‘Evaluating the Racially Inclusive Curricula Toolkit in HE’:
Empirically Measuring the Efficacy and Impact of Making Curriculum-content Racially Inclusive on the Educative Experiences of Students of Colour in the UK

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Executive Summary

Overall summary

To our knowledge, this the first large scale mixed methods evaluation of an intervention for making Higher Education (HE) curricula racially inclusive in the United Kingdom. Consequently, the findings discussed offer an important starting point for widening sector knowledge as to what works in relation to improving racially inclusive best practice in taught curricula, in what ways do these kinds of interventions work, and what are the parameters and limitations for these kinds of approaches in relation to creating positive change.

In the academic year 2020/21 the University of Leicester (UoL) piloted an intervention for making course content racially inclusive, the Racially Inclusive Curricula Toolkit (RICT) (this intervention was originally titled the Decolonizing the Curriculum Toolkit and the name has been changed in response to the recommendations offered in this report. See Recommendations), across all undergraduate sociology modules. Developed by Dr Paul Ian Campbell, the RICT is an introductory two-page resource for staff that provides clear and concise guidelines on how to make module content, assessment and practice more racially inclusive and relatable for all students. It was also designed to help staff improve and develop their racial literacy irrespective of the teacher’s familiarity with decolonizing work.

This report provides an evaluation of the RICT that measures its effectiveness against the following four tests:

- Its capacity to foster a stronger sense of relevance between taught module content and the lived realities and histories of students from minority ethnic backgrounds
- Its capacity to improve the confidence and racial literacy of staff.
- Its capacity to reduce differences in assessment and award outcomes between students from White and minority ethnic backgrounds
- Its capacity to improve levels of course satisfaction among students from minority ethnic backgrounds

Overall, findings show that while the RICT appears to have low(er)-levels of efficacy as a tool for directly reducing the numerical percentage differences in race award gaps between students of color and White peers, it has clear and significant transformative potential for improving levels of student satisfaction and relatability of course material. This was not only for students from minority backgrounds but for all students. It is also a potent tool for improving racial literacy among teaching staff at all levels.

Recommendation: We recommend the employment of the RICT as a core intervention for enhancing racial literacy and staff development (training), and for making course content more racially inclusive for undergraduate students in UK Higher Education Providers (HEPs).

Summary of qualitative findings

The qualitative accounts demonstrated some of the transformative potential of the RICT in relation to improving minority ethnic students’ senses of relatability and enjoyment of their taught curricula.

They also highlighted some of the causal factors which underpin persistent uneven experiences of relatability and inclusion across modules for students, despite the roll out of the toolkit across all modules on the undergraduate sociology degree. They also provided empirically substantiated insights into some of the challenges for achieving race-award and race-satisfaction parity across degree programmes through the employment of module-based interventions alone.
Summary of the RICT’s capacity to foster a stronger sense of relevance between taught module content and the lived realities and histories of students of colour

The RICT and fostering increases in opportunities to explore content through raced lenses

South Asian-heritage sociology participants reported that since the introduction of the RICT, they had noticed and welcomed some increases in opportunities to learn about race in their taught content and assessments. White sociology students also noticed more opportunities to explore race this year. They were also the group who appeared to express the highest levels of satisfaction in relation to opportunities to explore race in module content. White student participants were also the group who were most sceptical of the ways in which discussions of race in their module content, for them, appeared to take place in a fragmented and subsequently, sometimes superficially across taught modules. This situation prompted high levels of anxieties about racial tokenism, for some. Black sociology participants also reported increases in their opportunities to learn about race in sociology modules and related reading this year. However, this was often speculated to be the consequence of wider political episodes and anti-racism campaigns, instead of the outcome of university commitments to racial inclusion and decolonizing work. We consequently encourage Higher Education Providers (HEPs) to improve the ways in which they signal their commitment to anti-racism and inclusion to their students. This helps to build a better sense of trust and belonging between HEPs and their student bodies.

Recommendation: University faculties and schools engaged in racial inclusion work should clearly and publicly signal to students, student bodies, student unions and related stakeholders where such interventions are taking place or introduced – and provide a clear and transparent rationale for such interventions.

RCT and fostering increases in the relatability of taught curricula for students of colour

White sociology students reported the highest levels of satisfaction with opportunities to relate course content to their own lives and in opportunities to study sociology through the lenses of the other racialized minority ethnic communities that constitute the UK. Black sociology students were also keen to highlight some noticeable increases in opportunities to discuss and relate module content and assessment to their own lived experiences and biographies as people of colour especially in chosen optional modules. Or to use these aspects of their identity as legitimate lenses for sociological enquiry.

Increases in opportunities to explore race in a general sense in module content were corroborated in the testimonies of the South Asian heritage participants. However, it was apparent that the majority of these new opportunities did not apply directly to the South Asian experience.

Recommendation: To ensure equity of representation in taught content (and by extension that certain groups are not overrepresented, and others underrepresented in course material), requires careful mapping at the course level. While the RICT provides staff with support on how to include race and what this might look like at the module level, we recommend that only via strategic processes of mapping at the course level can courses manage that ‘who’ is included in their curriculums are balanced and representative of all the groups we serve as global and 21st century Higher Education Providers.

RCT and fostering increases in senses of enjoyment of taught curricula for students of colour

For our participants, enjoyment was for the most part directly connected to the ability to relate module content to their biographies explicitly or implicitly, and vice versa. This was especially the case for participants from minority ethnic backgrounds. Both Black- and South Asian-heritage student participants reported that they most enjoyed modules (or the content within modules) that were directly applicable to their own lived experiences and biographies and were less engaged when content did not appear to correspond with their own lived realities. White student participants’ enjoyment appeared to be dependent on a greater variety of factors than their peers of colour. In all cases, the RICT had made a positive – albeit uneven – impact in relation to enhancing student enjoyment of their programme.

Summary of the limitations of the RICT in relation to improving the student experiences on taught courses

Cultural barriers to the effectiveness of the RICT in relation to decolonizing (Social) theory

The testimonies indicated that despite increased levels of plurality in module content, for the most part, a Eurocentric viewpoint remained the de-facto way of delivering, perceiving and comprehending theory.
This situation was consistent with the experiences and views of students and staff across the three other sample courses and subscribed to by White, South Asian and Black student participants. The accounts of participants illustrate that the effectiveness of interventions such as race inclusion toolkits depend greatly on the fullness in which interventions are engaged with by staff and the levels and quality of guidance and training provided. They remind us that without institutional edict, support (as well as appropriate training and expectation setting), interventions such as the RICT can potentially be rendered largely ineffective.

**Recommendation:** When rolling out interventions such as the RICT, to ensure deep and consistent levels of staff engagement and even embeddedness of toolkits across modules, HEPs should also set clear formal guidelines and expectations for staff engagement. This should be in addition to providing institutional level support and appropriate pedagogy based-training on implementing the toolkit into practice.

**The need for racial inclusion interventions alongside a racially diverse faculty**

While the student testimonies indicated some of the potential of the RICT for improving the levels of racial inclusion in course content, they unequivocally demonstrated that a racially inclusive curricula required a diverse and representative faculty alongside a faculty that was racially literate (which was enhanced by the RICT). The testimonies clearly show that the importance of having an ethnically diverse faculty were not simply moral or ethical. It provides key educational and pastoral functions to all students.

**Recommendation:** HEPs should resist focusing solely on addressing racial inequities in curricula. They should instead focus on developing interventions that aim to achieve a racially pluralized curricula (content), a racially literate faculty and a faculty that is racially diverse.

**Best racial inclusion practice adopts both a horizontal and vertical model**

Students whose learning experience took place within a combined horizontal and vertical framework for racial inclusive curricula were the most satisfied. This approach also provided staff with the space to explore race more deeply and not in a fragmented and unintentionally superficial way across the degree programme or curricula.

**Recommendation:** For maximum levels of racial inclusion in taught programmes we recommend courses adopt a combined horizontal and vertical framework for racial inclusion.
Summary for the RICT’s capacity to improve the confidence and racial literacy of staff

The effectiveness of the RICT for improving racial literacy

The RICT had a positive qualitative impact on increasing participants levels of racial literacy. For example, participants asserted that the RICT had provided them with what they described as a ‘beginner’s guide’, which offered ‘useful first steps’ for ‘reflecting on their practice and thinking about how to decolonise their work’. Moreover, that it had provided them with a blueprint to develop their own race inclusion best practice beyond the recommendations offered in the resource. It enabled some module convenors to synthesise new ways of making their own teaching practice inclusive for students from other marginalised groups and/or protected characteristics who were not directly accounted for in the original intervention, such as international students.

A tool for supporting ‘meaningful reflection’ and change

The RICT was described as an effective tool for helping teaching-staff reflect on the kinds of racial inequities that might exist within their pedagogical practice or content. Data indicated that it had resulted in clear actions and/or changes in the following areas of participants’ pedagogical practice or module content:

- Reading lists
- Terminology
- Making Quantitative sociology more relevant to all students
- Aiding reflection for race specialists

Summary of the limitations of the RICT’s capacity for improving the confidence and racial literacy of staff

The need for institutional leadership and support to ensure standardisation of levels of racial inclusion across modules and curricula

In most instances, changes to module content and the extent of the changes remained largely uneven across taught modules. This was despite one of the core objectives of RICT to better standardise the basic levels of racial inclusion across all taught modules. This was perhaps to be expected in light of the uneven levels of staff engagement with the toolkit reported in the quantitative data (see ‘Summary of the quantitative findings’).

Without any formal mandate or accountability placed on module convenors, individual staff were left to decide for themselves the extent to which they embedded the RICT guidance into their module content, and ultimately,
what racial inclusion instructions to include or overlook. Without the inclusion of strong quality assurance measures and formal staff-training to ensure more even levels of racial inclusion quality and standardisation of staff engagement with the RICT, the RICT has the potential to exacerbate existing differences in the levels of inclusion that exist between sociology modules, instead of narrow or standardise them.

Recommendation: Any roll out of the RICT intervention should be accompanied by formal staff training and guidance and clear communication of minimum expectations of change to taught content. This will better ensure a more-equal level of embeddedness across module content.

Workload, space and time

Participants pointed to congested workloads and wider pressures for grant capture and publication, as core factors that inhibited the ability to engage fully with the toolkit. To meaningfully reflect upon, engage and modify their content and related practice in accordance with the guidance presented in the RICT, staff required more time and space to learn, reflect and make change.

Recommendation: HEPS should build racial equity in curriculum work into staff workloads and annual targets.

Recommendation: HEPs should provide clear and transparent formula into Quality Assurance frameworks that set out clear guidance for how much time per module per week, should be dedicated to racial inclusion activities and interventions, such as, how many minutes or hours should be given per week to making assessments, curricula and so forth, racially inclusive.

Describing the RICT as a resource for decolonizing appeared to have a negative effect

Firstly, staff familiar with decolonizing and or anti-racism work, were often irritated and frustrated by the conceptual and pedagogical inaccuracy of the toolkit’s original title (the Decolonizing the Curriculum Toolkit). It is impossible to meaningfully decolonize a curriculum with a 2/3-page document – and to claim so, was seen by some, to be offensive and misleading and unintentionally signalled a lack of institutional sensitivity and meaningful understanding of the nature and scale of decolonizing and anti-racism work.

Participants also expressed concern that the current political debate and misinformation around decolonizing education, had left staff who were not well-versed with academic anti-racism and decolonizing debates, wary of, and less inclined to, engage with activities that were branded as ‘decolonizing’. Such debates remind us of the need to be forensic and accurate in our use of language and activity to satisfy staff across the political spectrum.

Recommendation: To change the name of the intervention from the Decolonizing the Curriculum Toolkit to the Racially Inclusive Curricula Toolkit.

The need for more than an introductory resource

Participants wanted more than introductory resources. For them, the toolkit was useful, but too brief and thus did not go far enough as a resource for developing their own racial literacy.

Recommendation: HEPS should consider offering supplementary and more advanced racial inclusion resources.
Summary of the quantitative findings

Summary of the RICT’s capacity to reduce differences in assessment and award outcomes between students from White and minority ethnic backgrounds

In relation to assessing the RICT’s capacity to reduce differences in assessment and award outcomes between students from White and minority ethnic backgrounds, the quantitative analysis of award outcomes, the RICT suggests that the intervention had no direct or quantitatively significant causal effect on the racial attainment gap between minority ethnic students and their White peers.

Moreover, the introduction of the RICT also corresponded with a general fall in sociology students’ attainment at the University of Leicester in 2021.

Overall, this impact evaluation suggests that the RICT correlated with a lower overall attainment for both minority ethnic and White Sociology students when compared to previous years. The estimated treatment effect was significantly negative among Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic students (BAME), -6.63 percentiles, 95% CI [-13.23, -0.03], p = 0.05. It was directionally negative (though not significant at the 5% level) among White students, -3.07 percentiles, 95% CI [-9.79, 3.64], p = 0.37.

Recommendation: We advise against employing the RICT as an intervention for the sole and explicit purpose of reducing the numerical race award gap in student degree outcomes.

Limitations

It should also be noted that this general drop in student grades/scores coincided with the COVID-19 pandemic.

Summary of the RICT’s capacity to improve levels of course satisfaction among students from minority ethnic backgrounds

The Module Evaluation Questionnaire (MEQ) data indicated that the RICT had a positive influence on improving levels of Overall Student Satisfaction (OSS) on sociology modules. The aggregate scores for OSS recorded in sociology MEQs for 2021/22 showed that the 15 modules that had a ‘Staff Engagement with the RICT’ score of 6 (out of 10) or above, was 86.7.

