

# Through a glass, darkly: Gazing into the field of carers in academia

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## Abstract

Carers in academia is a young but growing field, which has quickly expanded since the 2000s and has gained new momentum during the Covid-19 pandemic and the accompanying disruptions of personal and professional lives. It is also one which, through its associations with reproductive and women's work, remains relatively marginalised. This article examines the English language research literature on carers in academia. Drawing upon feminist poststructuralist theories, we contend that, because the literature is not 'out of the discourses' of care and academic work and, instead, contributes to construct the objects it speaks of, the state of the field is a matter of cognitive and social justice. Following the presentation of the methodological and theoretical frameworks and a discussion of the authorial voices framing the field, we consider the relative in/visibilities of various groups of care/rs. Drawing on a review which identified 158 relevant texts, we find research in the field broadly ignores male, disabled, BME and LGBTQ+ carers, as well as ancillary workers and professional groups other than academics, and forms of care work other than parenting healthy, abled children. We then move to discussing the liminalities of care, noting the absence of studies of care work in academia related to non-humans and to end of life. We conclude by pointing out the need for further reflexivity in terms of how processes of knowledge production include and exclude in ways that are complex and fluid.

## KEYWORDS

carers, gender, higher education, social justice

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## Context and implications

### Rationale for this study

Carers in academia is a young but growing field, which has quickly expanded since the 2000s and has gained new momentum during the Covid-19 pandemic and the accompanying disruptions of personal and professional lives. The literature is not 'out of the discourses' of care and academic work and, instead, contributes to construct the objects it speaks of. As a result, reviewing the state of the field is a matter of cognitive and social justice (Visvanathan, 1997).

### Why the new findings matter

Drawing on a review which identified 158 relevant texts, we find research in the field broadly ignores male, disabled, BME and LGBTQ+ carers, as well as ancillary workers and professional groups other than academics, and forms of care work other than parenting healthy, abled children. We also take note of the relative absence of studies of care work in academia related to non-humans and to end of life.

### Implications for researchers and policy makers

The literature review points to new avenues for research on carers in HE, including on groups of carers who have so far been overlooked. An intersectional approach, which considers how being a carer interacts with other identities, is also necessary to capture a more sophisticated understanding of this group. Although building up a picture of carers' experiences is a crucial step in the process of gaining recognition, a focus on norms and cultures rather than carers would also enable a shift away from the deficit discourses which sometimes permeate some academic texts and policy interventions.

## INTRODUCTION

The emergence of critical and poststructuralist theories in the late twentieth century has highlighted how scientific discourses, once considered 'neutral', are in fact constitutive of the realities they explore and contribute to define how people see the world (Foucault, 1969). Although this understanding of science is not new (see, e.g., Weber, 1919), this set of theories has led to a radical epistemological and ontological shift in how we think of knowledge production. Without invalidating the idea of 'science', these theories have called for, and generated, a more refined understanding of scientific discourses as their upholders recognise, normalise and reflect upon the ways researchers' positionalities and subjectivities are framed by power relationships (Harding, 1991).

Historically, scholarly processes of knowledge production have been dominated by the privileged, often White, middle-class men based in the global North. The views of this small élite have disproportionately defined which issues are deemed worth researching and which onto-epistemological, theoretical and methodological approaches are deemed valid. Onto-epistemologies and theories are linked to embodied subjectivities (Motta & Bennett, 2018) and, indeed, under their pretence of neutrality, 'universalist' claims subsuming the neat separation of the researcher and the 'outside world' have been shown to err towards

masculinist and postcolonialist standpoints (Delphy, 2010; Héritier, 2002, 1996). The effects of these pseudo-universal claims on processes of knowledge production are well evidenced, from the construction of the global South and ethnic minority groups as a terrain for data collection (Connell, 2007) or high-risk medical experimentation (Skloot, 2010), to procedures considering the abled, male body as the default template for all bodies (Criado Perez, 2019).

Research in the field of higher education (HE) has a long-lasting history of entanglements with postcolonial, masculinist frameworks, as underlined by a growing critical scholarship (Burke et al., 2019; Gray & Nicholas, 2019). Although such entanglements are not specific to HE, these frameworks have been particularly entrenched within forms of education constructed as 'superior' (or 'higher'). In this context, it is then maybe unsurprising that care, like other activities culturally associated with women, has, more often than not, been broadly dismissed as unworthy of empirical and theoretical considerations.

The colluding of the scholar—and, *a fortiori*, of the scholar researching other scholars, as is often the case in HE research—with the 'bachelor boy' (a shorthand for White, middle-class, care-free masculinity; see, e.g., Edwards, 1993; Hinton-Smith, 2012) constitutes a resilient feature of academic cultures (see detailed discussion in Lynch, 2022). In medieval times, university scholars, in the UK and other European countries, were primarily (celibate) monks. The Philosophy of Enlightenment marked an onto-epistemological and structural turn, with the establishment of modern scientific institutions and the emergence of the 'rational thinker' (Descartes, 1996 [1641]). Since the 1990s, the rise of neoliberal ideologies and the implementation of New Public Management have led to significant academic reforms. In the UK and in England in particular, where we write from, HE, not unlike the school sector, has turned into a *quasi market* (Glennerster, 1991), with institutions asserting a unique ethos as they globally compete to attract specific segments of the student population and seek recognition for their research and innovation activities. This new neoliberal ecology has led to changes in the discursive positionings of the HE population which, increasingly, is expected to demonstrate the attributes of the care-free worker as academia demands full availability and loyalty of its members (Henderson & Moreau, 2020; Lynch, 2010). This image of the scholar is further blurred by the accumulation over the years of various layers of policies and initiatives, as the association of the 'bachelor boy' coexists with, for example, growing concerns for equality and diversity, including in relation to the composition of the HE workforce, although such concerns do not always extend to carers. This complexity of the HE 'policyscape' (Mettler, 2016) is also exacerbated by the increased differentiation of the sector resulting from the complex patterns of national and global competition (Xu & Montgomery, 2019).

And yet, although HE has considerably transformed since its inception, the linkage of academic excellence with the 'bachelor boy' continues. Suffice here to recall the disproportionate allocation of markers of esteem (from giving keynotes at conferences to being a recipient of the Nobel Prize) to White, middle-class men working in institutions based in the global North—a stunningly persistent pattern considering the marked statistical feminisation and other radical transformations of the HE population during the second half of the twentieth century in the UK and in many other countries (Leathwood & Read, 2009; Whitty et al., 2015). To put it simply, the academic population has diversified but this diversification has only been associated with a partial cultural redefinition of academic excellence (Moreau, 2016). The sociology of HE continues to overwhelmingly model its conceptualisations of the scholar on the 'bachelor boy' of academia, favouring masculinist and postcolonial analytical lenses which misrecognise those who are not aligned with ancient, narrow definitions of academic excellence. As a result, carers in particular, and those researching this group, are either rendered invisible or disvalued. Yet these patterns of invisibility and misrecognition are increasingly contested. It is precisely those contestations, primarily in the

form of a critical and feminist scholarship challenging the hegemonic, long-lasting discourse of academia as care-free, which this article seeks to engage with.

Further to setting up the context and the scope for this article, we now turn to presenting its theoretical and methodological underpinnings.

## THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS

Over the past decades, a growing body of literature has explored the experiences of women, including mothers, in the workplace, with some of this work focusing on those in academic employment (Le Feuvre et al., 1999; Raddon, 2002). In parallel, some research has explored the experiences of mature students and of those 'returning' to HE later in life (Edwards, 1993). However, the overlap between mature students and student carers is only partial and carers as a category in its own right has only emerged recently in the sociologies of HE. For example, when it comes to the HE student population, mentions of 'student parent' or 'student carer' are hard to come by until the 2000s. It is around that time that Karen Danna Lynch (Danna Lynch, 2008) published her novel study of student mothers in US academe and Tamsin Hinton-Smith a monograph based on her PhD thesis of UK-based lone student parents (Hinton-Smith, 2012). In the UK, the launch of a dedicated funding programme (*Student Parents and Women's Education*) by the Nuffield Foundation, a UK-based charity, precipitated the emergence of student parents as a category of its own, leading to various publications about this group (Brooks, 2012; Callender et al., 2014; Lyonette et al., 2015). The most eloquent evidence of the newly gained visibility of this category in the research literature lies maybe in the addition of a chapter on student parents by Margaret Sallee (2019) to the updated version of an edited volume on *Student Engagement in Higher Education*, whose earlier 2009 and 2013 editions altogether ignored this group (Quaye et al., 2019). In the context of the global Covid-19 pandemic, students and HE staff have found themselves negotiating new alignments and conflicts between care and paid work, providing a welcome stimulus for research into the field and growing awareness of the centrality of care work in maintaining our worlds (Tronto, 1993). Yet, as we shall see, research on care in HE remains patchy and, often, like the very group it investigates, sits at the margins of academia. It is often considered as 'niche' and can be faced with great resistance from 'mainstream' sociological theories.

In contrast with our earlier work about care/rs in academia (e.g., Moreau, 2016) this article does not involve fieldwork in its conventional designation, although one may argue that the literature constitutes our 'fieldwork'. This paper is solely informed by our 'gazing' into research texts on staff and student caregivers in academic settings. Similar in this to the texts we engaged with through the literature search, we recognise that our gazing into the field is part of a process that constructs the very subjects we research. In that respect, the literature review, like the texts it calls upon, is not 'out of the discourses' of care and academic work but a part of it (Hook, 2016). Gazing is never a neutral process. This view is consistent with our theoretical understanding of the social world, as we draw on poststructuralist and feminist frameworks which seek to understand how positionalities and subjectivities are framed by intersectional relationships of power, including through their discursive construction in the process of knowledge production (Foucault, 1972). Although we cannot claim objectivity (in contrast here with the positivist, postcolonial approach to '*mapping* the field', which often underpins literature reviews and commodifies knowledge as if it were little parcels that can be counted and, together, form the social world), we can, however, reflect on the processes through which this review was produced. As we renounce naïve claims of objectivity and of being able to 'step out' of the discourse, we (the authors) seek trustworthiness in acknowledging our own positionalities. We do appreciate that our experiences of and perspectives

on research in general and on carers in HE in particular are framed by our identities as White, heterosexual women, and the mothers of teenagers. Both of us have experience of juggling HE studies and academic employment with parenting—a key incentive from our own admission to researching this topic. We also occupy contrasted positions in terms of our linguistic, national and academic identities. All of this is likely to have informed our gaze into the field of care and HE.

