleagues. Based on recent latest data from the NHS (WRES, 2022), black minoritised women working in the NHS are the most prone to experiencing discrimination from their colleagues and patients. Additionally, systemic discrimination is identified as the most significant barrier to career progression (Chambers, 2023). Moreover, black minoritised staff encounter significant barriers in career progression and are more likely to be involved in formal disciplinary processes (WRES, 2023; Chambers, 2023; Kline, 2014; Paradies et al, 2015; The King's Fund, 2021; Sword and Sheni, 2022; Stopforth, et al 2022; Naqvi et al 2022; Kline and Warmington, 2024). These findings are in line with the national landscape of racism and discrimination described previously (Kapadia et al., 2022) and

support the argument of Critical Race Theorists that racism is normalised and deeply rooted in all levels of society and institutions (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001, 2017).

Continuous exposure to discrimination takes a toll, and research has demonstrated a direct connection between workplace racism and disparities in health outcomes (Sword and Sheni, 2022; Kapadia et al., 2022; Stopforth et al., 2022). Specifically, racism can result in limited access to health resources, unfair treatment in healthcare, and the development of both physical and mental health conditions, including anxiety, stress-related symptoms, depression, and racial trauma due to persistent exposure to racism (Nadal et al., 2014; Cheng and Mallinckrodt, 2015; Williams, Rosen, and Kanter, 2019; Cénat et al., 2023). Additionally, surveys have indicated that workplace culture contributing to discrimination, harassment, bullying, anxiety, and stress are significant factors leading to sickness absence and increased staff turnover in the NHS (Palmer and Rolewicz, 2022; Hemmings et al., 2021).

Racism in Nursing

The preceding sections have highlighted racism and discrimination within British society and the NHS. Discrimination in the healthcare sector negatively impacts patient outcomes and, as outlined above, workforce culture and dynamics (JRF, 2021, 2020).

There is a large body of literature, both in the UK and globally, affirming the prevalence of racism and discrimination in nursing (Kushnick, 1988; Baxter, 1988; Smith et al, 2006; Xu, 2008; Likupe and Archibong, 2013; Hall and Fields, 2013; Ramamurthy et al, 2023; Brathwaite, 2018; Iheduru-Anderson, Shingles and Akanegbu, 2021; Gatwiri, 2021). Black minoritised nurses face racialised bullying, discrimination, low self-esteem, and unconscious bias, resulting in marginalisation, othering, stagnation in their careers and increased stress, leading to mental health issues related to discrimination.

The global mobility of the workforce and the shift to massification in higher education (Akula, 2016) have led to substantial increases in student body diversity and workforces worldwide. Internationally educated nurses from various countries, including Africa, have migrated significantly to Western countries (Kennedy, Lee and Damiran, 2023).

Given the discussion thus far about discrimination shown towards black minoritised groups, research has begun to emerge from countries such as the UK, US, Canada, and Australia that black African professionals such as nurses face more challenges compared to other international workforce. These challenges encompass discrimination based on racial background, migrant status, country of origin, and accent (Isaac, 2020; Showers, 2015; Likupe, 2015; Iheduru-Anderson and Wahi, 2018; Ezeonwu, 2019; Junious et al., 2010;). Ezeonwu found that for African-born nurses, the most challenging issues in socio-cultural adjustment were discrimination, accent, and language barriers. These cultural differences created obstacles to progression, which were compounded by opaque institutional processes leading to sections of the workforce becoming demoralised, disenchanted with the organisation, and often leaving (Henry, 2007; Newton, Pillay and Higginbottom, 2012; Iheduru-Anderson and Wahi, 2018; Gatwiri, 2021). While these studies report similar

findings about discrimination as a barrier to progression, Isaac (2020) focused on identifying factors that facilitated participants' progression and promotion. He emphasised the significance of 'British Cultural Capital' - such as fluency in English, adherence to social norms, and educational success - which were crucial for success and helped mitigate obstacles related to 'Black ethnic identity.' (Chapter 2 – Performativity).

These studies illustrate that the intersection of other social categories, such as migrant status, language and accent, should also be factored into the experience of black minoritised nurses besides race and ethnicity. Indeed, Snee and Goswami (2021) found that social class also functioned as a barrier to progression in nursing, privileging female nurses from professional backgrounds (Chapter 2).

In the UK, Smith and Mackintosh (2007) discovered that the general approach to overseas nurses in some sectors was that they were not considered “safe” regardless of their qualifications until they had been evaluated against British standards, thus establishing a hierarchical system. Black African nurses, in particular, often worked at junior levels, regardless of their qualifications, until they proved they could meet British standards. The authors found that a lack of understanding about the qualifications and education of overseas students, along with assumptions of these being inferior to British standards, led to stereotyping and bias in the promotion of African-born nurses. They concluded that these nurses were often judged more strictly and stringently than white nurses in the promotion process.

Higher education and equality-diversity in the student population

Many reports (Milburn, 2012; Lindley and Machin, 2013; Li and Heath, 2016) have highlighted the observable relationship between education and equality in the professions and achieving social mobility in the UK. Milburn's report (2012) placed the onus of responsibility on institutions such as universities, arguing that they could do significantly more as educational institutions in contributing to a more socially mobile Britain. He also identified the role of the professions and their contributions to creating a more diverse and equitable milieu. As universities are large employers, they also have a responsibility to their employees to promote a more equitable workforce.

Over the last 15 years, many initiatives in the UK have been put in place to widen participation in higher education (DfES, 2006; TLRP, 2008), and overall, these initiatives have been successful, with increasing numbers of students from varying backgrounds and ethnicity accessing universities (HESA, 2022/2023; UCAS, 2022). Indeed, in a recent House of Commons briefing paper (Bolton, 2023), it was reported that ‘student numbers have increased to new record levels in recent years’ (Bolton, 2023, p.5), with approximately 2.86 million students (mainly undergraduates) recorded in 2021/22 (HESA, 2023). However, it should be noted that part-time student numbers have fallen significantly since 2008 (Bolton, 2023), with female students comprising most of the student population studying in the UK. Advance HE (2022a) states that this is the most significant increase recorded since 2003. This shift away from access to a university education being only available to an elite few is

happening not only in the UK but globally, according to a recent report by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2022) and the International Institute for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (IESALC) (2020). Women are the greatest beneficiaries (41% compared to 36% for men). Nevertheless, the report also acknowledges inequities in some regions of the world. Fortunately, other international organisations, such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2020), support OECD countries to address this imbalance. The UK government planned to double the number of students from disadvantaged backgrounds and increase the proportion of ethnic minority groups (excluding white minorities) in student numbers to 20% by 2020 (Holmwood et al., 2016). Since this projection, numbers in this group have been increasing yearly (HESA, 2020/2021) and have now exceeded the government's targets, with the proportion rising from 14% (2003/04) to 26% (2020/21) of the total. The proportion, however, of white-domiciled students has decreased.

Students' Experience of HEIs

Surveys of students' HEI experiences have been mainly positive (OfS, 2022; Advance HE, 2022a). However, it is essential to note that not all students have a positive experience, as some face discrimination and injustices from their peers and academics on various levels.

(Tilki et al., 2007; UUK and NUS, 2019; NUS, 2011; UUK, 2023; Pilkington, 2013; Bhopal and Jackson, 2013; OfS, 2019; Arday, Branchu and Boliver, 2022; Bhopal and Myers, 2023). Indeed, in a recent study of over 136 universities in the UK by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) (2019), over a quarter of ethnic minority students said they had experienced racial harassment. The CEO of EHRC has expressed that universities are not only disconnected from the reality of racism happening on their campuses, but some are also completely unaware of the issue, despite various initiatives to prevent discrimination and encourage diversity in academic institutions (Race Relations Amendment Act, 2000; UNESCO, 2001; Equality Act, 2010; Bouattia, 2015; Cabinet Office, 2017; OfS, 2018). Most universities have local policies that reflect these national and global initiatives. However, discrimination still persists, which suggests that HEIs are paying lip service in their resolve to tackle discrimination (Bhopal, 2020a, 2023). Furthermore, this discrimination is not just confined to the student population but also affects ethnic minority (excluding white ethnic minorities) academics working within HEIs (Law, Phillips and Turney, 2004; Jones, 2006; Pilkington, 2013; Bhopal, 2020a, 2023).

Increase in diversity of staff in HEI.

It is encouraging that, similar to the student body, the increase in diversity is also reflected in the academic ethnic minority demographics of HEIs. Recent data shows that staff in the UK higher education (HE) sector have become more ethnically diverse (Advance HE, 2022) from 2003/04 to 2020/21. In this same period overall, the proportion of all staff from an

ethnic minority background increased from 4.8% to 8.9% (UK BAME³ staff) and 3.8% to 7.4% (non-UK BAME). Correspondingly, the proportion of non-UK and UK white staff declined (83.1% – 69.1%) over that period (Figure 1.1). The increase in BAME staff was most notable in professional and support staff (Figure 1.2). Although this increase in BAME numbers is mainly attributed to professional and support staff, UK ethnic minority academic groups also increased. That said, there were more non-UK academic ethnic minority staff compared with those from UK ethnic minority groups.

Although it is positive news that since 2003/04 there has been a steady increase in ethnically diverse staff within UK HEIs (see Figure 1.2), with a steady increase seen in BAME academic staff (Advance HE, 2022; HESA, 2021/22) there still exists several disparities and inequalities between ethnic minority academic groups and their white colleagues in areas such as contractual appointments (a high proportion of black minoritised academics are on fixed-term or part-time contracts) and senior roles and pay. Furthermore, recent data (HESA, 2022/23) confirms that minoritised academics must be more represented in senior positions within all UK HEIs. For example, most professors with known ethnic identity in the UK are white (88%), and 13% are from ethnic minoritised groups. However, only 1% of these are black, which remains essentially unchanged since 2015 (HESA 2022/2023). See Figure 1.3. The same picture is seen in senior management roles in HEIs, with only 1% of individuals in these positions being black, while the vast majority (92%) are white (Advance HE, 2022b). On a positive note, it is gratifying that two black minoritised vice-chancellors have recently been appointed, showing a commitment to diversity and inclusion in HEI (UUK, 2023).

In response to the low figures, the University UK acknowledged that minoritised groups continued to be underrepresented at senior levels within HE (Coughlan, 2021). Ijeoma Uchegbu, in a recent interview (Gibney, 2024), pointed out that black minoritised people make up 3% of the UK academic workforce and 4% of the country's working-age population. However, she argues that academia underutilises the talent within this community, leading to challenges for future generations. She suggests that universities implement programmes to overcome barriers like marginalisation, systemic biases, and lack of access to influential networks.

When looking at the data through a gender lens, the statistics are even more disheartening (Figure 1.3). White males predictably account for most professorial roles (13,280), and white females (6,190) have increased by 1% since 2021/2022. Their numbers are smaller than white males; however, compared to other female ethnic minoritised groups, white female numbers are significantly greater. Furthermore, when female professors were examined by ethnic group, there were only 60 black females.⁴ Professors in the UK (Figure 1.3). Since its

³ The UK government no longer uses Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (**BAME**)/Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) as an aggregate term (CRED report, 2021). The Race Disparity Unit (updated 2022) issued new guidance recommending using the 2021 census classification and phrases such as 'ethnic minorities' when grouping. However, in this thesis, both acronyms will still be visible when used in articles before both acronyms became obsolete in 2022.

⁴ In 2019, Advance HE data revealed 35 black female professors. Since then the number has increased to 61.

formation in 2021, the Women's Higher Education Network programme (WHEN, 2023) has pledged to increase the number of black female professors from 35 in 2019 to 100 by 2025. Their systemic change programme appears successful because they reported in October 2023 that 61 black female professors are now in post in the UK, which correlates with HESA's figures. Nevertheless, the statistics for black nursing professors are disappointing (Figure 1.4).

History of Nursing Departments in HEIs

Over the last 30 years, nurse education has moved from hospitals and nursing schools to its current position in HEIs. The significant drivers, however, for nursing's move into the HE sector occurred as an unexpected consequence of the 1990 National Health Service and Community Care Act. Following the Act's introduction of the internal market, colleges started providing services to health authorities. In addition, the restructuring of HEIs in the early 1990s (Further and Higher Education Act, 1992) introduced market forces into the HE sector. This Act began the conversion of universities into efficient money-making engines where the government no longer saw higher education as a force for social good fully supported by the state but as a commodity where students buy their education in a marketplace. However, nursing students' education and living expenses were protected in England until 2018 (Royal College of Nursing (RCN), 2019) from this commodification (Tomlinson, 2016). This Act saw many nursing schools merge with HE departments. Some nurse leaders and the government argued that this move was driven by changes in the country's demographics and advancements in the NHS, necessitating a more academically able and flexible nursing workforce. Some doubted the motives behind the changes, suggesting that economics was the driving force. Losing students as workforce members increased costs, and Trusts were now responsible for 50% of nurse training, requiring them to provide high-quality education placements. Some HEIs aimed to rapidly increase student numbers and boost the purchasing power of newly established universities (post-1992 Act) (Draper, 1995; Traynor, 2013).

These changes, of course, invariably created tension between the culture of nursing disciplines and that of these HEIs. Nurse academics as qualified nurses typically come from a structured and disciplined clinical background, where the curriculum follows standards set by their professional body, and students must attain specific competencies to graduate. Teaching formed the bulk of their workload, and research activities were not generally encouraged outside of the nursing disciplines at Russell Group universities.

Given this context, it is possible that some nursing departments in post-1992 universities initially experienced a crisis of confidence, leading to isolation and continued to operate similarly to the school of nursing. As nursing has become more integrated within HEIs over the past decade, academics have achieved equivalent academic qualifications such as PhDs/DProfs and have become more active in research. Nursing professors are also increasing (RCN, 2015), and more nursing research centres are now in newer universities.

In such an environment, how has the background affected the progression of minoritised nursing academics? It is easy to imagine that in a predominantly white privileged setting combined with a highly structured and disciplined environment, with a high teaching load and where institutional racism is endemic, minoritised academics would be at the bottom of the ladder when it comes to opportunities to study and progress. The statistics support this lack of representation, as there are currently only six black nursing professors in the UK, with few black nursing academics in senior positions within nursing faculties. Furthermore, all studies conducted over the past ten years exploring the experience of minoritised academics across HEIs support this lack of progress caused by factors such as inequitable support, ineffective mentoring schemes, lack of support from managers, high teaching workload, and treated as an outsider within one's faculty.

Nurse academics

For this study, a nurse academic/educator refers⁵ to experienced nursing professionals with advanced degrees who are responsible for educating future nurses within HEIs. The role of nurse teachers, the academic qualification registered with the NMC, involves teaching and educating students in a classroom setting, which aligns with my definition of a nurse academic.

According to NMC (2023b) figures obtained through a Freedom of Information (FOI) request, there were 4,711 registrants with teacher qualifications in the UK in September 2023. Of these, 761 are registered as non-white and have not declared their ethnic groups. Of these, 545 (TCH) have teaching qualifications. However, "non-white" is a broad category and does not reflect the proportion of black ethnic minoritised academics, information the NMC stated that they could not provide. This is interesting considering that in 2018, NMC provided data indicating that there were around 159 lecturers who identified as black minoritised academics in the UK. In short, the data above only partially represents the group under study in this thesis.

According to 2015 data from the RCN, only 5% of nurses, midwives and health visitors who hold chairs in UK universities were from ethnic minority backgrounds out of 261; most were female. Although the data from RCN is somewhat dated (Figure 1.4), it still provides a clear indication of the need for more representation of minoritised nurse academics in HEIs. Unfortunately, they have stopped this longitudinal study. The RCN continues to collate and collect data on nursing and midwifery professors from UK universities' websites. However, not all universities provide complete staff details, and the RCN's data lacks information on

⁵ The NMC hold two recordable academic qualifications: Teacher (TCH) and Lecturer Practitioner (LPE). The LPE role involves teaching in an educational setting and providing practical education and supervision in a clinical or professional environment. Out of 761 non-white individuals, 545 hold TCH qualification, and 215 hold the LPE qualification. Registration data reports - The Nursing and Midwifery Council (nmc.org.uk). [Registration data reports - The Nursing and Midwifery Council \(nmc.org.uk\)](https://nmc.org.uk/registration-data-reports)

ethnicity, nationality, and gender. I conducted a descriptive analysis of this data to determine at least gender and found 327 nurse professors, with 77% female and 23% male.

The Black Female Professors Forum (BFPP) (2023) lists all black female professors in the UK. However, identifying the nursing background of individuals within this group was challenging because nursing and health are categorised together. Nevertheless, after careful examination, five nursing professors were identified.

HESA collects data on black minoritised professors in HEIs but not on black nurse professors. Even after an extensive search by myself and the RCN Library and Archives Services (August 2023), no official data could be found on the number of black minoritised nurse professors. Anecdotal statistics from nursing professors (Serrant, blog 2018) indicate a significant underrepresentation of black nurse professors in academic positions, highlighting the persistent struggle of universities to address inequalities. This suggests that universities are still predominantly patriarchal organisations with power mainly held by white males.

Cortis and Law (2005) argue that institutions like the NMC and RCN would benefit from collecting this data as it shows commitment to promoting inclusion and social justice. Recent reports have accused both institutions of racism and misogyny, casting doubt on their commitment to equity in the nursing profession (Carr, 2022; Thomas, 2023; Trivedi, 2023).

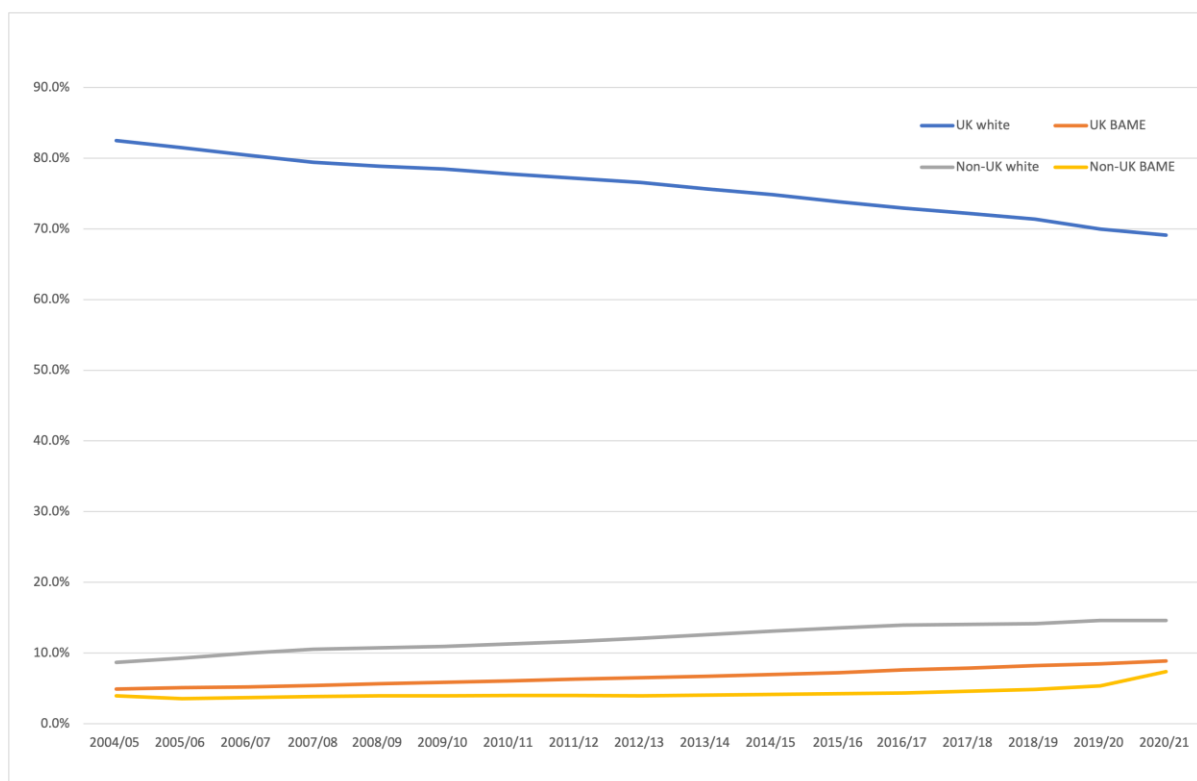


Figure 1.1. General trend of non-UK/UK (white identity) vs non-UK/UK BAME university staff. There is a reduction in UK white staff and a small but steady increase in other groups with the non-UK BAME showing a notable increase (Advance HE Statistical report 2022b. Source: Data derived from HESA 2020/21)

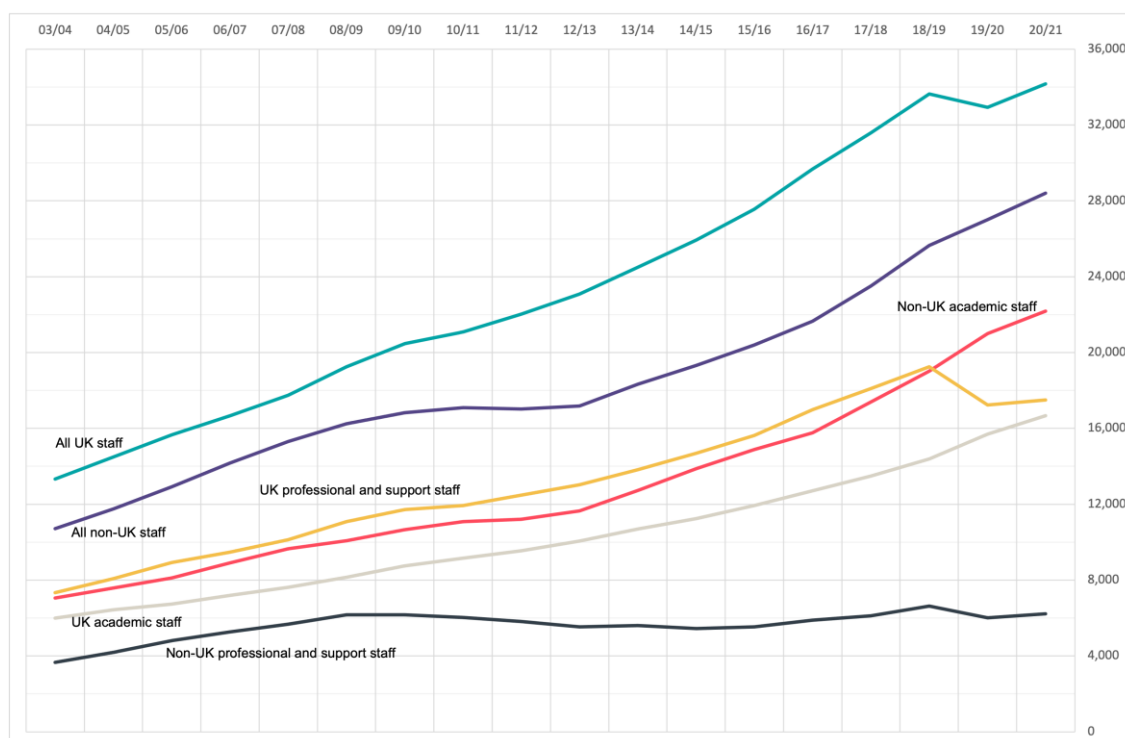


Figure 1.2. Increase over 18 years (2003/04–2020/21) in UK/non-UK staff ethnic minority groups (academic, professional and support). The most notable increase was among professional and support staff compared with academic staff. Note the higher numbers of non-UK academic ethnic minority staff compared with UK ethnic minority groups.

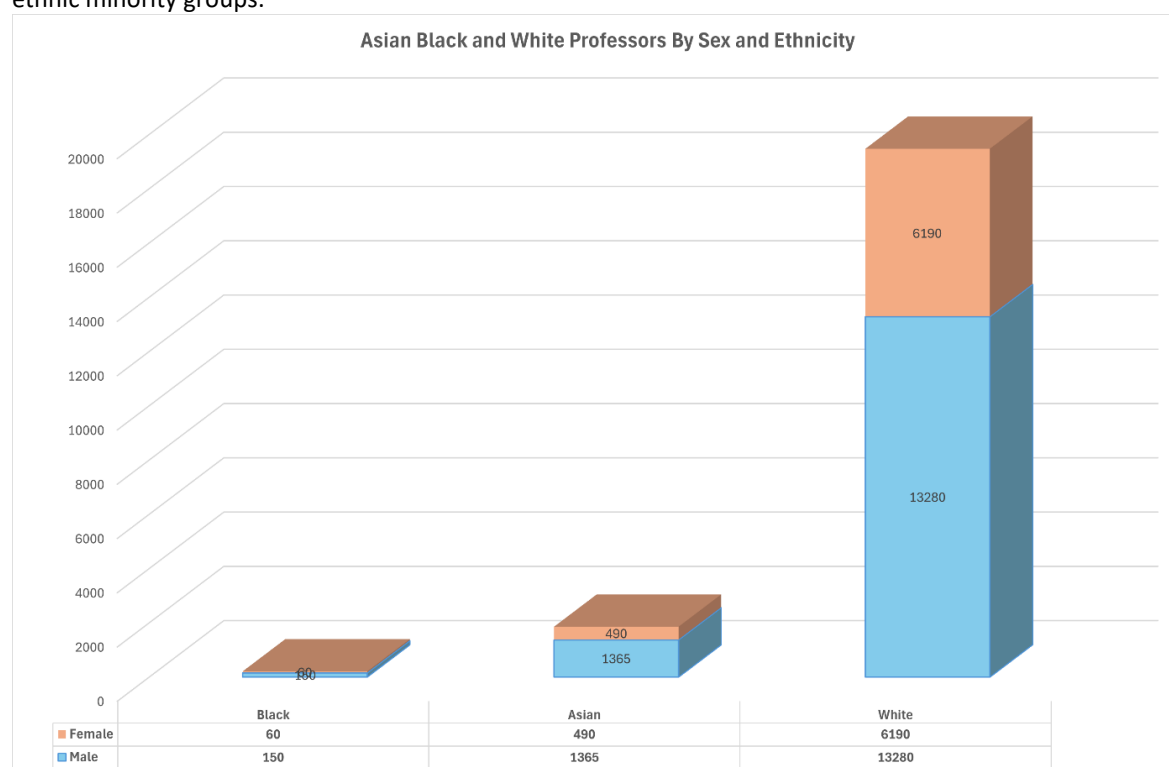


Figure 1.3. Number of UK professors by ethnic group (HESA 2022/2023).

Professors who declared their ethnicity: Most (88%) are of white ethnicity, and the majority are male. Asians constitute 8%. Black professors constitute 1% of the total, including 60 black female professors. Data extracted from [Chart 3 - Academic staff by contract level and sex 2014/15 to 2022/23 | HESA](#)

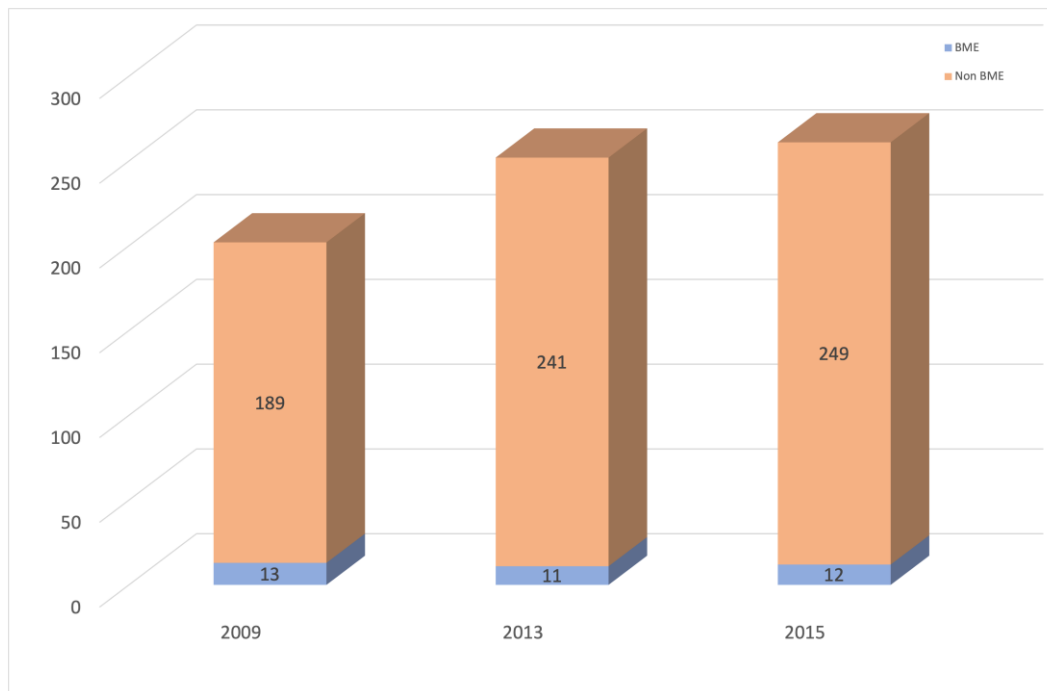


Figure 1.4. Nursing and midwifery professoriate survey (RCN, 2015). Data from the RCN shows that only 12 nurses, midwives, and health visitors who hold chairs in UK universities were from a black ethnic minority background.

In summary, focusing on these numbers is essential. Visible role models are central to addressing entrenched and deep-rooted barriers and maintaining a diverse teaching staff. Further, the senior leadership's lack of diversity upholds dominant norms such as whiteness and middle-class values in the curriculum. It is crucial to have representation from all workforce segments in higher education or healthcare to ensure that safe, equitable, and effective education and care are provided for everyone, including minoritised groups (Jeffries, Aston and Murphy, 2018).

Approach used to understand the experience of nurse academics in HEIs

Most CRT scholars contend that because of their history and experience, minority ethnic groups are ideally placed to give insightful and meaningful contributions regarding what racism means to them (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017). They acknowledge that this contribution is not the only truthful or valid perspective. Storytelling or counter-narrative is a typical vehicle CRT researchers use to enable these groups to contribute meaningfully to the body of knowledge. Ladson-Billings, a prominent CRT scholar in education, asserts that CRT scholars are not manufacturing stories from these participants but 'constructing narratives out of the historical socio-cultural and political realities of their lives and those of people of colour' (2006 p. xi).⁶ Furthermore, according to Gillborn (2010), one benefit of this format is that it can make critical scholarship more accessible to readers who may not have the patience for the dry, monotonous tone of traditional academic writing. In recognition of

⁶ An important principle of CRT is counter-storytelling, which aims to amplify the voices, perspectives and experiences of minority groups. By using this approach, minoritised narratives can challenge and disrupt the dominant narratives that shape our society.

these views, this study utilised this approach to understand the experience of black ethnic minority academics within UK HEIs.

Narrative inquiry (NI), drawing on a dialogic/performance approach (Mishler, 1999; Riessman, 2008; Burns, 2014), will be used to explore the experiences of black minoritised female academics because NI is a methodology that seeks to give meaning and expression to individuals' events, thoughts, and feelings (Andrews, Squire, and Tamboukou, 2013).

Indeed, a qualitative exploratory approach to storytelling, such as NI, is also endorsed by CRT scholars (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Solórzano and Yosso, 2015) to explore the experience of people of colour. They contend that this method is appropriate to capture the nuances of their experience. This thesis will also be written through the lens of my own experience of racism to determine if institutional and intrapersonal racism are the primary factors in hindering or advancing participants' progression through academia.

In summary, research has shown that female ethnic minoritised academics in HE face intersectional discrimination and that racism is normalised within HEIs (Bhopal 2018; Bhopal and Henderson, 2019; Bhopal 2020a, 2020b; Arday and Mirza, 2018). Studies on black female academics have revealed that they have a less positive experience in academia than their male counterparts, with reports of racial stereotyping, microaggression, bullying, 'othering', and career stagnation (Jones, 2006; Wright, Thompson and Channer, 2007; Rollock, 2019). However, no UK study has specifically explored the experiences of black minoritised female nurse academics, and it is unclear whether they fare better or worse than other minoritised female colleagues in other disciplines.

This study aims to understand the experiences of female black minoritised nurse academics working in higher education. It will investigate whether they encounter forms of discrimination such as institutional and intrapersonal racism, how it manifests, its effects on their career advancement and well-being, and the approaches these academics employ to cope with oppressions such as gendered racism. Additionally, the research will examine the culture within nursing departments, especially considering that nurse academics have worked in the NHS, where persistent efforts to address racial inequities have been documented (Kline, 2014, 2019; Kline and Warmington, 2024; WRES, 2022, 2023). The goal is to determine if there are cross-cultural factors within nursing departments that worsen the discrimination experienced by black female academics, who already face gender and race-based challenges.

The **central argument** of this thesis is that black female academics within academia suffer pervasive and insidious racialised experiences which are operationalised through power structures, culminating in emotional and physical harm. These experiences are compounded by the intersection of multiple social identities such as ethnicity, gender, positionality (as black and brown academics), the culture of nursing departments and migrant status.

Aim:

The study aims to explore the experience of minoritised female nurse academics working in UK HEIs and address the following questions:

1. How do minoritised nurse academics experience intersectional oppression related to ethnicity, gender and class?
2. How does intersectional oppression affect career progression and development in academia?
3. What is the impact of persistent racialised encounters on the emotional well-being of participants?
4. What strategies are used for responding to interpersonal and institutional racism in the work environment?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

In light of the study's aims, this chapter critically appraises the literature from selected fields, compares and contrasts the findings within these works, and identifies gaps within the literature. It begins with an overview of the approaches taken to search the existing body of literature and guide the selection of studies. The review focuses on the themes of the thesis and is structured so that theoretical work and subsequent research studies are reviewed in separate sections where appropriate.

Literature Search Strategy

Several approaches were used to access resources; these ranged from personal recommendations from colleagues to manual and electronic searches, including internet searches such as Google Scholar. The primary databases accessed comprised CINAHL (Cumulative Index of Nursing and Allied Health Literature), BNI (British Nursing Index), ERIC (Education Resource and Information Centre) and HMIC (Health Management Information Consortium). The initial search commenced formally in January 2016, and the range was limited from 2006 to 2016. The literature was regularly updated before thesis submission to ensure currency.

CINAHL was accessed first (Aveyard, 2023). Before commencing the search, I identified keywords, concepts, and relevant synonyms from the research question (see Table 2.1) and utilised these terms over several searches.

Concept 1	Concept 2	Concept 3
Higher education	BAME, BME	Experiences
Faculty	People of color/colour	Progression
Racism	Ethnic group	Discrimination
		Racism

Table 2.1. Examples of concepts/key terms used in the initial search.

I searched for terms like "higher education" and "faculty," which yielded a few results. To broaden my search, I added limiters, did more searches, and used Boolean terms like 'OR' to combine searches, which gave me more results. To further narrow my search and focus on my topic, I included searches for concepts like BME, BAME, ethnic groups, and people of color/colour using 'OR' and 'AND' terms. This method helped me get a manageable number of hundreds instead of thousands of search results.

A scan of these results revealed that most articles were in areas such as the role of nurse tutors, nurse academics and nurse practitioners in HE and the experiences of BME student

nurses. Two well-known studies by Kline (2013, 2014) investigating BME discrimination and discrimination in governance and leadership in the NHS emerged. While these were not directly related to the population I was investigating, there were many parallels. North American studies focusing on the health consequences of racism in nursing faculties and how a culturally diverse faculty could be facilitated in academia were relevant. Since I wanted articles specific to the UK, I continued the search using the earlier approach but extended the date to 2000. This retrieved a few primary studies, such as Allan et al. (2004). A search request to the RCN library identified Kolade (2016) and Tilki et al. (2007). Both Kolade's (US study) and Tilki's related to my topic area, but Tilki was the only UK study relevant to my research topic. Few studies directly address UK nursing academics.

RCN suggested other databases, such as ERIC and HMIC. I was able to find several primary studies that were relevant to my area of research, such as the studies conducted by Bhopal (2014, 2015a, 2016), Bhopal and Jackson (2013), and Pilkington (2013). These publications kept appearing not only in Google Scholar and general internet searches but also in the bibliographies of relevant journal papers, which Saks and Allsop (2019) recommend as a helpful way to verify the relevance of search results. However, few studies focused on my specific population of interest, except for small primary qualitative studies, such as Wright, Thompson, and Channer's (2007) study on black women in British universities.

Other electronic databases such as Google Scholar, which, although a search engine, is thought not to be as rigorous as a specialist database, yielded results similar to those of ERIC. Grey literature databases (such as OpenGrey and GreyNet) also proved useful for access to newsletters such as the Institute for Race Relations (IRR), which flagged conferences and lectures, some of which I subsequently attended. Conferences and study days held at my institution proved helpful in gaining knowledge and insight and the opportunity to meet some influential and well-known individuals in the field. As new and relevant concepts emerged, such as impression management, minoritised, cultural capital and intersectionality, further searches were conducted.

The papers retrieved covered a wide range of material including foundational theoretical concepts or conceptual literature, such as Goffman's (1959) social theory (dramaturgical model), which provided insight into key concepts such as impression management and presentation strategies; Jones's (1997) influential work on the discourse of racism and prejudices; Carter's model (2007) explaining the association between racism and mental health; systematic reviews-meta-analyses and narrative reviews; empirical studies using qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methodologies; seminal reports such as Macpherson (1999); and opinion papers. (Hierarchy Evidence - Appendix 1).

Conceptualisation of the literature reviewed

Three main themes emerged from the literature reviewed:

1. Racism
2. Responses to racism
3. Theories and theoretical concepts including feminism, intersectionality, cultural capital, and social class.

The general approach to discussing the literature in this chapter begins with foundational research and theoretical concepts that have been helpful in this field of work. Then, relevant studies that have applied those concepts to different situations will be reviewed. Some studies, however, fit into both categories and will be positioned wherever they align best.

1. Racism

In this section, I will address key aspects such as racism, whiteness, racial trauma, performativity, and social and cultural capital as they pertain to the experiences of minoritised academics. Additionally, I will examine CRT and other sociological theories to critically analyse the complex dynamics of racism and the intersecting experiences of black minoritised nurse academics.

The concept of racism is essential to this study. Given that interpersonal and institutional racism intersecting with other forms of oppression is a significant and pervasive theme to emerge from studies exploring the experience of black minoritised academics. Moreover, as alluded to earlier, there is a criticism of whiteness in the nursing profession, including nursing faculties, perpetuated through Euro-centric pedagogy, colourblind ideology, and a reluctance to acknowledge or even understand institutional racism. This section provides a brief overview of some important topics related to racism. Key terms such as racism will be defined, including why racism is such a challenging concept to define. The notion of 'race' will also be discussed, as to why it is essential to understand it before delving into the definition of racism; forms of racism will be examined as defined by contemporary scholars, why there is a lack of acknowledgement among nursing scholars of institution racism and finally an interrogation of whiteness and studies exploring academics in HEIs and studies focussing on the experience of nurse academics.

'Race: this four-letter word has wreaked more havoc on people in the world than all the four-letter words banned by censors of the U.S. airwaves. Race divides human beings into categories that loom in our psyches. Racial differences create cavernous divides in our psychological understandings of who we are and who we should be.' (Jones, 1997, p. 339)

Jones' (1997) seminal work on racism and prejudice offered valuable background information and practical strategies, establishing his work as a cornerstone in studying these concepts. The quote cited here eloquently captures the social implications associated with the term "race." This section will briefly define some key concepts relevant to this thesis. The root cause of racism is an ideology that promotes racial domination (Wilson, 1999), where one or more racial groups are considered biologically or culturally superior. This

ideology is then used as a justification for the subordinate treatment and the social positioning of other racial groups. Racialisation of the subordinate group involves categorisation into races based on perceived physical differences (e.g., skin colour, eyes). Racism occurs when this differentiation process consists of assigning a 'hierarchical and socially consequential' (Clair and Denis, 2015 p. 1) value based on those differences.

Key Terms

Prejudice means having negative attitudes or opinions toward a group or an individual, often based on stereotypes and unreliable evidence (e.g. all Asians are good at mathematics; all black minoritised people are good at sports). Stereotypes such as these are exaggerated beliefs about a group, which can be positive but are often negative. If prejudice relates to the opinion and attitudes of one group towards another, then discrimination goes a step further and involves 'actual behaviour towards another group or individual' (Giddens and Sutton, 2013, p. 680). Typical examples include pay inequity between genders and inequity in career progression between different cultural and ethnic groups (Costa Dias, Joyce and Parodi, 2018). These examples suggest that discrimination is exemplified in situations where members of one group are prevented or denied opportunities in favour of another group. One of the main goals of this study is to investigate the various forms of racial discrimination experienced by minoritised nurse academics in HEIs.

Racism, racial discrimination and racial inequality, although interrelated, are distinct concepts. Racial discrimination, as stated previously, is unequal treatment based on race, while racial inequalities are unequal outcomes in areas like income, education, and health. According to Pager and Shepherd (2008), whilst racism is often involved in both, it is not always the direct cause of contemporary discrimination or inequality. The sociology of racism studies the interconnectedness of race, society, and power and how they reinforce each other (Jones, 1997).

Racial Hierarchies

According to Clair and Denis (2015) and CRT scholars, racism cannot be defined without first defining race and its origins because they contend that it is the construction of a hierarchy based on the belief in racial superiority that creates power and privilege for some groups while causing oppression for others. This mindset has led to systemic inequality, which is a legacy of colonialism contributing to systemic racism observed in many societies today (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2023). Other scholars support the United Nations' findings on the historical impact of colonialism, highlighting its significant link to racism and its effect on nursing scholarship. This connection contributes to the unequal treatment of black minoritised nurses compared to their white counterparts. Recognising this colonial influence is crucial for promoting equality and social justice (Kimani, 2023; Brathwaite, 2018).

From a sociological perspective, race is defined as the categorisation of humans based on shared predetermined biological characteristics. On the other hand, ethnicity tends to be

determined by common ancestry, history, and cultural practices, aspects that are more variable/changeable rather than ascribed and predetermined, as implied in the definition of race. That said, race (e.g. Asians, Whites, Black), ethnicity (e.g. Whites, Asian, Chinese, Caribbean), and nationality (e.g. British, French, Irish, American) are all socially constructed, thus fluid, constantly evolving, contextual, interrelated and boundaries defined by state power, group interests and social forces (ONS 2022a; Cornell and Hartmann, 2006). Nevertheless, although categories such as race are socially constructed, they still have real and adverse impacts on the lived experiences of black and minoritised groups.

Race as a category was first identified in the English language during the late 16th century. Until the 18th century, it had a generic meaning, similar to other categories used today, such as ethnicity (Kennedy, 2013; Smedley, 1998). During the 18th century, Europeans colonised other parts of the world. At the same time, some Enlightenment philosophers and scientists, including Immanuel Kant, David Hume, and botanist Carolus Linnaeus, created a taxonomy of human beings. This taxonomy placed European "whites" at the top of the hierarchy, endowed with superior qualities, while non-European civilisations were ranked lower. The black race was placed at the bottom of the hierarchy and endowed with demeaning and derisive characteristics (Malik, 2023). Many now accept race as natural and biological and as a categorisation of human beings. With the spread of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and Western colonialism, these concepts were used to dominate, exploit and physically and mentally traumatise non-white peoples.

Malik's illuminating text provides significant insight into prominent Enlightenment philosophers such as Kant and their role in creating a hierarchy of race. Based on Kant's writings, Malik asserts that he was a key figure in establishing and developing racial theory in the 18th century, and the Enlightenment movement should not be seen as the origins of equality but 'the cradle of racism'. Malik underscores his arguments by drawing attention to the writings of philosophers such as Mills (1956) who persuasively argued that the Enlightenment movement has assisted in the formulation of 'Europe's sense not only of its cultural but also racial superiority' and Emmanuel Eze who stated that in 'Enlightenment writings, 'reason' and 'civilisation' became almost synonymous with 'white' people and northern Europe, while unreason and savagery were conveniently located among non-whites the 'black', the 'red', the 'yellow' outside Europe'" (Malik, 2023, p. 21).

Gaining insight into how the concept of equality, race and racism was forged, it is not difficult to understand how white Europeans justified enslaving, colonising, dehumanising and exploiting a population of colour with such ease and without any moral conscience, purely for power and economic gain. Thus, Smedley's conclusions become even more persuasive. He argued that ever since white Europeans began colonising people of colour around the world, race has served as the 'premier source of human identity' (Smedley, 1998 p.690).

Despite the scientific evidence that race is a social construct with no biological basis (Rutherford, 2020), people's perception of race and people of colour in the present day is

still influenced by the legacy of the past (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Dubois, 1903). So, most people continue to believe that race is biologically determined (Bobo and Fox, 2003), and white Europeans still maintain the perception of white superiority – consciously or subconsciously. This is even though the pseudoscientific discipline of biological racism has been shown to have no empirical basis to justify the notion of racial inferiority, superiority or racial discrimination. CRT scholars also view race as a social construct, much like gender and class. This perspective aligns with the broader worldview that social identities are not inherent or fixed but are created and maintained through social interactions and institutions. A racial hierarchy may have been conceived of in the 17th/18th century, but its legacy concerning skin colour has real consequences globally today. So, even though race is not biologically determined, it remains a powerful construct which still plays a significant role in shaping our social reality and continues to have significant and visceral meaning for many minoritised groups because of the meanings and values society attaches to it.

Definition of Racism

It is commonly understood that racism is a complex and flexible phenomenon with deep historical roots which can manifest itself in various ways depending on the context (Jones, 1997). CRT theorists contend that the majority of racism (i.e. systemic, structural, cultural and institutional) is so subtle and imperceptible that it remains hidden beneath a veneer of normality, and it is only the more obvious overt forms that most people see as problematic. Gee et al. (2009) used a simple but powerful iceberg metaphor to explain the concept of racism. In this metaphor, the visible part of the iceberg represents the obvious and explicit forms of racism, such as hate crimes. However, the base of the iceberg, which is hidden beneath the surface, represents the more subtle and pervasive forms of racism, such as systemic and structural racism. This hidden part of the iceberg is much larger and more widespread than the visible part, and it has a much more significant impact on society.

Given the above discussion, the following definition captures the essence of some current thinking about racism. It highlights key tenets of racism - it is structural and institutional and relates to a power differential (Jones, 1997).

‘... a set of institutional conditions of group inequality and an ideology of racial domination, in which the latter is characterized by a set of beliefs holding that the subordinate racial group is biologically or culturally inferior to the dominant racial group. These beliefs, in turn, are deployed to prescribe and legitimize society's discriminatory treatment of the subordinate group and to justify their lower status’ (Bobo and Fox, 2003, p. 319)

So, why is the concept of racism so complex and difficult to define? CRT scholars would argue, as indicated in the introduction to this section, that it encompasses many interrelated and intersecting dimensions, including its systemic nature, evolving societal understanding, denial, intersecting oppressions, and unconscious biases. A few of the more prominent ones are discussed below.

Scholars argue (Williams, 1991; Harris, 1993; Jones, 1997; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Bonilla-Silva, 2014) that society's perception of racism is about individual attitudes toward each other. Indeed, words such as prejudice, stereotyping, bigotry, and intolerance are often used interchangeably with racism. However, these scholars assert that racism is more than biases and treating someone in a derogatory manner. It is about relationships between groups based on values and beliefs surrounding racial differences. Indeed, Ibram Kendi (2019) asserts that focusing on the individual level misconstrues what the concept of racism is and that, fundamentally, racism is about power and policies, not just individual interactions. Further, systems, structures and institutional policies and practices perpetuate discrimination and inequality.

Bonilla-Silva (2014) believes that the concept of racism is viewed differently by people of white/European descent and people of colour. White Europeans view it as individual prejudice, whilst he argues many 'people of colour' as being systematic or institutionalised. He contends that this difference in perception is why there is little agreement about the concept of racism between the two groups. To only consider racism as individual prejudice is to conceal the systemic, cultural and institutional processes that perpetuate racial hierarchy or the superiority of one race over another. Bonilla-Silva further observes that many scholars today writing about or researching racism still give the misleading impression that racist actions are committed unintentionally by a few uninformed individuals rather than acknowledging that it is embedded in the very structure of society. This, he argues, is one way of denying the existence of racism, and this ignorance perpetuates racial discrimination and racial inequalities. Additionally, some scholars contend that the use of the ubiquitous term 'unconscious bias' is problematic because it undermines the existence of white supremacy, provides an excuse for racialised acts perpetuated by the dominant group, and, in so doing, provides a reason to disregard the reality of institutional racism (Tate and Page, 2018).

Regardless of whether racism is unconscious or conscious, the most important thing is the outcome. Another dimension that adds to the complexity of racism is that it intersects with many other forms of oppression (e.g., classism, sexism, and ableism) (see p47). Finally, the concept of racism is constantly evolving as society progresses and gains new insights and understanding. As a result, new forms of racism emerge, presenting challenges for society to adapt and address these new expressions of racism.

In summary, the concept of racism is complex and not easily defined due to various intersecting dimensions, such as its systemic and pervasive nature, evolving societal understanding, denial of racism, other intersecting social oppressions, and the existence of unconscious biases.

Forms of racism.

This section will discuss forms of racism: systemic, structural, institutional, internalised, personal and cultural racism. It will define and distinguish between each type and provide illustrative examples.

As discussed earlier, when people consider racism, they often only think of overt and personal actions like hate crimes and abusive language. Even though overt racism still exists, despite legal measures like the Equality Act 2010, there are other forms of racism, such as systemic and structural, that are less visible. These forms of racism are pervasive and entrenched in the system of society and can be more harmful and damaging, though they may not be noticeable unless one is a victim.

Systemic, structural and institutional racism are all closely related and often used interchangeably in the literature, but they do have different emphases.

Systemic Racism

Systemic racism, as the name implies, emphasises all systems, such as economic, political, health, criminal justice and education, as well as the structures (e.g. norms, laws, institutional policies-housing, education) that maintain them (Feagin and Ducey 2018). Most CRT scholars would agree with Khendi Andrews' (professor of black studies) definition of systemic racism: 'how large-scale systems, historical and contemporary ideologies, social forces, and social processes combine to produce inequality between racial groups.' (Abraham, 2021)

Structural Racism

Structural racism usually refers to the way society is structured and how it disadvantages certain people through structures such as institutional policies and laws. Bonilla-Silva (2014) states that these structures are the system's 'scaffolding'. Structural racism relates to broader political and social disadvantages. Research provides numerous examples of structural discrimination. For instance, the disproportionate deaths of minoritised groups during the COVID-19 pandemic in England and Wales (ONS 2020; BMA, 2021) are attributed to their societal positioning, including living in inner cities, lower-paid key work, and working-class status. Additionally, there are few senior executive positions held by minoritised groups in organisations (Anderson et al., 2022), highlighting how institutions like higher education and financial systems uphold systemic and structured racism. Higher rates of poverty are prevalent among black and Pakistani ethnic groups, and there is a 4.9% pay gap between white medical consultants and black minoritised medical consultants (Rimmer, 2018). Finally, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) recently highlighted research showing the inequalities minoritised groups face in accessing affordable homes in the UK housing market and concluding that these were 'rooted in structural injustices' (JRF 2021 p.1).

Institutional racism

The term institutional racism encompasses racism within specific institutions. However, according to some scholars (Jones, 2000), the concept also encapsulates institutional

systems and structures involved in discrimination and oppression, such as nursing pedagogy. Institutional racism exists in all institutions (e.g. universities, schools, policing, and the criminal justice system), and it is perpetuated through policies and practices, whether consciously or unconsciously. Institutional racism reinforces, upholds and maintains systemic racism. Examples, revealed in the studies about black minoritised academics within HEI and supported by bodies such as HESA (2022/2023) include disproportional executive positions held by white individuals, sparse numbers of black female professors overall and the dearth of black minoritised professors (Chapter 1).

The term 'institutional racism' was first coined by civil rights campaigners Carmichael and Hamilton (1967, pp. 20-21). It emphasises the harmful effects of this more subtle form of racism in seemingly respectable institutions.

Sir William Macpherson (1999) and his advisors expanded on Carmichael and Hamilton's definition of institutional racism as part of their inquiry into the practices of the London Metropolitan Police (Met) in handling the case of Stephen Lawrence's death.⁷ This expanded definition is widely accepted in the UK.

'Institutional racism consists of 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 ...detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping, which disadvantage minority ethnic people... Racism ... in its more subtle form is as damaging as in its overt form.' (Macpherson, 1999, p. 321)

Impact of the Macpherson report.

This damning allegation of institutional racism was a significant discovery of the inquiry, and the Labour government expedited changes already in progress, resulting in the prompt development of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (2000). According to Sivanandan⁸ (2000), the report also raised the public profile of institutional racism. Indeed, Gillborn (2015) contends that before Macpherson, anti-racism was not taken seriously and was 'reduced to meaningless slogans, bereft of all critical content.' (p. 90), and what the report did was to put it back on the map. Further, after much public debate, there was now a clear definition of institutional racism, which was not only accepted and endorsed by the British government but also by many other organisations (Gillborn, 2002). Gillborn (2006) also argues that another significant development of Macpherson's definition is the inclusion of the words 'unwitting' and 'thoughtlessness' because it focuses on the outcomes and effects of actions rather than continual debates about intent. So, Like Carmichael and Hamilton's definition, Macpherson makes it clear that regardless of whether racism is overt or covert, the outcome is just as harmful.

⁷ Stephen Lawrence, an 18-year-old black man, was fatally stabbed in a racially motivated attack in 1993. It took 18 years to convict his killers, and the investigation was criticised for incompetence and institutional racism.

⁸ **Ambalavaner Sivanandan** (1923–2018) was a Sri Lankan and British novelist, leading political thinker, writer, activist and director of the Institute of Race Relations (IRR).

More than thirty years after this report was published, another extensive investigation into the Met has found this police force to display ‘institutional racism, misogyny and homophobia’ (Casey Review, 2023). So, nothing has changed, and institutional racism remains deeply embedded in the Met, just as it does in many other institutions and professions, such as the NHS and HEIs (Chapter 1). Further, the situation in these institutions, I believe, makes a strong case for epistemologies of ignorance and colour-blindness ideology (Table 2.3).

Structural racism embeds racism within society’s systems, normalising practices that benefit white people (white privilege) and disadvantaging minoritised groups. It maintains a racial hierarchy established through slavery and colonialism. Institutional racism refers to discriminatory practices within specific institutions. Both types shape racial disparities. CRT scholars contend that these deep-rooted beliefs, like white supremacy, operate consciously and subconsciously to sustain racial discrimination in institutions like HEIs.

Internalised Racism

Another type of racism which is of relevance in this thesis is internalised racism, which takes many forms, including internalised racial inferiority, whereby the oppressed absorbs and believes the negative stereotypes perpetuated by a race’s historical categorisation (Browser, 2017; Lui and Quezada, 2019; Miller, Stern and Neville 2019). This may manifest in many forms, such as negative self-image, hatred of one’s racial group and denial of the existence of racism. Some scholars (Pyke, 2010; Johnson and Holloway-Friesen, 2011; Du Bois, 1903) contend that this form of internalised oppression is both a conscious and unconscious acceptance of a racial hierarchy in which whites are seen as superior to people of colour.

Research has shown that internalised racism is associated with many adverse mental health effects, such as low self-esteem (Gale et al., 2020), increased anxiety, and symptoms of depression (Mouzon and McLean, 2017). Lui and Quezada (2019) also posited that black minoritised groups acculturating to a dominant white culture remain cognisant of their intersecting identities. Still, others may internalise racism by absorbing and concurring with the negative stereotypes perpetuated about their racial group.

Colourism

Colourism is an example of internalised racism, which is discrimination, particularly within a racial or ethnic group, against people with a dark skin tone (Greenidge, 2019).

Historically, the notion of ‘colour-based hierarchies of people’ was one way to justify the transatlantic slave trade. However, its legacy lives on today, manifesting in complex concepts such as colourism and implicit bias (Jablonski, 2020). Indeed, longitudinal projects – such as Project Implicit at Harvard University,⁹ which uses scales such as the Implicit Association Test (IAT) to understand stereotypes and implicit biases influencing people’s views, judgement and actions, using the skin tone IAT tool repeatedly – shows a preference

⁹ <https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/>

for light skin relative to darker skin. This type of discrimination has a real practical impact on the daily lives of people with darker skin tones socially, economically and culturally. For example, it is well known that dark-skinned people have significantly more experience of racial microaggression (Keith et al., 2017), there are significant gaps in wages (World Economic Forum, 2020; Goldsmith, Hamilton and Darity, 2007), with strong correlations to the wage gap widening as workers' skin colour darkens. Other studies (Erskine, Brassel and Robotham, 2023) have demonstrated that skin-tone bias plays a significant role in maintaining inequality in the workplace globally, with women who have darker skin tones more likely to experience racism than those with lighter tones (Appendix 2). The practice of skin whitening is an example of the perpetuation of colourism and reinforcement of white supremacy, not to mention the health and safety issues associated with the practice (Jablonski, 2020; Nordin et al., 2022). In summary, colour is an important variable in how black minoritised individuals experience the world.

Cultural Racism

A society's culture is its customary beliefs and values, shaped by history and acquired through enculturation and socialisation. It is reflected in language, food, dress, art, symbols, and media (Hicken et al., 2021).

Cultural racism is a prejudice based on the belief that one's culture is superior to another, leading to discrimination and an inability to coexist (Blaut 1992). It is evident in the perpetuation of racial stereotypes, biases in recruitment, and cultural appropriation, adopting elements of minority cultures in an exploitative or disrespectful manner, such as appropriating music or artefacts (Appendix 3). Further discrimination based on cultural racism can harm groups (Afro-Caribbean, Muslims, and immigrants) in UK society who are racialised based on cultural attributes.

Although cultural racism differs from biological racism, both contribute to social hierarchies and are regarded as racist concepts (Michaels et al., 2023). Indeed, theorists (Blaut, 1992) who popularised the concept in the 80s and 1990s argued that this belief in a hierarchy of cultures is just another way of resurrecting biological racism. This idea is closely aligned with the conclusions drawn by Frantz Fanon (1956). However, critics (Frederickson, 2015) of this interpretation of cultural racism argue that biological and cultural racism are not synonymous and that much of the theory underpinning cultural racism is not based on empirical data. Frederickson concedes that 'there is a substantial grey area between racism and culturalism' (p. 7), thus admitting that there is an association. Furthermore, a recent study by Bratt (2022) identified a strong connection between the belief in cultural superiority and traditional racism across 21 European countries. However, the study also found that this belief can foster various perspectives, including cultural concerns, which align with Frederickson's concept of the 'grey area.'

As stated earlier, regarding the visibility of cultures, cultural racism manifests in advertising and the media (films, television, social media history books) of dominant social groups in policies, laws, language, and symbols, maintaining stereotypes and biases.

Other scholars propose a more comprehensive definition of cultural racism. A systematic review concluded that cultural racism is:

‘... a culture of White supremacy, which values, protects, and normalizes Whiteness and White social and economic power ... cultural racism surrounds and bolsters, structural, institutional, personally mediated, and internalized racism, undermining health through the material, cognitive/affective, biologic and behavioural mechanisms across the life course.’ (Michaels et al., 2015, pp.769)

This definition is in line with CRT, and it emphasises how cultural racism normalises whiteness. This means that the dominance and privilege associated with whiteness have become so deeply rooted that it is accepted as the societal standard. This benefits the dominant group, perpetuates systemic oppression and reinforces other forms of racism, resulting in negative consequences (e.g. health disparities) for those who do not belong to the dominant group. The negative impact of racism on health outcomes has been extensively documented in the literature (Paradies et al., 2015). See Chapter 1.

Additionally, Michaels et al. (2023) argue that cultural racism is so pervasive and entrenched that they liken it to "a pervasive social toxin" (p. 768). They utilise the iceberg metaphor (Gee et al., 2009) to illustrate cultural racism as the "water surrounding the iceberg." This analogy suggests that cultural racism allows the iceberg to float while concealing its foundation, representing institutional and structured racism. Specifically, they posit, like CRT, (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017) that cultural racism is closely intertwined with all other forms of racism, influencing institutional policies and practices, see Appendix 3.

Alcoff (2023) goes further, drawing on the work of Franz Fanon (1964); she asserts that cultural racism and colonialism are inextricably linked and understanding the concept is ‘central to understanding racism today’ (p.249). Alcoff argues that anti-racism initiatives, such as equality, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) programmes, have become profitable industries in North American and European HEIs. However, there has been much criticism in the literature about their effectiveness in addressing racism (Ahmed, 2012). She contends that these initiatives focus too narrowly on individual biases, non-elites, and diversity in professional classes to improve organisational practices rather than dismantle systemic issues. Alcoff recommends that anti-racism initiatives also consider the broader global context (Táíwò, 2022), including labour practices, colonial history, and the role of elites in perpetuating racism, to be more effective.

Cultural racism perpetuates exclusion by attacking people's fundamental ways of being and living, contributing to unequal distribution of resources globally and leaving certain parts of the world behind. Beliefs in cultural superiority are closely linked to biological racism and result in discrimination. Understanding this connection is crucial in promoting inclusivity and discouraging discriminatory attitudes. Structural racism is sustained by the

interconnectedness of cultural and institutional racism, leading to negative experiences for marginalised groups, see Appendix 3.

Interpersonal Racism

Perhaps the most prevalent views of racism are interpersonal racism (e.g. microaggressions), personal prejudice and biases in our everyday interactions. Studies of the experience of black minoritised academics and students revealed that microaggressions were commonly experienced in HEIs and nursing, with cumulative effects causing harm to the victims. (Johnson and Joseph-Salisbury, 2018; Bhopal 2015; Pilkington 2013; DeCuir-Gunby et al 2019; Scholefield, 2023; Estacio and Saidy-Khan 2014; Ogunyemi et al 2020; Pusey-Reid and Blackman-Richards, 2022).

Racial microaggressions

Microaggression was first coined in the 1970s by the black Harvard professor and psychiatrist Chester Pierce. Nevertheless, Sue and colleagues' seminal study was the first to conduct in-depth research into the phenomenon. Their study defined racial microaggression as 'brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioural, or environmental indignities (intentional or unintentional) that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults' (Sue et al., 2007, p. 271). Some scholars define them as small racist acts that are not clearly racially motivated (Williams, 2020a). Williams (2020a) defined microaggressions as '... deniable acts of racism that reinforce pathological stereotypes and inequitable social norms.' (p 4). However, others, such as CRT scholars Leonardo and Porter (2010), contend that racial microaggressions are the manifestation of linguistic violence seen in normal 'cross-racial dialogues' (Table 2.3).

Individuals can demonstrate this type of racism subconsciously and not be aware of the impact on the person it was directed at. Nevertheless, as discussed elsewhere, whether racism is intentional or unintentional, the impact on the victim still causes harm. Researchers (Sue et al., 2007; Williams, 2021) within this field support this perspective, as findings have shown that microaggressions are insidious and cause hurtful and traumatic experiences.

Torres, Driscoll, and Burrow's (2010) study demonstrated that exposure to racial microaggressions can make the victim feel uncomfortable, insulted, and invalidated. Additionally, these experiences create a great deal of uncertainty and anxiety and can be traumatising as well as causing adverse mental health effects (Nadal et al., 2014) (see p64).

According to Williams (2020a), microaggressions are easily identifiable as they perpetuate false pathological stereotypes, inequitable social norms, and power imbalances. They communicate exclusion, othering, and a sense of inferiority to the victim, essentially conveying that the victim does not belong in their place of work, university, or country. It is crucial, however, to recognise that microaggressions are context-dependent.

Williams (2020) and others (Skinner-Dorkenoo et al., 2021) contend they are maintained because they are socially learned, unspoken means of establishing or re-establishing

dominance, and are racially motivated. Skinner-Dorkenoo et al. (2021), through their work, found significant empirical evidence and real-world examples to support the fact that microaggressions institute white supremacy and contribute to systems of racial oppression in the United States. Studies in the UK support the findings of these North American studies and have shown that nurses within the NHS experience this form of racism from both patients and colleagues with many negative consequences (Allan et al., 2004; Smith et al., 2006; Allan, 2010; Estacio and Saidy-Khan, 2014; Firi and Baryeh, 2024).

Categorisation

Since Chester Pierce (1974) first observed the unconscious, “subtle and stunning” phenomenon of racial microaggressions, (Williams, Skinta and Martin-Willett 2021 p 991) its relevance and saliency today have intensified, demonstrated by the amount of research and media discourse on the topic.

Sue et al. (2007) were the first to extensively study and categorise microaggressions into three primary forms (microinsults, micro-assaults and microinvalidations). However, Berk (2017) does not acknowledge micro-assaults as microaggressions because the perpetrator's actions are obvious, deliberate, and intentional.

Sue et al (2007). identified several different types or themes of microaggressions, which were grouped within these three forms (See Appendix 4). Since then, scholars (Williams, Skinta and Martin-Willett 2021; Spanierman, Clark, and Kim, 2021) in the field have been working to establish a unified language and coherent framework for the wide range of research that has emerged in this area as new types have been identified.

Since Sue et al.’s classification, scholars have found common ground but have gone further and simplified the different types or themes of microaggressions. For example, Spanierman, Clark and Kim (2021) have a simplified typology of four umbrella (‘superordinate’) categories. These types of microaggressions have all been perpetrated against black minoritised groups within the workplace, including HEI and nursing (Gillborn 2008; Rosa-Davila et al 2020; Nairn et al 2012; Gatwiri 202; Lee, 2020 (Table 2.2):

- pathologising differences,
- denigrating and pigeonholing,
- excluding or rendering invisible
- perpetuating colour-blind attitudes.

There is, however, general agreement among scholars in this area of research that these categories are not ‘mutually exclusive’ and overlap. For example, second-class citizens, as coined by Sue et al. (2007) as an ‘Alien in their own land’ (Appendix 4), could be placed under either pathologising differences or excluding and rendering invisible under Spanierman, Clark and Kim’s typology. The categorisation used in this thesis will be broadly based on the frameworks established by Spanierman, Clark, and Kim (2021) and Sue et al. (2007). Examples can be found in Table 2.2. It should be made clear that some studies

(Pilkington, 2011, 2013; Bhopal, Brown and Jackson, 2015) have revealed that staff are often reluctant to label subtle forms of racism, such as racial microaggression experiences, as racism. Certainly, Pilkington (2013), who interviewed academics at 'Midshire University' (pseudonym), found that some ethnic minority staff were reluctant to describe their experience as racist because they did not want to be treated as 'victims'. He also found that they learn to do so over time, especially when participants become aware of empowering strategies, such as seeking social support groups, education and advocacy and cognitive reframing, enabling them to assertively address microaggressions, including through official bodies such as unions (DeLapp and Williams, 2015). These are all important first steps in developing resilience and empowering individuals (Traynor, 2017).

It was found that respondents were hesitant to label negative experiences as racist, even in larger studies (Bhopal, 2015), which increases generalisability. Indeed, one responder indicated that they were reluctant to 'play the race card' as they felt that this could undermine the significance of racist behaviour. Indeed, many of the respondents in the study felt that they were being judged based on stereotypes, and this black male respondent said he consciously defied these stereotypes. For example, he ensured his behaviour was always respectful and professional to counter stereotypical black male aggressive behaviour, illustrating identity shifting or code-switching to counteract gender and racial stereotypes (Dickens, Jones and Hall 2020).

Critiques of research into microaggression

Spanierman, Clark and Kim (2021) reviewed over 138 research studies in the literature to examine racial microaggression studies. They concluded that 'racial-microaggression research is both robust and rigorous'. Despite significant progress in the area, many challenges remain, such as resolving the tension in the literature on the definition of microaggression and its classification. Recent critiques by Lilienfeld (2017, 2020) about aspects of microaggression and the underpinning research focus on two key areas, particularly concerning the definition and research methodology. He argued that the definition of the concept is vague with 'excessive fuzziness ... with capacious borders' and that the validity of including 'unintentional' (unconscious) and 'impact' had the potential for 'concept creep' occurring because the limits of the concept were not defined (Lilienfeld, 2021).

Concept creep relates to expanding the concept's meaning, leading to an expanded range of phenomena (Haslam, 2016). Microaggression researchers such as Mekawi and Todd (2021) agree that the definition requires refining, and that impact and intent are not helpful and should not form part of the definition. Nevertheless, they contend that Lilienfeld's criticism of concept creep should not detract from the fact that racial microaggression happenings are not affirmed based on 'harmful intent'. Furthermore, Mekawi and Todd (2021) agree with one of the principal tenets of CRT scholars, namely that racial microaggressions are 'most validly defined by people of colour'. Furthermore, they assert that the meanings that are attached to racial microaggressions are dependent on the situation and context.

Another criticism Lilienfeld levelled at microaggression scholars relates to the rigour of the methodologies and designs employed. He argues that self-assessment forms of data collection (e.g., interviews, focus groups, and surveys) are subject to biases, and more objective forms of data collection, such as longitudinal studies or causal methods, are needed to increase the rigour of the findings.

However, what is critical to the debate is one's assumptions about knowledge, worldview, and epistemic commitments (Chapter 3). Lilienfeld's arguments emphasise a postpositivist paradigm, which devalues an interpretive/constructivist perspective. Additionally, as discussed previously, CRT scholars (Delgado and Stefancic 2017), contend that we live in a racist society and that individuals who experience racism are uniquely qualified to tell their stories. Therefore, self-reported methods are valid approaches that should be utilised to explore this phenomenon. Furthermore, microaggression scholars such as Syed (2021) maintain that those who are critical of microaggressions do so from the assumption that we live in an equitable society, believe in meritocracy and that a racist society does not exist.

Other scholars (Sue, 2017; Spanierman, Clark, and Kim 2021; Williams 2019), also challenge Lilienfeld's arguments about the weaknesses in study designs. Sue forcefully asserts, "Microaggressions are about experiential reality and about listening to the voices of those most oppressed" (Sue, 2017, p. 170). Furthermore, Spanierman, Clark, and Kim (2021) emphasise that "experiential reality is key to microaggression theory," highlighting the need for more, not less, qualitative research to develop racial microaggression themes further.

Category	Themes	Definition	Example
Pathologising differences	Tolerating assumptions of white superiority and inferior status, encountering assumptions of sub-standard cultural values and styles.	Rooted in white ideals – refers to conscious or unconscious attempts to disparage a target's cultural styles, values and practices.	<i>'Wow, how did you get so good at science?' to an indigenous student.</i>
Denigrating and pigeonholing	Ascription of intellectual inferiority; facing assumptions of criminality; enduring exoticisation.	Perpetrators undermine, confine or romanticise a target's mental capacity, behaviour or appearance due to race, e.g. racist jokes.	<i>'The problem with the black community is that the fathers just aren't around.'</i>
Excluding or rendering invisible	Contending with treatment as an alien in one's own land; enduring perceptions as fresh off the boat; encountering assumptions of homogeneity; compelled to be a cultural expert; passed over for promotion.	Reflects communications that negate or nullify targets' experiences of racialisation or promote exclusion.	<i>'I don't think of you as Asian, you just seem like a regular person to me.'</i>
Perpetuating colour-blind racial attitudes	Enduring denials of one's racial reality; withstanding allegations of hypersensitivity.	Perpetrators deny, distort or minimise race and racism in their interactions with people of colour.	<i>'Everyone has an equal chance at success if you work hard enough.'</i>

Table 2.2. Simplified typology of racial microaggression. Adapted from: Williams, Skinta and Martin-Willett (2021, p. 3). Based on Spanierman, Clark and Kim's typology of racial microaggression (2021)

In summary, microaggression theory explores subtle discriminatory messages directed at marginalised groups, perpetuating stereotypes, exclusion and power imbalances, and causing psychological harm. There are three types: microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations. Recent categorisations of the different types of microaggressions aim to simplify and clarify these concepts (Table 2.2). However, these categories are not mutually exclusive; they are interrelated and often overlap. Microaggression theory has been criticised for lacking objective data, overreliance on subjective evidence, encouraging victimhood, and conceptual ambiguity. Scholars in the field of microaggression have robustly defended these criticisms, which foreground the ongoing debates about its validity and impact.

Microaggressions have broader implications than just perpetuating racial stereotypes at an interpersonal level. Within a macro context, which includes structures and systems that perpetuate racial discrimination and inequalities (e.g. institutional processes and policies), they sustain systemic racism by concealing it (e.g. denying personal racism) and endorsing beliefs that uphold inequalities (e.g., the myth of meritocracy). In short, microaggressions are not isolated incidents but are part of a more extensive system of discrimination.

Reluctance to Acknowledge Institutional Racism in Nursing

As mentioned above, the literature criticises the nursing profession for its reluctance to acknowledge institutional racism within it. DiAngelo (2018) offers one explanation for this reluctance.

DiAngelo (2018) maintains that progressives are people raised in a society that elevates whiteness as the prevailing and dominant group, wielding the majority of economic, cultural, and social power. Consequently, they may have been indoctrinated, whether consciously or subconsciously, to perceive white individuals as superior and other ethnic minorities as inferior. Paradoxically, despite holding firm to their moral superiority, they may deny harbouring racist attitudes because they view themselves as anti-racist.

Part of the problem, DiAngelo argues, is that people view any mention of the word 'racism' as individual acts. Thus, if they are not engaged in racist acts, then they do not perceive themselves as being a racist. Indeed, most people do not want to think of themselves as being racist because it is associated with being a morally bad person, and most of us like to think of ourselves as being fundamentally good people. DiAngelo refers to this as the good/bad binary, which essentially is based on the notion that racism is all about individual or interpersonal exchanges rather than, as discussed in a previous section, being a systemic or institutional form of injustice that everyone participates in. Allan's (2021) discourse about the structural domination of whiteness in nursing concurs with this view. Contending that it is this restrictive view about the concept of racism and ignorance about the different levels of racism that perpetuates white supremacy in nursing, maintaining power and privilege

within this group. The prevailing pedagogies in nurse education (Blanchet Garneau, Browne and Varcoe, 2018), colour-blind ideology, and a reluctance to talk about race and racism (Drevdahl, Philips and Taylor 2006; Allan, 2021; Iheduru-Anderson et al. 2021) are some of the ways that Allan contends the profession itself helps to maintain this "structural domination of whiteness.

The problem with focusing on racism as just interpersonal acts is that it prevents interrogation of this more comprehensive system and the harm it confers on minoritised groups who are not part of this entitled and privileged club. The shortcomings of the individualistic perspective on racism align with Bonilla-Silva's (2014) criticisms. He argues that this viewpoint overlooks the significant economic and sociopolitical disparities impacting disadvantaged groups in our society.

Furthermore, DiAngelo is certain that the good/bad binary perception of racism is what drives 'white defensiveness' (white fragility) about racism and that a clearer understanding of the role of socialisation in shaping social reality and implicit biases would help to dismantle this misunderstanding. The following extract astutely and succinctly summarises the rationale behind white fragility: 'The good/bad binary certainly obscures the structural nature of racism and makes it difficult for us to understand. Equally problematic is the impact of such a worldview on our action' (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 73).

DiAngelo is convinced that the consequence of this fragility is to maintain racial inequality. The only way to address white fragility, she argues, is to begin an honest discourse about the phenomenon and for white people to acknowledge that they are 'complicit in institutional racism' and should accept that they play a significant role in its creation.

In predominantly Anglo-colonised countries, the majority of nurses are not only white but also occupy most of the senior positions in the profession. This "normalised dominance" grants white nurses the privilege of identifying with their professional role without recognising their position or its impact within a racial hierarchy (Van Herk, 2011; Schroeder and DiAngelo, 2010; Scammel and Olumide, 2012; Beard, 2016; Iheduru, Shingles and Akanegbu, 2021). This could explain why racism in nursing may not be acknowledged.

This argument, to some extent, contradicts the situation in the UK. Most of the senior nurse leaders in the NHS are indeed white; however, the nursing, midwifery and health visitors workforce has become increasingly more diverse, with approximately a third (29.2%) from black minoritised backgrounds (Workforce Race Equality Standard, (WRES), 2022), Chapter 1. Yet despite the increase in diversity, racism remains rife in the NHS and nursing. This situation supports the arguments by scholars Sensoy and DiAngelo (2017), who argue that the dominant group does not need to be numerically in the majority to uphold its hegemonic status in society. This point is illustrated by the fact that women make up the majority of the global population, yet patriarchal structures continue to be dominated by men in many societies and institutions, particularly within higher education institutions (HEIs).

Whiteness ideology.

To gain a further understanding of racism and the power it confers, it is necessary to examine the concepts of whiteness and white privilege. Whiteness examines structures that produce white privilege and contribute to structural racism. Bhopal (2018) contends that white privilege plays a significant role in shaping the positionality of black and minoritised academics within HEIs.

Definition of whiteness

Most dictionaries define whiteness as 'the quality of being white' (Cambridge Dictionary, 2024). However, this definition only reflects the physical aspect of whiteness and indicates identity, much like gender. Whiteness is not just about the colour of a person's skin; it also carries deep historical and sociopolitical implications related to beliefs, values, behaviours, and attitudes, leading to unequal distribution of power based on skin colour. Further, whiteness ideology has become a growing interdisciplinary area of scholarship that examines the structures that produce white privilege and contribute to structural racism (Du Bois, 1920; Baldwin, 1963; Roediger, 1991, 2018; Morrison, 1992; Allen, 1997; and Ignatiev, 1995). Du Bois (1920), an early pioneer in the field of whiteness, asserts that whiteness represents power and entitlement, and other scholars in this field (Roediger, 1991, 2018; Harris, 1993;) echo his assertions. However, it is also important to remember that the idea of whiteness has changed over time and, like most social constructions, is fluid, contextual, and situated; see Ignatiev (1995) and Roediger (2018) for a detailed discussion of this aspect.

CRT scholar Cheryl Harris (1993) conceptualises whiteness as a Eurocentric positioning that creates white privilege. She and others (Roediger, 1991; Allen, 1997; Cabrera, 2009) argue that when the production of whiteness is established as the norm, this normativity makes it invisible to people who are white. This means that all other racial groups are compared to it. As a result, those in the 'default racial category' who benefit from this standard view whiteness as normal and invisible (Cabrera, 2009). This invisibility gives them an advantage and the ability to overlook race-related issues.

While scholars may disagree on how whiteness shapes society, there is a consensus (Harris, 1993; Puwar, 2004; Ahmed, 2007; Cabrera, 2009; Stoler, 2016; Daswani, 2020) that it has a Eurocentric heritage with a historical legacy in British colonialism and American imperialism. Some argue that the influence of whiteness extends beyond its Eurocentric roots, asserting that it also perpetuates notions of superiority and centres power in the Western world in ways that harm minoritised groups (Stoler, 2016).

There are, of course, other dominant groups across the world where power and entitlement are also seen as central to their identity and are used effectively to oppress others who do not belong to this ethnic group, e.g. the dominant Chinese ethnic group in Singapore (Chong and Zaini, 2021). Oppression is also evident within groups with the same nationality, such as the powerful Brahmins, the highest-ranking Hindu caste in India; Priyamvada Gopal (2020), a Brahmin herself, states that as a hierarchical group, it 'operates much like whiteness does'

and she advocates that it should be abolished just as Ignatiev, in his classic text *How the Irish Became White* (1995), called for the abolition of ‘whiteness’.

In summary, whiteness is a multifaceted and complex concept extending beyond skin colour, influencing and shaping societal norms, power structures, and cultural identities. Understanding this concept is crucial for challenging issues surrounding white privilege and inequality.

Whiteness in HE

To make the concept of whiteness relatable to HEIs and thus nurse academics, I have drawn on the work of CRT scholars (Harris, 1993; Cabrera, Franklin, and Watson 2017) who posit that whiteness can be broken down into several overlapping concepts, (Table 2.3). In doing so, I hope to illustrate how understanding this concept is central to challenging issues surrounding white privilege and inequality in HEIs.