33% of these modules recorded scores between 80-89.9% (5) and none had an OSS score of lower than 60%. By contrast, the aggregate OSS score for the 7 modules that had a Staff Engagement with the RICT score of 5 (out of 10) or less, was 80.9%. The lowest module score in this sample was 44.4 (26% lower than the lowest score recorded for modules with a 6+ RICT Engagement score). Moreover, 66% of modules where staff ranked their RICT Engagement score 7 (out of 10) or above, recorded higher OSS scores when compared against the aggregate OSS scores for modules for the previous two years.
Recommendations

Recommendations for developing/improving the efficacy of the RICT

- HEPS should consider offering supplementary and more advanced racial inclusion resources.

- To change the name of the intervention from the Decolonizing the Curriculum Toolkit to the Racially Inclusive Curricula Toolkit.

Recommendations for HEPS in relation to maximizing the efficacy of the RICT

1. University faculties and schools engaged in racial inclusion work should clearly and publicly signal to students, student bodies, student unions and related stakeholders where such interventions are taking place or introduced – and provide a clear and transparent rationale for such interventions.

2. To ensure equity of representation in taught content (and by extension that certain groups are not overrepresented, and others underrepresented in course material), requires careful mapping at the course level. While the RICT provides staff with support on how to include race and what this might look like at the module level, we recommend that only via strategic processes of mapping at the course level can courses manage that ‘who’ is included in their curriculums are balanced and representative of all the groups we serve as global and 21st century Higher Education Providers.

3. When rolling out interventions such as the RICT, to ensure deep and consistent levels of staff engagement and even embeddedness of toolkits across modules, HEPs should also set clear formal guidelines and expectations for staff engagement. This should be in addition to providing institutional level support and appropriate pedagogy based-training on implementing the toolkit into practice.

4. HEPs must resist focusing solely on addressing racial inequities in curricula. They should instead focus on developing interventions that aim to achieve a racially pluralized curricula (content), a racially literate faculty and a faculty that is racially diverse.

5. For maximum levels of racial inclusion in taught programmes we recommend courses adopt a combined horizontal and vertical framework for racial inclusion.

6. Any roll-out of the RICT intervention should be accompanied by formal staff training and guidance and clear communication of minimum expectations of change to taught content. This will better ensure a more-equal level of embeddedness across module content.

7. HEPS should build racial equity in curriculum work into staff workloads and annual targets.

8. HEPs should provide clear and transparent formula into Quality Assurance frameworks that set out clear guidance for how much time per module per week, should be dedicated to racial inclusion activities and interventions, such as, how many minutes or hours should be given per week to making assessments, curricula and so forth, racially inclusive

9. We advise against employing the RICT as an intervention for the sole and explicit purpose of reducing the numerical race award gap in student degree outcomes.

10. The RICT should be employed as a core intervention for enhancing racial literacy and staff development (training), and for making course content more racially inclusive for undergraduate students in UK HEPs.
Introduction

Background and rationale for the intervention

Nationally in 2020, the aggregate degree award-outcomes for White undergraduate students in the UK were 9.9% higher than the aggregate score for undergraduate students of colour (see AdvanceHE 2021). At UoL, this gap was 10% in 2020. In response, UoL set itself the target of eliminating the awarding gap between its domicile minority ethnic and White students by 2025. So far, this response has largely targeted the racial inequalities that manifest in course content or on ‘decolonizing the curricular’. This is seen to be a key causal factor for the disparities discussed above.

There is much historical, conceptual, theoretical and discipline specific discussion and debate as to what decolonization is (Meghi 2021, Moncriefe 2020) and specifically here, how it translates into practical and explicit education-based policies (Bhambra et al 2018). Narrowing our focus solely on decolonizing curricula and pedagogy – that is, to put it crudely, on what and how we teach – the emerging consensus view adopted by HEPs is that this is largely a process of ensuring curricula include alternative ways of explaining, documenting and thinking about the world and includes a greater plurality of perspectives alongside the existing canon (see, for example, The Open University 2019) (there is some clear overlap here between this approach and wider frameworks employed for an ‘inclusive’, ‘anti-racist’ or diverse curricular, which are beyond the scope of this discussion here. See, for example, Hockings (2020) and Singh (2011)). This general consensus is neatly summed in the Keele University ‘Decolonizing the Curriculum Network’ working definition of what the aims, objectives and purpose of decolonised curricula might be:

Decolonization involves identifying colonial systems, structures and relationships, and working to challenge those systems. It is not ‘integration’ or simply the token inclusion of the intellectual achievements of non-white cultures. Rather, it involves a paradigm shift from a culture of exclusion and denial to the making of space for other political philosophies and knowledge systems. It’s a culture shift to think more widely about why common knowledge is, what it is, and in doing so adjusting cultural perceptions and power relations in real and significant ways.

HEPs influence and shape what counts as ‘legitimate’ knowledge. Mignolo (2009) posits that the narratives curricula embrace and (re)produce are too often presented as universal, neutral and as a singular and objective truth. For Peters (2018, 254), these narratives are more accurately described as a ‘[W]hite’ and Eurocentric knowledge-base, that is predominantly produced by ‘[W]hite authors’. Moreover, they serve to normalise and privilege White history, cultural values, norms, practices, perspectives, experiences, and voices. While at the same time, they marginalise other forms of knowing – albeit in varying ways. This situation has a profound impact on who and which students the academe directly relates to, works for, privileges and excludes in its processes, procedures, and award outcomes.

Put another way, most current UK educational content, assessment and pedagogical practice prioritises and promotes White western or European ideas, thinkers and viewpoints. Curricula ‘normalises’ whiteness and marginalises Black (and the global south’s) contributions to knowledge, voices, histories and experiences. Race is simultaneously given a lesser status and ‘othered’; it is made exotic or presented as tragic – or ignored. This has a profound impact on how students from minority ethnic backgrounds see education, see themselves in education, and how they relate education to their own life worlds (Campbell 2020). This situation also impacts negatively on levels of satisfaction and can influence student engagement, motivation and performance (Campbell 2022).

In response to a below 80% student satisfaction score on the sociology degree in the National Student Survey in 2018/19, the first author developed the RICT – a two-page resource for staff that provides clear and concise guidelines on how to make module content, assessment and practice more racially inclusive and relatable for all students. The RICT was piloted across three undergraduate modules in 2020, with the following objectives:

- Provide a set of practical guidelines to help make teaching practice more inclusive and more responsive to the student body.
- Help academics to reflect on their programmes of study, modules and cultural practices, with the aim of making their curricula more engaging and better connected to all the students it serves, educates, and seeks to inspire.
- Improve student satisfaction

The COVID-19 pandemic impacted negatively on our ability to fully assess the toolkit’s effectiveness. However, initial scoping data gleaned from students indicated that the toolkit’s recommendations would
help improve the relevance of content, effectiveness of support and, in turn, assessment outcomes. Interview data collected from the staff who piloted the toolkit indicated that the guidelines had improved our students of colour’s interest, and helped staff reflect on their own pedagogical practice, especially with regards to meeting the needs of their students of colour.

The pilot of the RICT demonstrated its potential to impact positively on the inclusion of students of colour. Against these early indicators we were confident that the implementation of the toolkit across all sociology modules would have a positive impact on teaching practice, the inclusion of students of colour and, over time, on minimizing the award gap.

**Detailed description of the intervention (and how it compares to business-as-usual)**

Other toolkits have often proved limited in their effectiveness and accessibility because they are either large documents that are too in-depth for beginners, or too nebulous (SOAS 2018 for example is 22 pages long). As a result, they are often difficult to access. As a pedagogical tool, the RICT was designed to be different. It is short (two-pages-long) and user friendly, with the explicit purpose of raising and improving racial literacy irrespective of the teacher’s familiarity with decolonizing work.

The RICT provides clear guidelines/prompts for making module-content, assessment and practice more racially inclusive and relatable to all students. By focusing on these three pedagogical areas, the RICT is applicable to all modules across all taught courses.

The RICT was designed to improve the racial literacy of staff by providing a shorter, concise, and more accessible resource, which staff can work through in their own time and with little formal training. It purposely does not provide an exhaustive and prescriptive set of instructions, but by providing a host of conversational questions it prompts more meaningful reflection and strategies on how to improve their practice and racial literacy in ways which they can incorporate best into their practice (Alexander 2008). This is a much more meaningful and less didactic approach for improving our teaching staffs’ knowledge of race and the way it works; its place within their disciplines; its place within their students’ lives and in the lives of the people who students will work alongside; and for how to begin the process of disrupting this. Also, the RICT provides teaching-staff with the tools for critical reflection with regards to race. That is to help them be able to better recognise, dismantle and guard against the ways in which course content, assessment and practice can marginalise and benefit students from certain backgrounds and contribute to barriers, lower satisfaction and the award gap for some.

The RICT was piloted across all modules in the undergraduate Sociology BA degree in the academic year 2020/21. It is the evaluation of the introduction of the intervention across this course that the remainder of the report documents.
Literature Review

Structural racism in Higher Education

In 2020, Advance HE launched the Tackling Structural Race Inequality in Higher Education campaign. Its objective was to help UK Higher Education Providers (HEPs) to better ‘understand and address ... structural race inequal[ities] in all aspects of higher education.’ Advance HE encouraged its members to engage with a year-long suite of events and outputs to recognise and address these ‘deep-seated structural issues’ (Advance HE, 2020), which it defined as:

"[T]he systems and structures in which the policies and practices are located, interacting with institutional culture, environment, curriculum, and other ‘norms’, and compounded by wider external history, culture and systemic privilege that perpetuate ‘race’ inequality."
(Advance HE, 2021a)

HEPs have also attempted to address the structural, systemic and lived racial inequities experienced by students of colour in HE. In 2021, for example, The London School of Hygiene commissioned an inward focusing independent review of its ‘history, track record and current practices relating to race equity’. Leeds Beckett University similarly conducted a series of in-house research projects. Each had the aim of informing ‘education policy change, to decolonise and transform curricula to reflect the contributions and experiences of people of colour’ to challenge ‘racism in all its forms and develop[...] anti-racist practices’ (2022).

There is a longstanding history of racial equity and anti-racism work in UK academies (Bhambra et al 2018). In response to the death of Stephen Lawrence and recommendations of the MacPherson report, for example, in 2002, Turney, Law and Phillips (2002, p.8) reported on the University of Leeds’ attempts to address processes of institutional racism within the academe. 11 years later, Pilkington (2013) examined the levels of institutional racism in universities across the British Midlands. That year, the Building the Anti-racist University: Next Steps at the University of Leeds called for interdisciplinary discussions and papers ‘on experiences of institutional racial equality change processes and strategies ... [to take] both successes and failures forward as lessons learned into the new arena for anti-racist work’ (Tate and Bagguley, 2017, p.289). The result was a Special Issue (SI) of the journal Race Ethnicity and Education (‘Building the Antiracist University’ 2017). The SI concluded that ‘we are not yet past the need for anti-racist institutional action’ (Tate and Bagguley, 2017, p.289). The sentiments of their conclusion have since been echoed by others, such as Advance HE (2021b) and Kemchie and Beighton (2021). The latter succinctly surmised that even after over two decades of anti-racism work and the launch of numerous race equity interventions, racial inequities in higher education continue to remain a constant and ‘predictable’ feature in the experiences of students from minority ethnic backgrounds in UK HEPs (2021, p.184).
Race Award Gaps in Degree Outcomes

The Higher Education Funding Council for England’s (HEFCE) 2014 paper, *Differences in degree outcomes: Key findings* reported that although previous achievement was a principle determining factor in degree outcomes, there was also a clearly discernible award gap between White and minority ethnic students, females and males and students from affluent and more deprived backgrounds, with the former performing better in all of those cases (see also Broecke and Nicholls 2007). A year later, another HEFCE commissioned report posited several contributing factors for the race award gap. These included the relationship between students and the university, external support networks, students’ financial stability, and the content of *taught curricula* (Mountford-Zimdars et al., 2015 p.iii).

Miller (2016 pp.9-11) similarly connected the award gap to the fact that students of colour were more likely to be *under-represented in curricula*. More recently, Arday et al (2021a) also rehearsed the existence of a direct causal connection between a White and Eurocentric curricula and lower levels of grade outcomes and gaps in awards for students of colour (see also, Arday et al 2021b).

Importantly, Miller (2016) highlighted that the majority of HEPs that she surveyed had started to take action in response to race-based barriers to inequity for students of colour, particularly in relation to those present within taught curricula. She also notes, however, that the majority of HEPs were not collecting evidence to measure, monitor and evaluate the impact of their initiatives. This point remains pertinent today.

Initiatives to decolonise the curriculum in UK HE

Much of the response of the race inequities and award gaps in HE described over the last decade (discussed above), has largely fallen under the banner of ‘decolonizing work’. However, there is much historical, conceptual, theoretical and subject specific discussion and debate as to what a ‘decolonized’ curricula is and specifically what this looks like in practice (and how it translates into practical and explicit education-based policies more widely, see Campbell 2022). This lack of consensus might go some way to explain what we might describe as an eclectic ensemble of institution-level, discipline-based and student (union) led race inclusion interventions, training-resources and materials across the sector, currently. The following is a descriptive snapshot of the current decolonizing the curricula landscape in HE.

University wide projects

University wide and centrally led initiatives that directly engage with race equity or ‘Decolonizing’ (and not as part of broader Equity, Diversity and Inclusion or access initiatives) are uncommon (it should be noted, however, that the successful award of the Race Equality Charter’s Bronze Award to a small but growing number of HEPs has facilitated an increase in the number of HEPs implementing specific and centrally led anti-racism interventions). University College London (Changemakers), Decolonise Sussex, Decolonise at King’s (College London) are also noteworthy exceptions here. Liverpool John Moores has also established a university wide working group on decolonising the curriculum and the University of Bath has instructed an audit of its physical, cultural and cognitive inclusion processes, within which decolonising is one of a number of considerations. HEPs such as De Montfort, London Metropolitan and York have adopted a different cross university approach, they have appointed Decolonisation Champions, Decolonial Academic Leads and Decolonisation Representatives (who sit on departmental committees), respectively.