Carers in academia is not a formed object, whose contours are clearly delineated. Instead, this contouring is contested—for example, when research participants and researchers discuss what/who ‘counts’ as care/r or, even, what counts as ‘academia’ (see, e.g., Moreau & Robertson, 2019). Although inclusion and exclusion guidelines were drafted to frame the data collection in ways which were consistent throughout and ensure that the scale of the project was proportionate with the limited resources available, we acknowledge the arbitrary nature of those guidelines.

After establishing an initial search date range of 2016–2020, it quickly became evident that it may be helpful to expand the period of time covered to capture some of the earlier work (among which some may now be considered as ‘influential’). As a result, the date range was amended to cover the 2010–20 period. Due to the time scale of the project and our language skills, we only focused on the literature in the English language—something we view as a major limitation as it delineates which voices get to be heard. With this in mind, it is maybe unsurprising that the research texts identified emanated overwhelmingly from the UK, the USA and Australia. This over-representation of researchers based in Anglo-Saxon countries is also likely to reflect broader patterns in terms of global redistributive justice (Fraser, 2013), including the deeply unequal allocation of research funding, and of the linkage between the global North scholar and academic excellence (Connell, 2007).

Definitions of care/rs have practical and equitable implications. As our focus is on carers *in* academia, we agreed to include all carers studying or working in a HE (tertiary level) institution (HEI). The inclusion of students and workers (including those in academic, professional, leadership and management, and ancillary roles) was deliberate, reflecting our concern for in/equalities in their diversity and intersectionality. Likewise, we adopted an inclusive perspective as per what counted as ‘caring responsibility’. The criteria included parents but also any individual with caring responsibilities for another being, human or non-human, with some diversity in terms of what the care work consisted of (e.g., emotional, physical, practical or organisational), and of its presential, online or *idée*lle (‘thought-like’) quality.

Defining the criteria for inclusion was an iterative, negotiated process. For example, caring for animal companions, pregnancy and dealing with loss in its various forms (including miscarriage and stillbirth) were explored in the later stages of the review, with these additions highlighting the somewhat arbitrary delineation of what constitutes care. The review was also guided by some of our previous interactions with scholars in the field. For example, the inclusion of caring for pets while working with Emily Henderson on a separate project (Henderson & Moreau, 2020) clearly influenced our decision to enlarge the ‘care-for’ category to non-human species. Although Young Adult Carers (YAC) are widely classed as being between 14 and 25 years old, some documents presented relevant information regarding our focus demographic. However, some articles which were classified as YAC focused on the younger ages of this age range, speaking, for example, of juggling schoolwork and care work. We did not want to exclude the YAC group as a whole as there were some relevant articles regarding young carers in HE from 18+ and as a result, the stories from these young people were deemed relevant to this review. An issue transversal to the above was the relevance of the text to our focus. Indeed, many texts touch upon carers in HE without explicitly discussing these issues or focusing on this group. In particular, there is a wealth of research about academic careers and gender that overlaps with the topic but does not focus on it from a care angle, leading to the decision that this work would not be included in the literature



review. Fact sheets and informational briefings were included, however blogs and newspaper articles, after careful deliberation, were excluded due to the scope of results and limited time frame for this research. Last but not least, we agreed that, to retain our focus on the relationship between the 'personal' and the 'academic', we would only consider forms of care work emanating from outside academia, for example excluding research solely considering how women disproportionately look after students and other staff compared with their male counterparts (e.g., Acker & Feuerwerker, 1996).

Following the definition of the inclusion criteria, an online search was carried out, using two platforms identified as initial search points: our institutional library website and Google Scholar. Both platforms provided the option to conduct in-depth searches, with the opportunity to perform advanced searches and include specific terms and requests—a particularly useful function when working from a list of criteria. The institutional library interface enabled us to search various bibliographical databases through one point of entry as it spans a large number of databases across academic subjects (15 in Education only, including, for example, ERIC and SCOPUS), while Google Scholar was useful due to the scope that searches were providing and the ability to search multiple journals, publications and websites simultaneously. It was also our view that the combination of an academic and a non-academic platform would facilitate the identification of a broader range of texts. In addition, open calls were circulated to scholars known to us for their work in the field. Once identified, articles were browsed, looking for the signposting to more relevant literature. A separate bibliography has been created as a result of the literature search and can be consulted online. Last, due to the diverse terminology referring to care and caring responsibilities, notes were made throughout the search of key terms as we identified derivatives and synonyms. Using these terms to search the databases facilitated the capture of further texts.

The literature search led to the identification of a total number of 158 documents deemed relevant to this research, all of them listed under the tracking tool (see further). This corpus included: 85 journal articles, 22 theses, 14 book/book chapters, 32 research reports, two conference presentation provided in a PowerPoint or article format and two documents from policy websites. Due to the scope of the materials sourced, we designed various tools to log, track and document the results of the literature search. Four documents were created to log the location of sources, documentation of search trails and any searches or search terms that were deemed unhelpful. By unhelpful, we mean search terms that generated documents that were irrelevant due to differentiations in spelling and abbreviations or terms that were too generic and subsequently produced literature that did not fit the inclusion criteria. As it became clear that one single document was not going to be sufficient to effectively log the various threads and themes that emerged from the research, four databases were created and cross-referenced as we reviewed their content: Literature Search: Trail Document (Document A); Source Tracking Table (B); Research Literature Categorisation (C); and Threads of Research (D). Documents B, C and D can be consulted in the appendix, with A not provided due to being a working document.

Once a relevant document was identified, it was imported into a bibliographic database software (RefWorks) and assigned a reference ID number. This number was then used in all corresponding records to log and categorise the literature for analysis. Using Ref ID numbers and a similar logging system across the documents meant that the tracking documents (A–D) were easy to use as each text could be cross-referenced.

The reference Trail Document (A) was created to provide a clear route of where documents were initially sourced from and whether they were directly obtained or found via a secondary reference. In this instance, an additional key was created to distinguish references that were linked to parenting—a large proportion of research into the field as noted in earlier work (Hook et al., 2022)—and 'other' caring responsibilities. The entries were colour

coded in relation to position (employee status or student) and to the nature of their caring responsibilities.

The Source Tracking table (B) was created to categorise both the type of output (e.g., journal article, thesis, etc.) and its source. This was used to help identify any recurring places of publication for this field of research for further analysis. By creating this table, we were able to see which publications were likely to issue articles surrounding this topic and this then provided us with a further platform to explore for more relevant literature. This table was also used to identify any areas that had attracted limited attention in research circles.

The Research Literature Categorisation table (C) was created to include geographic location of study (where the research was carried out), type of output (journal article, thesis, research report, etc.), sample size (number of research participants), sample demographic (the caring and employee/student status of participants involved in the study, e.g., student parents, academic parents, etc.) and the methodology used (data collection method used in the study, e.g., interviews, survey, etc.). A note was also made regarding whether the research conducted was qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods. For the purpose of our review, we define mixed methods as papers using qualitative and quantitative research methods (rather than, for example, a combination of qualitative methods). This document enabled us to visualise, on a larger scale, any threads or commonalities between the texts reviewed and, as per the above, to highlight any areas that may have been neglected by researchers. For example, we were able to visualise how the English language literature was distributed across various regions of the world. This table also allowed us to visualise the methodology choices for this area of research and the tools for data collection most widely used.

A further document titled Threads of Research (D) was created to analyse specific themes. Each reference was placed into corresponding sections, depending on the thread it fit within. The three main thread topics were Position, Nature of Care Responsibilities, and Identities, reflecting in this our earlier research on the topic, which shows that these three dimensions play a significant role in the processes which render in/visible and mis/recognise carers' lives (Moreau, 2016). The Position category included sub-categories such as academics, students, leader and managers, as well as those in other professional and ancillary positions. The Nature of Care Responsibilities category set out the range of care responsibilities spoken about in these research studies and included elderly parents, parenting for children, including adult children and those with Special Educational Needs and Disability (SEND) and health issues, siblings/friends/grandchildren/parents/other individual, and animal companions. This categorisation was one that grew as the literature search progressed and it became obvious that care and caring responsibilities were not as clear-cut as sometimes suggested, but rather a wider scope that includes many different scenarios. The Identities category included aspects as diverse as social class, SEND, sexuality, ethnic minority, gender, sole parenting, and pregnancy/miscarriage. It was crucial to this project to categorise our findings into these equity areas to enable us to identify which perspectives are being overlooked.

Reference IDs were placed in as many corresponding categories as needed to enable a thematic analysis to take place which, in turn, began to show clear lines of correlation between carers and social in/justices. The references uploaded in the RefWorks bibliographic software were cross-referenced into two folders: one for caring responsibilities as a whole and secondly, grouped by authors, as a way to capture at a glance which voices dominate the field. This was to observe any trends in researchers and to identify any potential experts within the field. Finally, a list of references suggested by colleagues was also added to this document to maintain accountability of the trail.

## AUTHORIAL VOICES FRAMING THE FIELD

The work captured through the literature review is overwhelmingly produced by authors based in the USA, UK (often, England), Australia and Canada. These authorial voices dominate the field with other countries having sparse, and sometimes no, research available in the English language. Although the prevalence of Anglo-Saxon research is very much to be expected due to our sole consideration of work in English literature, it is also likely to reflect the deeply unequal distribution of research resources across the globe we alluded to earlier in this article. Based on the returns generated by the literature search, two of the three journals that published the most in this field during the period considered are both UK-based (*Studies in Higher Education* and *Gender and Education*). Research in this area tends to be produced by researchers who are not only located in the above-named countries but who also research their country of residence, with few exceptions (e.g., Rachel Brooks' cross-national comparison of the UK and Denmark; Brooks, 2012).

As well as the statistical dominance of researchers conducting research in and about their (wealthy, Anglo-Saxon) country of residence, another pattern relates to the prevalence of female authorial voices, many of whom also appear to be, at the time of writing those texts, the mothers of young children and, in the main, to present as White. However, information on ethnicity, as well as age, social class, sexuality and dis/ability is not openly accessible, thus touched upon but not discussed in detail here. Considering that only a small number of academics have researched this field (with maybe the exception of research on academic mothers), it is relevant to note that several doctoral students (PhD and EdD) have made it their focus in the recent years (see, e.g., Dent, 2021 and King, 2020, in the UK, and Hook, 2016, in Australia)—an element which suggests capacity-building in the field.

