Racism shapes careers: career trajectories and imagined futures of racialised minority PhDs in UK higher education

Rhianna Garrett

Published online: 11 Feb 2024.

Submit your article to this journal ↗

Article views: 1993

View related articles ↗

View Crossmark data ↗

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

🔓 OPEN ACCESS | Check for updates

Racism shapes careers: career trajectories and imagined futures of racialised minority PhDs in UK higher education

Rhianna Garrett 🔟

Department of Geography and Environment, Loughborough University, Loughborough, UK

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the perceptions of future career trajectories amongst racialised minority PhDs in UK higher education. Drawing on 22 semi-structured interviews, my findings discuss how racialised minority PhDs relate to an academic career trajectory and identity, how they experience white organisational spaces and how diversity, or lack thereof, affects their career choices and imagined futures. These new empirical insights reveal some of the complex ways racialised intersectional identities shape career planning. This paper encourages institutions to move from just increasing diversity to implementing more cultural and structural changes that value intersectional identities and academic knowledge.

Introduction

This article makes an original empirical contribution to the emerging field of career geographies by investigating how career trajectories and imagined futures of racialised minority PhD students are affected by their intersectional identities and experiences at university. More specifically, this research interrogates how racialised minority PhD students imagine academic careers in UK higher education. This is a topic of great significance because an understanding of the imaginations of future career trajectories of racialised minority PhD students provides the first steps in meaningfully reducing the significant underrepresentation of racialised minority academic staff in UK universities. In the UK, professorships are predominantly occupied by white professors (90.1%), followed by Asian (4.0%), Chinese (2.3%), Mixed (1.6%), Other (1.4%) and Black (0.7%) academics (AdvanceHE 2022). Racialised minority academics are also more likely to be on fixed-term contracts than white academics, are underrepresented as heads of institutions (92% White, 7.4% Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic, hereafter BAME) and are statistically paid less than white colleagues (AdvanceHE 2022). When an intersectional lens is utilised, there is an even larger disparity between white professors and Black female professors, as there are currently only 61 out of almost 23,000 (HESA 2019; WHEN 2023) in the UK. This is a non-exhaustive list of examples that discuss the underrepresentation of racialised minority staff, reflecting the need to engage more with how racism affects academic career trajectories.

The statistical underrepresentation of racialised minority academics staff in British universities is also reflected in PhD student populations. AdvanceHE's (2022) statistical report on

staff compared white and Black Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME) academic pipeline progressions. This academic career pipeline starts with UK domiciled first degree undergraduates, progresses to UK domiciled research postgraduates, UK national academic staff and UK national professors. The report found that the number of white students progressing up to professor increased every year, but the number of BAME students and academics decreased every year. When examined closer, this disparity is greatest for Black and Black 'mixed race' students (Williams et al. 2019). The UK initiative Leading Routes, which aims to prepare the next generation of Black academics, found that Black students were more likely to attend post-1992 institutions than white students, which negatively affected their changes of entering PhD programmes which favour Russell Group candidates, i.e. university graduates from those older and more research-intensive universities. From an intersectional lens, Bhopal and Pitkin (2020) found that racialised minority women were disadvantaged in their academic experiences in comparison to their white counterparts, facing a 'triple burden' of 'oppression resulting from their classed, gendered, and ethnic identities' (p.709). The 'triple burden' can extend to other protected characteristics, represented through what Lewis and Arday (2023) describe as the 'whitening of neurodiversity', highlighting how Black scholars often must negotiate both race and neurotypical hegemonic practices of UK higher education. Despite having the statistics to make a strong claim of race and racism playing a role in access to academic career trajectories, there is a lack of attention placed on how the leaky academic pipeline is affected at PhD level.

According to the UK Council for Graduate Education (UKCGE), there are both a lack of critical interrogations into the career trajectories of racialised minority PhDs and a lack of value placed on 'diversity' as a key metric in institutions priorities (2020, 2022). In the wider context, Sociologist of Education Jason Arday has recently highlighted tensions amongst racialised minority PhDs who have strong motivations to enter academic careers, but experience feelings or marginalisation and isolation through microaggressions and differential treatment (2021). The spatial context of the institution also further marginalises racialised, working-class students, as institutional environments perpetuate the construction of meritocracy and underachievement, rather than addressing the structural and cultural processes at work excluding them (Scandone 2017). This study investigates how identities and academic career motivations intersect, drawing on 22 semi-structured interviews with current racialised minority PhDs to analyse the question: How do racialised minority intersectional identities affect career trajectories and imagined futures into and out of UK higher education? Informed by the theoretical framework of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Intersectionality, the focus of the empirical analysis examines how identity affects perceptions of an academic identity, how racialised minority ethnic PhD students experience predominantly white institutional spaces and how diversity, or lack thereof, affects their career decision-making processes. By utilising concepts of career trajectories and imagined futures, this article therefore critically interrogates how the temporary and spatial experiences of UK higher education and related perceptions and imaginations shape career choices.

I recognise that the term 'racialised minority' can be problematic in homogenising racialised student experiences. However, it is utilised as a linguistic device to describe those who are racialised, and minoritised in predominantly white spaces. Any other terms such as BAME that are utilised are in reference to how certain reports or academic literature chose to define the racial identity of groups. This article proceeds in six parts by introducing the wider literature contexts before outlining the theoretical resources and research methods of this study. The empirical findings are then discussed in three sections on racialised minority PhD students' perceptions of academic careers, their experiences of predominantly white spaces and their observation of other racialised minority academic staff. This article concludes with a list of recommendations for practitioners and current PhD researchers that I derived from the participants collective responses. Inspired by the work of Campbell (2022), who argues cultural elements around assessment must be considered alongside diversifying curriculums to close awarding gaps, this paper aims to push institutions to take a

more nuanced approach to intersectional cultural institutional change that goes beyond optical diversity.

Academic identities, careers and imagined futures

Academic identities have been imagined and constructed through space and time. To understand how career trajectories and imaginations are formed, it is imperative to establish the historical and contemporary cultural spaces that imaginations are formed within.