Decolonizing work taking place within specific subject disciplines

The majority of decolonizing work and initiatives across the sector has tended to take place at the local level and within departments and within subject disciplines in particular. These include, but are not limited to, within Education (University of Birmingham), Modern Languages and Theology (Durham University), Psychology (University of East London), Informatics (Edinburgh), History (Exeter), Anthropology (Goldsmiths), Law (Kent), and Medicine (University of Leicester and Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine).

Library-based initiatives

Library Services are also increasingly important spaces for race inclusion activity in HEPs and play a growing role in developing interventions and knowledge transfer activities for improving racial literacy and on supporting, guiding and training teaching-staff on how to decolonize their reading lists and course materials. Library services at the University of Leicester, Bodleian, Derby, De Montfort, East Anglia, Essex and Sussex have all have compiled LibGuides, which are maintained lists of resources. Likewise, library services within Aga Khan University (London), Cambridge, the School of Oriental and African Studies, Goldsmiths, and University of Leicester have produced metadata collections.
Decolonisation Toolkits

SOAS, University of London, University of Sheffield, University of Westminster De Montfort University, Keele University, London Southbank University, Leeds Beckett, University of Birmingham, University of York, Lancaster University, University of Leeds and the University of Leicester have all developed bespoke pedagogy or discipline-specific decolonising toolkits. Generally, these have tended to focus on learning and teaching and disrupting curricula and course content. They include written guidance, case studies and auditing tools. The majority of which have been developed in collaboration with students.

Instead of focusing their attention on curricula, some other HEPs such as, Manchester Metropolitan University, University of Northumbria, University of Surrey, University of Huddersfield, University of Lincoln, University of the Arts London and the University of Kent have designed their toolkits with the specific purpose of diversifying course reading lists. These resources are designed to encourage teaching staff to audit and reflect on what voices are included, prioritized and excluded in module reading lists.

Some conclusions: A lack of evaluative data on the efficacy of anti-racism interventions in UK Higher Education

This brief survey has provided a snapshot of the growing plethora of decolonizing initiatives and interventions taking place across the sector, which has gathered pace especially over the course of the last decade. Despite this growing body of activity, there currently exists little by way of empirically substantiated evaluations of the impact of this body of decolonization work, or on the efficacy of anti-racism interventions currently being employed across UK HEPs (Miller 2016, Office for Students 2019, Universities UK and National Union of Students 2019, Younger et al, 2019, Todman and Gongadze 2020, Sanders et al, 2021). Put another way, thus far, significantly more critical attention has been given to identifying, understanding and responding to racial inequities in HE (and its causes), than has been given to generating a body of empirically substantiated evidence that informs us as to whether or not these interventions will bring about the intended result. This evaluative report is a direct response to this lacuna.
Methodology

This report provides an evaluation of the RICT that measures its effectiveness against the following four tests:

Key research questions

1. What is the RICT’s capacity to foster a stronger sense of relevance between taught module content and the lived realities and histories of students from minority ethnic backgrounds?
2. What is the RICT’s capacity to improve the confidence and racial literacy of staff?
3. What is the RICT’s capacity to reduce differences in assessment and award outcomes between students from White and minority ethnic backgrounds?
4. What is the RICT’s capacity to improve levels of course satisfaction among students from minority ethnic backgrounds?

Details on quasi-experimental methods including the rationale, analytical approach, and a breakdown on the data, such as number of participants and demographic

Positivist approaches and quantitative based examinations are especially useful in education-based studies for numerically capturing the relationship between one variable or intervention (in this case, the RICT) on other variables, such as student performance in assessment and student satisfaction (scores) (see Campbell 2015). However, trying to capture the lived and everyday experience of race and exclusion is widely accepted as being ontologically problematic if solely an objectivist and in turn positivistic approach is utilised. According to Solomos (2003), racialised identities are widely recognised as dynamic and not salient at all times (see Campbell 2014 and 2022). The fluidity of racialised identities, according to Gunaratnam (2003), means that race and related lived experiences often exist beyond the scope of quantitative measurement alone.

Consequently, a multi-method approach was employed to offer a more holistic evaluation of the intervention’s effectiveness in addressing the inclusion of students of colour. The following data collection methods and datasets were utilised:

Qualitative data

The qualitative data were utilised to respond directly to research questions 1 and 2: What is the RICT’s capacity to foster a stronger sense of relevance between taught module content and the lived realities and histories of students from minority ethnic backgrounds’ and ‘What is the RICT’s capacity to improve the confidence and racial literacy of staff’, respectively.

A qualitative approach was employed for a number of methodological, analytical and theoretical reasons. Racialised and ethnic identities are widely recognised as ontologically fluid and thus complex aspects of peoples’ lives. Consequently, the lived experiences and daily realities of minority-ethnic groups in social - and in this case educative - environs and processes are often inadequately captured by quantitative data alone (Guneratman 2003, Campbell 2015, 2020, Wallace 2017). The consensus among sociologists and educationalists is that to obtain a critical comprehension of minority-ethnic students’ experiences in education, researchers should employ qualitative approaches, such as in-depth questioning in addition to quantitative data sets (Campbell 2019). Moreover, we must acknowledge the extent to which students of colour are heterogenous, and as such we must also avoid aggregating the educative experiences of students from different communities (Campbell 2020).

Mindful of these important theoretical, methodological and sampling considerations, data are drawn from a
total of 13 focus groups interviews with 55 current undergraduate students and 24 early-, mid, and senior-career academics.

The students in our sample self-defined according to three different ethnic communities (1: African and African-Caribbean heritage, 2: British South Asian heritage and 3: White British heritage) and were drawn from four different degree courses: Sociology (30 students) and Geography, Criminology and Chemistry (25 students). Focus groups were organised along these ethnicity and course themes (e.g., Black sociology student focus group, Black geography student focus group, and so on). Data from student participants from the latter three courses were included for comparative data. Courses were selected because they were comparable in size and demographic to the sociology course).

Interview data was drawn primarily from semi-structured interviews with 10 sociology staff and consisted of staff who self-defined as early-, mid- and senior-career academics. This data set also included data from semi-structured interviews with 15 early-, mid-, and senior-career academics from Geography, Criminology and Chemistry for comparative data.

The COVID-19 pandemic impacted on student availability during the recruitment phase of the study. This meant that it was not possible to include a representative focus group for all minority ethnic groups across all four of the degree programmes included in the study.

Interviews were transcribed verbatim. All qualitative data are coded, key words extrapolated and collated. Emergent themes were identified through a process of ‘pattern coding’, where coded data are reconfigured into more compact and meaningful groupings. All data are anonymised, and pseudonyms were used in place of students’ and faculty members’ real names and other signposts in accordance with the ethical guidelines set out by my institution’s ethics committee.

### Quantitative data

#### Design

BIT used a matched difference-in-differences approach to evaluate the impact of the curricula reform initiative, where comparator modules were matched to reformed modules on pre-intervention module characteristics. BIT then compared the pre-intervention and post-intervention trend of students’ attainment among the reformed modules with comparator modules that did not reform their curricula.

#### Module inclusion & exclusion criteria

The treated modules were selected from the Sociology programme, whereas the comparator modules were chosen from a pool of unreformed modules from three other programmes (Chemistry, Criminology, and Geography) that had characteristics most similar to that of the Sociology programme, as well as unreformed modules from the Sociology programme.

To maximise the comparability of modules, we only included modules for further analysis if they met the following criteria:

- The module is not a graduate level-7 module
- The module credit is between 10 and 45 as modules with more than 45 credits typically referred to a dissertation, and modules with fewer than 10 credits might not have enough scope for curriculum reform
- Have 10 or more students enrolled in 2021
- Have at least 2 years of pre-intervention attainment data

A total of 95 modules met the above criteria. Among these, 17 were from the Sociology course which was reformed in 2020/21, while 78 were from comparator courses that were not reformed at any point of time (see Table 2.1 for details).

### Table 2.1 Number and characteristics of eligible modules by programme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Reformed status</th>
<th>Number of eligible modules</th>
<th>Compulsory modules (n, %)</th>
<th>Advanced modules (n, %)</th>
<th>Average number of students enrolled in 2021 (mean, SD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7 (41.2%)</td>
<td>7 (41.2%)</td>
<td>37.7 (21.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15 (65.2%)</td>
<td>12 (52.2%)</td>
<td>88.6 (59.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminology</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9 (45.0%)</td>
<td>8 (40.0%)</td>
<td>86.3 (41.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13 (37.1%)</td>
<td>16 (45.7%)</td>
<td>32.3 (18.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Module reformed status

For Sociology modules to be considered as reformed, their intervention intensity score (as judged by the module convenor’s engagement with the toolkit) should be deemed as 4 (inclusive) or higher (out of a scale of 10). The intervention intensity, according to Dr Paul Campbell’s assessment, are:

- Among the 17 Sociology modules, 4 modules ("SML1.5","SML2.6", "SML2.3", "SML3.2") were rated as having an intervention intensity score of lower than 4. Those four modules were no longer counted as reformed, and together with the other 78 unreformed modules, formed a pool of comparator modules (n = 82);
- Among the remaining 13 Sociology modules, three modules that had an unknown intervention intensity score were also excluded, leaving 10 modules as reformed.

In sum, a total of 10 reformed modules remained for further analysis. Among the pool of comparator modules (n = 82), 3 were excluded as the enrolled students were exclusively international, leaving a total of 79 potential comparator modules. See Figure 3 for the detailed module selection flow.

Overall, although the general characteristics of the reformed modules were somewhat comparable to that of the pool of comparator modules, they were not sufficiently similar (see Table 2.2), therefore matching is needed to identify a more robust counterfactual, i.e., a comparator group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.2 Number of eligible modules by reformed status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of modules</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pool of comparator modules</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Courses (n, %)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Compulsory modules (n, %)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advanced modules (n, %)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average number of enrolled students between 2018 to 2020</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average proportion of BAME students between 2018 to 2020</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average mark in percentile rank between 2018 to 2020</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Module-matching procedure and results

The comparator modules were selected from the pool of eligible comparator modules. They were matched based on how similar they were to the reformed modules pre-intervention in the following characteristics:

- Whether module is compulsory or elective
- Whether module level is entry level (level 2 or below) or advanced level (level 3 and 4)
- Average number of enrolled students from 2018 to 2020
- Average percentage of BAME students from 2018 to 2020
- Average attainment (percentile rank of the final module mark) among BAME students from 2018 to 2020

The matching was done using the R package Matchit. Each reformed module was matched based on the above-mentioned matching criteria.

The modules were assigned a propensity score, indicating the fitted likelihood that the module was reformed given its characteristics prior to intervention. Matching was done on a 1:1 basis, without replacement, using the nearest neighbour with no calipers. This is a conservative matching method which is also intuitive to interpret. The matching was done separately for each reformed module. Table 3 presents the propensity scores of the reformed modules pairing with eight comparator modules that had the closest propensity scores.

---

For modules that only had two instead of three years of pre-intervention data, the average will be calculated for years where such data is available.

### Table 3 Propensity scores of reformed vs. comparator modules

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matched pair</th>
<th>Module ID</th>
<th>Reformed status</th>
<th>Propensity score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pair 1</td>
<td>SML1.2</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>0.594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 1</td>
<td>CR3.1</td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>0.556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 2</td>
<td>SML1.1</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>0.100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 2</td>
<td>GY2.1</td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>0.078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 3</td>
<td>SML2.1</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>0.398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 3</td>
<td>SML2.6</td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>0.398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 4</td>
<td>SML2.8</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>0.577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 4</td>
<td>CR2.1</td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>0.536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 5</td>
<td>SML2.5</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>0.547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 5</td>
<td>SML3.2</td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>0.457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 6</td>
<td>SML2.4</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>0.105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 6</td>
<td>GY2.2</td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>0.100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 7</td>
<td>SML3.8</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>0.423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 7</td>
<td>CR3.2</td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>0.435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 8</td>
<td>SML3.5</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>0.117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 8</td>
<td>CR1.1</td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>0.129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 9</td>
<td>SML3.3</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>0.345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 9</td>
<td>CR3.3</td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>0.332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 10</td>
<td>SML3.4</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>0.065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pair 10</td>
<td>GY2.3</td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>0.063</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Visual inspection of the parallel trend assumption

We calculated BAME students’ module-level weighted average attainment of the reformed and comparator modules up to 3 years prior to intervention. We then plotted the parallel trends in Figure 2. It appears that the trends were parallel from 2018 to 2020. In the next section, we will specify how we test the parallel trend assumption formally.

Figure 2. Trends in weighted average module mark before intervention

Formal testing of the parallel trend assumption

We used a similar regression specification as the main regression to test whether the pre-intervention trends of module mark (percentile rank) between treatment and comparator modules were parallel.

The regression outputs (see Appendix 2) showed that the trends in module mark from 2018 to 2020 of the treatment modules were not statistically different from those of the comparator modules. As a result, we think the reformed modules and the matched modules had an adequately parallel trend before the intervention.
Outcome measures

Definition of the outcome measure

This study only has one outcome measure, and it is listed in the table below.

Table 4. Outcome measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome measure</th>
<th>Data collected</th>
<th>Point of collection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary outcome: Percentile ranking of final module mark</td>
<td>Raw final module grades for all students of the modules of the Sociology, Criminology, Chemistry and Geography modules from academic year 2017-18 to 2020-21. Data was anonymised before sharing.</td>
<td>The data was routinely collected by Leicester and was provided (sent in two batches, in Aug and Nov 2021) by Leicester after the BIT-TASO data processing agreement and the Leicester-TASO data sharing agreement were signed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We used percentile rank of module mark instead of the raw mark as the outcome measure for the following reasons:

- Percentile rank is less susceptible to trend, e.g., grade inflation
- Percentile rank is also less susceptible to course instructors’ grading style (some instructors’ 70 might be equivalent to others’ 60) as the highest value (whether it is 70 or 90) will be standardised to 100 and the lowest value will be standardised to zero, making between-module difference more objective and comparable
- Percentile rank captures the difference in attainment between students rather than benchmarking against an external scale, which is better suited to the purpose of this research which focuses on the gap between white and BAME students.
- Lower risk of de-identification of module instructors

On the other hand, using raw marks as the outcome measure does have some benefits as the OfS uses this metric to calculate awarding (% of students achieving first/ upper second class honour) gaps. We acknowledge that our primary approach differs from the OfS approach, however, we think overall the benefits outweigh the risks. Nevertheless, for the output to be better comparable to other reports in this area, we also visualised the degree awarding gap using both percentile rank and percentage of students who were awarded upper second class honours and above (see Section 4.4).