As a result of the composite dimensions of their identities, these authors—ourselves included—sit at the intersection of relationships of power that operate in ways which simultaneously allocate some privileges and marginalise them. On the one hand, these scholars are employed by institutions based in wealthy, Anglo-Saxon countries and, to our knowledge, often are White. On the other hand, they are women who have, based on the information they share in their writing or from our previous interactions, caring responsibilities (usually as the mother of young children, including, for some, as single mothers). As White individuals living in countries where the research infrastructure is developed and (relatively) open to women, they may have met limited resistance to accessing HE. However, as women, it is likely that their authorial voices may have been stifled as a result of the long-lasting cultural association of women with teaching rather than research and writing (Lynch, 2022; Woolf, 1929). Since HE research in particular has been criticised for being imbued with masculinist values (Burke et al., 2019), women's involvement in a field culturally associated with femininity (care) may be read in relation to their complex positioning at the crux of various power relationships. This matrix allows women to access certain positions and segments culturally constructed as compatible with (White, middle-class, cis-gendered, abled) femininity. However, in yet another illustration of the gendered hierarchies operating in academia, those positions and segments where women concentrate tend to attract lower rewards compared to those associated with masculinity. Although they have sufficient privileges to research care, research on care work and other aspects culturally associated with women and minority groups has continued to be marginalised and, often, altogether ignored, within 'mainstream' (often a proxy for 'masculinist') sociology of HE and employment. Indeed, these authorial voices are curated through editing and publishing processes, which are also indicative of the field and of its status within its broader domain. It is significant to recall here that, as far as this literature review is concerned, the two most prolific journals (*Studies in Higher Education* and *Gender and Education*) are broadly viewed as specialist journals of direct relevance to the literature considered in this project.



The epistemologies and methodologies of research on carers are linked to the genealogy of the research and availability of funding. Doctoral theses and their authors' subsequent publications often establish strong links or even conflate academic research and experiential knowledge, as the researcher's hyphenated identity as a student-carer orient, from their own admissions, the identification of a research topic and overall approach. For example, Genine Hook's PhD and subsequent monograph on being a single parent student (Hook, 2016), Kitty King's EdD on academic mothers of children with disabilities (King, 2020), and, prior to these, Tamsin Hinton-Smith's PhD on single parents (Hinton-Smith, 2012) are linked to their life experiences. Such work also tends to favour a qualitative approach, which captures the experiences of student carers, whether the chosen method draws on interviews (King and Hinton-Smith) or auto-ethnography (Hook). In comparison, research deriving from funded research projects tends to draw on a broader range of research methods, including a mix of survey, interviews, focus groups and secondary data analysis. This is, for example, characteristic of the work funded by the Nuffield Foundation's *Student Parents and Women's Education Programme* in the noughties (see earlier), leading to work often including a strong policy focus and recommendation component. An intermediary type of research relates to work based on one single institution (usually anonymised although findings hint to the authors conducting the study in their own institution; see e.g., Wainwright & Marandet, 2010, and prior to that Gerrard & Robert, 2006).

## CARE MATTERS: IN/VISIBILITIES

### Status and position

The majority of the research identified in our search focused on students, with the vast majority looking at the parenting of able-bodied children, the default carer identity emerging from these research accounts. A total of 121 papers spoke directly about students whereas just 52 papers referred to staff in HE, with the overlap of one paper where both identities were discussed due to the inclusion criteria specifying participants to be both a student and employee of the university (Sallee, 2015). In that case, the paper was considered for the purpose of this review as being primarily about students, as it was a focus of the analysis. It should, however, be noted that many texts include staff who are also studying (e.g., academics pursuing their doctoral studies, or students undertaking paid work, in HE or elsewhere). This prompts the question, how much does the support and visibility differ between studying and working with care responsibilities? Both positional identities experience similar challenges—both are time poor, have timetabling issues, pressures with work/care responsibilities to manage, and often share a sense of ill-health or emotional turmoil. There are, however, limits to the comparison, with students often struggling academically and financially (although this is not to say that staff never experience these issues). Because research on carers in academia usually focuses on students or academic staff (as we shall see, other categories of staff are rarely considered), these differences tend to be ignored, echoing in this the way universities tend to operate. Yet a more comparative approach may lead to some promising paths towards a deeper appreciation of the specificities and commonalities of academics' and students' experiences and how these are compounded by academic norms. Another factor to consider here is that although the literature offers some representation of student parents, research texts about student parents focus largely on mature students, with less consideration of 'traditional age' student parents (under 21 in the UK, where those aged 21 and above when they start their HE studies fall under the 'mature student' category). This potentially highlights a further invisibility in younger student parents.

Where work focuses on staff, it is nearly always about academic staff. There is very little research on those in leadership and management positions. Exceptions to this include the work of Grummell et al. (2009) who consider those in the most senior roles in Irish universities. It also includes the work of Moreau & Robertson (2017, 2019), who have researched, first, access to these positions for carers and, second, carers in leadership and management roles, in the English context and on those in professional positions. When looking specifically at academic staff members, a total of 42 papers were located, in comparison to other roles in HE generating a mention in just 10. In particular, we found no output exploring those in ancillary positions, which raises the question of how research informed and how inclusive can care policies be when it comes to these groups. This could be deemed ironic considering that, as well as the expectation that some ancillary staff will have some form of caring responsibility, their roles often involve maintaining the social and environmental environment and, as such, could be broadly defined as care work (Tronto, 1993). It should also be noted that, even when those in professional positions are included in studies, it is rarely in a carer capacity but because their views on carers and care policies are sought (see e.g., Moreau, 2016). Likewise, research on those in senior positions may consider more broadly the apparent culture of 'carelessness' that predominates in some senior managerial posts, as do Bernie Grummell and colleagues, rather than focus solely on the experiences of carers in these senior positions (Grummell et al., 2009). In contrast, studies of academics tend to focus on academics' caring responsibilities, with some exceptions (e.g., Dickson & Tennant's, 2018 study of how United Arab Emirates' academics provide support—or not—to student mothers).

## Nature of caring responsibilities

The review highlights an overall trend: parenting able-bodied children is the most common form of caring acknowledged within research in the field of carers in academia ( $n = 144$ ). This relative visibility in research echoes a national, sector-wide and institutional policy approach which has focused their carers' policy (when they have one) on student and academic parents, setting up a variety of schemes, policies and benefits for this demographic, although work has also pointed to the limitations of this intervention (Moreau, 2016; Moreau & Kerner, 2015). Secondary to parenting are the articles focusing on those 'other' caring responsibilities, including caring for siblings, grandchildren, ill relatives, friends and any other individual needing support ( $n = 22$ ). This is then very closely followed by those caring for elderly parents ( $n = 15$ ). Some papers were categorised in more than one section, for instance when they dealt with various groups, meaning that numbers alluded to can be greater than the number of texts considered for the purpose of this review (see Document D: Threads of research in the Appendix).

## Identity markers

When considering the literature about care and academia, it is also the case that various inequalities attract various levels of consideration. Gender is a strong consideration, that threads through most of the research within this field, and our review ( $n = 95$ ), presumably due to the cultural association of care work with women (Dillabough, 1999). Work in this area overwhelmingly focuses on women, with some papers focusing on women alone ( $n = 49$ ), some focusing on men and women but with the latter group dominating ( $n = 38$ ), and some with men ( $n = 2$ ). Non-binary and transgender individuals were given close to no consideration, with only one study mentioning a non-binary participant. Yet extant work in this area

highlights striking gendered differences between the experiences of men and women with caring responsibilities, whether they are HE students or employees. There were also papers regarding women in academia that were excluded due to there not being any, or enough, mention of care work or responsibility. The exclusion of men is often justified by methodological challenges in recruiting men for these studies, something which may reflect the cultural association of care work and femininity and, linked to this, men's greater resistance to identify as carers.

Much of the research explores, and sometimes assumes, a heteronormative family setting within which care work takes place. Linked to this, LGBTQ+ carers are usually not discussed. Some rare studies mention the presence of some LGBTQ+ families in their sample (e.g., Moreau & Robertson, 2019, in which some participants identify as LGBTQ+). This absence may be linked to persisting heteronormative assumptions in research on kinship and caregiving as well as the resistance of participants to sharing aspects of their identity known to attract discrimination (De Vries & Croghan, 2015). We echo the words of Sallee and colleagues: 'Given that the populations of study reported here were primarily White and heterosexual, future research should focus on what may be unique about the experiences of faculty of color and LGBT faculty' (Sallee et al., 2016: 200). However, we found some work exploring the lives of single women, including work which explicitly engage with family norms from a queer studies perspective (e.g., Hook, 2016), whereas other work focused on specific categories of women, as in Mawusi Amos and Manieson's (2015) study of married women in Ghana. Similar in this to sexuality, we found very little work about carers with disabilities (although disability was occasionally mentioned in relation to 'carees', for example in King's 2020 doctoral thesis). Those caring for children and/or adults with SEND or mental health conditions feature rarely, with those reports that do mention this group only briefly doing so.

Another category explored was that of social disadvantage. For the purpose of the review, we adopted a broad definition of social disadvantage, reflecting in this what was perceived as such in the papers. This group consisted of individuals such as those with a low income, those living in a local area characterised by poverty, a child of university age caring for both parents, and so on. As noted above, this group is the second largest group of data collected for this project within the Identities component of the Thread of Research ( $n = 52$ ), closely followed by sole parenting (lone parents) ( $n = 33$ ). Low-income features heavily in the research gathered during this project, with the literature highlighting multiple financial issues, with, for example, carers benefits being cut once they start their study, subsequently forcing the individual to either 'make ends meet' somehow or give up on their education. Some of this research highlights how there is a distinct need to reconfigure the carers benefit system and financial aid provided (Gerrard & Robert, 2006; Moreau & Kerner, 2012). Lone parenting places fairly high on the research scale; however, we are moved back to thinking about gender when we see that the lone parents within the research tend to be mothers (Hinton-Smith, 2012; Hook, 2016).

The literature search also denoted a lack of ethnic diversity in samples, sometimes commented upon by the researchers but very often silenced. Likewise, migration was rarely considered, with some exceptions, such as Brooks' work on international students coming to study in the UK (Brooks, 2015) and Doyle and colleagues' research on postgraduate international students accompanying their partner and child(ren) in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK and USA (Doyle et al., 2016). Where ethnicity was indicated, this was often presented as an individual characteristic providing some background information on participants, rather than as a power relationship intersecting with relationships of care and key to the theoretical or empirical underpinnings of the research. A notable example lies in the work of Anaya's study of 'graduate student mothers of Colour' in the US context, where considerable attention is also brought to the intersection of race, gender and other identity markers (Anaya's, 2012; original capitalisation).