Colonial histories of UK institutional landscapes shape the identities we consider to be 'normal' and form cultural and social practices in the image of whiteness (Jones and Okun 2001). Most UK universities began as religious or private foundations, with some Russell Group universities associated with elite social reproduction and served to educate colonial administrators (Holmwood 2018). Even 'race' itself was an imagined central element to colonial modernity, representing the power of imagined constructions of whiteness and hierarchical superiority (Go 2018). Because of the histories of race and the hostile nature of whiteness, Kehinde Andrews (2023) labels whiteness as a psychosis, in reference to collective racial ideologies of white societies. He describes how whiteness engenders delusion around colonial histories and the ways it attempt to assert logic on the illogical grounds of colonial hierarchies. Historical and ecological whiteness have imparted the normalisation of standard cultural practices that stem from colonial hierarchical structures. These norms and practices need to be critically interrogated when attempting to increase diversity in academic roles in UK higher education.

Whiteness and diversity in UK higher education

Whiteness must be seen as more than an optical privilege in the workplace, but as an ecology of hostile structures and practices that shape what we consider to be daily norms. Jones and Okun (2001) highlight the damaging norms whiteness creates, such as defensiveness to quell new ideas, conflating open conflict with being impolite, desire for individual competitive credit, and believing that those in power have a right to emotional and psychological comfort. These are all elements of what is considered to be a professional work environment, which is also a constructed identity that works to code and maintain the illusion of inclusion, but in reality, serves to preserve white, middle-class models of knowledge, expertise and value (Mukherjee 2022). For students, postgraduates and ECRs, these practices shape specific understandings of what is considered to be professional, and this can result in pressure to assimilate to white, Eurocentric patterns of behaviour to avoid reputational damage, that could affect career progression into higher education (Bhambra, Gebrial, and Nişancıoğlu 2018; Bonner-Thompson, Mearns, and Hopkins 2021). Whiteness is an invisible structural feature of the institution (Ahmed 2014; Tate 2014), described by Joseph-Salisbury (2019) as a web of whiteness that reinforces and supports itself. Its strategic strength is represented in the ways racialised staff can feel simultaneously hypervisible and invisible (Lander and Santoro 2017), as they can experience overlooked microinvalidations but be overlooked for a promotions, undertake additional tasks, and be observed by other racialised students. These experiences are also felt by students, as Ahmet (2020) found that postgraduate students did not only want to feel more racially visible through increased diversity but also wanted to feel a sense of belonging, highlighting the importance of both racial diversity and cultural change. If the UK academic landscape intends to increase diversity, it must first critically approach its racist historical and contemporary cultural spatial contexts that shape what it means to be an academic.

Career trajectories

Higher educational spaces are uniquely positioned in context of the workplace, as it is often perceived as distinct from the wider 'real' world of employment, suggesting its approach to careers

exists apart from other sectors (Baruch and Hall 2004). Contemporary 'globalisation' developments have restructured educational mobility due to corporatisation, competitiveness and commercialisation of the neoliberal institution (Robertson 2020). The inherent instability of higher education has altered student's career trajectories as they are staying in education longer to 'delay their entrance into the labour market' and created more uncertainty of assumed life stages in a capitalist society (Worth 2009). Institutional career models do not reflect the reality of career making, which is often disrupted throughout career trajectories (Whitchurch, Locke, and Marini 2021), and different academic disciplines hold different academic career pathways, making it important not to homogenise the career pipeline of PhD students. For example, just under half of all doctoral graduates were employed in higher education, but 72% were from social science backgrounds (Vitae 2022). From a racial lens, precariousness in academic careers can be seen more frequently for racially minoritised staff who are more likely to be on part-time contracts, less likely to be funded and possess higher unemployment rates post-PhD, double the rate amongst white doctoral graduates (AdvanceHE 2022; Vitae 2022; Williams et al. 2019). Garrett (2024) argues that the homogenisation of the PhD experience also overlooks the experiences of 'mixed race' PhD students who belong to multiple racialised identities. This represents the importance of looking at career trajectories into and out of academia from a racialised, intersectional perspective.

The early stages of an academic career have been argued to be the most critical stage of the career building process (Briscoe-Palmer and Mattocks 2020; Healy 2019). Higher education institutions are frequently used as vehicles for career building and social mobility and these trajectories are uniquely adaptable and temporarily positioned (Hörschelmann 2011). However, power relations within social mobility structures make it more difficult for working-class students to succeed in academic career trajectories. Bathmaker (2021) points out that students from working class backgrounds do not possess the 'targeted assistance' of middle-class families, such as mentorship, resources and development opportunities. Hence, it is important to outline what career trajectories mean to those at the early stages of building their careers from a racialised, intersectional perspective. Careers are also interwoven with agentic personal interests (Curtin, Malley, and Stewart 2016) and influenced by perceptions of required characteristics needed for academic succeed (Cidlinská 2019), which are formed in these temporary, precarious positions and disadvantage those considered marginal.

Geographers concerned with careers investigate the significance of place and its influence on trajectories and life transitional periods. Concepts such as geographical location are often linked to spatial terms like trajectories, pathways or turning points. In this context, trajectories refer to the intended or future imaginations of a career path, whether it follows a linear or nonlinear progression. Trajectories and mobility from one spatial context to another, be it within an institutional career or beyond, is influenced by factors such as ethnicity and gender, and their intricate social and spatial relationships (Cresswell 2010). Worth (2011) suggests transition theories must look to the future rather than the past to understand complex transitional periods. I take this approach and attempt to better understand the leaky pipeline through the future imaginations of racialised minority intersectional identities within the contexts of the perceptions of required institutional characteristics.

Imagined futures

To interrogate career trajectories, we must look to the future. Imagined futures are significant as it provides the initial base for spatial transitions, as they drive motivations and intentions based on identity and previous and present experiences (Carling and Mjelva 2020; Hardgrove, Rootham, and McDowell 2015). For PhD career trajectories, imaginations can provide insights into how PhD students plan to navigate spaces or how they consider things such as financial challenges and isolation (Gardner and Holley 2011). By taking a geographical approach to career trajectories and imagined futures, the focus extends beyond those potentially affected by racism and their

(in)ability to name racist impediments to progression, but encompasses their embodied choices that dictate whether they wish to engage with racist structural oppression or not. In order words, it allows researchers to understand how racism is affecting career trajectories without only relying on students ability to recognise the specific ways racism affects their pathways.