Sample selection

Study settings

The racially inclusive curriculum initiative was rolled out in 2021 among cohorts enrolled in Leicester’s Sociology BA course, a full-time campus-based course.

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

The sample comprises BAME and White students’ final module marks (in percentile rank) of matched modules from four programmes (Sociology, Chemistry, Criminology, and Geography) in the following academic years: 2017-18, 2018-19, 2019-20, and 2020-21.

For modules

A total of 10 pairs (see Table 3) of successfully-paired modules were included for final analysis that met the criteria.

For students

To minimise potential selection bias, within the included modules, we excluded module mark records of students whose:

- Ethnicity is unknown
- Fee payment status is other than the EU. This is because BAME students with such payment status are more likely to have been awarded scholarships to study in the UK and are not representative of general BAME students.
Module and student module marks selection flow

As elaborated in above, after applying the inclusion and exclusion criteria for module selection, a total of 10 pairs of modules were matched and retained for further analysis, see Figure 3 for the detailed module selection process.

Figure 3. Module selection flow

Within the matched modules, we further applied the inclusion and exclusion criteria for students’ module mark records and reached a final sample (n = 2,772, out of which 1,475 were BAME students), see Figure 4 for the module mark records selection process.
Final sample size

After applying the inclusion and exclusion criteria, we are left with the following sample sizes (See Table 5.1 for the total sample size and Table 5.2 for the subsample of BAME students).

In total, we had 3,137 valid observations of module mark records from 2017-18 to 2020-21 and 48.6% of them belonged to BAME students. Among the total sample, about 26.7% (838 out of 3,137) of the records took place post-intervention.
Table 5.1 Sample size of all students (including both BAME and White students)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic year</th>
<th>Reformed Modules</th>
<th>Comparator Modules</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>un-reformed</td>
<td>reformed</td>
<td>un-reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017-18</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018-19</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019-20</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020-21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1139</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>1628</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2 Sample size of BAME students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic year</th>
<th>Reformed Modules</th>
<th>Comparator Modules</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>un-reformed</td>
<td>reformed</td>
<td>un-reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017-18</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018-19</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019-20</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020-21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>705</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We also summarised how the proportion of BAME students changed over time (see Table 5.3). Notably, the proportion of BAME students was higher among reformed modules than among unreformed ones in 2020/21 (54.6% vs. 44.2%). This change might be the underlying reason why we observed that average percentile rank can sometimes go up or down for both white and BAME students. One potential explanation could be that modules expected to be reformed became more appealing to BAME students thus attracting more BAME students (or fewer White students), but the legitimacy of this hypothesis is subject to the findings from implementation and process evaluation led by Leicester.

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3 It may surprise some readers that the average percentile can go up for both white and BAME students. This is possible if the proportion of BAME students is not constant across years, and is an example of Yule-Simpson reversal (also known as Simpson's paradox).
Table 5.3 Proportion of BAME students in the final sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic year</th>
<th>Reformed Modules</th>
<th>Comparator Modules</th>
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<td>55.5%</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>2018-19</td>
<td>56.7%</td>
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<td>41.3%</td>
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<td>2019-20</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>51.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>2020-21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>54.6%</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>54.2%</td>
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Analytical strategy

Analytical strategy

The primary analysis focuses on BAME students only, including data from the academic year 2017-18 to 2020-21. The analysis is a difference-in-difference regression with up to three years of pre-intervention data points and one year of post-intervention data points. The OLS regression model is specified as follows:

\[ Y_{imt} = \beta_0 + \delta_{PostInvention_{mt}} \times EverTreated_m + \beta_1 Time_t + \beta_2 EverTreated_m + \beta_3 Gender_i + \beta_4 ModuleCompulsoryStatus_m + \beta_5 ModuleLevel_m + \epsilon_{imt} \]

Where:

- \( Y_{imt} \) denotes the final module mark (in percentile rank) of individual \( i \) of module \( m \) in academic year \( t \)
- \( \beta_0 \) is the constant
- \( \delta \) is the causal effect of interest, representing the difference in attainment trend for reformed modules in the post-treatment period(s). \( PostInvention_{mt} = 1 \) if by academic year \( t \), the intervention had taken place for the reformed module \( m \) and its matched module; \( PostInvention_{mt} = 0 \) if the intervention had not. \( EverTreated_m = 1 \) if module \( m \) was ever reformed; \( EverTreated_m = 0 \) if module \( m \) was never reformed.
- \( Time_t \) is a set of dummies that take value from 2017-18 to 2020-21.
- \( Gender_i \) denotes the gender of participant \( i \) gender (0 = female; 1 = male).
- \( ModuleCompulsoryStatus_m \) is a set of dummies that denotes whether the module is compulsory or optional.
- \( ModuleLevel_m \) is a set of dummies that denotes whether the module is elementary or advanced.
- \( \epsilon_{imt} \) is an individual-level error term.

We use heteroskedasticity robust standard errors for all parameters.

The second analysis focuses on White students and uses the same model specification as that of the primary analysis.

The descriptive exploratory analysis focuses on the racial attainment gap between White and BAME students, and the race attainment gap results (in module mark percentile rank and % awarded upper second class and higher) are visualised using line charts.

To assess student satisfaction quantitatively, the study gauged the impact of the RICT on the scores for Overall Student Satisfaction as recorded in Module Evaluation Questionnaires (MEQ). The sample of modules included only those that returned a) an MEQ (data is only captured for modules that have at least a 15% response rate) and b) the module convenor had provided a rank score from 0 - 10 for their engagement with the toolkit (0 representing no engagement at all with the RICT and 10 representing maximum level of engagement). This resulted in a sample of 22 sociology modules taught in the academic year 2020/2022.
Methodological limitations which could include challenges and how these can be overcome

Despite the RICT being piloted across all modules, the university does not operate a mandatory approach to inclusion interventions. This has meant that the full usefulness of the RICT is in part determined by the willingness and (available) time for individual members of teaching staff to engage with the intervention.

Public health responses to the Covid 19 pandemic had a drastic and negative impact on our reach and ability to access to student participants. Adjusting to online learning meant that student engagement was limited.

There are two factors that might have limited the internal validity of the estimated treatment effects from the analysis of the quantitative data pertaining to the analysis of student outcomes. First, we did not have an objective quantification of the extent to which modules were reformed. Instead, we relied on course instructors’ self-reported data to make this assessment. It is therefore possible that the intervention intensity of some reformed modules was over- or under-estimated, and as a result our estimated treatment effects might have been over- or under-estimated. Second, there might be some spill-over effects, as students might simultaneously have attended both reformed and unreformed modules, which could have diluted the treatment effects. The study also has a limitation that might have constrained the generalisability of the findings. The modules that met the inclusion criteria for analysis were only a subsample of available modules as we only included 10 reformed and 10 comparator modules that met the inclusion and exclusion criteria.
In what ways has the RICT fostered a stronger sense of relevance between module content and the lived realities and histories of students from minority ethnic backgrounds?

**The impact of the RICT on minority ethnic and White student experiences of the curricula**

The qualitative accounts illustrate some of the transformative effects and potential of the RICT in relation to improving minority ethnic students’ senses of satisfaction, trust and belongingness. This was specifically in relation to its ability to increase opportunities to explore race; increase relatability of course content to students’ lived experiences; and to enhance the general levels of student enjoyment in relation to course content.

The accounts also sketch out some of the causal factors which underpin the persistent uneven experiences of relatability to course content for students of colour, despite the launch of the toolkit across all of their degree modules. Finally, and equally important, the accounts provide empirically substantiated insights into the challenges for achieving assessment, degree award and course satisfaction parity across degree programmes through the employment of module-focused interventions alone.

**The influence of the RICT on fostering Satisfaction, Relatability and Enjoyment in module course content**

**The RICT and its influence on increasing levels of student satisfaction**

**Black sociology student focus group**

For the most part, Black Sociology focus group participants reported noteworthy increases in their opportunities to learn about race in their sociology modules and related reading this year when compared to their experiences in previous years (where applicable). This facilitated higher levels of satisfaction among the participants. Sociology students were not formally briefed about the introduction of the RICT in their modules. Consequently, participants often linked any increases in opportunities to study race in their module content to wider political movements, such as the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020. This was instead of connecting these changes to the university’s commitment to anti-racism and racial inclusion work.

"I think they are making it better. I think they are making changes. I think since the spark of last year’s Black Lives Matter and the George Floyd incident ... staff are beginning to realise the changes they need to make within each module. It looks like they’ve already made it, like you said, in Debbie’s case, she’s got a whole module on something that’s
been changed and updated. For example, I’m doing [Anonymised module] this year, in third year, which is really interesting. So, you can do any social movements you want. We’re doing a presentation [and] loads of people are doing Black Lives Matter…”  
(Level 3 Black Sociology student)

"In one of my modules, I’m doing this year … our lecturer said he’s made quite a few changes from the year beforehand. So, I know we’ve got a whole one of the idea of ideology and how that impacts, how different ideologies can impact on race and things … [H]e’s then added a part of it which looks at nationalism and the rise of EDL, and things like that. So, they’ve changed it in a way to make it more approachable and more representative, because by adding that part of nationalism in the sense of the EDL and things like that, you can relate it back to race. So there is more diversity. So I think they’re changing it slightly to make it more diverse, and more accessible to everyone.”  
(Level 3 Black Sociology student)

"I wouldn’t say there’s loads [of opportunities to learn about race], [Y]ou’re not going to get a module that’s talking about you particularly, but you are going to find bits of you. You know, race and sexuality and sexism in every single module is just sort of scattered, which I think is really important…”  
(Level 2 Black Sociology student)

"I think things may have shifted a bit because, for example, in [anonymised module title], you can’t pick what essay you want to do, but you can pick what reading you want to do. So, I can choose within this list which is more appropriate for me … So I think it is, in that sense, quite cool, yes.”  
(Level 1 Black Sociology student)

Campbell (2022) argues that making racial inclusion work visible to the student body is central to building positive relations and increasing feelings of trust between the academe and those within the student body who are from minority ethnic backgrounds. This is especially important for reassuring students who have been routinely treated differently in education and wider social life to their White peers because of their racialized identities, that the university is a safe space that recognizes their realities, is committed to anti-racism, and a space where they are treated equitably and accounted for in course content (ibid.).

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**South Asian sociology student focus group**

Like their Black peers, South Asian sociology participants had also noticed and welcomed some increases in opportunities to learn about race in content and assessment. They pointed out that while opportunities to study race were still comparatively limited when compared to the general Whiteness that characterised the other topics explored on their course, these moments appeared to boost their interest and senses of satisfaction and belonging in the module.

“… I have been able to talk about my own interests in pretty much all of my chosen modules, yes”  
(Level 3 South Asian Sociology student)

“I was surprised to see that most of my final assessments had included South Asians … but it was a good surprise.”  
(Level 3 South Asian Sociology student)

**White sociology student focus group**

The White sociology students in our study similarly rehearsed this sentiment. They too had noticed more opportunities to explore race this year (when compared to previous years, where applicable). They were also the group who appeared to express the highest levels of satisfaction in relation to opportunities to explore race in module content. Paradoxically, however, they were also the group who were most sceptical of the ways in which discussions of race, for them, appeared to take place too briefly and sporadically across their taught modules. For some, this prompted anxieties about racial tokenism.

"How the course is structured [now] I think is better.”  
(Level 2 White Sociology student)

"In my module … we actually had a section dedicated to African writers and African filmmakers, and I think that was very nice, but at the same time, it felt like it was ticking a box. I don’t understand why does it have to be a specific lecture just about African academics. Why do we have to just make it look like it’s something set aside from the rest of the module instead of incorporating it fully?”  
(Level 3 White Sociology student)

"I am afraid that this conquest to diversify the curriculum [will only] result in the university ticking boxes like… just sprinkle, sprinkle, sprinkle without really [meaningfully] changing the content and how things are taught, so I just wanted to put that in.”  
(Level 2 White Sociology student)
The RICT and increases of opportunities for students from minority backgrounds to relate to course content

Black sociology student focus group

Black sociology students were keen to highlight some increases in opportunities to discuss and relate module content and assessment to their own lived experiences and biographies as people of colour, especially in the optional modules that they had chosen (this year). Or increase in opportunities to use these aspects of their identities as legitimate lenses for sociological enquiry.

"[My module] was very much how White people perceive ethnic minorities and how ethnic minorities perceive each other. I thought that was really interesting. I’m really happy that I was able to experience that in first year already, especially with my background that was very whitewashed, if that makes sense. To just see a flip side to things... It was very much ethnic minority focused, which I really enjoyed and found interesting.”
(Level 1 Black Sociology student)

"... [We] definitely see ourselves being represented, and you see a bit of you in what is being taught. I’m now really looking forward to second year and third year.”
(Level 1 Black Sociology student)

"I think [some of our modules] echo voices of [diverse] people, like, everyone. It goes from men and women, it covers most classes, all classes, most ethnicities. I think the only difficult thing is because sociology is grounded in theory, there’s only so much diversity you can get from a theory ... [F]or example, if we’re doing history, it’s easier to have diversity, because there’s not just the history of Britain, there’s the history of every country... [B]ut it’s a little bit more difficult in sociology, just because of the theory that it’s grounded in.”
(Level 3 Black Sociology student)

Increased relatability was clearly impactful in relation to increasing Black student participants’ interest in course content, satisfaction with modules, their senses of belonging and even their retention on the degree. They also capture how for many, the reverse was also true. As one student pointedly remarked ‘if they’re not going to teach about Black people, [then] I don’t care [about the subject].’
South Asian sociology student focus group

An increase in opportunities to explore race in their course content in a general sense was corroborated in the testimonies of the South Asian heritage participants. However, it was apparent that the majority of these new opportunities did not apply directly to the(ir) South Asian experience.