Concepts	Interpretation	How whiteness relates to HEIs
Whiteness as colour-blindness (Bonilla-Silva, 2014)	Virtuous claim not to see race or shaping ‘racial inequality in terms of anything but racism’ (Bonilla-Silva and Forman, 2000).	Colour blindness informs interpersonal interactions, policy, and research (e.g., a colour-blind approach to data interpretation).
Whiteness as epistemologies of ignorance (Mills, 1997)	Deliberately avoiding the suffering caused by systemic white supremacy. Linked to colour-blindness.	Some white colleagues and students now believe that ‘reverse racism’ is prevalent though there is no research evidence to support this - a distraction from racial discourse to ‘the myth of reverse racism’ (Cabrera, 2014).
Whiteness as ontological expansiveness (Gusa, 2010)	Intersection between race and space . White people believe and behave as if all spaces are available to them to use as they please - white entitlement.	Black and ethnic minority groups are very aware that not all spaces on campus are accessible to them. Scholars posit that whiteness is normalised in the physical space of campus. Gusa, (2010) refers to this as ‘white institutional presence,’ while other scholars (Anderson, 2022) uses the term ‘white space’.
Whiteness as property White privilege. (Harris, 1993)	Whiteness itself is a valuable commodity. Harris (1993) argues that white privilege is people ‘using and enjoying their whiteness’.	White is the ‘normal’ against which all other groups are judged. The beneficiaries of white privilege are unable to perceive it, making it invisible, allowing them to ‘ignore issues of race’. Complaints of racism or challenges to whiteness lead to a defensive reaction, ‘reverse racism’. Instead of challenging the normativity of whiteness, practices often ‘reify’ their whiteness as property , e.g. through exclusion mechanisms – exclusion of students to some elite universities.
Whiteness as assumed racial comfort (Leonardo and Porter, 2010)	Racial comfort in social situations. Normal cross-racial dialogue in HE ‘serves as a site’ for linguistic violence which ‘dehumanises’ black and ethnic minorities.	Linguistic violence often manifests in the form of racial microaggressions . Although microaggressions are interpersonal, some scholars (Perez Huber and Solórzano, 2015) argue that they are also a ‘product of white supremacist ideologies ’ and should be seen as emanating from systemic racism. Not challenging linguistic violence normalises it because of ‘white entitlement to racial comfort’.

Table 2.3. Application of whiteness to HEIs. (Adapted from Cabrera, Franklin and Watson 2017)

All the categories mentioned in Table 2.3 are interconnected and overlapping. For instance, the authors argue that the idea of assumed racial comfort for white people, well explained

in DiAngelo's (2018) book "White Fragility," is prevalent because they are unaware of the realities of racism (epistemology of ignorance). So, whenever a white person is challenged about systemic racism, white supremacy or any issues concerning racial inequality and injustice, they exhibit 'fragility' and become defensive or exhibit a degree of discomfort. Similarly, assumed racial comfort and epistemology of ignorance exist into the broader context of colour blindness. Therefore, as per Cabrera, Franklin, and Watson (2017), the last three concepts reinforce each other mutually.

Critical Race Theory (CRT).

CRT is an evolving framework that is gaining popularity. It offers a radical perspective on analysing, understanding, and challenging societal racial inequality (Gillborn and Rollock, 2011). William Tate, one of the founding CRT scholars, encapsulates the evolving and changing nature of the framework when he depicts it as 'an iterative project of scholarship and social justice' (1997, p. 235). However, some scholars believe that to comprehend CRT truly, it is best understood in its historical context as an intellectual and political movement (Lynn and Dixon, 2013; Gillborn and Rollock, 2011).

Historical beginnings

CRT emerged in America over 40 years ago from the Critical Legal Studies (CLS) movement. CLS was formed by a group of mainly left-of-centre white academics. They aimed to challenge the traditional legal discourse by arguing that the legal system was not a fair and liberal institution. Instead, they believed it was biased and influenced by socio-economic and political factors that only 'serve to legitimise an oppressive social order.' (Lynn and Dixon 2013 p 12). However, a group of black legal scholars (e.g. Bell, Freeman, Crenshaw, Delgado, Harris, Lawrence, Matsuda, and Williams) acknowledged the significant outcomes of CLS but felt that the movement did not adequately address the struggles of people of colour. Therefore, out of frustration with some of the views of CLS and disappointment that racial equality persisted despite civil rights legislation (Lynn and Dixon 2013 p.13), these scholars met in 1989, and a fledgling CRT movement emerged. That said, the intellectual foundations of the movement emerged from the writing and discourse of the 1970s 'Leftist' legal movement (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 10).

CRT in Education

While CRT originated in the United States, it has become a significant part of social theory worldwide and across many disciplines. CRT was introduced to the field of education through the pioneering work of scholars such as Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) and Solorzano (1995, 1998). Initially used as an analytical framework to assess inequity in education, it has since been employed by many others (Decuir and Dixon, 2004; Gillborn and Ladson-Billings, 2009; Taylor, Gillborn, and Ladson-Billings, 2023; Bhopal and Preston, 2011; Bhopal, 2023) to critique educational research and practice.

Furthermore, CRT has proven an effective tool for understanding and addressing racial disparities in higher education (see Table 2.3). It challenges prevailing narratives in

education, such as objectivity, meritocracy, and equality. By providing a critical lens to examine racial disparities, CRT has helped create a more equitable and just learning environment.

Underpinning tenets

According to Delgado and Stefancic (2001), several important tenets are essential in shaping CRT. These will be briefly outlined below, then developed and or referenced in later sections.

The centrality of racism

This principle is based on the premise that racism is endemic in all strata of society - legally and culturally, where the non-dominant race experiences unabated racism daily, and to the non-dominant race, this behaviour is perceived to be normal, not aberrant (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). In other words, racism has become so pervasive that it is now accepted as normal to all people within the culture, even I would argue to some minoritised groups at whom racism is directed. Most importantly, CRT scholars emphasise that this form of racism is not necessarily overtly expressed but is increasingly subtler and expressed consciously or unconsciously. It was Lawrence (1987) who first challenged the American legal system's perception of race discrimination because of conscious racial decision-making only. If the motive for the racial animus was not conscious, the courts deemed it legal. This statute made it impossible to prove discriminatory actions. Lawrence based his arguments on psychological theories:

‘We do not recognize the ways in which our cultural experience has influenced our beliefs about race or the occasions on which those beliefs affect our actions. In other words, a large part of the behavior that produces racial discrimination is influenced by unconscious racial motivations.’ (Lawrence 1987, p. 322).

Here, Lawrence is challenging the courts' limited perspective. He theorises that discrimination is more than just conscious acts but includes unconscious motivations that come from ‘an acculturation process’ (Lynn and Dixson, 2013, p. 17) into dominant cultural beliefs. Today, scholars of racism would assert that whether racism is intended or not, it is the outcome that is of consequences as often racism manifests in the ‘outcomes of processes and relations’ (Gillborn, 2005). Examples include the lack of progression of a black minoritised academic to senior positions in UK HEIs (Bhopal, 2014), the pay gap between black minoritised academics and white colleagues (Croxford 2018; HESA, 2021/22); black minoritised people feeling like outsiders within the culture due to nuanced discrimination from white colleagues, even if they do progress to the higher echelons of academia; discrimination from students; and the work of minoritised academics being less valued than white academics (Bhopal and Jackson, 2013).

White supremacy

CRT scholars argue that the role and power of white supremacy are vital in bolstering and maintaining racism, and they believe it is their role to expose and challenge it (Gillborn 2008; Leonardo 2004; Ansley 1997). In this context, Francis Ansley (1997) believes that

white supremacy relates to the control of power and resources by white people in the political, economic and cultural systems within society. Consequently, there is no motivation for them to relinquish these privileges. Many CRT scholars and others (Picower, 2009; Sleeter, 2011) feel strongly that the privileges of whiteness should not be accepted unquestioningly but should be rigorously challenged regardless of their ethnic origins.

In the following quotation, Ansley and other CRT scholars (Hooks, 2000) clearly differentiate it from a common understanding of white supremacy and make it very clear that the term relates to more subtle, widespread, and systemic forces that, according to Gillborn (2015), 'shape the world in the interest of white people' (p. 278).

'White supremacy' I do not mean to allude only to the self-conscious racism of white supremacist hate groups. I refer instead to a political, economic, and cultural system in which whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources, conscious and unconscious ideas of white superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of white dominance and non-white subordination are daily re-enacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings. (Ansley 1997: 592)

bell hooks, an academic scholar, activist, and feminist, asserts that white supremacy is not a personal issue but a systemic and institutional construct. She further contends that it is not only white people who perpetuate this system; black people should also acknowledge their collusion with forces of imperialism and racism (hooks, 2000).

Interest Convergence

As discussed earlier, racism maintains and advances the status of the dominant group. Therefore, CRT scholars like Derrick Bell (1980) argue that the dominant group has no real impetus to dismantle this system. Bell maintains that when the dominant group implements initiatives that seem to dismantle the system, it does so only when these initiatives align with its interests.

'The interest of black in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interest of white ... the fourteenth amendment will not authorize a judicial remedy providing effective racial equality for blacks where the remedy sought threatens the superior societal status of middle and upper-class whites' (Bell, 1980 p.523).

Bell, the 'father of critical race studies', came to these conclusions after a retrospective systematic review of the Supreme Court's school desegregation. For example, in the desegregation of US public schooling (Brown v. Board of Education) decree, he argued that the motivating factor was to enhance the public image of the US to the international community during the struggle against communism in the Cold War political years (Dudziak, 2004). Bell observed that throughout American history, legislation aimed at achieving racial equality has typically emerged alongside changes in economic conditions and the self-interest of elite whites (Delgado and Stefancic 2001). Other scholars have explored this idea of interest convergence in relation to current policies and reached similar conclusions (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Gillborn, 2008; Pierson-Brown 2022).

In the UK, one could argue that interest convergence is evident in successive government educational policies that were put in place to address the underachievement of black children in secondary schools. So, for example, in the light of the pervasiveness of institutional racism across many public sectors, the new Labour government introduced the '*Aiming high*' policy (Department of Education and skills, 2007) to address underachievement in black children. However, the policy was criticised as symbolic, lacking robustness and doing little to address race inequality in education. Further, although later, other policies were more robust, such as the pupil premium, which focused on the underachievement of white working-class children, inadvertently also benefited black children. One could argue that this is an example of the enactment of interest convergence (Gillborn, 2013; Taylor-Mullings, 2018). In the educational sector, many equality and diversity initiatives in HEIs could be seen as further examples of interest convergence, which, in some cases, contribute little to addressing social injustice within these institutions (Ahmed, 2012).

However, it could be argued that Bell's articulation of interest convergence is too pessimistic as some scholars contend that commonality of interests can be used effectively to challenge inequality and contribute to the dismantling of racial injustice (Cashin, 2005). Others (Milner, 2008; Driver 2011; Sung 2017) claim that Bell's arguments are either too simplistic, minimise the agency or achievements of black minoritised groups or are naïve to believe that most policy decisions do not rely on elements of interest convergence.

Intersectionality

CRT recognises and understands the complexity of an individual's identity and that many historical and socio-political factors can promote subordination. The term "intersectionality" was first coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a UCLA law professor, feminist scholar, and prominent critical race theorist, in 1989. However, the ideas that the term embodies can be traced back to the writings of many other black women activists since the mid-19th century. Some of these activists include Truth (1851), the Combahee River Collective 1978, hooks (1981), Cooper, Tubman, and Wells (Harris and Patton, 2019). In their systematic review of over 97 papers on intersectionality, Harris and Patton assert that many studies fail to acknowledge the significant contributions of activists to the concept's evolution. They emphasise that overlooking these women's contributions "disempowers and silences their voices" (2019, p. 363). Delgado (1984) unequivocally identifies this neglect as a clear example of "imperial scholarship" (p. 566).

Crenshaw initially used the term to encapsulate the experiences and identities of black women significantly affected by multiple oppressions such as race and gender. She contends that these experiences cannot be fully understood by considering the two identities in isolation, as their interaction produces a unique compounded experience (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 149). In short, our social identities (e.g. race, class, gender, sexuality) are interrelated and do not exist independently. Instead, these identities intersect to create unique experiences of oppression and privilege. CRT has also been used to examine the impact of gender and

race on the identities of black women, as shown in studies by Brah and Phoenix (2004) and Bhopal and Preston (2011).

Since 1989, however, intersectionality has become ubiquitous across many disciplines, including humanities and health. Intersectionality seems prominent in many key HEI documents (Equality Challenge Unit, 2017; HESA, 2020/2021; Advanced HE 2023a; Advance HE, Athena SWAN Charter principles on intersectionality 2021). Some (Thomsen and Finley, 2019), however, would argue that it has moved away from exploring the intersection of class, race and sex to narratives encompassing many other types of social categorisations and divisions. Others are concerned that some discourses about intersectionality understand it as a theoretical framework for exploring differences and identities and fail to recognise the 'intersectionality social justice ethos' (Collins and Bilge, 2016, p. 198). Indeed, a recent Guardian article (Robinson, 2017) indicated that the term seems to have lost its original meaning and has been misappropriated by elements of the ruling class. The author of the piece supports her conclusions about the distortion of the term by using a quotation from Crenshaw 'I am ... amazed at how [intersectionality] gets over and underused; sometimes I can't recognise it in the literature anymore' (Crenshaw cited in Robinson, 2017). Other scholars (Nash, 2008) have expressed concerns about the rigour and robustness of intersectionality as an instrument that feminists and scholars of racism frequently use to investigate identity and oppression. Although Nash clearly values the concept of intersectionality, she is critical of aspects such as the nebulous definition of intersectionality, the constant representation of black women as 'intersectional subjects' and the weaknesses of an intersectional methodology.

Intersectionality is important because research can help facilitate a more comprehensive exploration and understanding of areas such as disability, racism, and sexism. More insightful knowledge will produce better outcomes, such as formulating and implementing effective equality and diversity policies in establishments such as HEIs.

Crenshaw aptly summed up the importance of intersectionality in the following statement: 'If we aren't intersectional, some of us, the most vulnerable, are going to fall through the cracks.' (Crenshaw 2016 TED Talk)

Counter-narratives

CRT scholars are critical of the inability of traditional scholarly literature to grasp and portray the realism of racism in the daily lives of black minoritised groups. They also believe that the main narrative that dominant group members endorse about minoritised underprivileged communities is that racial or ethnic inequalities are caused by cultural problems within those groups or the failure to shore up existing discrimination laws (Lynn and Dixon, 2013). However, the latter half of this belief fails to consider that there are many forms of racial discrimination (see p31) anti-discriminatory laws do not necessarily address. Furthermore, CRT scholars argue that social and moral realities are constructed by society and are open to many interpretations. For this reason, it is essential to hear the

voices and experiences of people of colour through stories to gain insight and understanding of the reality of belonging to a racially minoritised group.

These stories take the form of chronicles, storytelling, and counter-narratives, which Delgado (1989) argues seek to undermine the dominant narratives of racism being an aberration and make visible how entrenched and pervasive racism is in society. Cheryl Harris (1993), in her paper discussing the concept of whiteness as property, provides an excellent analysis of how the legal system failed to fully appreciate the impact of racism in the lives of black minoritised people. Tate (1997) also contends that this storytelling process facilitates 'psychic preservation' (p. 220) and empowerment for minoritised groups. Ladson-Billings (2000) contends that these counternarratives are not untruths or made-up stories but narratives of the realities of racism for that individual. Individuals construct powerful narratives rooted in the historical, socio-cultural, and political realities of their lives and those of other people of colour (Chapter 3).

In summary, CRT emerged from the CLS movement to address persistent racial inequalities. Originating in America, it has spread globally, challenging systems that oppress people of colour. CRT is an evolving framework that adapts to the experiences of its theorists, legal changes, and political debates. Although there is no universally accepted definition of CRT, many scholars examine race and racism through a social constructivist lens. They aim to understand and challenge oppressive systems that affect communities of colour.

Research studies

[How Institutional and Interpersonal Racism is Experienced in Nursing Faculties in HEI](#)

Whilst Chapter 1 highlighted the large and rich body of global research about the experience of black minoritised nurses within institutions such as the NHS, centring racial discrimination as a key component of their experience, there is a paucity of research about black minoritised nurse academics' experience within HEIs globally. Bell (2020) came to the same conclusions in her systematic review of the literature on racism, antiracism, and whiteness in nursing education, stating that the '... literature that explicitly focuses on nurse educator ... is very little.' Bell argues that amid the impact of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, which was when the paper was written, this was a timely opportunity to enhance the visibility of Indigenous, black minoritised and other minoritised groups.

The global publicity of the death of black American George Floyd in 2020 acted as a catalyst for worldwide anti-racist demonstrations spearheaded by the BLM movement. The activism at this level was valuable because it sparked discussions about police violence and racism, compelling organisations and institutions worldwide to examine their role in addressing and publicly challenging racial inequality (Kowalewski, 2021; Ellefsen and Sandberg, 2022). This increased focus on racial awareness and injustice is also evident in the nursing profession, with emerging research about the experience of minoritised nurse academics in countries like North America (Bell, 2020).

In my comprehensive review of the UK literature, I have found some studies focusing on the experience of minoritised academics in higher education (Bhopal, Pilkington, Rollock, and Arday. However, only two research studies (Tilki et al., 2007; Markey and Tilki, 2007) provided valuable insight into the experiences of minoritised nurse academics and discrimination in the UK, but the focus of these studies was on students and racialised experiences within the classroom. Several North American studies, mainly from the US, did explicitly focus on black minoritised nurse academics/educators and their experience in academia (Holland, 2015; Beard and Julion, 2016; Hassounah et al 2012; Iheduru-Anderson, 2020; Brathwaite et al 2021; Iheduru-Anderson, Okoro and Moore 2022; Iheduru-Anderson, Shingles and Akanegbu, 2021).

The following section reviews selected studies to determine how their findings have contributed to black minoritised individuals' academic experiences and the whiteness embedded within HEIs.

Experiences of students and nurse academics and how equipped to deal with racism.

As previously mentioned, existing literature generally supports the notion that institutional racism creates obstacles that contribute to unequal experiences in nursing practice and education and produces significant harm to racialised people (Iheduru-Anderson 2020; Brathwaite et al., 2022). Some scholars (Drevdahl et al 2006; Bell 2020; Iheduru-Anderson, 2021;) contend that there is a reluctance within the nursing profession to acknowledge the presence of institutional racism. Moreover, the predominance of whiteness in nursing pedagogies is sustained by this refusal, as well as other factors such as the normalisation of whiteness through socialisation processes and a lack of knowledge and skills among nurse academics required to develop an anti-racist curriculum (Blanchett Garneau, Browne and Varcoe 2018).

Tilki et al.'s (2007) qualitative study using semi-structured interviews and focus groups (36 students and 11 lecturers) explored racism and its implications for nurse education. They specifically focused on the perceptions and experiences of classroom racism among nurse academics and students. They found that racism was expressed in many ways- interpersonal, institutional and internalised, among ethnically diverse student groups. Students utilised many coping strategies to reduce the stress and anxiety produced by racism, and students could only explain racism in relation to skin colour. Lecturers, on the other, were found to exhibit racialised behaviour towards students and dealt insensitively with students who had English as their second language. Racialised interactions with either lecturers or their peers left some students feeling demoralised and isolated and hindered their learning. Moreover, Tilki et al. (2007) contend that discourse around racism was neglected in the curriculum.

Interestingly, white students who were interviewed did not feel that they were victimised or unfairly treated by black minoritised lecturers. However, the relationship between lecturers and students is complex, as illustrated in Carbado and Gulati's (2000) study examining the

dynamics of performance identity in the classroom. This study reveals how subtle discrimination affects the interaction between lecturers and students. This discrimination involves not only skin colour but also behaviour and performance. This exploration of interactions between teachers and students sheds light on the multifaceted nature of racism.

Drawing on the findings from the study by Tilki et al. (2007), Markey and Tilki (2007) reflected on their journey through academia and their experience of racism in nursing education. Findings included that organisational factors perpetuated institutional racism. Lecturers were sometimes unable to identify or appropriately manage forms of racism due to factors such as inadequate knowledge base, apprehension, guilt or even fear, leading them to avoid addressing what they felt to be '... painful and threatening issues' (p. 391). The authors contend that addressing these barriers that hinder students' learning is crucial. To do so, lecturers must first confront their own ethnocentric biases and then engage in professional development activities to better connect with students and empower themselves to confront racism at the classroom level.

In both studies (Tilki et al., 2007; Markey and, 2007), the authors directly name and address institutional and interpersonal racism head-on. This, according to Iheduru-Anderson and Wahi (2022) and others (Hardeman et al., 2018; Thurman, Johnson, and Sumpter. 2019), is contrary to many studies that often do not acknowledge the existence of institutional racism in nursing and instead engage in using euphemisms or racially coded language such as "disadvantaged" "over advantaged" "urban" "cultural". Iheduru-Anderson, Hingles and Akanegbu (2021) contend that this lack of acknowledgement by the nursing profession maintains the existing situation where the normativity of whiteness in nursing is unchallenged. Further, neglecting to confront racism and show empathy toward colleagues or patients who are facing racism can result in insensitivity and unfair treatment for minoritised colleagues and patients.

The authors' direct acknowledgement of institutional racism is positive. However, their arguments are based on transculturalism, which Bell (2020) contends blurs the distinction between the social construct of race and culture. Furthermore, racism as a construct is not interrogated in terms of hierarchies and power differentials.

Holland's (2015) qualitative study explored how instructors in cultural nursing education teach about race through interviews with ten white lecturers. The findings revealed a lack of understanding of concepts such as institutional racism and inadequate skills in teaching and facilitating this subject. The lecturer's discomfort and hesitation resulted in avoiding discourse about race due to a lack of confidence in handling potential conflicts.

In their study, Nairn et al. (2012) used in-depth semi-structured interviews with white nurse lecturers at a UK university to uncover their perspectives on how they felt about teaching and managing racism and culture in the classroom. Their findings mirror those of other studies (Tilki et al 2007; Markey and Tilki 2007; Monterey et al 2013) in that the participants

felt uncomfortable delivering issues related to racism and lacked the knowledge and confidence to manage racial conflicts between students in the classroom. Specifically, the findings indicated they lacked the required language and facilitation skills. One participant's response indicated a genuine desire to improve her knowledge and that of the students. However, some of the responses from other participants indicated a certain lack of awareness and disinterest ("I've always assumed, probably wrongly, that that would be taught in the communications skills part of the course" and "Once we start discussing racist society, we leave nursing care behind, so there would not be any implications for teaching" p.206). The authors, however, concluded that all participants "took the topic seriously" (p.207). However, most of the participants' responses did not highlight specific actions they would take to develop and address their knowledge deficit, so the data does not correlate with the author's conclusions. In contrast, Holland's study examines in detail how the participants could develop professionally to prepare themselves to deliver and facilitate sessions about race and racism confidently. For example, a commitment for all nurse lecturers to be responsible and accountable in developing knowledge in this area, engaging experts in cultural competence and anti-racist literature.

In Nairn's (2012) study, the participants' responses clearly supported the presence of whiteness. For example, some responses communicated a sense of being disinterested or not seeing the value in teaching about racism; one participant did not want to be seen as politically correct; another used social positioning as white and middle class to distance herself by claiming she could not be taught ('to manage those things'[Racism]). Yet, according to Bell (2020), the researchers failed to mention or investigate whiteness. The authors instead engaged in euphemistic and vague language to describe racism. For example, terms such as "diversity", "cultural issues", "the topic", and "lecturers need to manage issues of cultural diversity." Given the lack of racial literacy demonstrated in participants' responses and researchers' analysis of the data, it is not surprising that participants were struggling to engage effectively with students in their class regarding race-related issues.

Moreover, unlike Tilki et al. and Holland, the Nairn study authors resisted any negative portrayal of the participants or the institution implied by the lack of rigour in interrogating racism and the pervasive use of euphemisms and inexplicit language. Additionally, the data does not support the optimistic depiction in the author's conclusions regarding the participants and the institution's commitment to developing a knowledge base and implementing an anti-racist curriculum.

After reviewing studies focusing on nursing faculty's experiences of racism and inability to address race-related issues effectively, the next section will delve into studies more closely related to my thesis. Specifically, it will explore the experiences of nurse academics of racism and other forms of oppression.

Narratives: Experiences of Minoritised Academics

CRT theorists (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001; Solórzano and Yosso, 2002) and other scholars (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Gillborn, 2010) support counternarratives, stories that oppose historical racialised beliefs and assumptions about race in the social world (see p48). In academia, they are a powerful tool for centring the experiences and voices of minoritised academics working in predominantly white spaces (Gillborn, 2010).

Beard and Julion's (2016) study used a narrative approach grounded in social constructionism and CRT to explore the lived experiences of twenty-three African American faculty members working in academia. The researchers' central argument was whether race still matters in nursing. The findings clearly showed that the majority of the participants encountered discrimination daily. They experienced marginalisation, mainly in the form of microaggressions, discrimination, invalidation, and an overall unsupportive work environment. However, this experience strengthened the participants' resilience, helping them maintain their commitment to the faculty and educational institution. Religion and spirituality were also revealed as essential to participants' coping strategies. Based on these findings, the researchers can confidently affirm the central question—does racism matter in nursing? In short, this confirms that the social construct of African-American identity in nursing presents significant challenges.

However, not all participants experienced racism, discrimination or marginalisation. Five revealed positive experiences and stated they felt included and had many opportunities to progress and develop in a nurturing and supportive environment. Comments to support this experience included “I feel respected and a part of the organisation”, “Lots of opportunities ... overwhelming encouragement”, and “The network for opportunity here is outstanding, and I would be a fool to give that up.”

Overall, this study, carried out by black minoritised nurse educators, presented a balanced view of the experience of nurse educators in the journey through academia. Unlike some of the studies reviewed above, it also directly addresses and critically analyses the challenges and consequences of racism and discrimination faced by black minoritised academics. Further, it explicitly highlighted the shortfalls of institutions in addressing racism and advocated effective strategies. However, the authors acknowledged the limitations, such as lack of generalisability, drawing samples from one institution only, and the uniqueness of each participant's story. Additionally, given the use of a CRT framework, the intersections of other identities were not explored. The authors stated that remaining ‘mute’ outside the narrative focused on participants' voices. However, I would argue that in utilising a narrative methodology that promotes self-reflection (Riessman, 2008), the presence of the voices of the authors, who likely have racialised experiences as black minoritised academics, would have added greater insight and depth to data analysis.

Hassounah et al. (2012) use a constructivist grounded theory design to explore the exclusion and control patterns limiting the influence of twenty-three faculty of colour at all levels at a predominantly Euro-American nursing faculty. The sample contained a range of ethnic

minoritised groups- African Americans, Native Americans, Asians and Latinas. African Americans, however, comprised most of the sample. The findings confirmed that these minoritised groups experienced exclusion and control strategies by a dominant white group referred to colloquially in the study as “Good Old Girls” in a Euro-American school of nursing. Exclusion strategies manifested as invalidation of sense of self, othering and unequal access to resources, and control strategies as “insincerity” and “putting you in your place.” All factors, the authors concluded, acted as significant barriers to progression and development. These exclusion and control strategies, the authors contend, upheld a “white dominant status quo in nursing” (p. 317). However, what was of equal concern was that faculty members with darker skin tones and overt perceptions of differences (e.g. cultural or religious clothing) were subjected to more intense levels of exclusion and control. Furthermore, this “Good old girls” group perpetuated racialised discrimination through the socialisation of other white colleagues and students.

There are some similarities in the findings from this study (Hassounah, et al. 2012) to those of Beard and Julion (2016). For example, both highlighted invalidation as a strategy of exclusion and marginalisation. Additionally, they avoided the use of vague terms, directly addressing racism as well as critically analysing and relating the participants' data to the outcomes, illustrating the portrayal of whiteness and relational and systemic power within academia. Hassounah et al.'s study focused on the interrogation of ethnicity. It did not use an intersectional lens to interrogate the intersection of other social oppressions, such as gender and class, in shaping the participants' experience. Finally, the authors acknowledge the limitations of drawing samples from one institution only and their impact on the transferability of the findings to other settings.

Interventional studies

Extensive literature has analysed the prevalence and entrenched nature of whiteness in nursing pedagogy, raising significant concerns. Despite the limited empirical studies, a key finding is that nurse educators frequently need more expertise and abilities to effectively implement anti-racism pedagogy and promote cultural competence and inclusivity in nursing education. Several empirical studies have implemented professional development over the short and longer terms to address this deficit and assess the impact on nurses' academic performance.

Beard's (2016) quasi-experimental study examined thirty-seven nurse educators' multicultural attitudes, awareness, and practices. The research utilises Banks' critical multicultural education framework, which encompasses various forms of social oppression, explicitly focusing on race. A week after this pre-intervention, a post-test-training Likert questionnaire was used to determine improvement in awareness and attitude excluding practice. The results indicated improvement in attitude and awareness but only a small impact on practice. This is not surprising, given that there was only a week between the intervention and the assessment.

Based on these results, the researcher determined that the findings could be used to improve policies promoting diversity and inclusion. The short period stated is insufficient for implementing changes within the classroom and enhancing proficiency to enhance awareness and bring about fundamental changes in practice. This is especially true considering the literature asserts that developing cultural competence takes time and ongoing practice. It is also worth noting that the majority (60%) of the sample consisted of non-white educators, which raises questions about the motivation of white educators (40%) to engage in improving knowledge and changing behaviour.

O'Connor and colleagues (2019), like others, had concerns about the lack of preparedness of nurse educators to discuss and facilitate conversations about key constructs such as race, racism, institutional racism, privilege, power and dominance. Their intervention study identified three significant areas for development: exploration of educators' biases, knowledge base to improve discourse concerning race, and facilitator skills within the classroom. The intervention constituted a 3-day diversity, equality and inclusion (DEI) institute with incentives to help educators acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to adopt DEI concepts and develop culturally competent teaching practices. Participants evaluated their self-efficacy of diversity, equity and inclusion-related teaching before and after the intervention. According to the authors, the 'DEI institute satisfaction and impact were overwhelmingly positive.' The intervention also produced statistically positive outcomes with improved DEI-related teaching self-efficacy observed post-institute.

The author's intentions of evaluating the impact of the quality of competent anti-racist teaching within the curriculum are welcomed, given the dearth of intervention strategies to address systemic racism in workplaces and academic settings (Hassen et al., 2021). However, several limitations to this study reduce confidence in the overall findings. Like Beard's study, I would argue that the three days for the intervention's impact to be effective is a very short interval for participants to practice what they had learned. Further, the reliability and validity of the questionnaire were not assessed, which reduced confidence in the quality and accuracy of the measurements. However, in fairness, the authors acknowledged this limitation. Additionally, the authors did not measure the impact of the interventions on the student population. Due to these design flaws, it was misleading for the authors to boldly conclude that the study's results could be used to 'create inclusive environments and address issues related to health inequity' (p. 633)."

Brathwaite et al.'s (2022) mixed-method study used an online questionnaire to investigate discrimination and systemic racism in a Canadian academia and health workplace. The sample consisted of black minoritised nurses at all levels, including 34 student nurses. Although this study did not include academics, the findings highlighted the participant's experience of racism, discrimination and its traumatic effect during their nursing education and practice. Thus, it provides valuable insight for nurse academics about the student experience and the interventions nurses and students feel are beneficial within an academic setting. The authors found that 88% of the participants experienced interpersonal and

institutional racism, with 63% stating that it impacted their mental health. This is not surprising given that Mental Health America (2020) found a correlation between racism and stress in black, Indigenous and people of colour (BIPOC), leading to mental health conditions such as depression and anxiety and continual exposure to racism can lead in some cases to posttraumatic stress (PTSD) (Hall and Field 2015).

The suggested quality improvement strategies revealed from the data include the following: Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) committees should have the strength and authority to develop transparent and equitable promotion policies. This is important because studies have shown that black and minoritised individuals experience bias due to institutional racism, as they are often viewed through a lens shaped by stereotypes (Beard, Julion, and Waite, 2020). Many participants valued strong mentorship as essential as it provided 'access to social and institutional capital' (p.5) because it was essential for progressing their careers and pursuing doctoral degrees. Murray (2015) found that effective academic mentorship and financial support did facilitate academic success for BIPOC communities; participants were emphatic that leaders should acknowledge the existence of systemic racism and have a willingness to engage in 'meaningful dialogue with black nurse leaders.' (p.5); participants strongly advocated compulsory education and training for nurse academics as a critical strategy.

The limitations of this study are that the authors did not outline any limitations. Secondly, the findings are based on self-reported questionnaires, so biases, such as social desirability bias, may alter or exaggerate the results of the answers. However, all the findings from this survey are well supported in the global literature.

This section critically reviewed the strengths and weaknesses of the limited body of global studies exploring the experiences of black minoritised nurse academics and whiteness in nursing scholarship. The findings demonstrate that black minoritised groups encounter marginalisation, racism, racial discrimination, and systemic bias. Some studies reveal a reluctance by educators to acknowledge the issue of racism, while others highlight nurse academics lacking the skills to deliver an antiracist curriculum. These issues not only act as barriers but also illustrate that nursing pedagogies perpetuate racialising processes. Although some studies implemented interventions to improve proficiency in delivering an anti-racist curriculum, they achieved limited results due to methodological issues. A few studies focused on portraying the experiences of black minoritised nurses.

[How Institutional and Interpersonal Racism is Experienced in HEIs.](#)

Racism was a common theme that emerged in all the studies retrieved (Wright, Thompson and Channer 2007; Pilkington, 2011, 2013; Bhopal, 2014; 2015a 2015b; ; UCU, 2016; UUK 2020a; Woodhead et al., 2021) demonstrating unequivocally that many ethnic minoritised academics working within academia experience racial discrimination, both subtle and overt. There is now a general recognition that there is a 'new racism', which Bonilla-Silva (2014) describes as 'practices that are subtle, institutional and apparently non-racial'. This type of

racial discrimination is often stated as being covert and subtle rather than overt, making it intangible and challenging to recognise and confront (see p36). Examples of subtle forms of racism were demonstrated by Bhopal and Jackson (2013) in their qualitative study exploring the experiences of BME academics in HEIs. They completed in-depth interviews with academics including lecturers, senior lecturers, heads of departments and professors. Commonly cited examples of perceived covert racism included:

- lack of recognition of providing additional informal support for minoritised students,
- lack of career progression,
- not being valued by managers or colleagues,
- discriminatory comments by both white colleagues and students,
- credibility often being undermined by colleagues and students,
- having to work harder than white colleagues and achieve more to be considered for promotion,
- not being given the same continued professional opportunities as white colleagues
- being ignored in meetings.

They found that although most felt the racism experienced was difficult to identify, it nevertheless resulted in disparity in the treatment they received and showed that discriminatory practices remain in existence even at the top of the career ladder. However, because of the methodology utilised, the findings do not lend themselves to generalisation in the broader context. Triangulation of the data collection method using an observational approach would strengthen the validity of the findings.

In addition, the authors acknowledge that, although ethnic minority academics' experiences were similar, they are a diverse group and represent an intersection of multiple social identities such as age, class, nationality, culture, and religion, which overlap, are interdependent, and will impact individual experiences of racism. Some responders felt class was a greater determinant than race in their progression and development.

While it could be argued that Bhopal and Jackson's findings are contextual and not generalisable, other study designs with larger samples (Pilkington, 2011; Kline, 2013, 2014, 2024; Bhopal, 2014; UCU, 2016; Woodhead et al., 2021) have produced similar findings, thus adding to the evidence of covert racism within UK HEIs and other institutions such as the NHS. Furthermore, this situation is not confined to the UK and occurs in other countries such as the US and Canada (Jean-Pierre and James, 2020; Mullings et al., 2016; Iheduru-Anderson, 2020; Bell, 2020; Iheduru-Anderson, and Wahi, 2022). Bhopal (2015b) completed a more extensive comparative study to determine the experience of ethnic minority academics in the UK and the US. As part of this larger study, the researchers examined professors' career trajectories from black ethnic groups across the two countries. Despite career advancement to the level of professorship and thus irrefutable evidence of their ability, most acknowledged that they still experienced covert racism daily in the form of behaviours described previously. Bhopal's findings are corroborated by a more recent

qualitative study (Rollock, 2019) of female black UK university professors. These findings suggest that academics of all levels from black minoritised groups are being marginalised, disempowered and demoralised across the UK HE sector.

Bhopal (2014) also found that racism was so subtle that it was often imperceptible and not recognised by senior management. When brought to managers' attention, it was frequently ignored or reduced to an individualised 'conflict of personalities' issue. Bhopal labelled this behaviour as 'pernicious', concealing racist positions. Bhopal asserts that it does so by the dominant group actively promoting liberal views and legal frameworks (i.e. Equality Act 2010) put in place to identify racism. Furthermore, several other researchers have echoed and supported these assertions (Zamudio and Rios, 2006; Gillborn, 2006; Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Arday and Mirza, 2018).

Colour-blind racism

Racism is often considered intentional and abhorrent acts committed by mean and cruel individuals towards each other (DiAngelo 2018). Memmi's words in *"The Colonized and the Colonizer"* perfectly encapsulate this. 'There is a strange kind of tragic enigma associated with the problem of racism. No one, or almost no one, wishes to see themselves as racist: still, racism persists, real and tenacious.' (Memmi, 1999, p. 2)

Bonilla-Silva was the first to coin the phrase colour-blind racism in his pivotal text *Racism without Racists* (2014) and has written about the existence of what he refers to as this 'new racial ideology' in American society. Scholars such as Memmi (1999) also described the phenomenon in their work. Colour-blind racism is the notion by which some whites, particularly those who portray themselves as liberals (Doob, 2013; Bonilla-Silva, 2014), assert that racism no longer exists in society, but their attitudes and actions support racialised behaviour. In short, they are claiming that structural racism has been purged from society. Yet, a significant proportion of people of colour in America continue to experience a range of structural inequalities, for example, in housing, legislature, health and education. Whilst this research pertains to the US, much of the findings can be applied to the UK.

Bonilla-Silva (2014) argues that this denial of racism is a strategy used by the dominant white group to blame minorities for not succeeding like their white peers rather than the discomfort of facing up to the systemic structures that privileged white people are afforded.

As well as surreptitiously maintaining structural racism, Bonilla-Silva goes on to develop his arguments further, highlighting another danger that exists: the dominant group advancing the argument that the inequalities in society could be easily eradicated if people of colour and other minorities would work harder, stop moaning about racial disparities and move on from the impact of slavery and colonialism. In summary, he believes that white liberals see the cause of the inequalities in these groups as due to 'market dynamics, naturally occurring phenomena and blacks' imputed cultural limitations' (2014 p. 2).

Bonilla-Silva's arguments are supported by examples from American society. Still, other scholars (Meghji, 2019) have argued that much of the discourse in his text can be applied

globally where racism exists. Meghji sees many parallels between Bonilla-Silva's arguments about the limitations of education as the panacea for eradicating racism with approaches currently in vogue in the UK to achieve the same ends, such as the popularisation of diversity and equality training and unconscious bias. Certainly, parallels could be drawn between Bonilla-Silva's arguments and some HEIs in the UK. Many HEIs are proud to promote an ethos of diversity and inclusivity but continue to exhibit racialised behaviour in many areas - such as failure to promote minoritised academics with equal qualifications and performance as their white counterparts, using racialised language and behaviour that marginalises some ethnic minority academics; ignoring the lack of representation of ethnic minority academics in senior roles; and failure to implement policies and processes that could make a difference such as the Race Equality Charter (REC).

In summary, racism is a complex, systemic issue influenced by many intersecting social categories. Racism can also be denied and involves both conscious and unconscious biases. Racial microaggressions are common forms of racism found in institutions. They are difficult to challenge as they are deniable acts of racism and contribute to the marginalisation and othering of minority groups, reinforce stereotypes, and cause harm to the victim.

Cultural racism is the belief that one culture is superior to others. It manifests in perpetuating racial stereotypes, bias in cultural appropriation and recruiting. Cultural appropriation is adopting minority group cultural aspects in an exploitative or disrespectful manner. Cultural racism influences how different cultures are viewed and judged within structures and institutions, while systemic and institutional racism sustains and maintains racism. Understanding the interrelationship between all forms of racism is essential to promote social justice (Appendix 3).

How is whiteness manifested in the nursing curriculum?

The transmission of attitudes about race is deeply ingrained through socialisation, whether it is intentional or subconscious. Education is a significant socialising process and a powerful tool for imparting a society's values, beliefs, and knowledge. Nursing scholarship is, therefore, pivotal in disseminating and moulding these values and beliefs, ultimately impacting nursing education, practice, and policy (Terziev and Vasileva, 2022; DiAngelo, 2018). In short, socialisation perpetuates attitudes and convictions across successive generations of nurses, thereby upholding the existing state of affairs.

Whiteness has a strong presence in nursing (Baxter, 1988; Lancellotti, 2008; Holland, 2015; Allan, 2022; Brathwaite, 2022). The literature commonly criticises nursing for perpetuating the ideology of whiteness through a racist pedagogy that permeates the curriculum (Holland 2015; Blanchet-Garneau, Browne, and Varcoe, 2018; Tilki, Papadopoulos and Alleyne, 1994). Bell (2020) refers to this curriculum as "politically safe" (p. 3) because it aligns with societal belief in colour-blindness. It comfortably delivers a colourblind curriculum without addressing systemic racism and other social oppressions that contribute to health inequalities. Additionally, the presence of a homogenous senior leadership primarily composed of white, middle-class individuals who are indifferent to systemic racism

perpetuates prevailing norms such as whiteness, middle-classism, heteronormativity, and positivism within the curriculum (Snee and Goswami 2021; Bell, 2020). Please refer to the intersectionality section, which discusses leadership frameworks and pedagogy integrating intersectionality theories and critical realism.

Further, Bells' (2020) critique of the curriculum and the leadership hierarchy in nursing is echoed in several recent damning reports about the regulatory and professional bodies for the nursing profession in the UK. Both the NMC, which governs and sets standards for the profession and the RCN, a professional organisation, and a trade union, have been accused of institutional racism and misogyny (Thomas, 2023; Carr Report, 2022; Trivedi 2023). According to one staff member, the "NMC's "cultural capital" is dominated by white, middle-class women and lacks diversity in terms of class" (Thomas, 2023). These reports indicate the prevalence of whiteness in the nursing profession's culture perpetuated by a homogenous senior leadership.

Despite its importance, cultural competence, which delves into the values, practices, and beliefs of different cultures, is not just a component but a cornerstone of nursing curricula in Western countries, thanks to the pioneering work of figures like Leininger, Campinha-Bacote, and Papadopoulos (Lipson and DeSantis, 2007). (Lipson and DeSantis, 2007). However, the pedagogical delivery of this crucial subject matter has been the subject of strong criticism from nursing scholars who have identified significant failings (Duffy 2001; Puzan 2003; Gustafson 2005; Blanchet Garneau, Browne and Varcoe, 2018; Bell 2020; Allan 2022):

1. It fails to critically address systemic, institutional racism and awareness of constructs such as white privilege in white nursing students.
2. It does not interrogate racialised social norms responsible for health or sociopolitical and socio-economical inequalities.
3. It reinforces a reductionist and stereotyping approach to care because of its 'essentialist perspective of culture' (Culley, 2006).

From a practical perspective, teaching culture from an essentialist viewpoint does not acknowledge and promote the concept's dynamic, complex, and intersectional nature (Culley, 2006; Blanchet Garneau, Browne, and Varcoe, 2018; Bell, 2020). Instead, according to Bell (2020), nurses are instructed to create a separation between themselves and the culture of others through a process of "Othering," thus subtly perpetuating what she describes as "Eurocentric normativity." Further, portraying biological and pathological concepts like sickle cell anaemia and hypertension as solely determined by race, without considering socio-geographical factors, exemplifies an essentialist approach. For example, the prevalence of sickle cell anaemia is associated with areas in the world where there are high levels of malaria as well as endogamy and consanguinity (WHO 2006; Thomson, et al; Solovieff et al 2011) and hypertension with a range of social determinants as well as race-based oppressions (Chaturvedi, et al 2024; Chin, Smith-Clapham and Wyatt 2023). When analysed from an essentialist standpoint, the pedagogical portrayal of these conditions

upholds a derogatory perspective of other races. It perpetuates the scientifically disproven belief that race is determined by biology rather than being a social construct (Blanchet-Garneau, Browne, and Varcoe, 2018).

White Privilege

Harris (1993), in her seminal paper 'Whiteness as Property', interrogates the origins and complexity of whiteness as property. She argues that given white males' ownership of black slaves and their appropriation of Native Americans' land, all of which are enshrined in law, this legacy has 'established whiteness as a prerequisite to the exercise of enforceable property rights' (Harris, p. 1724). Harris posits that, over time, 'This definition laid the foundation for the idea that whiteness - that which whites alone possess - is valuable and is property.' (Harris, 1993, p. 1721). In short, whiteness as an identity and property are profoundly interrelated concepts. So, what about poor white people who do not own property? Harris tackles this by arguing that given that whiteness and property are interlinked and that whiteness is an expectation of benefit, a poor white person devoid of property will latch onto ownership of their white identity or property in whiteness (analogous to Du Bois's concept of 'personal whiteness', 1910, cited in Rabaka, 2007) to pursue happiness and property. Although Harris does not articulate the term white privilege, it is implicit within her argument.

Peggy McIntosh, a white American academic, coined the term 'White privilege' in academic circles in the late 1980s, referring to the privileges given to white people solely based on their skin colour. However, other scholars explored the concept earlier (Du Bois in 1935 and Allen 2012). McIntosh (1988) defined the term as 'an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was "meant" to remain oblivious' (1988 p.2). She asserts that this advantage is based on race and can be observed systemically and individually. It is the privilege of not having to think about the implications of race in your life. These advantages she saw in her own life, arguing that they protected her from many types of "hostility, distress, [and] violence," (p 9). Oppressions that many of her black fellow Americans are exposed to daily. Furthermore, she felt that on a subconscious level, she was being trained to project these oppressions onto other non-white individuals in society.

McIntosh has listed over 46 ways in which white privilege affects her life. While some of these privileges are not harmful, they are focused on skin colour (Appendix 5). McIntosh also explains the positive and negative impacts of these privileges. It is worth noting that this list was written in the late 1980s, and her analysis requires updating. Nevertheless, many of these privileges remain relevant in today's US, UK, and other societies. These privileges can still cause damage and need to be addressed.

White privilege can be harmful and destructive, as it allows those who are privileged to control and dominate others based on their race. This is evident in many UK institutions where the dominant powers are white and male and supports CRT scholar's assertions that

there is no "meritocracy" in the UK HEIs. As a result, there is a scarcity of black ethnic minoritised senior managers and very few black female professors in universities. Furthermore, Bhopal (2018) examined the concept of white privilege in the USA and the UK by interrogating various supporting research. She concluded that HEIs must recognise the existence of institutional racism and white privilege and take action to promote racial equality. The sociologist C Wright Mills (1956) recognised long ago that the educational system perpetuates the elite's existence, which maintains the power of the [white] elite. Furthermore, recent studies by Bhopal and Myers (2023) examining the impact of elite universities in the US and UK on privilege and social inequality endorse Mill's views about the powerful impact these institutions have on shaping the world we live in by upholding race and class privilege.

The strong presence of whiteness in nursing is often criticised for perpetuating a racist pedagogy and a colourblind curriculum that ignores systemic racism and social oppression and fails to address health inequalities. Additionally, the predominantly white, middle-class senior leadership reinforces norms like whiteness, white privilege and heteronormativity. White privilege is harmful, automatically conferring benefits to white people and enabling those who possess it to dominate others based on their race. It results from a racial hierarchy and systemic racism in society. This is evident in UK HEIs where there is a dearth of black senior managers and female professors. This normative privilege needs to be dismantled through challenging institutions and promoting equality.

2. Responses to racism:

Harm caused by Racism

Racism's impact on mental health, including race-based traumatic stress, is well-documented (Fanon, 1956; Carter, 2007; Nadal et al., 2014; Williams, Rosen and Kanter, 2019). But, according to some scholars (Williams, Haeny and Holmes, 2021), the correlation between racial discrimination and PTSD symptoms seems to be 'the most robust' (p. 2).

The American Psychological Association (APA, 2024) defines trauma as an emotional reaction to a terrible event that can result in anxiety, fear, and tension. Trauma can be singular or multiple, and it may occur over an extended period. Carter's (2007) review of racial trauma identifies trauma in two forms: PTSD and traumatic stress, with experiences of racism leading to racial trauma.

The American Psychiatric Association (APA, 2022) defines PTSD as requiring exposure to a traumatic event to make a diagnosis. Criterion (A) specifies exposure to 'death, threatened death, actual or threatened serious injury, or actual or threatened sexual violence.' (APA, 2022, p. 271). The other criteria relate to persistent experiencing of the trauma, such as flashbacks and emotional distress (B); avoidance of trauma stimuli after the trauma, like trauma-related reminders (C); negative thoughts or feelings following the trauma, such as

feelings of isolation, exaggerated self-blame, and negative thoughts about self and others (D); trauma-related arousal and reactivity, for example, hypervigilance, difficulty sleeping, irritability, and aggression (E); symptoms persisting for more than one month (F); symptoms causing distress or functional impairment, such as in social or occupational areas (G); and symptoms not attributed to medication, illness, or substance use (H).

Racial trauma, also known as race-based traumatic stress injury, refers to the cumulative traumatising impact of various forms of racial discrimination (individual, institutional, and systemic levels) on a racialised individual or community (Carter, 2007; Williams et al., 2018). It is a common manifestation among people of colour seeking counselling for psychological disorders. A survey by Hemming and Davis (2018) found that 71% of counsellors had provided counselling to patients who had suffered race-based trauma.

In Carter's (2007) detailed review, race-based traumatic stress is defined as the psychophysical impact of racial incidents. Key stressors for trauma are emotionally painful, sudden, and beyond one's control, resulting in core symptoms such as avoidance, arousal, intrusion (Figure 2.1, and Appendix 6.), hypervigilance, guilt, shame, heightened anxiety, and depression (Carlson, 1997; Kirkinis et al., 2018). The psychological and psychophysical consequences outlined above for PTSD indicate that racial trauma mirrors those of PTSD (Carter, 2007), thus mirroring PTSD symptoms. Some scholars, however, argue that racial trauma, although similar to PTSD, has distinct differences, including its origin, endurance beyond childhood, and internalisation (Cenat, 2023; Comas-Diaz, Hall and Neville, 2019). The traumatic impact of racial discrimination, however, is not fully recognised in fields like clinical psychology and HEIs (Williams et al 2018b; Kinouani 2021; Arday 2021). Some argue that this lack of recognition may be perpetuated by the DSM's definition of PTSD, which does not formally acknowledge race-based traumatic stress (Carter and Sant-Barket, 2015; Holmes, Facemire and Da Fonseca 2016). This narrow view, they argue, does not account for the various forms of psychological events that can induce trauma, such as bullying, power imbalances, harassment, and racially motivated actions. Moreover, black minoritised groups face additional daily stressors such as police harassment, racial profiling, difficult childbirth experiences, immigration or migrant status, and subtle discrimination like racial microaggressions (Williams, Printz, and DeLapp, 2018). Microaggressions are a significant contributor to racially biased experiences in day-to-day life (Nadal et al. 2014; Williams et al. 2018).

However, the DSM-5's role in racial trauma being underdiagnosed is not the only issue. Other factors, such as healthcare professionals' lack of knowledge and reluctance of minoritised groups to disclose their experiences, lead to inadequate mental health support for those facing racial trauma (Hemmings and Evans, 2018; Williams et al., 2018; Arday, 2021).

Theories of Racial Trauma.

Race-Based Traumatic Stress Injury Model

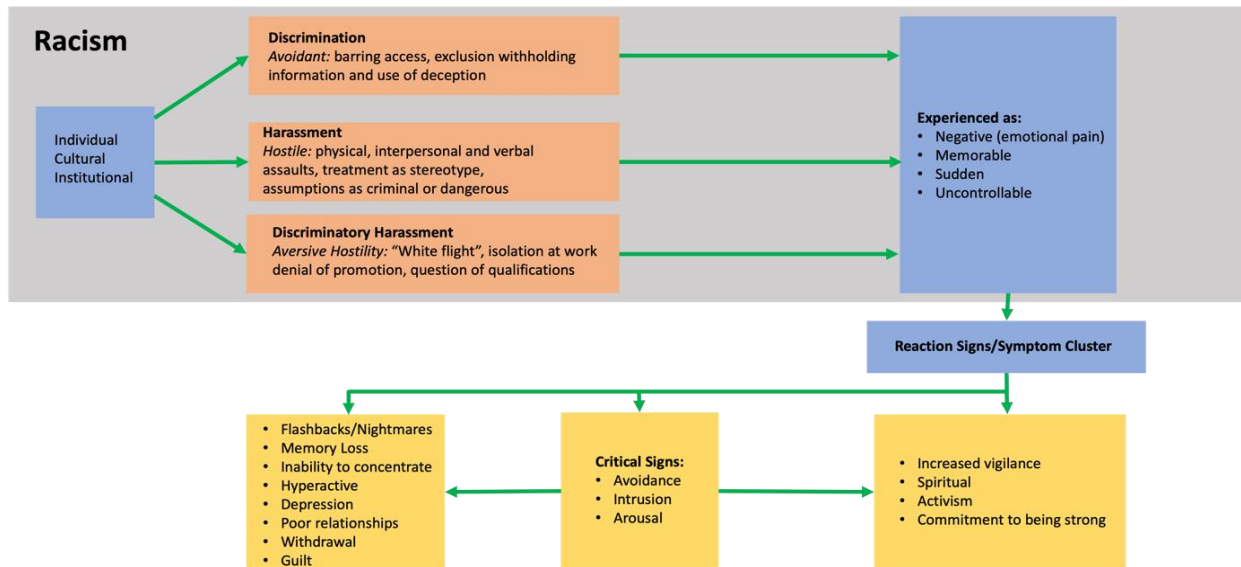


Figure 2.1: Carter (2007) Race-Based Traumatic Stress Injury Model (adapted)

Carter (2007) conceptualises race-based trauma as a non-pathological stress injury caused by experiences of actual or threatened emotional or physical pain resulting from racism. As a result of racial encounters, victims may experience significant emotional reactions such as flashbacks, memory loss, withdrawal, poor concentration, nightmares, guilt, and symptom clusters, including avoidance, intrusion, and arousal (Appendix 6). Some components of all three symptom clusters must be present for race-based trauma to be identified. It is essential to focus on the specific type of racialised encounter within this framework (discrimination, harassment, or discriminatory harassment) rather than viewing racism generically (Figure 2.1).

The severity of racial encounters is determined by the strength of the individual's reaction and the cumulative effect of exposure to racism. Traumatizing events could be triggered by a specific racial encounter, which acts as "a last straw." Coping strategies, self-esteem, coping mechanisms, attitudes towards racism, racial and cultural identity, and family and community context can mitigate race-based traumatic stress. Further, Individuals can use the energy from racialised encounters to achieve positive outcomes.

In summary, people often experience common patterns of racial-based stress, such as re-experiencing, avoidance, and heightened arousal. However, the expression of this trauma can be mitigated by personal, characteristic and effective coping strategies. Carter's (2007) model of racial trauma captures many critical elements of race-based traumatic stress, which have been foundational for subsequent models.

Other Models of Racial Trauma

Building on the work of Carter (2007), several models of racial trauma have emerged over the last 15 years. These models include the Developmental and Ecological Model of Youth

and Racial Trauma (Saleem et al., 2020), the Role of Ethnoviolence in the Development of PTSD (Helms, Nicholas, and Green, 2012), and the Reconceptualisation of the Race-Based Traumatic Stress Injury model developed by Williams and colleagues(2018b) to align with the APA, DSM-5 PTSD criteria. Another model is the Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma. Finally, the most recent conceptual model is Cenat's (2023) Theoretical Framework of Complex Race Trauma (CoRT), which incorporates critical characteristics present in other models of racial trauma and emphasises the complexities of race-based trauma, situating internalised racism at its centre (See Appendix 7).

The following section will briefly review the Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma, linking it to the trauma of slavery and the CoRT model of racial trauma.

Models of intergenerational transmission of trauma-Trauma of Slavery

Models of intergenerational transmission of trauma-Trauma of Slavery Intergenerational or historical trauma involves passing down psychological and physical effects of trauma from ancestors to subsequent generations within a cultural group, adversely impacting the health and well-being of their descendants. The main transmission routes are during pregnancy, through embryonic epigenetic changes (Costa, Yetter and DeSomer 2018., Yehuda and Lehrner 2018), and family socialisation, leading to behavioural, social, and psychological changes in individuals (Berckmoes, Jong and Reis 2017)

Limited research is available on the multigenerational effects of the transatlantic slave trade on future generations. Still, theories have been developed by examining the mechanisms and outcomes observed in studies related to various cultures, including Native American and Canadian populations, Aboriginal peoples, and Holocaust survivors (Apprey, 1999; Graff, 2014; Gone and Hartmann, 2019; Dashors et al., 2019). Williams et al. (2018) present a compelling argument that historical and cultural trauma can increase individuals' vulnerability to significant stress, particularly when it is compounded by ongoing experiences of both explicit and implicit racism, providing indirect evidence for this claim. Additionally, after reviewing the literature on the intergenerational trauma stemming from slavery and its effects, Graff (2014) reached the following conclusions:

‘The trauma of slavery has been transmitted from generation to generation ... the means of transmission described in different ways ... poor parenting connected to the master-slave relationship as the template for all human relationship; the dominant one parent family relationship structure created by slavery; transgenerational haunting ... generation of slavery and the after-effects of slavery, including generation of poverty, has all exposed children to toxic stress ...’ (pp. 195-196)

Historian David Olusoga (2023) recently argued that the transatlantic slave trade had left two significant legacies: creating an unequal structure favouring Western nations while perpetuating a racial hierarchy that fuels institutional racism. This has led to ongoing overt and covert racism, marginalising and harming minoritised groups.

Understanding the trauma of slavery is crucial for recognising its profound and ongoing impact on the descendants of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Recognising this trauma is vital for addressing mental health issues and validating the experiences of affected communities.

Racial Trauma Research

Butt (2002), in an editorial, introduced the term “racial trauma.” He also criticised the limited definition of PTSD in the DSM of Mental Disorders. He argued that excluding racial trauma from the PTSD category was an oversight, given the similarities in symptoms between the two disorders. Since then, many theories and empirical studies have supported his contention about the existence of the two disorders and their similarities and differences.

Studies in the UK and North America have shown that minoritised groups face pervasive racism, especially racial microaggressions (see p36). In the previous section, we have seen that one of the central tenets of theories underpinning racial trauma is the ubiquity of racism faced by minoritised groups. A recent cross-sectional survey (Cenat et al., 2022) of over 845 black Canadians aged 15-40 years showed that most were victims of racial trauma, with over 90% of the sample claiming that they had also experienced racial microaggressions. In another survey (Hemming and Evans, 2018) of over 106 counsellors investigating the identification of racial trauma and the relationship between training and treatment of racial trauma, the majority (71%) stated that they had treated patients with the condition, but most admitted that they had no training either in the assessment or management of the condition. Thus, providing indirect evidence of how widespread racial trauma is and that the professionals were ill-equipped to manage it.

Harm caused by racial microaggression

Many frameworks have been developed based on the idea that the clinical signs and symptoms of racial trauma are like those of PTSD. Various studies have validated this notion, particularly concerning racial trauma and PTSD. A recent review by Williams, Heany, and Holmes (2021) suggests that studies investigating racial trauma and PTSD are the most rigorous in this area. For example, longitudinal studies by Cheng and Mallinckrodt (2015) and Sibrava et al. (2019) have found that racism plays a causal role in PTSD symptoms and alcoholism in Hispanic college students and Latino and African-American individuals, respectively. Williams, Kanter and Ching (2018) measured anxiety, stress and trauma symptoms in 177 African American and European American college students to examine the relationship between microaggressions and health outcomes. Findings included a higher incidence of racial discrimination in African American students and a strong positive correlation between exposure to racism and psychopathology. In short, African Americans demonstrated measurable clinical signs of anxiety, stress, and racial trauma symptoms.

Intersectional identities-gendered racial microaggression and mental health in black females.

There is strong evidence in the literature that supports the fact that gendered racial microaggression impacts the mental health and well-being of black women.

Dale and Safren (2019) discovered that the compounding effect of intersectional identities exacerbates the impact of race-based traumatic stress on black females living with HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus). These scholars collected survey data from 100 black females with HIV and applied hierarchical multiple linear regression analysis. After controlling for age, income and education, they found that gendered microaggressions forecast greater levels of PTSD symptoms and post-traumatic cognition than discrimination based solely on just HIV or ethnicity. The authors concluded that their findings demonstrated how crucial it is to recognise and challenge intersectional issues like gendered microaggressions and their role in the mental well-being of black minoritised females.

Other scholars (Wright and Lewis 2020; Burke, Chijioke and Le 2023) utilised cross-sectional survey designs and applied regression analysis to examine the association between gendered racial microaggression and symptomologies of racial stress trauma, such as anxiety in black women. Both studies found that gendered racial microaggressions significantly predicted higher levels of anxiety and stress. Specifically, Wright and Lewis (2020) found high levels of anxious arousal, and Burke, Chijioke and Le (2023) increased levels of distress intolerance and stress, which in turn correlated with higher social and general anxiety. Williams and Lewis's study, using a similar design, focused on the relationship between gendered racial microaggressions, coping strategies and depressive symptoms among black women. Findings identified that the use of disengagement as a coping strategy was associated with higher depressive symptoms, whilst women with high regard for their gendered racial identity experienced less depressive symptoms. Thus, showing that black women with high regard for gendered racial identity mitigate the harmful effects of gendered racial microaggressions.

In summary, these studies are important in understanding these variables' intersection and moderating impact on the adverse mental effects of gendered microaggressions.

Vicarious Traumatisation

As well as intersecting identities compounding the effects of race-based trauma, other studies (Bor et al. 2018) have shown that vicarious traumatisation occurs at a community level, adding further to the traumatisation that individuals face within that community. These scholars conducted a population-based quasi-experimental study and demonstrated unequivocally that extensively publicised media coverage of police killing of unarmed black men triggered vicarious traumatisation within the black population of that community lasting for several months, whilst traumatisation was not found in white people living in the same community. Bor and colleagues contend that the historical legacy of the oppressiveness of the state, particularly the police force, is an influential factor in triggering vicarious traumatisation and thus weakening community health and well-being. Other scholars support this contention and have provided empirical evidence of the state's historical legacy in different population groups. For example, Gone et al. (2019) demonstrated the adverse effect of historical trauma on the health of indigenous populations in both Canada and the US. Similarly, Nagata et al (2019) showed how the

wartime internment of Japanese Americans traumatised not only those interned but also their descendants.

Pervasiveness and consistency of racial discrimination in all forms, as discussed earlier, is present in all areas of black minoritised people's lives (e.g. health, education, community, workplace) and are key factors in generating racialised trauma. However, as seen in the models discussed above, other tenets underpinning these models include the repetitive and cumulative incidents of old and new forms of racial traumas. In their model, Awad, Kia-Keating and Amer (2019) demonstrated the cumulative effects at both a macro and micro level on the lives of Americans of Middle Eastern and North African origins. Concluding that macro-level issues (historical trauma, consistent and pervasive institutional racism, national hostility) all interrelate with each other as well as interact with microlevel traumatic experiences (interpersonal discrimination and microaggressions) in addition to personal struggles these groups have with identity and recognition. These interactions can result in feelings of insecurity, hopelessness, and mental and physical health issues. Empirical studies by other colleagues support these findings (Wallace, Nazroo, Bécares, 2016; William, et al., 2018b). Additionally, other studies (Comas-Díaz, Hall and Neville 2019; Williams et al. 2018) have shown that it is the constant and cumulative effect of racial microaggressions as well as other forms of discrimination that distinguish racial trauma from PTSD.

Cenat's CoRT framework highlights internalised racism as one of its central tenets. Cultural racism, as discussed previously, is a medium that can harm the mental health of minoritised groups. By perpetuating negative images of black minoritised groups, cultural racism can lead to the acceptance of negative stereotypes about their race (internalised racism) and Internalised racism, as discussed previously correlates with many adverse mental health outcomes (Graham et al. 2016; Mouzon and McLean, 2017; Lui and Quezada, 2019).

As previously discussed racism is associated with various negative physical and mental health outcomes in marginalised groups. According to scholars such as Williams, Rosen, and Kanter (2019), substantial evidence links racial discrimination to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). For example, a study by Cheng and Mallinckrodt (2015) provided evidence of a causal relationship. Most empirical research on this topic has been concentrated in North America over the past decade (Kirkinis et al., 2018), utilising relevant research designs, including cross-sectional and longitudinal studies, to explore the phenomenon of racial trauma.

Nevertheless, Kirkinis et al. (2018) systematic review examining the connection between racial discrimination and symptoms of racial trauma found that most of the studies were cross-sectional in design, and only 70% of the studies investigating trauma symptom associations were statistically significant. The strongest correlation was identified in veterans, while a moderate association was observed in other groups, such as non-veterans and students. The researchers concluded that the research methodologies in this area have significant limitations, including inadequate measures for assessing stress related to race-

based events and a failure to consider vicarious, collective, or intergenerational experiences of trauma. Additionally, they noted a lack of control for non-race-based trauma.

Mechanisms

Various forms of racial discrimination, intergenerational trauma, and microaggressions can lead to PTSD. Cumulative trauma and collective identity trauma are effects recognised by Kia (2010). This involves core traumas that sensitise and provoke responses to subsequent stressors, ultimately triggering trauma responses, as supported by the Stress Sensitisation Model (Stroud, 2018). Not addressing racism can lead to shame, stress, and maladaptive coping behaviours. Stressors related to race can cause trauma symptoms by reducing self-esteem and leading to poor health outcomes. However, strong ethnic identity and self-efficacy can mitigate the negative impact of racial trauma.

In summary, racial trauma is the impact of racial discrimination on the mental and physical health of minoritised communities. It can cause symptoms like PTSD, depression, or anxiety disorders. Coping involves acknowledging, seeking therapy, self-care, and connecting with supportive communities. Addressing institutional racism is essential to creating a more equal society and reducing vulnerability to race-based trauma.

Performativity in a white space

The power of cultural racism in projecting and perpetuating negative stereotypes of black minoritised groups emanating historically from a social caste system where blacks are placed in the lower tier has already been discussed. Stewart (2022) states that this hierarchy has facilitated a lower status sense than the dominant culture.

In societies where racism is primarily based on skin colour or tone, black people and other marginalised groups face numerous challenges on both personal and professional levels. To deal with and defend themselves against these harmful and derogatory perceptions, they often "suppress their holistic self" (Stewart, 2022, p. 12) and adopt an identity performance in predominantly white spaces to be accepted socially. Myles Durkee (Durkee and Gomez 2022; McCluney et al., 2021) has researched extensively in this area, particularly the phenomena of code-switching, which he describes as adjusting one's behaviour to conform to the norms of a specific racial group. The phenomenon of African Americans having to reconcile their dual identity (being black and American) in circumnavigating the white world they inhabit is not a new concept. Dubois described this in his seminal text, *'The Souls of Black Folk,'* where he talks about the 'double consciousness' experienced by African Americans.

Performativity.

Before delving into the concept of performativity in predominantly white spaces, it is important to briefly review the term performativity and significant theories established in this area.

Austin (1962) was a performance theorist who believed all speech and utterances are acts performed with words and signs. In his seminal work, *"How to Do Things with Words"* Austin

argued that language is not merely a tool for describing the world. Instead, he posited that language is also used to perform actions—what he called performative utterances.

Austin's seminal work laid the foundation for further exploration in many other disciplines, such as philosophy and literary criticism. Judith Butler (1990), building on Austin's work, conceptualisation of performativity, denotes how identities are produced implicitly and explicitly through actions, practices, utterances and citations of norms. Butler developed her views about performativity through the lens of gender studies. However, Butler's theory also applies to race, as these performative acts contribute to constructing racial identities.

All the World's is a Stage - Goffman's Dramaturgical Model

Goffman's *Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* (1959 in Khan 2020) is considered one of the 20th century's most influential sociological texts. It aligns with the theoretical framework of social interactionism and focuses on how individuals interact within society. People understand their social worlds through communication, exchanging meaning through language and symbols (e.g., gestures and appearances). Social interaction necessitates performances from all actors involved, and through these interactions, we make identity claims.

Through ethnographic research, Goffman analysed people's lives by directly engaging with them and the various situations in which they live and interact. Goffman uses a dramaturgical metaphor to conceptualise the social world. In short, the social world is a stage consisting of many performances by many actors in various settings. Goffman contends that, like actors on a stage, we spend most of our lives performing on the 'front stage', delivering the most favourable side of ourselves to an audience, especially in difficult situations. Only when 'backstage', i.e. at home or a safe place, is our true self exposed. As actors, we craft and maintain this 'front' by manipulating the setting of the performance and how we appear and present ourselves. Even a timely nod, wink, or altering our tone, for example, gives off signals to an audience. So, although we cannot dictate what judgments people make, we can engage in impression management and, in doing so, present the most pleasing side of ourselves.

Goffman encapsulates the basic tenets of his theory in the following excerpt:

'What talkers undertake to do is not to provide information to a recipient but to present dramas to an audience ... we spend more of our time not engaged in giving information but in giving shows ...' (Goffman, 1974, pp. 508–509)

The impression given thus far is that people's performances are 'cynical.' These cynics, Goffman contends, are insincere and inauthentic, manipulating the situation for their own self-interest. However, Goffman suggests that there are truly sincere performances at the other end of the spectrum, and people genuinely believe it is a true expression of their identity. Goffman contends that most performances sit between the sincere and the cynical. Further, according to the dramaturgical model, individuals may appear insincere because they tend to perform particular identities in front of specific audiences. However, Riessman,

whose narrative research is heavily influenced by Goffman's work (Chapter 3), argues that this does not mean identities are inauthentic. Instead, 'identities are situated and accomplished with the audience in mind.' (p.106). So, what Riessman is alluding to is that participants' data represents their identity with an audience within a specific context and may reflect the biases and norms in that context, even if it is not necessarily factual.

The clear connection between Austin's central arguments and Goffman's theoretical framework of social interactionism is unmistakable. Austin's emphasis on the performative nature of language aligns perfectly with Goffman's analysis of social performances. Both theorists underscore the crucial role of context in shaping the construction and communication of meaning in daily interactions.

In summary, Goffman proposes that we are all social actors (*All the World's a Stage* Shakespeare, 1623/1988, 2.7.139) engaged in performances for both the self and the audience. This may be for many reasons, including the most pleasing impressions of ourselves to others, achieving personal goals or conforming to social norms, in short, for self-preservation. Identities are not necessarily inauthentic but are shaped by the situation and performed with the audience in mind.

Racial Norms

Judith Butler's, definition of performativity developed through the lens of gender identity was alluded to above. So, through a Butlerian lens, race is fluid, constructed and reproduced by ongoing performative acts and racial norms. CRT scholars (Bonilla-Silva 1999, Leonardo 2009, Gulati and Carbado, 2000) and others agree and endorse this perspective.

Racial norms are implicit rules, expectations, and behaviour linked to minoritised groups, often shaped by historical legacy and social and cultural factors. Understanding racial norms is essential as they impact how people view and interact with one another based on race. Specifically, racial norms reinforce stereotypes, implicit biases, colourism, and behaviour expectations in different cultural groups. By continually perpetuating racial norms, existing power dynamics are reinforced because performative acts and racial norms shape ideas about whiteness ideology and blackness.

Employment discrimination based on the concept of identity performance

CRT scholars Gulati and Carbado (2000) explored the concept of identity performance at a micro level within education settings. That is how people portray their racial identity, consciously or unconsciously, in different contexts based on their racial background. The context in this situation is predominantly white spaces. Gulati and Carbado found that 'Employers want to know not only whether the prospective employee is black in an identity status sense but whether he is black in an identity conduct sense' (p 4). They theorise that people of colour experience racial discrimination twofold, not just on their 'race phenotype' (what they look like), but also on their 'racial performance' (the ability of the person of colour to integrate and conform to the norms of their workplace environment).

These scholars fully accept that individuals are already negotiating many types of identities outside of a work or classroom environment (Goffman 1974, Butler 1990, Harris 1993) See previous sections. However, in the context of discrimination, what they found was that identity performance revealed that black minoritised individuals' main reasons for engaging in this type of negotiation are to challenge negative stereotypes in the workplace that contravene 'institutional norms'. The example used to illustrate this point by the authors is the norm of 'collegiality'. Collegiality is the norm for team players. Unfortunately, stereotypes suggest that black employees are not team players. To combat this, black employees may feel compelled to use identity performances to sign that they are not troublemakers but team players. Further, to fit into dominant norms, black students may feel the need to alter their language and behaviour to minimise discrimination in predominantly white spaces.

In summary, Gulati and Carbado's work has provided valuable insights into how black minoritised groups navigate stereotypes, discriminatory practices, and biases within the context of discrimination. It has also made more visible how identity performance affects experiences of discrimination within educational settings.

Code-switching

More recent studies (Durkee and Williams 2015, McCluney et al 2021; Kang et al 2016) that have built on the work of Carbado and Gulati explore how black professionals navigate their language and behaviour in predominantly white spaces. Black individuals have long used a strategy (Carbado and Gulati, 2015) called code-switching to successfully navigate interracial interactions. However, the term was first coined in 1954 by the sociolinguist Einar Hauger (Stewart, 2022), who described it as 'language alteration.' (p 14). Myles Durkee, who has completed several research studies on code-switching, defines it as adapting one's language, speech, behaviour, appearance, and expression to create a sense of ease for others in exchange for fair treatment, quality service, and employment opportunities.

However, although sometimes used interchangeably, Identity performance and code-switching are terms used to describe how individuals adjust to their social environment, but they have distinct meanings. Identity performance is a broader concept that includes various forms of self-expression, such as behaviour, language, and clothing. On the other hand, code-switching specifically refers to altering one's language or dialect within a specific context to better fit into different communities or protect oneself. However, code-switching can extend to forms of behaviour (Hall and Nilep 2015; Carbado and Gulati 2015).

Code-switching has been shown to produce many advantages for black Americans, including enhancing the chance of securing a job in the recruitment process by producing a "white resume" that minimises references to ethnicity (Kang et al., 2016). As alluded to previously, other advantages include modifying communication style to fit into different social contexts, such as black students alternating between standard English in the classroom and African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) with their peers to enhance their social standing; Black

female academics, with minimal presence in predominantly white male spaces, for example, Dickens, Jones and Hall (2020) found that black female physics lecturers who experience hypervisibility utilised code-switching as a mechanism to counter discrimination.

Specifically, these scholars found that these women used 'identity shifting' to alter their behaviour to convey a more masculine persona for acceptance and academic advancement, enhancing professionalism. Further, McCluney et al. (2021) in their study found that both white and black academics consistently perceived black academics who engaged in code-switching as being more professional.

Bhopal (2015b) explored the experiences of black minoritised academics in the US and UK, finding that black male academics often use impression management to overcome stereotypes related to their masculinity, such as being perceived as dangerous, aggressive, and hypersexual. One male associate professor stated that he constantly strives to defy these stereotypes by carefully navigating his language and behaviour. This supports the findings of CRT scholars like Carbadó and Gulati (2015) and others (Durkee and Williams, 2015), who argue that black minoritised professionals engage in identity performance or code-switching to invalidate negative stereotypes in predominantly white spaces. Bhopal concluded that the history of race relations in the US significantly impacts the positionality of male academics.

Stewart (2022), however, contends that the difference with code-switching is that there is a sense of inauthenticity when African-Americans engage in this type of strategy as their culture 'is not accepted holistically' and when they do not assimilate to Standard American English ('White talk') and use African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) 'it can be detrimental in certain white spaces.' (p 16).

However, one could argue that altering one's language and behaviour is a practice that we all engage in daily, depending on the context and individuals we are interacting with (Hall and Níleap 2015; Goffman 1959). Anderson (2022), drawing on over 40 years of qualitative fieldwork, has written extensively about the challenges black people encounter while navigating white spaces, despite the expansion of a black middle-class. Many white people assume that the natural black space is what Anderson refers to as "the iconic ghetto" and that this "ghetto" symbolises the media's portrayal of impoverished and fearful places. So, regardless of how affluent black people become, they will always, on initial entry to such spaces, be seen as outsiders, until they prove themselves by engaging in what Anderson refers to as the 'dance', they will not be accepted.

Although research has clearly outlined the benefits of code-switching as an impression management strategy (McCluney et al., 2021), there are downsides in that it is seen as being an inauthentic presentation and betrayal of the self. McCluney et al. go further, claiming that it '... reinforces white professional standards and generates psychological costs for black employees' (p 1). Academics such as Derrick Harriell, a professor of English and African-American studies, whilst acknowledging the many benefits of code-switching feel that it is a suppression of cultural expression' and thus part of one's identity and has

consciously decided not to engage in using the strategy (Gill, 2021) Others, such as business psychologist Dione Mahaffey (Kramer, 2021), who concedes that the practice can be tiresome, feel that using this strategy to navigate white spaces is necessary as it minimises the risks of minoritised groups being stereotyped and opens up leadership opportunities for them within organisations. She argues that "Code-switching does not employ an inauthentic version of self; rather, it calls upon certain aspects of our identity in place of others ...". That said, other scholars' (Durkee and Gómez 2022; McCluney et al. 2021) findings indicate that despite the advantages offered by code-switching strategies, those participants who engaged the most in this type of behaviour also reported higher incidences of workplace fatigue and burnout. This suggests that code-switching can be mentally challenging and may act as a trigger for race-related trauma.

Code-switching or identity performance is a powerful strategy employed by black individuals to navigate a variety of social contexts expertly; despite its many advantages, this behavioural strategy can also pose significant psychological challenges.

Allyship

The previous chapter highlighted that despite efforts by HEIs to promote equality, diversity, and inclusiveness, black minority groups still face discrimination and limited career opportunities (Arday and Mirza 2018; UUK 2020a). One approach to address this is to promote an ally culture in HEIs (LeMaire et al 2020). Some scholars (Jones, 2021) suggest utilising 'accomplices' who work with black minoritised groups to challenge systems of oppression.

Definitions of Allyship

The concept of allies has a long history, dating back to slavery and playing a crucial role in various social movements such as the Civil Rights Movement (Katz 1978; McAdams 1988). Although the idea is not new, there has been a recent increase in literature discussing allies, particularly white allies.

Brodio, (2000) introduced a significant model of allyship development in undergraduate students, defining allies as "Members of dominant social groups working to end the system of oppression that gives them greater privilege and power based on their social group membership" (p. 3). Other scholars' definitions (DeTurk 2011; Sue et al. 2019; Bilen-Green et al., 2013) seem to align with this, although there are variations in what constitutes being an ally and allied behaviours (LeMaire et al. 2020). While the literature mainly emphasises white allies supporting black people (Dabiri, 2021), some argue that anyone can be an ally regardless of race (Williams et al., 2022).

Models/Framework Allyship.

Many frameworks in the literature model the concept of allyship, sharing common themes about the characteristics of an ally and how they should enact allyship. Some focus on different elements of allyship. For instance, Washington and Evans (1991) emphasise that gaining awareness, knowledge, and skills will lead to action. Others, such as Gelberg and

Chojnacki (1995) and Broido (2000), view identity development as progressive stages leading to allyship rather than an actionable concept. Meanwhile, some models (Bishop, 2002; Hardiman and Jackson, 1997; Spanierman and Smith 2017; Bergkamp, Olson and Martin, 2022) emphasised the development of social justice attitudes.

Most models identified above were conceptualised from a theoretical basis, offering informative and valuable information about the development and characteristics of allies. However, Broido's (2000) model is an exception. It emerged from empirical data - a phenomenological study of undergraduate students, focusing on how the experience of higher education shaped the development of social justice allies. In summary, five themes arose:

1. Precollege participants have open and accepting attitudes but lack knowledge about oppression due to growing up in primarily all-white communities.
2. Participants primarily gain information from academic settings such as sociology and women's studies modules and out-of-class interactions like international studies and social justice projects. They learn about oppression and the experiences of target groups and evaluate their privileges as part of the dominant group.
3. Making sense: They made sense by reflecting, discussing their experiences, and taking perspectives, shaping their beliefs and values regarding social justice.
4. Confidence: Through the above processes, they gained and strengthened confidence in themselves (their identity) and their knowledge base, enabling them to challenge others about their views and 'attacks on their identity' (p.22).
5. Skills development: this confidence drew them into taking action as true allies.