The potency of imaginations can be parallel with the imagination of race itself. As Fanon (1952) articulates, race itself is an imagination of colonial minds to maintain Western authority. Geographies of the globe are formed through banal projected imaginations, constructing the West as the enlightened superior to the inferior East and South (Nayak 2011). If imaginations have the potential to transform our political, social and cultural understandings of the globe and communities within it, they also have the ability to transform career trajectories in academia. Imaginations are also affected by significant moments. What is considered a significant moment in a career trajectory differs depending on the personal lived experience of the individual. Significant moments in career trajectories have been labelled 'critical moment' or 'turning points' (Sampson and Laub 2005; Thompson, Bell, and Sharpe 2002). These events do not need to be large, noticeable events, but could be small mundane everyday interactions in institutional spaces (Dowling 2008). Imaginations are potent and are affected by whiteness and racism in institutions as tenuous constructions of race attempt to dictate what imaginations do or do not manifest.

Theoretical framework and methods

This paper is theoretically informed by CRT and Intersectionality, to encompass racialised minority PhDs from a number of identity axes. A CRT, Intersectional approach to research emphases the experimental knowledge of racialised minority PhD students across a multitude of self-identifications and challenges the idea of 'meritocracy' in higher education to forward discussions on career equity (Gillborn 2015; 2005). These approaches typically utilise qualitative research methods such as interviews to consider lived experience as knowledge to further social justice (Doharty, Madriga, and Joseph-Salisbury 2020) and allow participants to self-identify their intersectional identities.

Critical race theory

Originally stemming from critical legal studies and radical feminism, CRT centres the idea that society is shaped by the social construction of race, power relationships, and social structures to highlight and value racialised experiences (Delgado and Stefancic 2017; Ladson-Billings 1998). As a framework, CRT challenges the notion that racism only appears in white supremacist extremist action but reframes it in its everyday mundane actions (Gillborn 2015; Lander and Santoro 2017). Common methods within the framework include story telling or counter-narratives to express these everyday lived experiences as knowledge (Doharty, Madriga, and Joseph-Salisbury 2020). Despite CRTs roots in law studies, critical geographers have examined how racism enacts itself within society and how it persists across a variety of spaces and places (Price 2010). CRT has been used to draw attention to areas such as mobility impediments or the ways racism shapes environments in relation to identity, from the perspective of racialised minorities (Nayak 2011). CRT ontologically positions the research in a framework that recognises institutional racism and discrimination exist with reference to cultural and historical facts, presents space to centre voices of racialised groups, challenge dominant ideologies, commits itself to social justice and utilises an interdisciplinary approach (Yosso 2005).

Intersectionality

Racial identities hold complex narratives intersecting with other areas of lived experience that also change the way marginality is experienced. Coined by Kimberly Crenshaw in 1989, intersectionality

focuses on a multitude of identities and experiences happening simultaneously (Hopkins 2017). Gillborn (2015) points to its two main features: its empirical approach to understand the nature of social inequalities and its core activist component derived from its CRT roots to change the status quo. Its use as an approach in geographical research not only considers the multitude of identities but also their axes across space and time (Gillborn 2005). It recognises the significance of the multiplicity of identities in changing spatial relations and takes the worldview that man/woman binaries are not exhaustive but also encompass elements such as race, class and sexuality, in an attempt to break from masculinist field knowledge (Rose 1993). As a framework, it is utilised to encompass individuals as a whole, attempting to step away from fragmenting experiences in higher education.

Methods

This paper presents 22 online semi-structured interviews discussing the career trajectories of racialised minority PhDs currently in UK higher education. The interviews were selected from a larger study of 27 interviews that also involved early career researchers who had completed their PhD research and were less than 8 years from their successful viva examination. Only PhD researchers were selected for this paper to focus on the current experiences of racialised minority PhDs thinking about academic careers, rather than those who were pursuing them. Participants were recruited through online advertisement on social media platform such as X (formally known as Twitter), and LinkedIn, as well as emailed to doctoral colleges across the UK. This recruitment method mostly engaged PhDs from social science backgrounds, those who wished to speak about their experiences, and participants were not explicitly asked about their experiences of race and racism. The interviews were conducted online using Microsoft Teams, lasting on average 60 min each and thematically analyses using NVIVO. Semi-structured interviews were used to allow participants the freedom to express their experiences without being limited by many boundaries yet ensure the narrative did not stray too far from the initial topic of discussion (Adams 2015). The codes included participants previous experiences before their PhD research, experiences during their research and imaginations of their future career trajectories, all in relation to their intersectional racialised identities. Garrett (2024) stresses the importance of self-identification to encompass liminal, intersectional identities; therefore Table 1 represents the pseudonyms and self-identification quotes.

Perception of academic work and careers

The perceptions of academic careers were a main influencing factor in the development of career trajectories and imagined futures for racialised minority PhD students. Their identities intersected with their perceptions of how they would be treated within an academic career, based on past and present lived experiences. Some participants expressed worries of having to change their identities to fit into an academic identity. Amoy reflected on her position in the academic system and was passionate about 'dismantling the whole system' but was also 'comfortable' within it as a 'mixed race ... half Jamaican' woman. She believed that if you entered an academic career as a racialised minority student, you would need to 'give up' a part of yourself, your comfortability, and potentially 'destroy the world' to become a lecturer who was typically 'middle class, like attended Cambridge' and were 'white [men] or [women]'. Nella took a stronger view stating that she 'so violently doesn't want to be in academia' because 'you get checked out of the real world'. She felt as an activist her drive for 'righteous indignation' would be taken from her if she was in academia despite seeing the 'value' in teaching and academia. Another physical example was given by Ekam who described academia like 'you're literally being kicked like a football in the middle of the back' and felt they would have to be in pain to remain in an academic career, despite having positive views on the role of an academic with their identity. They felt the way they treated their researchers was trying to make them 'strong', but in reality, felt they were making researchers 'claw [their] way through ... I felt that really psychotic'. Each participant exemplified the ways that colonial academia had led them

Table 1. Participant pseudonyms and self-identified identities.