“There’s not much focus on South Asians ... I think there’s [some] focus on Black people, which I’m not complaining about, but it does make the course a little... less relatable for me, as a South Asian. Because I’d like to write about my type [too].”
(Level 2 South Asian Sociology student)

“I think, for me, I find it interesting, and it has taught me a lot generally. But I don’t think anything has... I haven’t learned about something where I’m like: ‘Oh my God, that’s me! Oh my God, this directly impacts me!’”
(South Asian Sociology Student Level 3)

“I don’t think I’ve been able to discuss my own lived experiences, only in one essay...”
(South Asian Sociology Student Level 3)

South Asian students who were practicing Muslims in particular remarked that opportunities to explore the intersections of religion and race in late modern Britain as it related to their lived experiences as people who were British, South Asian and of the Islamic faith remained rare. Interestingly, South Asian participants were also keen to comment that for the most part, their feelings of ‘relatability’ to the university were more likely to be tied to their experiences of being a part of a racially diverse student body (and related societies) and/or connected to their proximity to a racially diverse city than they were facilitated by their module content. Moreover, when opportunities to explore the South Asian experience in their content did arise, they felt that these were generally due to the politics or research interests of particular lecturers, who were especially interested in the experience of South Asian communities. They were not seen as the result of university commitments to race equity.

“The reasons why we wanted to come to Leicester is because it’s so diverse. But yet in our lectures, we’re not actually taught anything about other communities or other cultures.”
(Level 3 South Asian Sociology student)

“I feel like hijabs should ... be brought up and how the West sees it as oppression, but it’s not. I think that would be good to be brought up in a future module. I feel like hijabs should be a topic that should be brought up and how it’s not oppression as the West sees it. It’s actually really liberating, and just things that deconstruct stereotypes.”
(Level 2 South Asian Sociology student)

“Some of the modules I’ve chosen because I know that they are relatable to me. So for example, I did [a] fashion [based module] ... So I think the modules that you can choose are quite relatable, yes.”
(Level 3 South Asian Sociology student)
White sociology student focus group

It was mainly White sociology students who appeared to be the most satisfied with opportunities to relate course content to their own lives but also, for the opportunity to study sociology through the lenses of the other communities that constitute the UK.

“For someone who’s only ever been taught by White males and females, it definitely was more diverse than I’ve ever had before ... As also the fact that we did a whole module on race and ethnicity, that obviously, really helped. But I’m not going to lie, I didn’t really pay much attention to it. I was more trying to pay attention to ... settling in rather than looking at or paying special attention to the readings, who we were being asked to look at, and that kind of thing.”

Importantly, the accounts also speak to a contrast in the transformational value of a racially pluralized and inclusive curricula for students of colour when compared to White peers. For White students, opportunities to study content through the lenses of other racialized groups appears to be interesting but ultimately novel. For students of colour, the opportunity to see themselves within the fabric of the educational content and narratives that shape and construct our understandings of self and modern Britain was rare, welcome and ultimately transformative. This was the case even if it did not conclusively translate into in higher or a more even distribution of award outcomes between students of colour and their White peers (see discussion of quantitative findings below).

The RICT and facilitating higher levels of enjoyment in relation to module content

For all participants, enjoyment was intimately connected to the ability to relate module content to their biographies explicitly or implicitly, and vice versa. This was especially the case for participants from minority ethnic backgrounds. Of course, we must avoid essentialising the education-based experiences of students of colour. Assessing levels of student enjoyment as something that has a simple and direct correlation to the content in their curricula is not such an exact formular. Students of colour are much more complicated than simply enjoying modules about race in such an essentialist way. For example, one Black sociology student remarked that she particularly liked modules on film and on autobiographies as she liked movies and kept a diary. Likewise, the following Black student explained:

"I’m interested in the topics rather than [if] they’re related to me. The [anonymised module title], I was interested in it, but I didn’t relate to it. The same with the [module on] sex. I guess [the] beauty [module] I did in a way because it was more like we spoke about social media and how models have been shown on social media.”

(Level 3 Black Sociology student)

In most cases, however, both Black and South Asian student participants remarked that they had most enjoyed modules centred on race and or the parts within modules where they could engage with content or authors that were directly applicable to their experiences and biographies – and the toolkit had made a positive impact here.

"I really, really enjoyed that module, ... It was really interesting to see the reality of how things are in Britain ... So it was really nice to figure out something showing you about your race as well. Like, I thought I knew what being Black was, but clearly, I didn’t. I remember there was one part in the module about colourism and the beauty industry, and being Black, and from being really interested in fashion and beauty, I was like woah, there’s so much stuff here that is just not right. So, yes, I found that really, really good.”

(Level 3 Black Sociology student)

"I did [anonymised module], and again, we looked at the impacts of the fact that being a woman is difficult enough, but being a Black woman, or a migrant woman coming to this country, is also more difficult. That kind of intersectionality and the approach with that was really interesting to look at, because you think, oh, I’m a woman, I have to face all this
adversity, and then on top of that, there are women who also are of colour, which means they have another disadvantage in society. Again, I’ve seen that a bit. My mum would say you’ve got to work harder if you’re a woman of an ethnic minority, or you just have to keep on pushing, because people have this sort of preconception of what you’re able to do. So, I’d heard about it from my mum and my grandma, but I hadn’t really thought about it by myself and looked at it through a sociological lens.”
(Level 2 Black Sociology Student)

“So I did a course [and] it was called [anonymised module title], and that was one of the first courses that actually spoke about Asian people and Black people. And I got to do a piece of writing that was on minority ethnic groups, so I found that was really interesting compared to my other courses.”
(Level 3 South Asian Sociology student)

“I really enjoyed doing race and racism in Britain last semester. I thought it was really interesting … This term, we’re doing [anonymised module title], which I’m enjoying too...”
(Level 1 South Asian Sociology student)

“[Anonymised module] is probably the worst one [module] personally. But the best one’s Race. Race because … that’s what I’m most interested in if I was to do a dissertation. That was probably the best one.”
(Level 1 Black Sociology student)

The last comment also illustrates how enjoyment was contrasted with disinterest in modules and module content which did not appear to correspond directly with their own lives. Interestingly, here, most of the modules that the students of colour in our sample did not appear to enjoy were those which were centred on theory or research methods. These were also generally perceived by students and staff as topics which were race-less and/or not applicable to discussions of race.

“The content that I don’t really like is the ones that we have to do, which is social theory. I always find them really boring. I find them boring because they’re old and not the now. Our option modules can always be applied to the now in the present. But when it’s the social theory, I find that boring.”
(Level 3 South Asian Sociology student)

White student participants’ enjoyment appeared to be dependent on a greater variety of factors than it was for their peers of colour. Several White student participants explained how they especially welcomed and enjoyed exploring sociology through the views, histories and experiences of racialized groups and/or through related conceptual frames. However, their enjoyment did not appear to be as dependent on these opportunities as it were for participants of colour.

“For me, I did best in [anonymised module title] … I think with the race [based module], I did a bit better in it, but it still was something that I struggled with quite a lot because … it was just something that was quite new. However, with this [non race-based sociology module], it was concepts that I was [already] very familiar with.”
(Level 1 White Sociology student)

“I got pretty similar marks in all of the modules the first term. The one I did best in was the race one, which I kind of expected because when it came to doing the assessments I enjoyed the assessments more … [because] I really liked what I was talking about and writing about with my race one. But I wasn’t always as passionate about the [other] sociology [and] practice ones. I don’t remember them, but I definitely remember really enjoying the race ones … With the race ones, I really enjoyed being able to apply what I’d learnt, and learn new things as well through the readings and research that I did for the essay. So, I definitely enjoyed those ones more.”
(Level 1 White Sociology student)
The negative impacts of wider structural and educational sub-cultural factors on the efficacy of the RICT in relation to improving student experiences of inclusion in taught curricula

The sociology students’ evaluative accounts provided important insights to some of the wider structural issues that had a negative impact on the efficacy of the RICT intervention, as a facilitator for positive change.

Limitations of the RICT as an intervention which focuses solely on change at the module level, for racially pluralizing the curricula

The RICT supports curriculum development by providing teaching staff with strategies to better and more effectively include race as one of multiple lenses through which students explore their module’s content. However, students across all of the sociology focus groups expressed some frustration at what they perceived to be a too often piecemeal approach to studying race and in turn, what some perceived to be a superficial study of race across modules and the course more widely.

A typical module format consists of 10/12 weekly lectures and seminars, which explore a thematic area of sociology, such as, drugs, youth, health or wellbeing. Each week, the central theme is often explored from a different viewpoint. For example, a module on health might spend one- or two-weeks exploring health through the inflection of race. Then a week or two on class, gender and so on.

One consequence of employing this format, is that it leaves module convenors with little scope or room to explore race deeply; or to explore a broad(er) range of experiences of race; or to explore the experiences of lots of different minority ethnic groups in the UK and in the global north and south.

"[W]e did a module, and ... and it was two-sided. It was White or Black ... There was no Korean, Asian... It was just frustrating... We [got] to cover Black people ... and LGBTQ+ people... That was it. Done. Move on, and it just seems a bit mad."

(Level 3 White Sociology student)

"[E]ven for us there’s not been that many option to even pick a race module ... I don’t think there’s been any really. I think Magda [the module convenor] briefly talks about [it in her modules] and then for my dissertation, [but that’s] just purely because we can pick anything we want to. By chance, I’m doing something about race. But I don’t think I’ve ever been taught anything [just] about race whilst being at university."

(Level 3 Black Sociology student)

These testimonies are important and shine light on some of the related-limitations of employing interventions for racially pluralizing taught curricula which are focused primarily at the module level. Exploring race primarily via the RICT intervention means that race is explored in a fragmented way across different modules. Moreover, the siloed nature of module construction (that is often without knowledge of what content is included in other modules) means that this can often lead to the same raced groups being over- or under-represented as conceptual frames, or case study examples across the degree programme.
To ensure that certain groups are not over- or under-represented requires careful and strategic mapping at the course level. This is the only way to ensure that ‘who’ is included, is balanced and representative of all the groups we serve as global and 21st century HEPs.

**A racially inclusive curricula requires both interventions for racially diversifying content and a racially diverse faculty**

The student testimonies indicated some of the potential of the RICT for improving the levels of racial inclusion and satisfaction in module content. They also and unequivocally demonstrated that a racially inclusive curricula also required a diverse and representative faculty alongside a faculty that was racially literate. The accounts of the participants of colour, clearly indicated that they appreciated more opportunities to explore race and related topics in their content (which was enhanced by the RICT). However, students also pressed the importance of who taught them, in addition to what they were taught.

"And I think [a racially diverse faculty] it's 100% important. So, for example, how Beth was saying how [Magda] uses her own examples [from her own life experiences] and talks about her identity as well, which is what we need! Their own personal experiences. Or their personal culture, or identity, or ethnicity, or race. And bringing it towards the lecture and the literature is what makes it so beautiful. Your experience and who you are. And then relating it back to literature. And just the way you convey it is just so much better. And I feel like, and this is not anything got to do with White people and hating on them, it's literally, just being able to have different types of lecturers. And I think I had one Asian lecturer that I can remember in my whole three years [here]. That's ridiculous! And one Black woman, which was Magda. Other than that, all of them were White, I think."

(L3 South Asian Sociology student)

"[A more ethnically diverse faculty]: For me that's actually the thing that could make my course more enjoyable because so far, 90% of my lecturers are White and usually male. So, I think that's the problem that they actually don't know the actual feeling that the person might have felt at that moment. So, I think it would be more enjoyable to just hire more staff that actually have the experience from before or of different backgrounds."

Importantly, the testimonies clearly show that the importance of having a racially diverse faculty was not something that was of an abstract, moral or ethical value. It was something which provided key and clear education, pedagogy and pastoral functions for all students. Pedagogically, for example, student participants from all focus groups asserted that it added a more authentic voice and authority that flavored, enhanced and made more meaningful the learning experience.

Likewise, the accounts illustrated that a racially representative staff body improved motivation, retention and interest among minority ethnic students, as well as filling the void in the current lack of role models from minority ethnic backgrounds currently within academe, especially for women of colour.

"You can see that they're, especially as women, they're breaking through the glass ceiling. They’re doing it! They’re being lecturers. And they’re also of colour as well ... Like Beth literally said, having women of colour, it’s amazing to see, and you’re like, wow, I can also do it!"

(L3 Black Sociology student)

"I think it [not having lecturers from similar racial backgrounds to her] really does effect my work ethic. I think, because I don't know if this sounds very Freudian, but it's like when I have someone that looks like my parents, it sounds so weird, but if I have someone that looks like my family, I want to do them proud. So, it’s like, I want to show you how well I can do."

(L3 South Asian Sociology student)
"But if I have someone that doesn't look like me, or looks like someone that I don't particularly like, or looks like someone that, you know, we're not on the same page, I won't feel driven to do well, especially if I'm not pushed by that person, or being told ... I think it is really important to have people that look like you, because it helps you to do better. It's like, I want to do you proud, because this thing is a lot bigger than just two people. This is two people of colour who are trying to fight the narrative that Black people, or people of colour, can't do well."