Many of these models share the idea that allyship is a deliberate, ongoing, and iterative process that demands time, effort, and a readiness to grow and learn. Additionally, it is crucial to acknowledge that mistakes will occur along the way, and genuine allies should recognise the pain involved in understanding their role in the cycle of oppression. Thus, becoming a true ally means becoming "a worker in your own liberation" (Bishop, 2002, p. 100).

Characteristics of a True Racial Ally

Types of allies

According to Spanierman and Smith (2017) and Williams et al. (2022), true racial allies are individuals who understand oppressions such as structural racism, recognise their own 'unearned' privileges afforded by society's injustice, and are cognisant of the harm this causes to minoritised groups. Importantly, regardless of the consequences to themselves, they are willing to engage in actions to try and redress the injustice.

The concept of allyship goes beyond the dimensions mentioned above and includes being self-aware of one's position and privilege and using that privilege to support oppressed groups. Allies need to avoid self-identifying and let minoritised groups determine who qualifies based on their actions. Indeed, some scholars contend (Mizock and Page, 2016),

that self-identifying as an ally carries the risk of unintentional harm, such as tokenism and othering. For example, singling out a minoritised student in a classroom to share their experience could be seen as tokenism and a form of othering (LeMaire et al., 2020).

Listening and amplifying the voices of minoritised groups is another crucial aspect implicit in some of the models reviewed. Listening and respecting the narratives of minoritised groups can facilitate trust, build rapport, provide an educational experience, and demonstrate a commitment to the process. In Broido's model (Broido and Reason 2005), discussed previously, the participants reported that they 'learned things critical to their development as allies from target group members directly' (p. 21). Nevertheless, irrespective of these positive elements, the onus of educating dominant and privileged groups should not be placed solely on less privileged and marginalised groups. Not only is it unreasonable, but it also places more psychological stress and could trigger race-based stress trauma (Carter 2007; Williams et al 2014).

Additionally, as discussed, minoritised groups encounter discrimination and marginalisation on a daily basis and often, when they raise these issues with managers, they are dismissed as being 'hypersensitive' (Sue et al 2019) and labelled as troublemakers. Allies can demonstrate support by listening non-judgementally, to experiences of racism and privilege and or vocalising their positionality of privilege and power.

It is crucial to develop a strong educational foundation that includes an understanding of the history of oppression and the resulting traumas experienced by marginalised groups. Recognising that these groups are not homogenous and have distinct and diverse histories is also essential. Nevertheless, although developing a sound knowledge base is central to making sense of this information and attaching meaning, allies should self-reflect on their experiences, thoughts and feelings (Broido, 2000). This will empower them, as outlined in Broido's model, to articulate clearly their thoughts about social justice issues.

It is essential to have a solid firm grasp of social justice issues. However, it is not enough. According to Washington and Evans (1991), taking action and receiving feedback are vital aspects of being an ally. This includes working towards equality and dismantling oppressive systems. To be an effective ally, Broido (2000) suggests utilising skills learned during the developmental process, which can take various forms, such as speaking up against witnessed racism and injustice. Studies (Nadal 2018; Sue et al. 2007) demonstrate that denying racism is harmful, and racist behaviour flourishes if left unchallenged (Sue et al., 2019). While confronting racism poses risks for both the ally and the target, research has shown that it can positively alter behaviour through self-regulatory processes and social pressure, reducing discriminatory behaviours (Rasinski, Greers, and Czopp 2013). Furthermore, challenging discrimination can make allies appear more persuasive and credible than when the target of discrimination confronts it (Rasinski and Czopp 2010; Sue et al. 2019). LeMaire and colleagues suggest that this is because the ally is perceived as opposing 'their own self-interest' (p. 9).

White Allies Maintaining Racial Hierarchies

Some minoritised individuals (Dabiri, 2021) argue that the very term “white ally” conjures up an imbalanced power relationship, with the black person perceived as the “victim” and the white ally as the “saviour.” To some ethnic minority individuals, the term may seem patronising, giving the impression that the status quo is being preserved and that it maintains a hierarchical and unequal relationship with black people as subordinate partners. However, this perception does not fit the definition cited above or the perspective of experts in the field of a true racial ally (Broido, 2000; Pieterse, Utsey, and Miller, 2016; Spanierman and Smith, 2017; Mekawi and Todd, 2021). Indeed, these researchers clearly distinguish between true allies and what they term “white saviours” or performative allies. Performative allies make little or no attempt to understand structural racism and examine the unearned privileges afforded to them by societal injustice. In short, they retain a distance and a white superiority ideology. Certainly, to my mind, this perception of the white ally as the “saviour” aligns with one of the key tenets underpinning CRT: interest convergence (Bell, 1980).

Empirical studies

Much research has been conducted on allyship, but most of it has focused on students rather than academics. LeMaire et al. (2020) argue that studying how academics can be true social justice allies can provide new insights to enhance the process, leading to better career opportunities for marginalised groups and an improved working environment in HEIs.

Privilege and communicating Allyship.

The concept of privilege, discussed previously, is central to achieving effective allyship and how allyship is enacted in the workplace (Hanasono et al. 2022). Without allies fully understanding their own privilege, they cannot reduce discrimination or become effective allies.

Hanasono et al. (2022) surveyed 105 faculty staff members to determine their understanding and experience of privilege and how they practised allyship. They found that most of the faculty members had a narrow and simplistic understanding of privilege, viewing it as a set of advantages and the absence of structural barriers based on group membership. Regarding activism, many respondents described broad interpersonal actions but rarely cited actions that challenged inequitable power structures or transformed toxic institutional cultures (i.e. discriminatory behaviours and policies). The researchers concluded that their findings underscore the need for education and training about privilege and how to enact effective Allyship to promote social justice in HEIs.

The methodology used has certain limitations, such as relying on self-reported surveys and having a predominantly white sample from only one institution, which hinders the generalisation of findings (Saks and Allsop, 2019).

Studies have found that HEIs remain patriarchal structures that contribute to women's challenges in progressing and developing in these institutions (Dlamini and Adams 2014;

Diehl and Dzubinski 2023; Neilsen, 2015; Rosa, Clavero and Canavan 2020; Rosa and Clavero 2021).

Using a case study methodology, Anicha et al. (2015) examined how profeminist men on a 4-year advocacy training programme can actively support gender equality in an HEI. They found many benefits for men engaging in gender-equity work, such as helping to change the institutional culture to a more inclusive one. However, there were also barriers, such as resistance from peers. The authors concluded that establishing a male-specific faculty gender-equity programme is crucial for advancing EDI in higher education and creating a more equal and inclusive environment for all genders.

Racial justice allies - a rarity.

The existing literature discusses allyship and the claims of being racial or social justice allies at length. However, research studies (Williams and Sharif in 2021) show that there is little evidence to support these claims. In fact, these studies demonstrate the opposite: Racial justice and social justice allies are rare.

Williams and Sharif, (2021) used laboratory behavioural tasks to determine if white participants would behave supportively when given the opportunity to do so. White participants were observed during 5-minute conversations with other white individuals discussing racially charged news stories. Black research assistants rated the level of support they thought a black person would receive from each white participant using a Likert scale. The results revealed that the white participants did not act supportively and demonstrate allyship towards black people regardless of intent. Notably, this occurred at the University of Washington in Seattle, an area perceived to be very liberal and progressive, making the findings even more significant.

The findings demonstrate the complexities of translating good intentions into meaningful actions. One positive outcome of the study was the development of the Interpersonal Racial Allyship Scale (IRAS), the first measurement tool of its kind, and emphasised its significant contribution to the literature. However, the researchers also acknowledged limitations to the findings, such as not providing the coders with a definition of allyship and the tool's inability to capture all possible examples outside of interpersonal behaviour.

False Allyship and Performativity

Scholars (Spanierman and Smith 2017; Desnoyers-Colas 2019; Williams and Sharif 2021) distinguish between true social justice allies and “white saviours” also known as “performative allies” (Halvorsen, 2023), “faux allies” (Desnoyers-Colas, 2019), and “ally theatre” (Ekpe, and Toutant, 2022) who engage in performative acts for their benefit.

These “white saviours” often fail to understand structural racism and their privileges, maintaining a sense of superiority. Further, Patton and Bondi (2015) also contend that well-meaning allies can unintentionally exhibit oppressive behaviours, causing harm to the groups they aim to support.

Halvorsen (2023) conducted a meta-analysis of 13 qualitative studies to explore the complexities and challenges of white men's allyship in social justice movements and the most effective methodology for exploring allyship. The researcher determined that critical ethnography is the most effective approach in addressing the complexities of allyship, particularly for white male researchers in positions of power. This methodology allows for exploring key allyship concepts and addressing tensions of performativity. The authors emphasised the significance of integrating the perspectives of marginalised communities and confronting power imbalances in research procedures. It is also noteworthy that in a recent systematic review, Halvorsen et al. (2024) explored the role of white men in allyship. They highlighted this burgeoning field of research and stressed the crucial perspectives these studies provide for effective allyship despite a shortage of high-quality studies.

Although rare, social justice allies are crucial in advocating for marginalised groups. They help create an inclusive and fair environment in institutions by using their privilege to amplify the voices of marginalised groups, being self-aware of racism and privilege, educating others, providing effective mentoring, promoting EDI strategies, and challenging structural racism.

Resilience

Folke (2016) defines resilience as the capacity to adapt and transform 'in the face of dynamic change' (p 44). The three tenets underlying this definition are the capacity to persist, adapt, and transform. This definition reflects what researchers call a socioecological definition, which perceives resilience as not just an individual concept, as it tends to be perceived in nursing, but one that also incorporates the environment humans inhabit (Folke, 2016).

The problem with viewing resilience as an individual concept is that this narrow promotion of the concept in nursing places responsibility on personal characteristics or behaviour. It can create a submissive culture where organisational failures are accepted without question. Traynor (2017) contends this can lead to individuals blaming themselves for failures and feeling traumatised, ultimately making them responsible for developing resilience while exonerating institutions from responsibility. The promotion of this submissive resilience also buys into the deficit model, which attempts to blame black minoritised groups for not having the necessary characteristics to surmount the impact of a racist, discriminatory institution.

Traynor (2018) maintains that nurses need to develop 'critical resilience' to combat this submissive form of resilience. This involves developing critical awareness and a better understanding of how society shapes our experiences. With this approach, the profession can move towards a more socioecological operationalisation of resilience rather than an individual one.

Despite the many challenges that black minoritised academics face often resulting in complex and extended career paths (Rollock 2019), many of the studies reviewed

demonstrated the remarkable resilience shown by black female academics to overcome racial discrimination and its adverse effects in academia (Wright, Thompson, and Channer, 2007; Bhopal, 2018, 2020d; Bhopal and Brown, 2016; Rollock, 2019, 2021; Chance, 2022; Jacob, 2023)

Wright, Thompson, and Channer (2007) interviewed ten black Afro-Caribbean female academics from UK universities. The findings revealed that these women often feel undervalued, marginalised, and like outsiders within their institutions. Despite these challenges, they showed remarkable strength and agency by using various strategies to assert their positions. These strategies included leveraging institutional policies to combat racism and sexism, relying on faith, adjusting work schedules, and building support networks. The study had limitations, such as a small sample size and limited methodological details, but it echoed findings from other studies on this population.

Similarly, Rollock's (2019) study found that Black female professors often face marginalisation and undervaluation by white colleagues, even after achieving professorial status. Using a Bourdieusian approach and CRT framework, Rollock (2021) examined these professors' academic journeys. Her findings revealed the impact of gender intersectionality and the fatigue, isolation, and disillusionment with academia.

Despite obstacles, BME academics exhibit remarkable resilience by utilising effective survival strategies such as establishing strong networks, seeking mentorship, or pursuing opportunities abroad (Bhopal 2018, 2020d, Bhopal and Brown 2016). Indeed, a comprehensive study by Bhopal, Brown, and Jackson (2015) examined the experiences of BME academics in the UK who were considering relocation for better career prospects. The research indicated that reasons for contemplating a move overseas included feelings of marginalisation, inadequate career support, and a lack of support from white female colleagues. In summary, the study highlighted the significant barriers faced by BME academics in UK HEIs, which led many of them to consider moving abroad.

Chance's (2022) phenomenological study explored how Black women in higher education leadership navigate challenges like marginalisation, intersectionality, stereotype threats, and tokenism. The study concluded that effective coping strategies—such as family support, mentorship, sponsorship, and cultural identity—provided the strength to overcome adversity, shaping these women into leaders.

In summary, the findings from these studies indicate that black minoritised academics utilise a range of coping strategies, friends, religion, formal support groups, allies, networks, and avoidance strategies- to overcome adversity in the face of gendered racism and stereotype threats. These adversities, in turn, strengthen resilience by facilitating personal empowerment and enhancing psychological well-being (Jacob et al., 2023)

3. Theories and theoretical concepts

Feminism, Gender and Patriarchy

Understanding concepts like patriarchy and feminism is essential for grasping the experiences of black minoritised female nurse academics in both clinical and academic environments. Gender further complicates the marginalisation and hindered career progression that race causes. It is essential to recognise that both gender and race are socially constructed and reinforced by societal norms. This awareness encourages examining society's role in perpetuating these assigned differences, including how families socialise children into societal notions of gender roles.

Feminism has significantly increased awareness and activism, shaping society's perception of women and impacting their positionality in nursing and academia. Indeed, scholars such as David (2015) have argued that feminism has not only transformed women's lives personally and professionally but also transformed knowledge-making processes. For many women, their experience of HE was 'critical' to this transformation. However, despite significant progress made by women in HE, gender bias in academia remains prevalent, with male patriarchy still felt and experienced by women at all levels of academic life. For instance, men still occupy most senior managerial and professor positions in HE, creating a glass ceiling for women and a gender pay gap.

Feminism is a concept that covers a wide range of thoughts and ideologies across many disciplines, including philosophy, sociology, psychology and anthropology. It questions assumed principles and assumptions engrained within our society about gender (Allan et al. 2016). Additionally, intersectional feminism acknowledges the interplay between sexism and other social identities, including racism and works to dismantle these systems of inequality. Feminism, in short, should unite us all with a common goal: to attain personal, social, political and economic gender equality. That said, not all feminists would agree with the equality of the sexes as an ultimate goal. For example, Germaine Greer in *The Whole Woman* (1999) asserted that freedom for women entailed a celebration of their differences and that women should 'define their values, order their priorities and decide their fate'.

The central tenet of feminism involves actively dismantling oppressive systems, particularly those based on discrimination. However, prominent black feminists such as hook (2081) Lorde (2018), Smith (1977) and Emejulu (2023) are vocal in their critique of white feminism. They argue that black women are frequently marginalised in white feminist discourse. Additionally, they point out that intersectional white feminism often appropriates black feminist theories without acknowledging the unique struggles and structural inequalities faced by black women. This appropriation perpetuates white-centric ideology and further entrenches existing inequalities (Christoffersen and Emejulu, 2023). These authors emphasise the need for some white feminists to examine their biases and for the feminist movement to adopt a more inclusive and intersectional approach.

The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2023) defines patriarchy 'as a society controlled by men in which they use their power to their advantage. However, this definition overlooks the fact that in such a gendered society, women are frequently marginalised and their contributions devalued (Allan et al., 2016). Indeed, many would agree that most societies across the world are patriarchal. There are, however, a few genuinely matriarchal societies, such as the Mosuo tribe in Yunnan Sichuan province in China (*The Conversation: Where Women Rule*, BBC R4, 2017). In this society, women hold political and economic power at home and in society, which must be a genuinely empowering community.

Subtle Gender Bias

Subtle gender bias, which is the unconscious, less overt biases based on gender and made visible in, for example, the subtle or encoded language used to reinforce stereotypes, promotes gender hierarchies, homosociality behaviour (social bonds between people of the same sex) in the recruitment and hiring process or expecting women to conform to gender norms. Research has revealed that subtle gender bias remains a significant hindrance to professional growth and advancement and illustrates how men maintain dominance in HE and society (Neilsen, 2015; Rosa, Clavero and Canavan 2020; Rosa and Clavero, 2021).

Neilsen's (2015) comprehensive mixed-methodology study revealed that female researchers are often disadvantaged in academia due to subtle gender bias and limited network access. The study found that factors such as in-group favouritism, informal networks, homosocial relatedness, and personal idiosyncrasies could influence department heads' decisions and potentially result in reproducing gendered power relations. Further, subtle gender bias may disadvantage women before formal selection. The authors concluded that addressing this issue requires significantly more transparency. This study clearly shows, in line with the CRT perspective of HEIs, that meritocracy fails to prevail, resulting in women not getting the same opportunities as male colleagues.

The previous section has clearly outlined how overlapping social identities can exacerbate the oppression experienced by black women. Although both black and female minority academics face significant challenges in HEIs, there are distinct differences in the nature and extent of some of these challenges, which may put black male minoritised colleagues in a more advantageous position. Research has demonstrated that black female academics bear the brunt of gendered racism, resulting in a heavier workload, biases in the hiring process, and fewer mentorship opportunities. A study by Bhopal (2015b) delved into the experiences of female academics in the UK and US, uncovering various factors such as working harder than men, juggling childcare responsibilities, and confronting sexism. It is noteworthy that one respondent from the US expressed feeling burdened by the historical stereotype of black women being seen as exotic. Bhopal concluded that black male academics might have an advantage over female BME academics due to their operation in a white male-dominated space, which is perceived to be better suited for men.

Intersectionality and Migration status

Discrimination within the NHS has rightly focussed on racism and how deeply ingrained it is (Kline, 2014; Kline and Warmingtton 2024; Woodhead et al., 2021). However, other studies (Pattillo et al., 2023; Fernández-Reino, 2020; Christoffersen, 2018; Smith et al. 2006) have shown that the intersection of migrant status with other social categories (race, ethnicity, skin colour, religion, language) compounds the challenges that people with migrant status face.

The NHS's heavy reliance on migrant nurses to strengthen its workforce has, in part, contributed to discrimination within the organisation. Since its beginnings, the NHS has faced a shortage of human resources, which has led to the recruitment of overseas workers from around the globe. For instance, the Windrush generation included many nurses who significantly contributed to the NHS workforce (Ross, 2023). Unfortunately, black minoritised migrants to the UK were met with hostility and racism that has persisted, culminating in the Windrush scandal with the deportation of migrants who had arrived in the UK as children (Williams Report, 2020).

Andrews (2021) argues that it is crucial to understand the historical hostility faced by migrants of colour in the UK and the subsequent resistance and activism that have led to legislative changes. This pattern is a common theme in post-war migration to the UK. He contends that these events bear similarities to the Black Power movement in America.

Andrews (2021) and other scholars also contend that to truly understand race relations in Britain, particularly within the NHS and higher education institutions, it is essential to consider several key factors. One of these is the historical legacy of slavery (Brathwaite, 2018). Additionally, the history of post-war migration to the UK and the racism faced by these migrants have significantly influenced subsequent race relations in the country. This understanding is vital for advancing healthcare equality and promoting social justice in the future.

The much-quoted, simple and pithy aphorism 'We are here because you were there', coined by Ambalavaner Sivanandan, accurately and astutely captures this relationship between the migrants from the post-war period in Britain, the British Empire and colonialism.

Many participants in this thesis have ancestry tracing back to the Windrush generation. They have experienced hostility towards themselves or their family members and may have paid an emotional toll due to migration. Other participants are a more recent generation of migrants who have migrated to seek a better life in the UK. However, they, too, have been adversely affected by pervasive and ongoing racism, as detailed in Chapter 4.

The literature has traditionally focussed on discrimination related to social categories like gender, race, and ethnicity. However, as nursing becomes more globalised and more international nurses enter the profession (NMC 2022b), it's essential to pay more attention to how migration status impacts these nurses' experiences. To fully understand race relations in Britain today and develop effective anti-racist programmes within both NHS and

HEIs, it is crucial to understand the historical legacy of slavery and post-war migration to the UK.

Nursing a Gendered Profession

Intersectionality is a crucial concept and highly relevant to nursing. Just as social structures can impact marginalised groups in other areas of employment, they can also affect minoritised groups in nursing. This is particularly relevant to nurse academics, who transfer directly from the NHS to the higher education sector.

Nursing has been and remains a gendered profession. More specifically, a connection exists between ideas about nursing and being a woman in society's eyes (Davies, 1995). Davies contends that these perspectives and associations are based on historical biases towards women and societal norms. Gender socialisation is how an individual is socialised into the norms and values of that culture. Davies argues that societal norms are a significant factor in shaping many aspects of women's lives, including the professions they are attracted to, such as nursing - where the bulk of the workforce has remained consistently female (NMC, 2023).

Judith Butler's influential text "Gender Trouble," first published in 1990, introduced the concept of 'gender performativity.' It argues that gender is not an innate characteristic but more about what you do than intrinsically what you are. Gender is thus constructed through repeated outward actions and behaviours such as speech, language, and gestures, which build identity. Although her theory pertains explicitly to gender identity, she raises points that can be applied to studying identity as a universal concept. Butler built on the work of scholars such as Goffman (1959), social interaction theory, Garfinkel's work on ethnomethodology (Lynch 2019), and West and Zimmerman's (2015) 1987 paper "Doing Gender," which also aligns with Butler's ideas. Furthermore, several large and more recent meta-analytic studies provide persuasive evidence for the social construction of gender (Levant and Alto, 2017).

Due to a patriarchal society, men have predominantly held the power and authority in shaping the nursing profession. Even today, despite women being the dominant gender (89%) and procuring more power (Sealy, 2017), studies show (Punshon, et al., 2019; NHS England 2021, Bishop and Mitchell 2023) that it is the smaller proportion of men in nursing who rapidly advance to managerial status and are disproportionately represented in senior management positions. An interesting observation by Davies is that the concept of professionalism is 'gendered male'. According to Traynor (2013, p. 9), drawing on Davies, large organisations such as the NHS are structured around male bureaucratic values such as rationality, formalisation, impartiality and rigidity.

In earlier works, Davies and Rosser (1986) appraised how people have been socialised into thinking that caring and nursing are women's work and that it is a natural attribute, so society fails to recognise their worth; consequently, they remain undervalued and relatively low paid. It is not surprising, therefore, that in a patriarchal society, the skills required for the caring and nursing professions are less valued or even not valued in the case of

healthcare professionals working in care homes across the UK compared to more masculine professions such as medicine. That said, significantly more female doctors are entering the medical profession (Yang, 2024), but men still hold power, holding more senior positions.

The Bourdieusian concept of cultural capital suggests that a person's social status impacts their access to cultural resources. For example, it is commonly thought that the middle class has greater cultural capital than the working class.

Although social class was a feature of my analysis, it was not central to this thesis; gender and ethnicity were foregrounded as central to the findings. Nevertheless, the intersection of social categories such as race, class, and gender significantly influences individuals' lives, affecting the positionality and treatment of minoritised nurse academics in HEIs. Indeed, research shows that social class, more than race or ethnicity, substantially impacts the career paths of black minoritised professors in leadership roles (Bhopal, 2014). A later study (Bhopal, 2015b) found that some mixed-race and middle-class academics felt both identities worked to their advantage in their career trajectory, further illustrating the intersectionality of social identity.

Some argue that social class does not define nursing, but historically, nursing has been viewed as a means of upward social mobility for working-class women (Thomas, 2016; Neilson and Lauder, 2008). However, recent studies (Snee and Goswami, 2021) have now revealed the existence of a "class ceiling" for those from working-class backgrounds. While working-class individuals may enter elite professions (such as medicine and law) or lower professional and higher technical occupations (such as healthcare professions) (Rose, Pevalin and O'Reilly, 2005), their privileged counterparts (i.e. middle class) tend to achieve greater success within those fields.

Race and gender are two important social categories that have been widely discussed. Research conducted by Kline and Warmington (2024) demonstrates deep-rooted institutional racism in the NHS, with ethnic minoritised groups being subjected to rising levels of discrimination. Furthermore, there are few white females and fewer still black female colleagues occupying senior leadership roles. This highlights the issue of gender privilege and the perpetuation of a white hegemonic patriarchy (Aspinall, Jacobs and Frey, 2023).

However, the picture is not entirely clear-cut but is more nuanced between and within some social categories. In their integrative systematic review of intersectionality and nurse leadership, Aspinall, Jacobs and Frey (2023) found that having an ethnic minority social identity, irrespective of gender, was a significant barrier to career progression in nursing. These findings align with other studies but also found intra-group differences. It is undoubtedly true that studies (Kline, 2014; Woodhead et al., 2021) have revealed there is a dearth of black ethnic minoritised groups holding senior positions in the NHS, and they trail behind their white colleagues in progression and promotion, but others (Isaac, 2020) have shown that there are differences within groups. For example, British-born UK black ethnic

minoritised nurses are more privileged than their black, non-UK-born African colleagues. Isaac (2020) concluded that this 'cultural capital' conferred by being UK-born outweighed to some degree the 'hindering factor' of black ethnic identity.

Christoffersen's (2018) study examining the progression of migrant female academics in HEIs corroborated these findings. He found that progression within HEIs was worse for black ethnic minority female migrants than UK-born counterparts, thus illustrating the compounding effect of nationality, ethnicity, race and gender. Although male patriarchy has a significant impact, recent studies (Qureshi, Ali and Randhawa, 2020) demonstrate that not all men are treated equally. Specifically, research has shown that for British-born South Asian male nurses, the intersection of gender and ethnicity creates a 'glass ceiling' effect, impeding their career growth due to discrimination and institutional racism.

This section discussed how social categories intersect, giving privileges to some nurses while oppressing others. Studies show that a black ethnic minoritised social identity is a significant obstacle to career advancement in nursing, especially in predominantly white cultures, due to post-colonialism and the legacy of colonisation and imperialism (Braithwaite, 2018). Increased awareness of nurses' multiple social positioning is necessary to create an intersecting matrix of oppression, influencing their growth as leaders (Aspinall, Jacobs and Frey, 2019, 2023). Effective leadership requires understanding this complexity for real change to occur.

Outsider within

Some may argue that the role of black women in academia is paradoxical. On the one hand, they hold positions of privilege and power as academics, but on the other hand, they are viewed as marginalised outsiders. The culture of academia restricts their access to all the privileges afforded to insiders. Patricia Collins (1998) captures this concept of dual positioning as the '*outsider within*' to describe her experience of exclusion working within a predominantly white academy. She defined the term as follows:

'... the location of people who no longer belong to any one group ... individuals like me who appear to belong because we possess both the credentials for admittance and rights of formal membership. (Collins, 1998, p. 5)

The outsider within status also describes how the intersection of social categories such as race, sex, class and gender maintain social inequalities.

The act of "Othering" refers to the tendency to exclude individuals who do not conform to the norms of a particular social group (Mountz, 2009). This practice has been observed in various societies throughout history, where people tend to isolate and judge those different from them. According to Toni Morrison (2017), othering is a universal means of exerting control over others, using categories such as race, gender, class and wealth and is not limited to any particular race or group of people. The desire to belong, she argues, is a fundamental human need, just as crucial as eating and sleeping. It is vital for our emotional

well-being, and we may struggle to cope with life without it. Other scholars (DiAngelo, 2011) have also noted the importance of belonging, stating that it is often underestimated and deeply ingrained in our sense of self.

According to Pilkington's study in 2013, black minoritised academics and non-academics felt like "space invaders" (Puwar, 2004) within HEIs. This was because most employers within academia are white. However, HEIs have become more diverse since then, with a steady increase in the number of minoritised academics, both UK and non-UK-born (Figure 1.1). This number increase is positive, but studies (Bhopal, 2013, 2014, 2015a; Pilkington, 2013; Rollock, 2019) show that many black minoritised academics still feel marginalised and like "outsiders within" HEIs. This is because the dominant white group still benefits the most and is recognised and valued. Despite efforts to increase diversity, the current situation persists, and marginalised groups continually strive to either change their circumstances or accept them. This condition exemplifies the perpetuation of structural racism that Bonilla-Silva (2014) discusses so eloquently.

Unsupportive White Female Colleagues

Black female professionals often feel unsupported (Bhopal 2020a, 2022a; Bhopal, Brown and Jackson 2015; Rollock 2019) by their white female colleagues. They claim that these colleagues tend to favour the opinions and views of their white male colleagues while undervaluing the contributions made by their ethnic minoritised counterparts. Indeed, one contributor in Rollock's study stated '... white women kowtowed to the views and opinions of white men while ignoring the contributions of women of colour ...' These findings suggest that white women contribute to the exclusion of black minoritised women in HEIs and illustrate that the dominance of white males in academia is still prevalent. Race, gender and class can impact an individual's progress in HEIs. It is important to note that some participants in the same studies experienced supportive colleagues, regardless of race or ethnicity. Nevertheless, this lack of support contributes to black minoritised colleagues' feelings of othering, marginalisation and exclusion from their HEIs.

It was surprising to discover that white female colleagues did not support their female black colleagues. Further investigation showed that this phenomenon is called horizontal violence, infighting within a group or non-physical intergroup conflict. It was coined by feminist groups in the 1970s (White and Langer, 1999). It is commonly used to describe the enforcement of systematic oppression within marginalised groups. Further research revealed substantial literature within many groups, including nurses and female academics. Roxane Gay's essays titled 'Bad Feminists' (2014) critically analyse the phenomenon and conclude that women tend to criticise each other's efforts and achievements instead of supporting each other.

Further exploration of the literature provided several rationales for this type of behaviour. For example, studies conducted by Heim, Hughes and Golant (2015) revealed that subconscious factors, such as inequity in female relationships between power and self-esteem, can drive hostile behaviour. When a colleague is promoted to a position of greater

power than another colleague, it can create a power imbalance that leads to negative behaviour towards the colleague with more power. Heim and colleagues called this the 'power dead-even rule' and believe it is an unconscious response that has been socialised. Meanwhile, Andrews (2018) suggests that female leaders who display male-specific emotional intelligence, such as assertiveness and confidence, may behave in a hostile manner to prove that they can be equally or more tough than men. However, this behaviour can hinder their ability to build relationships with junior female team members. This behaviour type is also called 'the queen bee syndrome'. Additionally, women may display in-group bias by being reluctant to help others advance, and patriarchal workplace cultures may view women as less valuable, creating barriers to women's support for each other.

Towards Meritocracy

As previously discussed, there is an acknowledgement of gender inequalities within higher education institutions (HEIs). Policies such as the Athena SWAN Charter have been implemented in some institutions to improve pay and promote women to senior positions (Ovseiko et al., 2016). However, these initiatives have primarily benefited white middle-class women who share backgrounds with privileged elites in academia. This approach, which treats gender as a homogenous group, fails to recognise the unique experiences of black female academics and how these experiences impact their progression and development.

Indeed, black female scholars like Gabriel and Tate (2017) argue that it is crucial to acknowledge and prioritise the discriminatory practices and challenges BME academics face. They contend that neglecting these issues contributes to women's invisibility and exacerbates race and gender discrimination.

Research by Ovseiko et al. (2016) and Gregory-Smith (2018) has highlighted some limitations of initiatives like Athena SWAN, despite their advantages. There is a need for broader institutional and societal changes to address the power and pay imbalances that persist in higher education institutions (HEIs) and society as a whole. For example, women, rather than men, are often more likely to take on childcare responsibilities and unpaid domestic work in addition to full-time employment. Furthermore, Gregory-Smith's (2018) study indicates that the voluntary and self-regulatory nature of the Charter presents challenges. Although funding is linked to institutions achieving Silver status, evidence suggests that this has limited the advancement of women's careers.

The introduction of the REC Mark (Advance HE, 2019b; 2020c; 2023a) in 2016 aimed to enhance the experience and progression of students and staff in Higher Education, and its impact has been positively acknowledged in a recent study by Bhopal and Pitkin (2018). Despite its potential benefits, the study also highlighted issues with its implementation, such as a lack of resources. However, there is no doubt that the REC Mark offers a preliminary step towards achieving meritocracy and equity and improving the culture of HEIs for minoritised groups. Participants in some of these studies welcomed the objectivity of processes such as the Research Excellence Framework (2022). In contrast, some felt that

it increased competition to such a degree that it enhanced discriminatory practices (Bhopal and Pitkin, 2018).

These studies reveal that the culture of many HEIs is responsible for marginalising minoritised staff. The respondents presented concrete evidence of the intersection of gender, race and class in acceptance of black minoritised academics in a white space. Marginalisation and feelings of not belonging erode confidence, increase workplace stress, and significantly affect organisational progress. As a result, individuals either engage in impression management strategies with psychological costs to 'fit in' and progress, face career stagnation or leave the HEI for overseas careers (Bhopal, 2014; Bhopal, Brown and Jackson, 2015; Advance HE, 2018). The studies (Wright, Thompson and Channer, 2007; Rollock, 2021) also illustrate that little has changed in how black female academics experience academia over the past fifteen years.

Cultural and Social Capital

Bourdieu (1977) defined cultural capital as "instruments for the appropriation of symbolic wealth socially designated as worthy of being sought and possessed" (p. 488). In simpler terms, it refers to how individuals acquire valuable symbolic assets that hold real tangible value. Scholars like Putnam (2000) have provided a more detailed explanation of Bourdieu's definition, emphasising the blend of economic and cultural assets crucial for establishing and maintaining social networks, which play a significant role in society and facilitate social mobility, especially in hierarchical or stratified societies such as HEIs. Furthermore, many studies have demonstrated the value of social networks in social mobility and in accelerating the career trajectory of black minoritised academics (Granovetter, 1973; Heffernan, 2021; Battilana and Casciaro, 2013; Bhopal, 2014; Holder et al., 2015; Bhopal and Pitkin, 2018; Rollock, 2019). According to Bourdieu's work, social capital perpetuates inequality as strong social networks can promote personal and social advancement. In contrast, individuals lacking such social capital may face obstacles to progress and move through systems of social hierarchies.

Bourdieu proposed three types of cultural capital: embodied, objectified, and institutional. Embodied capital encompasses consciously acquired knowledge, inherited traits, and social relationships. It is shaped by socialisation into specific cultures and traditions, becoming part of a person's 'habitus.' Bourdieu argues that power is culturally constructed through the concept of habitus, which consists of social norms and tendencies that influence behaviour and cognition. In short, habitus is how societal norms and values become ingrained in individuals, shaping their thoughts, feelings, and actions. Institutional capital enhances social mobility and status through educational achievements and intellectual skills. Additionally, Bourdieu asserts that inheritance and personal biography provide vital cultural connections for success. Furthermore, proponents of CRT (Harris, 1993) strongly contend that being white provides innate advantages from birth.

In summary, social and cultural capital is essential for navigating social hierarchies, accessing opportunities, and achieving upward mobility. This concept highlights the connection between education, cultural exposure, and social status.

Colourblind Cultural Capital.

Some scholars (Meghji, 2019; Wallace 2018; Rollock et al., 2015) have argued that the discourse about cultural and social capital in the literature has unintentionally overlooked the depiction of race within these concepts. According to Meghji (2019), this has been operationalised through researchers incorporating small data sets of minoritised groups (Savage, 2015) or omitting to identify the racial composition of the dataset (Bacque et al., 2015). This absence from the discourse, according to Bhatt (2016), reproduces a norm that racialised minorities are only required to be sampled in studies that are directly about race. Further, Meghji argues that what this “colourblind” attitude taken by researchers to cultural and social capital discourse does is perpetuate the normativity of whiteness, reproducing a ‘racialised grammar’. For Bonilla-Silva (2012), racialised grammar has a more profound significance because he contends, 'This grammar normalises the standards of white supremacy as the standards for all sort of social events and transactions' (p.173). Other scholars (Wallace, 2018) contend that the absence of minoritised groups from the discourse about cultural capital promotes the association of cultural capital with whiteness, reinforcing societal biases and perpetuating systemic inequalities.

Reaction to Cultural capital as whiteness

According to Wallace (2018), Bourdieu's scholarship on cultural capital contradicts empirical evidence that suggests its inherent ethno-racial character. He argues that research relating to cultural capital (Meghji, 2019; Wallace, 2018; Rollock et al., 2015) has portrayed the white middle class as holders of cultural capital, with few studies exploring black minoritised groups with cultural capital. This reinforces the belief, alluded to above, that whiteness is an inherent part of cultural capital.

Yosso (2005) critiques the broader literature's misinterpretation of Bourdieu's conceptualisation of cultural capital and social mobility, arguing against the assumption that people of colour lack the social and cultural capital required for social mobility. Drawing on CRT, she identifies six types of capital—linguistic and communication capital, social capital, aspirational capital, resistant capital, navigational capital, and familial capital—and challenges the idea that white middle-class individuals hold a monopoly on cultural knowledge. She contends that there is a necessity for a new framework to dispel the unjust perpetuation of negative stereotypes and deficits and instead foreground the strengths and assets within marginalised communities.

In reaction to the scarcity of research exploring black minoritised groups in the discourse relating to cultural capital, several empirical studies have explored cultural capital from an ethno-racial perspective, highlighting the impact of race and class on access to resources. For example, Raey et al. (2007) examined the concept of multicultural capital, while Erel

(2010) discussed the contributions of immigrants to the development of transnational cultural capital. Additionally, research by Modood (2004) on second-generation (Asian and Chinese) migrants framed ethnicity as a valuable resource with institutional and market implications.

Research in the UK is now examining the 'racialised dynamics' underlying cultural capital creation and consumption (Meghji, 2019; Wallace, 2018; Rollock et al., 2015). Rollock et al. (2015), the largest of these studies, drawing on Bourdier's concept of capital and family habitus as well as CRT tenets, focus on black minoritised Caribbean middle-class parents and their challenges in supporting their children to achieve social and academic success, this is one of the few studies exploring the intersectionality between race, class, and parenting discourse. In highlighting the cultural capital valued by dominant groups, it confidently challenges negative stereotypes plaguing black students. It highlights the conflict of middle-class black Caribbean parents between social status and 'Black solidarity'. Further, although black middle-class parents benefit from their economic status and cultural capital, they face restricted choices due to racism. This highlights the disparity between white and black middle-class experiences, perpetuating inequality despite class status.

White space

In Meghji's (2019) ethnographic study of black middle-class individuals in London, two significant findings emerged using cultural studies and Bourdieusian sociology. Firstly, many perceived middle-class culture as predominantly white, leading to the designation of spaces mainly occupied by white individuals as "white spaces." Meghji draws on the work of Anderson (2015, 2022), who contends that 'physical space is shaped by social space' and that spaces predominantly occupied by white individuals with few or no black people are designated white spaces. This perspective is interesting, considering that the study participants were middle-class and encountered the racial dynamics of spaces such as museums, opera houses, art galleries, and elite HEIs.

Secondly, the study participants valued "black cultural capital", which Carter (2003) defines as a non-dominant form of cultural capital, to depict their black identity. Meghji (2017) has argued previously that black middle-class immerse themselves in white middle-class cultural capital to help them navigate 'the white majority middle-class social world and simultaneously engage in black cultural capital. This cultural capital integrated aspects of white middle-class cultural capital and black cultural expression to negotiate social interactions and satisfy the cultural dynamics of black representation. The politics of black representation involves making visible black cultural creators, their histories, and their expertise in cultural creations, as well as depicting the complexity of blackness within cultural capital.

This section discussed Bourdieu's concept of cultural and social capital, which refers to economic and cultural assets crucial for building social networks. While whiteness and cultural capital have been examined extensively in sociology research, black minority

individuals have been largely ignored. Some studies have highlighted the racialised dynamics in cultural capital creation and consumption. Black middle-class individuals have pursued alternative forms of cultural capital, known as 'black cultural capital,' due to their awareness of the racialised dynamics in predominantly white spaces.

Summary

Extensive research into the experiences of black minoritised academics has unequivocally revealed that, overall, they encounter a discriminatory, bullying, and unsupportive culture in HEIs, making them feel like 'outsiders' in the workplace. This is manifested in the underrepresentation of ethnic minoritised staff in senior leadership positions, employment at prestigious/elite universities, marginalisation and physical and mental health issues such as race-based traumatic stress.

Research indicates that black female academics face unique challenges, including gender discrimination, in a male-dominated academic environment. Factors like social class and migrant status further contribute to a discriminatory culture hindering their advancement.

The limited international studies on black minoritised nurse academics align with the earlier findings. However, there is a lack of research on this group in the UK, and their experiences are poorly understood. Considering the criticism in the literature about the prevalence of whiteness in the curriculum and the profession's lack of racial awareness, both of which can negatively impact students' experiences and contribute to health inequalities, it is urgent to gather more data on this topic.

The form of discrimination encountered manifests as institutional and interpersonal racism, mainly in the form of microaggressions. The literature provides strong evidence that structural racism is perpetuated and sustained by the interrelationship between cultural and institutional racism, affecting minoritised groups, well-being, and opportunities. It normalises practices that benefit white people, disadvantage minoritised groups and maintain a racial hierarchy established through slavery and colonialism. These deep-rooted beliefs and ideologies, such as white supremacy, operate both consciously and subconsciously to produce and sustain racial discrimination in institutions such as HEIs.

CRT has long recognised embedded racism in institutions like academia and the interrelationship between cultural and institutional racism, which sustains structural racism. CRT helps scholars examine racism and power dynamics and uncover discriminatory practices. They advocate for counternarratives to challenge dominant group narratives and diversity policies to address racial disparities.

Despite the challenges outlined above, some black minoritised academics survive in the white space of academia. They demonstrate resilience using various strategies, such as effectively utilising cultural capital (identity performance) to make a positive impression, enhancing educational status and establishing robust support systems, including partnerships with social justice allies.

The reviewed studies were generally of good quality, used robust methods, were conducted by reputable sources, and had consistent results. Some qualitative studies had small samples, but the use of substantial quotations strengthened the credibility of the findings. Others, however, relied on self-reporting, which can have drawbacks, but the authors employed strategies to mitigate them, making the studies reliable and credible.

Chapter 3. Methodology

What is narrative inquiry?

Narrative inquiry (NI) is a diverse and broad set of methodologies that aims to give meaning and expression to individuals' 'thoughts, feelings, and events' (Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2013). It is a widely used methodology across various disciplines, especially the social sciences, and narratives are drawn from different discourse types. For example, data can be obtained from various sources such as interviews, children's stories, objects, visual media, and medical consultations. Some (Craib, 2004) argue that the diversity of NI makes it challenging to explain and describe. However, there are some common features, such as the notion that the data is considered a "story," although the story is just one form reiterating a sequence of events.

Storytelling has been a practice since humans have been able to communicate with each other. It is a way for individuals and communities to give meaning to their lives, create memorable pictures in the listener's mind, and show how support is secured in building individual lives and communities (Clandinin, 2006). Stories have various purposes, including education, entertainment, identity formation, transferring of cultural and therapeutic values, and contributing to social and political transformation. Indeed, Bruner (1990) asserts that as a species, we could be redefined as *Homo narrans*, meaning our species has a natural inclination towards storytelling, deeply ingrained within us. Furthermore, the longevity of storytelling is not surprising, given its power and transforming influence (Bruner, 2002). NI, however, is more than research about storytelling. The story is only one approach in the armoury of the narrative scholar (De Fina, 2003).

In the past, telling stories by marginalised oppressed groups was the only means of bringing to light previously silenced experiences (Boonzaier, 2019). Boonzaier argues that personal stories, often highlighted in the press and social media, can 'capture the public's imagination and drive social and political change'. This is evidenced by the 'Me Too' movement, which triggered a global political movement and contributed to the downfall of the powerful film producer Harvey Weinstein (Serisie, 2018). Furthermore, Riessman (2008) asserts that narratives are powerful tools, enabling storytellers to strategically reshape past and possible painful events, present compelling arguments from their perspective, and advocate for meaningful political or social change. Others contend that 'it is through the presentation of the self in narrative' (Bannister et al., 2011, p.138) that oppressed and silent groups can achieve a sense of pride by telling their stories. Boonzaier argues that it is through these processes that narrative research can 'restore agency to the teller' (p.469) as well as move forward research and political agency.

Defining Narrative Inquiry

According to Clandinin and Connelly (2000), studying human experience is central to NI methodologies, which involve collaboration between researchers and participants over time, in specific places, and within social interactions with various environments.

Bell (2009) too agrees about the centrality of human experience and defines narrative as:

‘a sequence of ordered events that are connected in a meaningful way for a particular audience in order to make sense of the world or people’s experiences in it ... This definition assumes one action is consequential for the next, that a narrative sequence held together with a ‘plot’ is organised temporally and spatially ... More than a list or chronicle, a narrative adds up to ‘something’. (Bell, 2009, p. 8).

These scholars agree that the methodology aims to capture individuals' experiences over time and explore their relationships with their cultural context. The story is presented in an ordered sequence of events and characters to provoke specific responses from the listener. Bell's definition highlights the importance of sequencing events in NI, which other scholars (Riessman, 2008) also consider a crucial element. Without proper sequencing, the narrative would become disjointed and fragmented, losing its coherence and meaningful pattern.

Like other research areas, such as oral history or biographical studies, NI prefers a case-based approach. This differs from qualitative methodologies like grounded theory or phenomenology, which use a category-centred approach. According to Riessman (2016), a case-based approach helps researchers treat participants' narratives holistically and respectfully. It also acknowledges that participants have a history, purpose, and agency. Achieving all these aspects can be challenging when using a category-centred approach, as participants' information is often grouped, and general statements are made about the meaning derived from the data.

The centrality of human experience in narrative research is a key tenet of the methodology. Indeed, according to Riessman (2008), NI's popularity over the years can be attributed to its revealing truths about human experience. However, narrative research is not limited to the study of human experience. It may also involve investigating other aspects such as the story form, narrative research genres (autobiographical, biographical, arts-based studies), context, or style.

In summary, narrative research provides an in-depth understanding of human experiences over time, enabling researchers to reveal subtle and nuanced details of those experiences.

NI in Nursing Research

Over the last 30 years, NI has become an increasingly popular cross-disciplinary methodology, especially within the social sciences and, more recently, nursing. It is not surprising that NI has become a natural fit for nursing research, considering that the core principle of nursing is to facilitate the health of human beings across a range of experiences, from ill health to well-being (International Council of Nursing, 2002). So, given that the essence of nursing is the study of human experiences, nurses need to adopt NI as a methodology.

The advantage NI offers nursing research is that it allows a more in-depth understanding of human experiences, allowing researchers to uncover subtle and nuanced details about experiences. Both participants and nurse researchers can discover the healing powers of stories, and the opportunities NI provides for discourse and reflection (Frank, 2012; Riessman, 2015; Haydon, Browne and van der Reit, 2018). Certainly, reflection is commonly utilised in nursing to encourage personal and professional growth, ultimately resulting in a higher standard of nursing care and improved quality of care for patients.

Experience-centred narrative.

Personal experience-centred narrative, which is the focus of my approach, is based on the work of scholars such as Ricoeur (1991), Mishler (1986), and Riessman (1993, 2008). This type of narrative revolves around individuals telling stories about themselves or recalling events they have experienced. The primary purpose of an experience-centred narrative is to understand and derive meaning from those experiences. It differs from event narratives, emphasising the events in the story (Labov and Waletzky, 1967). In other words, the story is retold from the text of past events.

Moreover, narrative scholars (Riessman, 2008; Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2013) agree that in the narrative of experience, the story is considered a performance that is co-constructed with social, cultural frames, and political praxis, which are seen as essential elements.

Although firmly in favour of the approach because it ‘privileges positionality and subjectivity’, Riessman (2002, 2008, 2016) warns that the language and its effects within the narrative can be underrated and that vocabulary is essential to demonstrate rigorous data analysis. Other criticisms about the approach are that researchers can make narrow, inflexible inferences about the stories. Contradictions in experience-centred narratives are accepted, but some narrative researchers feel that this can fragment the narrative and lend itself to a disjointed and confusing depiction of the experience. Others suggest that the only way to avoid these pitfalls is to adhere to the approaches of experience-centred scholars (Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2013). Riessman (2008) nevertheless recognises the value of triangulation – using narrative methods (e.g. aspects of Labov’s approach) and other types of qualitative methods in analysing the data.

Time, as indicated in the above definition, is intimately associated with NI, and many of the definitions encountered include the concept of *time* and *temporality* in some form or another. However, Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, (2013) state that some narrative scholars are re-examining the concept of time in NI as being sequential and having a transformative effect within the story, arguing that this view may be too simplistic, especially for those interested in non-verbal features of narratives such as still and moving images, the unconscious, paralinguistic¹⁰ features of narratives. They argue that there are

¹⁰ These are the non-verbal cues used when communicating, e.g. facial expressions, hand gestures, body language, tone of voice.

other ways to conceive of the ordering of events, such as the co-existence of the future and past in the present or the rebuilding of a 'new present' (Andrews, Squire, and Tamboukou, 2013, p. 12).

What are the ontological and epistemological origins of the narrative approach?

NI is a broad and diverse group of methodologies with divergent beginnings. It is, therefore, not surprising that, like many qualitative methodologies, the epistemological positions will vary. The following section will review paradigms within research and the origins of narrative research, highlighting theoretical differences and where some of these merge within the humanist and post-structuralist strands within narrative research. It will also outline the ontological and epistemic basis of a person-centred narrative.

Philosophical terms: paradigm, ontology, epistemology and axiology

'All theories are based on a paradigm designed as a basic belief system or world view that guides the investigation.' (Guba and Lincoln, 1994 p. 105). This is further guided by its ontological, epistemological and methodological positions (Krauss, 2005).

According to Kuhn (1962), every theory is rooted in a specific perspective and paradigm, which he defines as a collective set of shared 'beliefs and agreements' among scientists regarding how problems are identified, investigated and addressed (cited in Hattiangadi, 2021). Three of the most common research paradigms are positivism, constructivism and pragmatism. Research paradigms can also be considered in how scientists answer ontological, epistemological and methodological questions. Having some knowledge and insight into this philosophical theory will give the researcher a more comprehensive and rounded perspective of how they situate themselves to this knowledge and the methods used to uncover it.

Ontology and epistemology are two branches of philosophy that deal with different aspects of understanding reality. Ontology delves into the nature of existence and what it means to be real, while epistemology is focused on the theory of knowledge. In other words, ontology asks what reality is, while epistemology asks how we can know reality and what knowledge is needed. The methodology is the procedure utilised by the researcher to gain this knowledge. It is important to note that there is a connection between all these concepts, as they are interrelated (Figure 3.1a, 3.1b). Figure 3.1b illustrates the interrelatedness of the concepts, showing that they facilitated defining the nature and scope of my thesis, providing a coherent framework that guided my approach to the areas of study and resultant outcomes. NI is based on a constructivist and interpretive worldview and various academic movements (i.e., humanism and post-structuralism). It recognises that reality is not singular but multiple and constructed by individuals within groups. This reality is illuminated through the interpretation of participants' experiences. In addition, I believe that axiology, a philosophical branch that examines values (such as morality, goodness and badness), is crucial in providing direction for research. It raises queries about the values that steer the research we conduct. For instance, as a minoritised academic conducting research about

other minoritised academics, can I remain impartial and unbiased while gathering and analysing data? Is my research aimed solely at gaining insight and comprehension, or does it serve a greater purpose, such as effecting societal change?

The predominant or 'received view' of science for many years about the individual and their relationship to the world is that of an objective reality existing (dualism) and separate from the individual (researcher), and this reality can be quantified. This Cartesian worldview of science was known as positivism and, over the centuries, has, according to Guba and Lincoln (1994), morphed into post-positivism, which appears to be a softening of the position of the existence of reality being separate from the individual. For many years, this was the most respected and valid view.

One of the key tenets espoused by Thomas Kuhn (1962) in his renowned text, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, which critiques the sciences, is that scientific truth is not absolute but changes over time.

'We may, to be more precise, have to relinquish the notion, explicit or implicit, that changes of paradigm carry scientists and those who learn from them closer and closer to the truth.' (Kuhn, 1962, p. 70)

Guba and Lincoln (1994) also supported this position, arguing that all paradigms are formative and subject to change and revision. Kuhn supported his theory through historical observations and the changes in scientific truth throughout the ages. Although Kuhn had many criticisms of his arguments, among them Karl Popper (Hattiangadi, 2021), there has indeed been a 'paradigm shift' in what is accepted as valid and scientific truth. Nevertheless, it is not easy to accept a new knowledge base, and it takes a long time to change one's belief system, as even today, the superiority of the positivist paradigm persists.

Indeed, this is exemplified in the type of research the scientific community values. For example, using a quantitative research design such as randomised controlled trials is still valued as the medical community's highest evidence level ('the gold standard'). There may indeed be parallels in Mills' (Doob, 2013) elite theory of social stratification involving the notion that power elites dominate due to the absence of other dominant groups in countering their power. The emergence of these revisions in the received view of science seems welcomed to challenge this dominant paradigm.

This paradigm shift in what is accepted as the truth emerged from the shortfalls in post-positivism. Indeed, there were many criticisms of this received view. It ignored the context, provided little insight into human behaviour, failed to recognise other cultures except Western culture, and ignored the individual case in favour of external validity. Concurrently, other debates were ensuing, leading to new paradigms such as constructivism and interpretivism, challenging the post-positivists' views to address these imbalances. They championed a more holistic, person-centred and agentic approach.

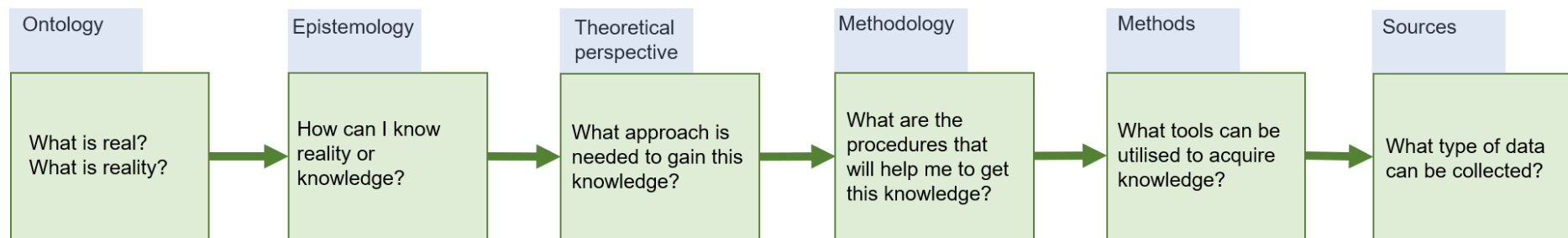


Figure 3.1a. The relationship between Philosophical assumptions underpinning research methodology and methods (*Adapted from Crotty, 1998 and Creswell, 2013*)

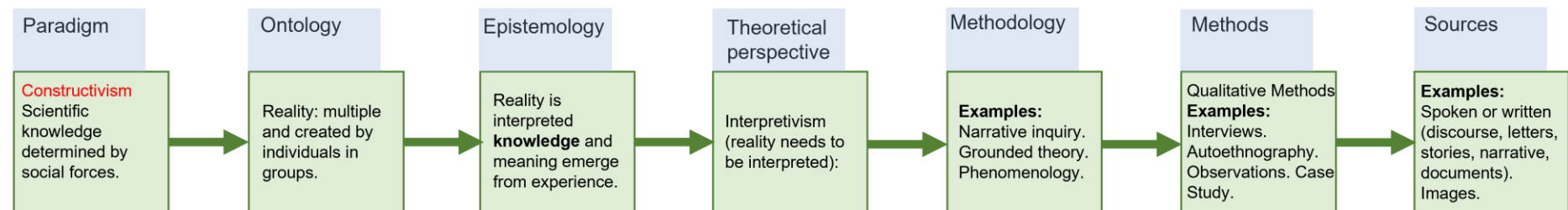


Figure 3.1b.¹¹ Ontology and epistemology underlying Narrative inquiry (NI) methodology.

¹¹ Worldview (paradigm) and theoretical perspective: Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou (2013) posit that NI emerged out of a number of academic movements including the humanist, Russian structuralist and French post-structuralist.

Social constructivism underpins Narrative Research. In constructivism, according to this epistemology, we construct knowledge and meaning through human experiences (Kiraly, 2000). Unlike positivism, constructivism is not based on a single theory but encompasses a range of perspectives from various disciplines and individuals. Academic movements strongly influencing narrative research include humanism, which focuses on holism and person-centred approaches (case studies and life stories) and the Russian structuralist and French post-structuralist movements (Frank, 2012; Bakhtin, cited in Kim, 2016). While the humanist approach emphasises narratives produced from an individual's perspective, the post-structuralist approach is more interested in the various factors involved in producing and shaping narratives. These aspects are particularly relevant to the analysis of my data.

My journey

Researchers' choice of methodology is often based on their worldview and beliefs about knowledge creation (Lather, 2017). When I selected my approach, I did not consider my beliefs about the world or my study's ontological and epistemological basis. My goal was to choose a methodology that would best address my research question concerning the experiences of minority nurse academics in HEIs and the meanings they attach to those experiences. I knew I did not want to use an approach following the objective reality pathway (post-positivism). Instead, I wanted to focus on these individual's experiences and the impact of various factors on those experiences. Therefore, a qualitative methodology seemed most appropriate to gain this insight.

Initially, I considered a phenomenological approach to explore lived experiences. However, as I delved deeper into my background reading about racism and methodologies used within this field by experienced researchers, I began to consider other approaches. I discovered that scholars of CRT (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002; Delgado and Stefancic, 2017) recommend using qualitative exploratory approaches, particularly the NI approach, to investigate the experiences of people of colour. They argue that this method is suitable for capturing the nuances of their experience. CRT contends that storytelling is an empowering process for oppressed individuals and, according to Delgado (1989), is 'an essential tool for their survival and liberation' (p 2436).

In short, CRT scholars emphasise valuing the experiences and knowledge of people of colour through their counter-storytelling. As a result, I was convinced to employ a narrative methodology. A counter-story, as defined by Solórzano and Yosso (2015), is 'a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told' (p. 26). CRT contends that these counter-stories not only counter the dominant discourse but also promote the voices of minoritised groups, respecting and valuing their views and experiences. Furthermore, through rigorous analysis, these stories can counter deep-rooted racialised narratives that promote privilege. This process will, therefore, help promote social justice and cohesion.

CRT and feminist scholars aim to address social injustices by bringing them to light and initiating change. They believe that action is necessary rather than just describing events. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, a feminist scholar, argues that oppressed individuals' experiential knowledge is crucial. In her book "Decolonising Methodologies," she asserts that racism has influenced scientific knowledge and practices for centuries through practices such as phrenology and the oppressive treatment of Indigenous people. Smith (2012) and CRT scholars believe that research and education should confront and eradicate colonialism and oppression. She suggests that Indigenous people's knowledge should be valued equally by academia and seen as partners in the research process, owning the outcome of the emerging knowledge. Experience-centred narrative methodology aligns with these views by giving individuals a sense of agency and ownership. Although my research may not radically change the culture of HEIs or initial political change, I hope it will, at the very least, increase awareness and consciousness.

Having discussed how I arrived at my chosen methodology, my ontological position proceeded with an interest in the lived experience of minoritised nurse academics and that their interactions with many factors shape their lived experience. Dewey (1981) believed that experiences are continuously 'interactive', while Caine, Estefan and Clandinin (2013) assert that experiences shape and reshape the lives of individuals and others and the context in which they interact.

In summary, we need to interpret their stories to gain knowledge and insight into the reality of people's lives. This knowledge is co-created by the participant and the researcher, representing the reality of their experiences. This reality is a co-construction, and both parties are involved in creating this reality (Riessman, 2008).

Research design

It is clear from the discussion so far that the core of this methodology is the study of experience, and the underlying philosophy draws heavily on John Dewey's philosophical account of the meaning of experience (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000). Dewey was a philosopher and educational theorist who felt that the study of life and educational experience were the same. He postulated that to make sense of the concept of experience and derive meaning, it was essential to explore aspects of the concept such as the personal, social, temporal and situational. Dewey used a three-dimensional model consisting of interaction, continuity and situation to shape his approach to understanding the meaning of experience. In summary, exploring the individual's experience contextually and concerning time is essential to obtaining insight and understanding of the concept. Furthermore, central to this methodology is the researcher's engagement with the participant in the continual and final interpretation of their narrative. Based on Dewey's work, Clandinin and Connelly developed the framework outlined in Figure 3.2, using the three aspects: personal and social (interaction), past, present, and future (continuity), and place (situation).

This model initially helped me gain insight into and comprehend a narrative design. Specifically, it helped me shape the questions and structure of the interview questions. It heightened my awareness of the need to follow up with participants and their right to view my interpretation of their stories. In addition, it also impacted other aspects of the design, as I kept some of these dimensions in mind when analysing the data.

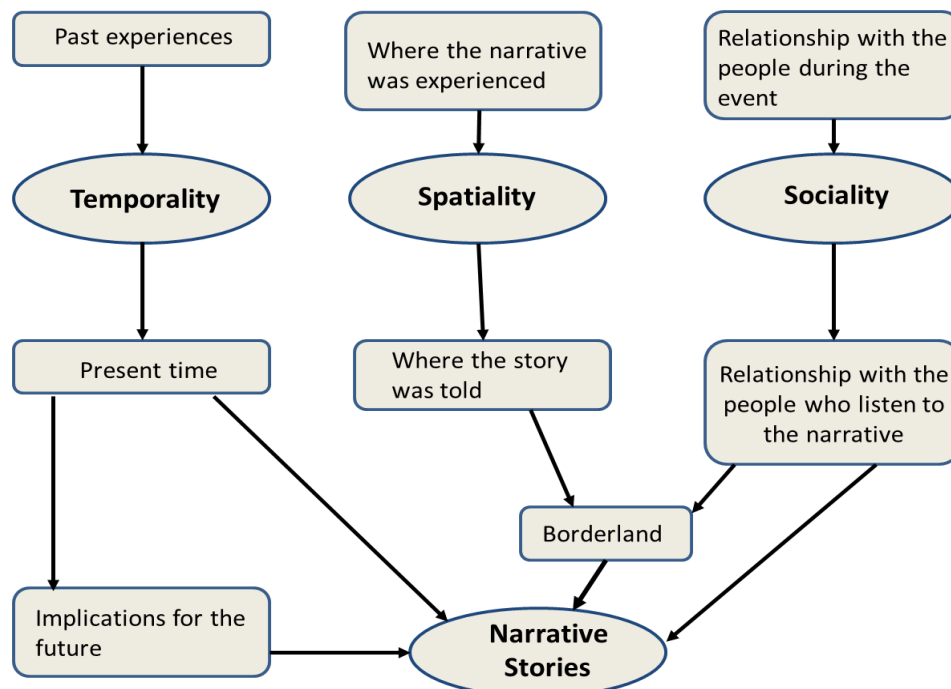


Figure 3.2. Influences of narratives through temporality, spatiality and sociality based on Clandinin and Connelly's three-dimensional space narrative structure. Taken from Haydon, van der Reijt and Browne, 2015, p. 24.

Sampling

In the study, I used a purposive non-probability sampling method. According to Saks and Allsop (2019), this method involves selecting participants with relevant knowledge and experience related to the research question. This type of sample allowed me to choose participants based on specific criteria. Different types of purposive sampling strategies depend on the study's purpose and questions (Creswell, 2013). I opted for a criterion sampling strategy to focus on a specific group of academics with experience in HEIs (Saks and Allsop, 2019).

Sampling Frame

To learn about the distribution of nurse academics belonging to minoritised groups in the UK, I contacted the NMC (2018) which holds data on nurse academics with professional qualifications in nursing and midwifery. While HESA had generic information on minoritised academics, they could not provide data on minoritised nurse academics. The data from the NMC (Appendix 8.) showed that the majority, as expected, were located in England, with very few found in the other nations of the UK. It is possible, however, that some nurse

academics who are no longer involved in the clinical aspect of nurse training programmes may choose not to be registered with the NMC.

I employed a snowball sampling approach to access participants, which I found very effective. This non-purposive sampling technique is used when gaining access to the sample is difficult. Two participants recommended other participants who had similar characteristics. However, there are ethical concerns, such as breaking confidentiality. To avoid this, I suggested that the potential participant encourage colleagues to contact me or identify the number of colleagues at their institution who matched the sample criteria. Purposive sampling has advantages but introduces the possibility of researcher bias. Researchers can address this by basing their judgement on clear criteria.

Sample selection criteria:

The sample criteria comprised black minoritised nurse academics of different ages (25-70 years), genders, backgrounds, and positions (professor, reader, senior lecturer, lecturer). I recruited 11 academics into the study (Table 3.1) from universities in two countries in the UK, with six participants from the south of England. Despite several attempts, no academics from minoritised groups in Wales or Northern Ireland were identified, so I did not recruit anyone from these countries.

Recruiting sample

I used various methods to identify the sample, including contacting the RCN and the BAME support group within the University College Union for assistance in contacting potential participants. However, informal discussions with colleagues and supervisors (Snowball sampling) were the most successful approach. I contacted potential participants obtained this way via email or letter, and although the response was mostly positive, the process was time-consuming. Most individuals who fulfilled the criteria were located in the south of England (Table 3:1).

Sample size

Data were collected from academics in minoritised groups working in UK HEIs. Over eight months, I sent 34 email requests to qualified academics. Out of those, 14 responded with interest. Among the interested parties, 12 were female, and two were male. Despite my efforts, I could only recruit one male senior lecturer. Other male participants expressed interest but could not participate due to workload constraints. Ultimately, only 11 (See Table 3.1) of the 14 interested respondents generously agreed to participate in the study despite citing workload as a significant obstacle in scheduling interviews.

The sample size in qualitative research is typically smaller than in quantitative research. There is no consensus on the optimal sample size, but suggested ranges include 6-12 participants, 15±10 participants, or as few as 5 participants for a case study. The sample size depends on factors such as the study's focus and purpose. So, a life story is a smaller sample, but a larger sample size is needed if thematic analysis is across case studies (Beitin, 2012; Cresswell, 2013; Kim, 2016).

Given the small sample size, I needed to consider saturation, which is helpful even in qualitative studies. Qualitative sampling involves the concept of saturation, which helps determine whether the sample size is sufficient. Saturation means there is enough depth and breadth of information and is, according to Kim (2016), a 'key quality marker' in determining the worth of purposive sample size. It can be difficult to know when this point has been reached. Some scholars suggest that saturation occurs when themes repeat themselves across cases and no new knowledge emerges. However, saturation is difficult to demonstrate as new stories related to the phenomenon being investigated will always emerge. A review of sampling practices in qualitative research in Health and Education (Guetterman, 2015) suggested that only a few studies discussed the concept of saturation, and these tended to have smaller samples. It has been suggested that researchers should demonstrate clarity in their decisions throughout their research and not be afraid of clearly articulating how and why saturation cannot be fully attained. This should be accepted as a study limitation but not discredit the findings (O'Reilly and Parker, 2012).

Table 3.1. Biographic details of minoritised nursing academics interviewed.

Pseudonyms	Position	Ethnic group	Region of country	Migration to the UK	How Recruited	Age range	Type of institution employed at time of interview	Previous experience working in research; Russell Group/Post-1992	Interview length (hours)
Pearl	Snr. Lecturer	Afro-Caribbean	South England		Recommendation	Early 50s	Post-1992		2.5
Vanita	Snr. Lecturer	Asian	South England	Yes	Recommendation	Late 50s	Post-1992		1.5
Meg	Professor	Mixed ethnicity	London		Recommendation	Mid 60s	Post-1992	Yes – working as a researcher and lecturer	2
Byron	Snr. Lecturer	African	London	Yes	Recommendation	Early 60s	Post-1992		2
Samantha	Professor	Afro-Caribbean	Yorkshire		Recommendation	Late 50s	Post-1992	Yes – working as a researcher and lecturer	2
Dee	Snr. Lecturer	Indo-Caribbean	South East	Yes	Recommendation	Late 50s	Post-1992		2
Meryl	Snr. Lecturer	African	East England	Yes	Recommendation	Early 40s	Post-1992		2
Marvel	Assoc.Professor	Afro-Caribbean	Midlands	Yes	Recommendation	Mid 40s	Russell Group		1.2
Cathy	Snr. Lecturer	Afro-Caribbean	Midlands		Recommendation	Late 40s	Post-1992		2
Lavinia	Professor	Afro-Caribbean	North West England	Yes	Recommendation	Mid 60s	Post-1992		2
Pam	Professor	Mixed ethnicity	Nation inside the UK		Recommendation	Mid 40s	Russell Group	Yes – working as a researcher and lecturer	1.5

Pseudonymisation of participants' names to anonymise data under the Data Protection Act (2018)

Pre-interview

After the first contact, I emailed the participants, expressing my gratitude for their interest. The email also included a Participant Information Sheet (PIS form) that provided detailed information about the study, including the right to withdraw, a consent form and an outline of possible areas the questions might focus on. However, I was careful to state that I was interested in their story, and they were not to feel constrained by these. These letters were carefully crafted as I believe building trust and rapport begins with the initial contact.

The participants themselves specified the location and method of communication for the interviews. Most (7) of the interviews were conducted face-to-face at a location specified by the participants. Three interviews were conducted remotely, two via Skype and one by telephone. These mediums were not my preferred choice because of all the perceived disadvantages, such as the reduction or, in the case of the telephone interview, loss of contextual, non-verbal data and other obstructions in building an effective rapport with participants. Nevertheless, I felt I had to concede to the participants' requests, given that the participant's right to choose the location was clearly stated in the PIS form.

Data collection methods

Audio-taped, unstructured, in-depth interviews and field notes were used as the primary data collection method to explore participants' experiences. In-depth interviews provide rich, detailed data about the phenomenon being investigated; however, there are potential drawbacks, such as significant variations in the questions presented to each participant by the interviewer. Although flexibility and adaptation are essential in the interview process, it is crucial, particularly as a novice researcher, that an interview guide is available (Kim, 2016) to steer the narrator towards the purpose of the research study (Appendix 9.). These questions should not be restraining but facilitating, and I was prepared for the discourse to diverge considerably from prepared questions (Narayan and George, 2012).

Qualitative interview etiquette (Denzin and Lincoln 2017) was adhered to. As mentioned previously, the participants specified the location and method of communication for the interviews. Before the interviews began, I took some time to build on the rapport established via electronic communication. I reminded them of the study's purpose, asked if they wanted to review the PIS form again, confirmed their willingness to participate, and obtained signed consent forms. The participants who requested to be interviewed remotely were asked to scan and return the signed consent form. All the interviews were audio recorded with consent from the participants.

I also provided opportunities for them to ask questions and clarify any issues or concerns about the interview process. I explained the overall approach and gave an approximate duration for the interview, which lasted between 60 and 120 minutes. Finally, I let them know that I would take notes during the interview to identify any unclear themes that required further elaboration or clarification, such as apparent contradictions in their narration.

Different scholars use a range of interviewing practices. Rapley (2004), for example, uses a relatively laissez-faire approach, treating the interview as a regular conversational interaction. However, this approach might lead to issues such as the interviewer dominating the conversation or disagreements between the interviewer and interviewee on what constitutes a normal conversation. Riessman, (2008) places significant emphasis on the interpersonal context in interviews and firmly believes that interviewers are not passive recipients of the story but are 'active participants in interviews' because the subtle actions and questions asked by interviewers encourage certain responses and 'disclosures' from the interviewee which all help to shape the story. Indeed, these interactions between interviewer and interviewee will invariably impact the data collected and, eventually, how the data is interpreted.

I adopted a two-phase approach, as recommended by some narrative scholars (Goodson and Gill, 2011; Kim, 2016). Kim (2016) refers to the first phase as the narrative phase, where the interviewer opens the interview with a broad open question (Wengraf, 2008), allowing the interviewee to tell their stories with little or minimal interruption but engaging in active listening and utilising paralinguistic and other non-verbal communication cues. Silence plays a crucial role in active listening (Wengraf, 2008) as it allows the interviewee to have control over their narrative by giving them the time and space they need to share their story in their own words. This approach also helps empower participants, which is a fundamental principle of narrative methods (Riessman, 2012).

Kim (2016) states, 'It is the researcher's responsibility to listen with an ear tuned to sequence, coherence, continuity, meaningfulness and transformation in our interviewee's story' (p. 168). I did not achieve all these aspects, especially in the initial pilot interview. However, I endeavoured to open the interview with a broad question (Appendix 9) to encourage the interviewee to tell me what they wanted to tell me about the phenomenon being investigated.

The second phase, which Kim (2016) refers to as the conversation phase, involves the development of a discourse between the interviewer and interviewee. So, the interviewer asks appropriate questions (Appendix 9), and the interviewee responds to continually progress the conversation. This exchange between interviewer and interviewee ensures that both parties contribute to shaping the story (Riessman, 2016). Wengraf (2008) suggests that narrative questions may arise, for example, because of unclear themes, areas the interviewer wants to know more about, blockages, and contradictions in the narration.

In summary, narrative scholars (Riessman, 2008; Goodson and Gill, 2011; Kim, 2016) see the conversation phase as a form of 'discourse and dialogic interchange'.

The first interview was initially one of two pilot interviews; however, both pilot interviewees wanted their data to be included in the final project. Piloting is essential in identifying practical and methodological issues and facilitating competency development in qualitative interviewing techniques. Reviewing the audiotape and engaging in reflexivity following the

first interview, I recognised that my approach varied between a structured and cautious approach at the beginning. However, as the interview progressed, it became more relaxed and conversational, with the interviewee and I interacting. As I became more absorbed in the conversation and recognised similarities with my experience, I felt several comments were somewhat leading. Indeed, as discussed later in the data analysis section, I felt there was a tension between being true to the approach and maintaining a professional and ethical stance. Although I was concerned about influencing the interviewee's story, some scholars (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002; Rapley, 2004) argue that interviewers should not worry excessively about this issue. What matters is that the interviewer engages productively with the interviewee. Indeed, according to Gubrium and Holstein, interviewers 'cannot corrupt knowledge if that knowledge is not considered pure and separate from its production circumstances.' (2002 p 15),

After completing the pilot, I gained confidence in conducting interviews using Riessman's and Kim's approach, which I applied in subsequent interviews. I learned to listen actively, allow the participants to share their stories, allow new stories to emerge, and intervene only when necessary—for example, to seek clarification and expansion or to gently guide the conversation back to areas related to my research questions and objectives. Three participants (Dee, Vanita, and Pearl) were happy to complete the interview in more than two hours.

After each interview, I wrote a reflective account of the process. Initially, I took field notes during the first few interviews, but I found them distracting and felt that they prevented me from listening effectively to the interviewee. So, except for occasional brief notes, I only made note of paralinguistic features such as gestures, tone of voice, and facial expressions for the rest of the interviews.

Approaches used to analyse NI Data

NI scholars use several approaches to analysing data. These include thematic narrative analysis, Structural analysis, and dialogic/performance analysis.

Thematic analysis, used in this thesis's first layer of data analysis, is perhaps the most straightforward of the approaches (Kim, 2016), often adapted and used in health-related professions such as nursing. Here, the meaning of patients' experience of their illness is thematically analysed; however, unlike other qualitative approaches (e.g. grounded theory and phenomenology) where the data is fragmented by identifying themes (categories) within the case, the case is analysed as a 'whole story' in an attempt to 'preserve the sequence', and inferences are made from the intact narrative across cases (Ewick and Silbey, 2003; Riessman, 2008). There is a significant focus on the societal context (social structures, inequalities, power structures) but minimal focus on the local context (e.g., the audience, speech). Riessman (2008) explains that thematic analysis centres on speech content. It considers "who" an utterance may be directed to, "when" and "why" that is, for what purposes? (p. 105).

By contrast, in **structural analysis** (Labov and Waletzky, 1967; Gee, 2014), there is significant emphasis on the local context and little on societal (Riessman, 2008). Here, the language is analysed in detail using a structured approach, focusing on clauses and functions in a sequence. This is not surprising, given that Labov was a sociolinguist. Riessman (2008) uses the analogy of a slowed musical composition, and the analyst looks at how each part relates to the other and how they relate to the whole composition. The narrative in this approach can be defined in several ways: as a brief section of speech focusing on a specific temporally ordered topic (Labov, 1972) that answers the interviewer's question, or it could be a longer and more complex story (Gee, 2014). Riessman (2008) asserts that the narrative is defined as a 'bounded unit of speech and not the entire biography' in both cases. For example, Labov (1972) used a structural analytical approach to examine the vernacular of young black African Americans in Harlem and other inner-city areas; his results supported the fact that the vernacular has a unique grammatical system and should be credited as a variety of English (African American Vernacular English).

A third approach used in the second layer of data analysis in my thesis is the **dialogic/performance** approach. According to Riessman, (2008), this approach incorporates both the thematic and structural aspects, but the dialogic/performance approach emphasises other features. Riessman (2008) argues that with the dialogic/performance approach, the personal-centred narrative focuses on analysing large data sections, demonstrating the interaction between the participants and the interviewer, and discovering similarities and differences between participants. In this approach, researchers are more concerned with the meanings that emerge from the narrative and how they can shed new light on other related phenomena rather than the story's content, thus contributing to the body of research knowledge within the field. In short, whilst the thematic and structural approach focuses on the "what" is spoken and "how", the dialogic/performance is concerned with 'who' an utterance may be directed to "when" and "why", that is, for what purpose (Riessman, 2008, p. 105).

Riessman (2002) drew on and built on the work of scholars such as Mishler (1986) and Goffman (1974). Mishler (1999), for example, studied the development of identity among a group of artists and craftsmen. He extensively analysed detailed interview material, focusing on the structural elements of the discourse, likenesses and differences in the participants' narratives, and the interaction between the interviewer and participants.

Identity is a complex concept that is fluid, relational and multiple (Erikson, 1994). Stories are thus central to people's identities. Bruner (2002) and others (McAdams, Josselson, and Lieblich, 2006) would argue that they 'create' our identities because it is through stories that humans communicate experiences, events, feelings, and perceptions of themselves and others by populating their stories with people who are important to them. Riessman (2008) argue that the stories people tell are of selective events that they feel are significant to them. In talking about their experiences, the listener/reader understands how the teller

feels about these happenings. How they populate their stories also provides insight into who they feel is necessary (i.e. themselves, other characters), relevant or irrelevant.

Burgos (1991) argues that how people open their stories is also essential to analyse, as often this is what they are most concerned about or troubled by, which will often reveal essential aspects of their identities. For example, Pam, a mixed-heritage nurse academic in my sample, opened her narrative with a discourse about which camp she might fit in (white or black) and how her identification became a central thread in her narrative.

As stated above, Riessman, drew on Goffman's dramaturgical theory (1959, 1974), which uses the metaphor of actors in a play to explain our everyday interactions with others. Goffman contends that, like actors on a stage, we spend most of our lives performing on the 'front stage', delivering the most favourable side of ourselves to an audience, especially in difficult situations. Only when 'backstage', i.e. at home or a safe place, is our true self exposed (Chapter 2).

Performativity Features

In this thesis, some participants showed a noticeable level of performativity, particularly evident in a transcript from Pearl's narrative (Figure 3.3). Rather than simply recounting events, Pearl chose to dramatise her story. She employed linguistic devices such as reported speech, expressive sounds, repetition and asides. Additionally, she used paralinguistic cues including hand gestures, variations in tone intensity, and changes in the speed, tone, and volume of her words, as identified during the interview. This suggests that Pearl was fully invested in her narrative and wanted to convey it with emotional impact (Riessman, 2008). These exchanges undoubtedly enliven Pearl's performances and draw the audience into the speaker's narrative. This 'enactment', Goffman (1974, p. 5) states, 'is something that listeners can empathetically insert themselves into, vicariously re-experiencing what took place'. However, according to Riessman (2008), it also has another vital purpose: accentuating Pearl's agency (identity performance). Pearl casts herself as the strong, defiant character. Even though it appears that the other character [manager] is wielding power by preventing her from commencing her PhD (Figure 3.3 L:14). Pearl does not demonstrate passivity in these scenes, as illustrated by her tone and linguistic features that dramatise the interaction. In addition, she has already taken back control by deciding to leave the HEI (L:28-29). So, as Goffman argues, Pearl's motive might have been to achieve a personal goal of showing the audience she is standing up to white hegemony and discrimination. By doing so, she aims to maintain a consistent and positive identity as a confident black woman capable of resolutely and successfully confronting discrimination.