Pseudonym	Self-identification
Aaron	"Visibly, I am Black, my parents, both immigrants, my dads from Jamaica and my mum is from the Philippines … I am Black enough to fit in with the Black crowd". "I don't look Filipino, will I fit in with the Filipino and British society?". "Growing up working class".
Aisha	'Intercultural, interracial marriage' "Indian brown" "Christian" "International from India"
Amara	"My racial identity is mixed race, Black African and white British … I'm increasingly like, I don't know about that [mixed race] because of the biological connotations, and is it reproducing race? But I'm like, mixed race works, and I always put Black African first" "Working class but went to a private school"
Amoy	"I'm mixed race, half Jamaican" "I identify as a female, Lesbian".
Efia	"I am a mixed heritage woman, I'm half Ghanaian and half white British" "I have a daughter"
Ekam	"I'm a queer and trans person" "I'm a neurodivergent queer trans person". "The only ethnic, cultural thing that matters to me is that I am South Indian". "I come from a lower class to lower middle class to upper middle-class family".
Ha-joon	"I identify as Korean American, I can switch between Korean and American depending on the culture and society" "Another identity I associate with is being neurodivergent". "International"
Hien	"I identify as Vietnamese and Asian, and my identity is very important to me as a person of colour" "I'm also neurodivergent"
Inaya	"Asian British when I fill out the form, but I am Pakistani Punjabi. I am a British citizen". "I have been assessed as neurodivergent" "The first in my family to finish a degree" "I am visibly Muslim"
Irie	"I would classify myself as a Black British woman" "My heritage is Jamaican, so my parents were born in England, but my grandparents were born in Jamaica" "I'd class myself as British, but Jamaica is still home to me"
Jaden	"I identify as Black, I'm British Caribbean, my mum and dad were born in this country, but my grandparents were raised in Jamaica" "I'm from a single parent household" "I identify as a Black male"
Jasmine	"I probably say I am Black mixed race, if I had to come up with a label". "I use a wheelchair".
Kalani	"I guess my racial identity is that I am Sinhalese Sri Lankan" "Gender identity is cis female" "I have a mental health condition … which overshadowed a lot of my PhD"
Lin	"I'm mixed, well, on the forms its mixed white and Asian. On my fathers side I'm white British, so it's England and Welsh, and on my mothers side, my mother is from Burma, but they are from an ethnic minority group in Burma" "I usually say in terms of gender identity, identify as a woman for ease, I have a fraught relationship with my gender, but I haven't unpacked that really yet" "My family is a working-class family" "Bisexual"
Maira	"I'm a Brown Pakistani Muslim British woman born in colonial Hong Kong, which is a pretty big important part of my identity."
Maya	"I'm Black, I was born in Zimbabwe and moved here, both my parents have degrees" "my mum is currently doing a PhD and my dad has one" "neurodivergent"
Nella	"American by passport, and Burundian and Kenyan by heritage, so I guess I identify as first generation Black American"
Sanaa	"My racial identity, its kind of hard to explain, I never got to understand what box I fit into. I normally say Black Caribbean, but British born, my grandparents are white British but also sort of Jamaican as well, then my other grandparents are both Jamaican" "I class myself as female"
Serena	"Black British" "My dad's Jamaican and my grandads Antiguan, and I have different lived experience from theirs, purely by being British, and obviously I'm proud of coming from a Caribbean background, but realistically my life is easier in their country … so yeah I identify as Black British".
Sofia	"Gender identity female, and racial identity, the first thing I go to is a Brown woman, it's the easiest … I'm mixed race, using one of those people writing in all the forms, I end up being mixed other. I'm half white, Gibraltarian … and then I'm Guyanese"
Tanice	"I'm actually Black Caribbean, so I was born in Jamaica and I came to England when I was eight"
Zuri	"I would say I am a working-class woman of a Black African background, I am also from France, so I'm not British. I am a UK citizen, but I feel like a French citizen of immigrant descent" "I have a long term illness but I got diagnosed last year"

to perceive the career option as white, hostile and lifeless spaces that were separate from other worlds of work (Baruch and Hall 2004). They also expressed how the nature of an academic position would strip them from the ability to help people through their work due to the isolating nature of research.

Participants also perceived structural issues through their identities. Participants Maya, Ekam and Ha-Joon's cultural and racialised identities saw academia as a neurotypical space that failed to support their intersectional identities as students, therefore did not trust they would be supported as staff in the future. Maya stated the 'the biggest obstacle I had, intersecting with race, was definitely disability'. As a 'Black' researcher in areas of racial identity, she had a positive reception when speaking about race from her department, but when she was 'bringing up issues of neurodiversity or ablism in academia' she was told to 'let other people talk about it' from individuals in influential 'decision making positions'. Her experience with being 'Black' and 'neurodivergent' meant she was seen as a 'race expert', but her intersectional identity was erased. This was also reflected in her experience getting reasonable adjustments in her PhD, arguing that if the university 'can't even follow my reasonable adjustments as a student, I doubt [they'd] be able to if I was a lecturer'. Ekam shared a similar sentiment who said their neurodivergence was 'underplayed' because they were seen as an 'organised' person and felt tensions with 'the racialised part of [their] identity' when discussing neurodivergent matters. Ekam felt the university was not going to take their neurodivergence seriously as they were able to 'mask' or assimilate to their environment, but it 'takes a lot for [them] to be this way'. In reference to his culture more than his race, Ha-Joon also had a difficult experience as a 'Korean American'. He 'had such a hard time with Korean communities because there isn't that acceptance of neurodivergence, it's either you're stupid or you're smart … I have a huge fear of studying, reading, doing tests, that's why I went to art school'. He did a PhD to challenge himself but ultimately assumed the academic career path wouldn't suit his needs and didn't want to pursue it as a career. Each of their identities intersected with racialised neurodivergence, showing if one intersectional identity is not properly supported, it can affect academic career trajectories into academic roles from distrust.

Another big perception of an academic career was it being inherently precarious and unstable, which is a lived experience felt by racialised minority academic staff (AdvanceHE 2022). By not supporting the stability of future racialised minority educators, institutions lose talented and highly motivated PhDs (Arday 2021). Many of the participants who self-identified as coming from working-class backgrounds found stability and money the most significant factor of their career trajectory choices, despite being passionate about academic research. Zuri's ideal career trajectory was to be 'financially stable' and 'being a feminist researcher', but she was also aware her 'dream job is not paid well, so I guess I have to compromise on that'. Her experience highlights how a realistic expectation like being able conduct feminist research in a financially stable career was considered an unobtainable future. It not only reflects the distrust PhDs might have in academic systems, but also a lack of value placed on racialised minority working-class researchers who were furthering the knowledge of undervalued fields. Serena also felt as a social science academic she wouldn't go into teaching as the university 'don't care that much about humanities or social science'. Intersectionality, academic careers are unstable and precarious career options for all researchers, but women of colour are at higher risk of being in precarious positions (AdvanceHE 2022). If social scientists are not feeling valued in higher education but are simultaneously the highest number of doctoral researchers transitioning into academic careers (Vitae 2022), it points to a wider issue around a need for cultural change that goes beyond diversification. Their imaginations were based in real structural issues preventing imaginations of academic futures, influenced by past and present institutional experiences.