In theoretical and empirical terms, there are thus differences in the literature on carers in HE in relation to specific factors of marginalisation, such as student parent, lone parent, mature student, and so on. Research concentrating on minoritised groups other than women remain unusual, with most participants to the study reviewed identifying as heterosexual female. We cannot conclude, however, that this exclusion is intentional and, indeed, multiple authors have reflected on the difficulties they faced in capturing the experience of diverse groups of carers, including, though not only, male carers. Where samples are more diverse, for example in terms of ethnicity, this is rarely reflected in the centring of racialised relationships of power and of their intersections with care work. In other terms, the sample's relative diversity does not automatically generate some extensive analysis of how this diversity plays out in carers' experiences.

## THE LIMINALITIES OF CARE

Our review of the literature highlights how little research there is about HE students/employees with caring responsibilities for animal companions ('pets'). Research in this area tends to centre on the benefits for human beings of 'owning a pet', particularly in terms of well-being, as well as on the actual attachment of humans and pets, and the effects of loss and bereavement with pets. Yet these forms of care do not seem to be recognised as a caring responsibility (and, as such, have not been included in this literature review, a decision also due to the inclusion criteria in terms of relevance to HE being rarely met). Overall, there appears to be very little—if any—literature around caring for pets and working/studying in HE and the support and acknowledgement available for those whose caring responsibilities are for animals rather than humans. Pet ownership is praised but the grief involved when losing a pet is not classed as significant and, in some cases, is even trivialised (Redmalm, 2015). Yet research points towards data showing that the emotions involved in caring and losing a pet can be just as traumatic as the attachment developed in human relations, which raises the question: Should this not then reflect within the bereavement policies of HEIs and other institutions?

The inclusion of pregnancy was discussed within the team because of the potential argument of 'when does care begin?' or, perhaps more appropriate, 'when do carers begin to be discriminated?'. Although we identified some literature related to pregnancy discrimination and to the support and policies available for students/workers in academic settings, this remains a modest area of research in comparison to issues such as gender discrimination or parenting. An exception here can be found in Brown and Nichols' study of parenting and pregnant students in the USA (Brown & Nichols, 2013).

Explorations of care work and loss also seemed missing from the literature. Discussions of caring and end of life were rare, with death of a 'caree' rarely considered. This is despite some of the work we have conducted showing that care work for a loved one extends well beyond death, and so can the effects of care work (Moreau & Robertson, 2019). Likewise, pregnancy loss was mostly ignored despite evidence of the devastating effects on the individuals involved (a remarkable exception to this is the autoethnographic essay written by Marcus Weaver-Hightower, 2012).

Butler's concept of the 'differential allocation of grievability' (Butler, 2004, ix) offers a path to understand this lack of consideration for care work linked to loss and non-human beings, as these lives are already lost or because they are deemed 'lose-able' (Butler, 2009). This may also explain the modest body of work exploring care work linked to the elderly, nearer to the end of their life, compared with younger children, ultimately encouraging us to challenge the normative, anthropocentric, neoliberal frameworks which render some lives more lose-able than others (Redmalm, 2015). These hierarchies have implications which apply

more broadly to care giving and to care receiving—not only do they cement the view that some beings are more deserving of being cared for than others but they risk constructing the lives of caregivers themselves as little deserving in a societal context which values productive work over reproductive work and constructs the paid worker as the ideal citizen (Fraser, 2013).

## CONCLUSION: TAKING STOCK AND EXPLORING NEW AVENUES FOR RESEARCH ON CARERS IN HE

In this article, we have examined the English language literature on carers in academia. Academic discourses, like all discourses, are performative rather than iterative (Foucault, 1969). Thus, by giving or withdrawing visibility and credibility to some ideas, these discourses can affect social and cognitive justice (Visvanathan, 1997).

Carers in academia is a young but growing field, and one that is small but rich when it comes to shedding new light on higher education and the articulation of personal and working/studying lives, 'productive' and 'reproductive' work. It is also one which, through its associations with reproductive and women's work remains relatively marginalised. However, as highlighted in the article, some authorial voices have emerged, particularly so since the 2000s. Gazing into the field of carers in academia, we observed that extent research is geared towards mothers, particularly student mothers and, more rarely, academic mothers. While we should note the existence of a large body of work on women's academic careers, as discussed earlier, this was not included in the review due to its lack of focus on care work. Compared with mothers, fathers and other male carers are broadly ignored. This invisibility is even more staggering when it comes to disabled, BME and LGBTQ+ carers, whether male, female or non-binary. More often than not, we found that research on carers often adopts the heteronormative family model in mind. Work endorsing an intersectional approach remains unusual. Samples of participants are not always diverse. When they are, intersectional identities are not always foregrounded. It could be argued that the focus on specific socio-demographic groupings such as women risks reinforcing the view that care work is the burden of the dominees, with the literature unintentionally risking naturalising the linkage between care work and heterosexual femininity.

Related to the type of caring responsibilities considered in the literature, we also noted that care work other than parenting for healthy, abled children tends to be ignored, with scarce literature on those caring for an elderly or ill relative or friend. Likewise, studies of care work related to non-humans and to bringing life into the world or to end of life and loss (including miscarriages and stillbirths) are very much inexistent in the literature about HE.

The literature review also points to new avenues for research on carers in HE. Much work in this area focuses on specific groups (student parents, lone student parents, etc.) but more rarely centres on the academic norms which, in some cases, construct carers as a problem (Moreau, 2016). Although building up a picture of carers' experiences is a crucial step in the process of gaining recognition, work exploring how those whose identities are well aligned on the figure of the 'bachelor boy' benefit from norms geared towards the care-free would potentially contribute to a more thorough understanding of care in its relational dimensions. A focus on norms and cultures rather than carers would also enable a shift away from the deficit discourses which sometimes permeate policy interventions.

The disruptions of personal and professional lives linked to the Covid-19 pandemic have shed light on the fraught relationship between care and academic work, resulting in a sudden and, for some, welcome influx of research in this area. We should celebrate the quick growth of a scholarship on carers. Yet we also call for further research which grow intersectional understandings of carers in academia and which engage in the deconstruction



of the cultural norms that render this group invisible. Capturing the diversity of care work among the academic population and more broadly also requires challenging binaries and hierarchies which construct some lives as less 'lose-able' and thus less worthy of care work (Butler, 2009). These binaries are deeply entrenched in Western cultures, with humans given more value than animal and the environment, and some humans given more value than others (i.e., in the case of neoliberal Western cultures, the contribution, current or future, to the economy has become the currency against which lives are dis/valued) (Fraser, 2013). We also need to ensure that the important theoretical and empirical developments that have emerged in the field lead to the transformation of mainstream literature of HE—a transformation that needs to go beyond a simple 'add and stir' approach, with a radical rethinking of the paid/unpaid, productive/reproductive, masculine/feminine binaries at play in academia and elsewhere.

To conclude, by highlighting the rich scholarship on carers, this article's ambition is to be part of a contestation of the hegemonic, long-lasting discourse of academia as care-free. However, this project of reclaiming visibility and recognition can never be complete. It would be illusory to think that we can 'map' the field. Instead, the article points out the need for ongoing reflexivity in terms of how knowledge production includes and excludes in ways that are complex and fluid. This requires carefully addressing the hierarchies of inequalities, which often affect research on social justice, as well as their intersectionalities.

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## ETHICS STATEMENT

Since this study is a literature review of published studies, ethical approval is not applicable to our study.

## DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that supports the findings of this study are available in the supplementary material of this article

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APPENDIX A  
DOCUMENT C: RESEARCH LITERATURE CATEGORISATION TABLE

| Reference ID | Geographic location | Type of source                   | Sample number                 | Data collection demographic                             | Data collection qualitative/quantitative | Data collection method   |
|--------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|--|--|
| REF ID 1     | UK                  | Journal article                  | 130                           | Student parents   | Mixed methods                            | Questionnaire—open ended questions<br>Questionnaire—fixed questions              |
| REF ID 2     | UK                  | Journal article                  | 3                             | Student carers  | Qualitative                              | In-depth interviews<br>Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis                    |
| REF ID 6     | UK                  | Journal article                  | 47                            | Academic carers   | Qualitative                              | Interviews<br>Case studies   |
| REF ID 7     | UK                  | Research report                  | 20                            | Academic carers   | Qualitative                              | Semi-structured interviews   |
| REF ID 9     | UK                  | Journal article                  | 40                            | Student parents   | Qualitative                              | Semi-structured interviews<br>Questionnaire                                      |
| REF ID 10    | Netherlands         | Journal article                  | 297                           | Healthcare students<br>Carers and non-carers            | Quantitative                             | Fully structured questionnaire—measurable scales                                 |
| REF ID 11    | UK                  | Small development project report | 31                            | Academic carers   | Qualitative                              | Case studies<br>Interviews   |
| REF ID 12    | USA/Canada          | Case study                       | 2 colleges USA—10<br>Canada—9 | Policies/online documentation<br>College administrators | Qualitative                              | Comparative case study<br>Interviews   |
| REF ID 14    | Canada              | Journal article                  | 398                           | Student parents   | Mixed methods                            | Open-ended questions in online survey<br>Closed-ended questions for demographics |
| REF ID 15    | USA                 | Journal article                  | 11                            | Student parents   | Qualitative                              | Focus group<br>Interviews  |

(Continues)