Examples of engaging linguistic (Figure 3.3) features Pearl uses to add to the dramatisation and thus engage the listener include repetition, which, according to Riessman (2008), highlights essential points in the narrative. For example, words and phrases such as 'This time I was thinking' 'my gut is telling me' (L: 26-27) in addition to others such as 'black

woman', 'racist', 'not a PhD' 'microaggression' black woman', 'racist' are repeated throughout her narrative.

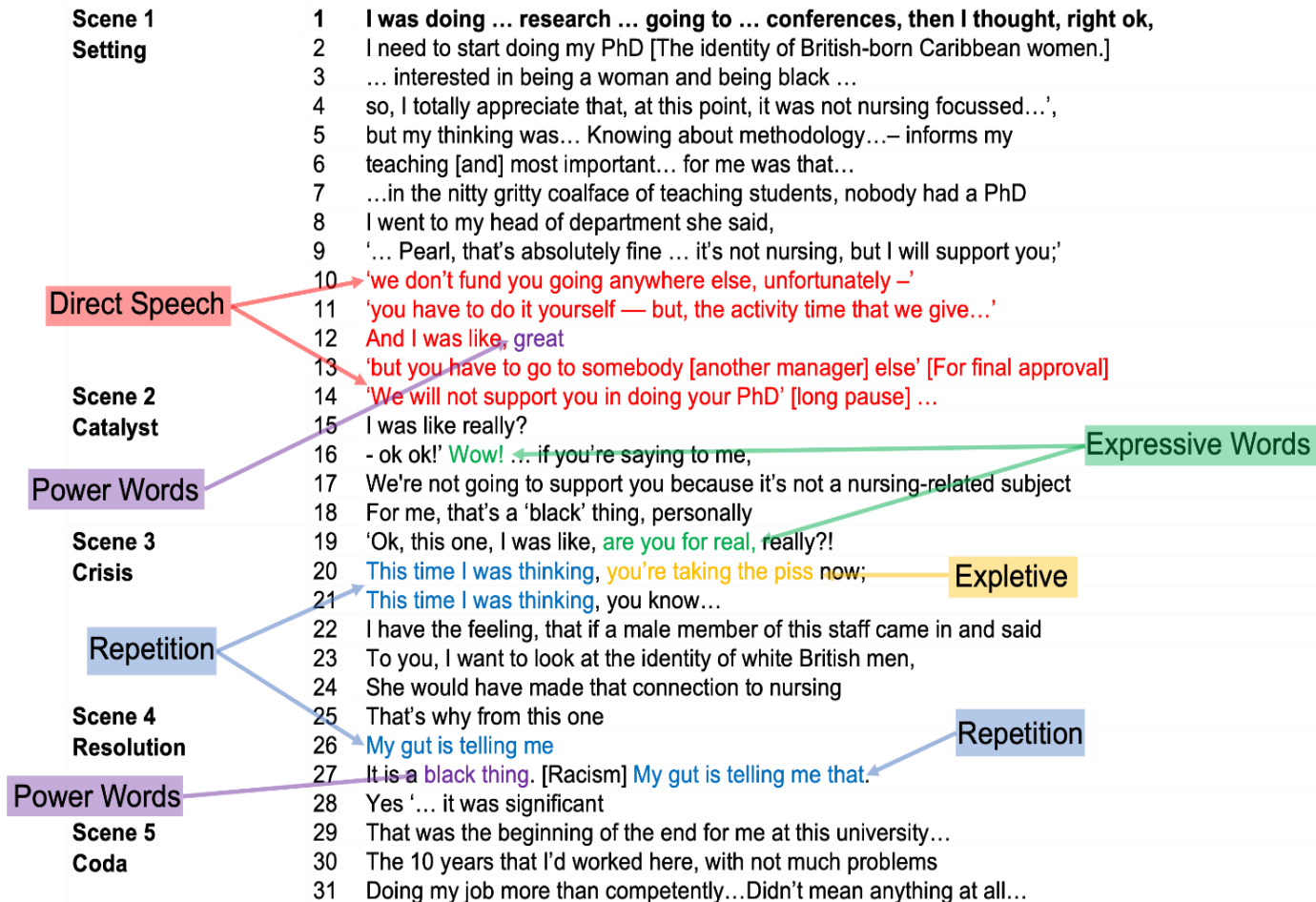
Pearl also used asides, where she moves away from the narrative thread to speak directly to the audience. For example, in another transcript (Appendix 10.), Pearl was in her manager's office angry, pacing around the room, shocked at the overt racism demonstrated by the dean, then digresses and speaks directly to the audience [black people] as if they are accomplices, they will empathise: 'all of, you know, in the background, you know, the normal things, the microaggressions' [S18 L:118]¹². Pearl's expressive sounds within her utterances also promote dramatisation and, according to Riessman (2008), not only flag up focal points in the narrative but also signal the resolution of the crisis.

Figure 3.3 showcases many of the dramatic features mentioned earlier. It demonstrates Pearl's shock ('I was like really, -ok ok! Wow!'), anger (L 19-20) (16-21), and frustration, as well as her perception of the unfairness (lines 28-31) and irrationality of the manager's decision to block her progression by not allowing her to commence her PhD. Furthermore, it reveals the overt race and gender discrimination (L 22-24/26-27), as she perceives it, that the manager was exhibiting.

¹² S=scene, L=line number.

Figure 3.3 Shows Gee's macrostructure and performativity features.

Transcript 1. Pearl's Performativity



Bakhtin (Dentith, 1995) reminds us that narrative texts are polyphonic, meaning they are multi-voiced. He contends that in a dialogic environment, there are many voices besides the narrator, each with its own perspectives, equal weighting, and validity. Therefore, the narrator's voice should not be taken as the final authority in the text. In addition, Riessman (2008) states that, when analysing a personal narrative, it is the role of the analyst to examine not only the voice of the narrator but also the utterances of other characters in the plot, 'hidden discourses', gaps, ambiguities, disparities and divergences. Other scholars, such as Iser (1989, 1993), have taken this further to include the reader because it is through reading, he argues, that the reader becomes actively engaged, bringing new insights or, as Riessman (2008) eloquently states: readers 'bring cultural sensibilities, and cultural tensions into reading, adding new voices to interpretation' (Riessman, 2008 p107). Riessman also argues that the dialogic approach intentionally 'invites' a range of interpretations from audiences (listeners and readers), accepting that because they bring their own experiences, identities and cultural influences, they are part of the 'interpretive process'.

In Bakhtin's polyphony concept, multiple voices contribute to the shaping and interpreting the narrative. Riessman (2016) reminds us that, as well as the narrator, the interviewer also plays a vital role in shaping the narrative. Therefore, the interview can be seen as a collaborative process where the interviewer encourages disclosure through various strategies such as asking questions, active listening, pausing, and enabling elaboration at critical moments.

Furthermore, the participant's story should not be the singular focus of the analyst. However, other influences such as the setting, historical context, the interviewer's position, and the questioner's contribution should all be considered. To ignore these and other dimensions, according to Riessman, 'strips context from a piece of research' (2016, p. 368).

Data Analysis Approach

In the first layer of my thesis's data analysis, I used a qualitative categorical approach to examine the narrative data (Kim, 2016) with the help of NVivo 14 to pinpoint recurring themes. For the second layer of data analysis, I employed a dialogic/performance approach to interrogate the data (Riessman, 2008).

I transcribed the first three recorded interviews verbatim, but transcribing a single interview took three to four days. However, I found it helpful to immerse (Denzin and Lincoln, 2017) myself in the data as I had to listen to the audio recordings repeatedly to ensure accuracy within the transcripts. Despite the advantages of transcribing the data, I had to hire a professional transcriber for some interviews due to my work commitments. Nevertheless, this strategy was not disadvantageous because I repeatedly reviewed the transcriptions and listened to the audio recordings as part of the analysis process.

Bingham and Witkowsky (2022) have stated that various factors, such as methodology and data collection, influence qualitative data analysis. They also emphasise that data analysis involves both deductive and inductive processes. I adopted a broadly qualitative perspective, employing deductive and inductive processes to analyse the data. This

approach involved thoroughly examining the data to identify recurrent themes using coding and re-coding methodology (NVivo 14 and manually). I identified relevant words and phrases aligned with my research objectives and established connections between related codes. Initially, I grouped them into categories drawn from the literature (e.g., covert racism, microaggressions, coping strategies) and relevant theory (i.e., CRT tenets such as interest convergence, white privilege, challenging meritocracy, and the intersectionality of experience). This is illustrated in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2. Examples key phrases used to develop categories and themes

Key words/phrases	Categories	Themes
<i>'I don't know of a black professor at the [HEI]'</i> <i>'very few black faces'</i> <i>'purely white middle-class dominated institution'</i> <i>'Now and then you see a few [academics] but then there are in much lower positions' (Dee)</i> <i>'I don't know who is the black professor here. I don't know many senior lecturers' (Meryl)</i> <i>'I am often the only blackface at meetings' (Marvel)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minoritised role models • Few ethnic minority senior managers • Loneliness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White space • Environmental microaggression
<i>'One of the things I developed from it [racism] is irritable bowel syndrome' (Dee)</i> <i>'The anger is still there ... I'm angry inside' (Meg)</i> <i>'It ate away at me ... I became paranoid' (Cathy)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical impact of racism • Psychological impact of racism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Harm caused by persistent racism • Racial trauma.

During the first coding round, I used NVivo 14 software to identify and develop categories through deductive reasoning. Although I received training, I found it challenging to use the software to its fullest potential. Consequently, I resorted to manually coding and analysing the transcript during subsequent data exploration.

I found it helpful to use a deductive approach in the initial coding round to organise the data and concentrate on research objectives (Kim, 2016). However, I also used inductive processes as new categories emerged. Memoing¹³ aided me in recognising patterns and creating specific themes, such as microaggression, white space, harm caused by persistent racism, resilience, and a migrant story. (Table 3.2). In short, I used an inductive approach to understand the data, wherein I identified themes and supported them with excerpts from participants' narratives. I then connected these findings with relevant theories such as CRT,

¹³ **Memoing:** useful field notes related to themes and findings; verbatim quotes from participants supporting themes/findings; correlating themes to relevant literature; my reflective notes during/following interview and during the analysis process.

white privilege, racial trauma and the existing literature. This was an iterative process where I constantly compared the interview data with the derived theories and literature.

Approach to analysing the data using dialogic/performance approach

Riessman's (2008) dialogic/performance approach was appealing because of its flexibility and empowerment. However, it lacked a defined framework to guide me through the data analysis process. I found several articles that outlined specific approaches, but they fragmented the narrative. As a novice, I got lost in the frameworks' minutiae. Despite these challenges, I appreciated the approach's emphasis on performativity and the interviewee's positioning. Overall, this approach was more engaging and interesting than an NI thematic. See Figure 3.4 Flow chart of the approach used to analyse the data.

One aspect I found particularly challenging when using the dialogic/performance approach was organising significant events from the participant's narrative. Following Riesman's approach, I selected data sections reflecting my emerging research questions, themes, and performance features (Figure 3.4) and constructed them coherently without losing essential aspects. Initially, I used Labov's method to organise the data, but it was too restrictive. Although Riessman (2008) and Patterson (2008) recognise the benefits Labov's approach offers, they also criticise its 'structural rigidity.'

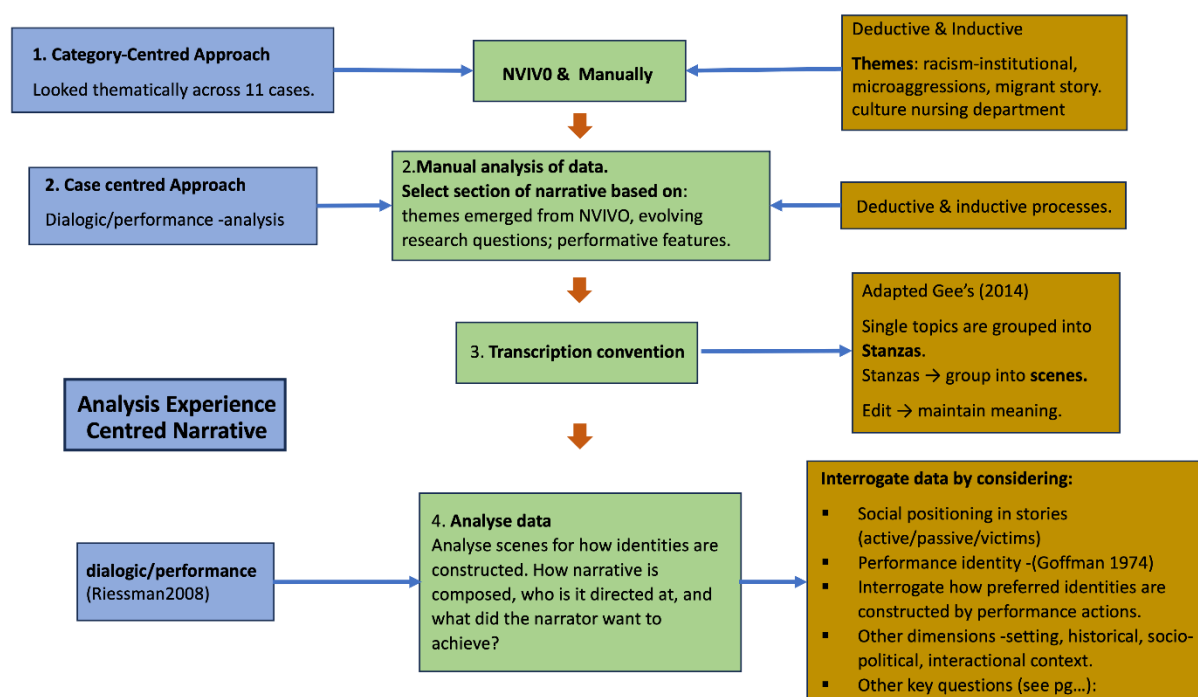


Figure 3.4. Approach used to analyse the data. Dialogic/performance.

I used a modified version of Riessman's transcription convention (Riessman, 2016), adopted from Gee's (2014) approach to structure significant events within narrative data.

Specifically, I identified sections with clear beginnings and endings. Then, I grouped the selected data into sections that fit the following headings: *scene/setting*, *catalyst*, *crisis*, *resolution*, and *coda*, which Gee calls the macrostructure (Figure 3.3, Appendix 10). Then, within these sections, lines from the data about a single topic (microstructure), referred to as stanzas, are included. Gee believes this approach captures more elements of the speaker rather than using only a line of speech. Riessman goes on to organise stanzas into specific scenes. However, I experienced difficulties similar to Riessman's in delineating the boundaries while attempting to depict and interpret this part of the transcript.

According to Riessman (2016), an investigator should "interrogate" the narrative to determine what the storyteller tries to achieve and how the narrator's storytelling accomplishes this. According to Cussins (1998), personal narratives contain many performative features that facilitate the 'local achievement of identity'.

An analyst can determine what the teller is trying to accomplish by using a questioning approach (Table 3.3) to examine various performance aspects of the narratives. The analyst can note aspects such as emphasis on certain words, phrases, reported speech, and paralinguistic features, as seen in Pearl's excerpt (Figure 3.3). Furthermore, Riessman suggests that a helpful starting point for novice analysts is addressing social positioning in stories (Table 3.3). This is how the teller positions the characters in the story, the audience, and themselves because these positionings are fluid and useful for the narrator to deal with the situations they find themselves in within the narrative.

Questions: generic questions	Questions: Social positioning
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why was a narrative segment developed that way at that point in an unfolding conversation? - What does the speaker accomplish by adopting particular narrative forms? - Does a story of a particular moment serve to persuade the listener of a preferred position or put the speaker in an advantaged moral light (<i>I am a good person despite what I did</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In what kind of story does a narrator place herself? - How does she position herself to the audience and vice versa? - How does she position characters in relation to one another and in relation to herself? - How does she position herself to herself, that is make identity claims <i>Riessman 2016 p 376</i>

Table 3.3. Dialogic/performance analysis: Approach to interrogate narrative data.

(From: Riessman 2016 p. 376)

In summary, using a dialogic/performance approach to analysing the data allows large segments of carefully edited excerpts from participants' narratives to contextualise the experiences and provide essential details, thus giving the participants a powerful voice. The approach allows the researcher to interrogate many dimensions besides the content of the narrator's story, such as their performance identities-foregrounding desirable self (Goffman, 1974), and managing 'potentially spoilt identities' (Riessman 2016 p. 372). Whilst engaging in fluid social positioning of themselves, other characters and the audience are explicitly enacted for an audience to achieve something. Indeed, narrative scholars (Riessman, 2008; Mishler, 1986) contend that narrators reveal and construct themselves by narrating personal stories. The dialogic/performance approach can also help us understand how people's lives and experiences are influenced by broader power dynamics, privilege, and oppression and, thus, how power relationships are maintained. These broader dynamics may be connected to historical legacies of the transatlantic slave trade, colonialism, imperialism and institutionalised racism (Boonzaier, 2019).

Ethical considerations

Researchers have ethical responsibilities to ensure that participants give informed consent and are treated with dignity. The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC, 2023) states that these principles should be considered throughout the research project. In April 2017, the Middlesex University Health and Education Ethics Subcommittee approved my proposal to meet ethical standards before data collection.

Informed consent is the foundation of ethical research (Beauchamp and Childress, 2013), and, according to Kim (2016), it is 'grounded in the ethical principles of autonomy, confidentiality and beneficence' (p. 158). It was, therefore, essential that potential interviewees were provided with sufficient information to make the right decision. Indeed, sending potential interviewees details about the study and allowing them to ask questions before giving their consent empowers them in the decision-making process so that their consent is informed, voluntary and not coerced.

To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, all participants were given pseudonyms. However, anonymity cannot always be guaranteed with a small sample in a small community of an under-researched topic. Modifying some of the data may be necessary to maintain confidentiality, affecting the data's richness. Some participants may prefer to use their real names, particularly if they want to take ownership of their stories. Initially, the participants were grouped according to the HEIs, but because of the small sample size, it was unsafe to proceed in this manner. Instead, the candidates were classified according to regions of the UK, as shown in Table 3.1.

Participants were informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time. They were advised to contact the researcher to withdraw their data within a month. After a month, it may not be possible to withdraw their data if results have been published or disseminated by other means (e.g. poster presentation). All data collected was anonymised and confidential.

There is also the potential for *psychological harm*: some participants may find telling their stories distressing and emotional. The researcher should be aware of the possibility of psychological harm and have an appropriate action plan in place for how to manage/address this, for example, reassuring the interviewees managing the interview, such as taking frequent breaks and informing participants that they can stop the interview at any point; offering support, e.g. a counsellor; and providing an opportunity to talk further, outside the interview period if necessary. My overall impressions following the interviews were that participants were ready to tell their stories. For some, I would go as far as stating that there was a longing for their stories to be heard. Indeed, a few participants actually stated that they had waited "a long time" (Dee, Byron). I felt for some that it was almost a sense of relief, and I would go as far as saying it was a therapeutic release. There was evidence of emotional distress for some candidates, albeit a subtle portrayal during the interview. At the times when I sensed this, I did not interrupt the participants even when

there were moments of silence and involved them in a debriefing session at the end of the interview.

There are many potential ethical challenges in researching the experience-centred narratives of individuals. For example, there is the prospect of tension developing between the participant and researcher during the process of establishing a trusting relationship and maintaining an unquestionable distance/professionalism. I feel this danger is particularly acute given the influential role of the researcher in how the narrative is produced and interpreted. Indeed, Iser (1989/ 1993) and Riessman, (2008) agree that the reader also brings another 'interpretative perspective' to the narrative, interpreting the data generated differently.

Building trust and rapport is an integral part of the interview method, and this should commence as soon as the researcher is in contact with the interviewee and continue throughout the relationship. Many factors can facilitate how the researcher builds relationships and trust, including developing those relationships and treating all interviewees with respect and dignity. This involves showing that you are caring and showing interest, empathy and sympathy when appropriate. According to Kim (2016), researchers should also demonstrate some degree of openness with participants without being overly open. Indeed, Bondy (2013) states that there is always some tension concerning how open the researcher should be and how much to 'share' with the interviewee. Indeed, some researchers may be researching a sensitive topic, such as race, divorce, political topics, or sexual orientation, and will not share this with the participant if the topic under investigation is related to these areas. This is because they may be fearful that the interviewee will not fully disclose their experiences but what they feel the researcher wants to know. As a minoritised academic, I appreciate that my ethnicity facilitated the establishment of rapport with my interviewees. Except for a few individuals, I felt my interviewees were very relaxed in my presence, the conversation flowed freely, and there were few instances of stilted discourse. However, I am mindful that my ethnicity may also thwart full disclosure of some aspects of their story.

Other tensions include how the researcher interprets the data or 'ownership' of the story: how the researcher voices or potentially exploits it (Plummer, 2001).

Reflexivity

Narrative researchers (Plummer, 2001; Riessman, 2015; Clandinin, 2006) all advocate the importance of *reflexivity* in guarding against misinterpretation of participants' stories. Indeed, Plummer (2001) asserts that the process makes the researcher more self-aware, insightful, and 'socially aware'.

After each interview, I have endeavoured to question my actions and interventions, engage in a reflexive process, maintain a diary of essential thoughts and considerations, and examine assumptions and preconceived ideas. For example, I am very aware that my status as a minoritised researcher interviewing minoritised participants could affect my

relationship – how I respond to interviewees and how they respond. Thus, examining my relationship with the participants is integral to the reflexive process. Indeed, I have endeavoured through the reflexive process to examine any assumptions or preconceived ideas I may have as a minoritised nurse academic and researcher in decisions or conclusions made when analysing participants' data.

It is also important to be transparent with participants about the aims and objectives of the research and what interest the researcher has in the study. This approach will help to facilitate a trusting relationship with the participants. Certainly, Clandinin (2006) advocates the involvement of the participants at all stages of the study until publication so that they can validate the study's contents at every stage. Nevertheless, it may not always be possible to achieve this ideal approach. For example, consideration should also be given to the fact that some participants may not want to revisit the researcher's interpretation or engage further after the interview stage. Indeed, several of my interviewees stated that they did not want to review the transcript and indicated that now that they had told their story, they would prefer not to engage further. By contrast, others welcomed further involvement. Indeed, as indicated above, tension can also develop in the researcher's interpretation of the story. Riessman (2008), on one occasion, sent her interpretation to one of her participants, and they did not respond until one year after the initial correspondence. Nevertheless, she is emphatic that there should be complete openness on the researcher's part regarding how decisions are made so that the reader can examine and interrogate the meanings ascribed to the various characters in the narrative. In summary, she states, 'Textual openness makes it imperative for researchers to be explicit about their ways of working methodologically' (Riessman, 2008, p. 137).

Trustworthiness in qualitative research.

Bias in research refers to any intentional or unintentional deviation from the truth in the research method that can lead to false results and misleading conclusions. Alternatively, as Galdas (2017) articulated in his insightful editorial about bias in qualitative studies, it is 'any influence that provides a distortion in the results of a study' (p. 1). Some scholars (Galdas, 2017; Thorne, Stephens and Truant, 2016) argue that this term is more suitable for quantitative methodologies and contradicts the philosophical principles of qualitative research. Instead, rigour and trustworthiness are better suited for the subjectivity and holism underpinning qualitative studies (Denzin and Lincoln, 2017). However, Galdas (2017) notes that due to growing pressure from research funding bodies, there is a trend to apply quantitative criteria to qualitative studies, which may stem from a lack of understanding of how qualitative research can contribute to society.

Nevertheless, rigour and truth in any methodology are crucial, so readers need to judge the quality of the method, particularly how well it is described and justified; the use of verbatim data also supports the findings and shows that the findings make sense. To interpret the findings appropriately, the reader must be given sufficient information about the

researcher's positionality- personal, professional and cultural perspectives (Greenhalgh, 2010).

My positionality

In narrative research, it is crucial for researchers to acknowledge how identities are deployed and negotiated in narratives and to identify their positionality before and during the research process. As an academic who identifies as a black female and has experienced racism in HEIs, I was very conscious of the need to be aware of my positionality throughout this process.

I would argue that my positionality within the study had a positive and challenging impact on the research process. For example, I sensed that my position as a black minoritised nurse academic engendered a trusting relationship. This was confirmed by some participants, who stated that they were more comfortable speaking with me about their experiences in HE and even asked questions at the end of the interview about my own experience of racism in HE. Some participants felt comfortable expressing a desire and eagerness to share their experiences within academia. For example, Dee explicitly stated that 'it's really needed' to share these stories. Others, like Pearl, were eager for their stories to be told and wanted their experiences to benefit a wider audience. This shows another advantage of the methodology - it gave the participants a voice and provided a platform for a broader audience to hear their stories. Indeed, other ethnic minoritised scholars (Bhopal, 2010, 2016) researching within this area have had similar experiences, claiming that it enhanced trust and empathy between researchers and some participants, which led, as I perceived, to a more open and honest dialogue.

I am a black female lecturer, so I could not be detached and objective, but I empathised with the women's stories, having had similar experiences. Their stories evoked anger, empathy, sadness, and delight/joy at their resilience and accomplishment.

As I listened to the women share their experiences of racial discrimination, especially Pearl and Dee's vivid and expressive narratives. I felt their anger and frustration towards the institutions involved. However, I understood that these were their interpretations of their experiences within higher education, and they shared them to make sense of their situation. Nonetheless, their stories illustrate the impact of storytelling and how it can evoke strong emotions.

So, the methodology allowed me to portray the narratives from an 'insider' position. I could reflect on my thoughts and feelings during the research process and how they might affect how I analysed and interpreted the participant's data. Riessman (2016) suggests that narrative interviews involve a joint conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee, taking place within certain boundaries set by the social context. Therefore, it is not appropriate to ignore the role of the interviewer/listener in shaping the narrative. Riessman argues that disregarding this contribution reflects an 'unacknowledged power relationship' (2016, p. 369). Riessman (2008, 2015) also argues that the methodology

‘privileges positionality and subjectivity’, thus allowing me to infiltrate these women's narratives and not feel guilty about objectivity as subjectivity is welcomed.

Moreover, these values also mirror the research approach endorsed by CRT scholars such as Solórzano and Yosso (2015), who maintain that using narratives and stories adds realism, especially for individuals who have not experienced the oppression of racism. Furthermore, others (Somekh and Lewin, 2011) have suggested that methodologies like narrative are ‘powerful’ and ‘persuasive’ ways for research to influence education policies.

Although, as mentioned above, I was conscious of my position throughout the research process, specifically in the interviews and the analysis and interpretation of the data, there were challenges, such as my sense that sometimes the participants were telling me what they believed I wanted to hear rather than the truth about their specific experiences. To guard against this, I was careful in the phrasing of my questioning, ensuring it was broad and open. I also used techniques described previously to let stories emerge but, when appropriate, also steered participants back to the research topic. In the pilot interviews, however, I noticed that my responses during the interview were, at times, too eager and enthusiastic, which I felt may have influenced shaping the story. Hence, I guarded against this in future interviews. As previously mentioned, I draw comfort from the fact that according to qualitative scholars such as Gubrium and Holstein, it is difficult to manipulate participants' stories.

Another issue was my positionality during the process of **analysing** and discussing the data in order to determine the meaning of the findings. Sometimes, I lapsed in interpreting the data and began to treat the women's stories as facts. Periodically, I would forget that the women's narratives are constructed performances (Jacobsen, 2015) that tellers shape to achieve something. Riessman (2016) states that their narrative performance is ‘enacted in an immediate discursive context – for an audience’. I think these slips relate to the fact that I empathised strongly with many of the events in their stories because I had been through similar events that evoked similar feelings described by some of these women. To enhance the trustworthiness of the data analysis, I had to keep in mind that I was working with accounts that these women had given me. It was their interpretation of these events. I also endeavoured to find alternative explanations based on features in the text. I ensured audiences were provided with enough data to interpret it as readers. According to Riessman (2008), this is also ‘part of the interpretive process’ because, as part of the audience, they too may have an alternative interpretation.

To enhance trustworthiness and address the challenges posed by my position as a fellow black minoritised female, Riessman (2008, 1993) recommends the use of processes that facilitate transparency and visibility. To that end, the researcher should try to be persuasive by, for example, selecting verbatim data that supports interpretation and conclusions drawn and providing sufficient data so an audience can also draw their conclusions. Furthermore, as discussed previously, reflexivity allows the researcher's thoughts to influence the

research without diminishing the focus on the participants and the topic under investigation.

Reflecting on my role in the study, I believe my positionality positively impacted the research process. My unique perspective allowed me to bring valuable insights to the table but also required me to navigate potential biases and limitations. Nevertheless, I am confident that my participation contributed to a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of my participants.

Summary

Narratives are essential for understanding the human experience and for effective conversations and productive engagements. This is why researchers are drawn to this methodology. Using a dialogic/performance analysis method will produce rich and insightful data, illuminating the feelings and experiences of nurse academics in HEIs, the culture of these institutions, and the intersection of social oppression, such as racism, gender, class, and migrant status.

This methodology will allow for in-depth data interrogation and address other dimensions, including identity construction. It will analyse elements such as narrative scenes, the positions of participants and characters, the audience, and the grammatical content of the scenes. This will shed light on how the preferred identities of participants are shaped. Additionally, this methodology will provide an interpretation of the data from the perspective of those involved, giving participants a voice. It will also consider the socio-political context of the countries the participants are from, offering insight into stories of their early family life and how it contributes to their identity performance. Lastly, it will highlight the temporal aspects of the data, which will help determine the participants' quality of experience over time, viewed as a narrative.

Chapter 4. Findings

Introduction

This chapter will set out a dialogic/performance approach to data analysis. I have organised this analysis around three strong themes I identified in the participants' data regarding the experiences of black minoritised nurse academics in higher education. These themes are presented in three sections: **Section 1** will comprehensively address the various forms of racism encountered, including racial microaggressions and institutional racism, as well as the intersection of other social categories such as ethnicity, gender, migrant status, and class in the participants' experience of academia. Finally, in this section, I will present a significant theme that I identified in the data: the adverse impact of racism and its intersection with other oppressions on the emotional well-being of participants. **Section 2** will examine the role of allies in the progression and development of the participants. **Section 3** will explore subsidiary themes, such as the influence of nursing department culture and migrant status on participants' experiences.

In Chapter 3, I described using a qualitative categorical approach in the initial stage of my thesis data analysis (Figure 3.3), followed by a dialogic/performance approach (Riessman, 2008). I provided examples of how the dialogic/performance approach illustrated themes. I shared excerpts that demonstrated performative features and themes of interest through dialogic/performance analysis. The stories presented in this chapter (Sections 1-3) will show verbal and nonverbal communication, providing insight into the participants' thoughts and emotions. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the participants' data will be presented using a modified version of Gee's (2014) transcription format. The specific aspects will be organised into stanzas and grouped into scenes that emphasise significant words/phrases related to the concept of interest, with annotations for noteworthy sections. A brief overview of each participant's biography will be included in Table 4.1.

Biographies

Table 4.1a: Biography of Participants.

Name and Interview Length	Biographical Details
Dee. 2 hours.	Dee is a 62-year-old black minoritised senior lecturer working at a university in South East England. She is originally from a country on the northern mainland of South America but migrated to England in the late 1970s , following a communist coup d'état, to undertake nurse training. At the time of the interview, Dee had been working at her current HEI for over 12 years and had just successfully achieved her PhD at another institution. Dee's story is a struggle to be recognised, valued, and progress within academia.
Meg* 2 hours.	Meg is a retired professor of nursing in her 60s, with a dual African-Irish heritage. Her childhood was turbulent and chaotic, with early years spent in a mother-and-baby unit, followed by nine years in a convent, and then living with different maternal relatives during her teenage years. Although there were happy memories, she sometimes felt lonely and othered and realised it was because ' <i>my skin colour was different</i> '. Inspired by her favourite nun, Meg pursued a nursing career with a passion evident throughout her narrative. She began her nurse training in the mid-1960s, developed a strong research background, and enjoyed a long and distinguished career in the NHS and academia. In the late 1990s, she became a professor of nursing and has been recognised and honoured for her significant contributions to the nursing profession.
Samantha 2 hours.	Samantha is a black female Professor of nursing born in the UK and of Afro-Caribbean descent. At the time of the interview, she worked in a post-1992 HEI in the north of England. Samantha completed her nurse training at a Russell Group university after turning down a scholarship to complete medical training in the UK. She has a research background and has worked in Russell Group and post-1992 institutions. Despite her prominent position, she remains closely connected with the student body, advocating for student nurses and serving as an inspirational role model to colleagues in her institution and beyond.
Cathy. 2 hours.	Cathy is an experienced Afro-Caribbean senior lecturer who has worked in several post-1992 HEIs in central England and who endured several years suffered significant racialised bullying at her first post within academia. Since qualifying at the end of the 1980s, Cathy worked in the NHS for 15 years, leaving her ward manager's role and entering academia as a senior lecturer in the mid-2000s. After qualifying, Cathy undertook a range of continuous professional development and academic programmes and finally obtained a doctorate in the late 2010s. At the time of the interview, Cathy had been working at her current institution for over four years and, overall, was enjoying the experience. However, there were inferences of exasperation due to her lack of progression within the institution.
Vanita. 1.5 hours.	Vanita is an Asian senior lecturer in her late 50s who has been working in a post-1992 university in South East England for the last 12 years. After qualifying as a nurse in her country of birth in 1980, Vanita completed many courses related to her clinical speciality and other continuous professional development courses, including two master's degrees and a diploma in teaching. Indeed, this preoccupation with education, professional self-development, and a strong work ethic seems to signal the projection of her identity. Vanita's story is, in many ways, a migrant story. Like many other overseas nurses, she grew up in a post-colonial country with an ingrained racial hierarchical system and lived there for the first 19 years of her life.

Table 4.1b: Biography of Participants.

Name and Interview Length	Biographical Details
Lavinia 2 hours.	Lavinia is an Afro-Caribbean nursing professor who moved to the UK in the 1970s to train as a nurse. She comes from a middle-class family and is privately educated with professional siblings, including a sister with a doctorate in genetics. Lavinia has had a successful career as a nurse, holding senior positions in the NHS and academia, and has published widely. She currently lives in the north of England with her husband and children
Pearl 2.5 hours.	Pearl is an experienced black female academic born in the UK and of Jamaican descent. At the time of the interview, she was in her mid-fifties and working at her second HEI in the south of England. Pearl quickly rose to a prominent position in the clinical setting and then transitioned to higher education as a senior lecturer. Her story reflects the challenges she faced due to the intersection of oppression (ethnicity, race, and gender) in both HEIs as she tried to develop and progress in her career. In the early part of her career, Pearl discusses how she attempted to navigate discrimination. However, as her narrative progresses, she reveals the discrimination she had to confront. Pearl's crafted identity per-formance portrays her as a bold, intelligent, independent, self-assured, and capable black woman unafraid to challenge power abuse.
Pam 1.5 hours.	Pam is a 49-year-old nursing professor with a dual heritage. She works in the North of the UK and strongly identifies with her parents' ethnicities (white and Arabic). She identifies as British but refuses to be placed in a black or white grouping. Despite the challenges of her dual heritage, Pam asserts her individuality against essentialism throughout her narrative. Although she has worked in HEIs in other parts of the UK, she now lives and works in the place of her birth. Since returning, Pam has rapidly progressed within her current institution to the point where she is at the pinnacle of her academic career. Pam attributes her rapid escalation to hard work and developing sustained networks that included some powerful allies. I would argue that it was also due to her ability to navigate the system successfully.
Meryl 2 hours.	Meryl is a senior lecturer in her mid-forties working in a post-1992 university and a devout Christian forced by an overbearing father to migrate to England from Southern Africa at 18. Her self-construction within this narrative is that of a confident, determined individual who has had to overcome many personal challenges, including forced migration to England, time spent in domestic servitude, and assuming financial re-sponsibility for her family in Africa in her journey to becoming a nurse. At the time of the interview, Meryl was completing a PhD pro-gramme of study.
Marvel 1.2 hours.	Marvel has been an Associate Professor at Russell Group University for 22 years. At the time of the interview, she is completing a DProf. Marvel presents herself as a young Caribbean teenager who immigrated to England to pursue a nursing career due to economic reasons and immediate employment opportunities. After her nursing degree, Marvel obtained a postgraduate degree in global and economic issues. She then secured a research position and later became a lecturer at her current university in northern England. Her story indicates that she had a positive experience in HEIs and did not face any barriers to career progression or personal racialised experiences.
Byron 2 hours.	Byron , a senior lecturer of 20 years in the South East of England, was the sole male participant in the study. He is a well-educated African migrant with a BA and master's degree who completed his nursing training in the UK. Although nursing was not his first choice, his early career trajectory conveyed a sense of agency and determination. Within five years, he moved from qualifying as a nurse to being promoted to ward manager and then to a lecturer in HE. His career stagnated after completing another MSc and becoming a senior lecturer. However, he attributed this to his age and his love of teaching, not to discrimination. Further, although he readily acknowledges discriminatory behaviour towards him from students, there was no acknowledgement of experiencing any form of personal or institutional racism from his HEI or colleagues.

Section 1. Forms of Racism

Theme 1. Racial microaggressions

The participants involved in this thesis (Tables 4.1a and 4.1b) all reported experiencing racism, whether overt or covert, at some point in their lives. However, their interview data also clearly shows that the majority faced interpersonal racism in the form of microaggressions and institutional racism within academia.

Chapter 2 discussed the concept of microaggression. All participants shared strong descriptions of racial microaggressions, even those who struggled to recognise their encounters with racism in HEIs. Due to the substantial number of descriptions and the interconnected nature of the categories in the literature, it was relatively straightforward to organise and categorise these microaggressions based on the existing literature (Chapters 2 and 5).

In this section, I will analyse examples of microaggressions arising from the participants' narratives in this thesis. Moreover, I examine cases of institutional racism and elaborate on how the combination of social classifications, such as racism, gender, socioeconomic status, and migrant status, impacts individuals' encounters in HEIs.

Types of Microaggressions Experienced

Pathologising differences/Denigrating and Pigeonholing

In this excerpt, Dee, a senior lecturer with over 12 years of experience at her current institution, shares a negative experience with her PhD supervisors. She encountered instances of perceived racism and other negative interactions. Dee effectively resolved these issues by finding new supervisors at another institution and completing her PhD while working full-time.

Excerpt 1: Dee

Scene 1. Othering

- 1 I started it [PhD] here
2 and the **woman who was supervising me ... was Jewish,**
3 she was **very racist.**
4 She actually asked me if **I came to England on a banana boat**
[laughter] ...

Perception of
racism

Racial
Microaggression

Scene 2. Pejorative view (of nursing professionals)

- 5 It was myself and an English nurse we both **'got the treatment'**
6 so **I think it more about us being nurses not having the**
capability or ability to do it
7 and what had happened ... They basically told her, this friend of
mine, that she had failed and that she couldn't continue.
8 When that happened to her **I thought they were going to do the**
same with me.
9 Umm So I decided ... **look somewhere else to do it ...**

Microaggressions.
(Stereotyping
Nurses)

Agentic
positionality

Scene 3. Implication intelligence depends on race

- 10 we had to do chapters and I had written the chapter ... for this
person to look at –
11 one of the supervisor she was much nicer than the other one
[Jewish supervisor]
12 and she looked at it she said **"oh this is a really good piece of**
work. Did you write this?"
13 And I went yes. **"Who else would have written it.?"**
14 She said "it is really good." She said "erm, oh, I think you will be fine
here"
15 and I turned round and said **"no I won't be fine as I have just**
resigned from your PhD programme" ... "we never told you that
you couldn't continue"
16 I said "but I can't get the supervision that I need so **I am going**
elsewhere". ... and I never look back ... I did it in a very short time
just over 4 years ...

(Ascription of
intelligence)

Annoyance

Empowerment
Shift in power
relationships.

Agentic - active
verbs.

Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

The supervisor's words at the beginning of this story could be interpreted in several ways, as the narrator did not provide much context except to repeat the comments made by the supervisor [white](L:4). I would argue that the use of the word 'banana' in this context is an example of an overtly racist comment because the perpetrator is inferring that the victim resembles an ape or a monkey and, by implication, is less than human. In short, it is a deliberate disparaging remark. Indeed, the use of simianisation as a racist slur against

people of colour has been peddled in the literature for centuries and is still a very common racist provocation. Even though microaggressions are context-dependent (Williams, 2020a), at best, it could be interpreted as an unconscious microinsult if the context was a discussion of how Dee arrived in the UK. Outside of such context, it seems premeditated and intended to hurt. Nonetheless, regardless of the interpretation, the comment is insensitive and demeaning to Dee's racial identity (Table 4.2). Dee's response suggests that as the recipient of the remark, she was not impervious to its effect. Indeed, her response indicates that she was clearly insulted by the remarks and interpreted them as racist slurs (L:3 and 13/15).

One could argue that the comment by the second supervisor [white] inferring she was not the author of the chapter is an unintentional microinsult; nevertheless, regardless of intentionality, the remark remains insensitive and harmful and perpetuates stereotypes; the racism is compounded by the linking of 'banana' and the questioning of Dee's authorship (L:10-13). Dee's reaction also indicates annoyance because she is acutely aware that this is a racialised experience with the subliminal message that, as a person of colour, her ability and intelligence are being questioned. Furthermore, both supervisors' behaviour also suggests a certain arrogance that comes with whiteness and class privilege. If they were to reflect on the privileges they have as a white person, this would lead to an examination of their potential biases, which would include using language that perpetuates the negative racial stereotypes evoked in their comments.

This story is interesting because Dee's comments about the attitudes of the supervisors, whom she implies do not have a nursing background (although the data does not explicitly state this), suggest that this story not only illustrates racial microaggressions but also microaggression directed at both Dee and her friend [white ethnicity] because they are both nurses (L:5-8). Dee states, '*We got the treatment*'; the rationale for making this remark is not apparent from the data. However, Dee's follow-up statement (Line 6) suggests that these supervisors condescended and patronised the nurses' ability to complete a doctorate. Another interesting aspect of this story is that Dee's comments about her supervisor being 'Jewish'(L:2) reveal that Dee may be perpetuating racial stereotypes while also discussing the racism she is experiencing.

To some degree, this story also illustrates the unequal power relationship between supervisors and supervisees. Indeed, supervisors have enormous powers as gatekeepers to the success of PhD students, specifically black minoritised students. Here, Dee initially puts the supervisors in positions of power. So, the supervisor appears emboldened to use racist language towards Dee with impunity. This licence to do so probably emanates from, as Bhopal (2018) frames it, the 'institutional whiteness' of all HEI. Indeed, in another section of the narrative, Dee characterised her HEI as 'A white supremacy middle-class university', so I believe Dee is aware of this power relationship, although she does not articulate it.

Given the power differentials, the audience would assume that Dee's positionality in this scene would be that of a victim. However, for most of the story, she positions herself to the characters in the scenes (supervisors) and the audience, not as a victim of racism but as

agentic with the power to initiate change (“... as I have just resigned from your PhD programme... I am going elsewhere”). Dee relishes telling her supervisor that she was ‘resigning’ from the PhD programme, having made alternative supervisory arrangements at another HEI. So, except for a short section where she reveals some vulnerability (“I thought they were going to do the same with me...”), she positions herself as confident, defiant and in control. This, I believe, is how Dee wants to be identified (“I may even come across over to you as a strong person. I am very strong emotionally Umm ... I am very rebellious.”). So, throughout the narrative, her position shifts from victim to agentic role. She wants to portray the predominant identity of a strong, stoic, and proactive black woman who always fights back and uses strategies to overcome perceived injustices. These strategies include seeking external support to complete her PhD due to lack of support from her HEI, as illustrated in the excerpt above and forming a support group with other black minoritised academics within the organisation who have experienced racism.

Experiencing Invisibility and Exclusion/Denigrating and Pigeonholing

In this excerpt, Meg has just been appointed dean of the nursing faculty, and her manager shows her around the university. The excerpt tells the story of a high-profile white male academic mistakenly identifying Meg as a student.

Excerpt 2: Meg

Scene 1. Rendering invisible

- 1 [Pause] I **must** [Emphasises] tell you one story
2 [Impromptu departure from topic under discussion]
3 when I first went to [name of] University
4 I was being shown around – so I was dean ...
5 I was being shown around the University by the dean of another faculty...
6 and she was just about to introduce me to somebody high up and a **male, white** 'I'm just saying this.' - in a rush – 'ooh, hello, are you enjoying your studies here?' Oh, dear, hello, hello, hello ...

'modal verb 'must'
signposting
importance of
story.

Microaggressions.
(context -rendering
invisible)
Emphasis on male
and white intersec-
tionality-gendered
racism

Scene 2. Loneliness

Interviewer: Did you feel alone?

- 7 **Sometimes I did**, [feel lonely] sometimes at the University when I was the **only Black Dean**, I was the **only Black Professor**. I don't know if there were any other Professors all the time I was there – yeah, there was, there was somebody who came in another Faculty, not in Nursing.
8 **And as a woman in a male dominated environments** – and that's when I saw it.

Sense of isolation
Positionality
-victim (Passive
role)

Scene 3. Coping strategies

- 9 if anybody asks me, what I do when **get down**.
10 I might **read a book** ... listen to **music**; go for a **walk**;
11 **over-eat occasionally**;
12 so that's not healthy but I get comfort in food ... **contact somebody** I can have a chat with... watch something funny on TV,
13 So I am a half-full glass –...otherwise, you get dragged down into the misery of depression...
14 ... think, ok, what am I going to do –...but occasionally, I've been overwhelmed with issues and can't sleep, so I try everything, lavender –
15 **So I'm a problem solver**; I don't like things,
16 I will... focus or **find somebody who can help me**

Positionality -
vulnerability,
victim
Patriarchy

Coping
[Resilience]
Positionality –
(agentic).
'taking back
control'

Key: **Significant phrases.** **Interpretation.** **Interviewer's comments.**

Meg opens scene 1 with the modal verb 'must', signposting the importance that she places on the story she is about to tell the audience. Notice that she deliberately identifies the gender (male) in addition to the race of the antagonist in this scene (L:6). The presumptuous throwaway comment ('ooh, hello, are you enjoying your studies here?') made by this high-ranking white male academic in a position of power seems innocuous. However, it is an example of the subtle form of racism commonly reported by people of colour working in academia and other institutions (Bhopal, 2015a). Here is a black woman who can only be designated as a 'student' studying at his institution. The comment made by the white male

in this story, at face value, appears harmless to those who will never experience this form of racial microaggression (Exclusion and rendering invisible-Table 4.2). However, to minoritised groups, it is hurtful and damaging and communicates exclusion - the 'Outsider within' (Collins, 1986). For black minoritised female academics, the reaction also compounds daily exposure to microaggressions and a pervasive sense of invisibility.

Meg's story provides insight into her experience as a black female working within academia in a nursing department. The interaction with the white male academic is not only a classic example of racial microaggression and a shared experience of many black academics working within HE (Mena, and Vaccaro 2017) but also reflects gendered racism. Meg's utterances and emphasis on the perpetrator's gender lend credibility to this standpoint. Elsewhere within the interview data, Meg provides examples of other gendered racialised experiences illustrating the intersection of these social identities, such as the differential between her pay and that of male professors within the university at the same level and with similar experience as herself, as the following extract illustrates.

'Well, well, well, it was another professor who pointed out that my pay rate was much lower than the other professors...it took me two years to get higher up, and I don't think I ever got to the highest rate that they were on. So, there was that, I mean, it was every which way [gendered racism]. I mean, ..., it's not that I take it for granted; it's there, and you deal with, you know, fight the battles that you want to fight ...'

In scene two, Meg conveys a feeling of isolation when she describes the experience of being lonely as a black woman in a predominantly patriarchal white environment ("Sometimes I did feel lonely... I was the only black Dean... as a woman in a male-dominated environment"). This suggests that exclusionary mechanisms by white colleagues (Rollock, 2019) may be at play.

In scene three, Meg's role as a victim changes as she becomes more active, demonstrating activism and optimism while employing various coping strategies to gain control. This shift is significant because the process of exclusion can lead to feelings of isolation, which is a symptom of persistent exposure to racism. This is possibly compounded by Meg's history of continual exposure to overt racism while growing up in the UK in the 1960s as a mixed-heritage black woman. As discussed previously, such history and experiences can manifest in racial trauma (Carter, 2007). See Chapter 2.

Experiencing Invisibility and Exclusion (Passed over for promotion)

Like other participants, such as Dee and Cathy, Samantha described being denied a promotion to senior lecturer despite meeting all the stated criteria and receiving encouragement from her head of department (HoD) to apply for the position. What is interesting, however, is that although she was initially sceptical about the reasons for being rejected, she appeared to be persuaded that the panel's decision was right and that there was no element of discrimination.

Excerpt 3: Samantha

Scene 1. Interviewed for Promotion

- 1 I went for a promotion from... lecturer to... senior lecturer
[Russell group HE]
2 ... I was supported by the department to go for the promotion,
3 but ... was turned down by the panel ...

Passed over for promotion

Scene 2. The Feedback

- 4 the feedback was basically, ...
5 you've not been here long enough [3 years].
6 Well, I kind of said, 'well, here's the criteria, I've fulfilled the criteria',
7 'what else could I do?' And in the end, he said,
8 'well, you've not been here very long and you know, we really want to see people who've been here a bit longer' – that was one of the things.
9 And the other thing was, 'I notice from all your publications that they're all single author,' and I said,
10 'yes' and he said 'what does that tell you?' I said, 'well it doesn't tell me anything! It tells you that I did all the work myself'
11 and he said ... – and this is something I hadn't grasped at the time – he said,
12 'yeah but we need proof that you can also work in a team; you can also produce in a team'.
13 Now I think, I thought that that was an excuse for not offering a promotion,

Samantha Fighting back

Positioning of male interviewer→power

Spurious rationale

Samantha-agentic position

Agreement with panel

Scene 3. Implication intelligence depends on race

- 14 but when I went back and spoke to a couple of my friends who are mentors,
15 what I realised was when I looked at other people's CVs, there was a mixture of single and group author,
16 and I, up to that point, I think I was mainly, in terms of an academic sense, I ... mainly worked by myself.

Denial of microaggression/ institutional racism.

Passed over for promotion

Scene 4. Promoted at another HEI

- 17 And so, I made the decision that what I needed to do was to develop much more academic networks ...
18 So, at that point, I decided I was going to leave [name] –
19 I decided it didn't really fit with me and, actually ... because my interest was in health and equalities at the time, ... of course... and got a post as principal research fellow
20 ... [name of new HEI] was a completely different kettle of fish in terms of diversity and equality [laughs]
21 and it fitted me like a glove!

Strengthening social capital

Decisive action
Resilience
(Activism)

Resolution

Implies exclusion mechanisms at play

Finds inclusiveness

Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

Upon closer examination of scene two, Samantha's comments suggest that there was evidence of racial microaggression (Excluding and rendering someone invisible-Table 4.2) and bias. She met all the criteria, and her HoD supported the application. Furthermore, the male panellist's reasoning for rejection was weak and tenuous, citing a lack of joint publications and a short tenure.

In scene two, even though the male panellist is in a position of power (the power to reject her application), Her positionality is not one of a victim. Instead, she confidently and robustly responds to his reasons for rejecting her application. Her reactions in this scene indicate that she perceived some level of bias. However, in scene 3, after discussing the outcome with her colleagues, she changes her stance. She wholeheartedly accepts the panel's feedback, deciding to strengthen her social capital by nurturing more academic networks. Acceptance of the panel's decision leaves the audience to infer that Samantha denies any form of bias in the decision-making process. Later in her story, she realises that these additional requirements were simply part of the culture at that institution, which, I would argue, is itself discriminatory.

In scenes two and three, it is evident that there is a desire to defend the institution and a reluctance to acknowledge any form of racial discrimination. However, it is interesting that shortly after, Samantha moved to a more senior role as a principal research fellow at another institution. This could suggest that she recognised some unfairness in the panel's decision-making process but chose not to reveal it. Additionally, in scene 4, Samantha mentioned that the university did not really 'fit' with her, but she did not elaborate on this point. As a result, the audience can only speculate that she was referring to the university's culture. She then emphasised that the new HEI (Post-1992) suited her perfectly ('it fitted me like a glove.') regarding diversity and equality. While there is limited information in these scenes, it is possible that Samantha was implying that the Russell Group university she left had a discriminatory and exclusionary culture. Her comments in the latter part of the segment suggest a reluctance to entertain the idea that she may have been the subject of racial microaggressions. Recent studies have indicated that black academics are hesitant to attribute the marginalisation they experience in academia to racism (Bhopal, 2014, 2016).

In scene 4, Samantha decides to leave the institution a few months after being rejected by the panel. In this scene, Samantha is portrayed as proactive, regaining control over events by focusing on her goal and taking prompt and decisive actions. I believe Samantha's confidence was bolstered by her substantial cultural capital which included having a PhD and three years of experience in research and teaching.

Experiencing Invisibility and Exclusion (Passed over for promotion)

Cathy is an experienced Afro-Caribbean senior lecturer who has worked in several post-1992 HEIs in central England and endured several years of racial discrimination in her first academic post. The excerpt below, however, describes experiences at her second HEI.

Excerpt 4: Cathy

Scene 1. Frustration -being held back

- 1 ... so I'm not being used to my full potential, so **I don't feel fulfilled**
 2 ... I'm very qualified and **I'm very experienced and I just don't think I'm being used to my full potential and that's the truth,**

Microaggression.
 Exclusion.
 Fatigue and frustration.
 Passive positionality.

Scene 2. Taking action

- 3 so **I've actually started looking for another job**
 4 because I'm thinking, you know what, I'm more than capable,
 5 and **if I just sit back and let them believe that I'm not gonna fight**
 – how do I put this – I'm more than capable
 6 but I'm not gonna sit back and say, they don't want to promote me
 so therefore, **I'm [not] just going to stay here.**
 7 **I'm not going to do that; I'm going to move on ...**
 8 I've applied for this PL[*Principle lecturer*] post and other people have
 applied ... because **I said I know that I'm capable; you all know that I'm capable. You all know that I'm capable. You all know that I'm capable, so why?** [*Not progressing*] ...

Activism
 Agentic positionality

Fatigue and frustration

Scene 3. Hindering progression

- 9 **The thing is they've got their favourites**
 10 because one of my colleagues [*black*] has been running the foundation degrees for about 2 years
 11 and she came to see me and **she was really upset**, and I said 'what's the matter?',
 12 and she said last year, I was going to apply for an increment
 13 and [*manager's name - white*] said to her, '**don't apply for the increment because you're leading the team, so I think when the principal lecturer's post comes out, you should apply for it, cause there's no reason why you can't get it**'.
 14 So she didn't apply for the increment and [*now*] she's not eligible to apply for the principal lecturer's post because you have to reach a certain level and grade,
 15 so she's [*colleague*] really upset about that. She was really upset about it...

Cronyism/
 homosociality

'racism hidden through smiles'

Strategy to hinder progression -in a nice/subtle way.
 'Smiling racism'

Key: **Significant phrases.** Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

Cathy is realistic about the chances of promotion beyond a senior lecturer role. In scene one, she makes the audience fully aware of her confidence in her own capabilities (L:1 - 8) and cognisance that she is not being stretched to her full potential (Excluding and rendering invisible Table 4.2). Her narrative suggests frustration and fatigue. (L:1-2). In scene two, she has already considered applying elsewhere, demonstrating agency and control over her career trajectory. Indeed, despite a strong belief in herself and her abilities, her utterances indicate that she has little confidence in the institution, thus displaying significant doubts about successful promotion. Furthermore, seeing other capable black colleagues denied promotion has likely strengthened these doubts. In scene three, Cathy describes a colleague

whose application for promotion, her utterances suggest, was sabotaged, in other words, deliberately thwarted. Secondly, Cathy's utterances within the narrative imply and support the perception that, on one level, she also sees herself as an outsider ('The thing is they've got their favourites L: 1-2/L:9).

Cathy's frustration is evident in scene two as she questions why she has not been chosen for a position despite her capabilities ('You all know that I'm capable, so why?'). This suggests that she may have been rejected for previous roles due to marginalisation. Cathy is also considering alternative plans ('I've applied for this PL [Principal lecturer] post') if she does not secure her recently applied position. While there is not enough evidence in this segment to confirm cronyism in the department, there are indications, such as Cathy's colleague's failed attempt to secure a position (Scene 3) and Cathy's reference to "favourites". These signs lead to the inference of microaggressions, cronyism, and cliques within the department.

Cathy's positionality in this segment is fluid; in some scenes, she positions herself as agentic (scene 2) in control of events or portrays characters within the excerpt as calculating and manipulative (scene 3), subtly hindering the progression of other black female academics. In other scenes, as the victim (e.g. scene 1), because the institution is depicted as wielding power, Cathy positions herself as the passive agent. According to Riessman (2008), these social positions within a narrative are enacted for an audience to accomplish something. Perhaps, by shaping the narrative this way, she wanted to evoke sympathy or empathy from the audience. Indeed, reading this excerpt made me feel empathy for her situation.

Cathy's frustration and fatigue were common threads, both implicitly and explicitly, in the narratives of many participants in this thesis as they struggled to progress in HEIs. For example, this fatigue and frustration was graphically illustrated in several sections of Dee's interview narrative:

'I went into nursing and that's when I began to see it [discrimination]. That even though you may have had all these qualifications and experience and you are good at your job. ... they used to tell me how good I was at teaching. ... I still didn't get on. I still couldn't get on. And ... I was at [HEI] ... 10–12 years. I acted as a principal lecturer [PL] ... but when I applied for the job somebody else always got the job. I didn't have enough experience in one area; I didn't have this; I didn't have that. So, I was always refused if you like the openings ... They said I didn't have enough management experience ... that's why I didn't get the PL job for I acted in it for a while. So, I decided to do a postgraduate course in management ... I even went and got experience as a ... community mental health manager ... but that still wasn't enough and I think that was the time when I decided enough was enough and I did get involved with the unions ...'

The way Dee shapes this part of her story suggests that there may have been unfair treatment towards her, leading her to turn to the unions for assistance. However, it is unclear if discrimination was the reason for her rejection. Nonetheless, Dee's qualifications, experience, and commendable performance were insufficient to facilitate promotion. Despite 'acting up' for roles she had applied for, she was still passed over for the positions.

What matters most, however, is Dee's interpretation of the situation as a racial event, how it affected her, and its impact on her future decisions. The specific details of the events are not as important. Ultimately, Dee continues to perceive the situation as an instance of racism(Williams, 2020a). Even when individuals went on to complete relevant courses or gain relevant experience that they were told they were lacking, they were still often refused promotion.

Strong Belief in Meritocracy - Internalised Racism

The scene opens with Vanita's statement, implying that people played a significant part in ruining her experience [in HEI] (S1: L 1-2). The narrative does not reveal the 'people' she refers to. Still, she immediately follows on from this statement in scene 1, describing the unrealistic expectations that black and ethnic minoritised colleagues have about promotion in the nursing department. So, the audience is left to infer that the people ruining her experience in HEI are black minoritised female colleagues.

Excerpt 5: Vanita

Scene 1. The people you work with

- 1 I think in nursing, **it's not the job itself, it's the people you work with**
2 who make life so miserable, whether in practise or here – the people you work with is terrible.

Referencing black minoritised colleagues.

Interviewer: Are you able to give me any examples – of why is it so terrible?

Unrealistic demands

- 3 **Um some people, the unrealistic demands they make, right?**
4 This is **nothing to do with inequality**,
5 because sometimes, I don't know,
6 **No racism-skin colour is not the issue**
7 **they [White colleagues] never make me feel, it's because of my skin colour or my abilities – no, not because of my skin colour**
8 ... Because, you know, when my BME colleagues when they come and say, **'oh, I applied for this, I applied for that, I didn't get that' then I always tell them, then they always ask me, 'did you apply for it?'**,
9 I say 'no because I'm not ready and I don't think I am capable of that' ...

Black minoritised colleagues - unrealistic demands.

Feels accepted 'insider'

Complaints of bias tiresome

Scene 2. Meritocracy-Problem lies solely with black minoritised colleagues.

- 10 Because sometimes, you've got to recognise your abilities as well,
11 whether you are ready, you can do the job or not, and they say 'oh, compared to that person, I'm equally good, I'm better than them; I can do that' – I say, 'then prove it, ... and **I'm sure you will be given the opportunity.**'
12 They say 'no, they are only there because they are white
13 or they can speak better than me' –
14 I say, 'I do not know, try it; you are equally good, you are born in this country, you speak, you are equally fluent, so what is your problem and you try it.'
15 And they say, they come up with other reasons and I say, I do not know ... **They say it's because they are BME, that's why they didn't get the job** ...
16 now that I'm in post, the BME staff *[are]* pleased; they say 'oh, not so bad' in the whole health and social care, I think I'm the only BME staff *[academic]* in management.

Deficit with black minoritised colleagues.

Interviewer: How do you feel about this?

Key: **Significant phrases.** Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

Feel listened to.		
17	And ... we bring in professional staff [<i>clinical staff</i>], there are only 3 of us sitting there are the two other, professionals, who are also BME ...	Feels accepted and respected. 'insider'
18	and I do not feel I'm outnumbered , because we go there as a nurse	
19	... each time when I go there [<i>senior management meetings</i>], nobody makes me feel uncomfortable	
20	... my opinions are respected as well , so I do not feel indifferent when I go to senior management meetings. Our Dean is quite good, she listens to everybody. <i>Interviewer: any involvement in supporting</i>	Denial of 'White privilege'
Scene 3. Staunch support of HEI		
21	'... I heard that, [<i>a</i>] person is launching a complaint against this particular person – sexism and racism... my own personal opinion ...the university is so scared to challenge any kind of [<i>Racism</i>] – the policies are very clear; if they have taken the last case to task, the university would have won the case. It's because 'they [black and ethnic minority colleagues]/[Colleague who complain of discrimination] play on the 'racist card,'...[the university] They are very fair.	View of her HEI Fair, meritocratic and just.
22	I think the policies are very transparent and the process is even more transparent	Distancing from black minoritised colleagues.
23	to support and help this person in many ways.	Loyalty to HEI
Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.		

Vanita states that these colleagues [Afro-Caribbeans] apply for promotion prematurely without having achieved the necessary qualifications or experience, and she seems certain they are not taking responsibility for preparing themselves (Scene 1 L: 3-15). She seems eager to blame black minoritised academics for failing to progress in what her utterances suggest is a fair and equitable system of promotion. Towards the end of scene 2 (L:16), Vanita declares that she is the only minoritised academic staff member who is part of the management team and portrays herself as someone accepted by her peers and has never experienced racial microaggressions from her colleagues (S2: L17-20).

In a society where the dominant group is white, black minoritised groups may encounter challenges due to the existence of white privilege. This undermines the idea of meritocracy, where success is based on individual achievements and talents. Studies by Williams, Ching and Gallo (2021), Williams et al. (2020a) and Hall and Fields (2015) have identified a type of racial microaggression known as the 'myth of meritocracy' or 'perpetuating colour-blind racial attitudes' (Table 4.2). This occurs when individuals claim that success is solely based on individual effort and not affected by race, denying the reality of white privilege. This privilege has been shown to impact the opportunities and experiences of black minoritised groups negatively.

The excerpt from Vanita's interview transcript is intriguing because her statements suggest internalised racism (Johnson and Holloway-Friesen, 2011; Pyke, 2010; Williams, 2020a) and a strong belief in meritocracy. Vanita, the sole Asian participant in the study, has mostly

enjoyed her academic experience but has faced challenges in advancing despite having numerous qualifications, consistently receiving excellent feedback on her courses, and possessing 12 years of experience at her current HEI. After an unsuccessful application, she recently obtained a management role as a team lead in her department. This was her second application for the position. Still, as revealed in other sections of her narrative, she seemed disappointed ('it is just a lateral progression that's all. It's just lateral movement.') that it was only an added role as there was no incremental increase in pay or position-she remains a senior lecturer.

In scene 1 (L:6), Vanita clarifies to the audience (me and the wider audience) that she has not been discriminated against. This claim serves to weaken the discrimination arguments put forward by her black minoritised colleagues (Scene 1-2). Furthermore, although the question of racial microaggression was not put directly to Vanita, the audience must infer from her utterances in scenes 1 to 3 ('I do not feel I'm outnumbered' 'nobody makes me feel uncomfortable' 'my opinions are respected') of how inclusive she was made to feel (Line 19-20), within an all-white space that she did not experience any subtle and insidious form of racism. Indeed, following securing her new role, she stated in another part of her narrative 'I am one of them now'.

In this excerpt, she also appears to distance herself from her colleagues, utilising pronouns when referring to them ('I'm talking about this now, my [my italics] black minoritised colleagues ... when they [my italics] come and say'). It may be to let the audience know there is a difference between her and them – she has achieved her title on merit. She will not put herself in a position where she will fail ('I say "no because I'm not ready and I don't think I am capable of that", ... Because sometimes, you've got to recognise your abilities'). Alternatively, she may not want to be identified with a marginalised group because she does not feel marginalised. Certainly, as mentioned above, she implies that she is accepted and not othered in a white space (L:17-20).

Initially, Vanita positions herself as someone willing to listen to her colleagues but also as someone who finds their complaints somewhat tiresome (Scene 1 L 8: 'Oh I applied for this, I applied for that, I didn't get that'). In addition, she expresses her scepticism and indifference to her colleagues' claims about being denied opportunities to progress because of the colour of their skin and the inherent advantages afforded to their white colleagues. Her positionality within this excerpt is that of an 'insider', someone who has never experienced personal racism or been the victim of institutional racism within her HEI. Yet there is evidence within this excerpt and other parts of her narrative of institutional and intrapersonal racism. For example, the lack of representation in the faculty (L:16) with a significant proportion of black minoritised students, according to Vanita (environmental microaggression - Sue et al. 2007). Despite positive reports about her performance, Vanita's continuous effort to educate herself and acquire a vast array of relevant qualifications, she struggled to advance her career within this HEI. Her disappointment in the lack of progression is evident in her utterances in other parts of her narrative. For example, when

she finally attained a management role, her response was, "It is just a lateral progression, that's all. It's just lateral movement."

Vanita's preoccupation with education and striving for self-improvement is evident throughout many migrants' stories. It exemplifies her customary way of coping with the world and represents how she constructs her identity (McAdams, 2011), reflecting a form of performance identity in a predominantly white space.

The impression management (Goffman, 1959) utilised in responding to her colleagues (Scene 2. L:10-15) may be because she knows she has to maintain a working relationship with them, and revealing her true feelings would rupture that relationship. Her true feelings may be that not only did she feel these individuals are not good enough to be promoted, but she also firmly embraces meritocracy. Indeed, in the latter part of her narrative, she makes the following statement: 'think we should have minoritised group recognition at all levels ... what I feel is ... I'm not sure there are enough qualified people to achieve that level.' This statement appears to underscore this assumption.

Vanita's belief in meritocracy and loyalty to her institutions throughout her narrative is noticeable, and I believe scene 3 (L:21-23) captures it well. These utterances were in response to a question about the university's fairness in managing a grievance taken out by an ethnic minority colleague of alleged sexism and racism against another colleague. The outcome was a settlement out of court. In scene 3, Vanita portrays the university somewhat idealistically. She positions the institution and the alleged offender as the victim. So quite clearly, she has taken a 'side' even though she stated earlier that she did not know much about the case ('They didn't tell me anything in detail -I don't know...'). Conversely, the accuser is positioned as the aggressor/antagonist. The one who is holding the university to ransom. Vanita staunchly defends the university, insisting their policies are transparent and fair, and the accuser takes advantage of the institution. She goes on to demonise the accuser further by inferring that the accusation was false (Scene 3).

She accused this individual of playing the 'race card'(L:21): 'The university would have won the case. It is because they play on the racist card...' Furthermore, Vanita reiterated several times that the university was, very fair, highlighting its progress and the implementation of many changes, including a range of support structures for all minoritised staff (Scene 3L: 21-23).

In summary, I feel what Vanita wants to convey to the audience is that she is an 'insider', intimating that she has never experienced discrimination from her academic colleagues. However, it is doubtful that as a member of an ethnic minoritised group, she has not been exposed to racial microaggression, and she may well be in denial. Certainly, extensive research into microaggression (Sue et al., 2019; Williams, 2020a) has confirmed that all ethnic minoritised groups are victims of racial microaggressions, even if they are not aware of it because they are unable to recognise it. Finally, according to Williams et al. (2020), by 'embracing' the myth of meritocracy, a form of microaggression, Vanita is denying the

existence of white privilege and asserting that race is inconsequential to success, thus invalidating the life experience of her black minoritised colleagues. Furthermore, she has also absorbed the negative stereotypes held by white people about black minoritised academic groups. Although the reasons for Vanita's standpoint are unclear from the data, it is possible that the foundations of these feelings emanated from historical and cultural origins. More specifically, growing up in a hierarchical post-colonial society (Thum, 2017) where one group sees themselves as an elitist hegemonic group superior to other minority groups fosters a kind of colonial mentality, as depicted so eloquently by Frantz Fanon (Hilton, 2011).

This section provides an in-depth analysis of the microaggressions faced by black female minoritised academics in this thesis (Table 4.2). The overwhelming majority of participants displayed a keen awareness of experiencing these subtle, intentional, and unintentional acts. However, there were a small number of individuals who either lacked awareness or denied being exposed to microaggressions for various reasons. It is worth noting that individuals like Vanita demonstrated microaggressions towards other marginalised groups, possibly due to internalised racism. Extensive research has conclusively demonstrated that microaggressions have a detrimental impact, including lowering self-esteem and confidence, increasing stress levels, and ultimately hindering career advancement (See Racial Trauma section, Chapter 2).

Category	Definition	Examples from Williams et al., 2021	Examples from my participants' narratives in this thesis
Pathologising differences	Rooted in white ideals – this refers to conscious or unconscious attempts to disparage a target's cultural styles, values and practices	'Wow, how did you get so good at science?' to an indigenous student.	'She actually asked me if I came to England on a banana boat.' <i>Dee</i> 'And then, he started personally attacking me in the way I was communicating and gesticulating ... I gesticulate ... he tried to make fun of the fact [that] I gesticulate and how I communicated, so he got personal about me and how I communicated.' <i>Pearl</i>
Denigrating and pigeonholing	This is when perpetrators undermine, confine or romanticise a target's mental capacity, behaviour or appearance due to race.	'The problem with the black community is that the fathers just aren't around.'	'I must tell you one story – when I first went to XXX University, I was being shown around – ... so I was dean [head of nursing department] ... I was being shown around the University by the dean of another faculty ... she was just about to introduce me to somebody high up and a male, white ... , in a rush – "ooh, hello, are you enjoying your studies here?" Oh, dear, hello, hello, hello.' <i>Meg</i> 'oh this is a really good piece of work. Did you write this?' <i>Dee</i>
Excluding or rendering invisible	This reflects communications that negate or nullify targets' experiences of racialisation or promote exclusion. Passed over for promotion.	'I don't think of you as Asian, you just seem like a regular person to me.'	'I'm capable of more ... I'm very qualified and I'm very experienced ... You all know that I'm capable, so why?' <i>Cathy</i> 'all these qualifications and experience and you are good at your job ... I still didn't get on. I still couldn't get on. And ... but when I applied for the job somebody else always got the job.' <i>Dee</i> 'she had a problem with seeing ... black people in positions of power and she struggled to see me as a professor.' <i>Lavinia</i>
Perpetuating colour-blind racial attitudes	This is when perpetrators deny, distort or minimise race and racism in their interactions with people of colour.	'Everyone has an equal chance at success if you work hard enough.'	'some people, the unrealistic demands they make, right? This is nothing to do with inequality ... my BME colleagues ... "oh, I applied for this, I applied for that, I didn't get that" ... you've got to recognise your abilities as well, whether you are ready, you can do the job or not.' <i>Vanita</i> 'Um, he tried to defend it [dean's racism] – again, in the way that white liberals try to defend it ... So he moved it away from that and said about, you know, I don't necessarily think it was ... and he [manager] said 'I don't see colour', God love him.' <i>Pearl</i>

Table 4.2. Simplified typology of racial microaggression. These categories overlap
(Adapted from: Williams et al. 2021, p. 3; Spanierman, Clark and Kim, 202

Intersectionality and Institutional Racism

This section will explore three excerpts demonstrating institutional racism, overlapping social categories (e.g. gender and ethnicity), the effects of continual exposure to racism, and the resilience shown by the individuals in these narratives.

In the following narrative, Lavinia describes a toxic relationship with her assistant researcher. The narrative implies that the assistant disrespected and bullied Lavinia (L:7-10). Her managers were unsupportive; when she complained (L:10), it appeared to compound (L:11-12) the bullying. This caused Lavinia to raise a formal grievance against her line manager (Scene 3). Nevertheless, despite the organisation's portrayal of unfair treatment, Lavinia's utterances imply that she succeeds, to some extent, in extricating herself from a toxic situation (Scene 4). However, the 'telling' of the outcome also implies that these gains came at a cost, resulting in a pyrrhic victory (Scene 6, L: 30: 'one thing it didn't give me, ... was them [the HEI] acknowledging that I was a useful person and that I contributed something...').

Excerpt 1: Lavinia

Scene 1. Optimism and enthusiasm

- 1 I got the job ... I loved the job as a research professor,
- 2 I set up a centre for research and nursing development...

Appointment of research assistant

- 3 I [later] appointed a research assistant [white] ...
- 4 She had a problem with seeing, **like the rest of society of mainstream Britain, people are not used to seeing black people in positions of power**, and she struggled to see me as a ... professor ...

Co-writers on a chapter-mentorship role.

- 5 I wrote a chapter with her in the book and she wanted to be the lead. I am the editor of the book, I brought 50-odd authors together, to write the book and to be a mentor to her, I decided I would get her to write a chapter with me, on Travellers. ... **And she wrote to the RCN saying that she wants her name to be ahead of mine in the book** and the RCN said who are you, we have asked [Lavinia] to write this book.
- 6 She actually didn't understand that organisations have a way of working...' you [referring to the research assistant] may believe because I'm black, you will get away with it,' ... not on this occasion **a white woman wouldn't get away with it over a black woman**. Do you understand? Because, do you see what I mean? [Directed at interviewer who 'nodded' in response]

Bullying Behaviour

- 7 I then got **bullied by the little girl** [research assistant] who I, I call her a little girl ...
- 8 So when I was writing this book, **she decided to give me hell and she used to send these emails which I used to be terrified of opening ... because she was threatening me all the time.**

Cultural racism
Believes and
attitudes about
Microaggression
Denigrating and
pigeonholing.

Undermines
Lavinia's authority.

Upholding stereo-
types of black
women in authority

Racialised bullying

Institutional Bullying

- 9 **So I wrote to them** [*Lavinia's line manager*] saying I'm being harassed by my research assistant, I can't open my emails because she's whinging all the time and telling me I've done her harm and all I've done is try to give her some experience ... **I gave her the material she was doing ...**
- 10 Every day there's an email about what she's going to do to me. ... **but the senior people there took her side and harassed and bullied me** ...
- 11 I wrote to them [*managers*] **saying you're not taking me seriously** and they said, 'of course, we've taken it seriously'
- 12 and they were trying to look at me as the person who was the aggriever [*doing the bullying*] ... They flipped it, they do it all the time ...

Institutional
racism
Unsupportive
manager

Sustained racist
bullying

Scene 2. Emotional impact - Frustration

- 13 **It was bad**, yes it was bad because I'd given up ... I'd left home ... [*husband and children*] ... to work in London ... to become a professor ... I wanted to work really hard and do well ...
- 14 Yes it was **painful** it had to be because I'd given up a lot, to become a professor ... I knew I had a lot to offer the university, and **they wouldn't let me do it.**
- Interviewer: It's a difficult thing to challenge*
- 15 It is difficult to challenge ... I remember having **some very upset days.**
- 16 **I remember my husband saying I'll kill that [Name of Manager] you know, (laughs), because I'd come home and I'd be going on about [Name of Manager] so much.**
- 17 **So all the kids knew about [Stated manager's full name twice], his name, so I must have been upset. But I think the hurtful thing was I really wanted to deliver good work and they didn't want it.**

Dismissed

Emotional impact

Racial trauma

Activism

Scene 3. Grievance against manager 'Racist thug'

- 18 It was bad, yes it was bad [*atmosphere at work*] ... **I took the grievance against** [*name of dean and line manager*] ... because he was allowing her to do all this...He and her were friends ...
- 19 it went to **mediation** and by this time I knew, I had disconnected from the place. I knew I had **a strategy out of there** ...
- Interviewer: Did the grievance work out in your favour?*
- 20 It went to mediation
- 21 But soon after, it kind of frazzled out. I think it worked in my favour. But I mean I don't know what the paperwork would look like. They wanted to go to mediation whereby, work out an arrangement where [*manager's name*] and I would work amicably. But we were never working unamicably, it was just that he was a **racist thug** ...
- 22 they get away with that kind of behaviour [*bullying/racism*] when it suited them and it's the way society works and it wasn't phasing me, but I had to challenge it.

Undesirable self
presentation?

Activism
Challenging
racial bullying

Scene 3. An attempt to resolve the issue

- 23 ... I got my own way, in other words **I got the book chapter,**
- 24 **I took her out,** ... I removed it from the book.
- 25 I turned it round and wrote it [*chapter*] with somebody else...
- 26 ... **and I decided it's time to go now.**

Scene 5. Strategy out: Secondment to another institution

- 27 I knew I had a strategy out of there, ... I wanted to do all the right things first... | **Activism**
- 28 I made sure that I left in a credible way, got the book out, set up the centre... and a PhD [Supervision]. I knew I had to achieve at each stage.
- 29 ... then it was timely approached by the [Name of Government department]. I worked my way into a secondment... I worked part-time at [Name HEI] and part-time with [Government department] ... stayed there for two or three years [Government Department] ... then we ... had to come to an **agreement now about redundancy, because I wasn't doing much at [Name HEI] anymore.** | **Professionalism**

Scene 6. Not valued/No recognition

- 30 I got a lot, it [outcome] gave me everything I wanted [seconded to a government department; higher wage]
- 31 **But ... one thing it didn't give me, one thing that didn't happen was them [HEI] acknowledging that I was a useful person and that I contributed something to [Name of HEI]** | **Pyrrhic victory
No recognition
Invisibility**

Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

The way Lavinia shapes the following story provides a vivid example of how some white colleagues perceive black female academics in positions of power. This supports research evidence (Davidson, 1997; Rollock, 2019; Miller, 2020) demonstrating that even if black women reach the pinnacle of their profession, they are still subjected to institutional racism and treated as if they do not belong. Lavinia's story depicts sustained cultural racism reinforcing institutional racism, leading to signs of emotional distress. Details of how the situation impacted Lavinia psychologically were revealed following questions posed by the interviewer, illustrating that oral narratives are co-constructual and emerge from dynamic conversations with the audience [researcher] and narrator.

Lavinia's utterances strongly suggest institutional racism in that the Dean supported and may have colluded with the research assistant in the discrimination she experienced, which suggests that systemic racism existed within this institution. Furthermore, given that Lavinia filed a grievance against such a high-profile individual (Scene 3), it is not easy to believe that other members of the management team and the executive team were not aware of the situation.

Lavinia's account of her relationship with both the Dean and her research assistant also has features of racist bullying and microassaults in that the narrative implies that their actions, mainly the research assistant, were explicit, conscious and designed to hurt Lavinia's feelings. This form of microaggression, according to researchers in this field, is synonymous with what Sue et al. (2007) refer to as 'old fashioned racism'. Nevertheless, Sue and colleagues also acknowledge that microassaults are often, although not exclusively, carried out more discreetly in 'private' situations, hence the prefix 'micro'. That said, how Lavinia describes the perpetrator's behaviour in this segment implies more deliberate and transparent attacks.