Experiences of predominately white spaces

Space in geographical research is considered under constant construction, affected by daily practices and related to identities (Massey 1994). It is important to interrogate predominantly white

spaces from racialised perspective to better understand how the web of whiteness (Joseph-Salisbury 2019) affects racialised minority PhD students' career trajectories. It is also important to note that not all racialised PhDs were minorities prior to university, this can be for both home and international students. Jaden expressed how he did not realise was a minority until he got to university and found some white students 'looked at you differently, but they probably had never experienced being in that close proximity' to Black students before. It highlights how intersectional marginality is experienced differently for all staff and students based on past experiences and influences future career trajectories differently.

Predominantly white spaces appeared to particularly affect those who possessed a 'visible difference', away from whiteness. Inaya and Maira, who both described themselves as 'visibly Muslim', had negative experiences with predominantly white spaces and it intersected with their careers. Inaya described her spaces as 'outrageously white' and felt 'on the margins of the school' because of it. Maira described a similar space despite coming from a London-based institution and diverse geographical location 'the second I walked in, it's just full of white people, and I am just thinking to myself, what have I gotten myself into? When I tried to speak to other students, who were mainly white, no one wanted to interact with me'. Both expressed the need to do a PhD as Muslim women 'to be taken seriously' in academia, showing how their visible identities affected how they perceived themselves in academic careers based in structural oppression. Other visibly marginalised participants such as Maya and Jasmine expressed how the university used them as a 'poster child' for diversity, taking their racial identity but not valuing them as researchers. Jasmine expressed how the university 'needs more voices that are like mine' but 'in doing so it fucking sucks, you're forced to be that voice that you didn't sign up for'. Her identity as 'this [Black mixed race] and I use a wheelchair' made her what she described as 'simultaneously the most respected and the most disrespected person in academia'. Because of the predominantly white and ableist spaces of higher education, Jasmine felt she was expected to be an ideal student face of diversity, while being disrespected as a researcher. While increasing diversity would potentially mitigate hypervisibility, higher educational spaces need to address the racist cultural expectations based on whiteness they placed on racialised minority academics to be 'model minorities' (Walton and Truong 2023).

Institutions attempt to push for diversity only achieved so much for the PhD students as it does not inherently challenge whiteness in practice. Nella discussed a lot of themes around colonialism, individualism and distrust for the system. She felt like as an international student, she was 'a consumer, not like a student anymore … it seems so individualistic'. As a PhD with very international experiences, she described UK academia as a 'crumbling infrastructure' and questioned 'you motherfuckers conquered half the world how?', questioning the colonial structures that have shaped the individualistic practices PhDs endure (Jones and Okun 2001). Sofia expressed a similar sentiment but from a different perspective. Attending a London-based institution, she experienced a lot of racial diversity in her PhD, and 'felt comfortable being on campus and seeing people who were racially diverse', expressing if it was not there she would have 'felt that, and don't know if I would be as confident in my work'. While it expresses the positives of diversity, she also expressed how she did not want to go into an academic career, but preferred to find an external company to work for that had a 'creative element' and 'focused more on diverse voices'. Without critically engaging with the colonial structures that shape institutional practices that appear to devalue 'creative' and 'diverse' approaches, diversity will only achieve so much in promoting valued career trajectories into academic careers.

Experiences of whiteness are also expressed in the ways PhDs were challenging it. Black and Black mixed race staff and students in UK higher education institutions are the most marginalised and are the most likely to have career trajectories in academia affected by intersectional racialised identities (Williams et al. 2019). To tackle this, some of the Black identifying participants made additional efforts to use academia to defy racist stereotypes placed on them. Tanice stated 'there is a stereotype that people of colour are dumb, we are not dumb, I just want to prove society wrong, that's why I am pushing to become a doctor'. This intersected with her identity as a mother to show her young son that as a Black boy, he does not need to 'fall into stereotypes' and wants to

'bring change as well as indirectly motivate my son to be the best he can be'. Serena also agreed as she felt 'in everyday life I do [have to prove myself] to the point where it's almost annoying … the PhD is helpful as it validates that I am not stupid'. Jaden summarised how Blackness can be experienced in research when giving advice to future Black PhD researchers, as whiteness 'needs 100 reasons to give you [an opportunity] but only one to take it away … you need to make sure you're excellent'. Without addressing the ways whiteness has formed academic identities and how it can persistently push against those who do not fit, then diversity will not be as successful as institutions possibly intend.

Observations of other racialised minority academics

Racialised diversity can provide many positives such as providing mentorship for PhDs who lack role model representation (Arday 2021) and can potentially decrease the hypervisibility of racialised academics (Lander and Santoro 2017), but a more critical interrogation of diversity is needed to see how mentorship must be considered.

Every participant who reflected on their past and present PhD experiences expressed gratitude to mentors for their success, particularly towards racialised minority academics. Aaron was grateful for the Black male mentor he had, who shared his racial and working-class background. He found it useful to hear about 'his own experiences' as he told him 'what it's really like' to be in academia. His mentor also provided insights into how academics like Aaron might be treated, as 'he's had to work twice as hard and achieved twice as many things as somebody in the same institution [referring to white colleagues], that's on the same level, and hardly done any of the stuff he's doing'. Kalani shared this positive experience having mentors who shared her heritage. She previously attended elite institutions that had a significant lack of ethnic minority representation in student and staff populations and says when she moved to a more diverse institution 'didn't realise how different having an Asian supervisor would be until I had one'. This also made her reflect that her 'other supervisors are really white', showing how whiteness is only exposed when it is not normalised. Because of this, she had 'never really thought that having an Asian supervisor would mean anything to me or make a difference, but I was like this is actually quite powerful' to have what she described as 'ethnic solidarity'. It was important for the participants to not only have a mentor, but a mentor who could understand their marginalised, racialised experiences. This was not just to optically see from distance, but to gain valuable insights into how academic careers would interact with their racialised identities and affect future career trajectories. It is also important to note that not a single participant felt supported by their institution in their academic careers, and their support systems usually came from other forms of mentorship and community formed by others.

