

Amisi, Alende, Bates, Elizabeth ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8694-8078>  
and Wilbraham, Susan ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8512-0041> (2024)  
How does the curriculum contribute to the experiences of belongingness in higher  
education? *Psychology Teaching Review*, 30 (1). pp. 96-106.

Downloaded from: <http://insight.cumbria.ac.uk/id/eprint/7723/>

***Usage of any items from the University of Cumbria's institutional repository 'Insight' must conform to the following fair usage guidelines.***

Any item and its associated metadata held in the University of Cumbria's institutional repository Insight (unless stated otherwise on the metadata record) may be copied, displayed or performed, and stored in line with the JISC fair dealing guidelines (available [here](#)) for educational and not-for-profit activities

**provided that**

- the authors, title and full bibliographic details of the item are cited clearly when any part of the work is referred to verbally or in the written form
  - a hyperlink/URL to the original Insight record of that item is included in any citations of the work
- the content is not changed in any way
- all files required for usage of the item are kept together with the main item file.

**You may not**

- sell any part of an item
- refer to any part of an item without citation
- amend any item or contextualise it in a way that will impugn the creator's reputation
- remove or alter the copyright statement on an item.

The full policy can be found [here](#).

Alternatively contact the University of Cumbria Repository Editor by emailing [insight@cumbria.ac.uk](mailto:insight@cumbria.ac.uk).

**How does the curriculum contribute to the experiences of belongingness in higher education?**

## Abstract

This paper is a critical discussion about how the curriculum contributes to the sense of belonging within Higher Education (HE), and how the ongoing aim of decolonisation needs to incorporate a more consistent intersectional lens with the curriculum within psychology. Psychology as a discipline has been criticised for its focus on primarily conducting research with people from countries that are Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich and Democratic (WEIRD; Henrich et al., 2010). This approach has neglected a number of social groups within the wider literature and has indeed marginalised the voices and experiences of many. Through the topic of decolonisation, there has been the discussion of the importance of belonging and belongingness, but the intersectional experiences of various social groups within the curriculum has been neglected. In summary, this discussion reveals that there are several key ways in which curricula and decolonial research can contribute to belonging: 1) communication of what (who) is important; 2) consideration of student learning needs; 3) appreciation of course content that is salient to students; 4) demonstration of alignment with a wider range of philosophical approaches; 5) promotion and celebration of cultural differences which allow students to be themselves; and 6) inclusion of a wide range of factors within teaching that contribute to belonging, for example the importance of place.

*Keywords: decolonisation; belonging; curriculum; intersectionality; inclusivity*

## Introduction

Psychology as a discipline has been criticised for its focus on research that has concentrated almost entirely on recruiting participants from countries that are Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich and Democratic (WEIRD; Henrich et al., 2010). Indeed, whilst slightly outdated, Arnett (2008) found that US based psychologists were effectively working with and researching 5-7% of the human population. There have been implicit assumptions that these samples represent the human population with there being little variation on a number of key process (e.g., some “basic” cognitive processes). Despite evidence this is not the case, and that there is indeed variation on previously believed “cognitively impenetrable” tasks, this has neglected the lived experiences and cultural variation of many social groups. For years, psychologists have predominantly studied attributional processes using samples from WEIRD populations. As an example, a central theory in this field is the fundamental attribution error (FAE), which involves attributing behaviour to individual dispositions while discounting situational influences (Brady et al., 2018). Initially observed mainly in US samples, researchers primarily focused on exploring the cognitive mechanisms underlying the FAE among WEIRD populations, implicitly assuming its universality. However, a shift occurred in our understanding of the FAE when studies began including non-WEIRD samples. For instance, Miller, (1984) found that the FAE varies across different cultural contexts; in a comparison between middle-class American and Hindu Indian subjects, it was observed that American participants tended to make more dispositional attributions and fewer situational attributions compared to their Hindu Indian counterparts. Miller suggested that these variations stem from cultural differences in meaning systems; Western cultures emphasize individualism, whereas Eastern cultures adopt a more holistic perspective that considers both the individual and the situation.

This criticism of WEIRD samples has strong links with the agenda that involves the decolonisation of the psychology curriculum. Within the UK, there have been widespread calls to decolonise the curriculum by demanding an end to the dominant Western epistemological traditions,

histories, and figures (Molefe, 2016). This goes beyond simply increasing inclusivity within the curriculum and instead aim to reestablish the history of psychology through the experiences of those who have been excluded and most impacted (Phiri et al., 2023). At the forefront of these demands, student led campaigns such as decolonising the curriculum movement and ‘why is my curriculum white?’ have been crucial for challenging and dismantling the existing orthodoxy (Arday & Mirza, 2018; Peters, 2018). To create a culturally diverse curriculum, it is essential to move away from a Eurocentric approach that overlooks the contributions of people of colour as knowledge creators (Andrew et al., 2019).