From the beginning of the segment, the characterisation of the two antagonists – the research assistant and the Dean (who is also Lavinia's line manager) is damning. She characterises them using emotive language ('racist thug' 'hurtful' 'painful' 'I'll kill that' 'It was bad, yes it was bad' 'harassed and bullied'), which reveals the passion and emotions that these happenings had on the narrator. She positions them as bullies, and at one point referring to her line manager as a 'racist thug' (L:20), and being ineffectual and unprofessional. The audience is left to infer from her utterances that not only did he fail to follow due process but colluded in and perpetuated systemic bullying. Furthermore, his actions were partisan because he failed to be objective or show any support; instead, he supported someone she describes as 'his friend' [research assistant] (Line:17). These inferences about the manager's behaviour may just be conjecture derived from Lavinia's co-construction of the event because there is undoubtedly a lack of narrative detail, despite my questioning, about the grievance procedure and outcome or perspectives of the research assistant and the Dean. However, what is undisputed is that Lavinia conveys the emotional trauma of these incidents in the visceral and emotive language she uses. There is clear evidence of anger and disappointment throughout the excerpt about the way she was treated and the racial discrimination directed at her.

The language she uses to portray the research assistant is pejorative and dismissive, sometimes referring to her as 'little girl' (Line:7), Characterising her as an inexperienced and naïve individual who does not respect Lavinia's position and authority as a research professor. Lavinia then goes on to support these observations with generalisations about society's attitude towards black women in positions of authority 'she had a problem with seeing, like the rest of society, ... of mainstream Britain, people are not used to seeing black people in positions of power, and she struggled to see me as a professor') (L:4). Lavinia felt it was important for the audience to understand this interpretation, posing a question directly to me: '... do you understand? Do you see what I mean?' Indeed, the literature (Griffin, 1986; Holder, Jackson and Ponterotto., 2015; Rollock, 2019) supports Lavinia's conclusions about the rationale for her research assistant's behaviour. Indeed, Griffin's research demonstrates that due to cultural racism, black female professionals in authoritative positions are often not recognised as authority figures by students or trainees. Their race and gender take precedence over their position. Similarly, Millers's (2020) study on black British female managers revealed that gendered racism significantly hinders the career progression of these women, while their white colleagues do not face the same challenges.

In short, many studies have indicated that cultural racism significantly shapes attitudes towards women, especially black women and other ethnic groups in positions of authority. These attitudes perpetuate harmful racial stereotypes, leading to the marginalisation and lack of respect towards black women and other ethnic groups (Sue et al., 2007; Rollock, 2019; Miller, 2020).

In this excerpt, Lavinia does not hold back from condemning the two antagonists as racist. This contrasts with other racialised incidents that Lavinia disclosed elsewhere in her story. In her response to these, she often takes the moral high ground, responding in an understanding and sympathetic manner and using phrases such as 'I Feeling sorry for them ...'. There is no indication of wanting to understand or any sense of forgiveness here in this excerpt. She wants the audience to be persuaded by her feelings about the two antagonists. This supports Riessman's (2016) observations that the narrator's choice of words is selected to evoke an emotional response and '...share the speaker's point of view'. One could also surmise that it is in this segment that the audience perhaps gets an authentic glimpse into Lavinia's natural emotional reaction to racism - her backstage persona (Goffman, 1959). Phoenix and Brannen (2014) contend that there are many ways that narrators construct identities in narratives, including shaping the narrative through drama. Lavinia's identity in the above excerpt has been shaped through enactment and dramatisation. The telling of her story is dramatised through linguistic features such as direct speech, emotive words, repetition, asides, and verb tenses, all designed to persuade, engage, and bring the story alive.

Lavinia's positioning of herself is fluid illustrated by the fact that there are scenes where she casts herself as vulnerable. For example where she was being bullied and the resulting emotional toll (L: 7-12;13-17). In other scenes she portrays herself as the active agent, initiating and controlling events (Scene 1: L:1-10; Scenes 4 & 5: L:22-29). This is despite her mentee's attempts to undermine her authority by surreptitiously writing to Lavinia's publisher without her knowledge; continuous racialised institutional bullying by her mentee and line manager. It is Lavinia who is cast as the active moral being in these scenes and the one in control of events. Notice how Lavinia places herself at the centre of events, expressing her agency through the use of "I" and verbs to convey her intentional actions, e.g. 'I got the book chapter', 'I turned it around', 'I decided it was time to go' and 'I took her out' (Riessman, 2016).

In other sections, however (e.g., L:10-16; 30), she portrays a passive persona, giving other characters the power to instigate the action. Lavinia's use of verbs such as 'copied', 'behaved', 'model', 'send', 'threatening', and 'gave me hell' cast the assistant as an active agent. So, in these sections, it is the mentee, supported by her manager, who displays the power to inflict pain and emotional suffering on Lavinia and her family. Lavinia's construction of the impact of sustained racialised bullying on herself and her family displays signs of emotional distress (L:13-17; 30). Nevertheless, it is evident that Lavinia dominates and assumes a central role throughout most of this story (Excerpt 1.), and the audience must surely conclude that this is the preferred identity out of all others that she wishes to project. Indeed, Lavinia's positioning throughout the narrative depicts her as an active, not a passive person.

Intersectionality and Institutional Racism

In this lively and engaging section, Pearl's story vividly demonstrates institutional bullying, cultural racism and the importance of examining the experience of black minoritised female academics through the prism of intersecting social oppressions.

Excerpt 2: Pearl

Scene 1. Requesting Funding

1 My manager's manager, she said to me, '**Pearl, you should not be doing your PhD and funding it for yourself.**'

An Ally

2 So, I said, 'But you know, I'm not going to change his mind [*white male dean who told her she could not do PhD in a probation year*], so there's no point.' –

3 '**no, Pearl, go back, go back and see if you can get funding at least, for the second year.**'

4 So, at this point ... **I am a ... MPhil to PhD student**, so I have had a two-hour interview, I've written a proposal, which has been accepted, I've got three supervisors at [*name of institution*]

Making good progress with PhD

Scene 2. The Catalyst - Putting the "Uppity Black Woman in her Place"

5 I go back [*to another meeting with the dean*].

6 Now ... it should be 4 people in the room; there's only 2, so ... this is not following process ...

7 This meeting was to tell the 'uppity black woman' – who the hell do you think you are for doing what I told you not to do,

8 cause that's basically what he said – he said it, he said, '**I thought I told you not, that you could not do your PhD while you are on probation**'

Racial Bullying behaviour

9 ... **I lied and I said to him, 'my understanding was that you would not fund my PhD while I was on probation, which you did not do, so I'm here for funding'**.

Navigating the system for own ends

10 'What's your PhD?' I tell him that it's the same topic area and

11 he said to me, '**that's not a PhD**'.

Intransigence-Bullying

Scene 3. Reaction to Institutional Racism

12 Now, for me, you're a **racist piece of shit**, ... or that's white male privilege of supreme Trump kind of level

Anger and frustration in retelling the story

13 You have to be some ... kind of man to look at a black woman who has gone onto a PhD at a decent university, and the process ... to get [*there*] ..., to say, it's still not a PhD.

14 All bets were off for me ... that for me was the icing on the cake. he said, **I cannot use my scholarly activity time on my PhD.**

Bullying Behaviour

15 Now, if that's not institutional racism, racial discrimination in full sail, I don't know what is,

16 because I can't think of anything, pretty much more scholarly activity wise than writing a PhD!! (*incredulous tone*)

17 **He [dean] emailed and said that to me –**

Patriarchy.

18 I've got an email – where he says, you cannot use your scholarly activity time for your PhD.

Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

Scene 4. Unsupportive women

19 There were other things said in that meeting, but I said time's moving on, but, .. and the head of nursing [*white female*] sat there next to him and let him do it. (*Pause*) There you go.

Collusion/Fear

Scene 5. Pearl Defiant - Prepared to Defend herself

20 I was ready for him, this time round, I was absolutely ready for him.

Fighting back-
Pearl - Defiant.
Intransigence

21 'So, can you explain the PhD,' so I explained to him,

22 'it's not a PhD,' [*Dean*]

23 then he tried to connect my PhD, to

24 'if a nurse wants to do a geography degree,' [*Dean*]

25 how is that related to geography?'

Tenuous
arguments [*Dean*]

26 And so, I said, 'are you actually saying to me that my PhD that's looking at nursing identity of black nurses is the same as somebody who's doing a geography degree – is that what you're saying to me?'

Fighting back

Scene 6. Consequence of Fighting against Racism

27 And then, he started personally attacking me

28 in the way I was communicating and gesticulating

29 and, so – you can't see for the tape – I gesticulate. So, he tried to make fun of the fact I gesticulate and how I communicated,

Reaction to being
challenged [*Dean*]

30 so he got personal about me and how I communicated

31 and I was ready for him, don't give a damn. Because I knew it was racism

Pathologising
Pearl's cultural
values

32 and I think, you know what, this is not 1963 and it doesn't say no blacks, no dogs, no Irish –

Overt racism/
microassault

Defiant-fighting
back
relationships.

Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

Scene 7. Humour

33 "that's not a PhD" – it's a running joke in my family now, you know,

34 I say, ooh, I'm off to the international sociology association conference to present..., two parts of my PhD ... and my mum starts laughing,

35 I said, and don't forget now, it's not a PhD!

Employment of
humour to diffuse
the racial trauma.

Scene 8. Vindication and success-interest convergence

36 and I'm waiting to find if something's published on some part of my PhD in a journal at the moment, and I'm meant to be writing a chapter ... in a book, and I'm going to the European Sociology Association Conference

Awakening to re-
search - enhancing
research profile

37 and I'm going to present, this is from something that wasn't a PhD.

38 And, funnily enough, the lady [*head of Nursing*] that sat next to him [*Dean*], will be paying for the conference for me to go ...

Increasing
department's
profile

39 I went to the British Sociology Association conference –

40 'oh, that's so good, Pearl; of course we can pay for that.' [*Nursing Department*] Hmm ... Yeah, yeah and I have got funding ... and they do fund me now for my PhD.

Interest
convergence

Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

In this story, Pearl, encouraged by a supportive ally (the head of nursing S1 L 1-3), meets with the Dean of the nursing department to secure funding for her PhD. This was the second meeting with the Dean. The first meeting to obtain permission to start a PhD programme resulted in a heated exchange between herself and the Dean because he felt the topic area Pearl selected was inappropriate. He told her she could not start such a programme in her probationary year. This was despite a verbal agreement at her interview of support from her interviewers to begin her PhD studies during her probation year. As evident in the story's opening (S 1 L:4), Pearl, against the Dean's wishes, started her PhD.

We enter the story (Scene 1), where Pearl meets the Dean for the second time. Again, there is an angry exchange where the Dean refuses to acknowledge the validity of her topic as a doctoral thesis. The meeting becomes increasingly ill-tempered as Pearl's utterances reveal that she counters the dean's arguments with detailed and cogent responses. The scene also illustrates frustration by both parties, the Dean levelling a range of racist and sexist verbal attacks towards Pearl. Confronted with what she perceived as institutional racism, Pearl's anger overtly intensified. Nevertheless, the story ends in triumph for Pearl for not only did she receive funding for her PhD (from the head of nursing) but, as seen in the final scene (scene 8), increased her research and academic profile within the department.

In the cases mentioned above, it was firmly established that participants encountered various forms of racism, underscoring the prevalence of institutional racism perpetuated through microaggressions and systemic factors. Moreover, the interview data from numerous participants in this thesis conclusively demonstrated that for black female academics, the intersection of race and other forms of oppression significantly influenced their unique experience of discrimination within academia (Denise, 2014; Crenshaw, 1989).

In Excerpt 2, Pearl vividly and energetically enjoys telling stories. She uses a lot of linguistic features such as direct speech, metaphors, expressive sounds, and words, as well as behavioural features like hand gestures and changes in tone and timbre of voice to dramatise and enliven the story and engage the audience. According to Riessman (2008), these techniques make the audience more likely to believe Pearl's storytelling as they add credibility to her retelling of the events. Furthermore, how she constructs this excerpt undoubtedly places her at the centre of most scenes, with mainly peripheral roles for the other characters.

The evidence throughout excerpt 2 suggests that Pearl's positionality was visibly agentic despite the seniority of the Dean and his attempts to bully and demean her. She was certainly not a passive character. Indeed, she firmly rebutted the Dean's racial slights and insults and positioned him as weak and ineffectual. However, like all the other narratives in this thesis, her social positioning is fluid. For example, scene 4 conveys a sense of isolation, with no support from her female head of department against the onslaught of bullying from the Dean and the personal attacks by the Dean in scene 6 in an attempt to demean and belittle her. However, as mentioned above, the predominant positionality was agentic, as Pearl presented herself predominantly as the active agent fighting back and rebutting the

negativity. She positions me as an insider, casting me in this excerpt as a fellow nurse academic with insight and understanding of the nursing jargon used within HEIs. Additionally, in Scene 4, she uses terms like "institutional racism" and "microaggressions" to highlight the lack of support she received from her white head of nursing. By doing so, she projects a situated identity as a knowledgeable scholar of race literature and assumes I have a similar knowledge base.

Pearl portrays her experience here as someone who has been violated and disrespected, and attempts have been made to undermine her intellect purely based, as she perceives it, on her race, sex, class and the power of whiteness. In her performance in this excerpt (Scene 2-6), Pearl undoubtedly leaves the audience with the strong sense of rage that she was experiencing, using emotive language (Scene 5: 'I was ready for him' Scene 6: 'Because I knew it was racism', 'I don't give a damn', '...this is not 1963 and it doesn't say no blacks, no dogs, no Irish') that in her judgement articulates precisely the type of racism she was being exposed to. Pearl's portrayal of anger and frustration was heightened by the use of expletives (Scene 3: 'you're a racist piece of shit') and repetition of threatening phrases such as 'I was ready for him'. Pearl's story vividly illustrates her firm belief that she was discriminated against -institutional and personal racism (Scenes 2-6).

So even when I proposed an alternative hypothesis, such as the Dean reacting to what the narrative suggests was her forceful personality or the fact that she was challenging his authority, she could not be swayed. Indeed, what CRT scholars (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017) and many other scholars studying racial microaggression (Sue et al., 2019; Williams, 2020a, 2020b; Spanierman, Clark and Kim, 2021) would contend is that it is the individuals who are exposed to racism and racial microaggression that are best placed to accurately assess racist acts rather than the observer or the privileged perpetrators of these acts. It could be argued that by presenting alternative arguments to Pearl regarding Dean's behaviour, I may have inadvertently appeared to dismiss her claims of his racially motivated behaviour towards her. Monica Williams (2020a), a psychologist who has conducted extensive research in this field, suggests that by attempting to provide an alternative argument, one may be invalidating the experiences of marginalised individuals and potentially causing further trauma.

Although the data above does not fully explain the Dean's behaviour, Pearl's construction of excerpt 2 paints a picture of male patriarchy. The inference is that the Dean believed he could prevent Pearl from commencing her programme of study with impunity. It could, however, be argued that his actions were risky because it is possible that he was gambling on Pearl, being passive and naïve and not challenging his decision-making informally or formally. Indeed, research suggests that the targets of racial microaggression often ignore these indignities because of the power differentials (Sue et al., 2007). However, her confrontational performance predictable had adverse outcomes. This is manifested as personal attacks on Pearl (Scene 6: 'And then, he started personally attacking me in the way I was communicating and gesticulating'). He began perpetrating racial microaggressions by

labelling Pearl's communication style as abnormal (Pathologising differences/Denigrating and pigeonholing -Table 4.2) revealing the Dean's stereotypical view of black minoritised females (Sue et al., 2007, Williams 2020a). Research has confirmed that the escalating abuse from the Dean, as highlighted above can be an adverse outcome of confronting and challenging racism (Sue et al., 2007; Sue, 2019).

The story, I believe, also supports other dimensions, such as the intersection of racism and sexism, given that the generic definitions of sexism include the words prejudice and discrimination against women, and these are all elements displayed in this bounded segment of the narrative. It is interesting to consider whether the dean would have dared to speak to a black male academic staff member in this manner, regardless of differences in power dynamics. The dean has demonstrated in the narratives that he has internalised stereotypical views about black females and racial stereotypes, but has he also internalised stereotypical perceptions about black males, such as being threatening and aggressive?

Another dimension evident in scene 4 was the lack of support Pearl received from the female panel member (L:19). Pearl, at that moment, must have felt very lonely and isolated. It is interesting, that she chose to mark this because the literature (Bhopal, 2016; Rollock, 2019; Gabriel and Tate, 2017) supports her observations that in situations such as the one Pearl finds herself in, white female colleagues are reluctant to offer support. Further, women are generally reluctant to support each other but are often eager to criticise each other (Gay 2014; Heim, Hughes and Golant, 2015). Marking this reaction from the panel member probably demonstrates Pearl's knowledge and insight into race and feminist scholarly literature (See Chapter 2).

The Dean's utterances in this excerpt and other sections of Pearl's narrative imply a sense of haughtiness and disdain. For example, he dismisses the expertise of Pearl's PhD supervisors (Scene 1 L:4), despite lacking a nursing background and having limited knowledge of the PhD process. He insists that Pearl's topic area and question ('that's not a PhD') do not constitute a PhD research question, displaying arrogance, control, and hegemony ('I thought I told you not, that you could not do a PhD while you are on probation... cannot use... scholarly activity time on... PhD'). Certainly, the Dean's insistence that Pearl's chosen topic was inappropriate for a PhD reveals his ignorance. His actions could be perceived as attempts to hinder her progress and maintain the status quo, specifically male patriarchal dominance (Jensen, 2021).

In summary, the excerpt highlights various forms of racism, such as cultural, institutional, and intrapersonal (in the form of microaggressions), intentional and unintentional racism. These forms of racism oppress and perpetuate traditional power imbalances between different groups (Williams, 2020a). However, Pearl's portrayal in this passage as a strong, confident, and determined black woman who refuses to be broken by institutional racism, I believe, challenges the established norms. I think her goal in this passage and throughout her story is to raise awareness among a wider audience about the existence of overt racism in academia, particularly towards black women, due to the predominant influence of white male elites in HEIs. Therefore, her message encompasses not just racism and racist bullying but also the various intersecting forms of discrimination, particularly gendered racialised experiences. Furthermore, her actions serve as an example for other black women, showing them that they can effectively confront these oppressions through self-awareness and education.

Other examples of intersectional experience within the data.

Many of the stories shared in this thesis highlighted how multiple intersecting forms of discrimination (gender, ethnicity, race, migrant status, and class intersect) shaped their experience in HE. The most frequently discussed oppression were gender oppression (sexism); gender and ethnicity/race (gendered racism or misogynoir), as described in Pearl's excerpt above (Excerpt 2) and intersectionality of race and group female oppression.

Pam's experience is interesting because, unlike many of the others, she enjoyed academia and stated she has never experienced any barriers to progression '...but my experience of working in higher education had always been very positive; I've never experienced any discrimination in terms of my ethnicity that I am aware of.' So, although Pam was somewhat equivocal about racialised experiences, she was unequivocal about gender discrimination within HE when it was male patriarchy, as illustrated in the following extract:

'I mean, what I have experienced in higher education is certainly the dominance of males, and I was at a meeting recently, and there was an individual who was very much pleased with himself in that meeting and very vocal, and, interestingly, I counted the number of women at the table – I just wanted to see what the gender balance was – and it was almost even, but I think I probably was more aware a gender imbalance that I would be around ethnicity, but that may be just a particular, my situation.'

As well as the dominance of males in the boardroom, Pam also experienced pregnancy and maternity as well as wage discrimination ('... a year's maternity leave for two of my children ... and I purposefully did that, but then found ... I was coming back at a lower level than I left.'). She was denied promotion twice and placed on a lower pay scale upon returning from maternity leave.

These sections also addressed other intersecting experiences evident in the participants' narratives. These include the intersection of horizontal oppressive practices (horizontal violence) in nursing with race manifesting in racist bullying, such as in the cases of Pearl (p149), Dee (p155) and Lavinia (p144).

The Intersection of gender, ethnicity and migrant status was highlighted by Meryl's ally, the Irish professor (Theme 3: A True Ally: Excerpt 1), when he made the following statement about Meryl 'You're black, you're African, you are female...'—(Theme 3: Scene 6. L:23). Meryl also shared her perspectives about language and having a 'thick African accent.' (Identity Performance in a White Space. Theme 5: Scene 5: L:34-34). Additionally, the issue of black minoritised academics' exclusion from informal groups was also depicted in many of the participant's narratives, illustrating the intersectionality of race and group female oppression.

Institutional Racism “Bullying Behaviour”

Dee describes experiencing institutional bullying after raising concerns about racial discrimination from colleagues and managers. Despite informing her managers before attending a department-approved study tour, Dee was disciplined for missing the revalidation of her programme, which illustrates institutional racism.

Excerpt 3: Dee

Scene 1.

- | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | They felt I wasn't qualified for a role in the management of people | It is never enough. |
| 2 | I did do a course got experiences as a ... community mental health manager within the local trusts for over a year | |
| 3 | but that still wasn't enough | Had enough. |
| 4 | That was the time when I decided enough was enough ... | |
| 5 | I did put my case to them [union] that I was very unhappy with the treatment that I had received within the department | Activism
Backfired |
| 6 | unfortunately ... that situation didn't help me , it [contacting the union] | |
| 7 | made my situation there intolerable | Implications
Harrassment |
| 8 | because the minute I did anything that they felt ... I suppose I am trying to think how to capture that, erm any action I took for any reason they were always at me and give you an example ... | The situation |

Scene 2.

- | | | |
|----|---|----------------------|
| 9 | erm I used to lead a lot of the curriculum developments | |
| 10 | because ... I was very experienced, very knowledgeable, knew my job inside out... | |
| 11 | and we were having a revalidation and because I was in charge of the CPN [community psychiatric nursing] course then which was a degree programme for health visitors, district nurses, CPNs etc. | Victimisation |
| 12 | and we [Colleagues] had arranged to go abroad to do a study tour | |
| 13 | and someone else actually was doing the validation not me ... | |
| 14 | it was made very clear that person would be doing it, | |
| 15 | but ... when I came back I would assist them. | |
| 16 | I was only going away for six, seven days | |
| 17 | and when I came back all hell broke up | |
| 18 | because they said I left, I went ahead when I knew I was responsible for the validation. | |
| 19 | and they sort of then used that situation against me | |

Scene 3.

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------------------|
| 20 | and I was called up ... and I would never be trusted again in my position because I went abroad when they approved me to go abroad, paid for me to go etc. | Unfairly
disciplined |
| 21 | They knew why we were going yet they used it against me in the end | Activism
(empowerment) |
| 22 | so that's when I decided | |
| 23 | that I could not stay there anymore. | |

Key: **Significant phrases.** **Interpretation.** **Interviewer's comments.**

Scene 4.

How did that make you feel?

- 24 Umm, Oh I was **very angry, very angry, very upset**
25 I may even come across ... to you as a strong person.
26 I am very strong emotionally Umm ...
27 and I have had to develop ... **coping mechanism.**
28 so even though you asked me how I felt
29 at the time I would have been very angry very upset, **tearfully upset**
30 my father who I said to you he studied over here, he told me when I
decided to come to England, he always said you have to be ... **twice**
as good or have many more qualifications ...than the white man
... to get anywhere
31 **and he said try not to get angry at work or to lose your cool or**
anything,
32 **always sit and think ... how can I get even with them**
33 and I've used that strategy throughout my life

Emotional harm.

Father's advice.
Strategy.
Work harder.
Do not display your
emotions
Reflection.
Fighting back.

Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

The events also represent overt horizontal violence (Sheridan-Leos, 2008) (See Theme 4. Culture of the Nursing department). Here, Dee is depicted as being victimised—unfairly targeted and held responsible for adverse outcomes of the revalidation process despite not being at fault. It seems she is being used as a convenient scapegoat in this situation (Scene 2).

Furthermore, the way Dee shapes the events in this excerpt implies that the racist bullying and victimisation were occurring even before the events concerning the revalidation (L:1-4: 'they were always at me' 'I decided enough was enough'), which her narrative infers was the catalyst for contacting her Union. However, Dee states that the victimisation did not diminish but intensified after contacting her Union (L: 6). Although there is insufficient information in the excerpt, the implications are that the revalidation scenario was an opportunity for retribution by the institution for report her treatment within the department.

Dee positions the managers and colleagues in the department as malevolent bullies who were using the revalidation scenario to punish her as a reprisal for contacting the union and, in the process, demoralise and undermine her confidence ('I was called up for it, and I would never be trusted again in my position') leaving her feeling powerless. So Dee's positionality in some scenes is that of a powerless victim oppressed by an institution (scenes 3 and 4). This is underscored by her description of the emotion toll the situation was taking. (Scene 4. L:24-29). Nevertheless, this portrayal of powerlessness alternates with strength, as in scenes 1 and 4, where there is evidence of activism displaying agency in contacting the union, leaving the institution, and engaging in strategies advocated by her father. Although the literature (Taylor, 2016) suggests that nurses often lack awareness of when horizontal violence is directed at them or when they observe the phenomenon, in this scenario, Dee is unequivocal that their action is certainly bullying and discriminatory behaviour.

In summary, these sections delved into three excerpts depicting institutional racism, demonstrating how various social identities, including race, gender, horizontal violence, and migrant status, converge to give rise to distinct forms of discrimination. It also highlighted the struggle that some participants (Samantha and Vanita) had in acknowledging experiencing any form of intrapersonal/institutional racism within HE. The previous sections highlighted the damaging effects of prolonged exposure to oppression and demonstrated individuals' ability to achieve professional success despite such challenges.

Theme 2 will now explore the emotional and physical toll of prolonged exposure to racism on many participants in academia.

Theme 2. The Harm caused by bullying and discrimination

This thesis demonstrates that prolonged exposure to racism in academia leads to negative emotional responses, with **anger** being the most common (See Table 4.3). This anger was expressed verbally and observed in participants' non-verbal behaviour. The narratives of several participants (Meg, Cathy, Lavinia, Dee and Pearl) strongly highlighted the persistence of this anger, indicating the detrimental impact of racialised environments on black minoritised academics (Table 4.3).

Coping with Sustained Racism

Cathy endured ongoing racial bullying and discrimination while working at her first HEI. In the following excerpt, she shared a profoundly emotional dialogue reflecting a distressing and harmful period.

Excerpt 1: Cathy

Scene 1. Reflection

- 1 ... 'I did a lot of reflection [*Following experience of sustained racism at 1st HEI*]
2 I learned a lot about myself ... one of the things I learned is I left it to simmer for too long without taking action straightaway... something that **I won't let happen again**,
3 so if there's a problem, like when I came and [*Name*] went for me, I **just sorted it out there and then**;
4 I just thought **I'm not going to allow anyone [to] treat me like that Ever! Ever!** [*tone raised*] **again**.

Interviewer: What do you think that did to you the fact that you left it for so long?

Scene 2. Emotional impact [sustained racism]

- 5 It **ate away at me**;
6 I became **paranoid** ... so when I got to work,
7 I'd pull up in the car park ... **I started shaking**
8 because I thought, **what are they going to do to me today**; what will I be **facing today**?
9 And this was a time when my son had an acute psychotic episode
10 and so I was looking after him... sometimes, he wouldn't sleep, so I'd be awake – **I hadn't slept**
11 I wouldn't ring in sick cause I'd be thinking, 'what are they going to say', 'what are they going to do'...you see what I mean? [*yes, nodding*] It was like that;
12 I was a **bag of nerves all the time**.
13 **Confidence** ... **gone** ... **started to doubt everything** ... **doubt my ability** ...

Key: **Significant phrases.** **Interpretation.** **Interviewer's comments.**

Reflection on - sustained racialised experiences

Learning and actions

Emotional trauma. Persistently impact on emotional well-being. Obsessively anxious. Physical impact-anxiety. Signs trauma related arousal and reactivity e.g. Hypervigilance, difficulty sleeping.

Fear/tense/nervous/worried
Negative thoughts about self.

Scene 3. Coping Strategies

14 and then I had to throw myself into my PhD to take my mind off it,
15 so I just started writing, writing, writing, writing

Interviewer: Do you think that's what got you through?

16 Yeah. I just started to **write, write, write, write, write, write.**

17 I just said, 'I've got to do this' because **'it's like 'she'll never finish it'** - do you see what I mean

18 And so I threw myself and that **writing**, because I got so into the writing,

19 it took my mind off it ...that's how I coped with it.

20 So I was coping with that ...

21 I was coping with the **death** of my brother...

22 I was coping with **my son being diagnosed with his mental illness** - do you see what I mean? I was still doing my **voluntary work**,

23 still looking after my mum, still looking after my daughter, **still being a wife** - and everybody keeps saying to me, 'you're the strongest person I know'

24 My **colleagues** say it, **my family** says it, 'you're the strongest person I know, how do you do it?'

25 And I say 'by the grace of God, cause he's kept me'.

Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

Positive and productive actions (↑ self-esteem).

Resilience (Coping) Colleagues undermine ability -micro-aggressions

Other burdens Resilience and strength. Activities to increase self-esteem

Positive spiritual effect

Scene 1 opens with Cathy expressing deep regrets about dwelling on the emotional impact of persistent institutionally racialised bullying and the hurtfulness of these experiences. She describes one outcome of the reflective process: realising the negative consequences of ruminating over the event for such a long period without acting. After I asked her, "What do you think leaving it for so long did to you?" she didn't hesitate. She opened up and shared a poignant dialogue (Scene 2 L: 5-13) that depicted a harrowing and emotionally damaging period. She revealed how these traumatic experiences affected her confidence and well-being, so she began to have negative thoughts about herself ('Confidence... gone...started to doubt everything... doubt my ability... L:13) and felt powerless.

A closer interrogation of scene 2 graphically illustrates the emotional impact on Cathy's physical and emotional well-being of persistent institutionally racialised bullying. She uses phrases such as "it ate away at me," suggesting that the situation at work was persistently worrying her and consuming her emotionally and physically ("I started shaking" "I hadn't slept"). Indeed, in other scenes, she described patent and critical signs of traumatic stress (Carter, 2007) such as Avoidance, e.g. reduced self-esteem (L:13); Intrusions, e.g. reexperiencing the situation (L: 5, 6); Arousal, e.g. hypervigilance, difficulty sleeping, anxiety (L: 8-12). See Appendix 6 -critical signs of race-based traumatic stress.

These utterances also reveal what could be considered unfavourable characteristics about herself, describing someone almost broken by these experiences – 'I became paranoid' '... a bag of nerves all the time...' '... Confidence gone...' Although the analysis of psychological dimensions is not the remit of this thesis, these revelations underscore the findings of psychologists such as Sue et al. (2007) about the damaging psychological and physical

effects on victims of repeated and pervasive racism over time. Riessman (2008) and others (Frank, 2012) contend that stories help us to hear ourselves and, in the process, learn about ourselves; hence, analysts must look for honesty and reflection in the narrative, even if there are unfavourable revelations.

In shaping this narrative segment (scene 2) in this way, I wondered what Cathy wished to accomplish. Undoubtedly, in this scene, there is a shift in Cathy's positioning. Here, her positionality is very much that of the victim that is being oppressed. In this scene, Cathy relinquishes all power to the institution, presenting herself as a helpless and powerless victim. The revelations in scene three successfully elicit sympathy from the audience and portray the institution negatively. Indeed, according to Goffman (1974) and Riessman (2008, 2016), tellers consciously choose narrative devices to make their stories persuasive and also unconsciously shape their narratives through the nuanced art of everyday storytelling. For example, in analysing the narratives of marginalised people who traditionally do not have a voice, one can discover that storytelling challenges dominant narratives gives meaning to their experiences, and makes identity claims. Crafting stories in this way serves a specific purpose for the listener and potentially a wider audience (Riessman, 2008) (Chapters 2 and 3). Undoubtedly, this scene would evoke both sympathy and empathy from individuals, including myself and a broader audience, who have experienced persistent institutional racism, whether racially motivated or not.

Cathy's portrayal of scene 3 demonstrates a shift in her social positioning to a more positive and proactive one. She describes how she takes control of the situation at work (lines 14-26) by using various coping mechanisms to overcome the negative emotional impacts she mentioned in scene 2 and boost her self-esteem. In particular, lines 17-18 imply defiance, determination, and resilience. She shares how she dealt with colleagues undermining her intellectual ability (lines 17-18) by focusing more intensely on completing her PhD. She said, "I've got to do this," and "I threw myself [into] writing..." Cathy's positive coping responses in scene 3 support scholars' findings (Carter, 2007; Williams et al., 2018a) that positive reactions to racialised encounters can be motivated by the need to prove the perpetrators wrong.

In response to my question about whether these coping mechanisms got her through such a turbulent time, Cathy shared some other strategies (Scene 3), people, and beliefs used to rebuild her confidence and self-esteem and thus restore her sense of well-being. For example, writing was portrayed here as being extremely important not only as a tool to complete her PhD and prove the perpetrators of racialised bullying wrong but also as a way to begin to heal and recover. Notice the repetition of the word "writing" in line 16, denoting a critical moment in the 'unfolding sequence of events' (Riessman, 2008). Further, in scene 3, Cathy shows that writing was not her only refuge and uses strategies such as religion, family, exercise, and friendship groups to help her through these difficult periods (L: 23-26). It is noteworthy that all the coping strategies disclosed within Cathy's story are consistent

with those in the literature that have been used by other black women dealing with racial microaggression (Holder, Jackson and Ponterotto, 2015).

The second section appears to be an important happening for Cathy, where she diverges from describing coping strategies and segues into a detailed description of the other challenging events that she was coping with outside of the work environment, including her son, who had an acute psychotic episode, how she was coping and how it was affecting her health (L: 21-24). The way Cathy shapes this section implies that this is indeed a story of resilience and overcoming adversity, perhaps in an attempt to negate the negative persona portrayed in scene 2 and to show the audience a preferred identity of strength and regaining control.

Victimisation-emotional and physical harm.

Excerpt 2: Dee

Scene 1. Victimisation continues

- 1 I knew they didn't want me to leave ... cause as I still ran their [Name] programme ...
- 2 but I had applied for this job...
- 3 I give you a very good example of how they would do everything to get at me
- 4 They put one of the senior people within that Department on the interview panel ... they found out ... I was going for that job.
- 5 was I ever going to get that job? Never!

Victimisation and bullying continue
Perception interview
Panel is biased.
An inevitable outcome

Scene 2. Impact

- 6 yes I was very angry I was so angry and mad ...
- 7 you see when this happens to you it's almost like you get a thick skin
- 8 you get something that covers you and you think I'm going I'm going to get at them somehow.
- 9 I'm going to get out of this institution

Identity performance.
'Strong' personal (Developing resilience)

Determination

Scene 3.

- 10 One of the things I have developed from it [racism] is irritable bowel syndrome so I develop physical condition ...
- 11 I know it has come from that stress-related and now I can't eat wheat ...
- 12 But I think a lot of that is the stress and tension from what happened to me
- 13 and the tension from what happened to me acted physically on me rather than emotionally. Does that make sense?

Physical and emotional effects.

Lack of awareness of the emotional toll, seen in her narrative.

Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

Dee's narrative portrays both joyful and rewarding experiences during her early years working in higher education. However, it also uncovers significant unhappiness that has had a lasting impact on her emotional and physical well-being.

In these scenes, Dee constructs a poignant and angry story of institutional bullying following a previous incident of racialised bullying, for which Dee sought the support of her union (see p155). In this excerpt (Scene 1), Dee firmly asserts a narrative of ongoing victimisation,

convinced she was passed over for a position because of bias from the interview panel, which she attributes to her managers intentionally sabotaging the process (Scene 1: L:3-5). In scene 3, she reveals the physical impact (L:10) that continual racialised bullying has had on her health.

This excerpt portrays several performative features that facilitate Dee's expression of her emotions. It highlights the use of performative elements such as repetition, emotive language (e.g., "mad," "angry"), adverbs (e.g., "never"), emphasis on certain words, repetition, and paralinguistic features such as a raised and assertive tone and animated hand gestures. Cussins (1998) asserts that these performative features facilitate the 'local achievement of identity.' They also serve to convey that these racialised and gendered incidents still resonated, positioning Dee as a victim and depicting the institution as discriminatory and hegemonic. Nevertheless, in scene 2, Dee rallies and projects a strong identity performance to the audience, not wanting to show weakness to the institution (L:7, 8, 11). Additionally, she informs the audience that she has already decided to leave the institution (L:9). However, there is clear evidence of the emotional toll in the excerpt, such as "anger," "mad," "stress," and the previously described paralinguistic features.

The last sentence in the excerpt is puzzling because Dee acknowledges the physical effect on her well-being but is reluctant to admit any emotional impact. This may be because elsewhere in her narrative, she places significant importance on presenting a 'strong' persona, using phrases such as 'rebellious' and 'strong' to indicate her confidence and strength of character. Indeed, these two words occur 16 times in her transcript.

For example, in the following excerpt, Dee explained her overall experience in HE.

'I applied for the job somebody else always got the job. I didn't have enough experience in one area I didn't have this I didn't have that. **So I was always refused if you like the openings and I did apply.**' ...I was **very angry, very angry**, very upset ... very angry very upset, tearfully upset with what was happening.'

"I really excelled in that role. I enjoyed it" "but I've have had a strategy...which you're going to smile and I think I may even come across over to you as a **strong person I am very strong emotionally** Umm." "I am very rebellious." "Yes, Yes very strong I am strong. You talk to anybody that knows me from here and they will say oh XXXXXX oh she is so strong that one but that is not just **them saying it. I am very strong even at home I am very strong.**"

Dee is distraught and emotional but segues into a discourse to convince me and perhaps a wider audience of her emotional strength. Indeed, at one point in the narrative, she states, "I never show a weakness." Perhaps this identity performance is her way of building a protective shield. I should have explored this aspect further in the interview by saying to Dee, "Being strong seems important to you."

Additional Examples of Harm Caused by Gendered and Racialised Experiences.

The following excerpts are further examples of the harm continuous exposure to gendered and racialised experiences can inflict on the emotional and physical well-being of minoritised academics.

Excerpt 3: Meg

Scene 1.

- 1 Well, losing my **temper** at people
- 2 who were **making racist comments** –
- 3 as I got older, I mean **the anger is still there** –

Scene 2.

- 4 but I've **channelled my anger into campaigning**, so I'm very quick to see where the gaps are in respect to **inequalities for black and minority ethnic communities** and **the power of argument** can be very good at times, not always, but can be, so my anger, I'm angry inside

Key: **Significant phrases.** **Interpretation.** **Interviewer's comments.**

Demonstration of anger

Emotional trauma of racism - long lasting

Self-awareness

Using anger positively. Effective means to deal with racism

Excerpt 4: Pearl

Scene 1.

- 1 I have **not moved away from the anger**, I'm gonna be honest;
- 2 I'm going to be **angry about that** [*Racism, gender discrimination*] **for a very, very long time.**

Scene 2.

- 3 But, in many ways, that anger **fuels me** moving forward.
- 4 Um, because, every time an article gets **published**
- 5 or any time I get, I go to an **international conference** with part of my PhD,
- 6 I just remember somebody who said to me, that's not a PhD

Key: **Significant phrases.** **Interpretation.** **Interviewer's comments.**

Emotional impact long-lasting

Benefits of 'anger'

Retribution

Excerpt 5: Lavinia

Scene 1.

- 1 Yes it was painful, it had to be because I'd given up a lot, to become a professor, you know from home and **I knew I had a lot to offer the university and they wouldn't let me do it**
- 2 yeah I remember having some **very upset days**. I remember my **husband** saying I'll kill that [*name of manager*] [*laughs*] ... because I'd come home and I'd be going on about [*manager*] so much.
- 3 So all the **kids** knew about [*manager's name*], his name, so I must have been **upset**.
- 4 But I think the **hurtful** thing was I really wanted to deliver good work and they didn't want it

Key: **Significant phrases.** **Interpretation.** **Interviewer's comments.**

Manager with positional authority and power is blocking her goal

The pervasiveness of the emotions. Impact on others.

Frustration and pain

Excerpt 6: Meryl

Scene 1.	
1	but I'd never expected it to be within my own department, and then it started to happen and I was devastated;
2	I was heartbroken and I just stopped trusting my people – I couldn't talk about my doctorate anymore;
3	I just got on with the work, marked all the papers and then secretly did all my work. And, even now, I don't tell anyone what I'm doing.
Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.	

Emotional:
overwhelming
sadness and
distress
Sense of betrayal
Survival strategies.

In summary, this section provides an in-depth exploration of excerpts from participants' stories that unequivocally illustrate the emotional and physical harm caused by continual exposure to racism. These excerpts revealed multiple signs of stress, including hypervigilance, anxiety, anger, reexperiencing of events, and loss of trust, which experts in the field would conclude are indicators of racial trauma (Table 4.3). The expression of trauma varied, but coping strategies promoting determination and perseverance helped mitigate its impact on the participants. This response is unsurprising, given that many of the participants wished to project a situational identity of a strong, confident, and agentic individual.

Participants	Excerpts
Dee	<p>yes I was very angry I was so angry and mad ... you see when this happens to you it's almost like you get a thick skin you get something that covers you and you think I'm going I'm going to get at them somehow. I'm going to get out of this institution</p> <p>One of the things I have developed from it [racism] is irritable bowel syndrome so I develop physical condition ... I know it has come from that stress-related</p>
Meg	<p>Well, losing my temper at people who were making racist comments – as I got older, I mean the anger is still there – but I've channelled my anger into campaigning, so I'm very quick to see where the gaps are in respect to inequalities for black and minority ethnic communities and the power of argument can be very good at times, not always, but can be, so my anger, I'm angry inside</p>
Pearl	<p>I have not moved away from the anger, I'm gonna be honest; I'm going to be angry about that for a very, very long time. But, in many ways, that anger fuels me moving forward. Um, because, every time an article gets published or any time I get, I go to an international conference with part of my PhD, I just remember somebody who said to me, that's not a PhD</p>
Lavinia	<p>Yes it was painful, it had to be because I'd given up a lot, to become a professor, you know from home and I knew I had a lot to offer the university and they wouldn't let me do it</p> <p>yeah I remember having some very upset days. I remember my husband saying I'll kill that [name of manager] [laughs] ... because I'd come home and I'd be going on about [manager] so much. So all the kids knew about [manager's name], his name, so I must have been upset. But I think the hurtful thing was I really wanted to deliver good work and they didn't want it</p>
Meryl	<p>but I'd never expected it to be within my own department, and then it started to happen and I was devastated; I was heartbroken and I just stopped trusting my people – I couldn't talk about my doctorate anymore; I just got on with the work, marked all the papers and then secretly did all my work. And, even now, I don't tell anyone what I'm doing</p>
Cathy	<p>It ate away at me [racism, bullying]; I became paranoid – because, so when I got to work, I'd pull up in the car park and I started shaking because I thought, what are they going to do to me today; what will I be facing today? And this was a time when my son had an acute psychotic episode and so I was looking after him, and sometimes, he wouldn't sleep, so I'd be awake – I hadn't slept but I'd get up – if I didn't feel well – I've got a long-term medical condition – I wouldn't ring in sick cause I'd be thinking, what are they going to say, what are they – do you see what I mean? It was like that; I was a bag of nerves all the time. Confidence like gone; started to doubt everything that I thought; started to doubt my ability.</p>

Table 4.3. Excerpts from narratives indicating the emotional and physical impact of persistent racism in higher educational institutions.

Section 2. Allyship Networks and Resilience

Theme 3. Allyship

Introduction

The participants in this thesis unequivocally emphasised that informal support groups, networks, and advocates in influential positions, particularly white allies, significantly impacted their progress and growth. This assertion aligns with established research findings (Bhopal and Brown, 2016, Miller, 2016; Spanierman and Smith, 2017) that underscore the positive impact of these strategies on the successful career trajectories of black minoritised groups in academia. The focus of this section is to interrogate excerpts from the participant's narrative to establish the presence and influence of genuine racial justice allies on the participants' experiences in higher education. Additionally, I will endeavour to identify other contributing factors that significantly facilitated career advancement.

A True Ally

The following excerpt highlights characteristics of a true racial justice ally in Meryl's mentor, an Irish professor and former academic in HEI. It also shows a shift in Meryl's perception of how others see her and what defines academic success. After a conversation with her mentor, it seems that she has an epiphany as she gains new insights and understanding of how black females are perceived within the predominantly white space of academia. She also realises that despite assimilation, meritocracy does not exist, and she will always be perceived differently from her white colleagues.

Excerpt 1: Meryl

Scene 1. The catalyst

- 1 I had gone ... to a NET conference ... and I used to go ... every year to present ...stuff.
- 2 ... and one of my colleagues, a fellow black lecturer, we were just having a chat, and then she just started talking about 'oh, you have a reputation in one of our campuses'
- 3 your colleagues were saying that you're lazy and you don't work, you just swan off and do your PhD; that's all you seem to be doing these days'.
- 4 And I was like 'Really?!' 'Yeah, that's what they think.'
- 5 I don't like being called lazy – my dad used to call me that. It's almost like – it was part of his 'well, you're not a boy anyway; you're useless, you're lazy.' He used to use those words a lot. So it's a horrible connotation cause I know I'm not lazy, I know I work hard... 'But these people don't know my past, so they don't know my history'.
- 6 I was doing those crazy hours – 6 in the morning to 11 at night for £25 quid – I know I'm not lazy! But these people don't know my past, so they don't know my history.

Accusation of
'laziness.'

Wounded by
accusation of
Not valued as a
female.
'Laziness'
Trigger→ evoking
traumatic child-
hood experience

Scene 2. Reaction to unfavourable behaviour from colleagues

- 7 ... the same colleagues that I go to for my PhD,
- 8 some of the ways they've treated me, I've been horrified –
- 9 I'm thinking 'I don't treat my undergraduates like this;

Hostile behaviour -
from colleagues

- 10 why are you treating me this way?’
- 11 So it’s been the dual existence of studying at the same university that I work in has been really tough for me.

Scene 3. An ally – support from a colleague

- 12 From my point of view, at first I thought, ‘this is really shocking; I’m not doing any of this stuff’. But then, I went to **see a professor – this guy was Irish** and he left the university and he was in the NHS as a director of nursing for so long – and he had a similar story to mine; he started nursing, he used to work in a bakery, he got fed up with making bread he decided there’s much more to life than making bread every day. And then somebody said, look in the paper, **you can do nursing** and you can get somewhere to live; that’s how he started nursing. So, we have **similar stories of survivorship if you like**.
- 13 So he pulled me to the side, cause he was mentoring me for projects – cause I started doing NHS projects cause I specialise in dementia care as well – and he was **coaching me on how to work with Health Education England** –
- 14 and he said to me ‘what’s the matter?’ I said ‘I’m not happy. This is the first time in my work life I’m really not happy with – *[Work place environment in HEI]*’
- 15 I started my PhD and I really thought my colleagues would be happy for me; I thought we could talk about it, but they’re not happy.
- 16 I walk around my department and I don’t tell anyone I’m doing my PhD; I don’t tell them when I’m doing my research; it’s an unspoken thing.’

A social justice ally

Meryl similar experience to professor - relates to the professors experience.
White sanction/ally.

Scene 4

- 17 There are now colleagues who have now joined, and interestingly, they’re all black, from different parts of the world – ... Trinidad, ... Zimbabwean girl and ... Sierra Leone, and there’s myself in my mental health team, and the other guy’s from Ghana, and we’re all doing PhDs at the same time in the department.
- 18 And when it comes to NSS *[National Student Survey]*, we always get 95% student satisfaction. Why? Because our teaching is empowered by our research. People don’t see that. Our other colleagues, not so good.

Activism
Coping strategy:
Formed support group.
Evidence - rebut laziness accusation

Scene 5. Showing/demonstrating transparency/visibility

- 19 Anyway, so he said to me ‘OK, are you lazy?’
- 20 And I said ‘no, I’m not lazy’. ‘So what’s the problem – do people know what you’re doing; do you keep an electronic diary?’ ‘Well, I don’t always –’
- 21 ‘Ok, that’s the **first thing you do**, you keep an electronic diary so people know what you’re doing. You’ve got a tablet here, use it, use the equipment you have. Fill in your electronic diary, especially when you’re doing things after hours, fill it all in so if somebody looks at it, they can see what you’re doing.’ I said ‘that’s a great idea’.

Practical advice

Scene 6. An explanation/realisation/keeping you in your place

- 22 And then the **second thing** he said to me ‘I’m going to be very honest about why you’re suffering *[in]* your department. The reason why you’re going through a hard time is **because you’re black**.

23	You're black, you're African, you are female and now you're doing a PhD;	An explanation→ Racism. Intersectionality
24	you do not belong here, according to the status quo,	
25	because you're going to introduce thoughts that are Afro-centric when it comes to the development and generation of new knowledge that's going to be impacted by your cultural identity.	
26	I don't want to make it hard for you but I want you to know that's the main reason why, because when it comes to the glass ceiling and it comes to PhD research , you could be a professor.	Disrupting white centric Knowledge; white normativity (power and privilege).
27	As far as they're concerned, you are supposed to be a ward Sister on the ward, doing all the donkey work , but not doing any of the thinking.'	
28	I was mortified. And he said 'don't take it personally;	
29	what you have to do is, you have to work damn hard to complete your PhD , so that you can actually prove these people wrong, because you're a bright girl – when I close my eyes, I do not hear an African woman; you're so articulate; so basically, this is the reason why.	View of minoritised people as deficient/ incapable. 'depicts faculty of colour as deficient'
30	I'm telling you this to help you to put it into context.'	
Scene 7. Impact/effect – someone caring and supportive		
31	I was amazed. Because I thought this dude is white! <i>[laughs]</i> He's white!	Impression manage- ment code-switch- ing→fit into white space.
32	And he's telling me about me – I would have expected this kind of talk from a black woman or black man, but it came from a white Irish professor.	
	<i>Interviewer: Were you amazed because of his position or what he said?</i>	
33	Both, because I just did not expect him to be so honest,	Agentic positionality Microaggressssion.
34	but in a very 'honey, I will break it down for you so that you can cope and survive' . That was the bit that got me.	
35	It was – and if he was in the room today, he would say the same thing to you and me here –	Relationship with father.
36	but he was, he was like the father figure I never had ,	No meritocracy in does not exist in HEI
37	who told me that this is not about meritocracy anymore, because I succeeded to get to this point, right? The University had headhunted me to teach. And so I succeed and I do – I put my mind to something and make it happen.	
38	But this is different, because it changes my identity and the meaning of who I am when I am then called Dr XXXX	
39	And he was almost giving me the father-to-daughter talk I've never had from anybody about the reality – he was almost saying, 'girl, I believe in you, but this is what you're up against, but that's ok'. And he said to me 'you know, back in the day, there were signs in London: no dogs, no Irish, no blacks.' So, I could understand where he was coming from.	Adoration→valuing a father figure. Experience validated
40	I love that man.	Adoration

Scene 8. The 'BBC' (British Bum Cleaners)

Interviewer: So how would you interpret their[colleagues scene 1-2] reaction to you and do you agree with the professor's interpretation?

41 I do, I do agree with it. Cause I went away and I started doing some reading, and I discovered this concept – the 'BBC' – have you ever heard of that? – British Bum Cleaners ...

42 And then, when he said to me 'you're only useful when you're on the wards', and then I thought 'Ahh, **so as long as I'm a British Bum Cleaner and as long as I'm doing the dirty work**'

43 Cause if you look at the NHS, there's lots and lots of black women and men who are matrons and on the **ward Sisters and managers, but very rarely do you see them progressing.**

44 And that's what he was telling me and that blew my mind.

Scene 9. Loss of trust

45 ... but I'd never expected it to be within my own department,

46 and then it started to happen, and **I was devastated;**

47 I was **heartbroken**

48 and **I just stopped trusting my people** –

49 I couldn't talk about my doctorate anymore; I just got on with the work, marked all the papers and then secretly did all my work.

50 And, even now, I don't tell anyone what I'm doing.

Scene 10. Jealousy

51 But I think, for me, I think the barrier for me

52 is that I've grown in this organisation – I've been around for a little while –

53 and there are some **people that I'm bypassing.**

Interviewer: Are you suggesting that jealousy may be a factor?

54 **Yeah.**

Scene 11. Perception of discrimination/bias

55 so the people that elected me are like ... 'you think you're better than everybody else'.

56 There are a couple of them [her white colleagues] who have just submitted their thesis

57 and it was announced at the department meeting – there were emails going around; they've submitted their thesis, they've had their vivas and all the rest of it –

58 and one of my colleagues was given ... sabbatical to go off and do her work, which has now finished

Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

**Racial
Microaggression**

**Depiction of
minoritised people
as deficient/
incapable**

**The trauma of the
experience→Loss of
trust in colleagues.
Painful**

**Competitiveness
Jealousy.**

No Meritocracy

**Bias/cronyism/
homosociality**

Scene 1 opens with a poignant portrayal of betrayal when one of Meryl's black colleagues reveals that other colleagues (white) in the department thought she was 'lazy' (L: 2-3). The implications are that they thought she was dedicating too much time to her PhD and neglecting teaching and other academic commitments. The use of non-verbal and verbal expression throughout the telling in scene 2 illustrates how shocked (L:4) she was by these revelations, with the word 'lazy' evoking painful childhood memories (5-6) of the troubled relationship with her father. Memories of not being valued as a female child and being constantly undermined. (L:5 'well, you're not a boy anyway; you're useless, you're lazy').

Meryl proceeds to outline the hostile behaviour (L:7-11), which she perceives as partly motivated by jealousy (Scene 10) exhibited by her colleagues towards her. She outlined the tactics she utilised to confront the pervasive negativity, including establishing a support network with fellow black colleagues in the department (Scene 2: L: 16-17) and adopting a discreet approach to her PhD programme. These coping strategies indicate a shift in Meryl's positioning from being a victim to someone attempting to regain control of the situation. However, Meryl's statements reveal her profound sense of betrayal (Line 15) and the hurt caused by her colleagues, leading to a loss of trust (Scene 9, Lines 46-51). Indeed, before starting her PhD programme, she received support and encouragement from managers and generally had positive interactions with colleagues. So, the depth of this betrayal and the resulting pain are understandable, as vividly depicted in scene 9.

The revelation that her colleagues believed she was lazy and their hostility (L:7-11) shocked and traumatised her. Still, how she shapes the excerpt implies it was more than that, especially after the new insights gained following the conversation with her mentor. The telling of what she experiences within this excerpt appears to be a significant turning point for her because there is a realisation that impression management strategies (e.g. acquiring a middle-class accent, working harder) to negate stereotypes and assimilate, although important as marked by her mentor (L:29) are not enough to be accepted as part of the 'in-group.' This is because white people perceived her differently (deficient, incapable and not entitled), but now perhaps feels threatened by an ambitious and successful black female academic who is soon to acquire the cultural capital (a Doctorate) that will facilitate a successful transition into the higher echelon of academia—disrupting white normativity (L:23-28) and a curriculum that centres whiteness (Harris, 1993; Gusa, 2010; Arday, 2018). Certainly, this may be the moment Meryl realises that the meritocracy she appeared to triumph in earlier in her story does not exist. This illusion of meritocracy is illustrated in scenes 10-11, where she acknowledges jealousy towards her and marks the privileges conferred on her white colleagues. In short. I believe that this excerpt illustrates Meryl's growth and wisdom.

The exchange between Meryl and the white Irish professor (Scenes 3–7) is significant because firstly, he, too, had experienced discrimination and, like herself, had overcome other personal and professional challenges to get to the top of his profession. So, there is an element of empathy and mutual respect – both had suffered experiences of racism. These similarities probably underline Meryl's utterances and show respect for her mentor. However, more importantly, her utterances indicate that she appreciated the frank and honest exchange between them (L:34-38), which appears to validate what she was feeling but could not adequately articulate. The professor clearly explained that Meryl's colleagues' reaction to her starting a PhD programme was influenced by racism, her gender and nationality (Scenes 6-7). He supported his conclusions by citing examples of discrimination he had encountered within academia and society. This shared experience of racism gives the professor's explanation authority and authenticity. - 'And he said to me 'you know, back in

the day, there were signs in London: no dogs, no Irish, no blacks'. So I could understand where he was coming from.'

The open and honest conversation in these scenes deeply impacted Meryl, as indicated by her words. Her utterances imply that her mentor demonstrates concern for her wellbeing (L: 35, 40), and she views him as a substitute father figure: "he was like the father figure I never had" (L:37). He provided the care and counselling that her father did not provide. That said, despite the dysfunctional relationship with her father, there is evidence within other sections of her narrative that she has some regard for him. Her narrative suggests that he has influenced and shaped her life, both intentionally and unintentionally, in several ways, and she makes repeated references to him throughout. In Scene 7-8, it is clear that for Meryl, the conversation with the Irish professor has also brought awareness and new insights into the career trajectory of black minoritised nurses in the NHS with a recognition of the under-representation of this group in senior management positions and the over-representation in what is perceived by some as less attractive disciplines within the NHS. There is also a realisation within this scene of parallels within academia.

In short, the Irish professor's counselling awakened her to the realities of structural racism and other forms of discrimination and a realisation that, as asserted by CRT scholars (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017), racism is rooted within social systems and institutions. This discourse with her mentor appears to shift her beliefs after realising and accepting that meritocracy does not exist for black female academics within academia because of the *whiteness* of HEI or, as Bhopal et al. (2016) framed it, the 'institutional whiteness' of HEIs and the intersection of social identities such as ethnicity, gender and class. Furthermore, CRT scholars also assert that meritocracy only exists as a cover for white supremacy and, at the same time, acts as a core part of the process of preserving racial inequality (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001).

Social positioning

Meryl presents herself as confident, proactive, and in control, initiating actions. However, in the excerpt, particularly in scenes 1, 3, and 9, her position shifts to a more passive role, revealing vulnerability and portraying herself as a victim in the described circumstances. Throughout this section, she relinquishes power and agency to other characters (e.g. the Irish professor and her colleagues), allowing them to positively or negatively impact her. She portrays her mentor, the Irish professor, as an insightful, sagacious, supportive figure—a true ally and a father figure. She identifies with him due to similarities in their history and holds him in high regard. On the other hand, she portrays her colleagues at her HEI as judgmental, cruel, and unkind. She seems to see me as a confidant, considering the personal details she reveals in this excerpt and throughout her entire narrative, indicating a level of trust.

What was she trying to accomplish here by telling the story this way? Listening to Meryl's utterances, the way she dramatises her performance using linguistic devices such as

reported speech, asides ('father-to-daughter talk', 'British Bum Cleaners', 'heartbroken, hurtful') and verb phrases (e.g. 'stopped trusting') and repetitions, all these devices according to Riessman (2008) dramatises and draws the audience into her story, eliciting pathos and empathy for the narrator from the audience. Supporting Riessman (2008) and others' views that narratives are designed to accomplish something, whether consciously or unconsciously motivated (Freeman, 2002).

In this short segment below Meryl is vociferous about her HoD's role in her development and progress within the department. Her story illustrates the significant influence a manager can have, for good or for ill, on an employee's fortunes.

'I'm very privileged to have a head of department who's very enabling ... when it comes to me, she's the one who says 'I think you should do that; I want you to do that'. So she got me writing my first chapter and a book; she got me going to conferences, cause I was doing all this amazing work with students, and it was being positively [evaluated] – I used to do evaluation forms ... gathering all this data to see the effectiveness of my teaching – and she was like 'you need to go to conference and present this stuff'. ... So my boss saw the talent in me – she was always pushing me ... when I have meetings with her, she goes, keep doing what you're doing; it gets me out of trouble when I'm in senior management meetings – I just have to drop in what you're doing and everybody changes their mood.'

Meryl's utterances in this segment suggest that her manager was motivated by fairness and social justice and genuinely interested in her development.

The enthusiastic support from Meryl's HoD could be interpreted in several ways as altruism (as outlined above) on the part of the HoD or through the lens of Derrick Bell's (1980) theory as interest convergence, a fundamental tenet of CRT. Bell theorised that the interest of black people would only be prioritised if it also 'converged' with the interest of white people. Indeed, there is a strong inference of interest convergence in Meryl's surprisingly candid revelation from her manager about the senior managers' response to hearing about Meryl's performance ('she goes [HoD], keep doing what you're doing; it gets me out of trouble when I'm in senior management meetings.') The manager's revelation implies that she was not acting as what Spanierman and Smith (2017) refer to as a racial justice ally, with a sense of fairness and empowerment for Meryl, but for her interest as it enhances her status and infers she has no interest in empowering Meryl or her development.

An alternative interpretation, however, is that Meryl's HoD supported her because of their shared empathy. The HoD likely understood first-hand how the intersection of gender and motherhood can adversely affect a woman's career progression in HE. In fact, during the interview, Meryl mentioned that her HoD had also faced oppression ('...She said she was persecuted for doing her doctorate and she said, she vowed, if she saw any talented person, she would support them in their PhD.') when she returned from maternity leave and while completing her doctorate. Thus, one could argue that this is an example of true allyship

(Williams and Sharif, 2021) and, therefore, a genuine example of an effective inclusion and diversity strategy.'

In summary, Meryl's story (A True Ally: Excerpt 1) represents an awakening to the realities of racism. It is a realisation facilitated by what Meryl perceives as a true ally, which opens up Meryl's eyes to the fact that meritocracy does not exist for black female academics within academia. This is because of the hegemonic normativity of whiteness compounded by the intersection of gender, class, and ethnicity. The way this story is shaped serves the narrator's purpose of eliciting empathy from the audience. Perhaps this is a way for the narrator to cope with the perception of being portrayed as lazy and neglectful by her colleagues regarding her academic work.

Allyship and networks.

Pam's narrative suggests that she succeeded in her profession due to her academic abilities, ability to navigate the academic space, and the cultivation of a strong, supportive, and influential network. The following excerpt exemplifies the importance of allies and constructive networking in HEIs.

Excerpt 2: Pam

Scene 1.

- 1 I love the **academic freedom**, I love the idea that I can, more or less, do research in any area I want – I mean, that I'm **kind of the master of my own destiny** and ... I really enjoy the free thinking; I enjoy contributing to the next generation of nurse leaders ...'
- 2 So I love every element of my job ... I enjoy it ... no one bit that's better than the other, although I do quite like the bigger ideas; that's probably the best bit, where I can ... make things happen ...and connecting people and being part of the bigger ideas.

Freedom, empowerment influence and Sense of control

Scene 2.

- 3 My head of school in *[name]* she was a **great role model** and still is, and has been very supportive throughout my career up until now ...
- 4 **Colleagues**, such as *[name]* who, as a woman of a similar level – when we worked together, we were both lecturers – very naturally supportive of each other ...
- 5 I've been **lucky** to have won *[Name of prestigious award]* ...
- 6 Many people that's been very supportive *[name]* helped me to get on that programme
- 7 ... My head of subject, *[name]*, again, a **great mentor**, a medic here *[name of institution]* ... great mentor. *[name of mentor]* ...
- 8 the director of RCN *[name]* an encouraging person who used to be my boss when I was a nurse, many years ago in *[name of institution]*
- 9 ... So there have been many people who have helped me get where I am today, for sure ...
- 10 But the **key points in my career**, to get me where I am now, have been the great grounding that I got in *[name of institution]* – the 13 years that I did there, gave me a **great understanding of HEIs and teaching and learning** ... and **research**.
- 11 So, I needed that under my belt and I think that gave me the basis to build on.
- 12 The next pivotal thing was coming here and applying for the ... *[name]* **Leadership Scholarship**, which I only did, because I met *[name]* ... on a trip to *[name of country]* with work. So it's **serendipity**.
- 13 And I'd looked at those before ... and because I was a lecturer, albeit a very experienced one, I didn't think I would apply, but I was **lucky** in that I had then just got a part-time secondment *[Government]* with their *[name of team]* team ...
- 14 But that was the changing point for me. And, I mean, the other key person in my career was my **mentor**, *[name]*, *[Influential person]*... And **completely fundamental to me, being where I am now**. Absolutely. **Because he made me believe in myself**. Yeah.

Role model

Informal networks

Luck.
Repeated phrase

Mentors

Empowerment
Shift in power
relationships.

Agentic - active
verbs.

Key: **Significant phrases.** Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

Unusually, unlike many other participants' stories of deep-seated racism experienced in HEIs, Pam, although acutely aware of having experienced racism as a child, was ambivalent about having encountered racism during her journey through academia ('that I am aware of ... don't feel I've ever really been discriminated against or certainly consciously'). That said, there was no ambiguity about sex and maternity leave discrimination that she had experienced in HEIs ('what I have experienced in higher education is certainly the dominance of males'). So, she provided examples of patriarchal hegemony in the board room, denial of promotion on two occasions and being wrongly placed on a lower pay scale on returning from maternity leave. However, despite these issues, Pam's utterances depict someone who loves their job and is having an enjoyable experience in the HE sector(Scene 1).

Certainly, what emerged from Pam's and other case interview data was that having the support of powerful people and cultivating influential networks was crucial to a successful career pathway. The following story from Pam's interview data arose when I expressed surprise at her rapid trajectory and getting a Chair, whereby she reminded me of her 13 years of experience in lecturing and research as well as notable individuals ('I guess I'm still quite young. But I definitely think I've got where I've got because of key people') that were important in her success. This is an interesting story because Pam, unlike other participants (except perhaps for Meg), can identify multiple influential individuals rather than just focusing on one or two individuals important in progressing their careers. In addition, her words seem to suggest that these individuals are not just a series of contacts but long-lasting quality relationships. So, phrases such as 'very naturally supportive of each other' and 'a great role model and still is, and has been very supportive throughout my career.' indicate time has been invested in creating what the narrative implies are nurturing and symbiotic relationships that required valuable and effective social skills, demonstrating her ability to build a network of trusting relationships.

The narrative also reveals Pam's effusiveness about the generosity of the characters presented (Excerpt 2) progressing her career, as indicated by the repetition of phrases such as 'great ... great mentor', 'key person', 'pivotal', 'completely fundamental to me, being where I am now', 'it is serendipity', '... made me believe in myself. Yeah.' The characters are portrayed as supportive and generous, and she makes it clear how much she values them and, in turn, they appear to value her. Being championed by important and influential people in critical roles is a common theme in determining transition and career success. Pam's utterances also suggest there are two equally important types of network here, formal and informal, the informal being the colleague and a friend she worked with for 13 years: 'a woman of a similar level [black colleague] – when we worked together, we were both lecturers – very naturally supportive of each other'.

Although it is not revealed in this excerpt, the lecturer Pam refers to (Scene2 L:4) is also a person of colour. This is of relevance as research from the US (Phillips, Dumas and Rothbard, 2018) has found that ethnic minoritised employees are more likely to confide and share their experiences with others from a similar group rather than with those outside it,

because they find forging relationships across racial boundaries challenging. It also illustrates the fact that closeness and familiarity are essential to building social capital and career advancement (Bourdieu, 1988; Heffernan, 2021). Pam's narrative, however, illustrates that she has effective social skills in forging trusting relationships across ethnic group including many influential white allies.

According to Hashi Mohamed (2020), success is determined by cultural and social capital. For example, various interconnected factors such as one's parent's occupation(s), the country's economy, soft skills acquired in life, and the school or university attended. However, Mohamed also emphasises that luck plays a significant role in achieving success. This idea of luck as a determining factor is evident in the experiences shared by Pam and other participants. Pam credits luck for providing her with opportunities such as life-changing scholarships, government secondments and access to prestigious mentors.

Another explanation for Pam attributing her success repeatedly to 'luck' 'serendipity' (Scene 2: L: 5, 12,13) is that she is positioning herself as a modest and humble character because, according to Riessman (2016), this is a more 'desirable self to preserve face' rather than 'revealing an essential self'. So, presenting a modest character rather than a less pleasing persona of arrogance is nobler. It is also a way of conveying that she is not responsible or connected with her success. Although people are all individuals, studies have shown (Hofstede, 2011) that there are differences between different ethnic groups and genders in the presentation of modesty. For example, women are likelier to adopt modest self-presentation styles than men (Budsworth, 2016). Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov (2010) identified modesty and caring as valued feminine qualities. Indeed, modesty is a characteristic that is greatly valued in some cultures (Koh and Wang, 2014).

Nevertheless, although Pam is very generous in highlighting the role of others, and the role of 'luck' I believe her utterances also illustrate a strong sense of agency. She is the primary driver and architect of her success. For example, she makes it very clear that she engineered the foundation of her success, and it was she who successfully applied for and attained a prestigious scholarship.

Further, one could argue that some of these opportunities, seemingly due to serendipity, arose because she was focused, determined, and had a strategy to achieve her ambitions. Of course, any one or all of these explanations (luck, influential allies, serendipity) could be plausible. Riessman (1993, 2008) suggests that persuasive arguments and alternative interpretations are appropriate approaches for researchers to engage in order to establishing trustworthiness in the analysis of narrative data.

In summary, the narrative strongly suggests that Pam's personality, cultural experience (academic and research qualifications) and social capital (networks evidenced in this excerpt) she has acquired over her professional life are key factors in her success. She has established strong social connections with her peers, managers, and others in academia. These relationships are more than just casual contacts; they are enduring and meaningful connections. Phrases such as "very naturally supportive of each other" and "a great role

model and still is, and has been very supportive throughout my career..." suggest that she has dedicated time to cultivating nurturing and mutually beneficial relationships, showcasing valuable and successful social skills. The following excerpts serve as compelling examples of these observations.

Anyone Can Be a Social Justice Ally?

Meg's perspective, as presented in Excerpt 3, offers a unique angle to the discussion. She shares her experience of being headhunted for a post by a professor of genetics at a prestigious institution. Her account of the role of influential white allies in advancing careers echoes Pam and Meryl's experiences. However, Meg also emphasises the individual's role in their own success and the potential for anyone to be a true ally, regardless of their ethnic group.

Excerpt 3a: Meg

Scene 1. An invitation [*Head Hunted*]

1 'I got a call from the Professor of Genetics [*Prestigious Institution*],
2 where I went every few months ...
3 to give a talk to his students, who were all doctors. ...
4 'Do you fancy working here at the Institute of [*Name of prestigious institute*] ?

An Ally

Head Hunted.
Confident

Recognition of own
Self-worth/
self-value.
Not a paternalistic
act.

Scene 2. Recognition of own worth

5 Now, if I hadn't have got my PhD,
6 I don't think that invitation could have arisen ...

Scene 3. Valuing my contribution

7 A few years later, I got promoted to senior lecturer [*Community Genetic Counsellor*] which was quite something ...
8 it was my boss who was pushing me –
9 you see I had somebody who saw something in me ...
10 there are people ... if you've got something,

Valued by others.
Pride in
achievement.

Scene 3. Many types of allies

11 and we mustn't assume they're gonna be black or,
12 you know [*white*] – they could come from all sorts of backgrounds
13 we have to be alert enough to know,
14 actually, somebody's trying to keep the door open for us,
15 hold the door ajar; we've just got to go in ...'

Many kinds of
allies.

Recognise the
importance of trust
and seizing
opportunities.

Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

In scene 1, Meg clearly expresses to the audience that her interest in the position of Community Genetic Counsellor was based on her qualifications, talent, and ability to fulfil the job requirements rather than being a paternalistic action by the professor (L:3-6). However, at the same time, she also credits the role of the professor in advancing her career (S: 3 L: 7-9). Additionally, Meg makes a thought-provoking point that being an ally and offering opportunities is not limited to individuals of a specific race (Scene 4). Indeed, Marvel's mentor is an influential black professor outside of her HEI. Individuals need to recognise and seize those opportunities when they arise. This is an essential point because extensive literature foregrounds the role of white allyship (Chapter 2). Some scholars (Dabiri, 2021) argue that this emphasis implies an unequal power dynamic, with the black

individual portrayed as the 'victim' and the white ally as the 'saviour'. For some ethnic minoritised individuals, this term may be seen as condescending and perpetuate the existing hierarchical and unequal power relationship, with blacks as the subordinate party (see p75).

Meg's position in this excerpt is portrayed as that of a confident and proactive individual who recognises her self-worth and takes pride in her achievements (Scene 3: "I got promoted to senior lecturer [in genetics], which was quite something..."). This is significant as positive self-worth has been shown to mitigate the harmful effect of insidious racism and enhance well-being and life satisfaction (Williams, et al 2012; Du, King, Chi 2017; Jacob et al 2023)

Like Pam, Meg recalls the pivotal role of numerous supportive, predominantly white allies in her career. One such ally was a school medical officer facilitating her entry into a nursing training programme in the 1960s. This support was particularly significant as Meg had faced multiple rejections from nursing schools due to overt racism. The following excerpt illustrates the school officer's impassioned response to these rejections and his activism within his social network to secure Meg a place.

Excerpt 3b: Meg

Scene 1.

1	[A] School Medical Officer, who thought very highly of me , was,	Confidence in Meg
2	and I can actually remember this ,	
3	[He was] incandescent with rage when he heard.	Response to perceived injustice.
4	He said, ' I don't understand what's going on' – you're very bright, he just didn't understand it. '	
5	And he said, he'd give me his details of his alma mater in [Location in London],	Activism
5	and I ended up somehow applying to [Name] general hospital ... I got in ,	Positive Outcome

Scene 2.

7	... I do like teaching	Recognising Interest
8	and dad, straightaway, very focussed , said, why don't you become a tutor...	
9	I don't think I could go for a tutor's course , I don't think I have enough experience,	Diffident
10	and he said – and he was really, I'll never forget this – he sat me there and said, 'you mean, they don't allow you to apply to do a tutor's course?'	In awe Father's guidance.
11	I don't know [Meg's response].	
12	'Ah! Well, try, and if they say no, they say no, you never know, do you?... '	Encouragement

Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

Scene 2 shows her father's crucial role in believing in her and guiding her towards a career as a nurse tutor. The excerpt also indicates how much Meg valued her father's counselling. There is a sense here that someone cared about her future for the first time, and she was not alone ('...I had no family, you know, I was on my own since 16')—characteristics of true allies -Sponsors and Mentors.

Overall, Marvel's narrative suggests that she had a positive experience working within HEI, as there was no mention of any barriers to progression. 'I love the variety of my job' 'I'm in an organisation that's quite progressive and – I mean no organisation's perfect... I've always had bosses – who, within limits – seem to let me get on with it, as long as I'm delivering on the key targets and then the core mission – ' That said, her utterances also position her as an 'outsider within' a predominantly white space ('I am the only Associate Professor who is a black woman...when I go into the rest of the University I am usually the only black woman in the room..'). She navigates this space successfully by changing her presentation (e.g., cultivating a middle-class accent).

Marvel's utterances portray knowledge and insight into the experiences of black and ethnic minorities, and she is actively involved in various committees to tackle systemic and policy issues she feels perpetuates inequalities. There was, however, a reluctance within her narrative to reveal any personal racialised experiences and the way the narrative is constructed conveys an aloofness/detachment from their plight.

The utterances in this excerpt emerged in response to my question about factors promoting career advancement in black minoritised academics.

Excerpt 4: Marvel.

Scene 1. Importance of an informal network

- 1 I guess they sponsor you because they're impressed by your work
- 2 and I've been very **fortunate** – I've had both [*Mentoring and Sponsorship*]
- 3 I've had people who have guided me in a sort of mentoring relationship,
- 4 but I've also had people who have said 'I'm going to put my reputation on the line and give you some work
- 5 or ask you to do something which is maybe above your level or something.

**Gratitude
Effective mentors
and Sponsors.**

**Features of a
sponsor.**

Scene 2. Influential ally -power and influence

- 6 so she tended to say, [*Black female professor*]
- 7 'you should try this, you should apply for this, do this –
- 8 she was the person who gave me my first keynote address for example; she was asked to do a keynote and she couldn't do it,
- 9 and I think this is an example of sponsorship
- 10 and she said, 'I can't do it but I know somebody who will and she will be good'.
- 11 And, of course, I then got the email which said,
- 12 I would like you to do this keynote'
- 13 and I panicked,
- 14 and then, within minutes, I had an email from her saying
- 15 'look, by the way, I've told them you're going to do this
- 16 keynote; don't worry, I will help you ...

**Characteristics of a
true ally.**

Key: **Significant phrases.** **Interpretation.** **Interviewer's comments.**

Marvel's observation about the importance of mentoring supports other participants in this thesis, but her focus here (L:2-8) on the characteristics of a sponsor is unlike other participants.

In scene 1, she is very clear about the key features of a sponsor, describing a sponsor as someone who invests in you as an individual and is willing to take some risk to their reputation to help advance your career (L:4).

In scene 2, Marvel then provides a persuasive segment of text illustrating practical ways that her sponsor fulfils these criteria. She gives over the narrative to this influential character using direct speech, which, according to Riessman (2008), not only engages the audience but also lends credibility to her argument about the impact of a powerful individual, which she refers to as a sponsor. As discussed previously, Bhopal (2016) emphasises the significance of influential individuals supporting the career advancement of black minoritised academics. However, Bhopal also observed that black academics tend to have limited access to influential informal networks, which she refers to as a "Network of knowns." She contends these networks, described as "academic gatekeepers," play a crucial role in facilitating black academics' career growth and progress.

The excerpt in this section presents compelling data supporting the crucial role of social justice allies in advancing the careers of minoritised academics. Indeed, the majority of these allies were white, as power in academia is predominantly held by this group. The following extract from one of Pearl's narratives encapsulates precisely who she believes is valued and where the power lies in academia.

'... find a white person, cause...it's like 99% chance that that person that's gonna support you is going to be a white person...it doesn't matter how high up...even as a black person...you are going to have to come up with a senior person who is white and they will take another senior person who is white more seriously.'

However, it is important to note that not all allies are white, as asserted in Meg's narrative (Excerpt 3a). For instance, Marvel had an influential black ally outside her academic institution. While allies had a positive impact, it is essential to recognise that the participants also made progress and developed due to their determination, aptitude, and ability to navigate the academic space, which involved building a solid and influential supportive network. Nevertheless, Pearl's insightful remarks capture the complexities of systemic racism, where implicit biases lead to white individuals being perceived as more competent and authoritative than their black counterparts, regardless of seniority (Saini and Vance, 2020).

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Section 3. Subsidiary themes

Theme 4. Culture Nursing Department

The following excerpts shed light on the influence of the nursing academic department's culture on the participants' experiences. They address issues such as ineffective mentoring, horizontal violence, heavy workloads, tension between the research ethos of nursing departments and wider academia, and an unmotivated environment.

Lack of mentoring

In response to my question to Dee about the advice she would give to a newly qualified black minoritised lecturer. She emphasised how important networking is to success within academia (L:1-3) before segueing into reminiscing about missed opportunities. She expressed regret (L:6) that she did not get involved with publishing and research earlier in her career. She is unequivocal that classroom teaching was the primary focus for academics in the nursing department. The implications are that research and publishing were secondary due to a lack of mentorship and general guidance (L:5). The excerpt highlights a teaching-centric culture in the nursing department with little emphasis on professional development. It expresses regrets about the lack of awareness of navigating academia.

Excerpt 1: Dee

Scene 1.

1 **Networks**, I think, are the thing.

Networks-crucial

2 I think that's the crucial one.

3 Develop networks with other people so you can bounce ideas off,

Scene 2.

4 and the other thing is whether we like it or not, we have to publish more.

Benefits

5 I started[ed] publishing late because it was not encouraged. Nobody ever said to write anything. If I was good in the classroom, that would be all you needed.

Culture

6 I came late to the game ... but it is unfortunately, I could have done my PhD in 1990, and I didn't [gain PhD 2014]. **The only sadness I have is that I came late to the game of academia.**

**Regrets.
Navigating
academia**

Scene 3.

7 So the young person, black person or minority person, do it now when they are young, don't leave it till you're past it. I don't see myself as being past it.