However, the hypervisibility of racialised academics can also push career trajectories away from academic careers. Maira, Irie, Sanaa and Hien all expressed how they consistently saw racialised academics and their differential treatment, affecting the ways they perceived themselves in the same roles. Hien found the racialised academics who studied race and racism experienced 'backlash against things like critical race theory', and 'the fact I'm a person of colour studying race' meant she was not sure if she could proceed into an academic career in the subject areas, she had expertise in. Inaya's fears of an academic careers were also affected by her observations of other racialised minority women, as she saw staff leave who 'barely lasted 2–3 years' and felt 'more pressure than a lot more than my white counterparts'. This was not just present in physical academic spaces but also online ones. Sofia and Amoy found when they explored racialised academics X profiles (formally known as Twitter) they saw 'it's not all good stuff', changing their perceptions of academic careers in predominantly white spaces. While increasing diversity for mentorship purposes would be valuable for racialised minority PhD students, it appears a more complex approach to white cultural interrogation and value to racialised minority academics is essential in making diversity more successful in the move towards higher education equity.

Conclusion

Institutional career models do not reflect the reality of career making, often disrupted throughout career trajectories in relation to identities and imagined futures (Whitchurch, Locke, and Marini 2021). My research exemplifies how careers are affected by intersectional, racialised identities into and out of higher education. Through 22 semi-structured interviews, CRT, and intersectionality, this paper showed how racialised minority PhDs perceptions of academic careers were formed and imagined, how they experienced predominantly white spaces, and how influential passive observation of racialised minority academics can be. Academia appears to be stripping racialised minority academics of their intersectional identities to fit into colonial practices, and serve neoliberal, individualistic needs. Institutions, therefore, need to take a more nuanced approach to intersectional cultural institutional change that goes beyond optical racial diversity and challenge who and what is 'valued'.

The perceptions of an academic career revealed what characteristics they believed were required to be a successful academic (Cidlinská 2019). The participants assumed they would need to assimilate to the institutional environment, remove themselves from the active world outside of the institution, be placed under intense physical and psychological pain to succeed, require little additional assistance or resource, move away from social science research, and stability in some form. These characteristics inherently intersected with race, such as the ways neurodiversity is separated from racial identities and not intersectionally considered (Lewis and Arday 2023). Academic spaces outside of the 'real' world of work can provide benefits, as the career trajectories have the ability to be flexible (Baruch and Hall 2004; Whitchurch, Locke, and Marini 2021), but when institutions hide themselves away from social justice issues outside of academic research outputs, it is felt by the PhD students and affects perceptions of academic career trajectories. The precariousness of academic careers is also working to perpetuate and preserve white, middle-class modes of knowledge and value by alienating racialised minority working-class PhDs from imagining academic career trajectories (Mukherjee 2022; Scandone 2017). Without a cultural shift towards a work environment that values work and individuals that divert from white, middle-class norms, then those possessing identities outside of white normativity cannot fully imagine themselves in those career trajectories.

The predominance of whiteness also affected the imagined identities and daily practices of academic space for racialised minority PhDs (Massey 1994). Participants who described themselves as PhD students with 'visible' differences in predominantly white PhD environments (AdvanceHE 2022) received differential treatment and received expectations to be the faces of diversity as the minimal diversity present. This shows how the 'web of whiteness' (Joseph-Salisbury 2019) works to optically platform diversity, but strategically utilise it as a signifier of equality when the experience from those considered 'poster children' was represented as disrespected. Colonial practices such as individualism and valuing 'objective knowledge' (Jones and Okun 2001) also affected career trajectories, and alienated community and cultural academic knowledge that came from racialised minority PhDs. These practices were also challenged, as PhD students were aware of the racist stereotypes placed on them in academic spaces and worked to dismantle them for own agentic interests (Curtin, Malley, and Stewart 2016). This also reflected how the temporal placement of early academic careers such as PhDs creates a space where students can begin to gain resources from the university but can choose to leave with them (Hörschelmann 2011). Spatial considerations are significant in the study of career trajectories in UK higher education, as they disrupt the homogenisation of PhD experiences, and transform the ways careers are formed through space and identity.

Without a consideration of cultural changes to institutional space, academic career trajectories of racialised minority PhD students will continue to be disrupted, through practices such as passive and active observation. The interviews revealed a significant need for mentors that shared racialised and cultural experiences of higher educational spaces (Arday 2021), but it appeared more complex

Table 2. Policy relevant recommendations and reflections based on participant interviews.

Issue	Recommendations/reflections
Empty mentorship	Mentorship from racialised minority academics for PhDs is essential for imagining and realising academic career trajectories. However, the mentors must be able to connect to the students on a personal level related to their intersectional lived experiences, and the mentors must be renumerated and valued in ways that can get them promoted internally and externally
Lack of intersectional considerations in academic career trajectories	Critically engage with categorising protected characteristics. There should be spaces specifically for racialised minority individuals, and sub-spaces within that that are considered safe, but policy/recommendations/teaching must consistently consider the intersectional identities of their PhDs by getting to know them on a personal, community based level
Predominantly white spaces, both optically and culturally	Universities must recognise that whiteness is not just a 'racial' category, but as an ecology that seeps into daily practices and norms. There must be a consideration for the ways racism and whiteness is an organisational structural feature, that is affecting the career trajectories of racialised minority PhDs
Colonial modes of knowledge and value	Most PhDs entering academic careers are from social science backgrounds yet feel undervalued and precarious. Institutions must put more value (promotion, publication, platforming) to those stepping outside of colonial modes of knowledge, rather than preventing a push into new ways of thinking
Homogenisation of the PhD experience	As smaller cohort than undergraduate and postgraduate taught students, PhD students are typically homogenised into one group with similar issues. Higher education institutions need racialised minority specific interventions at an institutional level (funding, support, platforming) that consider the multitude of intersectional identities that come with being racialised
Cultural(less) diversity	Institutions are working towards increasing the number of racialised minority PhDs and academic staff in UK higher education but strip them of their culture and communities as they do. Institutions need to bring culture into the university along with those who would benefit from it. This goes beyond one-day cultural celebrations but involves bringing in local community groups that relate to intersectional racialised minority PhD and academic experiences, and embedding more cultural academic practice that goes beyond Western academia
Bounded academic identity	There is currently a perception (founded on reality) that academic professions do not allow space for academic and personal growth. Universities need to platform and highlight those who resist oppressive spaces, practices, and norms, rather than discourage them

than only having mentorship. The simultaneous racialised hypervisibility and invisibility in value of racialised minority academics (Lander and Santoro 2017) were shown though PhDs observations of racialised academics being overlooked for promotions and undervalued for their roles as mentors. If racialised minority PhD students are observing the current state of academic roles for those considered marginal, they may continue to feel a lack of belonging or value and affect their career trajectories and imagined futures (Ahmet 2020).