A range of scholars have criticised the still dominant white narrative and “culturally odourless science” (Bhopal & Jackson, 2016), that still dominates the curriculum for undergraduate accredited psychology programmes and is reflected in a lack of cultural specificity of Western Psychology in the British Psychological Society standards which neglects consistent teaching about WEIRD samples (Waheed & Skinner, 2022). There have been attempts to address this by including modules of “cultural psychology”, but this has been criticised as having the potential to reinforce “othering” of diverse cultures (e.g., Hulme, 2018) and is integrated into an otherwise predominantly white curriculum and indeed represent “trivial surface changes” (Phiri et al., 2023, p1). This is mirrored in there being little change seen in the research. Indeed, a recent review (Jankowski et al., 2022) found the diversity of published research across a three-year period with analysis in 2019-20 revealing no significant change in the dominance of Globally Northern (95%), white (95%) and male (57%) authors over time.

These agendas are likely to inform how some student groups feel represented or “belonging” in their discipline, and in the curriculum. For example, Gillborn et al. (2023) found that their participants, who were students of colour, were calling for change and felt that psychological theories presented “white practices as the right practices” (p. 827). The importance of the student voice in the decolonisation narrative has been highlighted but is often neglected (Maine & Wagner,

2021). Previous work has identified the impact of belonging on educational attainment as well as campus climate, amongst student cohorts and subsets of outgroups (Allen & May, 2022). More recent literature has aimed to explore the racial dynamics of belonging, and how university interactions may contribute to the interplay of belonging in higher education (HE), leading to dropping out or a lack of progress within courses (Rana & Bartlett, 2022). Previous research has employed intersectional perspectives to the interplay of belonging on marginalised groups (Valenzuela, 2018); intersectional analysis reveals that systemic oppressions, including ableism, transphobia, homophobia, racism, and xenophobia, contribute to negative experiences for marginalised students (Scharrón-Del Río, 2018). Belonging emerges as a critical factor influencing academic achievement, retention, and overall success, however, not all demographic groups experience a sense of belonging equitably, especially in predominantly White Institutions (Museus, & Saelua 2018). The aim of this paper is to explore the ways in which the curriculum can contribute to feelings of belongingness in HE. This will involve introducing intersectionality within HE, highlighting decolonial research, considering intersectionality and the attainment gap through a decolonisation lens, and introduce the importance of belongingness to this issue.

### **Intersectionality, Marginalisation and HE**

The pursuit of HE is often perceived as a transformative experience, promising opportunities for personal growth, intellectual development, and career advancement (Arday, 2022). However, the reality of university life is not experienced equally as students bring with them a diverse range of intersecting identities and experiences that shape their educational journey (Frings & Ridley, 2020). Intersectionality, a concept developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), highlights the interconnectedness of multiple social identities, such as race, gender, class, sexuality, and disability (Bauer & Villa-Rueda, 2021). It asserts that individuals experience oppression and privilege not in isolation, but because of the interplay between these identities (Elaine & Macdonald, 2020).

Grant and Zwier (2011) assert that the application of intersectionality in educational contexts enables the examination of simultaneous interactions among various factors such as gender, disability, migration status, race, and social class for each student. Additionally, it facilitates an analysis of the relationship between these individual or group characteristics and the ways in which educational institutions respond to them. Consequently, intersectionality conveys how specific students (e.g., a recent migrant refugee student with behavioural disorders) experience varying degrees of exclusion in educational settings due to the way schools address or neglect the intersection of their identities, often focusing on only one facet of students' needs (Waitoller & Kozleski 2013). For instance, schools may provide a child with services related to their disability, while a recent migrant student may receive support for language acquisition or racial experiences. However, the question arises: what occurs when a child is both a refugee and has a disability. Within the context of university, intersectionality means that the experiences of students are shaped by their unique combination of identities, making it crucial to understand these complexities (Nichols, & Stahl, 2019). Within the literature, there has been a focus on how marginalised students experience HE, often with emphasis on attainment, and progression (Mahmud & Islam, 2023).

The disadvantages of marginalised groups can manifest in various ways, including limited access to educational resources, unequal representation, lower retention rates, and unequal opportunities for academic and professional advancement (Bhabha & Mahomed, 2020). Marginalisation can result from factors such as race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity, and more (Harrison & Atherton, 2021). The perspective of marginalised groups in HE gives insight into the importance of addressing and rectifying disparities to create a more inclusive and equitable educational environment (Bhopal & Jackson, 2016). Intersectional education research not only highlights these complexities but also contributes to the pursuit of educational justice by identifying and rejecting a simplistic, single-axis analysis of issues. Systems of marginalisation include framing disparity as a quality of individual students. To illustrate, the conventional terminology employed to address the disparity in educational outcomes among

students, often referred to as the 'attainment gap.' This term, focusing solely on the individual student, tends to result in policies aimed at rectifying perceived deficits, (Coote et al., 2022). However, an intersectional analysis insists that systemic disparities in learning be reconceptualized, critiqued, and addressed as an 'opportunity gap' (Collins, 2020). The crux of the problem is not solely attributed to the individual student but is rooted in a system entwined with oppressions (Harris & Patton, 2019). This system is evident in factors such as poverty, inadequately resourced and understaffed schools, hegemonic curricula, assessments, and pedagogical practices that pose obstacles rather than opportunities for marginalised student populations (Tefera & Fischman, 2018).