APPENDIX A (Continued)

| Reference ID | Geographic location | Type of source   | Sample number  | Data collection demographic                              | Data collection qualitative/quantitative | Data collection method   |
|--------------|---------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| REF ID 16    | Canada              | Journal article  | 339  | Student parents  | Qualitative                              | Work/family enrichment scale   |
| REF ID 17    | Norway              | Journal article  | 40,205   | Student carers   | Mixed methods                            | Survey<br>SPSS/dhi-square test   |
| REF ID 19    | UK                  | Journal article  | 295  | Young adult carers                                       | Qualitative                              | Survey   |
| REF ID 21    | UK                  | Newspaper article  | 4 individuals  | Young adult carers                                       | Qualitative                              | Interviews   |
| REF ID 22    | USA                 | Information sheet & advice   | –  | Academic carer   | –  | –  |
| REF ID 23    | UK                  | Newspaper article  | –  | Academic carer   | –  | Information  |
| REF ID 24    | UK                  | Journal article  | 47 student mothers<br>2 student fathers<br>7 students with no dependents | Student mothers  | Qualitative                              | Semi-structured interviews<br>Participant observation<br>Analysis of programme documentation |
| REF ID 25    | UK                  | Unpublished study  | 5  | Young adult carers                                       | Qualitative                              | One-to-one semi-structured interviews  |
| REF ID 26    | Australia           | Thesis   | 13<br>13<br>13   | Young adult carers<br>Universities<br>Carer associations | Qualitative                              | Case study<br>Individual interviews  |
| REF ID 27    | Republic of Ireland | Independent Research Review  | 14<br>20   | Lone parent stakeholders<br>HEI                          | Mixed methods                            | Interviews<br>Focus groups<br>Secondary data analysis<br>Questionnaire                       |
| REF ID 28    | UK                  | Journal article  | 8  | Student parents  | Qualitative                              | Case study<br>Questionnaires interviews  |
| REF ID 29    | UK                  | Conference/Workshop item   | 20   | Student carers   | Qualitative                              | Telephone interviews   |
| REF ID 31    | USA                 | Policy Proposal to build upon a pre-existing programme for child care access | –  | Student parents  | –  | –  |



APPENDIX A (Continued)

| Reference ID | Geographic location | Type of source                   | Sample number   | Data collection demographic | Data collection qualitative/quantitative | Data collection method   |
|--------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|--|--|
| REF ID 32    | UK                  | Book chapter—<br>Journal article | 40              | Student parents             | Qualitative                              | Structured interviews  |
| REF ID 33    | USA                 | Book                             | –               | Student parents             | Qualitative                              | Literature   |
| REF ID 34    | USA                 | Book                             | –               | Various                     | Qualitative                              | Literature   |
| REF ID 35    | USA                 | Journal article                  | 887<br>3<br>5   | Student parents             | Qualitative                              | Survey questionnaire<br>Focus groups<br>Interviews   |
| REF ID 36    | USA                 | Journal article                  | 40              | Student parents             | Mixed methods                            | Action research<br>Enrolment record search<br>Data review<br>Survey—experiences                  |
| REF ID 38    | USA                 | Journal article                  | 93              | Academic parents            | Qualitative                              | Longitudinal interviews  |
| REF ID 39    | USA                 | Journal article                  | 150             | Academic parents            | Quantitative                             | Survey—stats and models  |
| REF ID 40    | USA                 | Journal article                  | 349<br>65       | Academic carers             | Qualitative                              | Surveys<br>Focus groups  |
| REF ID 41    | USA                 | Journal Article                  | 349<br>65<br>22 | Academic parents            | Mixed methods                            | Surveys<br>Focus groups<br>Interviews<br>Descriptive stats from survey                           |
| REF ID 42    | USA                 | Book                             | 70              | Academic parents            | Qualitative                              | Interviews   |
| REF ID 43    | Canada              | Journal article                  | –               | Student parents             | Quantitative                             | Data review  |
| REF ID 44    | Canada              | Journal article                  | 10              | Student parents             | Qualitative                              | Interviews   |
| REF ID 45    | Canada              | Research report                  | –               | Student parents             | Quantitative                             | Data review<br>Data analysis strategy  |
| REF ID 46    | Canada              | Thesis                           | 398             | Student parents             | Mixed methods                            | Open-ended survey questions<br>Structural equation modelling—testing for measurement invariances |

(Continues)

APPENDIX A (Continued)

| Reference ID | Geographic location | Type of source                                  | Sample number | Data collection demographic                 | Data collection qualitative/quantitative | Data collection method  |
|--------------|---------------------|---|---------------|---|--|---|
| REF ID 47    | USA                 | Symposium notes                                 | –             | Student parents                             | Mixed methods                            | Online survey questions—closed<br>Online survey questions—open        |
| REF ID 48    | UK                  | Research report                                 | 101           | Adult carers in education                   | Quantitative                             | Online survey—Stat package, parametric tests and chi-squared testing. |
| REF ID 51    | USA                 | Journal article                                 | 20            | Academic parents                            | Qualitative                              | Interviews  |
| REF ID 52    | UK                  | Journal article—looking at two previous studies | 31<br>20      | Academic carers                             | Qualitative                              | Interviews<br>Diary-based interviews                                  |
| REF ID 54    | UK                  | Journal article                                 | 13            | Academic carers                             | Qualitative                              | Interviews/case study   |
| REF ID 55    | UK/Denmark          | Journal article                                 | 2/3<br>15–20  | Staff<br>Student parents                    | Qualitative                              | Policy analysis<br>Interviews<br>Interviews                           |
| REF ID 56    | UK                  | Journal article                                 | 18<br>71      | Student Parents<br>Staff<br>Student parents | Qualitative                              | Literature review of data<br>In-depth interviews<br>Questionnaire     |
| REF ID 57    | UK/Denmark          | Journal article                                 | 68            | Student parents                             | Qualitative                              | Interviews  |
| REF ID 58    |                     | Journal article                                 | 18<br>71      | Student parents<br>Staff<br>Student parents | Qualitative                              | Literature review of data<br>In-depth interviews<br>Questionnaire     |
| REF ID 59    | UK                  | Journal article                                 | 39            | Student parents                             | Qualitative                              | Interviews  |
| REF ID 60    | UK                  | Book  | –             | Student parents                             | Qualitative                              | Longitudinal narratives   |
| REF ID 61    | Australia           | Book  | –             | Student parents (sole parents)              | Qualitative                              | Literature  |
| REF ID 62    | Australia           | Journal article                                 | 10            | Student parents (sole parents)              | Qualitative                              | Semi-structured interviews  |
| REF ID 63    | Australia           | Journal article                                 | 10            | Student parents (sole parents)              | Qualitative                              | Semi-structured interviews  |

APPENDIX A (Continued)

| Reference ID | Geographic location | Type of source                  | Sample number        | Data collection demographic   | Data collection qualitative/quantitative | Data collection method  |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|---|--|---|
| REF ID 64    | Iran                | Journal article                 | 20                   | Student mothers   | Qualitative                              | Semi-structured interviews  |
| REF ID 65    | UK                  | Journal article                 | 40                   | Student parents   | Qualitative                              | Interviews  |
| REF ID 66    | Australia           | Thesis                          | 10                   | Student parents (sole parents)  | Qualitative                              | Case study  |
| REF ID 67    | USA                 | Book chapter                    | –                    | Academic mothers  | –  | –   |
| REF ID 68    | UK                  | Final report—policy analysis    | –                    | Student parents Staff   | Qualitative                              | Interviews  |
| REF ID 69    | UK                  | Critical assessment             | 9<br>10<br>30<br>115 | Children's centre staff<br>University staff<br>Female students<br>Course participants<br>Stakeholders | Mixed methods                            | Interviews<br>Surveys<br>Discussion event<br>Analysis of student records                                      |
| REF ID 70    | UK                  | Report—online mentoring project | 49                   | Student parents   | Qualitative                              | Closing video interviews<br>Analysing online conversations<br>Control group feedback                          |
| REF ID 71    | UK                  | Report                          | 30<br>24             | Student mothers   | Mixed methods                            | Survey—analysing pathways<br>Coarsened Exact Matching (CEM)<br>Semi-structured interviews<br>Final interviews |
| REF ID 72    | USA                 | Journal article                 | 95                   | Student mothers   | Qualitative                              | Survey—open and closed questions  |
| REF ID 73    | Canada              | Journal article                 | 398                  | Student parents   | Quantitative                             | Survey—Latent Variable Analysis   |
| REF ID 74    | Australia           | Journal article                 | 41                   | Academic parents  | Qualitative                              | Focus groups  |

(Continues)

APPENDIX A (Continued)

| Reference ID | Geographic location  | Type of source           | Sample number | Data collection demographic | Data collection qualitative/quantitative | Data collection method  |
|--------------|--|--------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|--|---|
| REF ID 75    | USA  | Journal article          | 12            | Academic fathers            | Qualitative                              | In-depth interviews<br>Electronic survey<br>Follow-up interview |
| REF ID 76    | Finland  | Journal article          | 31            | Academic parents            | Qualitative                              | Semi-structured interviews                                      |
| REF ID 77    | USA  | Journal article          | 3             | Academics                   | Qualitative                              | Narrative inquiry—open-ended interviews                         |
| REF ID 78    | Various conferences:<br>UK, Denmark, Australia, USA, Canada, France, Germany, Kuwait, Japan, Portugal, Sweden and South Africa | Book chapter             | 58            | Academic parents            | Qualitative                              | Case study  |
| REF ID 80    | USA  | Briefing paper—info only | –             | Student parents             | Quantitative                             | Various previous reports, research papers, survey data, etc.    |
| REF ID 81    | UK/Denmark   | Journal article          | 68            | Student parents             | Qualitative                              | In-depth interviews   |
| REF ID 82    | USA  | Journal article          | 26            | Student parents             | Qualitative                              | Interviews  |
| REF ID 83    | USA  | Fact sheet—info only     | –             | Student parents             | Quantitative                             | Various previous reports, research papers, survey data etc      |
| REF ID 84    | USA  | Fact sheet—info only     | –             | Student parents             | Quantitative                             | Various previous reports, research papers, survey data etc      |
| REF ID 85    | Australia  | Blog                     | –             | Academic parenting          | –  | –   |
| REF ID 86    | USA  | Briefing paper           | –             | Student parents             | Quantitative                             | Various previous reports, research papers, survey data, etc.    |