PhD degrees are a critical stage of career building for early career researchers (Briscoe-Palmer and Mattocks 2020), and these early experiences of what an academic career could look like for racialised minority PhDs have large effects on their career trajectories and imagined futures. It is important for career geographies to better understand how and why imagined futures are built in educational environments to predict or create career trajectories into educational spaces that lack racial diversity and cultural inclusion. Their perceptions, experiences and observations revealed how they required academic careers that did not only work to preserve white, middle-class modes of knowledge and value (Mukherjee 2022), but instead was a space that respected, valued and engaged with intersectional identities and academic knowledge. To this end, a number of policy-relevant recommendations emerged from my research and are summarised in Table 2, based on the recommendations/reflections and needs of the participant interviews of this study. I encourage practitioners and universities to implement cultural and structural changes for their students that value the future of higher education and those with the power to transform it.

Acknowledgements

Disclosure statement

ORCID

Rhianna Garrett 🅾 http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6369-6728

References

Adams, William. 2015. ""Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews." Chap. 19." In *Handbook of Practical Program Evaluation: Practical Data Collection Procedures*, edited by Kathryn E. Newcomer, Harry P. Hatry, and Joseph S. Wholey, 492–505. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Books Online.

AdvanceHE. 2022. *Equality in Higher Education: Statistical Reports 2022*.

Ahmed, Sara. 2014. *On Being Included: Racism in Institutional Life*. London: Duke University Press.

Ahmet, Akile. 2020. "Who is Worthy of a Place on These Walls? Postgraduate Students, UK Universities, and Institutional racism." *Area* 52 (4): 678–686. https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12627.

Andrews, Kehinde. 2023. *The Psychosis of Whiteness: Surviving the Insanity of a Racist World*. UK: Penguin.

Arday, Jason. 2021. "Fighting the Tide: Understanding the Difficulties Facing Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) Doctoral Students' Pursuing a Career in Academia." *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 53 (10): 972–979. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2020.1777640.

Baruch, Yehuda, and Douglas T. Hall. 2004. "The Academic Career: A Model for Future Careers in Other Sectors?" *Journal of Vocational Behaviour* 64 (2): 241–262. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2002.11.002.

Bathmaker, Ann-Marie. 2021. "Constructing a Graduate Career Future: Working with Bourdieu to Understand Transitions from University to employment for Students from Working-class Backgrounds in England." *European Journal of Education* 56 (1): 78–92. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/ejed.v56.1.

Bhambra, Gurminder K, Dalia Gebrial, and Kerem Nişancıoğlu. 2018. *Decolonise the University*. London: Pluto Press.

Bhopal, Kalwant, and Clare Pitkin. 2020. "'Same old Story, Just a Different Policy': Race and Policy Making in Higher Education in the UK." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 23 (4): 530–547. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2020.1718082.

Bonner-Thompson, Carl, Graeme Mearns, and Peter Hopkins. 2021. "Transgender Negotiations of Precarity: Contested Spaces of Higher Education." *The Geographical Journal* 187 (2): 138–154. https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12380

Briscoe-Palmer, Shardia, and Kate Mattocks. 2020. "Career Development and Progression of Early Career Academics in Political Science: A Gendered Perspective." *Political Studies Review* 19 (1): 42–57. https://doi.org/10.1177/147892992092566.

Campbell, Paul Ian. 2022. "'Pray(ing) the Person Marking Your Work Isn't Racist': Racialised Inequities in HE Assessment Practice." *Teaching in Higher Education*, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/13562517.2022.2119075.

Carling, Jørgen, and Mathilde B. Mjelva. 2020. *Survey Instruments and Survey Data on Migration Aspirations*. Southampton: University of Southampton: QuantMig Project Deliverable D2.1.

Cidlinská, Kateřina. 2019. "How Not to Scare Off Women: Different Needs of Female Early-Stage Researchers in STEM and SSH Fields and the Implications for Support Measures." *Higher Education* 78 (2): 365–388. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-018-0347-x.

Cresswell, Tim. 2010. "Towards a Politics of Mobility." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28 (1): 17–31. https://doi.org/10.1068/d11407.

Curtin, Nicole, Janet Malley, and Abigail J. Stewart. 2016. "Mentoring the Next Generation of Faculty: Supporting Academic Career Aspirations Among Doctoral Students." *Research in Higher Education* 57 (6): 714–738. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-015-9403-x.

Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic. 2017. *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. New York and London: New York University Press.

Doharty, Nedina, Manuel Madriga, and Remi Joseph-Salisbury. 2021. "The University Went to 'Decolonise' and all They Brought Back was Lousy Diversity Double-Speak!' Critical Race Counter-Stories from Faculty of Colour in 'Decolonial' Times." *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 53 (3): 233–244. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2020.1769601.

Dowling, Robyn. 2008. "Geographies of Identity: Labouring in the 'Neoliberal' University." *Progress in Human Geography* 32 (6): 812–820. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132507088032.

Fanon, Franz. 1952. *Black Skin, White Masks*. London: Pluto Press.

Gardner, Susan K, and Karri A. Holley. 2011. ""Those Invisible Barriers Are Real": The Progression of First-Generation Students Through Doctoral Education."." *Equity & Excellence in Education* 44 (1): 77–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2011.529791.

Garrett, Rhianna. 2024. ""I'm Not White": Counter-Stories from Mixed Heritage Women Navigating PhDs." *Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion: An International Journal*, https://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-03-2023-0097.