Disparity in educational opportunity for marginalised groups is illustrated by statistical data of degree awards. The 'attainment gap' also referred to as the 'rewarding gap', is used to call attention to the contrasting differences between the number of UK domiciled black, Asian and minority ethnic students and their white peers that achieve what's notably known as a 'good degree' - a first class or a second class (2:1; Mowat, 2018). According to statistical data derived from the Equality Challenge Unit, (2017), 77.1% of white students achieved first-class or upper second-class (2:1) degrees, in contrast to 61.7% of students from Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) backgrounds in England. A closer examination of this statistic, when stratified by specific ethnicities, demonstrated that 70% of Chinese students, 65% of Asian students, and 50% of Black students attained first-class or upper second-class degrees. Moreover, ECU's findings indicated that, six months after graduation, 7.8% of individuals from Black, Asian, and minority ethnic backgrounds were unemployed, as opposed to 4.3% of white graduates. Additionally, it was noted that 61.2% of white graduates were engaged in full-time employment, whereas 54.8% of BAME graduates were in similar circumstances. These disparities reveal the potential implications for future career prospects and development (Berry & Loke, 2011).

Attainment at university is underpinned by inclusion and belonging; overall university experiences for students can be negatively impacted by factors such as isolation, social exclusion,



and lack of identity-concordant representation (Taff & Clifton, 2022). It is suggested that many HE institutions remain in a state of denial about the attainment gap, and other issues surrounding marginalised groups, or consider it a student issue, (Panesar, 2017). Research in the UK has put more emphasis on the deficit model, (Ross & McDuff, 2018; Singh, 2011), focusing on the attributes and characteristics of the student as the main contributing factors for attainment differentials, it assumes students are lacking skills, knowledge, or experience (Seuwou & Ngwana, 2023). Such approaches should be challenged as they fail to account for the systemic disadvantages that marginalised students' experience; exclusion is exacerbated by assumptions that performance is independent of social power and privilege. As a result, on arrival at university, students from marginalised groups may feel like outsiders due to a lack of representation from others they identify with (Taff & Clifton, 2022).

HE can be particularly isolating for individuals with intersecting identities; protected characteristics appear to accentuate the adverse challenges faced regarding attainment (Miller, 2018). These individuals not only report heightened incidents of harassment and discrimination, which subsequently impact their overall well-being, but they also encounter substantial obstacles related to career advancement and representation (Nichols & Stahl, 2019). For instance, transgender and gender non-conforming students experience discrimination in admissions, housing, and restroom facilities (Rankin et al., 2019). This is exemplified by Seelman (2016), who utilised data derived from the National Transgender Discrimination Survey (NTDS) and reported a notable correlation between students being denied restroom access or gender-appropriate housing accommodations while in college, and an elevated risk of experiencing suicidal ideation. LGBTQ+ students may also encounter hostile environments that hinder their academic progress (Woodford & Kulick, 2015), Pitcher and Woodford (2018) further posit to the link with emotional distress, social exclusion, and a lack of a sense of belonging impacts university experiences, thus argues that these experiences often lead to disadvantages in attainment.

## **Intersectionality and Attainment: Is the curriculum the issue?**

Within the intersection of Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) students, remains a gap in outcomes, for example 52% of Black African students and 66% of Asian students obtained a first and second upper class degree. This posits potential difficulty for subsequent employment rates after graduation, as BAME students are known to be less likely to secure employment (HEFCE, 2018), as a first or a second upper class degree classification are a requisite for job entry (Cramer, 2021). Current data on attainment, conveys similar results to 2015-16, as all major black Asian and minority ethnic students are less likely to achieve a “good degree” in comparison to white students; 2017/18 figures display an increase in these outcomes of 82% for white students, 77% for mixed ethnicity, 70% for Asian students and 59% for Black students, (OFS, 2020).

The history of HE curriculum documents the domination of white European scientific and scholarly knowledge, something which significantly contributes to students' engagement, belonging and marginalisation (Nwadeyi, 2016). This has generated calls to redress the ‘extended shadow’ of colonial legacy in UK HE (Winter & Turner, 2022), including decolonisation of curricula in HE. Decolonisation of the curriculum may be inferred to mean action that focuses on addressing lack of race representation throughout history (Shay, 2016). However, decolonisation research should also extend much further and consider intersectional perspectives within the curriculum such as ableism, transphobia, homophobia, racism, and xenophobia, and these systemic oppressions contribute to marginalised students’ negative experiences of HE, (Andrews & Forber-Platt, 2022).