APPENDIX A (Continued)

| Reference ID | Geographic location | Type of source  | Sample number | Data collection demographic | Data collection qualitative/quantitative | Data collection method                                       |
|--------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------------|--|--|
| REF ID 87    | USA                 | Thesis          | 8             | Student parents             | Qualitative                              | Interviews   |
| REF ID 89    | USA/UK              | Journal Article | –             | Student parents             | Qualitative                              | Literature review  |
| REF ID 90    | UK                  | Journal article | 159           | Student carers              | Mixed methods                            | Questionnaire  |
| REF ID 91    | Canada              | Thesis          | 21            | Student parents             | Qualitative                              | Focus groups   |
| REF ID 92    | USA                 | Briefing paper  | –             | Student parents             | Quantitative                             | Data gathering   |
| REF ID 93    | Australia           | Journal article | –             | Academic parents            | Qualitative                              | Face-to-face interviews                                      |
| REF ID 94    | New Zealand         | Journal article | 32            | Academic parents            | Qualitative                              | Various previous reports, research papers, survey data, etc. |
| REF ID 95    | USA                 | Dissertation    | 28            | Student parents             | Quantitative                             | Ethnographic research—author poem                            |
|              |                     |                 | 28            | Non-parent students         | Qualitative                              | In-depth interviews  |
|              |                     |                 |               |                             |  | Demographic questionnaire                                    |
|              |                     |                 |               |                             |  | Likert scale (stress measure)                                |
|              |                     |                 |               |                             |  | School-Family Conflict Scale (SFCS)                          |
|              |                     |                 |               |                             |  | School-Family Enrichment Scale (SFES)                        |
|              |                     |                 |               |                             |  | Work-Family Conflict Scale (WFCS)                            |
|              |                     |                 |               |                             |  | Work-Family Enrichment Scale (WFES)                          |
|              |                     |                 |               |                             |  | Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI)                                |
|              |                     |                 |               |                             |  | Perceived Social Support Scale (PSSS)                        |
|              |                     |                 |               |                             |  | Brief COPE (B-COPE)  |
|              |                     |                 |               |                             |  | Open-ended questions   |
| REF ID 96    | USA                 | Thesis          | 8             | Student mothers             | Qualitative                              | Interviews   |

(Continues)



APPENDIX A (Continued)

| Reference ID | Geographic location                         | Type of source       | Sample number | Data collection demographic                                | Data collection qualitative/quantitative | Data collection method   |
|--------------|---|----------------------|---------------|--|--|--|
| REF ID 97    | UK  | Journal article      | 13            | Mature students  | Qualitative                              | Interviews   |
| REF ID 98    | Czech Republic                              | Journal article      | 2229          | Faculty members  | Quantitative                             | Questionnaire (COPSOQII)   |
| REF ID 99    | Canada                                      | Thesis               | 10            | Couples of childbearing age/thinking about having children | Qualitative                              | Interviews/Narrative inquiry   |
| REF ID 100   | Australia/Canada/<br>New Zealand/<br>UK/USA | Journal article      | –             | International students with partners/children              | Quantitative                             | Data collection and policy analysis  |
| REF ID 101   | Australia                                   | Journal article      | 10            | Sole parents   | Qualitative                              | Case study   |
| REF ID 102   | California                                  | Thesis               | 6             | Student parents  | Qualitative                              | Interviews   |
| REF ID 103   | USA   | Thesis               | 4             | Student parents  | Qualitative                              | Interviews   |
| REF ID 105   | USA   | Fact sheet—info only | –             | Student parents  | Quantitative                             | Various previous reports, research papers, survey data, etc.               |
| REF ID 106   | USA   | Initiative           | –             | Student parents  | –  | Student Parent Success Initiative programme—support, tools, research, etc. |
| REF ID 108   | UK  | Report               | –             | Female academics   | –  | Publication review   |
| REF ID 109   | Scotland                                    | Information sheet    | –             | Employee carers  | –  | Information regarding a new carers policy                                  |
| REF ID 110   |   |                      |               |  |  |  |
| REF ID 111   | UK  | Journal article      | 2             | Academic mothers   | Qualitative                              | Dialogical auto-ethnographic   |
| REF ID 112   | UK  | Thesis               | 4             | Mature women student carers                                | Qualitative                              | In-depth interviews  |
| REF ID 113   | Ghana                                       | Journal article      | 30            | Married women  | Qualitative                              | Open-ended questionnaire   |

APPENDIX A (Continued)

| Reference ID | Geographic location            | Type of source                      | Sample number   | Data collection demographic                                     | Data collection qualitative/quantitative | Data collection method   |
|--------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|---|--|--|
| REF ID 115   | USA                            | Thesis                              | 50 institutions | Student parents   | Qualitative                              | Document analysis of online resources, collective case study of institutional websites |
| REF ID 116   | Ireland                        | Journal article                     | 102             | Academic staff  | Qualitative                              | Semi-structured interviews—results coded for themes                                    |
| REF ID 117   | UK                             | Report                              | 36              | Student carers  | Mixed methods                            | Literature review<br>Data analysis<br>Primary research—interviews and focus groups     |
| REF ID 118   | Australia                      | Report                              | 81              | Student parents   | Qualitative                              | Questionnaire  |
| REF ID 119   | United Arab Emirates           | Journal article                     | 16              | Academics supporting student parents                            | Qualitative                              | Interviews   |
| REF ID 120   | Netherlands                    | Journal article                     | 45              | Academic parents  | Qualitative                              | (18) Semi-structured interviews<br>(35) Focus Groups<br>Detailed questionnaire         |
| REF ID 122   | Australia                      | Journal article                     | 203             | Female researchers with children vs. female researchers without | Quantitative                             | Statistical analysis<br>Data analysis<br>Questionnaires                                |
| REF ID 123   | India, Brazil and South Africa | Book                                | 34              | Academic mothers  | Qualitative                              | Interviews<br>Focus groups   |
| REF ID 124   | Kenya                          | Journal article                     | 28              | Student parents (18)<br>University staff (10)                   | Qualitative                              | In-depth interviews<br>Focus groups<br>Document observation and analysis               |
| REF ID 125   | USA                            | Committee testimony ahead of report | –               | Student parents   | Quantitative                             | Various previous reports, research papers, survey data, etc.                           |

(Continues)

APPENDIX A (Continued)

| Reference ID | Geographic location | Type of source            | Sample number     | Data collection demographic  | Data collection qualitative/quantitative | Data collection method  |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|--|--|---|
| REF ID 127   | USA                 | Thesis                    | 12                | Student parents  | Qualitative                              | Interviews  |
| REF ID 128   | USA                 | Journal article           | 1                 | Grieving father—stillbirth   | Qualitative                              | Autoethnographic essay  |
| REF ID 129   | EU                  | Policy report             | –                 | Female academics   | Quantitative                             | National and local policy data analysis and comparison  |
| REF ID 130   | USA                 | Fact sheet                | –                 | Student parents  | Quantitative                             | Various previous reports, research papers, survey data, etc.                                    |
| REF ID 131   | Ireland/UK          | Journal article           | –                 | Academic carers  | Qualitative                              | Policy and theoretical perspective  |
| REF ID 134   | UK                  | Report                    | –                 | Student parents/<br>Pregnancy/Loss                                       | –  | Policy information and advice   |
| REF ID 135   | UK                  | Stimulus paper            | –                 | Student parents  | –  | Review of previous research   |
| REF ID 136   | USA                 | Journal article           | –                 | Student mothers/women of colour  | –  | Literature review   |
| REF ID 137   | UK                  | Thesis                    | –                 | Student parents  | Qualitative                              | Institutional ethnography—policy analysis<br>Observations and focus interviews and focus groups |
| REF ID 138   | USA                 | Information report<br>PDF | –                 | Student parents  | –  | Literature review/previous research analysis  |
| REF ID 139   | UK                  | Report                    | 73<br>17<br>2167  | Student parents<br>Student advisors, academics<br>Students with children | Qualitative                              | Focus groups<br>Face-to-face interviews<br>Literature review<br>Online survey                   |
| REF ID 140   | USA                 | Journal article           | 20                | International students with families (Asian)                             | Qualitative                              | Interviews  |
| REF ID 141   | Scotland            | Report                    | 721—online survey | Student parents<br>Student officers/parents                              | Qualitative                              | Literature review, desk-based research, online survey, phone interviews                         |

APPENDIX A (Continued)

| Reference ID | Geographic location | Type of source  | Sample number  | Data collection demographic                                 | Data collection qualitative/quantitative | Data collection method  |
|--------------|---------------------|-----------------|--|---|--|---|
| REF ID 142   | USA                 | Report          | –  | Student parents   | Quantitative                             | Data analysis   |
| REF ID 143   | UK                  | Report          | –  | Student parents   | Qualitative                              | Survey<br>Focus group<br>Data collection  |
| REF ID 144   | Germany             | Journal article | 238  | Medical students with children                              | Mixed methods                            | Survey<br>Interviews  |
| REF ID 145   | Germany             | Journal article | –  | Medical students with children/Pregnant                     | Quantitative                             | Online survey   |
| REF ID 146   | Germany             | Journal article | –  | Medical students with children                              | –  | Literature review, application of strategies and advice   |
| REF ID 147   | Germany             | Journal article | 1500<br>4  | Medical students with children                              | Qualitative                              | Questionnaire<br>Semi-structured interviews<br>Literature analysis<br>Results from previous study |
| REF ID 148   | –                   | Journal article | –  | Academic mothers  | Qualitative                              | Literature review<br>Theoretical analysis<br>Longitudinal data set of academic women              |
| REF ID 149   | USA                 | Journal article | 18   | Academic and student parents                                | Qualitative                              | Interviews  |
| REF ID 150   | UK                  | Book chapter    | 3 focus groups<br>3 focus groups<br>19 participants in total | Carers considering education<br>Student carers in education | Qualitative                              | Focus groups<br>In-depth interviews   |
| REF ID 151   | Australia           | Journal article | 2 (authors)  | Student carers  | Qualitative                              | Collaborative auto ethnography  |
| REF ID 152   | Australia           | Journal article | 274<br>375   | Online students with caring responsibilities                | Qualitative                              | Interviews<br>Surveys from two studies  |
| REF ID 153   | USA                 | Journal article | 24   | Pregnant and parenting students                             | Qualitative                              | Interviews  |

(Continues)