Advice

Key: **Significant phrases.** **Interpretation.** **Interviewer's comments.**

While it may be argued that this experience took place in the 1990s and that mentorship schemes are now actively promoted by HEIs, poor mentorship experiences were evident in the narrative of other younger participants (Pearl and Meryl) in this thesis. Current research has shown that despite the benefits of effective mentoring schemes in promoting the careers of minoritised academics some have found dissatisfaction among black minoritised mentees who have linked poor mentorship by white mentors to their ethnicity (Harris and Ogbonna, 2023; Bhopal, 2020d).

Culture of the Nursing Department -Teaching-centric

In this excerpt, Byron recounts why he decided not to actively pursue the completion of a PhD programme, despite his ambition to do so after completing his two master's degrees. He cites several reasons hindering his progress, including the culture of the nursing department and the high teaching load (L:1-3).

Excerpt 2: Byron

Scene 1.

- 8 I came into it [*Lecturing*] in 1993. ...
9 what I have found is ... what you were doing **mostly is doing teaching**. That is what you just doing and you keep doing and you keep doing.
10 You'll do a **little research**
11 or you'll use research to underpin your teaching and practice
12 but not very much involved in actual doing of research
13 so that became an issue when the university decided that we should all do more of research so that is one aspect I think that has **actually impacted on my work here and the experience...**

Racial
Microaggression

Agentic positional-
ity

Microaggressions.
(Stereotyping
Nurses)

Scene 2. Pejorative view (of nursing professionals)

- 14 When I started here that was the time when ... the College of Nursing was joining the university
15 so there was that demand or that pressure on people without de-
grees to get degrees but I had my master's ...
16 that just made things a lot easier for me in terms of those challeng-
es. ... But then when it came to the point when and more people are
being encouraged to do PhDs and DProfs ... that was a few years
back, erm,
17 I felt **that was a challenge**
18 but then I measured that against my own **quality of life** and where
it would take me because I am in my sixties and I thought well I will
finish my PhD or my DProf and then I will retire.
19 It would be a fulfilment for me
20 but to me it would impact on my work. Because of that I haven't
done it [*PhD*] ...
21 because every now and again it is brought up by the head of the
dept... you know or by other people or you see people that's just
started doing it
22 so you say **well I could be doing it you know I am supporting
them maybe I should be doing it**
23 A few people who were being supported to do their PhD they had
started something in their field so they were **supporting them giv-
ing them sabbatical leave** ...
24 and the idea was that it would it would roll down to other people ...
25 But at the same time they were also concentrating on other people
without first degrees ... people without master's ... at the time. They
were concentrating on them so much that in a way those of us who
only had master's or two master's were left like 'you were okay. Just
get on with it.'
26 You know ...

Challenges:
studying and
working.

Valued role as
lecturer vs kudos or
PhD programme.

Regrets

Sidelined/
marginalised

Acceptance of
situation

Key: **Significant phrases.** Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

Notice, the repetitions in the first scene 'That is what you just doing and you keep doing and you keep doing.' Byron's use of linguistic features in parts of this excerpt not only serves to dramatise the account (Goffman, 1981) as opposed to just providing information but also, in this situation, serves to denote 'received or proffered commonality between speakers' (Wolfson 1982 p.). So, in scene 1, he uses repetition of the phrase 'keep doing' to mark an essential aspect of his narrative, and the rhythm of this section dramatically conveys an oppressive, burdensome work environment with a disproportionate emphasis on teaching. Byron's narrative suggests that because the department's strategy was to focus support towards colleagues completing undergraduate or post-graduate degrees, the allocation of teaching was disproportionate. Those who were not undertaking these studies had a higher workload, thus implying elements of both discrimination and a lack of aspiration for some members of staff in the department (L: 8-10;16-18). As the department's culture began to align with the HEIs, the opportunity for all staff to engage in research and complete a doctorate arose. Byron implies that the idea was still attractive, but after weighing up all the pros and cons, he felt he was too old and such a programme would impinge on the quality of his teaching and life (L11-12). But his utterances imply regrets (13-15) and a sense of acceptance and resignation (L:16).

In this context, it is imperative to consider what remains unspoken, especially regarding privilege and discrimination. Drawing from my experiences in a similar nursing department, I have observed how certain white colleagues were assisted in completing their PhDs. In contrast, others faced the challenge of balancing an overwhelming teaching schedule. Notably, Byron did not address these issues (the presence of racism in his department and what he felt about management) but readily recognised it amongst his students. The following extract reveals the impact of experiencing racism within the classroom.

'I was ... very very angry... people [students] perpetually saying that 'Oh I don't understand what you are saying... And if everybody has understood and only you don't seem to understand.' 'Talking non-stop ...' [students] 'Few people would be listening [students]...I know myself that I am knowledgeable enough to be able to impart knowledge to be able to facilitate it to the group and all that and all that.'

When prompted by my questions in another section of his narrative, Byron eventually revealed his experiences of racism within the classroom. He was very emotive in retelling these events, as illustrated by repetition and emotive terms ('very, angry'). Byron's retelling of the experience was painful and poignant, and he did not hold back in expressing his feelings about the microinsults from the students. In the passage above, he portrays himself as a victim, allowing the students to take control as they exhibit microaggressions and disrespect, which succeed in undermining his confidence.

It was only after further questioning about these classroom incidents that he eventually articulated discrimination ('Yeah I felt sometimes that they [students] were discriminating because of my colour Yeah I felt that'). Before this, he used several euphemisms (e.g. '...these students are behaving that way because of my background.' '... certain behaviour of

certain students...') to describe how he thought the students were behaving. This reluctance to discuss racism within the structure of the department could be due to many factors, including a lack of awareness regarding the nuances of this type of discrimination, denial or perhaps these issues were too difficult even to acknowledge.

Teaching-centric; erratic appraisal system.

This story illustrates Pearl's university's culture regarding teaching and research.

Excerpt 3: Pearl:

Scene 1.

- 1 'I married somebody who had a PhD,
2 so that had an impact on me ...
3 Yes, **it made me think a bit more** about it ...

Impact of outside perspective.

Scene 2.

- 4 I'd like to do a PhD ... when I first started, but **doing the daily work took a lot of time and my focus** ... it got to 2010, ...
5 I wanted to do a PhD, or I at least wanted to do some research

Ignited interest in research

Scene 3.

- 6 And, still at this point, nothing: nothing was said in the department;
7 so going to a conference or wanting to write any research or do anything like that, nothing was in the department to give you any indication that that was something that you should do.
8 They wouldn't necessarily stop you,
9 but there was nothing to say, well, I think, you know ... because things have changed ...
10 but I think the culture of the department at the time was like,
11 you got a degree, you got a master's, you got a teaching qualification – thank you very much –
12 and you've got good, broad, clinical experience and were a senior person in nursing;
13 we'll take that, thank you very much ...

Unmotivating environment

Unappreciated Undervalued

Culture

Scene 4.

- 14 ... having somebody with a PhD in the nursing department was very few and far between in those times.
15 And people doing research and people talking about research and what they're gonna do about their research ... a conference...

Scene 5.

- 16 ... **any kind of appraisal** ... said anything to me about, or the **few appraisals** that I had, ... those kinds of conversations didn't exist: 'is your module running well; are your students happy; is the fail rate low?' – that's it ...

Erratic Appraisal system

Lack of interest-Development of employees.

Scene 6.

- 17 ... about 2011/12, so I'd been a lecturer for 10 years, and doing any research I'd never done; gone anywhere, presented anything; even considered writing anything for – you know, you think about it and then you've got 40 exams to mark and you think well, that will have to wait, and you think, I haven't got time for that ... I think particularly in health, in academia –we're very much **teaching a learning focus compared to a lot of schools.**'

Barriers. Onerous workload

Key: **Significant phrases.** Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

Pearl's portrayal of the nursing department mirrors that of Dee and Byron. Here, she eloquently describes and captures the culture and ethos of the department at the time. Once again, it describes an onerous workload with a heavy focus on teaching and managing modules at the expense of self-development (S3 and 4). She portrays herself as part of a gigantic machine churning out an end product (Line: 16 'is your module running well; are your students happy; is the fail rate low?' – that's it') with little time to think and reflect. Indeed, Byron's description of his experience ('That is what you just doing and you keep doing and you keep doing') eloquently captures the rhythm of machinery and conveys an oppressive, burdensome work environment. Furthermore, Pearl said she had spent over ten years working within the nursing department before engaging in conferences and research or contemplating commencing a PhD programme of study. Additionally, this interest in research and further studies was ignited by outside forces, such as her partner, who holds a doctorate (Scene 1).

Pearl positions the nursing department as somewhat uncaring ('we'll take that, thank you very much ..., but I think it is one way'), undynamic and unambitious (L: 6-9) with little interest in the development and progression of some of their staff ('what appraisals you had at those times, not really a lot; well, I'm trying to think how many appraisals I had – not that many!'). Indeed, as mentioned previously, participants' positioning of their nursing department in this light is also evident in other narratives (Dee, Byron and Meg). These issues enhanced marginalisation of minoritised academics, making them feel excluded and invisible. Other factors, discussed previously, that added to and intensified oppression, adversely impacted wellbeing, and hindered career progression include the perception of nursing as a gendered profession; institutional racism and racial microaggressions; difficulty accessing white-dominated networks; having to work harder than white colleagues; lack of effective mentoring; and feelings of invisibility and hypervisibility.

The narratives constructed by the participants strongly suggest that these factors have contributed to a poorly developed research culture, hindered career growth, and stifled intellectual ambitions. It appears that those in the 'in-group' receive encouragement and support to advance their careers while those outside, usually minoritised academics (Bhopal, 2016), who feel marginalised are left to navigate their careers on their own. Thus illustrating the intersectionality of race and group female oppression. Additionally, I believe that the deliberate exclusion of marginalised academics from so-called 'informal in-groups' serves as evidence of the dominant influence of whiteness in HEIs. This perpetuates white privilege, resulting in HEIs being described and perceived as predominantly white spaces both in terms of demographics and politics (Moore, 2020; Gusa, 2010; Anderson, 2022). These issues contribute to a system and culture within HEIs that reproduces and upholds inequality.

One key theme to emerge from these three stories, which was also reflected in other case studies, is that the culture of the nursing department was an essential factor in hindering progression and development. The three narratives presented here affirm a teaching-centric

culture and a disproportionate emphasis on management with little focus on research or, more importantly, staff development and progression. Indeed, Pearl's excerpt (Line 17) and other sections of her narrative confirmed that this culture was at odds with the culture in other departments, such as sociology, where she had delivered several sessions, suggesting there was a tension between the nursing department and the ethos of the rest of the university regarding engagement in research.

‘Pulling up the ladder behind you’

This particular expression is a commonly used idiom characterising an individual who has received support and opportunities to advance but refuses to allow others to have the same (Ayto, 2020). Lavinia’s story conveys this behaviour as well as elements of competitiveness.

Excerpt 4: Lavinia

Scene 1. The ideal post

- 1 I saw a job advertised at the University [name] for professor of nursing ... part of the ad really, really went on about equalities and we want somebody from the minority communities
- 2 ... so I thought yeah I’m in my element here, yeah. It sounds really good to teach [*Race and Health*]. ... That is why I was in my element ...

Confident
Excitement

Scene 2. Disappointment

- 3 So I went and I felt really, this is my job.
- 4 However, it was given to someone else. I was disappointed ...

Rejection
Disappointment

Scene 3.

- 5 ... My own views are this um the professor there was a black woman and she wasn’t going to be able to cope with two black people in senior positions there and **she saw me as competition** ... it was this woman who didn’t want another black person there, you know that was my overall feeling.
- 6 They left all the responsibilities to her to guide them [*Interview panel*] about who they wanted ... I could see in that panel, the **white people** they wanted me ... But the BME woman, the black woman [name] had issues and I could see, I could understand where she was coming from ... **But I felt that they had put the onus on one person to make a decision.**

Hindering progress
Block competition.

Shift to risk
Polarised decision.

Scene 4.

- 7 So, I contacted [*friend*] who had a beacon programme for BME nurses and I said [name] would you believe that [name] blocked me and she said well you would expect her to, wouldn’t you. So, we talked about that ... and [name] gave me use of her mindfulness techniques ... to cope with it and I said I don’t need any of that to be honest ...

No resentment
Empathy/
Understanding.

Scene 5.

- 8 I saw it as a **system issue** [*Systemic racism*].
- 9 She’s blocking me because she’s black and because **there’s pressure on her as a black woman**. I didn’t see it,
- 10 I didn’t take it as [name] being racist ...

Institutional racism

Perception -
not interpersonal
racism

Scene 6.

- 11 You see race does matter, because they know that white people can only take us in **small doses**, so **they don’t want other black people to come and crowd the scene up, just me alone as a black person please**. [name] blocked the living daylights out of me.

Scene 7.

12 ... But the **issue of black competition** is there. ... all I received was **blockages from BME people** ...

13 But I received a **lot of help as well**

14 ... there are a lot of BME people out there who were looking at mentoring and coaching and supporting BME people...

Unsupportive black colleagues

Supportive black colleagues.

Key: **Significant phrases.** **Interpretation.** **Interviewer's comments.**

Lavinia, who was introduced earlier, was a migrant from the Caribbean and trained as a nurse in the UK in the late 1970s. However, her story is more than a typical migrant's tale as woven into her narrative in the genre of a quest (Frank, 2012). Lavinia's words reveal her lifelong pursuit of challenging inequality and injustice in her personal and professional life. As mentioned, her impressive career in the NHS and HE included holding several influential positions. In the excerpt above, Lavinia shares an experience of being rejected for a professorial position. When asked why she was not chosen, she recounted the story and her reasoning for rejection.

Given her passion, experience and publications in the field, she had expressed confidence in securing the post (Scene 1). However, she was disappointed that she did not get the position and attributed it to a black academic on the selection panel (Scene 2). The implications are that the decision was unfair and polarised because Lavinia felt the sole minoritised panellist persuaded all the others (white) that she was not suitable for the post as she sensed all the white panellists would have given her the position 'they wanted me' (L:6).

Although initially annoyed and disappointed, Lavinia positions herself as empathetic (L:8-10) to the minoritised panellist, whom she felt shifted the other panellist to reject her. Lavinia did not believe she was exhibiting internalised racism (10). Instead, she blames what her utterances suggest: systemic/institutional racism (L: 8, 11) and gendered issues, as she explicitly highlights the panellist's gender 'pressure on her as a black woman.' (L:9). In other words, the implications are that the black panellist was negotiating the political landscape of the institution for her survival.

Although disappointed (L:4), the discussion of the interview with Lavinia's confidantes implies awareness and acceptance and that the outcome was predictable and due to academia's competitive culture (L:7). Additionally, following a period of reflection, in the final part of the story, Lavinia appears to be in agreement with their conclusions as she reveals that being thwarted by other black minoritised academics has indeed been a pattern in her HE career. At the same time, she acknowledges that she has received much support throughout her career from other black minoritised academics (L:16).

Lavinia's positionality in this excerpt is fluid, initially portraying herself as a victim, possibly to illicit sympathy from the audience, having informed them of how well qualified she was for the post and that she was unfairly rejected. In other scenes, she seizes some level of control by rationalising the outcome as being due to "systemic issues," implying that she or anyone else cannot control this biased outcome. Other characters (confidants) are

portrayed as supportive and in agreement, blaming the system for her rejection. The white panellist is positioned as complicit with the system, as they were so easily persuaded, while the black female panellist is portrayed as a victim of the system.

Lavinia's sanguine acceptance of the outcome of the interview was surprising to me—competitiveness between two black colleagues, which resulted in the rejection of another black colleague (Lavinia) from a post she appeared suitably qualified for. My response resulted from a belief in collegiality, which most HEIs promote, and a naïve conviction that a black colleague would be empathetic and eager to support another highly qualified black colleague i.e. solidarity 'sisterhood' with fellow black academics. However, the literature (Carbado and Gulati, 2004; Allan, Cowie and Smith, 2009) reveal that this issue was far from unique to Lavinia and is in fact a common occurrence. According to Carbado and Gulati (2004), minoritised groups who reach the top of the corporate hierarchy are reluctant to 'engage in door-opening activities' for other minoritised employees, arguing that it may be unrealistic to expect black academics to react differently from their non-black colleagues regarding competitiveness in corporations or institutions such as HEIs (Keashly and Neuman, 2010).

Horizontal violence and Institutional racist bullying

The nursing profession has been aware of the phenomenon of horizontal violence for well over three decades, yet today, it is still just as prevalent (Berquist, St-Pierre and Holmes, 2018; Yang et al, 2022; Travaini et al., 2024). Horizontal violence, however, occurs intersectionally for minoritised nurse academics, occurring not only within established forms of horizontal oppressive practices in nursing but also from racism. This is outside of the automatic privilege that is afforded colleagues with a white identity (white privilege) and internalised racism born from the colonial mindset (Fanon, 1952; Memmi, 2021) of some minoritised academics.

A fairly broad and all-encompassing definition by Thobaben (2007) defines horizontal violence as 'Any hostile, aggressive, and harmful behaviour by a nurse or a group of nurses towards a co-worker or group of nurses via attitudes, action, words and/or other behaviours.' (2007, p.82). These behaviours are not confined to the nursing profession or HEIs (Keashly and Neuman, 2012; Miller et al., 2019) but are also prevalent in other organisations (Verma, 2024).

This behaviour is unsurprising, as it occurs in highly stressful work environments. Nevertheless, it remains a significant issue within the nursing profession. Studies indicate that a large percentage of nurses experience horizontal violence in the workplace, leading to toxic environments that adversely impact staff morale, turnover, and patient care. Many perpetrators are more experienced nurses or managers who perceive themselves as superior to their peers (Berquist, St-Pierre and Holmes, 2018; Yang et al., 2022; Travaini et al., 2024).

This excerpt from Meryl's narrative was selected because it aptly illustrates the typical subtle sarcastic exchanges that occur in the workplace setting between individuals, as opposed to the more overt forms of horizontal violence, such as bullying, represented elsewhere within this thesis and in the narratives of many of the participants (e.g., Dee, Pearl, Lavinia, Cathy). Indeed, in one study (Taylor, 2016), snide verbal affronts were found to be very common behaviour, illustrating horizontal violence.

Excerpt 5: Meryl

Scene 1.

- 1 I still work with a lady who was my personal tutor, and she's white,
- 2 and that relationship, sadly, has really broken down,
- 3 primarily, when I started my PhD.
- 4 She said to me 'well, **I can't be that great a lecturer when you're doing a doctorate and I'm not**'.
- 5 And that, I couldn't believe it, I could not believe that sort of 'uh!' response.

Ruptured
Relationship

Hostile comment.
Disbelief

Scene 2.

- 6 And I found that I, because I do my work really well, I have a reputation for very high standards,
- 7 so sometimes, some colleagues don't like that; they're like, 'well, what's all that about?'
- 8 So there have been **some interesting challenges** with regards to not everyone's happy for you when you do your job well.

Perception of
resentment

This excerpt describes a deteriorating relationship between Meryl and her tutor, and Meryl's utterances assert that the catalyst for this is that she has commenced a PhD programme of study(L:3). The evidence from the narrative positions the tutor as exhibiting hostile and unprofessional behaviour(L:4) when she accuses Meryl of poor delivery of her lectures. Meryl's recalling of the exchange implies that her tutor's hostile behaviour was motivated by jealousy ("You're doing a doctorate, and I'm not' "). Notice the use of direct speech by Meryl, which Riessman argues draws the reader into the story and makes the narrative more believable.

However, participants Dee, Pearl, Lavinia, and Cathy's stories of more overt forms of horizontal violence, such as bullying, are more complex than just depicting bullying behaviour because they involve the intersection of racism with horizontal violence. For example, Dee vividly depicted her perception of racialised bullying (p 155) in her story of racism and victimisation by her institution, illustrated by phrases such as "made my situation there intolerable", "I decided enough was enough", "they were always at me", and "they used it against me." Further, racist bullying was aptly illustrated in Allan, Cowie and Smith's (2009) study of overseas nurses' experiences of discrimination. In the interrogation of three strong examples of workplace bullying, their findings illustrated the concept of 'racist bullying', which they contend is a specific form of bullying; examples include abusive

power dynamics, communication difficulties, emotional reactions to racist bullying, and strategies for confronting bullying.

According to researchers (Keashly and Newman, 2010), overt types of horizontal violence, such as bullying, pose a significant danger to an individual's professional status. The way the participants describe their experiences suggests that bullying intent is to isolate and obstruct, thereby hindering the individual's ability to achieve their goals (Keashly and Newman, 2010). This type of bullying is commonly seen in academia and is an effective means of damaging a colleague's professional reputation. Given the importance placed on 'intellectual rigour, achievement, and reputation' in academia (Keashly and Newman, 2010), this form of bullying can have serious consequences. Importantly, Allan, Cowie and Smith (2009) assert that literature on workplace bullying provides the means to scrutinise discrimination on both individual and organisational levels, thereby helping to identify instances of racist bullying.

In summary, these excerpts depict the dynamics within some nursing departments, shedding light on various challenges that create a complex and demanding work environment. These challenges encompass the emphasis on teaching, ineffective mentorship, limited opportunities for growth, competition, identity performance and interpersonal conflicts. While these issues are not unique to any specific group or field, they intersect to create barriers for minoritised academics in HEIs.

Theme 5. Migrants- Identity Performance in a white space and Cultural assimilation

Introduction

This section aims to provide a brief introduction to the migrant story that emerged from the data. It will specifically focus on one migrant participant's strategy for fitting into a predominantly white environment using impression management. The two excerpts below from Meryl's narrative explore identity performance strategies adopted by many black and ethnic minoritised groups to navigate predominantly white spaces by invalidating negative stereotypes (Carbado and Gulati, 2015) and be accepted in a culture where cultural racism persists. The first part of Excerpt 1 explores cultural assimilation and success, while excerpt 2 looks more specifically at the challenges faced by African migrant nurses and practical strategies for navigating the workplace and successfully integrating into that culture. Before discussing these aspects the first section below will briefly outline why a migrant story emerged from the data..

The sample comprised six migrant participants (Dee, Lavinia, Vanita, Byron, Meryl, Marvel). This significant proportion of the sample and the emergence of a migrant narrative were unsurprising given the NHS's historical reliance on a migrant nurse labour force to mitigate labour shortages since its inception in 1948. This reliance,, underscores the crucial role that migrant nurses have played in the UK healthcare system. Further, all participants were from Commonwealth countries, which aligns with the NHS's historical pattern of overseas recruitment (Solano and Rafferty, 2007; Bach, 2010) Chapter 2.

The motivations for people to migrate to other countries are many and varied. Larsen et al. (2005) and Smith et al. (2006), in their studies exploring the reasons for nurses from overseas migrating to the UK and entering the nursing profession, found that these reasons could be broadly categorised into personal, professional, family, financial and social. The narratives of the migrants in this thesis suggest that all these reasons played a part in their decision-making process. In terms of family, patriarchal fathers featured in a number of the stories and were undoubtedly instrumental in shaping the career trajectories of some participants (Dee, Meryl). However, the professional factor was common across most of the migrant participants narratives. Indeed, despite each story portraying assorted reasons for leaving their country of birth, nearly all portray that entering the nursing profession was a route to gain a foothold in UK society as newcomers. In this context, the nursing profession was seen as not just a profession but a significant pathway for social advancement and integration into UK society. In short, nursing appears to be a relatively accessible avenue for attaining professional status and gaining social advancement and a foothold in UK society.

Some of the signposts familiar to the migrant story and present within this thesis include a nursing career as a second choice, a strong belief in education as a means of career advancement within academia, a lack of career guidance, poor mentorship, and experiences of racism and discrimination, especially about progression and development (Dhaliwal and McKay, 2008; Allan, Cowie and Smith, 2009; Larsen et al., 2007, Moyce, Lash, and de Leon Siantz, 2016). Although the issues discussed in this thesis are relevant to both migrants and UK-born participants some of these issues are generational and pertinent to a specific

historical period, such as the expansion of higher education in the UK and increased access to education for international students (refer to Chapter 2).

Excerpt 1: demonstrates impression management and the power of language in assimilating and acceptance into a culture.

Excerpt 1: Meryl

Scene 1. My accent

Interviewer: Did you experience racial discrimination before entering the nursing profession or HE?

- 1 No, I didn't.
- 2 Because I distinctly remember my first home visit as a CPN for older adults.
- 3 I rang this gentleman; 'Mr Jones, my name is XXX, I'm the nurse from the GP practice; I've been asked to assess you because I believe you've been having memory problems.'
- 4 'Oh certainly, darling, do come.' I said, 'I'll come at 10am and see you, is that ok?' 'Oh certainly.'
- 5 I knocked on his door, opened the door – **'What do you want?'**
- 6 I said 'hello Mr Jones, I've come from – my name is ..., I rang you two days ago to make an appointment.'
- 7 **'Nobody told me you were black.'**
- 8 So I stood there and I went 'really, well, I guess I am!'
- 9 And he said **'You speak such good English; were you born in this country?'** 'Oh no, Sir, I was born in Africa.'
- 10 'Really, well you must have come here when you [were] 5 years old.'
- 11 'No, sir. I came when I was 18 years old.'
- 12 'Who taught you English; your English is almost perfect!'
- 13 'Well, I was taught by English people in my country.'
- 14 15 minutes he stood at the door and he said
- 15 'hang on a minute – darling, come and see this!' He called his wife.
- 16 'Listen to her, she's got a wonderful English accent and she's black!'
- 17 So I just stood there and said 'yes, I guess I am. I've been sent by your GP though.'
- 18 And once **he had quizzed me, then he let me in and we had a wonderful relationship after that.**

Patient
Polite respectful.
Unaware of Meryl's ethnicity.

Aggressive response
Overt Racism based on phenotype

Identity performance.

Acceptance.
Conformed to norm

Scene 2. A Realisation

- 19 The other thing I wanted to mention to you – I remember when I did PGCE, I did a piece on language
- 20 and I remember reading a piece from Lenny Henry – I love Lenny Henry –
- 21 and he was talking about different dialects and, cause he's from a Jamaican background, **he fluctuates.**
- 22 So a friend of mine sent me a little video clip of him at some do, and the way he fluctuated from Jamaicanisms into proper English and then Dudley up north, and he's got this way of expressing himself.
- 23 And I realised, wow, that's me, I do that!

Adapted language in a white space.
(Code-switching)

Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

Scene 3. Cultural assimilation and success

24 And I think, based on the idea of meritocracy,
25 I think the other thing is I do not have an African accent
26 and **I think that's been a huge vehicle to my success.**
27 Cause I don't have that very distinct – you know when you hear
some Nigerians speaking, you know, with a **very thick accent**,
28 I generally don't have that,

Scene 4. Observed in other colleagues/language and success

29 and I've found that my colleagues who have been very successful,
30 they are very similar; their English is so good and it's soft – they may
have a slight tinge.
31 And I think that makes a difference,
32 cause I reckon if I had a very thick accent, I probably may not have
done as well,
33 and I've heard a lot of people say the same thing.

Scene 5. Feelings about losing accent in order to fit in

*Interviewer: How do you feel about changing/getting rid of your ac-
cent in order to fit in?*

34 No I don't because I tell people that this is who I am,
35 but I think it's unfair that my colleagues, who are very capable, are
not given that opportunity because of the way they speak,
36 but I know it for sure.
37 No, cause I had to do that from day 1 with apartheid.
38 So my first experience at school was in a black township,
39 and then independence came,
40 I was in a school with white kids – boom – so I learned how to speak
like them.
41 So that was very much a result of apartheid. If I hadn't had that
education, I probably would.

Awareness re:
identity
performance/code
switching and
succeeding.

Cultural Capital:
Language and
accent

Key: Significant phrases. Interpretation. Interviewer's comments.

Meryl remembered a specific incident when she worked in the community and visited a client's home. Before the appointment, she called the client to arrange the visit. The way she spoke on the phone sounded polite (Scene 1 Lines 1–4), and the client seemed to be looking forward to her visit. The implication is that Meryl spoke using perfect English, so her ethnicity was not revealed. The client was therefore expecting a white British nurse.

In scene 1 (L; 6-8), there is a clear demonstration of overt racism in the dialogue. Mr. Jones is depicted as brusque, and his implied aggressive tone indicates that he views Meryl as an object of curiosity and lacks respect for her. This scene portrays overt racism ("What do you want?" "Nobody told me you were black"). However, within 15 minutes, Meryl's identity performance- showcasing her command of English, professionalism and conforming to his social norms - put Mr Jones at ease and persuaded him to treat Meryl respectfully (8-13). The client's response suggests that Meryl has fulfilled the conditions (social norms) for acceptance into the white space. She is now seen as 'one of us' and no longer viewed as an 'outsider' by Mr. Jones (L: 9-16). For Meryl, the interaction indicates that the client's praise of her accent

validates her sense of belonging (14-18). Meryl does not seem perturbed by this racialised interaction, and she does not share her feelings about the client's racialised behaviour with the audience.

In these scenes (1-3), she portrays herself as composed, respectful, articulate, unaffected and inured in the face of a racist attack, thus strategically asserting herself. I use the term 'inured' because it aptly captures the experience of many people of colour in predominantly white spaces where racism is a daily reality. This aligns with the CRT tenet that emphasises how racism is ingrained in the everyday lives of black minoritised groups in the US and the UK, where it is normalised (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). Other CRT tenets are also reflected, such as the intersection of class, gender, and race and the concept of white privilege (McIntosh, 1989). CRT scholars use this concept to challenge the refusal of white individuals to acknowledge their privileged position in society due to their skin colour and how this lack of acknowledgement perpetuates racialised societies. This is why CRT scholars like Delgado (2006) emphasise the importance of this concept. Delgado states, "White privilege thus demands the serious attention of every race scholar" (p.1271).

Furthermore, a person of colour is expected to change in order to fit into a predominantly white environment. In contrast, a white person enjoys the privilege of not needing to consider factors like language, dress, and speech in order to be accepted. However, I believe that the system of discrimination within these white spaces needs to change. Scholars (Fanon, 1952; Du Bois, 1903; Carbadó and Gulati, 2015; Durkee and Williams, 2015; Dickens and Jones, 2020; Anderson, 2022) assert that in order to be accepted in predominantly white cultural settings, many people of colour feel compelled to adapt their values, attitudes, and behaviour as a survival strategy. Scholars, such as Fanon (1952), contend that regardless of a person of colour's efforts to assimilate into white culture, they will never attain equality due to their inability to shed their racial identity - the "epidermal character of race." This assertion is substantiated by research from Smith et al. (2006), which revealed that overseas nurses faced discrimination based on their colour and ethnicity rather than their migrant status, providing evidence for Fanon's conclusions.

Notice in Scene 1 that Meryl's use of direct speech, representing both the client and herself, engages the reader and, as noted by Riessman (2008), enhances the credibility of the interaction. Her words suggest that she is in control of the situation while portraying the client as disrespectful and discriminatory, placing him in a position of weakness. Scene 2 also supports her agentic stance as her utterances (Lenny Henry video, language classes) show she is well aware of navigating **interracial spaces** by modifying how she communicates- code-switching (Durkee and Williams, 2015).

In scene 3 (L:24-27), Meryl's utterances imply that she recognises the existence of racism because she openly admits that losing her African accent has helped her fit into the culture and gain acceptance from her colleagues. The literature supports this perspective (Xu, 2007; Durkee and Williams, 2015).

However, it is also possible that Meryl's words reflect her belief in meritocracy as a means of achieving success. So, in order to succeed in her career, she needs to engage in identity performance, which means she may have to suppress some of her cultural traits at work. Meryl does not express her opinion on whether academia represents the principles of meritocracy, leaving it up to the audience to decide where she stands on the issue (Gulati and Carbado, 2000; Durkee and Williams, 2015).

On one level, Meryl's philosophy for success – hard work and integration into the culture – is understandable. Before starting her doctorate, she received support and encouragement from her managers, positively interacted with her colleagues and was making progress and growing in academia. In the first part of the interview I asked her if she had faced any obstacles in advancing, she unequivocally expressed her gratitude for the encouragement and support from her manager, whom she considered to be an effective ally (See allyship section pg. 174-175).

'No, my bosses have seen me and said 'I need you to go on this course'. I've had really good bosses who've said to me 'you're amazing; I need you to go on this course' and I've gone on the course and I've done projects. And my current boss is the same...'

Returning to the discussion of language and accents (scenes 2-4). When I brought up the barriers that may have affected progress, Meryl's response ('The other thing I wanted to mention to you', L:19) suggests that she may not have heard my question or chose to ignore it. Instead, she focused on sharing a lengthy and complex narrative about the importance of speaking as a middle-class white person and losing one's accent. Her detailed response implies that this issue was crucial for her academic advancement, and she was very clear about its significance in scenes 3–4.

In these scenes, it is evident that Meryl takes pride in speaking English without an accent. When asked about losing her accent, she expressed intense satisfaction and achievement in speaking with a middle-class accent (Scene 5, lines 34-35). According to Tajfel and Turner (1986), language is a way of expressing culture and conveying values and beliefs and is essential for expressing group identity. On the other hand, losing her accent to be accepted as part of the 'in-group' could be seen as a betrayal of her African culture. However, Meryl also mentioned her ability to adapt her accent and communication based on the context (code-switching), illustrating the use of the language for her benefit within that context while still maintaining her identity and cultural values (Durkee and Williams, 2015).

There is also an expression of sympathy for colleagues who do not engage in impression management (L:6) by adapting their language within a professional context. I wondered if Meryl's empathetic positioning was prompted by my question about losing her accent and, thus, an attempt to demonstrate a more desirable self (Goffman, 1959) to the audience. Interestingly, the white British man in Scene 1 is portrayed as both enthralled and racist in his surprise that Meryl is black. However, because of Meryl's identity performance/impression management, she is accepted within a white space. Moreover,

Scene 4. Unwritten agenda/rules

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of the meaning of your father's advice?

- 20 So, for example, immigration –
21 the laws of the country: so you should do this; you follow those law[s]; don't ever break them;
22 we have a department policy that says how you do things – you follow that policy and don't break it. And it will work well for you.
23 So that's one of the things that I found a huge advantage.

Navigating HEI

Scene 5. Tricks of the trade

Interviewer: Could you clarify for me what you mean by tricks of the trade? Are these survival strategies?

- 24 Yeah,
25 so if a colleague is saying 'well the students are saying they're not happy about my work'.
26 And I'll say 'is that hearsay or have you done an evaluation?'
27 And I often start my teaching and say 'you must have a lesson plan, you must look at your reference list and you must always evaluate your lessons, particularly when you're starting'.
28 Give an evaluation until you've done them twice, three times, and then you will get your feedback. So if your boss is saying, 'sorry, you haven't passed your probation,
29 your feedback from colleagues is this'. You can say 'well here is my written evaluation'. She can't go and say whatever;
30 that's kind of the way I work, if you know what I mean.

Scene 6. The hidden curriculum

- 31 And **when black colleagues aren't trained like that**, they start to do things that **violate those laws or the**, what's called the 'hidden curriculum' – don't send emails when you're angry; talk on the phone or arrange a meeting; have an agenda and then type up the outcome of your meeting and send it back.
32 It's all these little things that I teach them –
33 yes it feels really long-winded, but it protects you in the end,
34 and I think that's a big issue with some of my colleagues who've not done very well.
35 And it's very sad because once they've had – it's like one of my colleagues, she almost had the shock I had when I had the chat with the professor.

Consequences of
Lack of insight and
awareness of
Hidden curriculum

Finding my own
way

Scene 7. Finding my own way

Interviewer: So the chat with the professor was a pivotal moment?

- 36 It was for me.
37 But she [Colleague Line:35] almost had that sort of feedback right at the start of her career; I don't think I could have coped with that at the beginning.

- 38 What I **got, when I started, was a lot of encouragement and motivation,**
- 39 **because I was achieving the results and students were happy.**
- 40 And, in fact, my **boss**, when I have meetings with her, she goes, keep doing what you're doing; it gets me out of trouble when I'm in senior management meetings – I just have to drop in what you're doing and everybody changes their mood.
- 41 So I think, and I didn't get any mentorship, I have to admit,
- 42 the lady – she was actually one of my ex-lecturers – **who was assigned to be my mentor**, and all she gave me, **I'll never forget it, she gave me a folder, like this, and she goes**
- 43 'Hi [Meryl], welcome to the department – **here's your folder; it's got everything you need in it.**' **And she just left me at that.** And that's what motivated me to mentor other new lecturers.
- 44 And, again, she was another one **who was not interested in my development or anything,**
- 45 **so what I then decided to do was to make the job into my own** and have that vision I had before – I just used that, and the next thing, she was like 'wow, you're doing really well!' [Mentor]
- Key:** **Significant phrases.** **Interpretation.** **Interviewer's comments.**

Support and encouragement from manager

Meryl's experience of poor mentorship - a motivational factor in helping others.

Excelled despite ineffective mentorship

Meryl identifies critical challenges experienced by her Black colleagues from Africa. These challenges encompass disproportionate disciplinary actions, difficulties adapting to the culture of higher education institutions (HEIs)—including issues related to accent, language, and navigating unfamiliar social norms—and a significant gap in effective mentoring crucial for nurturing and advancing academics. Meryl's insights are strongly supported by scholarly research from Ezeonwu (2019), which reveals that African-born nurses frequently face hurdles adjusting to sociocultural differences.

Research findings in the UK support Meryl's observations regarding the challenges faced by some of her black minoritised colleagues, particularly those from Africa (Smith et al., 2006; Henry, 2007; Likupe and Archibong, 2013; Kline and Warmingtton, 2024). Additionally, these issues are emerging internationally due to the increasing globalisation of the workforce (Isaac, 2020; Showers, 2015; Likupe, 2015; Iheduru-Anderson and Wahi, 2018; Ezeonwu, 2019; Junious et al., 2010) (Chapter 1). The issues of poor mentoring, as highlighted by Meryl in Excerpts 1 and 2 and also referenced in the narratives of other participants (Pearl, Dee, Byron), suggest that black academics are not included in the informal networks that support and develop white academics (due to white privilege), which in turn helps the latter advance within HEIs (Bhopal 2020b). Other scholars (Henry, 2009; Miller, 2016) argue that perceived discrimination among migrants can lead to career stagnation and marginalisation, contributing to their disengagement from development opportunities and exacerbating the exclusionary process.

Walani (2015) comprehensive review of the literature identified discrimination and unequal treatment as one of the significant challenges faced by migrant nurses from Africa and Asia in Western countries like the UK, Australia and North America. In this excerpt (2), discrimination in learning and development was illustrated by several factors, including the

absence of an effective mentoring system for Meryl and other minoritised academics (L:41-45). However, she observed that this was in place for white colleagues. This lack of effective mentoring for migrant nurses is also acknowledged in the literature, with studies (Allan, 2010) concluding that barriers to effective mentoring practice, such as lack of awareness of the impact of cultural differences on mentoring and learning for migrant nurses, are indicative of ineffective teaching of ethical practice in culturally diverse healthcare contexts.

These issues convey a sense of social and cultural isolation, lending support for the concept of the 'outsider within', which is how Patricia Hill Collins (1998) describes her experience of marginalisation as a black female academic. Nevertheless, despite what Meryl perceives as a lack of interest in her development, the excerpt portrays her determination to succeed: '...she was another one ...not interested in my development so I decided ...to make the job my own and have that vision I had before.' (scene 7 L:43-45). Though Meryl's experience was marked by inadequate mentorship, the strong support and encouragement she received from her head of department (Scene 7, Lines 38-41) significantly bolstered her experience. This mutually beneficial relationship (Line 40) highlights an apparent convergence of interests, as Bell (1980) articulated.

In Scene 6 (L:34-36), Meryl's utterances appear to position her apart from the previously mentioned issues. It is as if she is an outside observer looking in, keeping her distance. This does not mean she is insensitive and uncaring, as the passage shows empathy and compassion for her colleagues. Her description of the practical and efficient support for her colleagues supports this idea, showing her as a true ally (Scene 3; 5 and 6).

Throughout this excerpt, Meryl positions herself again as confident, active, and agentic, astutely observing and identifying the issues (Scenes 1 and 2) and employing the relevant strategies to resolve them (Scenes 5 and 6). Meryl appears to cast herself as the saviour of her fellow black colleagues, providing advice on navigating the culture of academia and the social and professional norms otherwise known as the hidden curriculum (Scene 3, lines 15-18; Scene 6, line 31). Her positionality in Scene 3 suggests a person of strong moral standing, demonstrating altruism- doing good for others even though she successfully navigated the system unaided and with little support from others within her department (Scene 7, lines 41-45). Indeed, the juxtaposition of other characters as passive recipients of Meryl's action appears to strengthen her control within the scenes, as the way she shapes the segment portrays these characters as passive, giving her all the power to initiate actions.

The value of social networks with co-ethnics is also illustrated within the narrative, for example, Meryl's establishment of a PhD support network with fellow black colleagues in the department (Scene 2: L:16-17. p172) and the benefits gleaned from it. Other studies have shown that these networks facilitate integration and serve as a form of 'migrant social capital' (Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2018).

In summary, both excerpts, particularly excerpt 2, provide strong evidence of some of the issues migrant nurse academics encounter and the strategies used to 'fit in' into the host's culture. The broader literature also corroborates these findings.

Meryl's language use seems essential for her desire to establish her identity and be accepted into a new culture through code-switching. Learning the host culture's language has several advantages, such as helping with assimilation and fitting in. It can also serve as a form of human capital, improving a migrant's position in the job market (Cheswick, 2015). Meryl's story and her effort to assimilate indicate that it is about acceptance, progress, and growth. Additionally, as mentioned previously (Chapter 2), identity performance or code-switching in a predominantly white environment is not unique to migrants. This is also evident in the narratives of other participants (both UK and non-UK) in this thesis. Research also supports the importance of impression management, highlighting that this approach is crucial for many black minoritised academics seeking the same objectives as Meryl: to fit into a predominantly white environment, grow, and advance in academia (Carbado and Gulati, 2015).

Summary

My research aligns with fellow scholars in the UK regarding the experiences of minoritised academics in HEIs. (Wright, Thompson and Channer, 2007; Bhopal, 2013, 2014, 2015a, 2020a; Rollock, 2019) and other parts of the Western world (Holland, 2015; Bhopal, 2015b, 2022a; Iheduru-Anderson, Okoro and Moore, 2022; Brathwaite et al., 2022). These experiences include institutional and interpersonal racism, mainly in the form of racial microaggressions. However, the experience of oppression for participants was complex, as it was influenced by the intersection of social categories, including gender, migrant status, ethnicity, race, and female-gendered oppression. The central oppression identified within these narratives was gendered racialisation. Even those who felt they did not experience personal racism were very vocal about the dominance of males within HE. Thus, illustrating that institutional racism and hegemonic masculinity maintain a strong presence in HE. The unfortunate reality is that these experiences cause emotional harm, marginalisation, career stagnation, and a lack of support from successful black and white female academics toward other black academics seeking advancement.

Furthermore, some nursing departments' oppressive culture, such as heavy teaching workloads and horizontal violence, added to the already double burden of being black and female in a predominantly white and male hegemonic space, despite any protection a female space might have afforded.

Some of the women's narratives portrayed a weariness caused by the insidiousness of everyday racism (microaggressions) and other forms of discrimination. However, through effective coping mechanisms, including impression management and cultivating true social justice/racial justice allies, they prevailed and succeeded, thus demonstrating the stoicism and resilience of these women, many of whom were initially migrants to this country. My

contributions to the literature revealed emergent themes, showing how some women resist racism while others struggle to confront it for various reasons.

Unsurprisingly, a migrant story emerged among the participants in this study, as many of them were migrant academics. This is due to the history of nursing and the NHS relying heavily on migrant workers. The stories shared by these participants were fascinating and unique, but they also shared similarities with UK-born minoritised academics who experienced discrimination and marginalisation in academia. How some participants shaped their narratives suggests that nursing is not a safe or inclusive space for women and highlights the exclusionary processes in HEIs. Two notable features that emerged from the migrant stories were the use of nursing to establish themselves in UK society and the strong influence of fathers in the careers of the migrant participants.

The use of a narrative methodology facilitated the emergence and documentation of granular data on the processes that black academics experience, and this level of detail, I believe, adds to the strength of the findings. The methodology also strongly emphasised the temporality of the data, with temporality being an essential element of NI, thus aligning past, present, and future events in the narratives of the research participants. In short, the narratives of the research participants in this study support, add to and extend our knowledge and understanding of black minoritised academic nurses. Furthermore, others (Somekh and Lewin, 2011) have suggested that methodologies like narrative are 'powerful' and 'persuasive' ways for research to influence education policies.

Chapter 5. Discussion

Introduction

In this chapter, I rigorously analyse the findings of the existing literature and emphasise their significance in the context of the current understanding of the experiences of black female nurse academics in the UK higher education sector. Furthermore, I will examine new insights that have surfaced during the exploration and analysis of the research question, providing an original and profound interpretation of these participants' experiences in academia.

The first section of this chapter will revisit the concept of 'whiteness' as an ideology of power. I contend that this pervasive ideology is the root cause of the participants' racial experience, which has led to marginalisation, othering, and a sense of not belonging in academia. Each participant's academic experience was unique, but common themes emerged regarding progression and development.

The second section will address the barriers some black female nurse participants face. As discussed in previous sections, these barriers often originated from the intersection of race and gender. Other factors that emerged included the culture of the nursing department and migrant status.

The third section will address the consequences of intersecting oppressions on the health and emotional well-being of participants in this thesis, focusing on the harm inflicted by these racialised experiences on many participants.

The fourth and final section will discuss the strategies used by many participants to navigate HEI successfully using cultural and social capital to overcome barriers and progress within academia, illustrating the resilience of participants within this thesis. Despite these strategies, participants still endured racialised experiences due to the pervasiveness of whiteness, resulting in institutional racism, leading to marginalisation, othering, and a sense of not belonging in academia. This section will focus on relationships, racial justice allies, support networks, and impression management (identity performance/code-switching) within a white space.

Section.1 Whiteness as an Ideology - Whiteness and the HE sector

The findings graphically demonstrate and advance theories of whiteness, particularly white privilege in the HE sector, as previously discussed in Chapter 2 and categorised in Table 2.3. For example, whiteness as colour-blindness and the epistemology of ignorance were demonstrated in the interaction between Pearl and her manager, who initially refused to believe Pearl's claim that the Dean of the faculty demonstrated racialised behaviour during several angry exchanges about her PhD. Her manager also went on to assert, "I don't see colour," thus denying the suffering of minoritised groups caused by systemic racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2014).

Epistemology of ignorance was also illustrated in the way Lavinia was treated by her manager and assistant; not only did her narrative portray institutional racialised bullying, but there was a sense of epistemic injustice in that, as an experienced professor, her knowledge and contributions were dismissed ("Yes it was painful, it I knew I had a lot to offer the university and they wouldn't let me do it. ...They would not, let me give them my best..." Research has consistently shown that this is a stereotypical response to black females in positions of power (Griffin, 1986; Holder et al., 2015; Rollock, 2019).

Whiteness as ontological expansiveness was illustrated in many of the participants' narrative even those who struggled to admit to personalised racism (e.g. Samantha, Marvel, Vanita) as they were often either underrepresented as a black minoritised academic in their faculty either numerically or in senior positions (e.g. Marvel, Vanita), denied promotion to more senior positions (e.g. Samantha, Dee, Lavinia and Cathy) or used impression management strategies (identity performance/code-switching) fitting into a white space by making others comfortable and to negate negative stereotypes (Carbado and Gulati, 2015; Durkee, Perkins and Smith, 2022) of black minoritised (e.g. Meryl).

The epistemology of ignorance was graphically illustrated in the Nursing profession through the reluctance to acknowledge racism and the dominance of whiteness in pedagogical processes and its consequences (See Table 2.3). Whiteness as property and white privilege was evident in nearly all the narratives illustrated mainly as exclusion mechanisms such as lack of visibility of black minoritised academics in senior positions -participants struggled to progress advance developmentally (Pearl struggled to commence her doctorate) to more senior positions, at some HEIs (e.g. Cathy, Vanita, Samantha, Dee) and often left the institution as a result. White norms and values considered cultural capital (white privilege) were evident throughout Meryl's narrative; she was enthusiastic and effusive about the benefits of acquiring a white middle-class accent (Harris, 1993; Bhopal, 2018).

Finally, the stories of most participants illustrated the concept of whiteness as an assumed racial comfort. As per CRT scholars (Leonardo and Porter, 2010), this is exemplified through the day-to-day conversations in HEI and functions as a space where verbal violence takes place, dehumanising black minoritised groups in the form of racial microaggressions. This was once again depicted in the narratives of most participants. All these aspects will be further developed in later sections of this chapter.

Vanita, the only Asian participant, framed her narrative to portray herself as a firm believer in meritocracy, denying the existence of racism within her HEI and exhibiting a strong sense of racial hierarchy. Her denial of her Afro-Caribbean colleagues' experiences of racism, belief in stereotypes about Afro-Caribbean colleagues ("they are playing the race card" "Don't have the ability."). Moreover, unquestioning acceptance of negative criticism about her performance from white managers displays signs of internalised racism.

This construction of her narrative illustrates the contention that minoritised groups can unconsciously adopt harmful beliefs and attitudes (internalised racism) as a pernicious consequence of white supremacy (Fanon, 1952; Memmi, 1957; hooks, 2014). Additionally, her strong belief in meritocracy suggests a lack of insight into meritocratic ideals, which, according to CRT scholars, mask racial inequalities and ignore systemic barriers that impact marginalised groups.

In short, as a perpetrator of racial microaggressions, she is reinforcing white superiority and helping to maintain systemic racial oppression. This again illustrates how microaggressions reinforce and perpetuate systemic racism beyond the intrapersonal context (Mekawi and Todd, 2021; Skinner-Dorkenoo, 2021). Her utterances reflect a mix of empathy towards her colleagues and a sense of being apart. I sense that her unsympathetic response to their experiences of racial discrimination inadvertently reveals an undesirable performance identity—an identity that perhaps exposes her true feelings, a 'backstage' performance (Goffman, 1974).

Bonilla-Silva (2014) asserts that white people are the primary beneficiaries of white ideology. However, other scholars (Leonardo, 2009; Feagin, 2010) argue that if whiteness is understood as a course, people of colour, like Vanita, who engage in the same discourse to marginalise other black and ethnic minoritised groups are also upholding racist¹⁴ practices systems and established power dynamics.

A White Space

Dee portrayed her feelings about the whiteness of the institution as visceral and apparent. She illustrated this by engaging the audience in story after story of the racism and sexism she experienced across different institutions, definitively labelling her institution as 'a ...white supremacy middle-class university'; Dee's narrative construction reinforces the arguments of CRT and other scholars that non-white bodies experience discomfort and are made to feel like outsiders in predominantly white spaces. This pertains to exclusion from physical, linguistic and economic spaces, thus upholding white entitlement and privilege (Cabrera, Franklin, and Watson, 2016; Ahmed, 2007; Anderson, 2022).

In a predominantly white space, others (Meryl and Vanita exude comfort). However, when Meryl began her PhD, tensions escalated between her and her white colleagues, making her feel starkly out of place. According to Ahmed (2007), these instances represent "moments

¹⁴ Public examples of internalised racism: Lord Sewell (CRED, 2021). The report undermined the experiences of racism in modern Britain. Kemi Badenoch (Conservative minister) denies existence of systemic and institutional racism, meritocracy and white privilege.

of political and personal trouble," while Puwar (2004) asserts that feeling out of place can cause disorientation. For Meryl, this led to emotional distress and a loss of trust triggered by the negative response from her white colleagues. She shared, "I was heartbroken... and I just stopped trusting my people – I couldn't talk about my doctorate anymore."

Moreover, what could be construed as a seemingly innocent reaction, such as a white senior colleague automatically designating Meg as a student rather than waiting for her to be introduced to him as the head of the nursing department, excludes and marginalises black colleagues. These encounters are part of many black minoritised people's daily experience and are conceptualised by Elijah Anderson in his recent text, 'Black in White Space' (2022), as the 'iconic ghetto'. Suppose the black person is unknown within a white space, regardless of their status and achievement. In that case, the white person's stereotypical view of them, because of their black skin, is that they are an outsider with a 'deficit of credibility' until proven otherwise. Even participants like Marvel, Vanita, and Samantha, who felt supported and successful, did not portray their universities as racialised or sexist institutions; their narratives revealed them as outsiders. This sense of not belonging is also beautifully described in Nirmal Puwar's (2004) classic text *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*, where she discusses the hidden processes in spaces 'dominated by masculinity and whiteness that demoralise and alienate women and minorities.

Significance of skin colour

The phenomenon of colourism, which is discrimination that is perpetuated by both white and black communities based on the darkness of skin tone, was discussed in Chapter 2.

Of all the participants, Pam was the outlier. The way she constructed her narrative evokes someone who thoroughly enjoyed working in academia, with no signals indicating othering or marginalisation due to whiteness ideology. Apart from experiencing gender discrimination early in her career, there were no indications or inferences in her narrative of any barriers. She spoke eloquently about the number of influential allies who supported her progression in higher education. Pam's experience is unusual and contradicts the current literature. I concluded that her success may be due to her early engagement in research and ability to navigate the system in HEIs. This highlights the importance of early and effective mentorship and influential allies. However, other elements may be at play, such as skin colour. Pam's narratives imply that it was not obvious that she could be identified as a black minoritised academic by her appearance ("but everywhere I've been, I've never experienced it [racial discrimination] ... I think is it not obvious by looking at me?"). I would argue that the fact that Pam's narrative suggests her colleagues appear to have identified her as being 'white' accounts for her treatment as an 'insider' and the lack of evidence from her narrative of marginalisation and othering in HEIs. Indeed, the phenomenon of colourism may be at play in how Pam's colleagues chose to identify her, illustrating the significance of skin colour and providing further evidence of the dominance and pervasiveness of skin colour and the superiority of whiteness.

Chapter 2 discusses the many challenges Black female minoritised academics encounter and the implications of working in predominantly white academic institutions (Bhopal, 2013, 2014, 2020a, 2022a; Pilkington, 2011, 2013; Arday, 2022; Rollock, 2019; Hassouneh, et al. 2012; Beard and Julion, 2016; Bhopal, 2014, 2018; O'Connor et al, 2019; Brathwaite et al., 2022; Oozageer Gunowa et al., 2021). Although the evidence demonstrates the multifaceted nature of this experience, Pam's narrative, along with those of other participants with phenotypically Black skin, and presented explicitly racialised narratives (Dee, Pearl, Lavinia, Cathy, Meryl), provides clear evidence of racist institutions.

However, Atkinson and Delamont (2006) caution narrative researchers to be aware of the limitations and biases in narrative construction, as interview data may not fully capture participants' personal and private experiences. However, I argue that given the strong correlation of the broader literature with my participants' rich and compelling data, their narratives encapsulate the reality of many black minoritised academics' experiences in HEIs. This research underscores the importance of skin colour as a significant aspect of the academic experience for Black academics. It also implicitly and explicitly highlights the visibility of whiteness, as depicted in the participants' narratives.

In summary, whiteness is an ideology of power that is driven by a belief in the concept of white supremacy, which in turn leads to racialised behaviour (consciously or unconsciously). Additionally, whiteness, as described in Chapter 2, plays a dominant role in the racialisation of space in HEIs. These racialised spaces should thus be perceived not just as physical but also in inherently political terms, as space is both a valuable resource and a site of continuous conflict (Cabrera, Franklin, and Watson, 2016; Ahmed, 2007; Anderson, 2022). The following section will now discuss the manifestation of everyday racism (racial microaggressions), institutional racism, and the intersectionality of experience in order to illustrate the complexity of experience in academia.

Section 2. Barriers

Racism and intersectionality of experience in HEIs

In Chapter 4, participants' data was analysed using a dialogic/performance narrative approach. The analysis revealed the complexity of racialised experiences within academia. The data shared by the participants portrayed institutions at both a macro and micro level, showing that racism at the institutional level and the more nuanced intrapersonal (microaggressions) level is deeply embedded and contributes to pervasive racial and ethnic inequalities. The experience, however, of black and ethnic minoritised female nurse educators is not just confined to race alone but is also shaped by the intersection of other key social identities. An unexpected finding was the reluctance of some ethnic minority nurse academics I interviewed to acknowledge personal experiences of any form of racism in HEIs.

Therefore, this section aims to determine how the findings from this thesis fit into the existing body of research, how they may vary to some extent from the current body of evidence and highlight any expansions to the existing understanding of microaggressions.

Microaggressions

Pathologising differences/Denigrating and pigeonholing.

The findings revealed numerous examples of different types of microaggressions in all participants' narratives, which is unsurprising given the prevalence of these subtle and often unintentional forms of racism (Sue, 2017; Williams, 2020b). However, this section will examine or cite only a selection (Table 4.2).

Chapter 2 discussed the nature of racial microaggressions and how they are currently classified within the literature (Spanierman, Clark, and Kim, 2021). The types identified in the narratives did not fit neatly into the current classification, but these authors did acknowledge that these categories are interrelated and overlap. To that end, I have also drawn on other authors (Sue et al., 2007; Williams, 2020b; Williams et al., 2021) within the field.

The general premise in the pathologising category is that white is superior, and this is an attempt by the perpetrator to undermine the cultural values and practices of minoritised groups. They are seen as abnormal and inferior and treated with less respect than the dominant group. Sue et al. (2007) state that this category focuses on dehumanising minoritised groups.

I felt that these types of microaggression were vividly portrayed in Dee's interaction with her PhD supervisor and Pearl's interaction with the Dean of her faculty (Table 4.2). Dee's utterances (Excerpt 1. Chapter 4) strongly implied that she was subjected to both overt and covert racism because her supervisor's comments likened Dee to an ape, suggesting that she was less than human (Chapter 4 - simianisation). In Pearl's experience, the Dean attacked and humiliated her by ridiculing her hand gestures and speech. Here, I believe that

the way Pearl constructs the events in this scene is an act of overt dehumanisation rather than merely weakening her argument. In this instance, I am more in agreement with Spanierman, Clark and Kim (2021), who classify it as an act of overt racism rather than Sue et al.'s (2007) classification as a microassault/microinvalidation.

Assumptions of white superiority values and communication styles were demonstrated in many studies in different groups, such as young black men in middle school (Henfield, 2011), black female undergraduates and graduates (Lewis et al., 2013), and American Indians (Jones and Galliher, 2014). In one recent study (Lewis et al., 2016), black women were verbally attacked for having a 'loud and expressive' communication style. The inferences here are that this way of communicating was inferior, and they should assimilate into the white social norms.

Dee's excerpt also provides an example of unintentional insults (microinsult) from her supervisor where Dee's supervisor implies that Dee was not the author of the work she presented as Williams (2020) and Sue et al. (2007) found in their studies many people who direct these microaggressions towards people of colour are not consciously being racist and would never consider themselves racist. However, this 'invisibility' to the perpetrator and, at times, the victim is what renders microaggressions so powerful (Sue et al., 2007).

In excerpt 2, Meg shares her experience of being automatically assumed to be a student by a male member of the university's executive team. This is another common type of microaggression faced by black and other marginalised groups and could fall into the categories of Denigrating and Pigeonholing or Excluding and Rendering Invisible microaggressions. In this scenario, the senior male perpetrator undermines Meg's intellectual capacity by assuming she is a student. The way Dee and Meg constructed their story conveys both anger at white perpetrators blithely asserting the power to undermine their abilities and resignation, indicating the commonality of these incidents. Once again, there is a significant body of research (Sue et al., 2008; Torres, Driscoll and Burrow, 2010; Nadal et al., 2014; Hall and Fields, 2015; Holder, Jackson and Ponterotto, 2015; Smith et al., 2016; Canel-Çınarbas and Yohani, 2019) to support these stereotypes about intelligence.

Meg's excerpt also provides an insight into the experience of loneliness and isolation as the only black female dean in the HEI ("Sometimes I did feel lonely ... I was the only black Dean ... as a woman in a male-dominated environment"). This suggests that exclusionary mechanisms by white colleagues may be at play, supporting similar findings from Rollock's (2019) study exploring the experience of female professors in HEI. Such microaggressions communicate to minoritised groups that they do not belong, are not seen, or are invisible (Rollock, 2021, 2019) in academia. The experience of feeling invisible is supported by Sue et al.'s research (2007), which introduces the concept of microinvalidation. This concept explains how individuals may feel like "aliens in their own country." Further studies have shown that Asian Americans (Huynh, 2012), Latinos (Rivera et al., 2010; Minikel-Lacocque, 2013), and African Americans often experience this type of microaggression. Additionally,

Williams (2020) found that black Americans are frequently subjected to the recurring microaggression of being asked if they are from Africa.

Being passed over for a promotion fits into this category of Excluding or Rendering Invisible as a form of microaggression. It was a dominant theme in several of my participants' narratives (Dee, Lavinia, Cathy, Vanita, Samantha) and is supported by the literature (Bhopal, 2014, 2020c; Holder et al. 2015).

How the women in this thesis framed their narratives in response to this microaggression was variable. Dee's narrative conveyed a sense of weariness and hopelessness (fatigue). Cathy, on the other hand, feels frustrated that her positive work at the HEI is not leading to a promotion. She believes she can do more and is considering leaving if her application for a principal lecturer is unsuccessful. Others, such as Samantha, framed their narrative differently. Samantha's narrative portrayed a perfunctory response when I asked her how she felt about not getting promoted. She accepted the panel's decision, did not mention discrimination, held herself accountable for not participating in joint publications, and left the institution for a more senior research position at another HEI. Bhopal (2014) and others have noted that this response is common among marginalised academics. Moreover, studies in the US have shown that despite facing challenges such as insidious microaggressions and stalled career progression, more black women are leaving the corporate world to start their own businesses (Kelley, Majbouri and Randolph, 2021; Brown, 2024). Although this aspect was not explored in this thesis, one of the participants (Dee) clearly stated that she planned to leave the HEI and "set up a consultancy".

Both Sue et al. (2007) and Williams, Skinta and Martin-Willett (2021), in their classification of racial microaggressions, included an environmental microaggressions category, which relates to racial microaggression that presents itself on a systemic and environmental level (Chapter 2). Examples in this study include the lack of representation of black and ethnic minority academics in the higher echelons of academia (Bhopal, 2014, 2016), lack of representation of people of colour in the nursing academic curriculum, and the lack of meritocracy faced by working-class and minority students in elite universities where class privilege, white privilege and entitlement prevail (Bhopal, 2022a; Bhopal and Myers, 2023). I would argue that under Spanierman, Clark and Kim's (2021) categorisation, the environmental category traverses the exclusion and rendering invisible category and perpetuates the colour-blind racial attitudes category.

How the women I interviewed framed their stories strongly implies the presence of environmental microaggressions in all their narratives, even those who struggled to acknowledge personal experiences of racism in the HEIs (e.g. Marvel, Vanita and Samantha). That said, Pam's, Meg's, and Samantha's constructed narratives imply they had a fairly smooth transition to the higher echelons of academia, contrasting with Lavinia's protracted career trajectory to professorial status (Appendix 12). However, even when she attained this position, her narrative paints a picture of explicit bullying, stereotyping and racial

microaggressions, mirroring the findings of Rollock's (2019) qualitative study exploring the experience of female professors in the UK.

The perpetuation of colour-blind racial attitudes (Spanierman, Clark, and Kim, 2021), also known as the 'myth of meritocracy,' (Williams 2020a; Sue et al. 2007), where perpetrators deny the existence of structural and systemic racism, as well as white privilege's role in shaping society. An example that is presented is when Pearl's manager states, "I don't see colour" (colour-blindness) (Table 4.2) in an attempt to reassure her following the racist incident with the Dean of the faculty. This is a typical response that CRT scholars argue allows white people to feel good and have a clear conscience about the racial injustices that black people face daily. In essence, it is a phrase that legitimises racism by ignoring the suffering of people of colour while upholding white hegemony.

Other examples of colour-blind racism/myth of meritocracy were present in several other participants' narratives (e.g. Vanita, Samantha, Marvel). However, Vanita's account most vividly portrayed it (p138). Vanita wants to convey that she is an "insider" and has never experienced discrimination from her academic colleagues or HEI. However, as a member of an ethnic minoritised group, it is unlikely she has not been exposed to racial microaggression. Research confirms that all ethnic minority groups are victims of racial microaggressions, and denying the existence of white privilege invalidates the experiences of her black minoritised colleagues (Williams, 2020). This denial may stem from historical and cultural origins, such as growing up in a hierarchical post-colonial society (Thum, 2017; Hilton, 2011). Furthermore, there are many studies (Sue et al., 2007; Constantine, 2007; Yosso et al., 2009; Ong et al., 2013; Jones and Galliher, 2014; Hall and Fields, 2015; Williams et al., 2020) exploring the invalidation of racism and racial experience across many racial groups in North America.

Microaggressions: Beyond the Interpersonal Level

So far, microaggression has been portrayed as interpersonal reactions, but this type of racism can have far-reaching effects that go beyond the interpersonal. Skinner-Dorkenoo et al. (2021) provide robust evidence that racial microaggressions institute white superiority through marginalisation and othering black minoritised groups, thus influencing how society perceives them. These perceptions can have far-reaching effects, such as impeding educational development and creating a toxic work culture, leading to adverse effects on black minoritised performance, progression, leaving post, and hindering social cohesion. Additionally, they play a part in protecting and perpetuating systemic racism through beliefs, such as colour-blind ideology, maintaining the myth of meritocracy and reversing racist hostility, that, according to the authors 'provide cover and support for established systems of oppression (2021, p. 903). In short, these are all processes that maintain racial biases and continue to sustain inequalities in HEIs and broader society.

Not all women's narratives portrayed this struggle, marginalisation, and othering. It was heartening to hear narratives that constructed very positive experiences and outcomes for some women (e.g. Pam, Marvel and Samantha). Indeed, the way Pam and Marvel shaped

their narrative conveyed to the audience that it was an enjoyable experience facilitated by supportive colleagues and institutions. Nevertheless, even though these participants struggled to admit to experiencing intrapersonal racism, microaggressions were still evident in the construction of their narratives. For example, they worked in a predominantly white space with other black minoritised colleagues in professorial or senior positions. This was marked by some women such as Marvel (“I am usually the only black woman in the room ... it’s certainly something I am aware of.”). Some scholars classify these experiences as environmental microaggressions (Sue et al., 2007; Williams, 2020a) or as excluding and rendering individuals invisible (Spanierman, Clark, and Kim, 2021). These experiences can unconsciously diminish individuals' racial identity and make them feel insignificant. For the victim, this can lead to a sense of isolation within a predominantly white space. Furthermore, it is essential to remember that the fluidity of the positionings of these women in a narrative performance is an ‘enactment’ for an audience. So, consciously or unconsciously, narratives are designed to accomplish something (Freeman, 2002; Riessman, 2008).

Positive Outcomes of Microaggression/Benefits of Anger

The women in this thesis constructed identities that were not one of victimhood, regardless of the harm suffered by some due to the overlapping forms of oppression. The ways they constructed their narratives suggest that these experiences produced positive outcomes. For example, Lavinia, as a black professor, described how she was undermined by her mentee and bullied by her manager. She struggled to be valued and respected, a stereotypical response that research has shown is a known reaction to black females in positions of power (Griffin, 1986; Holder, Jackson, and Ponterotto, 2015, Miller 2020). However, Lavinia used her experience of what her narrative portrayed as a gruelling and harmful experience to support others experiencing discriminatory practices against them.

Meryl was hurt by the lack of support from her white colleagues, but she used the experience to start a support group with other black academics who were also completing their PhD theses. Through this group, they realised the subtlety and invisibility of systemic racism in HEIs. Pearl’s experiences of intersectional oppression within several HEIs fuelled her passion for research and publication. These positive outcomes demonstrate temporality, an essential tenet of narrative research (Connelly and Clandinin, 2006).

Institutional Racism

Institutional racism, as discussed previously (Chapter 2), is a complex issue rooted in historical, socioeconomic and structural factors. It persists in higher education because of the perpetuation of racial hierarchies, white privilege embedding biases in policies and practices, Eurocentric curriculum, lack of diversity in senior roles, and pervasive racial harassment. Furthermore, for black minoritised female academics, institutional racism produces barriers to career progression, including intersecting discrimination, bias in promotion and recruitment, invisibility and marginalisation, lack of access to influential

networks, bullying and harassment and institutional barriers such as lack of recognition for their contributions.

Many of these barriers came to light in interrogating participants' data (Chapter 4), illustrating the complexity of institutional racism. However, systemic bullying and harassment were most apparent/ graphically illustrated in all three of these participants' data (Lavinia, Dee, and Pearl).

Bullying behaviour in HEI -racist bully

The image projected by universities as advocates for fairness, liberalism, and collegiality is overshadowed by a culture of competitiveness and bullying, as shown in research (Keashly and Neuman, 2010; Bourabain, 2020). A detailed review of the literature indicates a higher prevalence of bullying in the UK (10-20%) higher education sector compared with Scandinavian countries (2-5%) and the United States (10-14%) (Keashly and Neuman, 2012). Bullying, like racism, is common and underreported in universities (Universities UK, 2020; EHRC, 2019).

Research into workplace bullying has continued over the last twenty years (Keashly, and Neuman, 2010). In the '90s, Adams conducted ground-breaking work on workplace bullying, defining it as “persistent criticism and personal abuse in public or private, which humiliates and demeans the person” (Adams and Crawford, 1992, p. 1). While more comprehensive definitions of the construct describe a range of behaviours, this succinct definition captures key elements that most scholars agree on: bullying is a persistent and consistent mistreatment (Keashly and Neuman, 2012).

Racist Bullying

The experience of institutional racism leading to bullying, as described in Chapter 4 with Pearl, Lavinia, and Dee, is more complex than the conventional definition of bullying. Allan, Cowie, and Smith (2009) studied cases of overseas nurses. He found that racist bullying involves abuse of power, communication difficulties due to cultural differences, adverse emotional impact on the victim, and the victim's response. Recent data from an extensive workplace survey (Ashe, Borkowska and Nazroo, 2019) supports these findings, indicating that racism and bullying are increasing in many work environments, with Asian and black minority groups being more likely than white counterparts to experience harassment and bullying.

These crucial elements of racist bullying were evident in all three participant's narratives (Chapter 4). For example, Pearl portrayed a very compelling account of racialised bullying behaviour characterised by aggressively dominant and coercive behaviour, all from a position of power. Her construction of excerpt 2 painted a picture of male patriarchy demonstrating social power imbalance. So, from his position of power, the Dean felt he could unilaterally prevent her from starting a doctorate and prohibit her from using scholarly activity time for this without valid reasons and with impunity.

Further, the shaping of excerpt 2 also suggests that the dean felt threatened by the intellectual superiority of Pearl's arguments and was incapable of challenging them by putting forward a cogent counterargument. He kept repeating the phrase 'it's not a PhD' In frustration, he resorted to personal attacks by ridiculing and humiliating ('...he started personally attacking me in the way I communicated and gesticulating.') her in front of the head of the nursing department, who offered no support in this instance. Attacking Pearl's hand gestures and speech signifies the dean's attempt to 'pathologise her cultural values' (Sue et al., 2007).

The bullying in all three stories was carried out by the participants' managers (Dee and Lavinia) or senior figures like the Dean in Pearl's. This illustrates power imbalances and misuse of authority by senior individuals. These results are unsurprising, as research often shows that supervisors and administrators are the main perpetrators of bullying in academic settings, especially in hierarchical relationships where the victim is a subordinate (vertical aggression) (Keashly and Neuman, 2010; 2012).

However, not all studies found vertical aggression to be the only form of bullying. Some also highlighted colleagues or coworkers (individuals of equal status) as either perpetrators or victims (Lester, 2009; Rayner and Keashly, 2005). This was explicit in Lavinia's case because it was her research assistant who initiated and perpetuated the bullying by undermining Lavinia's authority and sending her intimidating emails. Later, the research assistant enlisted the support of Lavinia's line manager (the school dean) in the bullying process, compounding the bullying and leading to Lavinia experiencing severe emotional distress. Dee's narrative also described experiences of sustained ('they were always at me') racialised bullying both at an institutional level and by her co-workers, which intensified after she reported her department to her union representative, illustrating a necessary but undesirable outcome of activism (See p155).

The erosion of trust in the HEI is a consequence of feeling unsupported and institutional racism, which was evident in the experiences of all three participants. Dee and Lavinia left the institution, while Pearl, despite facing a lack of respect and trust in the faculty senior management team, chose to stay and continue her PhD programme. Her story implies that she may have remained because she had an ally in her manager. All the narratives (Dee, Lavinia, Pearl), portrayed visceral and explicit evidence of emotional harm due to sustained racist bullying, feeling unsupported, invisible marginalised and contributions to the HEI unacknowledged (Table 4.3).

Institutional racism persists due to the historical ties some HEIs have with colonialism and practices that perpetuate white supremacy. This is evident in policies and practices related to recruitment, promotion, and the presence of a Eurocentric curriculum. Additionally, a hostile environment characterised by gendered racial harassment and microaggressions, a lack of diversity in senior positions, and insufficient empirical data on racial inequality exacerbates the problem. Furthermore, there is a lack of accountability in enforcing equality, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) policies.

The presence of institutional racism creates numerous obstacles to the career advancement of black female academics, including racial harassment and discrimination such as racist bullying. Research asserts that racist bullying is characterised by the abuse of power, communication challenges due to cultural differences, negative emotional impact on the victim, and the victim's response. These themes were readily apparent in the narratives of Pearl, Dee, Lavinia and, to a lesser degree, in other participants in this thesis. Moreover, entrenched institutional and interpersonal racism and institutional obstacles like failing to acknowledge contributions to the academic institution may engender a lack of trust in the institution. This can also foster feelings of invisibility and marginalisation, resulting in disengagement and career stagnation.

Intersectionality of experience

The previous section highlighted the profound impact of institutional racism, specifically in the context of racialised bullying, on black minoritised female academics. This pervasive issue is prevalent in many HEIs, where systemic barriers and discriminatory practices obstruct these scholars' career progression and well-being. However, the narratives of participants also indicate that their journeys through academia have been shaped by other intersecting identities such as gender roles, class, and the culture of nursing departments engendering oppressive and discriminatory experiences.

I did not intend to use an intersectional framework when I embarked on this thesis. However, I discovered its applicability as the study evolved and began thinking more deeply about the data. In short, this approach expanded my understanding of the data and demonstrated the contribution of intersectionality to the nursing academic field.

Intersectionality of experience was certainly evident in many of the stories told by the participants within this thesis. For example, how Pearl constructs her short, bounded segment of the narrative tells the audience a story of white patriarchy (Chapter 4). There is evidence in the way she frames the events of bullying and attempts to humiliate, undermine and hinder her progress and development within the institution. To put it briefly, the aim is to uphold the current state of affairs – male-dominated power structures (Jensen, 2021) – to maintain the Dean's sense of control. Despite this, Pearl proves to be anything but passive. Through her words, she conveys her determination to fight back by asserting herself, articulating her thoughts and arguing her position with strength and effectiveness. In doing so, she exhibits power and agency.

I believe this demonstration of forcefulness and what have been seen as masculine features by Pearl in the discourse between herself and the dean supports Chakrabarty's (2012) argument that power is both intersectional and shifting. Consequently, Pearl presents herself in her narrative as performing a masculine role in these scenes, thus showing how 'characters mutate to inhabit power, harnessing agency via a performance of the other' (Chakrabarty, 2012, p. 189).

Bhopal (2014) used grounded theory methods to explore the experience of black and ethnic minority academics in senior positions in the UK and the US. Their findings support the power dynamics revealed in some of the narratives in this thesis, namely that power within academia resides with a small group of middle-class, predominantly male, white academics.

In some of the women's stories, they described scenarios in which the white female characters appeared to support the male characters who held power. For example, during the heated discussion that Pearl describes with the Dean about the validity of the topic for her PhD, she noted, 'And every other white woman sat at that desk, does not disagree with him, and two of those women have a PhD'. Pearl's utterances in this excerpt eloquently capture her feelings of alienation. Interestingly, she chose to note this reaction from the female panellists, as the literature validates (Bhopal, 2016; Rollock, 2019) her sense of abandonment. It could also be argued that the deference Pearl describes in her narrative of white female colleagues on that panel is yet another way that some female academics marginalise black academics. However, I believe the incident also illustrates the intersection of gender and race. The scene, as depicted by Pearl, suggests to the audience a power differential, as illustrated by the somewhat submissive behaviour of the women on the panel towards the dean, who, by his gender and race, holds power in the hierarchy of academia.

The inference in sections of Pearl's narrative is that she is very aware of the perception that women, particularly black women, are still seen as belonging to outside power. According to Mary Beard (2018), this perception about women is very apparent today. It is underscored by the many metaphors (e.g. 'glass ceiling', 'sticky floor', 'labyrinth') used when describing women's access to power. One could also argue that metaphors such as the 'glass ceiling' imply that the onus is on women to break through this ceiling. However, the men who maintain this power differential have no responsibility for this. This perspective indeed parallels the 'deficit model', which lays all the blame on black minoritised groups for not having the necessary characteristics to surmount the impact of a racist and discriminatory environment.

Rollock (2019) also argues in her qualitative study of the experience of twenty black female professors that white women deliberately 'other' their black female colleagues by 'kowtowing' to men, which shines a negative light on white feminism because their behaviour is just 'reinforcing a gendered and racialised hierarchy', which she believes privileges white men and puts black female colleagues in a disadvantageous position. Indeed, some of the narratives in this thesis that corroborate other studies (Bhopal, 2014, 2020a, 2020b; Bhopal and Henderson, 2019a; Rollock, 2019) have shown that white female colleagues are promoted ahead of their black female counterparts even when less qualified. Even when frameworks, such as the Athena SWAN Charter, are put in place in HEIs to support and advance gender equality, it is mainly white middle-class women who are the primary beneficiaries of these initiatives, not black female academics (Bhopal and Henderson, 2019). These studies provide convincing evidence to support HEIs prioritising

the implementation of frameworks such as the Athena SWAN Charter over the REC, leading scholars to conclude that HEI policymaking privileges gender over race in addressing inequalities. This, Bhopal contends, effectively ‘perpetuates white privilege in the academy’ (Bhopal and Henderson, 2019; Bhopal and Pitkin, 2018, 2020; Bhopal, 2022b)

Interestingly, although Pam was somewhat ambivalent about experiencing racial discrimination in HEIs, she was unequivocal about gender discrimination within HEIs, whether it be male patriarchy (‘what I have experienced in higher education is undoubtedly the dominance of males’) within the boardroom or pregnancy and maternity discrimination within the workplace. On two occasions, she was denied promotion and placed on a lower pay scale upon returning from maternity leave. So, despite legislation (Equality Act, 2010) preventing discrimination against women who are pregnant and take maternity leave, gender discrimination persists. This is supported by the EHRC (2015) study, which found that over 54,000 women per year are driven from the workplace after having a baby.

Bhopal’s (2015b) qualitative study also demonstrated that the intersections of mainly race, class and gender are essential elements in the positionality of minoritised academics in HEIs, positioning them as outsiders and othered. Furthermore, these intersecting identities hindered the career progress of minoritised academics, particularly at higher senior levels. Although this was a small (12 US and 10 UK participants) study, and hence broad inferences cannot be drawn from these findings, it does provide detailed insight into the participants’ experience, as do the constructive narratives of the women in this thesis. Furthermore, as discussed in the previous section, it is these detailed and necessarily small studies that capture the subjective experience of institutional racism and racial microaggressions in ways that a more extensive quantitative study would not. This reinforces CRT arguments about the importance of counter-narrative as a powerful tool used to not only elevate the voice and experience of black and ethnic minority people but also to contradict and expose oppression in the dominant narrative.

Finally, it is also notable that findings in Bhopal’s study (2015b) were comparable in both countries (US and UK). In addition, several other more extensive studies (qualitative and quantitative) from the UK and other countries using intersectional methodologies also produced similar observations (Showunmi, Atewologun and Bebbington, 2016; Sang, 2018; Sang and Calvard, 2019; Bhopal, 2020a, 2020c, 2022b; Showunmi, 2020, 2021; Arifeen and Syed, 2020; Bhopal 2020a, 2022b) which enhances the credibility and reliability of Bhopal’s (2015b) findings.