Curricula can contribute to belongingness by acknowledging a wider range of philosophical approaches. Over the past half century, curriculum scholars have debated the philosophical, epistemological questions to the origin, nature of knowledge, truth, and what counts as legitimate or high-status knowledge, (Apple 1979; Biesta 2014; Young, 2008). Norwich (2007) discusses the “dilemma of difference” in which theoretical tensions in relation to curricular design, and how pre-existing canon of knowledge contributes to the lack of accessibility in education for different groups.

Historically, the creation of many traditional curriculum philosophies did not explicitly consider the needs and perspectives of students with disabilities, minority students, or students from the LGBTQ+ community (Nouri, & Sajjadi 2014). These philosophies often reflect the historical norms and values of their times, which were not always inclusive or equitable, as they operated within a society where racial biases and inequalities were pervasive (Kings, 2019). During the time when these philosophies were prominent (late 19th and early 20th centuries), racial segregation and discrimination were pervasive in Europe, thus it is important to acknowledge that educational philosophies may have indirectly contributed to or perpetuated these systemic inequalities through their implementation (Mitchell, 2018). Demonstrably, at this time minority perspectives were not considered, a lack of presence in the curricula was indicative that such perspectives were not considered important. This exemplifies how curricula communicated not just what is important, but who. For example, the need for belongingness of marginalised perspectives within curricula was acknowledged by the inclusive education movement which gained momentum in the 1970s and 1980s as a response to the call for equal educational rights and opportunities for individuals with disabilities. Influential documents such as the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (1975) in the United States and the Salamanca Statement (1994) internationally, promoted the concept of inclusive education as a fundamental human right. A recurring issue within the educational literature revolves around the lack of unanimity regarding a universally acknowledged definition of the term 'inclusion' (Hardy & Woodcock 2015). Even with due consideration given to the socio-political context and underlying motivations driving inclusive practices, the precise connotation of being 'inclusive' remains subject to individual interpretation (Haug, 2017).

The Explicit Curriculum, as described by curriculum scholars like Le Grange (2016), encompasses the material content and textbooks provided to students, which form the foundation of what is intentionally taught through written and other communication forms. This curriculum is designed around specific learning objectives, with students' understanding assessed through various evaluation methods, focusing on both the process and outcomes of learning. Within the context of

psychology, an example of this is the teaching of the History of Psychology to first-year undergraduates, which traditionally presents a view centered on Western psychology, emphasizing theories such as Behaviourism, Psychodynamic, Cognitive, and Humanistic approaches. This approach, however, tends to overlook non-Western perspectives on selfhood, such as those highlighted by Mkhize (2004), who points out that an African worldview incorporates unique dimensions of selfhood, including relationships to time, nature, human activity, and social relations. The exclusion of these perspectives leads to what Le Grange (2016) identifies as the Null Curriculum, which refers to significant bodies of knowledge, like Indigenous Knowledge Systems, that are left out of educational content, thus marginalizing the lived experiences of some students. This exclusion not only devalues these students' backgrounds but also alienates them from fully engaging with their education and understanding their place in the world, which consequently contributes to minority students' attainment.

Despite efforts to diversify and decolonize the field of academic Psychology and curricula, biases in research publication persist. Rad, Martingano, and Ginges (2018) observed that the majority of articles in the journal *Psychological Science* were contributed by authors from English-speaking, Western countries like North America, Europe, and Australia, with little representation from Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. This imbalance leads to a significant portion of psychological research, which claims to have universal applicability, being based on a narrow and unrepresentative segment of the global population. Furthermore, their study pointed out a frequent omission of detailed information on the culture, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and geographic origin of study participants. Such omissions highlight an implicit bias towards Western norms being considered the default, challenging the assumption of universality in psychological research (Bulhan 2015). Academic research contributes to curriculum development, which further influences the materials delivered within university institutions, however the consequence of a continued western bias in research as the only viable means to create knowledge, perpetuates the ongoing feelings of

isolation and belonging experienced by marginalised students, as the research conducted reflects curriculum content taught (Heleta, 2016).

Despite this, there are examples of positive approaches to decolonising psychology have been identified across psychology departments within the UK; for example the University of East London includes a “decolonising white psychology” workshop for clinical psychology trainees in response to concerns raised by trainees (Wood & Patel, 2017). By focusing on decolonizing psychology, the workshop reiterates the importance of diversity and inclusion within the field. This approach not only benefits the trainees by broadening their understanding and competence but also serves the wider community by promoting mental health practices that are more culturally sensitive and inclusive (Lazaridou & Fernando, 2022). In addition to that, equipping clinical psychology trainees with knowledge about diverse psychological theories and practices, the workshop empowers them to serve a broader demographic more effectively. Understanding the cultural and societal contexts of mental health can lead to more empathetic and effective therapeutic interventions (Ahsan, 2020).