APPENDIX A (Continued)

| Reference ID | Geographic location           | Type of source  | Sample number | Data collection demographic   | Data collection qualitative/quantitative | Data collection method                                       |
|--------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------------------|--|--|
| REF ID 154   | USA                           | Journal article | 10            | Student mothers               | Qualitative                              | In-depth interviews  |
| REF ID 155   | USA                           | Thesis          | 108,382       | Student parents               | Quantitative                             | Previous survey data to analyse                              |
| REF ID 156   | Canada                        | Thesis          | 6             | Student mothers               | Qualitative                              | Interviews<br>Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) |
| REF ID 157   | USA                           | Thesis          | 3             | Student parents               | Mixed methods                            | Various survey scales<br>Case study interviews               |
| REF ID 158   | UK                            | Thesis          | 17            | Lone parents                  | Qualitative                              | Interviews   |
| REF ID 159   | United Arab Emirates          | Journal article | 10            | Student mothers               | Qualitative                              | Interviews   |
| REF ID 160   | USA/Germany                   | Thesis          | 16            | Student mothers               | Qualitative                              | Interviews   |
| REF ID 161   | USA                           | Thesis          | 10            | Female grad students          | Qualitative                              | Interviews, focus group                                      |
| REF ID 162   | UK                            | Journal article | 5             | Parent trainee teachers       | Qualitative                              | Case Study, focus groups, interviews                         |
| REF ID 163   | USA                           | Thesis          | 2             | Student parents               | Mixed methods                            | Previous survey data analysis<br>Interviews/case study       |
| REF ID 164   | USA                           | Thesis          | 16            | Student parents               | Qualitative                              | Interviews and observations                                  |
| REF ID 165   | New Zealand                   | Journal article | 14            | International student parents | Qualitative                              | Interviews   |
| REF ID 166   | USA/Canada                    | Book            | –             | Academic mothers              | Qualitative                              | Literature   |
| REF ID 167   | UK/China                      | Journal article | 30            | Academic carers/parents       | Qualitative                              | Interviews   |
| REF ID 168   | USA                           | Journal article | –             | Academics                     | Quantitative                             | Previous scale studies                                       |
| REF ID 169   | Germany, Austria, Switzerland | Journal article | 419           | Researchers                   | Quantitative                             | Data analysis—research output                                |
| REF ID 170   | USA                           | Book            | –             | Academic parents              | Qualitative                              | Literature   |
| REF ID 171   | Australia                     | Journal article | –             | Academic carers               | Quantitative                             | Surveys  |



APPENDIX A (Continued)

| Reference ID | Geographic location | Type of source  | Sample number | Data collection demographic | Data collection qualitative/quantitative | Data collection method                  |
|--------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------------|--|---|
| REF ID 175   | Australia           | Book chapter    | –             | PHD student                 | Qualitative                              | Literature review                       |
| REF ID 176   | USA                 | Journal article | 15            | Student parents             | Qualitative                              | Interviews                              |
| REF ID 177   | Saudi Arabia/UK     | Journal article | 23            | Student parents             | Qualitative                              | Interviews                              |
| REF ID 178   | Canada              | Journal article | 1             | Academic parent             | Qualitative                              | Autoethnography                         |
| REF ID 179   | Australia           | Journal article | 249           | Postgraduate parents        | Quantitative                             | Questionnaire                           |
| REF ID 180   | USA                 | Journal article | 1             | PHD student                 | Qualitative                              | Autoethnography                         |
| REF ID 181   | USA                 | Book chapter    | –             | Student parents             | –  | Book chapter                            |
| REF ID 182   | USA                 | Report          | –             | Unmarried parents           |  | Literature review                       |
| REF ID 183   | USA                 | Journal article | 27            | Student mothers             | Qualitative                              | Interviews, survey                      |
| REF ID 184   | USA                 | Journal article | 237           | Student mothers             | Quantitative                             | Online survey                           |
| REF ID 186   | USA                 | Fact sheet      | –             | Student parents             | Quantitative                             | Previous surveys and reports/statistics |
| REF ID 188   | USA                 | Journal article | 10            | Student mothers             | Qualitative                              | Case studies                            |

Note: Numbers highlighted in bold were removed from quantification—blog posts, government websites, newspaper articles.

# APPENDIX B DOCUMENT B: SOURCE TRACKING TABLE

| Source Name/Type  | Ref ID               |
|---|----------------------|
| Journals  |                      |
| Journal of Further and Higher Education                               | 2, 162               |
| Society of College, National and University Libraries (SCONUL)        | 1                    |
| Scandinavian Journal of Caring Sciences                               | 10                   |
| Social Sciences   | 6                    |
| Leadership Foundation for Higher Education (LFHE)                     | 11                   |
| The Journal of Higher Education                                       | 12                   |
| New Horizons in Adult Education and Human Resource Development        | 14                   |
| Journal of Family & Consumer Sciences                                 | 15                   |
| Canadian Journal of Higher Education                                  | 16, 43               |
| Frontiers in Psychology   | 17                   |
| British Educational Research Journal                                  | 9, 58, 81            |
| Cambridge Journal of Education  | 24                   |
| Children & Society  | 19                   |
| Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher                                       | 28                   |
| Administrative Issues Journal   | 36                   |
| Innovative Higher Education   | 38                   |
| Social Studies of Science   | 39                   |
| Men's Studies/Psychology of Men & Masculinity                         | 41, 75               |
| Canadian Journal for New Scholars in Education                        | 44                   |
| Sociological Forum  | 40                   |
| Journal of Education Policy   | 55                   |
| The Review of Higher Education  | 51                   |
| Gender and Education  | 52, 54, 62, 111      |
| Educational Review  | 56                   |
| SAGE—Sociology  | 57                   |
| British Journal of Sociology of Education                             | 59, 65, 165          |
| Emotion, Space and Society  | 63                   |
| International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-being | 64                   |
| Journal of College Student Development                                | 72                   |
| International Journal of Lifelong Education                           | 73                   |
| Studies in Higher Education   | 74, 76, 94, 120, 167 |
| Journal of Diversity in Higher Education                              | 77                   |
| Symbolic Interaction  | 82,                  |
| The Journal of the Louisiana Chapter of the ACRL                      | 89                   |
| Student Engagement and Experience Journal                             | 90                   |
| Qualitative Inquiry   | 93                   |
| International Studies in Sociology of Education                       | 97                   |

# APPENDIX B (Continued)

| Source Name/Type   | Ref ID   |
|--|--|
| Journal of Workplace Learning  | 159  |
| Studies in Continuing Education  | 119  |
| International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education (IJHSSE)                           | 124  |
| Plos One   | 122  |
| Journal of Contemporary Ethnography  | 128  |
| Arts and Humanities in Higher Education  | 131  |
| Journal of Comparative Family Studies  | 140  |
| Gender and Social Justice  | 136  |
| GMS Zeitschrift für Medizinische Ausbildung  | 144, 145, 146, 147   |
| NASPA Journal about Women in Higher Education  | 148  |
| Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice   | 149  |
| Higher Education Research & Development  | 151, 101, 179  |
| Australasian Journal of Educational Technology   | 152  |
| Educational Policy   | 153  |
| Higher Education Policy  | 100  |
| Educational Psychology   | 98   |
| ABNF Journal   | 154  |
| International Journal of Education, Learning and Development   | 113  |
| Gender, Work & Organization  | 116  |
| Gender in Management: An International Journal   | 168  |
| Journal of Business Economics  | 169  |
| Environment and Planning A   | 171  |
| Community College Journal of Research and Practice   | 176  |
| Journal of Family Studies  | 177  |
| Leisure Sciences   | 178  |
| Journal of Family Communication  | 180  |
| Journal of Family and Economic Issues  | 183  |
| AURCO Journal  | 184  |
| Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare  | 188  |
| Government websites  |  |
| Gov.uk—Carers Allowance  | 3  |
| Thesis   |  |
| 87, 26, 46, 66, 91, 95, 96, 99, 102, 103, 112, 115, 127, 137, 155, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161, 163, 164 |  |
| Conference or Symposium notes  |  |
| 47, 29   |  |
| Books/Book chapters  |  |
| 32, 33, 34, 42, 78, 60, 61, 67, 123, 150, 166, 170, 175, 181   |  |
| Research reports   |  |
| Research reports   | 48, 7, 25, 27, 31, 45, 35, 92, 108, 109, 117, 118, 134, 138, 139, 141, 142, 143, 182 |

(Continues)

# APPENDIX B (Continued)

| Source Name/Type                          | Ref ID                                  |
|---|---|
| Stimulus paper                            | 135                                     |
| Nuffield Foundation                       | 68, 69, 70, 71                          |
| The Institute for Women's Policy Research | 80, 83, 84, 86, 105, 106, 125, 130, 186 |
| Blog posts                                |   |
| <b>85</b>                                 |   |
| Newspaper articles                        |   |
| Gale Academic OneFile                     | <b>21, 23</b>                           |
| The Chronicle of Higher Education         | <b>22</b>                               |
| Project/Policy reviews                    |   |
| 110, 129                                  |   |

*Note:* Numbers highlighted in bold are removed from quantification due to unsuitability.

# APPENDIX C

## DOCUMENT D: THREADS OF RESEARCH

Exploring the current stance of knowledge and understanding surrounding the relationship between care and academia

| Inclusion criteria   | Exclusion criteria  |
|--|---|
| English written text   | Articles that do not fit the inclusion criteria   |
| Date Range 2010–2020   | Care—leavers (often present when searching 'care' or 'carers') unless now caring themselves and within the inclusion criteria |
| Carers 18+   | Carers working for companies outside of Higher Education sector   |
| Carers studying and/or working in higher education alongside caring responsibilities | Blogs   |
| Those caring for animals/pets  | Newspaper articles  |
| Pregnancy and those dealing with loss  | Mature students in general when not specific to carers  |