It could be argued that the interaction described elsewhere, between Pearl and the dean, with the dean portraying male hegemony, is a microcosm of the HE sector and broader society. Indeed, academia in the UK is generally depicted in the literature as being male, white and exclusive (Mirza, 2006; Lynch, 2019; Bhopal, 2020a, 2020c). This state of affairs is maintained because, as discussed previously, women face many barriers to promotion. However, I would argue that the ‘double burden’ of being black, and female is by far the most significant barrier for black female academics.

Interestingly, although most of the women interviewed in this thesis (9) were married with children, this was referred to almost as an aside and was not viewed by them as a significant factor in their progression within HEIs. The narratives suggest acceptance that this was part of their role. However, one participant (Pam) was very vocal about being deliberately disadvantaged (less senior position and hence less pay) on return from maternity leave. Perhaps they were focused on the objective of the interview and wanted to tell a story about their professional career, so their role as mothers did not feature in this narrative.

Subtle gender bias

Universities are keen to promote their liberal and meritocratic ethos in selection and recruitment processes where only the 'best' and 'brightest' succeed, irrespective of gender or race. Unfortunately, the male-white structure of academia thwarts this illusion, particularly regarding the recruitment process of candidates for more senior roles (Beattie and Johnson, 2012; Van den Brink and Benschop, 2014; Neilsen, 2015). There is also a propensity in society in general for homosocial relatedness and to employ people who share similar characteristics, excluding outsiders who do not share these (Neilsen, 2015; International Labour Organization, 2020).

Pam was vocal about her experience of gender bias in the board room, discrimination during the promotion process, and unequal treatment after returning from maternity leave in terms of wages. Dee, too, expressed anger ('somebody literally came off the street and got the job as opposed to me') and disappointment that a male colleague without the qualifications for the post and with far less experience than herself was given the job she had experience in and was qualified for. The experience of these two participants implies gender bias and homosocial relatedness.

The existence of subtle gender bias appears to thrive in academia despite improvements in the advancement of women's careers facilitated by initiatives such as the Athena SWAN Charter (Advance HE, 2021b). Indeed, statistics confirm (HESA, 2021/22) that white males dominate in the higher echelons of academia, particularly in senior decision-making roles (Advance HE, 2021/22), and therefore command higher wages. In short, women are generally lower paid and under-represented in institutions of power such as HEIs. When they attain senior leadership positions, their work is not as valued as their male counterparts, and because society sees leadership as a male attribute (Rollock, 2019; Coleman, 2020), these male traits are associated with good management. The perpetuation of these stereotypes means that characteristics associated with women (e.g. empathy and emotions) are undervalued, and their leadership is undermined. In summary, personal, social and organisational factors hinder greater representation of females in senior leadership positions.

As discussed previously, intersectional identities are instrumental in the positionality of black and ethnic minority females working in academia having to grapple with the triple burden of oppression – ethnicity, gender and class. Consequently, they face disadvantages at every level in academia (Mirza, 2006; Ahmed, 2018; Bhopal, Brown and Jackson, 2015;

Bhopal, 2016, 2020c, 2022a; Bhopal and Henderson, 2019; Rollock, 2019). Even when they do reach the higher echelons of their career, such as achieving professorial status, their experience of academia remains poorer (e.g. Lavinia, Meg) than their white counterparts as they continue to face institutional racism, racial microaggression, and are marginalised and othered (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Rollock, 2019). Within this thesis, several participants, including Meg, Dee, Meryl, Lavinia, Pearl and Cathy, expressed their experiences of overt and institutional discrimination and navigating microaggressions in constructing their narratives.

Others, such as Samantha, Vanita, Pam and Byron, freely described overt racism they encountered earlier in their lives but, for various reasons, chose not to acknowledge the experience of racial discrimination in the HEIs. For example, Samantha focused her narrative on social class, portraying poverty as the oppression that drove and shaped her career trajectory. Pam, who suffered racism as a child, was the only participant whose narrative had no inferences or evidence of being marginalised or othered throughout her academic journey. She presented herself as someone who was thoroughly enjoying her academic career. Nevertheless, Pam's narrative revealed that some people struggle with their identity as people of mixed heritage. Her narrative revealed someone who desires a simple separation between essential individuality and identifying with a group.

Intersectionality and career progression in HEIs

This section looks at the findings from one current study (Bhopal, 2020a), which argues that, although some progress in female career progression in HEIs has been made, this is occurring at a glacial pace for black ethnic minority female groups and that only those with power in HEIs can effect change through policies and processes.

The evidence from the literature reveals (Arday, 2018; Bhopal and Brown, 2016; Bhopal and Jackson, 2013; Bhopal, 2020a) that there are too few black and ethnic minority academics holding senior positions due to exclusionary barriers such as race, class and gender. Furthermore, the processes of promotion and progression in HEIs lack transparency; minoritised academics feel there are elements of subjectivity in the process and a higher standard of performance is expected from them in comparison with their white colleagues.

Bhopal's (2020a) qualitative case study exploring the impact of gender and ethnicity on career progression in HEIs found that whilst there was evidence of some improvement in the progression of all women, including black and ethnic minority staff, to senior positions, there remain few minoritised academics especially females in professorial and leadership positions (Bhopal and Pitkin, 2018; Advance HE, 2020a; Advance HE 2022b; Rollock, 2019). Barriers such as discrimination based on gender, race, religion and class and lack of transparency in the recruitment process remain. The framing of the narratives of black and ethnic minority female participants in my thesis resonates with Bhopal's findings.

Nevertheless, the impact of class on career progression in HEIs did not specifically feature as a barrier to progression and thus differs from Bhopal's conclusions, where social class was found to be a strong predictor of positionality and promotion (especially at professorial

level) in HEIs, especially the more elite ones (Bhopal, 2022a). When discussing class, it is arguable that the concept fails to account for female-dominated professions such as nursing and class theorists can be criticised for this oversight.

To see more black and minoritised academic females in senior roles, Bhopal (2020b) argues that effective strategies and leadership support programmes are needed to effect real change. She contends that unless the individuals with power in HE sectors take equality more seriously by ensuring that it is embedded in the culture, policies and processes with measurable outcomes, they will not meet their legal obligations concerning equality issues (Equality Act, 2010). One way of embedding equality and diversity in the culture of HEIs is through EDI initiatives.

In their narratives, some of the participants in this thesis said that they valued EDI committees because these provided a safe space for them to have a 'voice' to raise and influence equality policies and issues. Bhopal (2020b), however, is sceptical about the motives of HEIs' use of EDI agendas and contends that, although the sector welcomes these committees and equality policies, many use them for their benefits, such as attracting ethnic minority students or viewing them as bureaucratic expediency rather than policies to effect real change. I would argue that this is, yet another example of what CRT theorists (Bell, 1980) would call interest convergence. Certainly, what emerged from some of the narratives in this study supports this view. Dee was very vocal on this, implying that equality initiatives were superficial or a 'tick box' exercise and did not address racism issues on the ground. Khan and colleagues (2019) conducted a study investigating gender and ethnic-based differences in career progression among 15 high-profile universities worldwide. Despite the presence of numerous EDI policies and action plans, their findings suggest that significant disparities still exist, particularly at senior levels for women. Minoritised females are significantly more disadvantaged along the seniority pathway, highlighting the need for further action to achieve true equality in the workplace.

Intersectional frameworks in the exploration of leadership

There is now an increasing interest in the use of intersectional frameworks in the exploration of leadership and identity among female academics (Showunmi, Atewologun and Bebbington, 2016; Sang, 2018; Arifeen and Syed, 2020; Showunmi, 2020, 2021). A common, recurring finding shows that black and ethnic minority women encountered more difficulties and challenges in their leadership roles, and this was influenced by their identities – gender, class and ethnicity. Specifically, some studies revealed that minoritised academic leaders faced everyday microaggression, such as questioning of leadership styles and assumptions about leadership capacity (Smith et al., 2006; Showunmi, Atewologun and Bebbington, 2016; Showunmi, 2020, 2021) based on racist and gendered stereotypes. Although leadership style was not a focus of my thesis, the findings from these studies resonate with several of the narratives in this study. For example, Lavinia's narrative constructed a scenario portraying to the audience a bitter and fractious relationship with her (white) mentee; she stated that her mentee continually questioned her leadership

decisions and demonstrated no respect for her position and authority as a research professor. To compound the situation, Lavinia stated that the mentee was supported in her actions by Lavinia's (white) line manager, leading Lavinia to characterise them as 'racist thugs' and to file a formal grievance procedure against her line manager.

Lavinia's narrative suggests that stereotypes fostered by the culture we live in can significantly influence white women's attitudes towards other women, particularly black women and other ethnic groups. Certainly, older studies (Griffin, 1986) support these conclusions, and, given the findings of more recent studies (Holder, Jackson and Ponterotto et al., 2015; Miller, 2020), there has been very little change in attitudes towards black women in positions of authority.

Minoritised female academics, as discussed previously, experience multiple oppressions and seeing this through an intersectional lens, the same findings repeatedly emerge. Scholars (Gillborn, 2015; Bhopal, 2015b, 2016, 2022a) argue that this is due to white supremacy, which in turn is reinforced by white ideology.

Social class

CRT scholars (Bell, 1980; Rollock and Gillborn, 2011; Solórzano and Yosso, 2015; Delgado and Stefancic, 2017) contend that race and class are interconnected, so knowledge of both of these social categories is necessary to gain an in-depth and holistic understanding of the inequalities that they confer. That said, although CRT scholars acknowledge that all social inequalities cannot be reduced to race, they and others (Fanon, 1952; Hilton, 2011; Bhopal and Preston, 2012; Bhopal and Chapman, 2019) strongly contend that racism on its own is a significant cause of inequalities in society (Gillborn, 2012). Like Frantz Fanon, they argue that there is 'merit' in focusing just on race. Indeed, scholars (Gillborn, 2012; Bhopal and Preston, 2011) in this field are adamant that racial oppression is 'unique' and should be placed at the centre of the study of oppression and should not be relegated to the side lines: 'The chapters in this book are a testament to the centrality of "race" in understanding oppression and not on its marginalisation in social theory' (Bhopal and Preston, 2011, p. 216).

Most participants in the research for this thesis did not explicitly discuss social class or attribute experience of inequality in HEIs to class; nevertheless, their narratives imply that for many, becoming a nurse arose from an interrelationship of all three of the primary factors discovered by Smith et al. (2006). However, I also had a strong sense from my participants' narratives (Meryl, Dee, Marvel, Vanita, Lavinia) that becoming a nurse was also a step in social mobility and acquiring cultural capital because it was easier to access and did not have the apparent entry barriers of other professions, such as medicine or law. Nursing could thus provide a professional status for those participants with limited cultural and social capital.

How Samantha's narrative was framed suggests that choosing nursing was a vocation. After obtaining a scholarship to study medicine and following excellent A levels in scientific

subjects, she walked away after meeting other applicants. She felt her fellow students were detached, materialistic, and not in touch with the real world as she had experienced it. The word she used to describe them was 'aloof': 'They... appeared very kind of aloof and ... privileged, you know, we are in the privileged classes these ... medical students.' She then turned to nursing because she thought it would be a more appropriate vehicle to realise her desire to care for and support people in the community.

Samantha was the only participant who spoke eloquently and extensively about the impact of class in shaping her moral values and career trajectory. The significance of growing up in profound poverty during her formative years has inspired her moral values. The narrative portrays her striving for social justice, equality, fairness, and values formation, which influenced the trajectory of her nursing and academic careers. Interestingly, although Samantha acknowledged the intersection of these other identities ('how your race; your gender; your ability; your inability, your poverty – all those things kind of intersect to affect your life chances'), her focus was on the impact of social class in shaping her academic career. Thus, although most other participants did not discuss or explicitly state that it was a factor in their progression and development in HEIs, social class was implicit within their narratives.

Meryl, as a migrant from a working-class background, performed the identity of someone who demonstrated pride in acculturating, i.e., in losing the accent of her country of birth and acquiring a middle-class accent and demeanour. Meryl was exposed to racism at an early age, growing up in a system of discrimination based on race. Nevertheless, the narrative clearly implies that her parents wanted her to be assimilated into the dominant white minority culture and, therefore, indirectly acquire middle-class values. This was achieved by sending her to an all-white Catholic convent school to be educated. Indeed, the way she constructs her narrative strongly implies that she was incredibly proud of the school and its influence, not only on shaping her character but also on her early career choice in broadcasting and later her progression in academia to her current role as a senior lecturer. Furthermore, there appear to be clear indications in her narrative of a strong belief in meritocracy at this stage (Chapter 4).

Rollock et al.'s (2011) study explored the public identities of the black middle classes and how they dealt with race in public spaces. The findings showed that early experience of racism and transformation to middle-class status provided them with resources to mark social class membership in a white space, minimising the likelihood of their exposure to racial discrimination. It must be highly frustrating for black nurse academics to have chosen nursing as a career, succeed in that white space and then find they are still exposed to racism. This study, therefore, offers some support to Meryl's positioning. Another study (Kenny and Briner, 2010) examined early career graduates transitioning to middle-class status. The authors found that 'black professional' identities were seen as being just as much about transitioning between social class and ethnicity. Interestingly, the utterances of some of the migrants in the study (Dee, Lavinia, Vanita, Marvel) implied that they were from

a middle-class background, which may be a factor in the confidence and agency portrayed in their narrative (Belmi et al., 2020).

Recent studies have found that social class can hinder career progression in medicine, law, and nursing. (Friedman and Laurison, 2019; Snee and Goswami, 2021). It has been observed that middle-class candidates entering nursing tend to achieve greater success compared to their working-class counterparts. Snee and Goswami refer to this as the 'class ceiling,' illustrating the impact of the intersection between social class and race.

Navigating the Social Space in Elite Universities.

In Bhopal and Myers' (2023) recent study using Bourdieu and CRT frameworks to explore how the impact of identity, family background and experiences is used to 'navigate the social space' in elite universities, they found unequivocal evidence that the intersection of race and class works in a variety of ways to disadvantage working-class white and ethnic minority graduate students in elite universities in both the US and UK. These scholars also argue that there are gatekeepers within these privileged institutions that perpetuate privilege and that 'elite universities regulate the reproduction of whiteness'. In short, even if a student from a working-class background (white or black) or a black student from a privileged background gains entry to these elite institutions, there is competition for what the author terms 'white capital', and those with greater access to this type of cultural capital gain the most, whilst those without are disadvantaged. These findings correlate with Harris's (1993) whiteness as property theory and Wallace's (2018) conclusions from his study that cultural capital is synonymous with whiteness (Chapter 2).

In short, universities such as Harvard, Yale, Cambridge, and Oxford maintain current power structures by 'aligning with the interest of privileged groups.' Though students not from a privileged class may access these universities, meritocracy is a myth because, according to Bhopal and Myers (2023), elite universities have a more comprehensive agenda than just student education. They exist to facilitate the entry of the children of wealthy families from prestigious private schools to the top of high-paying professions. The public should not be fooled by the rhetoric that elite universities give disadvantaged students unfair advantages, as these are diversionary tactics to conceal their true purpose. With their comfortable and enabling environment, elite universities provide the perfect platform for privileged students to thrive and succeed.

While many participants may not have overtly addressed social class in their discussions of progress in HEIs, its influence is subtly present in their narratives. One's social standing significantly impacts the cultivation of cultural capital, which is crucial for success in higher education (Bourdieu, 1977). Furthermore, extensive research has demonstrated that social class strongly dictates the status of individuals, including marginalised academics and postgraduate students, within HEIs (Bhopal, 2014; Bhopal and Myers, 2023).

Section 3: Consequences of intersectional oppression

Harm: Repetitive and Cumulative Impact of Racism.

There is extensive research showing that continuous exposure to racism can negatively impact physical and mental well-being and can lead to PTSD (Priest et al., 2013; Lewis et al., 2014; Brody et al., 2014; Paradies et al., 2015; Lewis and Van Dyke, 2018; Wallace, Nazroo, and Bécares, 2016; Ashe, Borkowska, and Nazroo, 2019; Williams, Lawrence, and Davis, 2019; Arday, 2022; Eichstaedt et al., 2021). (Chapter 2).

The theoretical models of racial trauma and the supporting research discussed in Chapter 2 agree that racial trauma produces clinical signs similar to PTSD. These core symptoms include hypervigilance, anxiety, avoidance, arousal, guilt, shame, anger, suspiciousness, and somatic symptoms such as palpitations and headaches (Carter, 2007; Cenat, 2023; Comas-Díaz et al., 2019). (Chapter 2.)

The data from many participants narratives (Table 4.3.), especially those who vocalised tolerating and enduring recurring experiences of institutional racism and racial microaggressions, supports the findings of these studies (Hall and Fields, 2015; Wallace, Nazroo and Bécares, 2016; Moody and Lewis, 2019; Nadal, Erazo and King, 2019; Wright and Lewis, 2020). Although racial trauma was not explicitly investigated in this study, it was difficult to ignore the markers of physical and psychological harm within both the data and the demeanour of some of the participants during the interviews.

Anger, a common manifestation of anxiety and stress, was a recurring emotion portrayed in these women's narratives (Table 4.3). Given the large and emerging body of empirical data demonstrating the correlation between racism and forms of stress and anxiety, I feel a strong emotional response such as 'anger' is an important finding that cannot be ignored. It is significant because its presence in the women's descriptions of events suggests that some of these women may have experienced and are still experiencing adverse emotional damage due to exposure to repetitive and cumulative incidents of old and new forms of racism in HEI.

For example, anger was foregrounded in many participants' stories (Table 4.3). During the interview, Pearl and Lavinia used strong expletive language and nonverbal expressions that illustrated these emotions. These reactions indicate long-lasting emotional effects, providing insight into the traumatic impact of sustained institutional racism. Pearl, for example, stated '...I have not moved away from the anger, I'm gonna be honest; I'm going to be angry about that for a very, very long time ...' Lavinia provided insight into the adverse effects on her family 'I remember my husband saying I'll kill that [Name of Manager] you know...I'd come home, and I'd be going on about [Manager] so much... So all the kids knew... so I must have been upset.'

Cathy's utterances suggest a state of hypervigilance compounding an already stressful and angry state, as implied in this extract and others within her narrative. 'It ate away at me [racism, bullying]; I became paranoid – because, so when I got to work, I'd pull up in the car park and

I started shaking because I thought, what are they going to do to me today; what will I be facing today?’

Dee’s language was less florid than Lavinia and Pearl, but the impact of these experiences was still very emotional: ‘Umm, oh, I was very, very angry, very upset ... tearfully upset.’ These reactions encountered by participants point to the presence of race-based traumatic stress, which can be induced by both overt and covert racism (Williams, Printz, and DeLapp, 2018c). Moreover, it is noteworthy that some of the women’s narratives imply enduring emotional harm, even long after experiencing racial discrimination. This highlights the need for HEIs to acknowledge the impact of race-based trauma and extend appropriate support to minoritised communities that are subjected to persistent racism of any kind. Indeed Arday’s (2021) study not only demonstrated the detrimental impact of discrimination, isolation, and marginalisation on the mental health of ethnic minoritised academics and professional staff. It also highlighted the challenges they face in accessing adequate mental health support in HEI despite well-documented evidence discussed previously linking racism to stress-related disorders (Chapter 2).

There is strong and robust evidence in the literature that supports the fact that sustained racism is strongly correlated with racial trauma. More specifically, gendered racial microaggressions negatively impact the mental health and well-being of black women (Dale and Safren, 2019; Wright and Lewis, 2020; Burke, Chijioke and Le, 2023). Moody and Lewis (2019) provide compelling evidence of a direct correlation between microaggressions and traumatic stress in black women, highlighting the exacerbating impact of internalised gendered racial oppression. Despite compelling evidence of the impact of persistent racism on the health of minoritised groups, a recent systematic review (Kirkinis et al., 2018) has raised concerns about the need for more longitudinal research to strengthen the evidence on the correlation between systemic and intrapersonal racism and health outcomes. This review highlights the limitations of cross-sectional studies. However, this study is over six years old, and as seen in Chapter 2, more robust methodologies such as longitudinal and causal studies have since been employed.

The data presented in this thesis provides evidence of the subjective experience of everyday racism, institutional racism and the harmful consequences it has on black and minoritised academics. It is essential to understand that participants in this thesis share their stories to make sense of their academic experiences. However, considering the striking similarity in these vivid descriptions of the harmful emotional impact of repetitive and cumulative racism across many of the accounts, it is challenging to overlook the implications and remain unaffected by their words. Furthermore, scholars in the field recognise the significance of subjective experiences. This is aligned with the principle of CRT, which emphasises the importance of acknowledging and honouring the counternarrative of the experiences of black minoritised individuals as valuable contributions to scholarship.

Acknowledging racism – a struggle for some

An interesting finding from this research was that some participants (Meryl, Samantha, Marvel, Vanita, Pam) struggled to acknowledge their personal experience of racism within academia or that it impacted their career trajectory.

The participants could be understood as forming three groups: first, those who struggled for different reasons to acknowledge the personal experience of racism in HE (Meryl, Samantha, Marvel, Pam and Vanita). The utterances from their narratives allude to factors such as a fear of being perceived as a victim or concerns about how an admission of personal experience of racism would be perceived by a wider audience and the impact this would have on their high-profile position within HE. This is despite reassurance about the confidentiality of the research process. Secondly, some women acknowledged their personal experience of racism but were able to resist it (Dee, Cathy, Meg). Thirdly, Vanita's utterances displayed racial microaggressions towards her Afro-Caribbean colleagues. She denied their experiences of institutional racism, exhibited a strong belief in meritocracy and racial hierarchy, providing examples of internalised racism (Fanon, 1952; Memmi, 1957; Johnson and Holloway-Friesen, 2011; Pyke, 2010; hooks, 2014; Cabrera, Franklin, and Watson, 2017). These actions also illustrate aspects of microaggression theory, such as how intrapersonal racism (racial microaggressions) reinforces and perpetuates systemic racism in higher education institutions (Mekawi and Todd, 2021; Skinner-Dorkenoo, 2021).

Marvel, an employee at a prestigious university, discussed the importance of promoting EDI in the workplace. Despite being the only person of colour in some meetings and not being promoted after 22 years of service, she denied experiencing any racial microaggressions or discrimination. Marvel spoke eloquently about systemic racism and the active role she played in promoting EDI policies but was reluctant to acknowledge her personal experience of racism. This is even though her narrative portrayed her working in a racialised space (Anderson, 2022), experiencing environmental microaggression, and thus being treated as a second-class citizen (Williams, 2020a).

Indeed, other studies (Bhopal, 2015a, 2015b; Holder, Jackson and Ponterotto, 2015) have demonstrated black academics' cautiousness about using race to justify marginalisation and thwarted career pathways. Contrary to my findings in some participants' narratives in this thesis, the participants readily discussed their experience of racial microaggression in HEIs in these studies. However, the study participants also articulated the rationale for not openly citing discrimination as the cause of the lack of progression. This cautiousness, the authors found, was linked to participants' perception that admitting to racialised experiences disadvantaged them because white colleagues would use it against them, seeing it as an excuse for inadequacies. Others in the studies felt it could devalue or invalidate microaggression behaviour in the eyes of their white colleagues.

Another reaction to institutional and intrapersonal racism that Holder, Jackson and Ponterotto (2015) found was that participants engaged in what the researchers called 'the proving process'. This is where black and ethnic minoritised women, because of the

pressure of over-scrutiny by white employers and the fear of making mistakes, felt they had to work twice as hard as their colleagues in order to dispel stereotypes of black people, such as inferior intelligence, and to affirm their leadership positions. This proving behaviour was most certainly a typical behaviour portrayed in some of the narratives in this thesis as a reaction to institutional racism and racial microaggression. For example, a strong focus on education and continuous professional development was shared across the narratives (Vanita, Dee, Marvel, Meryl), particularly in the migrants' narratives. Indeed, the framing of the narratives by the women revealed that migrant participants appeared to have absorbed the mantra from parents and relatives that, in order to dispel negative stereotypes and biases they would face, they had to work 'twice as hard' (e.g. Dee, Vanita, Meryl, Marvel).

The 'proving process' correlates with theories of how minoritised individuals navigate predominantly white spaces, such as HEIs, in order to align with the dominant culture norms and are shared among underrepresented groups such as black minoritised communities. Examples of these theories include identity performance, which often involves code-switching (Chapter 2). It is possible that the resistance by some of these participants to acknowledge personalised racism in academia could be another impression management strategy to dispel negative stereotypes in order to gain acceptance by the dominant group to facilitate social and professional advancement in the academy (Gulati and Carbado, 2000; Carbado and Gulati, 2015; Anderson, 2015; Durkee, Perkins, and Smith, 2022).

An alternative explanation, however, might simply be that the participants in my research did not want to be seen as victims, which resonates with the findings in other studies (Bhopal, 2015b). Furthermore, I would argue that resisting being painted as a victim demonstrates a form of individual and, to some extent, systemic resilience.

Interestingly, Pam and Samantha, two of the four professors in the sample, did not acknowledge the presence of racism in their career trajectories in HEI. which contrasts with the findings in the literature (Bhopal, 2014; Hassounah et al., 2012; Rollock, 2019). Instead, Samantha's narrative focused on social class, emphasising poverty as a driving force.

Pam's narrative, however, was more reflective. Although racism was not acknowledged during her journey in academia, upon reflection, she realised that this could be due to a lack of awareness. This seems plausible because, according to scholars (Williams, 2020a, 2020b) who study microaggression theory, although all people of colour experience microaggressions, they may or may not be aware of them. Understandably, people of colour adjusting to a new culture may be unable to recognise microaggressions. Others may just be accepting of the pathological stereotypes that racial microaggressions perpetuate or have a relaxed personality and are therefore not offended by these insults.

Nonetheless, what scholars of racial microaggressions are most concerned about are those people of colour who are in complete denial of ever experiencing racial microaggressions, which, according to Williams (2020a, 2020b), is extraordinary given the pervasiveness of racism in Western culture. This denial may manifest as an individual's lack of insight into

social behaviours or low self-esteem. Microaggression scholars (Sue et al., 2007; Alvarez and Juang, 2010; Nadal, 2018; Williams, 2020c) contend that this denial and the inability to relate microaggressions to racism can lead to self-blame and self-loathing (internalised racism). Furthermore, denial of institutional racism and racial microaggressions is not an effective coping strategy and can lead to exacerbation of physical and emotional harm (Alvarez and Juang, 2010; Williams, 2020c). Indeed, the thesis participants constructed narratives that provided convincing evidence of both physical and psychological harm caused by constant exposure to institutional and intrapersonal racism (Table 4.3). Cénat (2023) expressed concern about the impact of internalised racism, arguing that it is a significant aspect of complex racial trauma (CoRT) and placing it at the centre of her proposed CoRT model.

Samantha, who was at the pinnacle of her career, made it very clear in her narrative that her career was shaped predominantly by social class issues, having grown up in impoverished circumstances ('I saw that, I lived it, and that [deprivation] was what drove me'). However, although she acknowledges the intersection of other oppressions in forging her ethos (belief in social justice and equality), there was again a reluctance to acknowledge any personal experience of racism or dwell on adverse experiences. I was always the one who raised the subject or introduced it in the interview. Indeed, she was always complimentary about colleagues she worked with in the HE sector and did not identify any episode of racism. This is an interesting response, as DeLapp and Williams (2019) studied how African Americans manage potentially racially charged situations. They found that the participants used a range of anticipatory coping strategies (e.g. reserve judgment about a colleague's comments, perceive that colleague in a more positive light, suppress impulsive actions) to get through a 'racially hostile encounter'. However, regardless of these proactive coping strategies, the researchers argue they do not generally prevent institutional racism or racial microaggressions.

Samantha's denial of any experience of personal racism in HE may also be a manifestation of fatigue (Winters, 2020) caused by the weariness of discussing racism and the lack of benefits that this afforded. Another explanation could be because class was more accessible and more comfortable to discuss than race. Certainly, Samantha's performance identity throughout her narrative signals how she wants to be known – as a resilient individual with a strong sense of what is right and wrong, positioning herself here not as a victim of racial abuse but as very much an enabler. So, despite the harm to herself in denying personal microaggressions (Williams, 2020a, 2020b), Samantha may have felt it was worth it to avoid perpetuating the stereotypical identity performance as a victim. Additionally, my sense from the shaping of her narrative was that she might have been reluctant to reveal personal experiences of racism, possibly due to her professional status and a lack of trust in me.

Although there was no acknowledgement, Samantha's narrative did expose institutional and racial microaggression incidents; although she described experiences of racism, she did not

interpret them as racialised incidents. Instead, she blamed the culture of the institutions (Russell Group universities), although this in itself is a form of racism.

Finally, it is possible that Samantha's views about racism mirrored those of the great American novelist Toni Morrison, who saw racism as a distraction. Morrison (1975) contends that racism diverts focus and energy from completing productive work by forcing minoritised groups to prove their humanity and capabilities endlessly.

Pam and Samantha's struggle to acknowledge their experience of racism certainly contrasts with the predominant findings in the literature related to black females in senior positions (Holder, Jackson and Ponterotto, 2015; Rollock, 2019; Bhopal, 2022a, 2022b).

In summary, my analysis of these women's narratives reveals a range of possible explanations for their struggle to admit experiences of personal racism in academia—all people of colour experience racial microaggressions whether they are aware of it or not. Racial microaggressions cause harm, and denial as a coping mechanism is a maladaptive (Nadal, 2018) and ineffectual strategy. Effective coping strategies include proactive coping (DeLapp and Williams, 2019), placing responsibility for the microaggression on the perpetrator, and engaging in community and social activities. The next section will explore some of these strategies evident in the narratives of black and ethnic minority nurse academics in this thesis.

Black Fatigue

Despite every effort to advance their career, this continual experience of discrimination and marginalisation instils a sense of weariness and exhaustion in some of the participants within this thesis, which Mary Frances Winters encapsulates so well in her text *Black Fatigue* (2020). In this text, she vividly describes how racism, as she puts it, 'erodes the mind, body and spirit' (Winters, 2020, p. 1). She defines black fatigue as 'repeated variations of stress that result in extreme exhaustion and cause mental, physical, and spiritual maladies that are passed down from generation to generation' (Winters, 2020, p. 33).

"The angry black woman" and "the strong black woman" tropes are race-gendered stereotypes deeply rooted in the historical legacy of the US. According to Collins (2000), both tropes are considered 'controlling images' and have an emotional toll, contributing to the 'phenomenon of racial black fatigue' (Smith, 2004; Smith et al., 2016, 2020). Studies have demonstrated that black women working in predominantly white spaces use these tropes to help them persist in their careers. Similarly, in the UK, studies examining the experiences of black female academics found that their intersectional identities, particularly race and gender, contribute to feelings of 'racial battle fatigue', marginalisation, and disillusionment (Rollock, 2021; Arday, 2021; Osho and Alormele, 2024). Despite these obstacles, these women show remarkable perseverance and thrive in academia.

In my thesis exploring the experience of black female academics in HE, I believe the participant who explicitly illustrated this phenomenon of the 'strong black woman, angry black woman trope was Pearl. Pearl's crafted, situated identity performance throughout the

narrative is that of a bold, intelligent, independent, self-assured and capable black woman who is not afraid to challenge the abuse of power. However, in the early part of her career, Pearl focuses on circumventing discrimination. This identity performance was dramatically enacted in the scene with the dean. Certainly, one could argue that these desired characteristics epitomise the 'strong black woman' trope. However, some (Allen et al., 2019) would contend that this cultural trope, far from being positive, can also be harmful. I posit that the way Pearl constructs her narrative – i.e. the linguistic features, dramatising the interaction with herself and the other characters – was probably a performance of the preferred self, the defiant strong black woman who will not be defeated by white hegemony, not the other self, a vulnerable black woman who at the beginning of her academic career gave her best to an institution that does not reward, but instead uses its power to oppress and prevent progression. There was no explicit evidence within Pearl's narrative to denote the fatigue described above, but how she chose to tell her story (dramatisation, expletives, gestures, increased tone of voice) indicates significant anger and frustration and thus the beginning of the process of battle fatigue. As she stated, when she left the first organisation after a frustrating period of many discriminatory incidents, it was '[t] the beginning of the end of moving from this organisation'.

Dee was the other participant who constructed an angry and frustrated narrative. Indeed, the extract was one of several that position her here as a victim of her circumstances and shows a rare glimpse of vulnerability as she gives power over to the organisation. This deviates from her predominant enacted performance identity of the strong agentic black woman, which she wants to portray to the audience. Dee explicitly conveyed a sense of weariness and frustration "I was very angry I was so angry ... and mad ... and it never stops..."

Nevertheless, towards the end of the narrative, when she gained her PhD ('I have self-actualised with the PhD'), her positioning changed from that of a victim of institutional racism to someone with agency taking control over her career progression ('setting myself up ... in a consultancy'). This fluidity in her performance identity reflects the relational nature of identity, in that our identity is changeable depending on the context—what is happening to you and what is occurring in the broader society.

Culture of the Nursing Department

The participants—including Byron, Pearl, and Dee—emphasised the oppressive culture within their nursing departments as a significant barrier to their professional advancement. This was notably apparent in the experiences of nurse academics at post-1992 institutions without a research background. Chapter 4 illuminates the factors contributing to this situation, such as conflicting academic demands, insufficient focus on staff development, lack of a research-oriented environment, ineffective mentoring processes, and instances of hostility and aggression within nursing departments (horizontal violence).

The narrative of Byron and Pearl vividly illustrates this culture. Byron skilfully employs linguistic features to create a compelling dramatic rhythm ("mostly doing teaching ... you just doing and you keep doing and doing"), successfully invoking the metaphor of a human machine. This effectively conveys an oppressive and burdensome work environment with an overwhelming emphasis on teaching. Moreover, Pearl's and Dee's portrayal of their department strongly aligns with Byron's characterisation (Chapter 4). One of Pearl's stories confirmed that this culture noticeably contrasts with another department (sociology) within the university. She explicitly suggested that a palpable tension exists between the university's emphasis on seamlessly integrating teaching and research.

Pearl's narrative segment exemplifies the culture of many nursing departments that hastily merged with higher education sectors in the early 1990s (Further and Higher Education Act 1992). Since those early days, nursing departments have evolved, and a more intellectual culture has permeated nursing (Traynor, 2013, p. 37). However, limiting this argument to nursing education alone would be misleading, as these issues are not unique to the nursing profession but are common to other practice disciplines and their integration within HEIs (Evans et al., 2010; Allan and Evans, 2022).

The consequences of this oppressive culture are evident in the emphasis on teaching over research, which hampers progress and stunts the development of nursing as a mature research discipline (Bradshaw, 2001). Research studies conducted by Wilkes and Jackson (2013) demonstrate that the environment is crucial in fostering a positive research culture. This is evident through suitable training programs, positive colleague relationships, and inclusivity in research contributions. The participants' accounts demonstrate that these characteristics are the antithesis of the oppressive culture of nursing departments as described in the participant's narratives.

[‘Pulling up the ladder behind you’](#)

In Chapter 4, I expressed my surprise at Lavinia's utterances about her experiences of successful minorities in senior positions in the HEI blocking her career pathway, the phenomenon known as 'pulling up the ladder behind you'. Since then, I have discovered that this is not such an unusual finding and that there are studies in both the UK (Smith et al., 2006; Allan, Cowie and Smith, 2009) and the US (Carbado and Gulati, 2004) corroborating Lavinia's experience. Nevertheless, as asserted by Carbado and Gulati (2004), there is more to success than qualification and capability, such as playing what they call the corporate game: access to influential allies, appeasement of the right individuals and dealing with competitors in other words, navigating the politics of the organisation, as Pam's, Samantha's and Meg's narratives suggest occurred. My disbelief was based on the assumption that black and ethnic minority people who get to the top of their profession will automatically champion anti-discriminatory policies and gladly open the door for other minorities. Carbado and Gulati (2004) argue that this is not necessarily the case and that there are strong incentives for successful racial minorities or 'racial types', that is, black minoritised individuals who play the corporate game well and get to the top, to distance

themselves or impede the career trajectory of other minorities. In other words, they 'pull the ladder up behind them when they get there'. Engaging in race-consciousness activism and processes would increase their racial identity profile, and this would make them less appealing to the institutional hierarchy. In short, this would 'weaken their institutional fit'. Furthermore, Carbado and Gulati contend that racial minorities who, unaided, have successfully played the corporate game and struggled to achieve their position may feel that other minorities should do the same. That said, the authors provide examples of successful altruistic minorities who actively engage in supporting and helping others to climb up the ladder. I believe that the narratives of the participants in this study, especially Meg, Lavinia and Marvel, have revealed both types of individuals.

Section 4. Coping strategies – resilience, allyship and networks

*'You may shoot me with your words,
You may cut me with your eyes,
You may kill me with your hatefulness,
But still, like air, I'll rise.'* (Angelou, 1978)

This stanza from 'Still I Rise' captures the resilience and determination of the women in this thesis.

Individual critical resilience/resistance

Chapter 4 revealed coping strategies used by the participants to assuage the stresses, trauma and frustrations associated with the oppressions they faced in HEI and to preserve a sense of well-being. Many of these strategies are consistent with findings from other studies about black minoritised women in academia (Bhopal, 2014, 2016, 2020a; Rollock, 2019, 2021; Pusey-Reid and Blackman-Richards, 2022) and those in prominent managerial positions in corporate settings (Bacchus, 2008; Holder, Jackson and Ponterotto, 2015).

It can be argued that these coping strategies demonstrate resilience, predominantly illustrating individual resilience (Tugade and Fredrickson, 2004). Traynor (2018), however, contends that promoting employee resilience does not address the root cause of the problem and might unfairly hold individuals accountable for their hardships. However, I would argue that strength and courage are necessary to engage in these strategies to tackle racial discrimination and maintain a sense of well-being.

For example, relentless exposure to racist bullying almost destroyed Cathy's self-esteem and sense of who she is, but she fought back. Despite microaggressive comments implying she could not study at that level; she employed well-being strategies by immersing herself in her studies (PhD) and continued to do her job successfully. Not engaging in these types of coping strategies to preserve her well-being could have destroyed her career and possibly her life. This outcome would be one where the system would have been the victor. Furthermore, the term 'submissive' is not one I would associate with these women's stories. I would argue that these personal narratives do not tell a victim-type story but exhibit individual and critical resilience.

Nevertheless, Traynor (2018) makes a compelling argument about how focusing only on individual resilience can perpetuate oppression. This approach absolves organisations of their responsibilities and unfairly places blame on individuals instead of addressing underlying systemic issues. HEIs and healthcare providers must better support oppressed minoritised groups facing the traumas of racial discrimination. Traynor observes that institutions often unjustly burden the individual with sole responsibility, neglecting a more comprehensive approach. In subsequent sections of this thesis, I present examples of participants who valiantly resisted, showcasing both individual and critical resistance.

I felt the way Pearl constructed her narrative demonstrated critical resilience because she dared to challenge the dean of her department with cogent arguments underpinned by a

sound and supportive empirical knowledge base. In a sense, she was engaging in political activism by directly challenging the institution's culture. Pearl, I felt, wanted a clear political message delivered, not just to me but to a much wider audience. Perhaps Pearl's motive, as Goffman (1974) argues, was to achieve a personal goal of standing up to white hegemony and thus to maintain a consistent and positive preferred constructed identity of a confident, black woman capable of resolutely and successfully confronting discrimination.

Nevertheless, I also sense that on a personal level, the retelling of these events perhaps acted as some release from some of the emotions that she was experiencing. Indeed, Arthur Frank (1995, pp. 54–55) noted that 'stories repair the damage that illness has done to people's sense of where they are in their lives. Stories are a way of redrawing maps and finding new destinations.' Although the quote is about illness (Frank had a myocardial infarction and cancer), Pearl's narrative suggests that these events had a profound effect on her emotional state. Indeed, there are many studies (Paradies et al., 2015; Bhui et al., 2018; Sue et al., 2019; Williams, 2020c; Williams, Haeny and Holmes, 2021) supporting the detrimental physical and mental health effects caused by sustained racism. However, I do not believe narrating these events produced the catharsis referred to above because when asked how she now felt about these events several years ago, Pearl stated defiantly and demonstrably that she was 'still angry' despite her success in overcoming these obstacles.

How Pearl chose to frame the narrative – a dramatic and enraged enactment of these racialised encounters supports this interpretation. Nevertheless, as a strong, confident, knowledgeable black woman – the preferred identity that Pearl positions herself with – one can succeed against a powerful and privileged male white elite. So, in a sense, the message from the narrative is a sort of 'David and Goliath' moral lesson.

Pearl's narrative undoubtedly illustrates the critical form of resistance that Traynor (2017, 2018) argues nurses should develop to effect change. I also felt that Pearl used the stereotypical perception of the 'strong, loud, black woman' trope beautifully and effectively.

Having argued for the resilience demonstrated in the participant's narrative, the following section will explore some of the strategies these female nurse academics used to advance in their careers and offer emotional and moral support to others.

Allyship and networks

Chapter 2 discussed Bourdieu's (1977) social and cultural reproduction theory. According to Bourdieu's theory, cultural capital is the resources (e.g., education, intellect, speech, social norms, appearance) that facilitate social mobility. Cultural capital can, in turn, enable access to social networks, which will also expedite social mobility. In higher education, social capital is strongly linked to networks, associations, and relationships that academics build over time and are essential to a successful academic career (Heffernan, 2021).

True, social justice allies, as discussed in Chapter 2, support and advocate for black minoritised academics and are essential in strengthening social capital. Allies can open the gate to numerous career opportunities, including access to other influential networks,

increased visibility, support for anti-racist policies, mentorship, and emotional and professional support. Unfortunately, as discussed previously, studies have shown that true social justice allies are a rarity (Williams and Sharif, 2021; Williams et al., 2021)

These narratives provided rich examples of effective allyship and the importance of influential white allies, particularly how they helped advance the career trajectory of participants (Meg, Pam, Meryl, Cathy and Marvel). Indeed, the findings in this thesis robustly uphold the principles of allyship frameworks and the associated research. The results demonstrate the positive impact of allies and their pivotal role in the success of black minoritised academics (Brodio, 2000; Spanierman and Smith, 2017; LeMaire et al., 2020; Williams, Faber and Duniya, 2022).

Networks and influential allies

Granovetter's (1973) groundbreaking study, "The Strength of Weak Ties," demonstrates the importance of influential individuals in advancing an academic career and emphasises the significance of networking (social capital). The study revealed that job opportunities often arise from influential acquaintances rather than close friends, as acquaintances provide access to new ideas and information. Subsequent studies (Heffernan, 2021) have replicated these findings and emphasised the role of social networks in advancing the careers of minority academics (Battilana and Casciaro, 2013; Bhopal, 2014; Holder, Jackson, and Ponterotto, 2015; Bhopal and Pitkin, 2018; Rollock, 2019).

Pam progressed rapidly to professorial status by leveraging her significant cultural and social capital. This included robust institutional capital—a strong research base, experienced academics—and embodied capital such as accent, appearance, and awareness of navigating academia. She readily acknowledged the critical part that several influential allies played in her success. Interestingly, she portrayed these relationships as not short-term but durable and long-lasting and had taken time and effort by both parties to cultivate, nurture and build. Pam reiterated throughout her narrative phrases such as “a great role model and still is” and “has been very supportive throughout my career,”. Thus, alluding to this sense of commitment and sustainability. Pam’s substantial social and cultural capital afforded many benefits, such as enhancing collaboration with other influential networks and research opportunities. These relationships also demonstrated important facets of true allies - an iterative process that demands time and effort, emotional and professional commitment (Brodio 2000; Spanierman and Smith 2017). There is a sense from the way Pam tells her story that she had what Bourdieu (1977) would describe as an "unconscious feel for the game" or habitus. In other words, she had an instinct for the academic world and knew how to succeed in HE. According to Bourdieu, understanding the rules is essential in successfully achieving social mobility.

An intriguing revelation from the narratives of some participants (Meg, Marvel, Lavinia), including Pam, who embarked on early research at Russell Group universities and held positions in these prestigious institutions, was their eventual triumph, with most ascending to professorial status despite encountering obstacles. This suggests that active involvement

in research and a keen understanding of the higher education system are paramount for career advancement. However, despite their success, my study and others (Showunmi, Atewologun and Bebbington, 2016; Rollock, 2019; Showunmi, 2020, 2021) have highlighted the persistence of discrimination. For instance, Lavinia faced racial bullying and microaggressions, underscoring that holding senior positions does not safeguard individuals from discrimination and marginalisation.

In summary, early research and writing engagement, as well as nous and shrewdness in navigating the system in HEIs, significantly boosted Pam, Meg, Marvel and Lavinia's cultural and social capital, propelling them to the higher echelons of their profession.

Allies are not afraid to disrupt racism and step outside their comfort zones in order to adhere to equality values. I felt this was exemplified in the way Meg portrayed the actions of several key characters in her story. For example, in the construction of the role of the School Medical Officer, Meg portrayed him as a true ally, securing her a position in a teaching hospital after Meg had received no reply from the four London teaching hospitals that she applied to complete her nurse training. He was, according to Meg, 'incandescent with rage' ('He said, "I don't understand what's going on – you're very bright", he just didn't understand it') when he surmised that there was an element of discrimination because Meg had to submit a photograph of herself and was unable to name her father on the application form.

The outcome was probably due to an intersection of several categories: class, race and gender. In the 1960s, there was a considerable stigma attached to children born out of wedlock. Therefore, racism and social norms at the time likely played a part in denying Meg a place on the nursing course in one of these large, prestigious teaching hospitals. Although a few overseas nurses were recruited during this period, most women attracted to nursing were white middle-class females who brought more significant cultural and social capital, particularly to teaching hospitals. The School Medical Officer's behaviour in this context showed courage. He was ready to take a chance by standing out from others (Brodio, 2000; LeMaire et al., 2020). It is worth noting that his influential position would have made it easier for him to take such actions.

Allies with Marginalised Identities

In a study by Williams and Sharif (2021) using the Interpersonal Racial Allyship Scale (IRAS scale), it was found that individuals with marginalised identities were more inclined to be racial allies. The authors suggested that their experience of oppression led to greater empathy with people of colour and heightened awareness of privilege (Case, 2012).

The findings in this thesis align with the findings of Williams and Sharif (2021) about the value of marginalised groups as allies. For example, Meryl's narrative depicts her relationship with her Head of Department (HoD), a white female academic, who played a key role in Meryl's progress and growth. Meryl explained that the level of support she received was due to her HoD experiencing discrimination and oppression upon returning

from maternity leave. Meryl stated, "She said she was persecuted for pursuing her doctorate and vowed to support any talented person she came across."

In her narrative, Meryl shares a powerful experience with her Irish mentor (p166), highlighting the valuable insights and support she received from him. She was surprised by the empathy and guidance she received from this white Irish professor, feeling that it challenged her preconceived notions ("I was amazed...because I thought this dude is white... I would have expected this kind of talk from a black man or woman...he was like the father figure I never had..."). The professor shared his experiences with discrimination, offering Meryl a new perspective on the barriers black academics face in higher education. This interaction expanded Meryl's sphere of thinking and prompted her to reexamine her identity concerning racism within academia.

Like Pam's, Marvel's (p 179) narrative reveals that she had a positive experience working within HEIs, not encountering any barriers to progression or being cognisant of racialised experiences. However, unlike Pam, whose allies and network were predominantly white, Marvel's ally is an influential black female academic. This is interesting because this individual, whom Marvel admires and values significantly and whom she describes as a 'sponsor' and her main anchor of support, is outside her current HEI.

Bhopal's (2016) research has shown that the lack of access to informal networks (See p239), which she refers to as a 'network of knowns' and 'academic gatekeepers', hinders black academics' career progression and development. The fact that Marvel's network seems outside her elite institution indicates marginalisation and isolation in a predominantly white space. Marvel does not provide any information about support networks within her current HEI, so the audience must infer that if she had access to a 'network of knowns,' then it is possible that, despite having an impressive CV after 20 years, she may have progressed more rapidly within this elite institution.

In summary, how these participants (Meryl, Marvel) constructed their narratives supports Williams and Sharif's (2021) findings that marginalised identities were more inclined to be true racial allies because of their experience of oppression and awareness of privilege.

White females as allies

'Political solidarity between women which has been the force putting in place positive change has been and is now constantly undermined and threatened ... Women in our society are forgetting the value and power of sisterhood. Renewed feminist movement must once again raise the banner high to proclaim anew 'Sisterhood is powerful'. (hooks, 2000, p. 17)

The research findings in this thesis differ from the study conducted by Williams and Sharif (2021) in one fundamental respect. Unlike the findings of Williams and Sharif, which showed greater support from female participants towards those experiencing racial and gendered oppression, the white female academics in this thesis, apart from some exceptions, were not consistently supportive of black females facing similar challenges. Pearl was particularly

vocal about her white colleagues' lack of support and did not hesitate to draw attention to the issue (p149).

The absence of support from white women for their black colleagues resonates with Bell Hooks' (2000) arguments about women forgetting the power of 'sisterhood' and that more can be achieved with everyone working together. She argues that privileged white women, who were previously marginalised and are now in a position of power, have failed to dissociate themselves from internalised sexism, classism and racism. Until these oppressions are confronted and 'political solidarity' between groups of women is established, the rift between women will persist (Allan, 2022).

Multiple Networks

As well as networks that provided access and influence, the findings from these women's narratives suggest that black female academics accessed a range of networks which served different purposes. Thus, many of my participants actively pursued and formed networks with other academics of colour. Meryl, for example, after losing trust in her white colleagues in the workplace, formed a network of black PhD students, and Lavinia formed a network of other senior black academics across multiple HEIs in the UK, Marvel working at an elite university in a predominantly white space, formed alliances with black senior academics outside her HEI. Some participants found that these groups offered safe spaces where they could openly share their experiences of academic life, especially regarding racial discrimination. By doing so, they were able to avoid internalising the negative effects of racism and other oppressions on their self-esteem. I would argue that these "safe spaces" helped reduce their sense of isolation and invalidation and fostered collegiality. These findings align with those from a recent Bhopal (2022a) study on black senior academics in prestigious universities. Furthermore, Bhopal and others (Valencia and Solórzano, 1997) suggest that these informal spaces assist black academics in challenging the prevalent "cultural deficit" narrative in academia and other areas. However, peer networks can be isolated, especially if they lack the influence and power to bring about change and progress in academia. This is where having a champion is crucial. Therefore, access to various networks is essential, as supported by existing literature (Granovetter, 1973; Carbado and Gulati, 2004; Bhopal, 2014; Rollock, 2019).

Insider Networks

Nevertheless, black academics are still less likely than their white counterparts to access what Bhopal (2022a) refers to as powerful 'insider' networks. She argues that these are the networks where the real power lies, as it is within these informal friendship environments where recommendations, pathways to development and progression are made. In short, her finding from participants in both the US and UK groups of academics was that cronyism and nepotism are rife, especially when the gatekeepers are part of these informal friendship groups. This particular aspect was not explored in the thesis, but the utterances from several participants, such as Cathy and Dee, implied that favouritism was at play, so it was inconsequential whether you met the criteria for a particular position; what mattered was

‘who you know’. The participant’s narratives described subgroups within the informal group. So, the influence of the gatekeepers in your informal friendship grows. Consequently, if you are part of the in-group, you will be encouraged and supported, but if you are not, you are left to do the ‘donkey’ work. That is work that may be rewarding and enjoyable but at the same time also laborious and time-consuming, thus illustrating racism and cronyism because often, those who are not part of the in-group are the black and ethnic minority lecturers, illustrating the intersectionality of race and group female oppression.

It is clear from the utterances of participants and studies in the literature that networks are essential not only for a successful career pathway in academia but also for the working life of academia. Black minoritised females must secure access to both formal and informal networks. Unfortunately, as discussed above, there are barriers to informal group membership for black female academics as they are often perceived as outsiders (Hadani et al., 2012). For example, studies have shown that departmental hiring practices are not merit-based but directed by who the interview panel feels should be in that post. Thus, a preselected candidate is appointed (Bedeian et al., 2010). This clearly illustrates Bourdieu’s (1989) notion about the value of social capital and career success. Marginalisation, especially from informal groups, Bhopal (2018) refers to as the ‘Knowns’, is a significant disadvantage for black female academics. According to Bhopal, the ‘Knowns’ are individuals perceived to fit into the hierarchy’s image (‘their own image’) physically, socially and intellectually. The ‘Knowns’ are then groomed for success, thus perpetuating white privilege. In reality, the situation is not entirely clear-cut because there were also examples of strong and supportive white allies in the women’s narratives in this thesis, echoing the findings from other studies (Bhopal, 2014, 2020d, 2026; Rollock, 2019).

This discussion highlights research findings (Heffernan, 2021) that examine the advantages and disadvantages of networking. One major disadvantage is that networking is often seen as undermining meritocracy, which confirms Bourdieu’s conclusion about social capital perpetuating inequality. Social networks can facilitate personal and social advancement. In contrast, individuals without such social capital may encounter obstacles when progressing within social hierarchies.

Other types of activism

Other types of activism that these women portrayed in their narratives included reporting the department to the union (Dee) or taking formal grievance procedures against the institution (Lavinia and Meg). How the participants construct their narratives depicts anger and bitterness towards the organisation for being unsupportive. Reporting in itself is a risky but brave decision to make. It is a risk, as illustrated in Dee’s case. When she reported her department head for victimising and bullying and being regularly overlooked for promotion, the union’s actions were ineffectual. The reprisal for reporting them to the union intensified the bullying behaviour, making her working environment intolerable, so she left the institution.

Indeed, leaving the institution was a strategy many participants used to manage discrimination and marginalisation. Even those individuals (e.g. Samantha) who were reluctant to disclose having experienced any form of racism or racial discrimination in HE took decisive action. For example, when Samantha was not promoted despite meeting the necessary criteria for promotion and interviewing well, within a short period, she left the institution, stating in the narrative that she felt the Russell Group institution did not fit in with her interests and ethos concerning health and equality. She took up a more senior post elsewhere (post-1992) that 'fit me like a glove ... in terms of diversity and equality'. Once again, like Marvel, an underlying sense of marginalisation in this Russell group HEI is implicit in her construction of these events. However, leaving the department so soon after this disappointment shows Samantha's ability to focus on her goal by taking prompt and decisive action.

Leaving the HEI is a typical response by black and ethnic minoritised academics to othering and marginalisation. Although the sample for this thesis showed my respondents moving within the UK, Bhopal, Brown, and Jackson (2015) found that increasing numbers of academics moved to overseas institutions or were considering moving. Although the authors acknowledged the complexity of academic migration based on Lee's (1966) pull/push framework, they argue that migration can be based on specific characteristics such as black minoritised academics. The response to the various pull/push factors could include the 'direct and indirect' discrimination and how it affects career progression. The authors contend that those academics who have moved to other institutions abroad describe positive experiences such as improved career opportunities and advancement and being valued. Furthermore, diversity and inclusion policies were more positively received than, as Ahmed (2007) argued, in the UK, where it has become politicised and used as 'image management'. I would argue that the 'flight' from the UK by these academics demonstrates initiative, ambition, courage, and agency.

In this thesis, the women displayed activism and agency through various strategies. They cultivated diverse networks, engaged with unions, and used well-informed arguments against a racist manager (Miller, 2016). Their actions reflect "critical resilience" rather than submissive resilience. Their decision-making was politically driven, based on awareness of policies affecting HEIs. Additionally, black minoritised groups have developed experience and knowledge in using resistant capital, and they utilised this capital and other forms of resistance to oppose racism and disrupt the status quo. The participants' narratives showcase triumph over oppression within the HEI and refute the victim narrative. Traynor (2017) argues that organisations promoting resilience often avoid addressing systemic racism and material conditions.

Miller's study shows two other responses to the promotion challenge, aside from activism: brokerage and acquiescence (disengagement). However, studies have found that disengagement coping strategies in response to gendered racial microaggressions were a

'significant mediator' causing higher depressive symptoms among black women (Williams and Lewis, 2019).

In summary, the interaction between social capital and allies boosts academia's overall collaborative and supportive environment, enhancing research productivity and contributing to career satisfaction for black minoritised academics. The literature and this thesis provide compelling evidence that genuine allies can effectively support minoritised academics in academia by acting as influential mentors, sponsors and advocates and leveraging their positions of privilege and power (LeMaire et al., 2020). To facilitate this, LeMaire and colleagues propose strategies that true allies can adopt within the academic sphere e.g. Strategies for effective mentorship (Appendix 11).

In this thesis, except for Marvel, all allies were white because most influential positions are occupied by white colleagues who have the power to effect change. However (Miller, 2016) demonstrated that black minoritised academics do not rely on 'white sanction' but instead use a range of other strategies to forge their paths to success. These strategies include supportive networks, influential allies, mentorship and leadership programs, and conference participation. As a result, they are increasingly empowered to progress and succeed, ultimately challenging the power dynamics perpetuated by whiteness ideology, a key argument of this thesis.

The stories shared by the participants in this thesis demonstrate their remarkable ability to overcome many oppressions, such as gendered racism in HEIs. Through the use of effective strategies, they were able to advance their careers and find emotional support. The availability of both formal and informal networks and the presence of supportive allies are fundamental for career growth in academia. Nonetheless, black minoritised academics frequently encounter exclusion from such networks and therefore require the assistance of genuine racial allies to achieve promotion and encourage social justice in HEIs.

Migrants: Identity Performance

Meryl's powerful narrative illuminated the daunting challenges confronted by black minoritised migrant nurses in the academic space. Drawing from her experiences as an African migrant, Meryl's story focussed on academics from this region, emphasising the barriers they encounter and offering proactive strategies to mitigate or confront them (p193 and p47). The barriers include sociocultural adjustments (accent, language, adjusting to social norms), ineffective mentorship, and disproportionate disciplinary actions.

Although few research studies specifically explore migrant nurse academics (Christoffersen, 2018), due to globalisation and increased nurse mobility, several UK and international studies have investigated the experience of African migrant nurses. These studies corroborate Meryl's experience and observations of the challenges experienced by this group of migrants in academia (Smith et al., 2006; Henry, 2007; Isaac, 2020; Showers, 2015; Likupe, 2015; Iheduru-Anderson and Wahi, 2018; Ezeonwu, 2019; Junious et al., 2010). Ezeonwu (2019), for example, discovered that African-born nurses found sociocultural adjustments challenging, mirroring Meryl's observations of her African-born academic colleagues.

This thesis included many migrants (see Tables 4.1a and 4.1b). Each narrative provided valuable and distinctive insights, offering a rich, immersive perspective. Overall, the experiences of the migrants within academia closely mirrored those of the British-born participants, highlighting commonalities across diverse backgrounds. However, studies explicitly focusing on the progression of migrant academics found that the progression within HEIs was worse for black ethnic minority female migrants compared to their UK-born counterparts. This indicates the compounding effect of migrant status on the experience of black minoritised academics (Christoffersen, 2018).

Meryl takes pride in utilising impression management strategies to adapt to HEI's academic and cultural environment. Using code-switching strategies such as ensuring she adjusts her accent, language, and behaviour to assimilate within her environment—other strategies, including continual professional updates, cultivating networks and acquiring knowledge of navigating academia (Durkee and Williams, 2015; McCluney et al., 2021; Kang et al., 2016).

Indeed, the shaping of her narrative outlining her successful progression in her HEI certainly validates the use of these strategies in building cultural and social capital. Isaac's (2020) study comparing British-born UK black ethnic minoritised nurses with black non-UK-born African colleagues concluded that UK-born colleagues were more privileged. Additionally, the 'cultural capital' conferred by being UK-born outweighed the 'hindering factor' of black ethnic identity, thus corroborating the value of Meryl's sociocultural adjustments.

Meryl's use of language is crucial for her goal of establishing her identity and being accepted into a new culture. Through impression management strategies such as identity performance and code-switching, she demonstrates the effective and practical approaches that black minoritised individuals have long used to navigate various social contexts adeptly.

However, as previously discussed (Chapter 2), this behavioural strategy can also present significant psychological challenges.

What has the chosen methodology allowed?

The dialogic/performance methodology provided numerous benefits in data analysis and interpretation. These benefits included a comprehensive examination of the data, considering other aspects such as identity construction. Additionally, this methodology looked at the data from the participant's perspective, giving them a voice (Chapter 3). It allowed for an examination of the socio-political context of the countries the participants are from, providing insight into their early family stories and how they shaped their identity performance. It also highlighted the data's temporal (chronological) aspects, helping to understand the participants' evolving experiences over time, seen as a narrative. Some of these dimensions will be interrogated further below.

Holistic insights: Constructed identities/performance identity

In the dialogic/performance approach, local context interrogates the discourse between speakers and how it is performed, focusing more on other dimensions that shaped the data (historical, societal). This approach allowed holistic insight into these women's lives and career trajectories. It has shown that it is a powerful method for analysing the multiple identities developed and presented by a storyteller in various contexts. I have seen how their experiences over a lifetime have shaped their values and career trajectory in academia. For example, although Samantha acknowledged the intersection of oppressions such as racism in forging her ethos – striving for social justice, equality and fairness – her narrative clearly articulated that poverty and, hence, class were the main driving force in shaping her beliefs and thus, her career trajectory in academia. For Meg, I would argue, based on her utterances, it was her experiences growing up in a chaotic, turbulent and discriminatory environment that shaped her values, career pathways and achievements in the HE sector. The overall message that she wishes the audience to take away is that she is an agentic, intelligent, resilient and accomplished black woman who, despite the odds, has achieved success in a white male-dominated space. She is their intellectual and professional equal but is still very much open to fighting racism and supporting people of colour. Indeed, how the narrative is shaped implies that this is the legacy she wants to leave. This is what she wanted to accomplish by telling her story.

It is crucial to remember that stories are crafted or performed by storytellers with specific intentions. Therefore, treating them as facts is risky, even though they represent the tellers' "reality." Furthermore, Atkinson and Delamont (2006) assert that as researchers, we should never assume that our interview data accurately reflects the participants' actual experiences because, as mentioned earlier, the way people present their stories is a form of performance for an audience (Riessman, 2016; Goffman, 1974).

As discussed previously, stories are central to people's identities and using a dialogic/performance approach to analyse the data allowed interrogation of the performance identity (Goffman, 1974; Maseda, 2017). According to Riessman (2016), personal narratives contain many performance features, such as language (emphasis, repetition, direct speech), behaviour (gestures), demeanour, and sounds, which enable the

interrogation of participants' identity performance. Analysts should also consider the narrator's social positioning, the audience, other characters in the narrative, and the researchers themselves (Chapter 3).

Examples of these performance identity features were illustrated in all of these women's narratives. The fluidity in their positionality in different scenes varied from victims to active agents depending on what they wished to accomplish, with the characters populating their stories and the audience reading/listening, essentially staging performances of 'desirable self' for themselves and a wider audience, in order to save 'face' (Goffman, 1974; Riessman, 2008). Even when, for example, Cathy reveals undesirable characteristics about herself (e.g. 'paranoid', 'Confidence gone'), Phoenix (2013) argues that these utterances still portray the character in a good light because an audience might immediately surmise this person is being honest and reflexive.

Burgos (1991) contends that it is essential to analyse how people begin their stories as often it is significant to their experience; I found this to be the case with Pam as identity was undoubtedly a preoccupation in her story. Pam, of dual heritage, opened her story with a long preamble about her identity, which pervaded most of her story. Pam's utterances conveyed a situated identity of someone with a strong sense of her own identity ('I define myself as British ... I just see myself as being me') fighting against being categorised in a specific way ('don't feel I fit in a white camp, and I don't think I sit in a black camp') and thus against the notion of racism ('snobbery about the colour of your skin ... I'm not black enough') and race as an essentialist identity. The use of the dialogic/performance approach steered me towards questioning why Pam began her story the way she did, how her identity was constructed through her experience of discrimination as a child, her relationships in adult life and how this strong sense of identity impacted on her career trajectory in academia.

Bruner (2002) contends that individual narratives also reflect stories of the broader culture. As mentioned previously, this phenomenon was shown by Dan McAdams (2013), an American psychologist studying the narrative of people in mid-life who repeatedly found that they told stories that construct their identities as redemptive. Although each of the women's narratives was unique, the same findings as those from McAdam's research emerged in some of their stories (e.g. Dee, Meg, Cathy), where they constructed their identities as redemptive or moral agents (e.g. Samantha, Lavinia). Thus, the stories of their experience in academia and other dimensions of their lives become a representation of themselves as human beings: crafting stories of surviving adversity and oppression either in their lives or within academia but surviving by demonstrating resilience and achieving success personally and academically. Others, such as Pearl, performed a lively and highly dramatic identity, and I would argue evangelical. Indeed, the way she constructed her narrative, I felt, was considered because an enthusiastic evangelistic performance was needed to get her message across, not just to me, but to a wider invisible audience of other black academics or perhaps all *black women* out there who suffer discrimination. She

intended to deliver a clear political message that through self-awareness, knowledge and determination, they can overcome the oppression of intersecting identities such as gender and race (Hill-Collins and Bilge, 2016) and succeed in HE. Pearl constructed her story such that it portrayed a story of an individual with strong self-belief who triumphed over institutional racism, sexism and bullying and that other black females armed with the knowledge and determination can also prevail. So, it was a kind of David and Goliath story.

In summary, this methodology has allowed nuances to be captured and provided insights into the many constructed identities enacted within these women's narratives. In short, their stories became a representation of themselves as human beings.

Co-construction.

In conducting interviews, efforts were made to maintain impartiality. Bamberg and Andrews (2004) note that the interactions reflect the interviewees' identities and perceptions of what the interviewer wants to hear. Charmaz (2006) argues that interviewees' stories are a reconstruction of reality, not a joint construction. Nevertheless, Riessman (2008) highlights that the methodology values the interviewees' positions and subjectivity, allowing the researcher to engage with their narratives without the burden of pursuing objectivity. Riessman and others (Mishler, 1986) agree that the interviewer has an active role in the interview process, employing strategies to encourage disclosure. They suggest viewing the interview as a collaborative conversation, emphasising the balance of power in the interviewer-interviewee relationship. Acknowledging the potential bias resulting from the researcher's position throughout the research stages is essential.

Stories of early family life

Using a dialogic/performance approach, I learned about the early family life of many of my participants. Some of them explicitly connected their early family experiences to how they react to present-day events like racism, sexism, and social class structures, with their fathers being a significant influence. This relationship was negative for some, such as Meryl, but for others like Meg, their fathers had a positive and life-changing impact. Growing up in the 1960s and early 1970s as a black, illegitimate child who had never known her father had a profound impact on her life and career path due to social norms at that time. Meg did not meet her father until she was an adult and meeting him and his family changed Meg's ambivalence about her identity and sense of belonging. Despite her love for her mother's white family, Meg still felt insecure and like she didn't belong, "I'd been on my own since 16 – I'd done everything for myself ... I had no family, you know, I was on my own."

She went through a significant change when she met her father for the first time in his home country. It was a powerful and joyous moment for Meg, almost like an epiphany, because her words and expressions showed acceptance for the first time in the story. Her father's side of the family seemed to accept her as she was without letting things like being illegitimate and a woman of colour affect their view of her. This made her feel at home. She felt no stigma, unlike in her own country. This moment marked her certainty about her

identity without any doubt. In this moving account, there is a sense that she was home: 'There wasn't the stigma that I'd experienced in this country ... you're your father's daughter, end of. And a real welcome and I really fell in love with Nigeria.' Earlier in the story, she emphasised, "So I'm aware that society views me, first and foremost, as a woman of colour." With her father's family showing such warmth and kindness, it is no surprise that she was eager to move to Nigeria without thinking about the consequences. Fortunately, her father advised her to pursue an academic career. This was a crucial turning point in Meg's personal and professional life. Finding a sense of belonging and receiving instrumental guidance from her father led her to transition from clinical work to becoming a lecturer.

Meg's story illustrates the vital influence of fathers in the participants' lives, affecting their personal and professional experiences. This influence may have made some of them more sensitive to instances of patriarchy they encountered. For instance, Meg was keenly aware of the sexist and racist implications of a casual and seemingly harmless comment made by a male staff member when she was introduced to him for the first time. He assumed she was a student.

Sociopolitical context

The methodology provided insight into the sociopolitical environment in the participants' countries of origin, offering a perspective to interpret their narratives and overall performance. For instance, Vanita, an Asian senior lecturer in her late 50s, grew up in a post-colonial country alongside many other overseas participants. Despite the coexistence of three main ethnic groups in her country and the espousal of meritocracy, there exists a clear hierarchy with Chinese at the top and others as subordinates. Racism is ingrained with historically structured systems of power inherited from British colonisers.

Vanita constructs an identity as someone with a strong work ethic and a belief in meritocracy, valuing hard work for achieving rewards. She exhibits strong loyalty to her HEI, expressing confidence in its fairness and transparency in career progression and promotion processes for minoritised groups, dismissing discriminatory culture. Her narratives suggest a lack of empathy regarding criticisms or grievances from Afro-Caribbean colleagues about navigating a racialised institution. Her positioning within the narrative indicates that she feels fully integrated into the 'white space' of academia without experiencing marginalisation. From the narrative, it seems that Vanita denies association with the black minoritised categorisation, particularly that of Afro-Caribbeans, and seeks to distance herself, which may be tied to a cultural and historical legacy of colonisation. Perhaps these feelings might have cultural and historical roots, especially growing up in a post-colonial society where one group sees itself as superior, fostering a colonial mentality (Fanon, 1961). Indeed, the impact of colonisation significantly shaped socio-economic dynamics among different ethnic groups. Indian Asians held middle management roles as part of a broader colonial strategy in which Black communities were excluded and marginalised. These long-lasting effects contribute to differing socioeconomic outcomes in post-colonial societies,

perpetuating disparities and shaping interactions between different ethnic communities (Gooptu, 2013; Go, 2024)

Temporality of experiences and situations

‘The past is all that makes the present coherent’
(Baldwin, Notes of a Native Son, 1955, p. 6).

The concept of temporality relates to how individuals experience a series of events over time. Connelly and Clandinin (2006) argue that focusing on temporality helps narrative researchers understand the past, present, and future experiences of the individuals, events, and places being studied. In essence, it assists researchers in assessing the quality of participants' experiences over time, which is seen as a narrative.

The research findings showed that minoritised nurse academics in this study recognised the temporality of their experience. I believe that this was a crucial aspect of their personal stories because it helped them make sense of and bring structure to their academic journey. The process allowed them to reflect on all aspects (personal, historical, cultural) of these experiences. Therefore, storytelling gives a comprehensive understanding of the data because the women were reflecting on the past, present, and future, lending a longitudinal sense to the data, unlike studies that only collect data at a single point in time (cross-sectional). This approach gives the audience insight into the emotional impact of their experiences in the past, present, and future.

Several participants, for example, had regrets about past experiences within academia, specifically how they perceived, approached and shaped career paths. Dee and Pearl, for example, were very vocal about how much they regretted belated access to the world of research. That said, their narrative constructed an optimistic future; for example, Pearl became immersed in the research world, commencing a PhD and publishing and attending conferences. For Dee, gaining her PhD was a significant turning point because her constructed narrative changed from a performance identity as an angry victim of institutional racism to someone who was planning an optimistic future as a consultant outside the HEI.

Although not explicitly stated, the inference is that her anger seems to have dissipated. For Pearl, however, despite now being on a positive career path, her utterances were explicit in that she was still very angry about her racialised experiences in HEIs. The persistence of this ‘anger’ was also portrayed in the narrative of other participants (e.g. Meg, Cathy, Lavinia). These findings highlight the need for early career advice for newly appointed nurse academics and recognition by universities that the racialised environments have damaging effects on black and ethnic minoritised colleagues. Thus, effective support structures are needed (Arday, 2022).

Others, like Lavinia and Meryl, recognised and utilised the painful racialised experiences they described in their narratives to positively shape current and future career trajectories.

Focusing on the temporality of these women's experiences provides insight into the past, present, and future of participants, people, places, and the phenomenon explored in this thesis. Stories using a narrative methodology help to keep the past, present, and future aligned.

Summary

The analysis of participants' narratives of working in the UK HE sectors revealed that nurse academics experience racial discrimination in the form of institutional, cultural and interpersonal (racial microaggressions) racism. Interrogating the data through an intersectional lens revealed that other oppressions besides racism shaped their experience in academia. For some, the culture of the nursing department augmented the double burden of the oppression of being black and female in a predominantly white, male hegemonic space. Hence, despite working in a predominantly white female space, nursing did not afford any protection. These oppressive factors presented significant challenges for some -stifled development and progression within the HEI and, for most, resulted in marginalisation and othering in their institutions, even for some of those who managed, via a protracted route, to reach the pinnacle of their profession (Appendix 12)

Some of the women's stories depicted a sense of weariness (black fatigue) caused by subtle and insidious racism, as well as other forms of discrimination. Despite these challenges, they overcame them through effective coping mechanisms such as building social and cultural capital, seeking support from social justice allies, and through impression management strategies. Their ability to succeed despite their obstacles demonstrates the stoicism and resilience of these women, many of whom were originally migrants to this country.

Unsurprisingly, a migrant story emerged, given the number of migrant academic participants within the sample. All of these participants' stories were both fascinating and unique. However, their experience in academia mirrored those of the UK-born participants, as they, too, experienced racial and gendered discrimination, leading to marginalisation, othering and emotional trauma. How some of these women framed their narratives implies that nursing was neither a safe, gendered, nor inclusive space; this supports the premise that both the nursing profession and academic culture are 'white', highlighting the excluding processes of HEIs.

An unexpected and compelling finding in this thesis was the strength of the evidence regarding the emotional harm evident in the utterances of the women's narratives and their belief that this resulted from exposure to insidious everyday racism and gender oppression in HE.

The use of a narrative methodology facilitated the emergence and documentation of granular data on the processes that black academics experience, and this level of detail, I believe, adds to the strength of the findings. The methodology also strongly emphasised the temporality of the data, with temporality being a key element of NI, thus aligning past, present, and future events in the narratives of the research participants.

The findings in this study provide robust data on participant's experience of the intersection of oppression in HEIs, with racial and gender discrimination emerging as the two main intersecting oppressions. The data is also consistent with research into microaggression,

deepening our understanding of racial microaggressions experienced by black minoritised nurse academics.

This study has contributed to the literature by interrogating the unique, specific experience of black minoritised nurse academics within the HE sectors and some of the cultural features of the profession that have shaped their career trajectories. It has also revealed how some women struggle with racism and resist it and how others struggle for various reasons to acknowledge personal experiences of racial discrimination within HEIs.

Moreover, my thesis illustrates how racism operates at the micro level in nursing, primarily through the lenses of racial microaggressions, institutional racism, intersectionality, allyship, and the experiences of migrant nurses, which is crucial for understanding and addressing these issues.

In short, the narratives of the research participants in this study support, add to, and extend our knowledge and understanding of nurse academics' experiences in HEIs.

Chapter 6. Conclusions

Recapitulation of purpose and findings

The purpose of this study was to explore the experience of minoritised female nurse academics working in UK HEIs and address the following questions:

1. How do minoritised nurse academics experience intersectional oppression related to ethnicity, gender and class?
2. How does intersectional oppression affect career progression and development in academia?
3. What is the impact of persistent racialised encounters on the emotional well-being of participants?
4. What strategies are used for responding to interpersonal and institutional racism in the work environment?

In my research, I found that many participants experienced various forms of racism, such as racial microaggressions and institutional racism, particularly racial bullying. Additionally, findings from my thesis suggest that participants experienced an intersection of oppression in HEIs, with racial and gender discrimination emerging as the two main intersecting oppressions, as well as other forms of oppression within the nursing department culture.

The narratives also revealed the emotional harm caused by pervasive and insidious racism, marginalisation, 'othering,' fatigue, and stalled development and progression resulting from these oppressions for some participants. Despite these barriers, participants demonstrated resilience and stoicism, using effective coping mechanisms such as impression management and building social and cultural capital through networks, allies, and personal resilience to achieve success in higher education.

Finally, participants who engaged in research early in their careers revealed a more rapid progression, with some achieving high status, such as professorial roles.

Comparison with the existing research

The findings in this study broadly resonate with other studies exploring the experience of black, Asian and ethnic minoritised academics in the HE sectors and their struggle with the subtlety and pervasiveness of intersectional oppressions, especially racial and gendered oppressions. However, despite these oppressions, the women in this thesis exhibited various coping strategies to resist oppression and thrive. (Wright, Thompson and Channer, 2007; Bhopal, 2014, 2016, 2020a, 2020b, 2020c; Holland, 2015; Rollock, 2019; Bell, 2020; Iheduru-Anderson and Waite, 2022; Iheduru-Anderson and Wahi, 2022; Brathwaite et al., 2022)

Although the results broadly align with other studies, they differ in several areas. Firstly, this study appears to be the first in the UK to offer a comprehensive exploration of the experiences of black minoritised nurse academics, utilising a narrative dialogic/performance

methodology. This approach enables a more in-depth understanding of black minoritised nurse academics' personal and professional experiences, showcasing their narratives in a manner that traditional methodologies may not capture.

Secondly, a strong theme that emerged was the resistance, for various reasons, by some participants to acknowledge any personal experience of racism within academia. For example, participants in Bhopal's (2014) study talked about their unwillingness to label racialised behaviour towards them as 'racist' but still openly acknowledged experiencing personal racism within academia.

Thirdly, in framing their narratives, a few participants in this thesis portrayed their institution as supportive, encouraging, and, from their perspectives, facilitating their progression. Additionally, social class was not found to play a significant role in shaping these participants' experiences, contrary to studies by other scholars, such as Bhopal (2016).

Finally, unlike other studies, my thesis provides a comprehensive scholarly illustration of how racism operates at the micro level in nursing, particularly in relation to racial microaggressions, institutional racism, intersectionality, allyship, and migrant nurse academics.

Limitations of the study

Limitations related to the small sample size, the areas from which the sample was drawn, the use of a qualitative methodology, and the fact that not all academic teaching levels were represented.

The study focused on the experiences of minoritised nurse academics in two countries within the UK. Ten participants were from three main areas in England (South East, Midlands, and the North), and one from another country in the UK. As a result, the findings cannot be generalised to other parts of the UK or beyond, nor can they be considered as evidence of the experiences of minoritised nurse academics in other regions of the UK or the Western world. However, it is noteworthy that literature exploring the experiences of black minoritised academics inside and outside the UK (including North America) has reported findings similar to those from this study.

A narrative methodology was suitable for this small sample size as it generated rich, detailed data on the experiences of minoritised nurse academics, making it ideal for exploring this topic. However, it had drawbacks. The participants' experiences were unique, and specific constructs that helped them make sense of and give meaning to their journey through academia and my positionality as a fellow black female academic could have affected the study's trustworthiness. Nevertheless, several strategies were utilised to enhance trustworthiness and mitigate potential bias in the analysis and interpretation of the data (Riessman, 2008) (Chapters 3 and 4).

In summary, the nature of my sample and data makes the findings primarily contextual. Therefore, I cannot be certain that the findings in the thesis are applicable to other UK HE establishments.

Problems arising during the Research

I experienced many challenges with the methodology, as discussed in Chapter 3, mainly because of my unfamiliarity with narrative research approaches. That said, the five main issues going forward concern:

1. Management of the large volume of data,
2. Sample selection,
3. Finding an approach that ensured all the participants' voices were situated within the thesis and
4. Defining boundaries is crucial in selecting interview segments to represent the topic being explored and avoiding placing too much emphasis on detailing performative features at the expense of addressing the research objectives.
5. My positionality in interpreting the participant's data.

I initially found the volume of data collected overwhelming to manage. I used NVivo software initially but found it challenging and time-consuming, so I resorted to manual analysis. In hindsight, manual analysis was more effective for examining the spoken words' form and demonstrating how female participants constructed their identities within the performance/dialogic framework.