(Level 3 Black Sociology student)

"So, I feel like if a lecturer has actually been through it themselves and they're talking about this, it will just be a bit more natural. And we know that they're actually speaking because they understand ... It's so easy to talk about stuff when it hasn't affected you... So, for example, if a White person tries to talk about being dark-skinned. I'd be like, 'do you even understand how it's like to be even bullied by your own family for being dark?' You wouldn't understand! So, for them to even educate, I'd get a bit annoyed because they don't understand. But if this was actually a dark [skinned] person talking about this, I would be like, oh my God, thank God! You actually understand what I'm trying to say."

(Level 2 South Asian Sociology student)

The limitations of voluntary participation in race inclusion work for disrupting European centred curricula

For students, topics like social theory were often perceived to be 'off limits' for race and generally thought to be something which was 'objective' and as such, unable to be explored through the lens of race, which was perceived to be a lens which was entirely 'subjective'.

This situation was consistent with the experiences and views of students and staff across the three other sample courses and subscribed to by White, South Asian and Black student participants.

"So physical geography in my first year, a lot of the lecturers, they're just there just to teach you about the subject. They don't really care about where you're from and stuff. But human geography, because obviously, what Jay said as well, it is more about people."

(Level 1 South Asian Physical Geography student)

"In terms of my course [Physical Geography], there's none of 'that' [race focused content]. Whereas with Sandeep's [Social Geography], I imagine they have a lot of that. To keep it short in this answer, I think, with my course, there's literally nothing to do with relating that aspect of things to my course."

(Level 1 South Asian Physical Geography student)

"[Race and related concepts] doesn't really come to mind because, like Harry said, we don't really talk about people that much in the course. It's mainly just concepts, so it's not really something that I've thought about."

(Level 1 White Chemistry student)

Of course, these testimonies fail to account or acknowledge the Eurocentric and Whitened narrative and hegemony in which (social) theory is constructed, learned and taught. Put simply, despite the introduction of the RICT across all sociology modules, in most cases ‘Whiteness’ remained the de-facto way of perceiving, comprehending, explaining and delivering theory. For some participants of colour, this situation prompted a counter-reaction - a resultant disinterest in theory.

The role of the RICT in the student experience then is not just about increasing relatability of content but also providing a more holistic understanding of the construction of knowledge itself. Failure to engage with the RICT, or any racial inclusion intervention, is potentially what we might describe as an indirect act of ‘Whiteness’ making in action.
While this situation is perhaps unsurprising and consistent with a well-held view found especially within the natural sciences, on the surface, these ideas appear surprising in sociology modules, given the fact that the RICT provides explicit support and instruction on how to begin to ‘disrupt’ teaching in all areas, including social theory.

It suggests that the effectiveness of this and other toolkits depend greatly on the fullness in which interventions are engaged with by staff and the levels of support, guidance and formal training provided to staff from HEPs. It reminds us that the efficacy of the interventions such as the RICT can be rendered largely ineffective without sufficient institutional edict, support and appropriate training.

The limitations of employing solely a Horizontal framework for racially inclusive curricula

The RICT fits within what I describe as a Horizontal Model or frame for making curricula racially inclusive. That is, all modules at one level of study on a degree programme are adapted to contain opportunities for students to explore and/or disrupt the module’s core themes through the lens of race (in addition to host of other lenses chosen by the module convenor).

By contrast a Vertical Model approach, is where each level of study on a degree programme contains a sole and specific module that is tasked with providing students with a counter-narrative that disrupts the general Eurocentric and White knowledge canon that characterizes the discipline.

Participant accounts illustrate some of the ways in which a structural change to the sociology degree at Level 1 also contributed to a schism within the taught experiences of Level 1 sociology students when compared to their Level 2 and 3 peers. All sociology modules trialled the toolkit and were provided with introductory instructions/guidelines for how to disrupt and pluralise the general Eurocentric epistemologies that characterise content, assessment and practice (embracing a horizontal model for a racially inclusive curriculum). Additionally, Level 1 students also had a new module explicitly focused on exploring race and ethnicity.

It was apparent that first year students whose learning experience took place within a combined horizontal and vertical framework were the most satisfied. So much so, that when Level 2 and 3 Black student participants heard about these new opportunities for learning about race more fully and expansively given to their Level 1 peers in a dedicated module (that was in addition to the increases in studying race across their modules discussed throughout), they remarked that they had wished they had also experienced this dual approach.

"I feel like the fact that Debbie's got a whole module on race, that’s been updated ... I didn’t have that, and I think Zoe said she didn’t have that either. So, they’ve brought that into it... I would have liked that too!" (Level 3 Black Sociology student)

"Yes, I keep on talking about this module, but it’s the only one that was me. If that makes sense? So, yes [the race module] kind of hit the nail on the head with anyone that was a minority. I remember I was talking to the other Black students on my course [and] they were, like, ‘woah, they’re talking about us!’ You never really, especially in other subjects, you never really see, like, you being talked about, especially if you’re a minority, and especially with [in] history. In the UK, Black history is not really talked about in the depth that we would want it to be. But [the race module], especially it being taught by a Black man, we were, ‘woah, this is great!’ Yes, we definitely see ourselves being represented, and you see a bit of you in what is being taught. I’m now really looking forward to second year and third year.” (Level 1 Black Sociology student)

These testimonies are important and speak to the limitations of the toolkit as an intervention for making curricular racially diverse, and of focusing solely on interventions at the module level. Without the employment of singular and specific modules on race, which provides additional space for a deeper and broader study of race (applied and or theoretical), alongside interventions such as the RICT, means that race is at risk of only being explored in a fragmented and potentially superficial way across the curricula.
In what ways has the RICT improved the racial literacy and confidence of addressing race (inclusion) in module content for teaching staff

Improving levels of racial literacy among sociology staff

Participants were especially cognisant of a general lack of academic and pedagogical consensus around what decolonizing curricula ‘is’, and a lack of institutional direction on what this looked like in their module content and related practice at UOL and across the sector. Against this general lack of direction on decolonizing and by extension racial inclusion work, participants asserted that the RICT was especially helpful. It provided them with what some described as a ‘beginner’s guide’, which offered ‘useful first steps’ for ‘reflecting on their practice and thinking about how to decolonise their work’.

Staff were also keen to press that the RICT was particularly useful for educators at all levels who were committed to the principle of racial inclusion but may not be race specialists, and thus not familiar with how racial inclusion translated into best practice at the module or course level. The following accounts illustrate how for people who constituted this group, which included many of the participants, the clear and practical guidelines for best racial inclusion practice offered in the RICT were not only helpful but transformative.

“[I]t’s a useful tool, absolutely. I suppose I see it as a kind of ongoing process ... [W]e’re quite fortunate in sociology, because we’re doing some of these things already. Not all of them. What I think it helps to do, is it helps to give a bit more clarity in terms of what we’re doing, and I think the key thing is that it gives an opportunity to actually reflect a bit on what we’re doing. So, I’m doing some reflecting myself, and thinking, okay, well am I doing these things?” (Mid-career Sociology Academic)

I think [the RICT’s] great, easy to understand and a good starting point for all teaching staff... [A]s a [new teacher]... pedagogy-wise, the toolkit has made a huge difference. It has given me more confidence to discuss topics such as white privilege...” (Early-career Sociology Academic)

Others reported that the RICT helped them to ‘operationalise’ (turn into practice) some of the more abstract and broader philosophical instructions of decolonizing work. For them, it struck the right balance between offering practical recommendations for change and conceptual exposition (the pedagogical and theoretical rationale behind the instruction).

“What I liked about it was that it kind of operationalised some of those more abstract principles. When you talk about epistemologies of the South or disrupting colonial epistemologies, well,
what does that actually mean? And it’s got more than just putting non-White authors on to your reading list. And what I liked was it nicely kept between that level of it’s just about these specific things, you’re going to have 20% of non-White authors on your reading list on the one hand, and on the other, it still had another depth to say that there is a broader philosophical point that’s underpinning this.”

(Senior-career Sociology Academic)

“[I]t provides a starting point for thinking about these issues, and [because] the bar is so low, I think that you need something that is going to be very straightforward, and that people can engage with and start thinking about it.”

(Senior-career Sociology Academic)

“I think it really does a very good job. I think on the one hand, suggesting here’s generally the thrust of what we’re trying to do with decolonising the curriculum. And here’s some very good suggestions with regards to assessment, with regards to pedagogy, with regards to lectures and content and so on, that could be useful for a staff who may have not really thought very much about this. So, I think it’s a good beginner’s guide.”

(Mid-career Sociology Academic)

“I think [the RICT] gets the right balance between basic steps like thinking about images used in teaching- and often more complicated revision of thematic content.”

(Senior-career Sociology Academic)

Impressively, the RICT provided a framework and strategies which helped participants enhance their own race inclusion best practice and develop their practice beyond the original scope and recommendations offered in the resource. In short, the RICT provided a framework which enabled module convenors to synthesise new ways of making their own teaching practice inclusive to students from other marginalised groups and/or protected characteristics who were not directly accounted for in the original aims of the intervention, such as international students.

“It’s been a useful guidance for me…. This is a process I’ve engaged in anyway as an exchange tutor for the, probably, last five years … But I had gone down this road of internationalising the curriculum. It’s probably only in the past few years that the issue of race and decolonising curriculum in this sense have become more significant for me.”

(Senior-career Sociology Academic)

Testimonies also indicated that the RICT provided staff at all levels of experience and career stages with strategies that improved their own levels of confidence with regards to engaging with general issues of race more openly with their students:

“[P]edagogy-wise, the toolkit has made a huge difference. It has given me more confidence to discuss topics such as White privilege...”

(Early-career Sociology Academic)

“I found it really, really helpful. It’s given me lots of concrete ideas on things that I can do in my modules to question the power relations ... I really like the definition from toolkit about what decolonising actually means. So, it’s about questioning what counts as knowledge... So, I’ve really taken that to heart. And, actually, I’ve gone more than that... And I’ve explicitly tried to introduce that into my assessments as well ... I’ve asked the students to relate to concepts in the module from their own experiences.”

(Mid-career Sociology Academic)

“It’s also encouraging me to do something at Leicester that I was doing anyway..... Which was to think about the importance of race, colonialism in classroom settings as well... Although that’s been interesting because we have quite a number of BAME students, obviously, at undergraduate level. It’s been interesting working with them in terms of issues of race and culture, or race and communication. And that’s been a new learning process for me, in terms of supervising projects around this... But what I have been very much encouraging students from the BAME background to do is to engage with issues of postcolonialism or race or terror. Their current context in the UK as a representative of the BAME community and investigate that... It’s about being open and not being prescriptive about what students should be studying.”

(Mid-career Sociology Academic)
A tool for supporting ‘meaningful reflection’ and change

In terms of impact in relation to fostering inclusive best-practice, the RICT was effective in helping teaching-staff reflect on the kinds of racial inequities that might exist within their own pedagogical practice or module content. In doing so, it appeared to improve individual’s confidence to meaningfully reflect on, and take ownership of, the decolonizing process as it pertains to their own module content.

Put simply, the toolkit appeared to be a powerful tool for fostering meaningful reflection. Importantly here, this was not solely an abstract or cerebral activity but an exercise in reflection which resulted in direct action and/or change in the following areas of pedagogical practice or module content.

Reading lists

In a general sense, reading lists have been an area of much critical attention and debate within the decolonizing Higher Education conversation. Given this situation, it was perhaps unsurprising that reading lists were a source of considerable anxiety for participants. This was especially the case in relation to issues such as: What constitutes a decolonized reading list? The RICT’s two-pronged approach (which was to provide a numerical target and b) a critical narrative and clear guidance of what (might) constitute(s) a racially inclusive reading list in addition to an arbitrary numerical target) was especially well received. For participants, the RICT doubled as a reference point and a check and balance for evaluating the levels of diversity within their module reading lists. Additionally, they claimed that it also helped them more confidently engage students as co-producers within the construction of new reading lists and other related course materials.

"That’s probably where it’s had more impact on me than anything else. It’s about going back and saying, what sources am I using? Where have these perspectives come from? And amending those to some extent. It’s ongoing at the moment, in my own planning, modules, programmes etc.”
(Senior-career Sociology Academic)

"It’s clearly encouraged me to interrogate much more if we’re still working with these kinds of colonial structures, systems, intellectual values and cultures etc. in our teaching and learning experiences. And the other area where it’s impacting me is just the source material. That’s pretty much been impacted, what we’re thinking there.”
(Mid-career Sociology Academic)
Terminology

The RICT aided participants’ ability to identify and problematize the manifestations of assumed knowledge and related power relations that existed within the terminology and language they employed in their content. For example, some module convenors commented on how the RICT had prompted them to reflect on the colonial foundations within which classical sociological theories and accepted epistemologies were constructed. This process of reflection also included identifying and challenging the ways in which these ideas are often presented as neutral or universal within their module content.

The accounts below indicate how the RICT provided a framework that helped staff engage in a process of revisiting and reworking lecture material, which were described by one senior academic as things which are not just ‘neutral technical concept[s]’ but ideas that are ‘mobilised in the service of cultural racism.’ Others responded by involving students as co-creators in the construction of knowledge/content and even within the formation of assignment questions. It also encouraged staff to include students in partnership to co-create shared consensus of terms that were often either culturally specific or greatly influenced by particular White and western lenses. Others remarked that the RICT aligned with the social justice pedagogical philosophies that already influenced their general teaching practice and thus, doubled as a form of reassurance for confirming the good practice that they already employed.