Gillborn, David. 2005. "Education Policy as an Act of White Supremacy: Whiteness, Critical Race Theory and Education Reform." *Journal of Education Policy* 20 (4): 485–505. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680930500132346.

Gillborn, David. 2015. ""Intersectionality, Critical Race Theory, and the Primacy of Racism: Race, Class, Gender, and Disability in Education." *Race, Class, Gender, and Disability in Education* 21 (3): 277–287. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800414557827.

Go, Julian. 2018. "'Operation Legacy': Britain's Destruction and Concealment of Colonial Records Worldwide." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 4 (4): 439–451. https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649218793982.

Hardgrove, Abby, Esther Rootham, and Linda McDowell. 2015. "Possible Selves in a Precarious Labour Market: Youth, Imagined Futures, and Transitions to Work in the UK." *Geoforum; Journal of Physical, Human, and Regional Geosciences* 60:163–171. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.01.014.

Healy, Geraldine. 2019. ""Visible and Invisible Borders in Time and Space: History, Biography, and Work Borders in a Research Career." *Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion: An International Journal* 38 (6): 676–691. https://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-03-2019-0106.

HESA (Higher Education Statistics Agency). 2019. *Higher Education Student Statistics: UK, 2017/2018*. HESA.

Holmwood, John. 2018. "Race and the Neoliberal University: Lessons from the Public University." In *Decolonise the University*, edited by Gurminder K. Bhambra, Dalia Gebrial, and Kerem Nişancıoğlu, 37–52. London: Pluto press.

Hopkins, Peter. 2017. "Social Geography I: Intersectionality." *Progress in Human Geography* 43 (5): 937–947. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132517774367.

Hörschelmann, Kathrin. 2011. "Department Theorising Life Transitions: Geographical Perspectives." *Area* 43 (4): 378–383. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2011.01056.x.

Jones, Kenneth, and Tema Okun. 2001. "White Supremacy Culture." In *Dismantling Racism: A Workbook for Social Change Groups*, edited by Kenneth Jones, and Tema Okun, 1–8. Changework.

Joseph-Salisbury, Remi. 2019. "Institutionalised Whiteness, Racial Microaggressions and Black Bodies Out of Place in Higher Education." *Whiteness and Education* 4 (1): 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/23793406.2019.1620629.

Ladson-Billings, Gloria. 2010. "Just What is Critical Race Theory and What's it Doing in a Nice Field Like Education?." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 11 (1): 7–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/095183998236863.

Lander, Vini, and Ninetta Santoro. 2017. "Invisible and hypervisible academics: the experiences of Black and minority ethnic teacher educators." *Teaching in Higher Education* 22 (8): 1008–1021. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13562517.2017.1332029.

Lewis, Chantelle Jessica, and Jason Arday. 2023. "We'll See Things They'll Never See: Sociological Reflections on Race, Neurodiversity and Higher Education." *The Sociological Review* 71 (6): 1299–1321. https://doi.org/10.1177/00380261231184357.

Massey, Doreen. 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Mukherjee, Deya. 2022. "Educational Professionalism." In *Anti-Racism in Higher Education*, edited by Arun Verma, 148–158. Bristol University Press.

Nayak, Anoop. 2011. "Geography, Race, and Emotions: Social and Cultural Intersections." *Social & Cultural Geography* 12 (6): 548–562. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2011.601867.

Price, Patrica. 2010. "At the Crossroads: Critical Race Theory and Critical Geographies of Race." *Progress in Human Geography* 34 (2): 147–174. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132509339005.

Robertson, Susan L. 2020. *Globalising UK Higher Education* published by the Centre for Learning and Life Chances in Knowledge Economies and Societies at: http://www.llakes.org

Rose, Gillian. 1993. *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Sampson, Robert, and John Laub. Eds. 2005. *Developmental Criminology and its Discontents: Trajectories of Crime from Childhood to old age*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Scandone, Berenice. 2017. "Social Class, Ethnicity and the Process of 'Fitting In'." In *Higher Education and Social Inequalities: University Admissions, Experiences, and Outcomes*, edited by Richard Waller, Nichole Ingram, and Michael Ward, 1–21. Routledge.

Tate, Shirley Ann. 2014. "Racial Affective Economies, Disalienation and 'Race Made Ordinary'." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (13): 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.821146.

Thompson, Rachel, Robert Bell, and Sue Sharpe. 2002. "Critical Moments: Choice, Chance and Opportunity in Young People's Narratives of Transition." *Sociology* 36 (2): 335–354. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038502036002006.

UKCGE (UK Council for Graduate Education). 2020. *BME Participation in Postgraduate Research.* UKCGE.

UKCGE (UK Council for Graduate Education). 2022. *Supporting Excellent Supervisory Practice across UKRI Doctoral Training Investments.* UKCGE.

Vitae. 2022. *What do Researchers Do? Doctoral Graduate Employment, Activities and Earnings.* The Careers Research and Advisory Centre (CRAC) Limited.

Walton, Jessica, and Mandy Truong. 2023. "A Review of the Model Minority Myth: Understanding the Social, Educational and Health Impacts." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 46 (3): 391–419. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2022.2121170.

WHEN (Women's higher education network). 2023. "100 Black Women Professors Now". WHEN. https://www.whenequality.org/.

Whitchurch, Celia, William Locke, and Giulio Marini. 2021. "Challenging Career Models in Higher Education: The Influence of Internal Career Scripts and the Rise of the "Concertina" Career." *Higher Education* 82 (3): 635–650. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-021-00724-5.

Williams, Paulette, Sukhi Bath, Jason Arday, and Chantelle Lewis. 2019. *The Broken Pipeline: Barriers to Black PhD Students Accessing Research Council Funding.* Leading Routes.

Worth, Nancy. 2009. "Understanding Youth Transition as 'Becoming': Identity, Time, and Futurity." *Geoforum; Journal of Physical, Human, and Regional Geosciences* 40 (6): 1050–1060. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2009.07.007.

Worth, Nancy. 2011. "Evaluating Life Maps as a Versatile Method for Life Course Geographies." *Area* 43 (4): 405–412. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2010.00973.x.

Yosso, T. J. 2005. "Whose Culture has Capital? A Critical Race Theory Discussion of Community Cultural Wealth." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 8 (1): 69–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000341006.