Several problems arose during sample recruitment and the choice of interview location. The most severe issue was that the final sample did not represent all academic grades and was biased towards those at the upper end of the grading scale (senior lecturers and professors). Participants were recruited over six to seven months. Despite various strategies to encourage potential participants to commit to being interviewed, I failed to increase the sample's numbers, diversity, and range. Many individuals approached appeared willing but stated they were overwhelmed with other commitments.

On one occasion, I travelled over 160 miles to an HEI in the Midlands, but the individual cancelled due to other commitments. After several weeks of exchanging emails, they finally decided to withdraw. In retrospect, I should have extended the recruitment period significantly. As a result, the sample was small, with participants from only two countries in the UK, one Asian female, and no representation from the lecturer band. This was disappointing, as it provided a partial and incomplete picture of the experience of minoritised nurse academics and may have affected the quality of the study's findings.

For example, the performance identity that most of these women portrayed in response to the challenges of promotion was that of activism. They constructed narratives where the predominant positioning was that of an agentic and determined individual. These findings did not align with other scholars (Smith et al., 2006; Miller, 2016) who explored the

experience of minoritised academics and nurses. Miller identified three responses to the promotion challenges: activism, brokerage, and acquiescence. Smith et al. (2006) also found a group that acquiesced, which they called the 'disengagement' strategy: women consciously decided to 'disengage' from career progression. Indeed, the three groups that Miller (2016) identified aligned more with what I have observed in my institution over the last 18–20 years.

The second issue was that I was advised to recruit outside my HEI. This was mainly because of concerns about how my position within the HEI and my relationship with colleagues could influence the stages of the research process and create the potential for bias and a breach of confidentiality. It was disappointing because colleagues would have been a valuable source of data and would have enhanced the sample size and range, addressing the issues of sample bias discussed above. Looking back, I realise that I should have insisted on including colleagues because, as I gained more confidence in qualitative methodology, I understood that I am inevitably part of the research process and also part of the study's outcomes. Therefore, I cannot detach myself, nor do I think it is desirable to do so. However, I am responsible for striving to be transparent and reflexive (Polit and Beck, 2017) throughout the research process.

Having begun engaging with the data, the next challenge was ensuring that a wider audience heard the voices of all my respondents. After all, they had trusted me with their data, and for some, these stories were painful recollections of past experiences. Like Bhopal (2016), for some participants, these interviews were a form of therapy; there was a sense of 'unburdening'. For others, it was the first time they had revealed these experiences to a stranger. It, therefore, seemed morally and ethically wrong not to share their stories with others. Indeed, several participants expressed a desire for their stories to be heard by a wider audience. Thus, the dialogic/performance approach interrogated all eleven cases.

I selected specific segments for analysis using the dialogic/performance approach, guided by my research questions. However, I faced challenges in defining the boundaries of these segments. To structure the interview segments, I adapted Gee's approach by identifying relevant themes, events, or perspectives and arranging them into stanzas and scenes. I also attempted Labov's approach, which was too prescriptive and did not align with the data. Despite the difficulty in setting clear boundaries, I found guidance in the works of Riessman, (2008) and Gee, (2014), who suggested using narrative sections that served as a beginning and conclusion to the sequence (a 'coda'). Additionally, I kept my evolving research question in mind while selecting segments to analyse, as recommended by Riessman for better understanding of the narratives.

I needed to be mindful of my positionality when analysing and discussing the data to interpret the findings accurately. Sometimes, I mistakenly treated the participants' stories as facts instead of recognising that they shaped their narratives to convey something. I realised that my personal experiences led me to empathise strongly with the events in their stories,

as I had been through similar situations. To ensure the credibility of the data analysis, I constantly reminded myself that I was dealing with the participants' interpretations of events and endeavoured to consider alternative explanations based on the content and form of the narrative. Additionally, I provided detailed excerpts of data to allow readers to form their own interpretations as part of the interpretive process (Riessman, 2008). As suggested by narrative scholars, engaging in reflexivity was also essential throughout the interpretation process.

Recommendations

The following section will discuss suggested areas for future policy, action, education, and research based on the findings in the narratives of the minoritised nurse academics who participated in this study.

Policies

The research in this thesis and other studies on the experiences of female academics from black minoritised backgrounds have essential implications for diversity initiatives in HEIs:

1. Mandatory Implementation of Race Equality Charter (REC) in HEIs.

The REC is a voluntary scheme implemented by the ECU (2014) and became fully functional in 2016 (Advance HE, 2019b). Evaluation studies recognise its role in identifying and addressing barriers for black and ethnic minoritised staff and students and a pathway that can be used to challenge whiteness and white privilege in HEIs (Bhopal and Pitkin, 2018; Boliver, 2018; Henderson and Bhopal, 2021). However, recent studies question its effectiveness in improving outcomes for minoritised staff and students (Campion and Clark, 2022). Campion and Clark argue that the REC would be more potent with endorsements from influential institutions, like the government, HEI regulators, and the Office for Students. However, despite its drawbacks, Henderson and Bhopal (2021) continue to support the REC, advocating for its mandatory implementation by universities genuinely committed to addressing inequalities.

2. Strengthen and Diversify EDI Committees

Institutions need to address barriers and implement strategies to improve the experiences and retention of non-EU black and ethnic minority staff, particularly in terms of career progression and promotion. Studies suggest that both non-UK and UK black minoritised staff face poor experiences and lack of progression opportunities and often seek positions abroad (Christoffersen, 2018; Bhopal, 2015b).

After over 20 years since the introduction of EDI policies, it is puzzling why inequality and oppression persist in UK HEIs. I believe HEI systems facilitate this culture to maintain power dynamics in academia. Additionally, EDI committees often consist of members from minoritised groups, unfairly placing the onus on them to resolve these issues rather than dismantling these intersectional oppressions at an institutional level.

HEIs have been criticised for implementing ineffective EDI policies that have failed to deal with systemic issues and bring about real change (Ahmed, 2012; Bhopal, 2016, 2020b, 2022b; Arday, 2018). More specifically, these critics argue that these policies are superficial, stifle free speech, and are tokenistic, merely attracting a diverse student body to enhance the institution's reputation and finances. Scholars have pointed out that these policies have not significantly addressed discrimination at the faculty or institutional level. This is an example of what CRT scholar Derrick Bell (1980) and others (Bhopal 2018) call interest convergence, where HEIs benefit while oppressed demographics face discrimination. Instead of addressing deep-rooted issues, HEIs tend to engage in a tokenistic approach, leading to the departure of minoritised academics while the white hierarchy continues to reproduce itself. Indeed, some of the participant's narratives either implied (Cathy) or were very vocal (Dee) that equality initiatives were superficial or just a 'tick box' exercise that did very little in practice to change the status quo.

Scholars in the field (Bhopal, 2016, 2022b) recognise improvements in facilitating the progression of women and black minoritised academic staff to higher-ranking positions, for example, the Athena SWAN Charter and embedding EDI in the culture of HEIs. However, evidence shows that HEIs remain predominantly white and male-dominated, with limited progress for black female academics. Even with policies to improve female status (Athena SWAN), white middle-class female academics are the primary beneficiaries. This highlights the need for more effort to improve the experience of black minoritised female academics in HEIs (Bhopal and Brown, 2016; Bhopal, 2020c; Rollock, 2019; Bhopal and Henderson, 2019; Henderson and Bhopal, 2021).

To minimise these adverse effects, individuals must recognise the impact of this phenomenon on society, even if it threatens their power. Academics need to address the issue of white privilege. Hobson and Whigham's (2018) autobiographical accounts are excellent examples. They acknowledged that their whiteness positioned them in a dominant role and developed anti-racist pedagogical approaches that fostered honest interactions with their primarily Black students. This process involves risks, but if academics aim to implement anti-racist approaches in their teaching, they must be willing to take those risks.

3. Embedding Equality and Diversity into HE Culture

Bhopal's (2020c) qualitative case study explored the impact of gender and ethnicity on career progression in HEIs. The study found evidence of some improvement in the progression of all women, including black and ethnic minority staff, to senior positions. However, few black minoritised female academics remain in professorial and leadership positions (HESA, 2022/2023; Advance HE, 2020a; Rollock, 2019; UUK, 2019; Xiao et al., 2023).

Research studies have unequivocally demonstrated positive and negative examples of diversity and inclusion practices in various institutions. However, barriers like racial discrimination, unconscious bias, subjective decision-making, and lack of transparency in the recruitment process are still prevalent. This indicates that integrating diversity and inclusion

schemes in higher education is inconsistent and not fully embedded in the institutional culture (Riach and Riach, 2002; Abramo, D'Angelo, and Rosati, 2016; Bhopal and Pitkin, 2018, 2020b; Bhopal, 2014, 2020b, 2020c).

It is imperative to implement more inclusive strategies and leadership support programmes to enhance the representation of black and ethnic minority female academics in senior leadership roles. Those in positions of power in the higher education sector must prioritise equality and incorporate it into the culture, policies, and processes with measurable outcomes (Bhopal and Brown, 2016; Bhopal, 2020c, Inclusive recruitment, 2022)

4. Allyship: courting allies in academia

As discussed previously, allyship can significantly enhance the social and cultural capital of black minoritised academics in many ways. For example, it can provide access to influential networks, share resources such as research funding and publications, act as an advocate to break systemic barriers standing in the way of career progression, facilitate a fair and equitable environment within academia, and enhance a sense of belonging and value for marginalised groups. These actions will help to challenge discrimination and biased behaviours and systems.

5. Support schemes – mentoring

Many of the participant's narratives highlight the essential role of HEIs in providing a formal system of support for newly appointed nursing academics and those seeking promotion to more senior positions. Independent bodies like the Women's Higher Education Network (WHEN, 2021) have clear targets. Their programme aims to increase the number of black female professors in the pipeline to 100. The programme has progressed, increasing from 35 to 41 in 2024.

The narratives revealed that the mentoring system was often ad hoc, with a lackadaisical approach to support, particularly in mentoring. Even those who felt well supported, like Pam and Marvel, agreed that an effective mentoring programme is crucial for colleagues new to academia. The significance, however, of effective mentoring schemes for black and ethnic minoritised academics is not new, as previous studies have emphasised their importance (Bhopal, 2020d; Holder, Jackson and Ponterotto, 2015; Bhopal and Pitkin, 2018). Other studies (Miller, 2019) have shown that mentorship and seeing someone who 'looks like them' in senior positions are strong enablers for the progression and development of minoritised groups.

It is important to note that there are, in fact, many mentorship schemes available for black and minoritised students and academics. For example, Advance HE has a plethora of resources on their 'Let's Talk about Race' website about implementing initiatives such as mentorship and reverse mentorship programmes. In a recent report (Advance HE Good Practice Grant, 2020d), they stated that some success has been achieved in improving race equality in HE. This was possible through projects such as Reciprocal Mentoring. The benefits and challenges of inclusive leadership were explored through short 'Spotlight

Stories' films of Executive Team members and black minoritised staff who participated in the project. Yet despite these initiatives, studies have demonstrated that this group have a poorer experience in HEIs, indicating that formal mentorship schemes and leadership programmes are essential to ensure equality (Bhopal, 2013, 2014, 2020b; Holder, Jackson and Ponterotto, 2015; Bhopal and Pitkin, 2018; Miller, 2019).

6. Promoting Resistant Capital

The findings from my thesis show that the women involved displayed both individual and critical resistance when facing various forms of oppression, including gendered racism. It is worth noting that their narratives do not paint them as victims. Many of the participants succeeded despite these obstacles. To promote anti-discrimination, we should explore resistant capital, which will empower minoritised oppressed groups to challenge the status quo and reject the deficit model. To change the mindset of both black and white colleagues, it is essential to recognise that the problem lies within the system that black female academics operate in and to resist the stereotypes imposed on them.

The participants' experiences in this thesis highlight the obstacles faced by black and ethnic minority scholars in academia due to white privilege. Universities must prioritise equality and provide structured support like mentoring, coaching, and training programmes to aid in the complex promotion process. New nurse academics should have early access to senior colleagues for invaluable knowledge and guidance. Pam's experience shows the benefits of accessing such resources early in an academic career.

Future Research

Racial Trauma Research

One potential area for future study is the emotional impact of racism on black female minority academics in HEIs. A more comprehensive qualitative study involving a broader range of academic positions could provide a more complete understanding of the challenges faced by these women. This detailed data could create quantitative tools like surveys to reach a more extensive and diverse group. This information would offer valuable insights into the effects of everyday discrimination on the well-being of black minority academics and students, as well as its consequences: marginalisation, isolation, a lack of belonging, and the psychological and physical harm caused by racial trauma. With solid evidence, HEIs would be encouraged to establish necessary support systems.

HEIs could collaborate with research institutions in North America with expertise and empirical data to expedite this process and develop effective programmes for addressing racial trauma. For instance, Monica Williams and her research team in the US are leading experts in the treatment of racial trauma and have developed measurement scales, clinical assessment tools, treatment approaches, and guidance based on the DSM-5 framework for race-based trauma (Williams et al., 2023; Williams et al., 2022; Williams, Printz, & DeLapp, 2018c). Future research could explore this phenomenon in other demographic groups, such as whites, to provide detailed data for correlation studies. Additionally, studies focusing on

racial microaggressions in nursing academic departments should be conducted in partnership with experienced microaggression researchers in North America with more than 20 years of experience advancing microaggression research.

Furthermore, further empirical studies need to be carried out to compare the culture of nursing academic departments with other departments. Without additional research, it will be challenging to determine if specific factors, like excessive teaching load or horizontal violence, intersect with different forms of oppression, such as race, ethnicity, and gender, to shape the experience of minoritised academics.

Microaggression Research

Many scholars studying microaggression believe extending microaggression research to populations outside North America is crucial. This is important not only because microaggressions are situated in broader social contexts but also because limited research exists on many other racial and ethnic groups in various national contexts. Furthermore, there remains insufficient research on gendered racial microaggressions in black females as well as other social group identities among minoritised communities (Wright and Lewis, 2020; Spanierman, Clark and Kim, 2021).

Intersectionality

Recognising the impact of intersecting identities on minoritised nurse academics in HEIs is crucial because racism is experienced intersectionally. These identities include race, gender, social class, and migrant status, which often compound challenges encountered by marginalised groups. Further, understand that barriers such as stereotyping, discrimination, bullying, and restrictive policies can lead to feelings of marginalisation and alienation within the academic community. In a recent study, Bhopal (2020c) investigated the relationship between gender and race in HEIs. The study revealed that despite the significant role of intersecting identities in shaping women's experiences in academia, there is a lack of research that examines the issue from an intersectional perspective. It is essential to understand how this intersectionality benefits certain groups, such as white males, while marginalising and excluding others from positions of power, thus perpetuating white privilege (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins and Bilge, 2016).

Anti-racist curriculum - Whiteness in nursing

Nevertheless, it is essential to recognise that the field of nursing not only needs to address issues related to white male privilege and dominance but also to acknowledge the influence of a white middle-class ethnocentric perspective. Many scholars argue that this perspective is deeply ingrained in nursing education and has a significant impact on the development of nurse training, research, practice, and policies (Van Herk, Smith and Andrew, 2011; Garneau, Browne and Varcoe, 2018; Iheduru-Anderson, 2021; Allan, 2022).

Many nursing scholars are advocating for an antiracist curriculum. This entails nurses critically examining the Eurocentric norms and values deeply rooted in the nursing culture and acknowledging their biases and privileges. The nursing profession must recognise the

existence of oppressive power dynamics in nursing education in order to make substantial progress towards a more just and equitable healthcare system (Van Herk, Smith, and Andrew, 2011; Garneau, Browne, and Varcoe, 2018; Allan, 2022; Iheduru-Anderson and Wahi, 2022)

Moreover, since poverty, racism, and gender are influential factors in determining health (WHO, 2013; Miani et al., 2021), the nursing profession needs to integrate these dimensions and their interconnectedness within the sociopolitical, historical, and economic context of health and illness (Van Herk, Smith, and Andrews, 2011) into their curricula. This intersectional approach would offer a comprehensive understanding of power dynamics and their impact on marginalisation and inequity in the healthcare outcomes of minoritised groups, thereby enabling better and more effective nursing care (Pauly, Mackinnon, and Varcoe, 2009; Bell, 2021; Iheduru-Anderson and Waite, 2022).

It seems like the intersectionality of these identities and their role in maintaining the status quo in HEIs is not well grasped by academics unfamiliar with racism research. This might be due to the argument presented by CRT scholars (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001) that racism is deeply ingrained in social structures and institutions, making it invisible except in its more overt forms. The dominant culture (white) has become desensitised to it. For instance, a study by Holland (2015) examining white academics teaching cultural competence modules in BSc undergraduate nursing programmes found that their whiteness hindered their understanding of race and its incorporation into their teaching methods.

The hidden nature of most forms of racism is eloquently encapsulated in the following statement: “Because racism is an ingrained feature of our landscape, it looks ordinary and natural to persons in the culture” (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001, p. xvi). Thus, the ideology of whiteness, which reinforces white supremacy and positions whiteness as normative, remains invisible. This “invisibility” of whiteness perpetuates the racism and inequality experienced by ethnic minorities in academia and will continue to do so.

Education

Anti-racist curriculum in nursing

There is a growing body of literature, both nationally and internationally, on racism in nursing as well as resistance from black and ethnic minoritised groups (Smith et al., 2006; Kline, 2014; Thurman, Johnson, and Sumpter, 2019; Olusanya, 2021; Allan, 2022) and education (Arday, 2018; Iheduru-Anderson, 2021; Iheduru-Anderson, Shingles and Akanegbu, 2021). Some argue for nurses to understand the historical basis of structural racism in the nursing sector, while others advocate for an anti-discriminatory approach in nursing curricula (Brathwaite, 2018; Bennett et al., 2019.; Thorne, 2020; Holland, 2015; Garneau, Browne and Varcoe, 2018; Brathwaite et al., 2022; Iheduru-Anderson and Waite, 2022).

However, despite this burgeoning body of work recognising the whiteness of nursing curricula and the lack of discussion about discrimination and racism at both organisational

and systemic levels, there is still little acknowledgement of institutional or structural racist practices within the profession (Iheduru-Anderson, 2021; Allan, 2022). This reflects the situation in the higher education sector (Bhopal, 2014, 2016; Alexander and Arday, 2015; Arday, 2018). It seems that the professional world, like society at large, is hesitant to address the topic of racism, likely due to the fear of being labelled as racist. This fear may stem from the misconception that only inherently bad people can be racist, as posited by DiAngelo (2018).

Given this, it is not surprising that racism is often ignored or avoided in nursing discussions, even in modules focused on cultural competence and awareness. These modules explore different cultures' values, practices, and beliefs. According to Lipson and DeSantis (2007), teaching cultural competence is well-established in nursing curricula in Western countries, with influential figures such as Leininger, Campinha-Bacote, and Papadopoulos leading the way. However, the content and pedagogical delivery of cultural competence has been criticised on several levels:

1. Failing to critically address systemic, institutional racism and awareness of constructs such as white privilege in predominantly white nursing students (Duffy, 2001; Puzan, 2003).
2. Not interrogating racialised social norms responsible for health or sociopolitical and socio-economical inequalities (Gustafson, 2005).
3. Reinforces a reductionist and stereotyping approach to care because of its 'essentialist perspective of culture' (Culley, 2006).

Given this criticism, some scholars (Garneau and Pepin, 2015; Iheduru-Anderson, 2021) advocate a shift towards a more critical approach to cultural competence. They emphasise the need to address individual and systemic racism, as well as other forms of social oppression. In order to promote inclusivity and equity in nursing education, it is essential to use teaching methods that challenge existing biases and discrimination. This includes examining concepts such as whiteness, white privilege, and race. Garneau, Browne, and Varcoe (2018) provide practical strategies for integrating critical anti-discriminatory teaching into nursing curricula, focusing on promoting critical reflection and reflexive anti-racism training, as detailed in Appendix 11.

Early Engagement in Clinical and Academic Research

The four participants (Pam, Meg, Samantha, and Lavinia) who achieved professorial status shared a noteworthy finding: they all engaged in clinical and academic research early in their careers. This suggests that acquiring this cultural capital is essential for advancing their career trajectory. Therefore, nursing departments must change by creating a more inclusive curriculum and fostering a research-focused ethos. Many departments have already taken steps to make this change. One such initiative is the PhD/Professional Doctorate framework, which offers vocationally focused awards. This will encourage more healthcare professionals, including nurses and clinicians, to pursue research early in their careers. Recognising and valuing praxis will facilitate the professional development of all nurse

academics, many of whom transition from senior nursing positions to academia. Not developing a research culture in some nursing academic departments will only hinder the nursing profession and healthcare quality. Some scholars believe that nursing research activity in the UK lags behind other university departments (Gill, 2004). If not addressed, this could lead to a decrease in credibility.

Addressing microaggression in nursing

The participants in this thesis shared their experiences of encountering everyday racism (microaggressions, institutional racism) within academia. Chapters 2 and 5 covered the various types of microaggressions and the resulting emotional and physical harm described by the participants. Scholars (Sue et al., 2007; Williams, Ching and Gallo, 2021) argue that microaggressions should not be ignored but addressed non-confrontationally. Pusey-Reid and Blackman-Richards (2022) have proposed several interventions for colleagues working in clinical and academic settings based on empirical and observational data (see Appendix 13).

Contribution to Research

The findings of this research study provide invaluable insights into the previously unexplored experiences of black minoritised female nurse academics in the UK. Additionally, I believe that the findings not only contribute to but also advance our understanding of racial microaggressions and racial trauma theories because these theories do not currently address how these concepts manifest within the context of nursing disciplines in HEIs in the UK.

Using a dialogic/performance approach to analyse the experience of minoritised nurse academics is innovative and socially impactful. This approach facilitated the emergence of granular and insightful data on the participants' experiences, supporting the idea that narrative methodologies are powerful research methods that influence education policies (Somekh and Lewin, 2011). It also allowed a strong focus on the temporality of the data, tying in past, present, and future events in the participants' narratives and providing insight into the early family life and socio-political context of both migrants and UK-born participants. These aspects of the methodology offer a more comprehensive and in-depth data analysis, provide a voice and significantly empower a demographic of women, including many migrants and older women, whom the nursing profession has historically overlooked.

In essence, my research has helped to understand how racism, including institutional racism and racial microaggressions, as well as compounding factors and race-based traumatic stress, are expressed within nursing faculties in the UK HEIs.

Conclusion

Minoritised nurse academics are affected by intersecting identities in HEI. Factors such as ethnicity, race, gender, social class, and migrant status compound the obstacles faced by black minoritised academics. These challenges include racial harassment, discrimination, lack of career advancement, and unsupportive institutions, leading to feelings of isolation,

marginalisation, job dissatisfaction, and adverse mental health impacts such as race-based traumatic stress.

Microaggressions, by their very definition in the literature, are small, interpersonal exchanges that carry racial and prejudicial overtones, reinforcing harmful stereotypes and causing harm to the victim. However, the findings from this thesis align with the literature in that they have broader implications. In short, these 'micro' interpersonal exchanges occur within a 'macro context' of white supremacy. They conceal and maintain systemic racism through the tenets of whiteness ideology: white superiority, colour-blindness, othering, denial of individual racism, and the myth of meritocracy. Through these processes, microaggressions support systems of oppression; therefore, for EDI policies to be effective, it is crucial to understand the concept of whiteness and how individual beliefs uphold institutional racism.

It is essential for university and nursing academic departments to openly acknowledge the existence of these intersecting oppressions as barriers to progressing within a predominantly white space by engaging in anti-discriminatory programmes which examine aspects such as personal biases, recognition that whiteness is systemic and institutional and that HEIs maintain a system of white privilege. Understanding whiteness will not only help academics gain insight into many of the everyday exclusionary practices in academia but also how intersecting oppressions impact health outcomes. Incorporating anti-discriminatory programmes may assist nursing departments in recognising that nursing education is often perceived from a white-centric perspective, where whiteness is the dominant norm, imparting power and contributing to racist attitudes. Hopefully, fostering awareness and comprehension of ideas like white privilege and whiteness will counteract essentialist perspectives of different cultures and help nurse academics deliver anti-racist pedagogy.

The term 'allyship' may be perceived by some scholars as having patriarchal undertones that imply dependence and passivity. However, allyship can significantly enhance cultural and social capital in many ways, leading to career advancement and a sense of belonging in HEI for black minoritised academics. Moreover, the narratives presented in this thesis do not suggest passivity. Although influential white allies aided some women featured, they were not solely reliant on their support. Instead, their stories exhibit proactiveness and determination to pave their path towards success through various means, such as supportive networks, influential allies, mentorship and leadership programmes, and conference participation. These personal accounts do not cast the women in this thesis as victims despite facing intersectional oppression. I believe their stories showcase their strength and the critical resistance and resilience they displayed in overcoming numerous obstacles.

It is clear from the stories of these women that some black and ethnic minoritised academics struggle to progress and develop within the institutions, and few are in senior positions because of the insidious and pervasive nature of white privilege and other

intersecting identities such as their gender. Universities committed to equality are responsible for providing formal support structures such as mentoring, reverse mentoring, coaching, and appropriate training programmes to support the promotion process. This process is often opaque, and research has shown that the greater the bureaucracy, the greater the opaqueness of the promotion process. I also believe that nurse academics new to academia should have access to senior colleagues (such as professors and Deans from inside and outside the HEIs) as part of the mentoring process. This will help nurse academics build effective social and cultural capital and gain the tacit knowledge needed to progress in academia and effectively navigate the system. Pam is an excellent example of the value of accessing this knowledge base early in their career.

To meet their legal obligations under the Equality Act 2010, universities must firmly commit to EDI issues at all institutional levels, including individual departments. It is essential that clear outcomes of EDI policies are visible and monitored and that departments are held responsible for these outcomes. Tools for managing diversity, such as the Race Equality Charter (REC), should be mandatory for all institutions and receive funding similar to the Athena SWAN Charter. Furthermore, the authority of these policies and processes should be supported by entities like the government and the Office for Students (OfS) to facilitate faster change by strengthening the influence of EDI committees.

Finally, although progress is being made in promoting women and black and ethnic academic staff to higher positions, the rate of change is still unacceptably slow. This is despite specific programmes to increase representation in senior decision-making roles. My research strongly confirms that HEIs continue to be predominantly led by white males, with only a small number of ethnic minoritised groups, particularly black women, holding senior positions. Furthermore, some scholars (Bhopal, 2020) are cynical about these improvement programmes, arguing that this lack of representation is due to gendered racism and that the programmes serve the institution by strengthening and maintaining white privilege rather than promoting justice and equity of opportunities. Indeed, there are scholars (Andrews, 2023) who go further and believe many of these EDI initiatives are ineffective and futile in changing perception and facilitating a fairer society for black marginalised groups. Professor Andrews, in his recent and thought-provoking text *The Psychosis of Whiteness*, uses the psychiatric condition psychosis¹⁵ as a metaphor to describe white people and others who ascribe to whiteness ideology. Whiteness, he argues, is 'deluded, irrational and based on a collective set of hallucinations' (Andrews, 2023, pp. xv-xvi). Andrews argues that those who uphold the ideology of whiteness are irrational, hallucinatory and delusory in their thinking.

While I understand that specific diversity and inclusion efforts, such as unconscious bias training, may have limited effectiveness, I strongly believe that education plays a crucial role

¹⁵ Psychosis encapsulates a range of symptoms that are associated with considerable changes in an individual's perception, thoughts, moods and behaviour. Symptoms may include hallucinations, delusions and disorganised behaviour and thinking (NICE, 2021).

in raising awareness and understanding of intersecting oppressions, particularly systemic and internalised racism, and can lead to changes in attitudes and behaviours. It is essential to recognise that the oppressions I discussed in my thesis are not confined to academia but reflect broader societal issues. Additionally, in line with some CRT scholars, I am aware that education alone will not completely eradicate the oppressions faced by marginalised groups. However, it can foster better mutual understanding and contribute to progress towards a more just and equitable society in the long run.

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Appendix 4: Racial microaggression typology.

Appendix 5: White Privilege- Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack

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Appendix 12: Typical Career Trajectory for Black Female Professor

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Appendix 1. Literature: Hierarchy of Evidence¹⁶

Racism					
Jones, (1997) <i>Prejudice and Racism</i>					
Malik, (2023) <i>Not so Black and White: A History of Race from White Supremacy to Identity Politics</i>					
Rutherford, (2020) <i>How to Argue with a Racist</i>					
Feagin and Ducey (2018) <i>Racist America: Roots, current realities, and future reparations.</i>					
Macpherson (1999) <i>The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: Report of an Inquiry by Sir William Macpherson.</i>					
Skinner-Dorkenoo et al. (2021) <i>How microaggressions reinforce and perpetuate systemic racism in the United States</i>					
Bonilla-Silva, (2014) <i>Colorblind Racism</i>					
Sue et al. (2007) <i>Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice'</i>					
Yosso, et al., (2009) 'Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate for Latina/o undergraduates'					
Bhopal, K. (2014) <i>The experiences of BME academics in higher education: aspirations in the face of inequality.</i>					
Bhopal, K. (2015b) <i>The Experiences of Black and Minority Ethnic Academics: A Comparative Study of the Unequal Academy.</i>					
Bhopal, Brown, and Jackson, J. (2015) 'BME academic flight from UK to overseas higher education: aspects of marginalisation and exclusion'					
Pilkington, A. (2011) <i>Institutional Racism in the Academy.</i>					
Pilkington, A. (2013) 'The Interacting Dynamics of Institutional Racism in Higher Education'					
Rollock (2019) <i>Staying power: The career experiences and strategies of UK Black female professors.</i>					
Bell (2020) <i>White dominance in Nursing Education - A target for anti-racist efforts</i>					
Iheduru-Anderson, and Waite, R (2024) <i>Decolonizing nursing education: Reflecting on Paulo Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed.</i>					
Tilki et al (2007) <i>Racism the implication for nursing education.</i>					
Tilki and Markey (2007) <i>Racism in Nursing Education: a reflective journey.</i>					
Nairn et al., (2012). <i>Diversity and ethnicity in nurse education: the perspective of nurse lecturers.</i>					
Hassouneh et al. (2012) <i>Exclusion and control: Patterns aimed at limiting the influence of faculty of color</i>					
Holland (2015) <i>The Lived experience of Teaching About Race in Cultural Nursing Education.</i>					
Beard and Julion (2016) <i>Does Race still matter in nursing: narratives of African-American Nursing faculty members.</i>					
Brathwaite et al. (2022) <i>Tackling discrimination and systemic racism in academic and workplace settings.</i>					
Iheduru-Anderson, Okoro and Moore (2022) <i>Diversity and Inclusion or Tokens? A Qualitative Study of Black Women Academic Nurse Leaders in the United States.</i>					
Key					
Foundational Research/Theoretical Concepts	Seminal Research/Theory				
Research Study	Discussion/Report/Book				
Systematic Review/Narrative Review					

¹⁶ These are a selection of scholarly papers from the thesis to illustrate the level of evidence used.

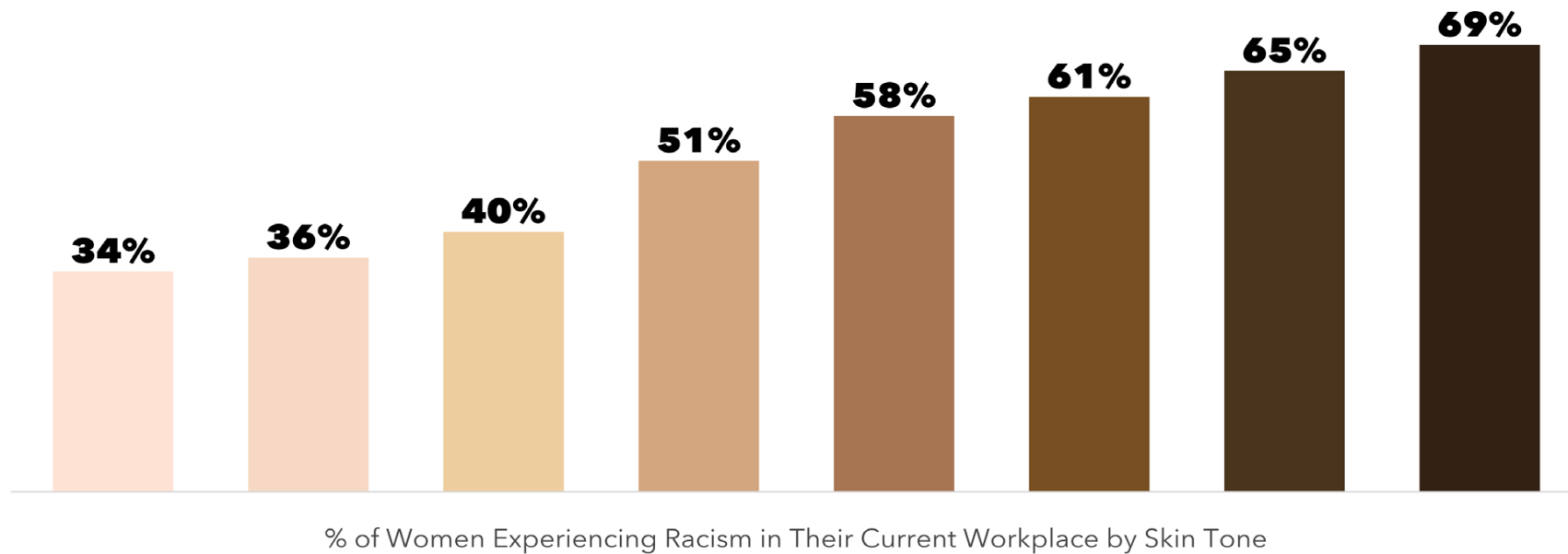
Whiteness, White Privilege, White fragility					
Du Bois (1920) <i>Darkwater (The Oxford W. E. B. Du Bois). Voices from Within the Veil.</i>					
Baldwin (1963) <i>The Fire Next Time.</i>					
Harris (1993) 'Whiteness as property'					
Roediger (1991) <i>The Wages of Whiteness. Race and the Making of the American Working Class.</i>					
Roediger (2018) <i>Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White: The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs.</i>					
Cabrera, Franklin, and Watson (2017) <i>Whiteness in Higher Education</i>					
McIntosh (1988) <i>White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack.</i>					
DiAngelo (2018) <i>White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism.</i>					
Critical Race Theory and Intersectionality					
Delgado and Stefancic (2001; 2017)					
Kimbele Cranshaw (1989) <i>Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics'</i>					
Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) <i>Toward a Critical Race Theory of education.</i>					
Dixson, and Rousseau (2005) <i>And we are still not saved: Critical Race theory in education ten years later.</i>					
Solorzano, D. and Yosso ,T. J. (2002) <i>Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research.</i>					
Wright, Thompson and Channer (2007) <i>"Out of place": Black Women in British Universities</i>					
Rollock , (2019) 'Staying power: The career experiences and strategies of UK black female professors.'					
Christoffersen , (2018) 'Migrant female academics in higher education'. <i>Advance HE.</i>					
Aspinall, Jacobs and Frey (2023) 'Intersectionality and nursing leadership: An integrative review',					
Neilsen's (2015) <i>comprehensive mixed methodology study revealed that female re-searchers are often disadvantaged in academia due to subtle gender bias</i>					
Bhopal, and Preston, J. (eds) (2012) <i>Intersectionality and "Race" in Education</i>					
Key					
Foundational Research/Theoretical Concepts	Seminal Research/Theory				
Research Study	Discussion/Report/Book				
Systematic Review/Narrative Review					

Identity Performance					
Austin, (1962) <i>How to Do Things with Words</i> ,					
Goffman, E. (1959) <i>The presentation of self in everyday life</i> .					
Goffman, E. (1974) <i>Frame Analysis</i> .					
Butler, J (1990) <i>Performative acts and gender constitution</i>					
Carbado and Gulati (2000) <i>Working Identity</i> .					
Durkee and Gómez (2022) <i>Mental health implications of the acting white accusation: The role of cultural betrayal and ethnic-racial identity among Black and Latina/o emerging adults</i> .					
McCluney et al. (2021) <i>To be, or not to be... Black: The effects of racial codeswitching on perceived professionalism in the workplace</i> .					
Anderson, E. (2015). "The White Space". <i>Sociology of Race and Ethnicity</i> ,					
Anderson (2021) <i>Black in White Space: The Enduring Impact of Color in Everyday Life</i> . Book-based on 40 years of observational studies (Book).					
Durkee and Williams (2015) <i>Accusations of acting White: Links to Black Students' racial identity and mental health</i> . <i>Journal of Black Psychology</i> ,					
Kang et al (2016) <i>Whitened Resumes: Race and Self-Presentation in the Labor Market</i> .					
Dickens, Jones and Hall (2020) <i>Being a Token Black Female Faculty member in Physics: Exploring research on gendered racism, identity shifting as a coping strategy, and inclusivity in physics</i> .					
Racial Trauma					
Clarke et al (1999) <i>Biopsychosocial Model of Racism</i>					
Carter (2007) <i>Racism and psychological and emotional injury: Recognizing and assessing race-based traumatic stress</i> .					
Williams et al (2018) <i>Assessing racial trauma within a DSM-5 framework</i>					
Gone et al. (2019) <i>Historical trauma on health outcomes for indigenous populations in the USA and Canada</i>					
Williams, Printz and DeLapp (2018) <i>Assessing racial trauma with the Trauma symptoms of discrimination scale</i>					
Cenat (2023) <i>Complex racial trauma: evidence, theory, assessment, and treatment</i> .					
Kirkinis et al. (2018) <i>Racism, racial discrimination, and trauma: a systematic review</i>					
Arday (2022) 'No one can see me cry: understanding mental health issues for Black and minority ethnic staff in higher education'					
Hemming and Davis (2018) <i>Identifying and treating race-based trauma in counseling</i>					
Williams, Kanter and Ching (2018) <i>Anxiety, Stress, and trauma symptoms in African Americans: Negative affectivity does not explain the relationship between microaggressions and psychopathology</i> .					
Cheng and Mallinckrodt (2015) <i>Racial/ethnic discrimination, posttraumatic stress symptoms, and alcohol problems in a longitudinal study of Hispanic/Latino college students</i> .					
Sibrava et al. (2019) <i>Posttraumatic stress disorder in African American and Latinx adults: Clinical course and the role of racial and ethnic discrimination</i>					
Cenat et al. (2022) <i>Prevalence and effects of daily and major experiences of racial discrimination and microaggressions among Black individuals in Canada</i> .					
Nadal et al (2014) <i>The impact of racial microaggressions on mental health</i> .					
Williams, Haeny, and Holmes (2021) <i>Posttraumatic Stress Disorder and Racial Trauma</i>					
Key					
Foundational Research/Theoretical Concepts	Seminal Research/Theory				
Research Study	Discussion/Report/Book				
Systematic Review/Narrative Review					

Cultural and Social Capital					
Bourdieu (1986) <i>The Forms of Capital</i> . In: Richardson					
Bourdieu, (1977) <i>Outline of a Theory of Practice</i> .					
Modood, (2004), <i>Capitals, Ethnic Identity and Educational Qualifications</i>					
Yosso (2005). <i>Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth</i> .					
Snee and Goswami, (2021) 'Who cares? Social mobility and the 'class ceiling' in nursing'					
Meghji (2019) <i>Encoding and Decoding Black and White Cultural Capitals: Black Middle-Class Experiences</i> . <i>Cultural Sociology</i>					
Wallace (2018) <i>Cultural capital as whiteness? Examining logics of ethno-racial representation and resistance</i>					
Rollock et al (2015) <i>The Colour of Class: The Educational Strategies of the Black Middle Classes</i>					
Bhopal and Jackson (2013) <i>The experiences of black and minority ethnic academics: multiple identities and career progression</i>					
Li (2018) <i>Unequal Returns: Higher Education and Access to the Salaried by Ethnic Groups in the US</i> .					
Allyship					
Brodio (2000) <i>The Development of Social Justice Allies During College: A Phenomenological Investigation</i>					
Spanierman and Smith (2017) <i>Roles and responsibilities of White allies: implications for research, teaching, and practice</i> .					
LeMaire et al. (2020) <i>Allyship in the academy', Navigating Careers in the Academy</i>					
Williams et al. (2022) <i>Racial justice allyship requires civil courage: A behavioural prescription for moral growth and change</i> .					
Sue et al. (2019) <i>Disarming racial microaggressions: Microintervention strategies for targets, White allies, and bystander</i> .					
Hanasono et al. (2022) <i>Communicating privilege and faculty allyship</i>					
Anicha, Burnett, and Bilen-Green (2015) <i>Men Faculty Gender-Equity Advocates: A Qualitative Analysis of Theory and Praxis</i>					
Williams and Sharif (2021) <i>Racial allyship: novel measurement and new insights</i>					
Halvorsen (2023), <i>using a meta-methodology approach, selected and analysed 13 qualitative</i>					
Key					
Foundational Research/Theoretical Concepts	Seminal Research/Theory				
Research Study	Discussion/Report/Book				
Systematic Review/Narrative Review					

Appendix 2. Women with darker skin tones are more likely than women with lighter skin tones to experience racism at work.

Women With Darker Skin Tones Are More Likely to Experience Racism at Work



(From: Erskine, Brassel and Robotham 2023 p6) [Exposé of Women's Workplace Experiences Challenges Antiracist Leaders to Step Up \(Report\) | Catalyst](#)

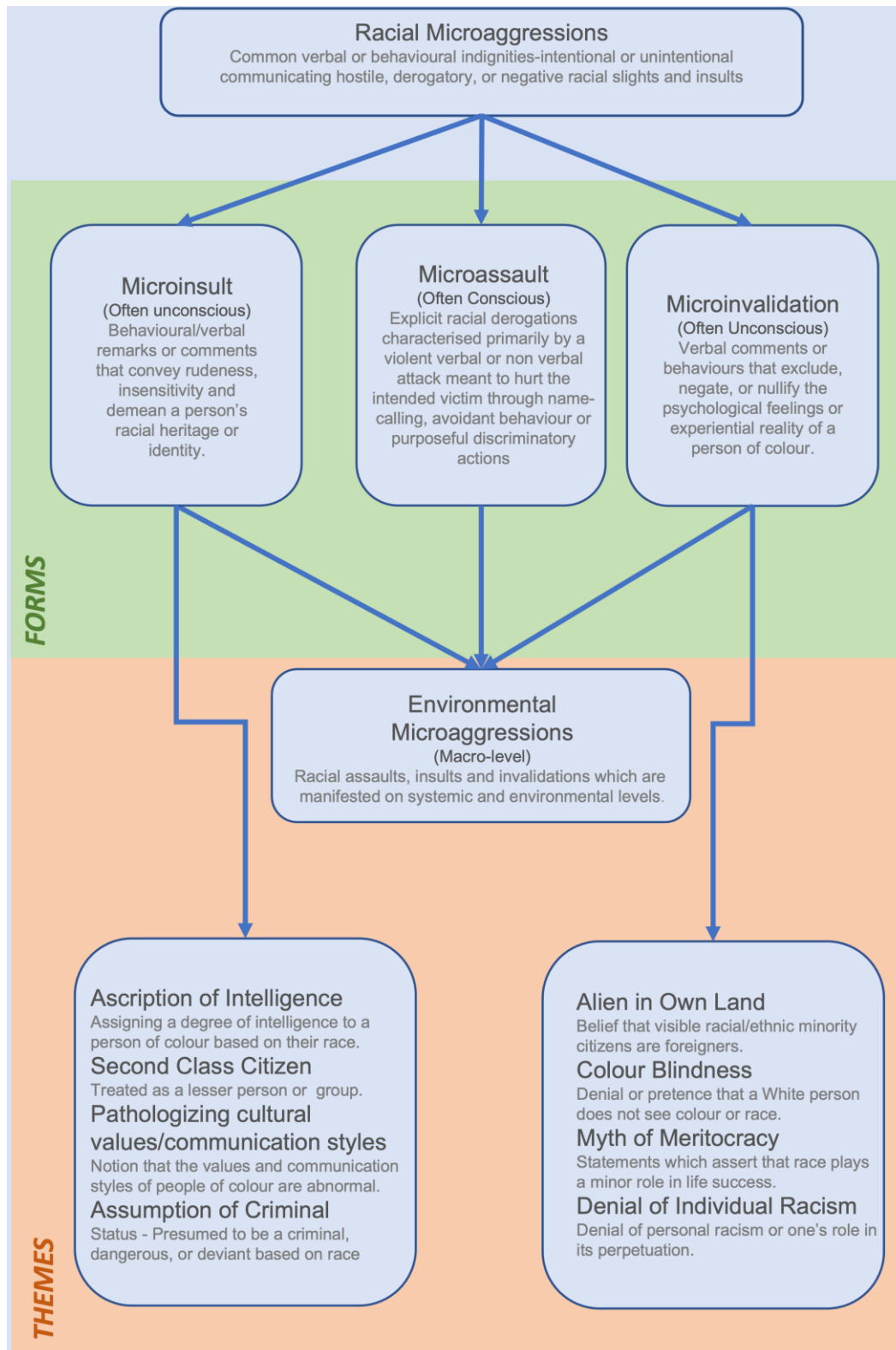
Appendix 3. Interrelationship between cultural racism and other forms of racism

Adapted from Michaels et al. 2023.

Cultural and other forms racism	How it is expressed
Cultural racism and Structural racism "Cultural racism upholds structural racism" (p.776)	Cultural values manifest themselves in interrelated institutional norms, policies, and practices, e.g., gentrification involves white people moving into, dislocating, and revitalising an area predominantly occupied by minority groups. Motivated by a sense of entitlement to occupy all spaces, e.g. in research, white is used as the reference category in quantitative research perpetuates a white racial frame. These data inform legal, medical, financial, and face recognition software and decision-making. Set of ideas and beliefs, such as meritocracy and colourblind ideology. These values and beliefs impact the distribution of resources, e.g. allocation of resources and opportunities in society.
Cultural racism and Institutional racism "Cultural racism shapes institutional policies and practices." (p. 780)	Institutional policies that fail to prevent and protect racialised minority, e.g. disproportionately more black minoritised staff subjected to disciplinary action; cultural racism can shape policies and practices by operating as ' <i>a system of belief</i> ' that has become rooted in structures such as the criminal justice system, medicine, housing, education e.g. race-based medicine causing racial inequities in screening, diagnosis and treatment. Recruitment discrimination
Cultural racism and Internalised racism. Hegemony links cultural and internalised racism. Dominant group controls the knowledge - shapes, frames and influences to maintain power	Projection of a beauty standard through films, social media and advertising often prioritises a white racial frame. Manifesting in colourism such as skin whitening, plastic surgery, chemical hair treatment, and extreme dieting to conform to white beauty standards. *Internalised racism can also result from exposure to structured, institutional and personal racism.
Cultural racism and discrimination. Objectification, sexualising and perpetuating stereotypes.	Overt racism: motivation to violent acts e.g. objectification of Asian females in video games, vicarious experience of racism. Microaggressions: media portrayal of 'all black' as violent criminals, e.g. security guards following black men in shops only. Creates an environment that tolerates racism: Dominant white culture reluctant to challenge racism, e.g. university lecturer ignoring racialised bullying or microaggressions in classroom/HEI.
Cultural racism and personal racism	Media continues to broadcast negative stereotypes of marginalised groups e.g. COVID-19 the 'China virus' increased racial prejudice at an individual level towards Asian-Americans

Appendix 4. Racial microaggressions typology.

(Adapted from: Sue et al., 2007 p. 278)



Appendix 5. Extract from White Privilege: 'Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack'

(From: National SEED Project on Inclusive Curriculum: McIntosh, 2010 p. 2)

"Ways in which I enjoy unearned skin privilege and have been conditioned into oblivion about its existence"

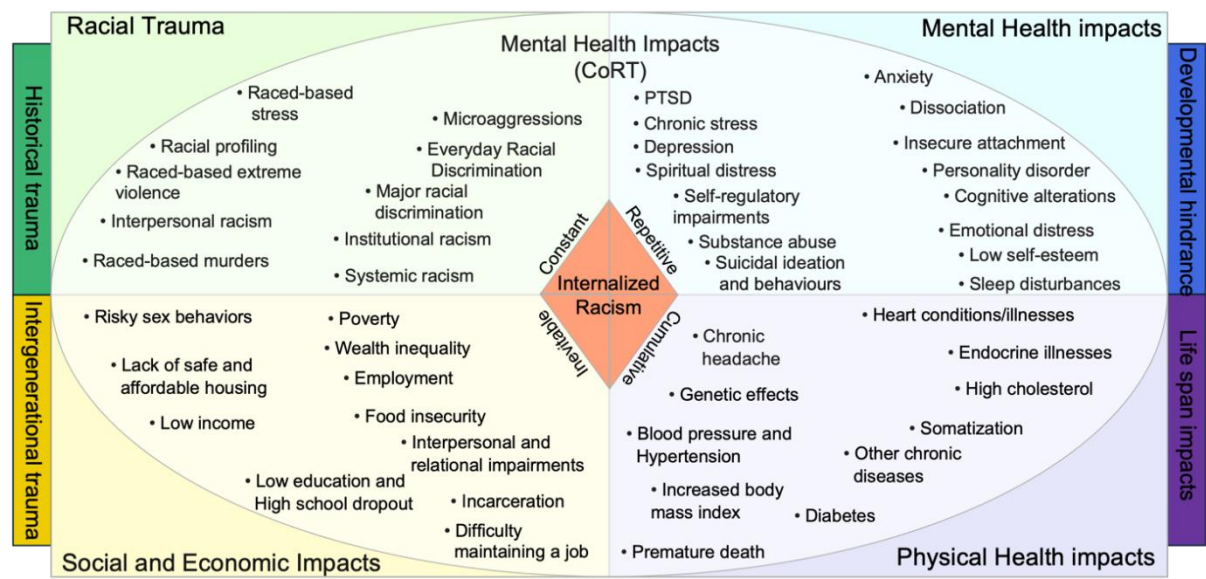
1. I can if I wish arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
2. If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of renting or purchasing housing in an area which I can afford and in which I would want to live.
3. I can be pretty sure that my neighbors in such a location will be neutral or pleasant to me.
4. I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.
5. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
6. When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.
7. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race.
8. If I want to, I can be pretty sure of finding a publisher for this piece on white privilege.
9. I can go into a music shop and count on finding the music of my race represented, into a supermarket and find the staple foods that fit with my cultural traditions, into a hairdresser's shop and find someone who can cut my hair.
10. Whether I use checks, credit cards or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability.
11. I can arrange to protect my children most of the time from people who might not like them.
12. I can swear, or dress in second-hand clothes, or not answer letters, without having people attribute these choices to the bad morals, the poverty, or the illiteracy of my race.
13. I can speak in public to a powerful male group without putting my race on trial.
14. I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race
15. I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.
16. I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of color who constitute the world's majority without feeling in my culture any penalty for such oblivion.
17. I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a cultural outsider.
18. I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to "the person in charge," I will be facing a person of my race.
19. If a traffic cop pulls me over or if the IRS audits my tax return, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race.
20. I can easily buy posters, postcards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, and children's magazines featuring people of my race.
21. I can go home from most meetings of organizations I belong to feeling somewhat tied in, rather than isolated, out-of-place, outnumbered, unheard, held at a distance, or feared.
22. I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having co-workers on the job suspect that I got it because of race.
23. I can choose public accommodations without fearing that people of my race cannot get in or will be mistreated in the places I have chosen.
24. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.
25. If my day, week, or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it has racial overtones.
26. I can choose blemish cover or bandages in "flesh" color and have them more or less match my skin.

Appendix 6. Critical Signs of Race-based Traumatic Stress.

(Adapted from Carter, 2007)

Critical Signs	Meaning	Psychological & and physical manifestation of racial trauma
Avoidance	Conversely painfulness of the experience→Avoidance of the memory. Feeling vulnerable 'like a wound that will not heal.' (pg 92) Avoidance manifest in many ways: Unreal, denial -not racism(distortion); numbness; depression, reduced self esteem aggression, confusion about racial identity 'retreat physically/psychologically to a safer world.' (p 93).	May manifest is many different ways: anger (common), anxiety, irritability, hypervigilant , shame, guilt, negative effect on interpersonal relationship (loss of trust, withdrawal,); guilt, action/behavioural change (very active, aggressive); physiological problems (raised blood pressure blood glucose, heart rate, gastrointestinal problems)
Intrusion	Reexperiencing these painful experiences in different ways (as images/thoughts) throughout life →Cumulative effect 'last straw'	
Arousal	Emotional, cognitive, manifestation of racial trauma. Heightened presence of Intrusion and avoidance elements contribute to arousal features of racial trauma- flash backs, nightmares, poor relationship, withdrawal, guilt, hyperactive memory loss. etc	

Appendix 7. Complex Racial Trauma (CoRT)



The theoretical framework of the complex racial trauma (From: Cenat 2023 p. 669)

Appendix 8. Interpretation of NMC Data RE: Number of Black minoritised Nurse Academics on NMC Register (NMC: 2018).

Region of UK	Numbers (Data Incomplete) Lecturer/Practice Educator	Comments
England	159 <5 for other ethnic groups.*	101: African; Caribbean; Other Black 42: Indian. 16: White & Black Caribbean.
Scotland	< 5 African < 5 White & Black Caribbean.	
Northern Ireland	< 5 Other Black:	
Wales	< 5 Caribbean < 5 White & Black Caribbean.	

*BME Black minority ethnic

<5 were indicated for the following ethnic types: Black British; Black British from African background; Black Caribbean Indian; Mauritian; White & Black African.

Appendix 9. Provisional Interview Guide.

An exploration of the experience of Black and Minority Ethnic nurse educators in UK higher education institutions.

I am interested in learning about the experiences of black and minoritised ethnic nurse academics working within the higher education sector. I would also really like to hear about your life story. Please begin your story at any point you wish and take as much time as you feel you need. I would particularly like to hear about any experiences/events that you feel are of particular importance to your story.

Let participants know that you will be taking notes during the interview mainly to identify follow-up questions about any unclear themes that may need to be elaborated, clarified e.g. any contradictions in the narration.

Examples of types of follow-up/additional questions:

Wengraf (2008) suggests that the narrative questions, which will come from your notes, may arise because of e.g. *unclear themes; areas you want to know more about; blockages; contradictions in the narration* etc.

- You mentioned that your experience at work have been difficult could you tell me more about these experiences what were the difficulties?
- You mentioned that you have experienced institutional racism/discrimination/**felt you were treated unfairly** can you tell me more or give me more details of why you think it was institutional racism/ how this presented itself/occurred?
- You mentioned that the discrimination that you have experienced is more subtle/ racial micro-aggression can you tell me more or give me more details of how this presented itself?
- Can you recall any situations when i.e. you felt you were discriminated against?
- How did this/these experience (s) make you feel? Have they changed you as an individual? Have they made you more determined/resilient?
- You mentioned that you felt you were prevented from progressing could you expand?
- Can you recall situations when you felt you have been prevented from progressing or developing in your current or past role within HEI?

Appendix 10. Pearl's Dramatised Performance

Features present in performed stories serve to dramatise the performance and reveal the narrator's performance identity.

I. Setting the scene

SCENE 1.

1. so my current university that I work in,
2. that I've been at for 3 years, ,
3. now, that's where absolutely, you know, I can say, for the first time in a long, long, long, long, long time,
4. where **it's** been, 100%, [Referring to Racism]
5. I have no problem in saying **it** [Racism], was completely **and totally racially motivated, based,**
6. and it was all, and, you know, it was all forms of racism:
7. so it was **institutional racism**; it was racial discrimination; there was a whole **gender issue** there as

SCENE 2.

8. well – let's get into **intersectionality** –
9. Yeah, yeah, **you know, you know**, class,
10. you know, overt, covert racism,
11. I mean, **woooo!**
12. it was every single type of microaggression, every type of **racism** that you could possibly imagine, I experienced in that place.

II CATALYST

SCENE 3

13. So institutional racism would be, um, you apply for your PhD,
14. as by many, your manager and your manager's manager are fully aware of,
15. and 100% behind you,
16. I can honestly say that
 - those two people I cannot fault them at all,
17. and those are two white people, cannot fault them
 - you apply, as directed by them,

SCENE 4.

18. and you go and you **sit in front of a panel**
19. which everybody has to sit in front of –
20. I'm not arguing with regards to that -
21. and you go

III CRISIS

SCENE 5

22. and the Head of the panel is the Dean of the **School!**, sorry, yeah, the Dean of the **School!**
23. And he says to you, **this topic area is not a PhD**, that's what he says.
24. This man does **not have a PhD**
25. and this man is a **radiographer** by history.

SCENE 5

26. And every other white woman, sat at that desk,
27. does not disagree with him,
28. and two of **those women** have a PhD,
29. but that does not include the Head of the Dept.

SCENE 6

30. And so, he sits there and says it's not a PhD.
31. Now, again - and *you're on probation at this point, you know, just started here* –

32. *so you can't do a PhD on your probation.*

SCENE 7

33. So we have **overt racism**,
34. because he's telling a black woman that a PhD, that now has nursing in it, so it's nursing related now, and it's about British born Caribbean women;
35. it's about **black nurses and their nursing identity**,
36. and he says it's not a PhD.
37. So, I'm sorry, if a **white, middle-class man** says that to me, that's racist.
38. **Institutionally**, you can't do it in the first year,
39. when you're on probation.
40. Where is that written? Nowhere.

SCENE 8

41. When you went to your interview
42. and you said you were gonna do your PhD, and
43. it clearly tells them in your personal, in your statement, and at interview,
44. what you want to do, and what it's gonna be on,
45. and the same Head of Dept, who was in that interview, is in that room, who never at any point says to you, the PhD, you can't do it in year 1, in the first year,
46. let me just tell you that – sits there next to1.25.43
47. So it's not written anywhere, that you can't do that, cause why would your manager and your manager's manager, tell you to apply, if they knew that?
48. They didn't know that; **the two of them were like, that's the first I've heard!**

IV EVALUATION

SCENE 9

49. That's institutional racism;
50. you are **using the systems and processes of your organisation to**
51. **block a black person from doing what they should be doing**,
52. which is a PhD on a subject which has nursing in the title.
53. So, 1) that's institutional racism; 2) that's overt racial discrimination. Now microaggression racism, when I'm like, I think it is, he's trying to, well it's not even micro,

SCENE 10

54. it's overtly be **aggressive towards me**, based on the fact **that I'm a black woman** and I will not back down.
55. So, every trick in the book to **demean, degrade and disrespect** me, is brought out.

SCENE 11.

56. I would address that[Response to Q possibility of other factors e.g. being a woman, your personality] in saying, but the bottom line is that 1) at this point, I had never met this person;
57. I had filled in the paperwork that I'm supposed to,
58. and I submitted something.
59. The PhD topic area has nursing in it – **I am a nurse** –
60. there are nurses of various ethnic groups in our dept that are doing nursing, that work in this dept. *Why is my PhD not a PhD?*
Again,
61. I'll say it again, I have, again,

SCENE 12

62. I move into a senior position, you take me with my experience,
63. and you give me a module to run straight away,
64. and that's absolutely fine; you're not paying me top, senior lecturer money for no reason, so that's ok.
65. Again, my degree and my masters, that are not nursing related,

66. you don't have a problem with those academic qualifications.
 67. So I am now doing a PhD that merges my nursing and my sociology side.
 68. I informed you on my application and at the interview, that I wanted to start my PhD **within the year**,
 69. so if you didn't want me to do that, you should have told me.
 70. You did not.

SCENE 13.

71. This [Evaluating how refusal made her feel], well I was - I think I actually said it to my manager – **incandescent with rage, is the word I used, because it was just so overt**,
 72. and I told my **white male manager that**.
 73. **It** took him a while,
 74. it's taken two attempts at me finally getting my funding and everything,
 75. that he [manager] doesn't try to question that statement anymore.
 76. Because he did try to defend it:
 77. he doesn't say, I agree with you **Pearl**; what he does now is that he doesn't say anything,
 78. and so in my world, in my mind, that means he agrees with me now.

SCENE 14.

79. Um, he tried to defend it –
 80. again, in the way that **white liberals try to defend it**.
 81. So, he moved it away from that
 82. and said about, you know, I don't necessarily think it was that,
 83. and then **I gave him the reasons I've just given you**,
 84. **so, he brought it to 1.29.30.....and he said 'I don't see colour'**,
 85. **God love him, bless him!**
 86. **And a white liberal thinks that's a good thing to say when –**
 87. **it's like saying I have a black friend,**
 88. **it's not necessarily a good thing to say!**
 89. Um, you know, and I don't see any difference,
 90. and I said to him, well, actually, there is a difference:
 91. you're a **white man and I'm a black woman**; that's a difference.
 92. And that's **not a problem**;
 93. **it's the power of distribution within that, that's the problem.**

SCENE 15

94. Do you know what I mean?
 95. So I've got, so the Dean of the School is a white man
 96. and he said a PhD that's got nursing in the title is not a PhD – **he doesn't have a PhD**.
 97. What am I supposed – as a black woman, there's no other thing that I'm going to think –

SCENE 16

98. I said, I'm an experienced lecturer, I said I was a senior nurse before I came into nursing,
 99. I said I've had my degree and my masters from, you know,
 100. I said my masters is from Birkbeck, from the University College of London. So we're talking a redbrick university; my masters came from there.
 101. You know, you hide me because of my experience, and then I **stand in a room full of my peers** and the man looks at me and says it's not a PhD.

SCENE 17

102. How did I manage this?
 103. I always thought, well firstly, I'd just started
 104. and everybody else was fantastic and still continue to be –
 105. so my senior manager, bless him, there's no – I can handle that kind of white male liberal, I have no problem with that,
 106. because he's not coming from a bad place at all; there's not bad bone in my manager's body

107. so I respect that,
108. and I think I taught him a few things! (laughs)
109. So I have no problem with that.
110. And my manager's manager was absolutely fantastic,
111. so, and not many managers will let you stand in their office while you stand up and **down and swear** about his manager's manager manager.
112. There's not a lot of managers that would let you do that,
113. but he let me do that,
114. so I have got to give my manager respect for that,

SCENE 18

115. because when I – *he said, **Pearl**, will you sit down?*
116. I said I can't sit down because,
117. I said, this is the first time *it's like hit me, racism has hit me like a train!*
118. *I said it's been subtle and so on all of, you know, in the background, you know, the normal things, the microaggressions*
119. ***that you just*** don't even let get you down
120. because you wouldn't get out of bed really as a black person.
121. And I haven't even, could honestly say, have that much experience of that,
122. but I said, **I cannot believe that in 2015, I had a white man in front of a panel of white people,**
123. **tell me that a PhD that's basically, it's about me and ma people!** – it's not a PhD topic area.

SCENE 19

124. And you know, and I said, XXXXX, you know I put it in m application form,
125. you believe me, otherwise you wouldn't say to apply when I've just started.
126. You know, the other person,
127. she believes me when I said it – she didn't think, oh, she's just saying it so she gets a job, she believe me
– she's like **Pearl**, apply!
128. So, if I shouldn't have applied, because it's too soon,
129. why don't you and her know, cause I said to him, I said, why are you,
130. I said if that's the case, then you need to speak to your senior management team
131. because they don't know about the fact that you **can't apply, while you are on probation,**
132. otherwise, I said, I wouldn't be sat here then if that's the case.

SCENE 20

133. And so, then he said, (pauses) so he reinforced the fact that you cannot apply for a PhD,
134. you cannot apply for funds,
135. you cannot do, you know he said, **you cannot do a PhD in the first year of your job.**
136. So, he was actually even saying that, if you go off and do it in your own time,
137. whatever, I don't even want you to do that;
138. you cannot do PhD in your probation period.
139. Now how can someone tell a senior lecturer, in a dept and an environment that we're having now, where everybody needs to get a PhD, that you're actually stopping someone doing a PhD.
140. And why are you telling somebody who with all my – you've seen my CV, you know the experience I've got –
141. what are you saying; that you don't think I can apply for my PhD and complete probation adequately at the same time?
142. But you gave me the job and pay me the top SL level, because of my experience.
143. So, all of a sudden, that experience again is good, but not if it's something that we don't want you to do.
144. I can't think of any other **reason apart racism for that stupidity.**

V RESOLUTION

SCENE 21

145. Well, I made it very clear to him that he wasn't happy,
146. and he made it very clear that he wasn't happy that I wasn't happy,
147. and I don't really give a damn,
148. and about half-way through the meeting,

149. I stopped talking

SCENE 22

150. and I already had in my mind,

151. I will apply for my PhD and I will start it in the Autumn, like I planned.

152. And that's exactly what I did.

153. Because, my manager was supportive and my other manager was supportive, and everybody I worked with was supportive;

SCENE 23

154. I don't have to necessarily deal a lot with the Head of the Dept,

155. and I definitely didn't have to deal a lot with the Dean,

156. and **he was going**, so I thought, that's fine.

157. So I started my PhD in the autumn like I planned

SCENE 24

158. my manager allowed me to use my scholarly activity time to do it;

159. he's very trustworthy of me, and I respect him for that

160. and he respects me that I do what I'm supposed to do, and we have a good respectful

SCENE 25

161. 1.34.57 So I did exac, cause I already had in my mind,

162. I don't care what the Dean says, I don't care what the Head of Nursing says, I don't care what the people in this room say to me;

163. I am going to do what I said in my application form, that I was going to do.

164. So if they had a problem with that, I would have gone to my application form and said, what does it say here?

165. I said I was going to do it; what did I do?

SCENE 26

166. You didn't say till after I got the job, that I couldn't do it.

167. Do you want to go to **human resources** and have a conversation about that?!

168. So I thought, I'm good, I'm doing it.

169. Because, actually, they can't do anything about it, cause there was nothing written down,

170. or I was given nothing, or I was told nothing about that.

171. I clearly said it in interview and it's in my application,

172. and you offered me the job and I have the offer job here – nothing in the job says: yes you can; however, you cannot start your PhD so I already knew, you can't do anything about that.

SCENE 27

173. You may change that process now – it clearly says in it now, you can't do it in your probation –

174. but it surely wasn't there when I started,

175. and I can't think why they've changed it now,

176. I've no idea why.

SCENE 28

177. Oh, frustration is an understatement –

178. Absolutely not [Response to Q: consider at any point accepting Dean's decision?]-

179. No [Response to accessing support processes i.e. union]**once I was sure that racism was going** on, and once I was sure that, um, that's what was going on here - you know, like I said, so by the end, I didn't say anything at all cause I knew I was still gonna do it.

180. No! [Did not access support processes]

181. No, none of those things;

182. I just thought, I'm gonna do it.

SCENE 29

183. Because if I'm **paying for it for myself**, and my manager's happy for me to use my scholarly activity time to do a PhD,

184. which I think seems quite appropriate use of scholarly activity time. C

185. cause one of the first things I said to him was, will you stop me using my scholarly activity time to continue pursuing with my PhD,
 186. to my manager, and the person above that, and they were both like, no **Pearl**, you keep doing what you're doing.
 187. I'm like, thank you, so I got onto the PhD.
 188. And I would have done that and taken my scholarly activity time and,
 189. cause I already thought I would have to pay for it myself, cause there's very few places that pay you to go somewhere else as well.
 190. So I continued to do it, so I did what I had to do and got on with my PhD
 191. and started in the October 2015, like I said.
 192. **I mean, I was going to do it anyway**[Response to Q re: confidence in processes & structures in place to support]
 193. so I did what I had to do in order to get the PhD:
 194. I already thought I had to pay for it myself;
 195. and most of it you do in your own time anyway, cause the scholarly activity time's about 22 days a year - that ain't nothing – so that was fine,
 196. so I, you know, **they can't stop me doing that or getting on a PhD, they can't stop you doing that so I did that.**

SCENE 30

197. **Going down the other way, it will rock,**
 198. **I always use the Steven Lawrence analogy:** is that their parents had to make a choice;
 199. do we just bury our son and hold our corner, and grieve the loss of our son, only;
 200. or do we say, hell no! We're gonna open the door and we are not going to shut that door until we see justice for our son,
 201. because it was racially motivated,
 202. and the way the police treated us was racially motivated as well
 – we're not going to stop.
 203. And for 20 years, God bless her, she didn't stop until she got justice.
 204. Now, there's no middle ground in that;
 205. you either don't do anything at all or grieve your son, or you do the full monty. Not that I think this situation's anywhere the same as that - may I stress that, of course –
 206. but I use things like, you either don't open the door at all,
 207. or you open that door wide and you are prepared to accept what the outcome of that may be.
 208. And as a bla, and I'm not, you know, I know many other people who don't do anything, I'm not stupid.

SCENE 31

209. Are you prepared to possibly mess up your career when you have bills to pay, for this?
 210. Are you prepared, you know, the **Dean of the School** - this isn't your manager; this is the
 211. **Dean** do you, as a black senior lecturer in an organisation that you've just walked through the door in, want to take on the Dean of the School?
 212. No [Interviewer: You made a pragmatic decision] not when I can still get what I want;
 213. I just don't have to deal with him.
 214. **If it was that I couldn't do it because of him – he was like, he had that much power to stop me doing it [PhD]**
 – **then I would have opened that door.**
 215. **But I would have,** it was a very quick decision:
 216. I'm like, I'm not opening that door; there are battles you are going to fight, this is not the battle today.
 217. No, no. [Response to question did you let institution of the hook]
 218. No, **I absolutely left the institution off the hook** with regards to that,

SCENE 33

219. because, again, I'm going to say that the Dean of the School is racist; I'm not using no nice, fancy terms like unconscious bias and all that stupidity;
 220. I'm going call the Dean, I'm going to call him out and call a spade a spade
 – you racially discriminated against me,
 221. and you used institutional racism to do it,

SCENE 34

222. and - another thing I forgot to say is that, he's pretty much horrible to everybody:

223. **he's was very confrontational; he had appalling communication skills and he was a bully.** Irregardless of ethnic group or gender.
224. So that makes it difficult when, the root cause of his aggression towards me was because, is racially motivated,
225. but he's not a nice person full stop.
226. So, from my manager's position, he's like, well, he's not really, he's a bit, he's confrontational and communicates poorly with everybody,
227. and I'm like, that's fine, but I said to him, but this was racially motivated,
228. so I haven't got time for that. Um,
229. so I made, yeah, a pragmatic decision and I continued with doing it[PhD], and I would have been happy just doing that.

VI CODA

SCENE 35

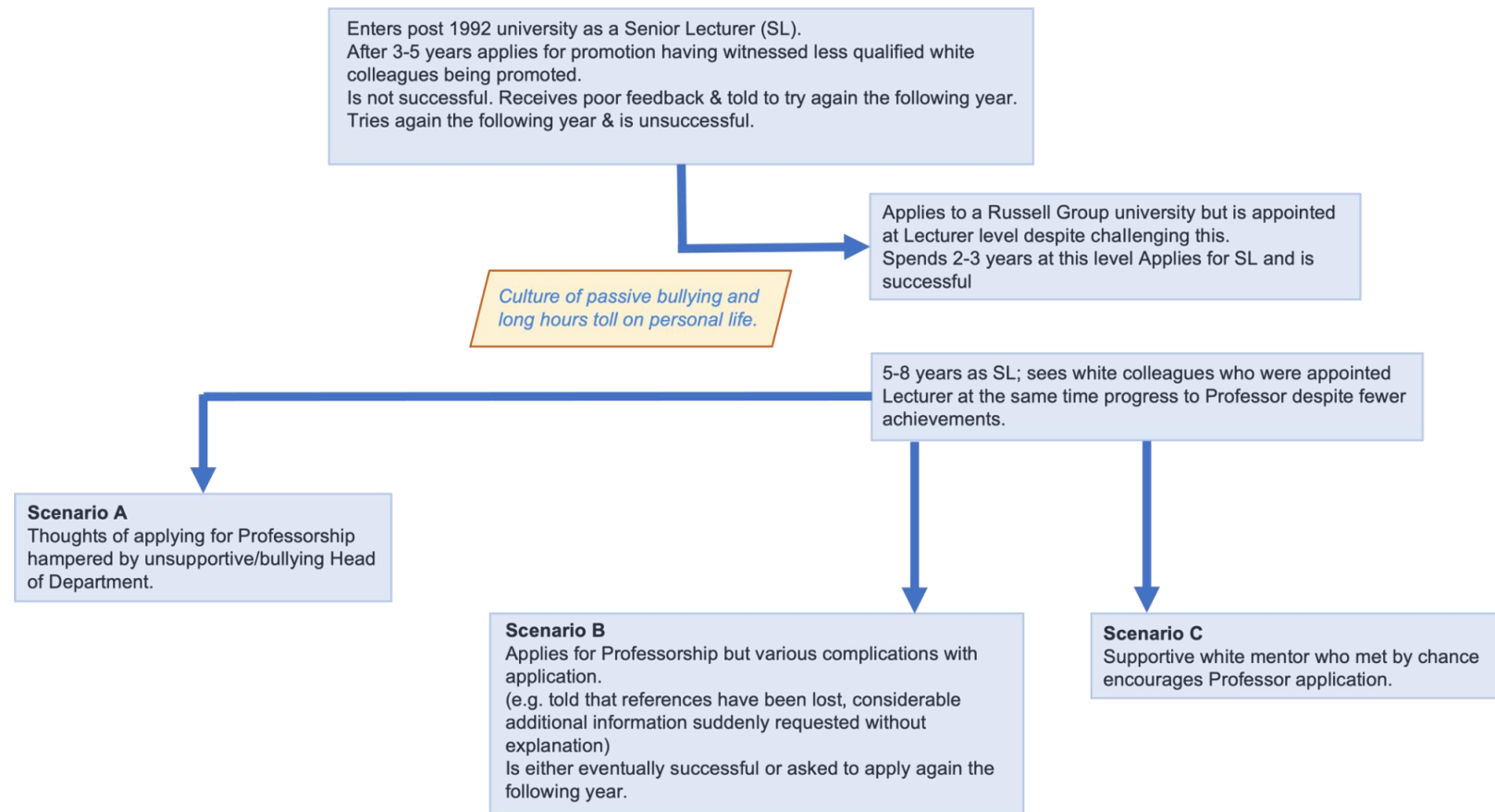
230. Um, now,
231. **I have not moved away from the anger,**
232. **I'm gonna be honest; I'm going to be angry about that for a very, very long time.**
233. But, in many ways, that anger fuels me moving forward.
234. Um, because, every time an article gets published or any time I get, I go to an international conference with part of my PhD,
235. I just remember somebody who said to me, that's not a PhD.
236. I feel very good about that,

Appendix 11. Allied Behaviours in Mentoring.

Aim	Examples
Offer sustained and appropriate mentorship to individuals of marginalized backgrounds	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volunteer to mentor students, trainees, staff, and junior colleagues • Recognise one's limits in mentorship of individuals from backgrounds different than our own, especially when they hold marginalized identities • If you are not the best person to act as a mentor to someone, help them identify others that could meet their needs • Commit to be available to new faculty and staff hires, graduate students, etc. as they transition to the institution or a new role, and continue to be available as needed over time • Ensure that new mentees with marginalised identities are not all assigned to mentors with marginalized identities, as this can place unfair burdens on marginalized faculty, perpetuate disparities, and may even be microaggressive
Elevate voices and work of people from marginalised groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nominate students, trainees, and colleagues from marginalized backgrounds for awards and honours • Congratulate and “give kudos” for accomplishments to students, trainees, and colleagues, and when appropriate, do so in front of supervisors and stakeholders • Especially if you have more power, offer to collaborate on projects that might elevate the work and positions of marginalized others
Make clear your desire to be an ally in order to signal to diverse junior colleagues and students that you are supportive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use inclusive language in meetings and other functions within the institution • Plainly display books and other items that communicate your desire to learn about groups that are different from your own. • Ask diverse junior colleagues and students what would be important to them in terms of increasing inclusion at your institution.
Encourage creativity and flexibility to move away from the “status quo”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be open to ideas that may be outside of your usual scope of work that could increase attention to diversity • When mentoring new colleagues from marginalized groups, help them integrate their work into the institution’s standards for promotion and tenure • If your institution’s standards for promotion and tenure tend to under-value work such as qualitative or mixed methods, work to update the system in order to be more inclusive

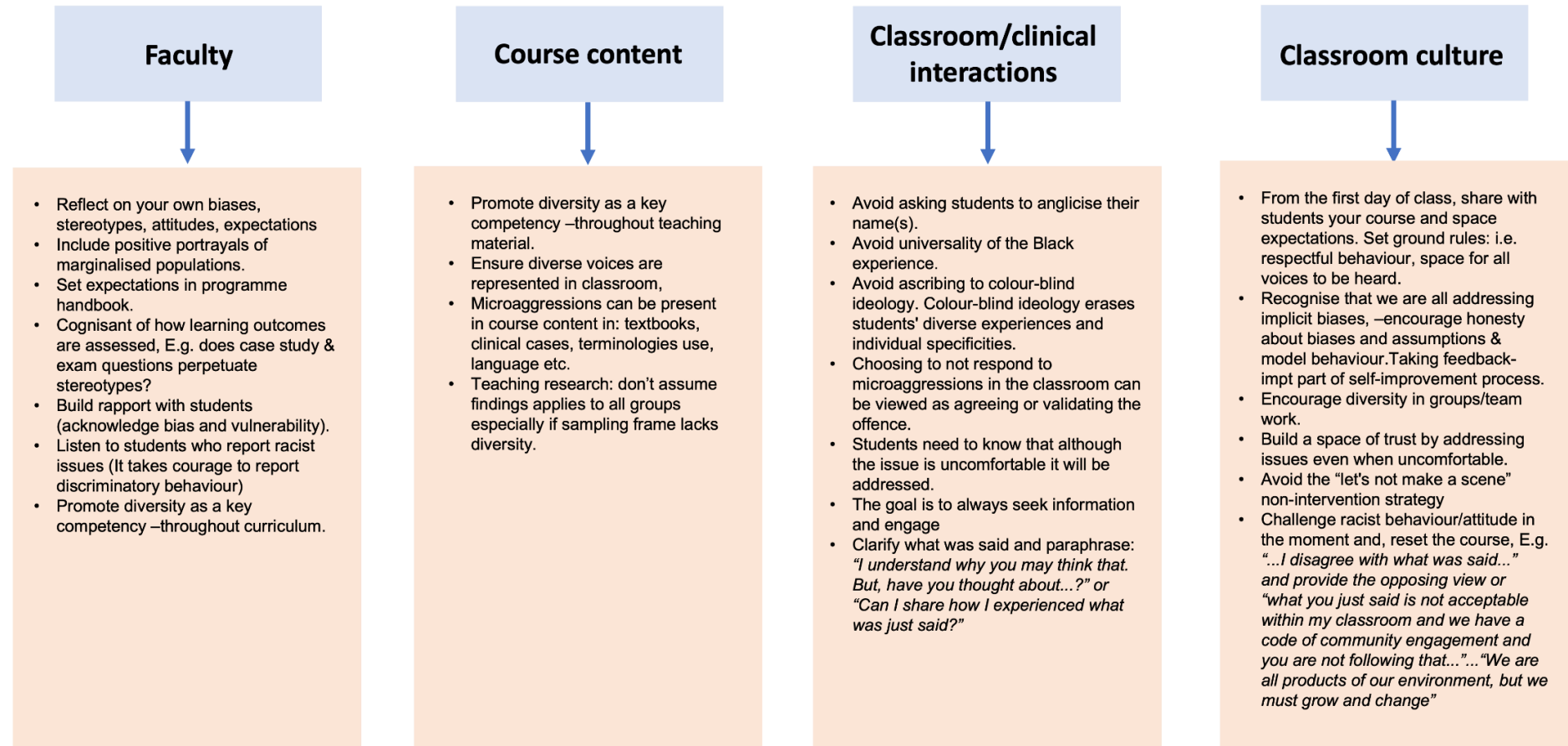
Appendix 12. Typical Career Trajectory for Black Female Professor

Illustration of the typical career trajectory for a Black female Professor



Adapted from: Rollock 2019.

Appendix 13. Addressing Microaggression Within Pedagogical Areas



(Adapted from: Pusey-Reid and Blackman Richards 2022)