“I think that’s a big thing. This kind of reflection …. This helps to reflect on what we’re doing [in classical sociology]. You’re thinking, ‘am I perpetuating these problematic power imbalances and issues?’” (Senior-career Sociology Academic)

“You tend to think about yourself as giving knowledge to the students … [But now] you’re co-producing knowledge, which of course is actually a far more radical thing …. So [the RICT helps with] how do I genuinely do that. And it meant actually changing very much the format of how I teach, [enabling] people [to] bring their experiences into the learning process. How you involve students. So, that was useful for me [because] I’ve been doing this since [the] 199[0s]!” (Senior-career Sociology Academic)

A tool for making Quantitative sociology more relevant to all students

The toolkit appeared to also be helpful for participants who were specialists in quantitative-based methodologies and approaches. The academics surveyed here were already committed to general principles of social justice and subscribed to the importance of making this particular sub-division within the discipline more racially inclusive. However, here and historically, academics in quantitative-based areas of social enquiry have often found difficulty in comprehending how decolonizing and racial inclusion work applies to what is often considered to be an area of social (and natural) science that is neutral. As such, ‘how’ and ‘where to begin’ to make this particular area of
study more racially inclusive, has long been a source of puzzlement and frustration for participants.

"But people do have this kind of anxiety that am I going to do this [making their content racially inclusive] right? Or how am I going to do this? Or how much work is this going to be? Or how am I going to do it quickly enough."
(Mid-career Sociology Academic)

In this case, the RICT proved helpful by providing strategies for making quantitative-based module content more relatable and applicable to racially diverse cohorts of students. This was achieved via directing staff to focus on disrupting and pluralising the narratives and case-studies through which quantitative analyses are explained, explored and applied. The following accounts illustrate how for some participants, this represented what they described as a ‘eureka’ moment in developing their own racial literacy.

"I found it very useful in terms of making me aware that one way that I hadn’t thought of, probably, as much about in my teaching, because it’s methods teaching, is the use of examples. And this wasn’t something that I’d explored, and the toolkit alerted me to that … But I think that the breakthrough, and this is where the toolkit really helped, was you don’t have to necessarily rethink from the ground up straightaway."
(Mid-career Sociology Academic)

"I can use it and say, we’ll look at attainment between ethnic groups in education, for example. That’s easy, it’s an area I know. And just broaden it. And I kind of try and now look at any example and say, I’m going to try and pick an example that relates to some kind of inequality or minority group [experience, that] the students will all be familiar with it."
(Mid-career Sociology Academic)

"[In] terms of assessment that is something I thought, how can I do that? But of course, again, the examples came to my rescue because I can say well I’m getting students to interpret graphs and charts. Well, what’s in that graph and chart? I’ve got control about that. If I want to have something on race and ethnicity, I can find graphs and charts really simply … So I found that once I started doing this, my initial fear was that I wouldn’t be able to do it, I didn’t have the expertise. [But] I think once you get the ball rolling [with the RICT] then it [making content more relatable to all student experiences] actually comes quite easily."
(Mid-career Sociology Academic)

A useful tool for helping race specialists to make their content even more relevant

The RICT was also a useful tool for reflection for staff who were already engaged in anti-racism and race-inclusion work. In this case, it helped participants, who were race specialists, to question the ways in which their content was often overly centred on the experiences
of particular communities or was informed by particular epistemological viewpoints.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the perspectives prioritised within module content often reflect academics’ own research interests and biographies. For example, one lecturer explained that their interest in racial inequities in European nation states translated into an epistemological over-focus on the racial history in this part of the world. In a globally diverse classroom, this inadvertently placed domicile students, who were more likely to be familiar with the socio-political history of racial inequality in Europe, at an advantage over their peers from non-western states or the global south (who were less likely to be familiar with these narratives). This prompted them to revisit and review the module content, and to open it up to include, apply or relate content to a broader range of global experiences (and of inequalities), which might better relate to students from both the global north and south, and offer more opportunities to explore race through the students’ own geo-political contexts:

"I think what was really interesting was trying to make sure that it represents all of our students. So, to give an example, I did a module on race, and all of my students were international students, but all the questions were about exploring the experience of race in the UK. So, immediately what that meant was my international students were going to be doubly tested by the question. One, not just on their understanding on race and communities, but they would have to understand these through the UK lens. So, just thinking about the fact that all the questions were centred in the UK context meant that I was marginalising anybody who wasn't from the UK. So, even in that sense, I had to then quickly take that part out of the questions to make sure that there was an equalising and that actually they were allowed to explore race in the context of their own national experiences. So, just even in that, thinking about integrating it, I think it's been quite helpful in forcing even me, who's a race expert, to reflect on the ways in which my practices prioritise certain groups.”

(Mid-career Sociology Academic)
Some limitations of the efficacy of the RICT for improving racial literacy among staff

Importantly, the staff participants’ testimonies highlighted a number of what were described as structural, political and practical issues, which impacted negatively on the efficacy of the RICT, or on staffs’ ability to fully and evenly embed it into their practice.

Workload, space and time

Participants pointed to an overly congested workload and related pressures as a core factor that limited their ability to engage fully with the toolkit. Staff had not been formally provided any additional time within existing workloads to engage with the RICT or to embed the guidance into their module content by their school or HEP. They explained that the everyday activities that ‘came with the job’, such as administrative responsibilities, marking, research, and grant capture were activities that all bottleneck during the summer months. This is also widely accepted as the period in the calendar when staff were expected to reflect on their teaching practice and modify the following year’s content (as well as take annual leave).

“The biggest issue is related to workload. Some of us have these really quite significant workloads, and I think this is a problem in the school that’s not been addressed, for all sorts of reasons. And so, the biggest thing is time. It’s actually having the opportunity to sit down and reflect about it [embed the RICT into practice] and see what’s happening.”
(Mid-career Sociology Academic)

“The only barrier has been just finding … the time to do it [embed the RICT into practice]. The time to bring in materials and not feel as if I’m just tacking it on to check a box. I would say it’s been on the whole pretty good, but I wish we had more support in terms of the time we had, but that’s part of a larger issue.”
(Mid-career Sociology Academic)

Some were keen to point out that to meaningfully reflect upon, engage and modify their practice in accordance to the guidance presented in the toolkit, required time and space to learn, reflect and make changes. They argued that without this space provided at the institutional level, this would undoubtedly result in only a partial, uneven and superficial engagement with attempts to improve racial inclusion (and related activities) in module content or limited improvement in the levels of racial literacy among peers.

Participants exampled how that to ensure that teaching moved from face-to-face to online modes of delivery during the Covid-19 lockdown, universities across the sector had provided staff with formal training, support and guidance for supporting the transition to blended delivery. HEPs had also provided space by relaxing expectations for research outputs and grant capture.
within promotion and annual targets for colleagues. They argued that similar levels of commitment would be required, if racial inclusion, award gap and anti-racism focused interventions such as the RICT, are to be fully effective.

**Describing the RICT as a resource for decolonizing appeared to have a negative effect**

Participants who were familiar with decolonizing and or anti-racism work were irritated and frustrated by the conceptual and pedagogical inaccuracy of the toolkit’s title. Their point was that decolonizing is a highly complex and multifaceted process, which requires significant levels of systemic change in all core areas across the academe (faculty, curricular, assessment, pastoral systems, staff recruitment and progression, student mental health and wellbeing services, etc.). They rightly pointed out, for example, that it is impossible to decolonize a curriculum with a 2-page document – and to claim so, was misleading and even offensive to some. It also inadvertently signalled a lack of institutional understanding of the full scale of the decolonizing and anti-racism project. As one lecturer, succinctly summed: ‘[decolonizing the curricula is] more complicated than the toolkit ... implies’. To them, the toolkit was instead more accurately viewed as a useful tool for making module content and practice racially inclusive.

"I think the toolkit is useful and helpful. But I think it's about managing the expectation of the toolkit. I think the toolkit works in terms of standardising the baseline practice of making practice much more inclusive across all the modules."

(Mid-career Sociology Academic)

"I think it's [decolonizing a curricula] also much more complicated than the toolkit kind of implies, because it's also a discussion about what higher education is for. And what we are trying to do, what we want our students to be."

(Senior-career Sociology Academic)

"So, for a tool for achieving making our practice more inclusive, more pluralised, centring rates and reflecting, I think it's really, really useful, but I don't think it should be confused with something that achieves decolonising on its own. You're not going to achieve decolonising the curriculum just solely by using this toolkit."

(Mid-career Sociology Academic)

By the same token, participants also expressed concern that the current political debate and misinformation around decolonizing education was likely to leave staff, who were not well-versed with anti-racism and decolonizing debates, wary of, and less inclined to, engage with activities that were branded as ‘decolonizing’.

**The need for more than an introductory resource**

Some participants wanted more than an introductory resources. For them, the toolkit was useful but too brief and thus did not go far enough as a resource for developing their own racial literacy.

"I have to say it was shorter than when I'd heard about it being announced. It wasn't as large a document as I imagined, but I guess it's still in its early stages... It could be useful to people who are at the beginning of their careers, that haven't got as much experience in writing and rewriting curriculum."

(Senior-career Sociology Academic)

**The need for institutional-level leadership and support to ensure standardisation of levels of inclusion across modules and curricula**

In most instances, changes to module content and the extent of the changes remained largely uneven across the taught modules on our test degree. This was despite one of the core objectives of RICT to better standardise the basic levels of racial inclusion across all taught modules. This was perhaps to be expected in light of the uneven levels of staff engagement with the toolkit reported in the quantitative findings below.

The roll out of the toolkit, although encouraged by senior leadership, middle managers and teaching and learning leads, was largely a voluntary exercise – the expectation was that staff would or could do this work within existing workload models and in a standardised way. The exercise was not institutionally mandated and there were no formal expectations of engagement or formal accountability placed on staff to operationalise the toolkit.
Without any formal mandate or accountability placed on module convenors, individual staff were left to decide for themselves the extent to which they complied with the RICT, and ultimately, what racial inclusion instructions to include or overlook. Typically, those that engaged more fully with the intervention were either convenors who had the capacity to implement these changes in their modules, those who prioritised inclusive teaching over other university priorities for research activities, or those who were especially passionate about, directly engaged in, or possessed a prior commitment to race inclusion and decolonizing work.

One potential unforeseen outcome of ‘light handed’ institutional approaches to implementing the RICT, is that it potentially widens the racial inclusion gap that exists between modules. It does this by making module convenors who were already engaging in this work even more effective by comparison to those who were not. Put another way, without the inclusion of formal guidance, space and training to ensure standardised levels of engagement across the faculty, the RICT has the potential to exacerbate existing differences in the levels of racial inclusion that exist between sociology modules, instead of narrow or standardise them.

In what ways has the RICT reduced differences in assessment and award outcomes between students from White and minority ethnic backgrounds

Results

Description of data

Table 6 presents the baseline characteristics (averaged across the three years prior to the intervention) of the reformed versus the comparator modules. We summarised the key patterns of baseline characteristics as below:

- The proportion of advanced modules was exactly the same between reformed and unreformed modules (40%).
- The proportion of compulsory modules was similar between reformed (60%) and unreformed modules (50%).
- The average number of enrolled students, the average proportion of BAME students, and the average module mark of BAME students were all broadly similar between reformed and comparator modules.

In sum, we consider the matching quality based on base characteristics to be adequate.
### Table 6. Baseline characteristics of reformed and comparator modules

#### Descriptive analysis of outcomes

Table 7 presents the descriptive statistics of the primary and exploratory outcomes before and after the “Decolonising the Curriculum Toolkit” was implemented.

It is worth noting that these figures are purely descriptive, and do not imply statistical significance (see section 4.3 for results from the regression analyses). For both outcomes, we observed that, on average, BAME students’ attainment increased post-intervention in the comparator modules, while their performance decreased slightly in the reformed modules.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome measures</th>
<th>Ethnicity group</th>
<th>Condition (reformed status)</th>
<th>Pre-intervention (over up to 3 years) Mean (SD)</th>
<th>Post-intervention Mean (SD)</th>
<th>Descriptive difference in difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Module mark percentile rank</td>
<td>BAME students</td>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>44.0 (29.5)</td>
<td>41.8 (27.9)</td>
<td><strong>(41.8-44.0) - (44.4-40.7) = -5.9 percentiles</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>40.7 (27.2)</td>
<td>44.4 (30.7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White students</td>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>56.1 (27.6)</td>
<td>55.2 (29.6)</td>
<td><strong>(55.2-56.1) - (58.0-54.1)= -4.8 percentiles</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>54.1 (28.0)</td>
<td>58.0 (28.7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAME-White gap</td>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td><strong>(13.4-12.1) - (13.6-13.4) = 1.1 percentiles</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Achieving upper 2nd class and above</td>
<td>BAME students</td>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>51.4% (50.0%)</td>
<td>51.0% (50.1%)</td>
<td><strong>(51.0-51.4) - (56.5-42.2) = -14.7pp</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>42.2% (49.4%)</td>
<td>56.5% (49.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White students</td>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>70.5% (45.6%)</td>
<td>69.6% (46.1%)</td>
<td><strong>(69.6-70.5) - (73.2-58.2) = -15.9pp</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>58.2% (49.4%)</td>
<td>73.2% (44.4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BAME-White gap</td>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
<td><strong>(18.7-19.1) - (16.7-16.0) = -1.1pp</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Comparator</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 7. Descriptive statistics of the outcomes before and after intervention

#### Percentile rank

Among reformed modules, BAME students’ grades were, on average, in the 44th percentile pre-intervention and the 42nd percentile post-intervention. Among the comparator modules, BAME students’ grades were, on average, in the 41st pre-intervention and the 44th percentile post-intervention. In other words, we observed a relative decrease in attainment among BAME students post-intervention in treated modules compared to BAME students in comparison modules — their grades were 5.9 percentiles lower. Similarly, we also observed a relative decrease among White students – though to a lesser extent – a decrease of 4.8 percentiles.