These positive examples should be viewed with optimism but caution. There is also evidence of little change in some aspects of this work. For example, Jankowski et al. (2022) report on a project at a UK university to track and code the “race”, gender and nationality of the reading list authors across a three-year period. They found no significant change in the dominance of the WEIRD and male authors across this time and made calls to organisational bodies to promote decolonisation as part of any revalidation and reaccreditation processes. They tentatively suggest that one barrier may be staff interest and engagement but do propose ideas for challenging this. Secondly, while workshops like these are crucial for raising awareness and sparking dialogue, they are but one component of what needs to be a much broader systemic change within academia and the field of psychology at large. Changing deeply ingrained educational and professional practices requires concerted efforts beyond singular events (Prajapati, & King, 2019). The BPS have produced a book

and run a webinar, the APA have run a conference and a webinar, but these are small changes towards creating inclusivity, where Phiri et al. (2023) recommend a full-scale re-examination of the psychological domain including the theories, treatments and other practices. They further support that this should be led by the BPS, APA and British Association for Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapies (BABCP).

Scholars have called for a need to evaluate these models and attempts to decolonise the curriculum through participatory action research (e.g., Cullen et al., 2020). For example, Maine (2022) conducted an action research project in South Africa and found postgraduate psychology students saw the challenges of decolonisation of the curriculum but there was a desire to move towards a “new” form of psychology. They felt the coloniality was exemplified through the universality of psychological theory and issues with psychological services and assessments but felt there were barriers to tackling this including the health professional councils as well as student and community factors. Studies such as these show progress within the discipline in moving this narrative forward but also highlight the challenges that remain in making larger scale changes.

## **Conclusion**

HE has the potential to tackle intersectional inequality by providing opportunity for access to education for all. However, efforts to provide this opportunity and increase diversity within sector have often involved “tokenistic” actions and deficit-based models; the latter in particular have often focused on fitting diverse students into an existing system rather than changing the system to encompass marginalised groups and unheard voices. The impact of this is seen through the persistent attainment gap we see in achievement in HE and through issues such as minority applicants being disadvantaged when applying for professional doctorates (e.g., clinical psychology; Phiri et al., 2023).

Is decolonisation the key? Some research highlights a persistent absence in the discussion of race, ethnicity, and diversifying curriculum, (Atkinson, 2018; Craig et al., 2018; Salisbury et al., 2018). Salisbury et al. (2018) reports almost a quarter of the undergraduate sociology degree programs sampled made no explicit reference to the terms race, ethnicity, or racism. Furthermore, the topic of race and ethnicity are more willingly taught as an add-on, rather than a fundamentally integrated part of the curriculum. Such exclusionary attempts of diversifying education minimize the opportunity to effectively demonstrate the outcomes of a history of patriarchy, slavery, imperialism, colonialism, white supremacy and capitalism (Molefe, 2016). In social policy, a similar picture is observed where minority authors and the discussions of race and racism remain completely marginal to publications and the curriculum (Craig et al., 2019).

When the call to decolonise the curriculum is made, they are often perceived as tokenistic, further entrenching whiteness rather than dismantling it (Qoyyimah & Exley 2020) yet it is a vital initiative aimed at dismantling the entrenched systems of power and privilege within academia, (Heleta, 2016). Despite its intentions, this movement has often overlooked the intersectionality of oppression, especially with regards to students with disabilities and those within the LGBTQ+ community, (Scharron, 2018). The decolonisation discourse, can fail to acknowledge the intersectionality of identity (Maina & Wilson, 2018). To foster a sense of belonging, it is imperative to acknowledge and integrate the perspectives of all marginalized groups, (Anderson & Riley, 2021; McShane, 2021). In the words of Audre Lorde (1984), there is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives (Qambela, 2016). Decolonising the curriculum must embrace the complexity of these lives to truly achieve its transformative potential in HE (Jarvis & Mthiyane, 2022). In summary, there are several key ways in which curricula contribute to belonging: 1) communication of what (who) is important; 2) consideration of student learning needs; 3) appreciation of course content that is salient to students; 4) demonstration of alignment with a wider range of philosophical approaches; 5) promotion and celebration of cultural differences which allow students to be themselves; and 6) inclusion of a wide range of factors within teaching that

contribute to belonging, for example the importance of place. Through addressing and increasing belonging in the curriculum for all intersectional identities we could begin as a discipline to tackle the inequality that exists and reduce the attainment gap. Gillborn et al.'s (2023) participants called for change but were confused as to where the responsibility for these changes lay – they questioned how much control lecturers had over the content of what they taught. This highlights the important role that accrediting bodies play in shaping what the curriculum and therefore undergraduate and postgraduate courses, look like. Immediate action is required to address the issues raised in this paper; as Bajwa (2020) suggests: “Talking...is no long enough. It should have never been enough”.

### References

- Ahsan, S. (2020). Holding up the mirror: Deconstructing whiteness in clinical psychology. *Journal of Critical Psychology, Counselling and Psychotherapy*, 20(3), 45-55.
- Allen, K. A., Boyle, C., Sharma, U., Patlamazoglou, L., Pentaris, P., Grové, C., ... & May, F. (2022). Belonging as a core construct at the heart of the inclusion debate, discourse, and practice. In *Research for Inclusive Quality Education: Leveraging Belonging, Inclusion, and Equity* (pp. 271-288). Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore. 10.1007/978-981-16-5908-921
- Allen, K. A., Vella-Brodrick, D., & Waters, L. (2016). Fostering school belonging in secondary schools using a socio-ecological framework. *The Educational and Developmental Psychologist*, 33(1), 97-121. doi:10.1017/edp.2016.5
- Anderson, L., & Riley, L. (2021). Crafting safer spaces for teaching about race and intersectionality in Australian Indigenous Studies. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous education*, 50(2), 229-236. <https://doi.org/10.1017/jie.2020.8>
- Andrews, D. J. C., Brown, T., Castillo, B. M., Jackson, D., & Vellanki, V. (2019). Beyond damage-centered teacher education: Humanizing pedagogy for teacher educators and preservice



teachers. *Teachers College Record*, 121(6), 1-28.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/016146811912100605>

Arday, J. (2022). 'More to prove and more to lose': race, racism and precarious employment in higher education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 43(4), 513-533.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2022.2074375>

Arday, J., & Mirza, H. S. (Eds.). (2018). *Dismantling race in higher education: Racism, whiteness and decolonising the academy*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Arnett, J. J. (2016). The neglected 95%: Why American psychology needs to become less American. In A. E. Kazdin (Ed.), *Methodological issues and strategies in clinical research* (pp. 115–132).

American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/14805-008>

Bajwa, S. (2020) 'We need to broaden the conversation to institutional bias'. Retrieved from:

<https://www.bps.org.uk/psychologist/we-need-broaden-conversation-institutional-bias>

Bauer, G. R., Churchill, S. M., Mahendran, M., Walwyn, C., Lizotte, D., & Villa-Rueda, A. A. (2021).

Intersectionality in quantitative research: A systematic review of its emergence and applications of theory and methods. *SSM-Population Health*, 14, 100798

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2021.100798>

Berry, J., & Loke, G. (2011). Improving the degree attainment of Black and minority ethnic students.

Higher Education Academy and Equality Challenge Unit. <http://www.ecu.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/external/improving-degree-attainment-bme.pdf>

Bhabha, J., Giles, W., & Mahomed, F. (Eds.). (2020). *A Better Future: The Role of Higher Education for Displaced and Marginalised People*. Cambridge University Press.

Bhopal, K., Brown, H., & Jackson, J. (2016). BME academic flight from UK to overseas higher education: aspects of marginalisation and exclusion. *British Educational Research Journal*,

42(2), 240-257. <https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3204>

- Biesta, G. (2014). Is philosophy of education a historical mistake? Connecting philosophy and education differently. *Theory and Research in Education*, 12(1), 65-76.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/14778785135173>
- Brady, L. M., Fryberg, S. A., & Shoda, Y. (2018). Expanding the interpretive power of psychological science by attending to culture. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 115(45), 11406-11413.
- Bulhan, H. A. (2015). Stages of colonialism in Africa: From occupation of land to occupation of being. *Journal of Social and Political psychology*, 3(1).
- Collins, P. H., & Bilge, S. (2020). *Intersectionality*. John Wiley & Sons.  
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119314967.ch7>
- Craig, M. A., Rucker, J. M., & Richeson, J. A. (2018). The pitfalls and promise of increasing racial diversity: Threat, contact, and race relations in the 21st century. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 27(3), 188-193. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721417727860>
- Cramer, L. (2021). Alternative strategies for closing the award gap between white and minority ethnic students. *Elife*, 10, e58971. <https://doi.org/10.7554/eLife.58971>
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Race, gender, and sexual harassments. *Cal. J. Rev.*, 65, 1467.
- Crenshaw, K. (1995). Mapping the margins. *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement*, 3(15), 357-383.
- Crenshaw, K. (2013). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. In *Feminist legal theories* (pp. 23-51). Routledge.
- Elaine Muirhead, V., Milner, A., Freeman, R., Doughty, J., & Macdonald, M. E. (2020). What is intersectionality and why is it important in oral health research?. *Community Dentistry and Oral Epidemiology*, 48(6), 464-470. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdoe.12573>
- Frings, D., Gleibs, I. H., & Ridley, A. M. (2020). What moderates the attainment gap? The effects of social identity incompatibility and practical incompatibility on the performance of students