#### Award

Among reformed modules, on average, 51.4% of BAME students were awarded upper second class honours and above pre-intervention, compared to 51.0% post-intervention. Among the comparator modules, on average, the proportion of BAME students awarded upper second class honours and above was 42.2% pre-intervention and 56.5% post-intervention. In other words, we observed a relative decrease of **14.7pp** among BAME students post-intervention in treated modules compared to those in comparison modules. We also observed a similar trend among White students – a relative decrease of **15.9pp**.
Racial attainment gap

In terms of module mark percentile rank, the racial gap widened slightly post-intervention among reformed modules and remained stable among comparator modules, representing a relative widening of 1.1 percentiles post-intervention among treated modules. In terms of the proportion of students awarded upper second class honours and above, there was a small change in the racial attainment gap post-intervention, representing a relative narrowing of 1.1 percentiles post-intervention among treated modules. In sum, there was limited (if any) change in racial attainment gap post-intervention among reformed modules compared to comparator modules.

Results from regression analysis

Primary analysis

There is no evidence (See Section 3.1.4 and 3.1.5) that suggests the parallel trends assumption was violated in any of the three years prior to intervention (see Appendix 2 for full regression results). For this reason, we interpret the results for the primary analysis as causal.

Overall, we observed a significant negative effect on the attainment of BAME students after the “Decolonising the Curriculum” Toolkit was implemented in the Sociology course. The estimated average treatment effect of the intervention on BAME students’ attainment is -6.63 percentiles, 95% CI [-13.23, -0.03], \( p = 0.05 \) (see Appendix 1 for full regression results).

Figure 5 presents the trend of attainment year by year from 2017-18 to 2020-21. It shows that in the academic year 2021, while BAME student attainment among the comparator modules was still on a positive trajectory, it declined in the reformed modules.

Figure 5. Time trends of student attainment among BAME students

Secondary analysis

We did not check the parallel trends assumption formally for attainment among White students. By visual examination (see Figure 6), the trends appeared to be adequately parallel from 2018 to 2019, but they were less so from 2019 to 2020. We are therefore less confident that the results from this secondary analysis can be interpreted as causal compared to those from the primary analysis.

Overall, the attainment trends among White students were similar to those of BAME students, but the changes over time were smaller. Among comparator modules, we observed an upward trajectory both before and after the curriculum reform. Among the reformed modules, there was an upward trajectory in attainment in the years prior to the intervention and a downward trajectory after the intervention was introduced.

The estimated average treatment effect of the intervention on White students’ attainment is -3.07 percentiles, 95% CI [-9.79, 3.64], \( p = 0.37 \) (see Appendix 1 for full regression results).

Figure 6. Time trends of student attainment among White students

Exploratory analysis

To understand the attainment gap between BAME and White students, we have presented and discussed descriptive statistics in Table 7 above. Here, to further explore this question, we have visualised the time trends of attainment gaps in terms of percentile rank (Figure 7) and awards (Figure 8) from 2017-18 to 2020-21.

As shown in Figure 7, from 2018 to 2019, the attainment gap between White and BAME students was almost equal between the comparator modules (grey line) and the reformed modules (blue line). From 2019 to 2020, the attainment gap narrowed among the reformed modules but remained stable among the comparator modules.
Post intervention, i.e. in 2021, the attainment gap widened again among the reformed modules but narrowed slightly among the comparator modules. At this point, the attainment gap was almost the same between the reformed and comparator modules.

Figure 7. Time trends of White-BAME percentile rank gap.

To further understand the attainment gap between BAME and White students, we also visualised the time trends of the attainment gap in terms of the proportion of students awarded upper second class honours and above (Figure 8) from 2017-18 to 2020-21.

The racial award gap among students in the comparator modules was on a gentle upward trajectory from 2018 to 2020, and a downward trajectory between 2020 and 2021. The racial award gap among students in the reformed modules narrowed by 5pp from 2018 to 2019, but then widened by 8pp from 2019 to 2020. However, post-intervention, the racial award gap narrowed, to a similar extent, among both reformed and comparator modules.

Figure 8. Time trends of White-BAME award gap

The exploratory analysis (as elaborated in the descriptive statistics in Section 4.2 and shown by figures 7 and 8) suggests that the intervention does not seem to have had an effect on the racial attainment gap.
In what ways has the RICT improved levels of course satisfaction among students from minority ethnic backgrounds

Findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Module Code (anonymised)</th>
<th>Staff Engagement with RICT score: Rank score out of 10 for the level of engagement with the decolonizing toolkit</th>
<th>Overall Student satisfaction 2020/21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sociology Module Level (SML) 3.8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>85.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. SML1.2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. SML2.5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. SML1.6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. SML3.7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. SML1.6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. SML1.1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. SML3.6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. SML2.2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. SML3.5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. SML2.1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>81.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. SML2.8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. SML1.3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>85.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. SML2.4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. SML3.4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Aggregate score</strong></td>
<td><strong>1300.7</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>86.7</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Module Evaluation Questionnaire (MEQ) data indicate that the RICT had a positive influence on improving levels of Overall Student Satisfaction (OSS) on sociology modules. The aggregate scores for OSS recorded in sociology MEQs for 2021/22 showed that the 15 modules that had a ‘Staff Engagement with the RICT’ score of 6 (out of 10) or above, was 86.7. 33% of these modules recorded scores between 80-89.9% (5) and none had an OSS score of lower than 60%.

By contrast, the aggregate OSS score for the 7 modules that had a Staff Engagement with the RICT score of 5 (out of 10) or less, was 80.9%. The lowest module score in this sample was 44.4 (26% lower than the lowest score recorded for modules with a 6+ RICT Engagement score). Moreover, 66% of modules where staff ranked their RICT Engagement score 7 (out of 10) or above, recorded higher OSS scores when compared against the aggregate OSS scores for module for the previous two years.

In a general sense, student satisfaction scores at the University of Leicester and across the sector have historically been significantly lower for students from minority ethnic backgrounds than for their White peers. This suggests that at the module level, ‘lower’ or ‘higher’ MEQ scores here and across the sector in HEPs whose student body consist of large numbers of students of colour are generally driven by levels of dissatisfaction among this demographic. It is important to note, however, that without sufficiently sensitive methods for surveying student satisfaction rates at the granular level, which specifically account for the ways student satisfaction in module data are intersected by race, the trends observed in our data remain indicative and not conclusive of the impact of the RICT on improving students of colour’s feelings of satisfaction on their taught modules.
Discussion and final comments

The race award gap in degree outcomes has focused the attention of the HE sector and has provided much of the catalyst for many HEPs’ decision to engage more directly with the issue of racial exclusion, and especially over the last decade or so. However, this has also resulted in some HEPs (and related education-based organisations and funders) prioritising eliminating the award gap over other manifestations of racial exclusion in the (related) student experience, such as satisfaction, belonging and a racially representative faculty. This is problematic. An illustrative example to explain why is perhaps useful here. In theory, the HE sector could eliminate the award gap quite simply. All it would have to do is implement a formula in the processes for calculating final degree outcomes for students that accounts for racial award gaps at the local or national level. This would re-adjust the final percentage scores (and in turn classifications) of the final degrees awarded to students from minority ethnic groups accordingly.

This approach, however, is unlikely to address the root systemic issues for the original discrepancies in grade-outcomes. More importantly, we would still have a situation where students from minority ethnic backgrounds, who in 2020 accounted for 28.4% of the total student body and account for more than 50% of students across a growing number of UK HEPs such as Leicester, would continue to have an unsatisfactory and even traumatic experience on their degree course, when compared to White peers (this has an obvious knock-on-effect on wider issues, such as student recruitment, retention and mental wellbeing). Consequently, using race award gaps alone as the sole or even primary barometer for measuring levels of race equity in the academe, or for the efficacy of race equity interventions in curricula is unhelpful (This narrow focus also speaks to a limited lived, pedagogical and methodological understanding of the systemic, cultural and historical embeddedness and resilience of racial inequity within higher education). Put simply, the race award gap is a symptom of racial inequity and as such should not be viewed as an end in itself, but as one of a number of useful barometers for assessing the levels of racial equity in a HEP or across the sector.

Relatability, enjoyment, satisfaction and feelings of belonging are also all important and prized aspects of the learning experience in higher education and are key indicators for racial equity. However, these are difficult to measure with quantitative tools and often exist beyond

4 https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/education-skills-and-training/higher-education/first-year-entrants-onto-undergraduate-degrees/latest#:--text=72.6%25%20of%20people%20starting%20undergraduate,from%20the%20Other%20ethnic%20group
the ontological reach of this methodological approach. This also means they also do not fit easily with the kinds of quantitative-based metrics and measurements for success that are typically employed by university leadership and policy makers such as SMART targets and Key Performance Indicators. Quantitative approaches are not able to adequately or holistically capture, measure and evaluate the usefulness of race-equity interventions such as the RICT in relation to these more complicated but crucial aspects of minority ethnic students’ educational experiences.

In response to this situation, this report provides an evaluation of the RICT that measures its impact holistically. Importantly, this includes, but is not limited to, gauging its efficacy in relation to reducing race award gaps. To achieve this, the effectiveness of the RICT was measured against the following four outcomes:

- Its capacity to foster a stronger sense of relevance between taught module content and the lived realities and histories of students from minority ethnic backgrounds
- Its capacity to improve the confidence and racial literacy of staff.
- Its capacity to reduce differences in assessment and award outcomes between students from White and minority ethnic backgrounds
- Its capacity to improve levels of course satisfaction among students from minority ethnic backgrounds

The qualitative data highlighted the positive effects and potential of the RICT in relation to its capacity to foster a stronger sense of relevance between module content and the lived realities and histories of students from minority ethnic backgrounds. Specifically, findings indicated that where staff had engaged deeply with the RICT, it demonstrated higher efficacy in its ability to increase student opportunities to explore race, to increase relatability of course content to students’ lived experiences and to enhance the general levels of student enjoyment in response to module content. In doing so, it had a direct and transformative impact on increasing minority ethnic students’ senses of satisfaction, trust and belongingness in their course.

The importance of improving racial literacy among educationalists, as part of the conversation of how to make curricula racially inclusive, has received comparatively less critical attention in HE than it has when compared to compulsory level education (see Joseph-Salisbury 2017). In response to the RICTs capacity to improve the confidence and racial literacy of staff, the qualitative data demonstrated that the RICT was extremely effective in helping participants reflect on the kinds of racial inequities that might exist within their pedagogical practice or content, and improve staffs’ confidence to meaningfully reflect on, and take ownership of, the decolonizing process as it pertains to their own module content. Put simply, the toolkit appeared to be a powerful tool for fostering meaningful reflection, which resulted in direct action and/or change in teaching staffs’ practice and module content.

In relation to assessing the RICT’s capacity to reduce differences in assessment and award outcomes between students from White and minority ethnic backgrounds, the quantitative analysis of award outcomes, suggests that the intervention (and or how we implemented it in this test) appeared to have no direct or quantitatively significant causal effect on the racial attainment gap between minority ethnic students and their White peers. Moreover, the introduction of the RICT also corresponded with a general fall in sociology students’ attainment in 2021. However, it should also be noted that this general drop in student grades-scores coincided with the COVID-19 pandemic.

In relation to evaluating the RICT’s capacity to improve levels of course satisfaction among students of colour, the quantitative data drawn from the MEQs indicated a more positive effect of the RICT. While the analysis of the quantitative data from the module evaluations was not as sophisticated as the analysis of the award outcome data, they do provide some basis from which to construct a schema, which enables us to make better sense of the contrasting pictures of efficacy presented in the quantitative and qualitative results.

Firstly, they suggest that the higher the level of staff engagement, the greater the efficacy of the RICT on levels of satisfaction and inclusive practice. Secondly, the data prompts us to reflect and re-think prior assumptions around the existence of a direct and causal relationship between racial inequities within course content and racial inequities in award outcomes. Put simply, the RICT intervention, which is designed to make course content more relatable to students of colour, appears to have greater potential for directly facilitating more positive student experiences with their courses in terms of satisfaction, than it does for impacting directly on their performance in assessment outcomes.

In doing so, the report directly challenges the consensus view of a direct causal link between racial inequities within course content and racial inequities in award outcomes proffered by Mountford-Zimdars et al.(2015) Arday et al. (2021 a and b) and Advance HE (2021). It appears that the business of degree outcomes and in assessment performance in particular may not be as directly linked to course content as originally assumed and/or in such an essentialist way. Our findings tell us that students of colour can be both satisfied, engaged with-, and enfranchised by their course content, and still be adversely impacted by specific race-based exclusions in HE assessment and related practices, which impede their ability to achieve a higher-level degree – and vice versa.
(see Campbell 2022) (although this is likely increase student interest and motivation, which should implicitly have an impact on assignment-performance). We instead suggest that race award gaps are more likely to be directly addressed through a thorough examination of HE assessment and related practice, which also extends to include a review of the processes and procedures for quality and its systems for grade penalties, capped grades and moderation (ibid.).

Employing a combined quantitative and qualitative evaluative approach has enabled the report to capture the values-added and limitations of the RICT holistically and provide a more nuanced evaluation of the RICT as a resource, than would be possible if either methodological approach was adopted alone. Subsequently, we are confident that while the RICT appears to have low(er) efficacy as a tool for directly reducing the numerical percentage differences in race award gaps between students of color and White peers, it has clear and significant potential for improving levels of satisfaction and relatability of course material to all students and for improving racial literacy for all teaching staff at all levels. As such, we recommend the employment of the RICT as a core intervention for enhancing racial literacy and staff development (training), and for making course content at the module level more racially inclusive for undergraduate students in UK HEPs.

**Final comments**

This evaluative report demonstrates that differences in award outcomes, satisfaction, relatability and belonging between White and minority ethnic students are discrete manifestations of racial inequities that are symptomatic of a mosaic of systemic, cultural and institutional barriers that shape the educational sub-cultural space of higher education.

To dismantle these discrete but interconnected manifestations of race-based inequities within HEPs, we recommend that researchers, universities and education-focused government and public organizations adopt a holistic approach to tackling racial inequalities in HE and in this case curricula, via the employment of a more forensic approach. That is, if academes want to meaningfully identify, comprehend, conceptualize and in turn address each specific racial inequality that manifests in education and related practice and processes, this can only be done by developing specific interventions designed to address each thread, one at a time.
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