- who are or are not Black, Asian or Minority Ethnic. *Social Psychology of Education*, 23, 171-188. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11218-019-09531-4>
- Gillborn, S., Woolnough, H., Jankowski, G., & Sandle, R. (2023). "Intensely white": psychology curricula and the (re) production of racism. *Educational Review*, 75(5), 813-832. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2021.1978402>
- Grant, C. A., & Zwier, E. (2011). Intersectionality and student outcomes: Sharpening the struggle against racism, sexism, classism, ableism, heterosexism, nationalism, and linguistic, religious, and geographical discrimination in teaching and learning. *Multicultural perspectives*, 13(4), 181-188. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15210960.2011.616813>
- Hardy, I., & Woodcock, S. (2015). Inclusive education policies: Discourses of difference, diversity and deficit. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 19(2), 141-164. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2014.908965>
- Harris, J. C., & Patton, L. D. (2019). Un/doing intersectionality through higher education research. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 90(3), 347-372. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2018.1536936>
- Harrison, N., & Atherton, G. (Eds.). (2021). *Marginalised Communities in Higher Education: Disadvantage, Mobility and Indigeneity*. Routledge.
- Haug, P. (2017). Understanding inclusive education: ideals and reality. *Scandinavian journal of Disability Research*, 19(3), 206-217. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15017419.2016.1224778>
- HEFCE (2017) Higher Education Funding: Grant Letter from the Secretary of State, <https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20170712122502/http://www.hefce.ac.uk/news/newarchive/2017/Name,112915,en.html> (last accessed on 15/11/19).
- Heleta, S. (2016). Decolonisation of higher education: Dismantling epistemic violence and Eurocentrism in South Africa. *Transformation in Higher Education*, 1(1), 1-8. <https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC-57acdfafc>

- Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 33(2-3), 61-83. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X0999152X>
- Hulme, J. A., McDermott, H., & Kent, A. (2022). Truly inclusive education: Teaching qualitative methods in psychology to enhance inclusion in the higher education psychology curriculum. *Qualitative Methods in Psychology Bulletin*. <https://doi.org/10.53841/bpsqmip.2022.1.34.22>
- Jankowski, G., Sandle, R., & Brown, M. (2022). Challenging the lack of BAME Authors in a Psychology Curriculum. *Psychology of Women Section Review*, 5(1), 18-36. <https://doi.org/10.53841/bpspowe.2022.5.1.18>
- Jolibert, C., & Wesselink, A. (2012). Research impacts and impact on research in biodiversity conservation: The influence of stakeholder engagement. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 22, 100-111. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2012.06.012>
- King, L. J. (2019). Interpreting Black history: Toward a Black history framework for teacher education. *Urban Education*, 54(3), 368-396. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085918756716>
- Lazaridou, F., & Fernando, S. (2022). Deconstructing institutional racism and the social construction of whiteness: A strategy for professional competence training in culture and migration mental health. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 59(2), 175-187.
- Le Grange, L. (2020). Decolonising the university curriculum: The what, why and how. In *Transnational education and curriculum studies* (pp. 216-233). Routledge.
- Lorde, A., Abelow, H., Barale, M. A., & Halperin, D. M. (1984). *Uses of the erotic: The erotic as power*.
- Mahmud, A., & Islam, M. (2023). Intersectional oppression: A reflexive dialogue between Muslim academics and their experiences of Islamophobia and exclusion in UK Higher Education. *Sociology Compass*, 17(2), e13041. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.13041>
- Maina-Okori, N. M., Koushik, J. R., & Wilson, A. (2018). Reimagining intersectionality in environmental and sustainability education: A critical literature review. *The Journal of Environmental Education*, 49(4), 286-296. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00958964.2017.1364215>

- McShane, J. (2021). What does it mean to 'decolonise' gender studies?: Theorising the decolonial capacities of gender performativity and intersectionality. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 22(2), 62-77.
- Miller, J. G. (1984). Culture and the development of everyday social explanation. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 46(5), 961–978. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.46.5.961>
- Mitchell, J. C. (2018). *Teaching the General Capability of Ethical understanding in the Australian Curriculum: Classroom teachers' perspectives* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Melbourne).
- Mkhize, N. (2004). Psychology: an African perspective. *Critical psychology*, 24-52.
- Molefe, T. O. (2016). Oppression must fall. *World Policy Journal*, 33(1), 30-37.
- Mowat, J. G. (2018). Closing the attainment gap—a realistic proposition or an elusive pipe-dream?. *Journal of Education Policy*, 33(2), 299-321.
- Museus, S. D., Yi, V., & Saelua, N. (2018). How culturally engaging campus environments influence sense of belonging in college: An examination of differences between White students and students of color. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 11(4), 467.
- Nichols, S., & Stahl, G. (2019). Intersectionality in higher education research: A systematic literature review. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 38(6), 1255-1268.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07294360.2019.1638348>
- Norwich, B. (2007). *Dilemmas of difference, inclusion and disability: International perspectives and future directions*.
- Nouri, A., & Sajjadi, S. M. (2014). Emancipatory Pedagogy in Practice: Aims, Principles and Curriculum Orientation. *The International Journal of Critical Pedagogy*, 5(2).
- Nwadeyi, L. (2016, June 29). 'We all have a responsibility to disrupt the status quo'. Mail & Guardian. Retrieved June 30, 2016, from <http://mg.co.za/article/2016-06-29-we-allhave-agency-and-we-must-use-it-to-disrupt-the-status-quo>

- Panesar, L. (2017). Academic support and the BAME attainment gap: using data to challenge assumptions. *Spark: UAL Creative Teaching and Learning Journal*, 2(1), 45-49.
- Peters, M. A., Rider, S., Hyvönen, M., & Besley, T. (Eds.). (2018). *Post-truth, fake news: Viral modernity & higher education*. Springer.
- Phiri, P., Sajid, S., & Delanerolle, G. (2023). Decolonising the psychology curriculum: a perspective. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 14, 1193241. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2023.1193241>
- Pitcher, E. N., Camacho, T. P., Renn, K. A., & Woodford, M. R. (2018). Affirming policies, programs, and supportive services: Using an organizational perspective to understand LGBTQ+ college student success. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 11(2), 117. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000048>
- Prajapati, R., Kadir, S., & King, S. (2019, November). Dealing with racism within clinical psychology training: Reflections of three BAME trainee clinical psychologists. In *Clinical Psychology Forum* (Vol. 323, pp. 20-24).
- Qoyyimah, U., Singh, P., Doherty, C., & Exley, B. (2020). Teachers' professional judgement when recontextualising Indonesia's official curriculum to their contexts. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, 28(2), 183-203. <https://doi.org/10.1177/096372141772786>
- Rad, M. S., Martingano, A. J., & Ginges, J. (2018). Toward a psychology of Homo sapiens: Making psychological science more representative of the human population. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 115(45), 11401-11405.
- Rana, K. S., Bashir, A., Begum, F., & Bartlett, H. (2022, May). Bridging the BAME Attainment Gap: Student and Staff Perspectives on Tackling Academic Bias. In *Frontiers in Education* (Vol. 7, p. 868349). *Frontiers*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2022.868349>
- Rankin, S., Garvey, J. C., & Duran, A. (2019). A retrospective of LGBT issues on US college campuses: 1990–2020. *International Sociology*, 34(4), 435-454. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026858091985142>

- Ross, F. M., Tatam, J. C., Hughes, A. L., Beacock, O. P., & McDuff, N. (2018). "The great unspoken shame of UK Higher Education": addressing inequalities of attainment. *African Journal of Business Ethics*, 12(1). <http://dx.doi.org/10.15249/12-1-172>
- Scharrón-Del Río, M. R. (2018). Intersectionality is not a choice: Reflections of a queer scholar of color on teaching, writing, and belonging in LGBTQ studies and academia. *Journal of Homosexuality*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2018.1528074>
- Seelman, K. L. (2016). Transgender adults' access to college bathrooms and housing and the relationship to suicidality. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 63(10), 1378-1399. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2016.1157998>
- Seuwou, P., Dodzo, N., Osho, Y., Ajaefobi, W., & Ngwana, T. A. (2023). Exploring the Factors that Impact Ethnic Minority Students' Attainment at a British University. *Journal of Educational Research and Review*, 6(1).
- Shay, S. (2016). Decolonising the curriculum: It's time for a strategy. *The Conversation*, 13.
- Singh, G. (2011). *Black and minority ethnic (BME) students' participation in higher education: improving retention and success: A synthesis of research evidence*. Higher Education Academy. <http://hdl.voced.edu.au/10707/267367>.
- Taff, S. D., & Clifton, M. (2022). Inclusion and Belonging in Higher Education: A Scoping Study of Contexts, Barriers, and Facilitators. *Higher Education Studies*, 12(3), 122-133.
- Tefera, A. A., Powers, J. M., & Fischman, G. E., Eds. (2018). Intersectionality in Education. *Review of Research in Education*, 42(1). <https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X18768504>
- Equality Challenge Unit (2017). Equality in higher education: students statistical report 2017. London: Equality Challenge Unit.
- Valenzuela, M. A. (2018). *Finding Comunidad: Latino Gay/Queer Students' Co-curricular Experiences of Empowerment and Marginality at a Public University*. University of California, Los Angeles. Retrieved from <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/finding-i-comunidad-latino-gay-queer-students-co/docview/2085911628/se-2>

Waheed, H., & Skinner, R. (2022). Decolonising psychology: Back to the future. *The Psychologist*.

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/365172834\\_Decolonising\\_Psychology\\_Back\\_to\\_the\\_future](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/365172834_Decolonising_Psychology_Back_to_the_future)

Waitoller, F. R., & Kozleski, E. B. (2013). Understanding and Dismantling Barriers for Partnerships for Inclusive Education: A Cultural Historical Activity Theory Perspective. *International Journal of Whole Schooling*, 9(1), 23-42. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2012.11.006>

Winter, J., Webb, O., & Turner, R. (2022). Decolonising the curriculum: A survey of current practice in a modern UK university. *Innovations in Education and Teaching International*, 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14703297.2022.2121305>

Woodford, M. R., & Kulick, A. (2015). Academic and social integration on campus among sexual minority students: The impacts of psychological and experiential campus climate. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 55, 13-24. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-014-9683-x>

Young, M. (2008). From constructivism to realism in the sociology of the curriculum. *Review of Research in Education*, 32(1), 1-28.