Thread 1: Position

|  |                  |            |                  |            |            |            |
|--|------------------|------------|------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Academic (researcher, lecturer, professor)       | REF ID 6         | REF ID 40  | REF ID 76        | REF ID 110 | REF ID 129 | REF ID 170 |
|  | REF ID 7         | REF ID 41  | REF ID 77        | REF ID 111 | REF ID 131 | REF ID 171 |
|  | REF ID 9         | REF ID 42  | REF ID 78        | REF ID 116 | REF ID 148 | REF ID 178 |
|  | REF ID 11        | REF ID 51  | <b>REF ID 85</b> | REF ID 119 | REF ID 149 | REF ID 179 |
|  | <b>REF ID 22</b> | REF ID 52  | REF ID 93        | REF ID 120 | REF ID 166 | REF ID 180 |
|  | <b>REF ID 23</b> | REF ID 67  | REF ID 94        | REF ID 122 | REF ID 167 |            |
|  | REF ID 38        | REF ID 74  | REF ID 98        | REF ID 123 | REF ID 168 |            |
|  | REF ID 39        | REF ID 75  | REF ID 108       | REF ID 128 | REF ID 169 |            |
|  |                  |            |                  |            |            |            |
|  |                  |            |                  |            |            |            |
| Student  | REF ID 1         | REF ID 44  | REF ID 80        | REF ID 113 | REF ID 149 | REF ID 182 |
|  | REF ID 2         | REF ID 45  | REF ID 81        | REF ID 115 | REF ID 150 | REF ID 183 |
|  | REF ID 9         | REF ID 46  | REF ID 82        | REF ID 118 | REF ID 151 | REF ID 184 |
|  | REF ID 10        | REF ID 47  | REF ID 83        | REF ID 124 | REF ID 152 | REF ID 186 |
|  | REF ID 12        | REF ID 48  | REF ID 84        | REF ID 125 | REF ID 153 | REF ID 187 |
|  | REF ID 14        | REF ID 55  | REF ID 86        | REF ID 127 | REF ID 154 | REF ID 188 |
|  | REF ID 15        | REF ID 56  | REF ID 87        | REF ID 130 | REF ID 155 |            |
|  | REF ID 16        | REF ID 57  | REF ID 89        | REF ID 133 | REF ID 156 |            |
|  | REF ID 17        | REF ID 58  | REF ID 90        | REF ID 134 | REF ID 157 |            |
|  | REF ID 19        | REF ID 59  | REF ID 91        | REF ID 135 | REF ID 158 |            |
|  | <b>REF ID 21</b> | REF ID 60  | REF ID 92        | REF ID 136 | REF ID 159 |            |
|  | REF ID 24        | REF ID 61  | REF ID 95        | REF ID 137 | REF ID 160 |            |
|  | REF ID 16        | REF ID 62  | REF ID 96        | REF ID 138 | REF ID 161 |            |
|  | REF ID 25        | REF ID 63  | REF ID 97        | REF ID 139 | REF ID 162 |            |
|  | REF ID 26        | REF ID 64  | REF ID 99        | REF ID 140 | Ref id 163 |            |
|  | REF ID 27        | REF ID 65  | REF ID 100       | REF ID 141 | REF ID 164 |            |
|  | REF ID 28        | REF ID 66  | REF ID 101       | REF ID 142 | REF ID 165 |            |
|  | REF ID 29        | REF ID 68  | REF ID 102       | REF ID 143 | REF ID 175 |            |
|  | REF ID 31        | REF ID 69  | REF ID 103       | REF ID 144 | REF ID 176 |            |
|  | REF ID 32        | REF ID 70  | REF ID 105       | REF ID 145 | REF ID 177 |            |
|  | REF ID 33        | REF ID 71  | REF ID 106       | REF ID 146 | REF ID 179 |            |
|  | REF ID 34        | REF ID 72  | REF ID 109       | REF ID 147 | REF ID 180 |            |
|  | REF ID 35        | REF ID 73  | Ref ID 112       |            | REF ID 181 |            |
|  | REF ID 36        |            |                  |            |            |            |
|  | REF ID 43        |            |                  |            |            |            |
| Senior Manager/Head of Depatment/Vice Chancellor | REF ID 6         | REF ID 108 |                  |            |            |            |
|  | REF ID 7         | REF ID 110 |                  |            |            |            |
|  | REF ID 54        | REF ID 116 |                  |            |            |            |
| Assistant roles in HE                            | REF ID 6         | REF ID 110 | REF ID 149       | REF ID 124 |            |            |

Thread 2: Nature of caring responsibilities

|                                      |                  |                  |            |            |        |        |        |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Elderly Parents<br>(E)               | REF ID 6         | EF ID 26         | REF ID 52  | REF ID 90  | REF ID | REF ID |        |
|                                      | REF ID 7         | REF ID 40        | REF ID 78  | REF ID 110 | 131    | 167    |        |
|                                      | REF ID 11        | REF ID 48        | REF ID 77  | REF ID 117 | REF ID |        |        |
|                                      | <b>REF ID 23</b> |                  |            |            | 151    |        |        |
| Parenting for<br>child(ren) (P)      | REF ID 1         | REF ID 42        | REF ID 69  | REF ID 93  | REF ID | REF ID | REF ID |
|                                      | REF ID 6         | REF ID 43        | REF ID 70  | REF ID 94  | 123    | 148    | 171    |
|                                      | REF ID 7         | REF ID 44        | REF ID 71  | REF ID 95  | REF ID | REF ID | REF ID |
|                                      | REF ID 9         | REF ID 45        | REF ID 72  | REF ID 96  | 124    | 149    | 175    |
|                                      | REF ID 11        | REF ID 46        | REF ID 73  | REF ID 97  | REF ID | REF ID | REF ID |
|                                      | REF ID 12        | REF ID 47        | REF ID 74  | REF ID 99  | 125    | 150    | 176    |
|                                      | REF ID 14        | REF ID 51        | REF ID 75  | REF ID     | REF ID | REF ID | REF ID |
|                                      | Ref id 15        | REF ID 52        | REF ID 76  | 100        | 127    | 151    | 177    |
|                                      | REF ID 16        | REF ID 54        | REF ID 77  | REF ID     | REF ID | REF ID | REF ID |
|                                      | REF ID 24        | REF ID 55        | REF ID 78  | 101        | 128    | 152    | 178    |
|                                      | REF ID 27        | REF ID 56        | REF ID 80  | REF ID     | REF ID | REF ID | REF ID |
|                                      | REF ID 28        | REF ID 57        | REF ID 81  | 102        | 129    | 153    | 179    |
|                                      | REF ID 31        | REF ID 58        | REF ID 82  | REF ID     | REF ID | REF ID | REF ID |
|                                      | REF ID 32        | REF ID 59        | REF ID 83  | 103        | 130    | 154    | 180    |
|                                      | REF ID 33        | REF ID 60        | REF ID 84  | REF ID     | REF ID | REF ID | REF ID |
|                                      | REF ID 35        | REF ID 61        | REF ID 85  | 105        | 131    | 155    | 181    |
|                                      | REF ID 36        | REF ID 62        | REF ID 86  | REF ID     | REF ID | REF ID | REF ID |
|                                      | REF ID 38        | REF ID 63        | REF ID 87  | 106        | 133    | 156    | 182    |
|                                      | REF ID 39        | REF ID 64        | REF ID 89  | REF ID     | REF ID | REF ID | REF ID |
|                                      | REF ID 40        | REF ID 66        | REF ID 90  | 108        | 134    | 157    | 183    |
|                                      | REF ID 41        | REF ID 67        | REF ID 91  | REF ID 111 | REF ID | REF ID | REF ID |
|                                      |                  | REF ID 68        | REF ID 92  | REF ID 112 | 135    | 158    | 186    |
|                                      |                  |                  |            | REF ID 113 | REF ID | REF ID | REF ID |
|                                      |                  |                  |            | REF ID 115 | 136    | 159    | 188    |
|                                      |                  |                  |            | REF ID 116 | REF ID | REF ID |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            | REF ID 118 | 137    | 160    |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            | REF ID 119 | REF ID | REF ID |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            | REF ID     | 138    | 161    |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            | 120        | REF ID | REF ID |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            | REF ID     | 139    | 162    |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            | 122        | REF ID | REF ID |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | 140    | 163    |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | REF ID | REF ID |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | 141    | 164    |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | REF ID | REF ID |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | 142    | 165    |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | REF ID | REF ID |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | 143    | 166    |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | REF ID | REF ID |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | 144    | 167    |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | REF ID | REF ID |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | 145    | 169    |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | REF ID | REF ID |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | 146    | 170    |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | REF ID |        |        |
|                                      |                  |                  |            |            | 147    |        |        |
| Child(ren)/adult(s)<br>with SEND (S) | REF ID 6         | REF ID 95        |            |            |        |        |        |
|                                      | REF ID 11        | REF ID 110       |            |            |        |        |        |
|                                      | <b>REF ID 23</b> | REF ID 112       |            |            |        |        |        |
|                                      | REF ID 29        | REF ID 117       |            |            |        |        |        |
| Mental health<br>(MH)                | REF ID 2         | <b>REF ID 21</b> | REF ID 78  |            |        |        |        |
|                                      | REF ID 7         | REF ID 25        | REF ID 110 |            |        |        |        |
|                                      | REF ID 19        | REF ID 48        | REF ID 117 |            |        |        |        |



Thread 2: (Continued)

|                    |           |                  |           |            |            |        |
|--------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|------------|------------|--------|
| Care for siblings, | REF ID 2  | REF ID 19        | REF ID 25 | REF ID 52  | REF ID 117 | REF ID |
| friends,           | REF ID 6  | REF ID 11        | REF ID 26 | REF ID 78  | REF ID     | 151    |
| grandchildren,     | REF ID 7  | <b>REF ID 21</b> | REF ID 29 | REF ID 90  | 131        | REF ID |
| parents or         | REF ID 10 | <b>REF ID 22</b> | REF ID 40 | REF ID     | REF ID     | 167    |
| other individual   | REF ID 17 | <b>REF ID 23</b> | REF ID 48 | 109        | 150        |        |
| (O)                |           |                  |           | REF ID 110 |            |        |

Animals/pets (A)

Thread 3: Social justice categories

|                 |                  |            |            |            |            |            |     |
|-----------------|------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----|
| Social          | REF ID 1         | REF ID 27  | REF ID 71  | REF IF 92  | REF ID 135 | REF ID 160 |     |
| Disadvantage    | REF ID 2         | REF ID 32  | REF ID 77  | REF ID 96  | REF ID 139 | REF ID 165 |     |
| (Low income,    | REF ID 10        | REF ID 43  | REF ID 80  | REF ID 105 | REF ID 140 | REF ID 182 |     |
| child caring    | REF ID 12        | REF ID 48  | REF ID 81  | REF ID 109 | REF ID 141 | REF ID 183 |     |
| for both        | REF ID 17        | REF ID 52  | REF ID 83  | REF ID 110 | REF ID 143 | REF ID 186 |     |
| parents etc.)   | REF ID 19        | REF ID 55  | REF ID 84  | REF ID 117 | REF ID 144 | REF ID 188 |     |
|                 | <b>REF ID 21</b> | REF ID 64  | REF ID 86  | REF ID 125 | REF ID 151 |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 24        | REF ID 65  | REF ID 90  | REF ID 130 | REF ID 152 |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 25        | REF ID 69  | REF ID 91  | REF ID 134 | REF ID 158 |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 26        | REF ID 70  |            |            |            |            |     |
| SEND            | REF ID 6         | REF ID 112 |            |            |            |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 11        | REF ID 117 |            |            |            |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 26        |            |            |            |            |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 95        |            |            |            |            |            |     |
| Sexuality       | REF ID 6         |            |            |            |            |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 7         |            |            |            |            |            |     |
| Ethnic minority | REF ID 6         | REF ID 47  | REF ID 77  | REF ID 113 | REF ID 140 | REF ID 157 | REF |
|                 | REF ID 7         | REF ID 59  | REF ID 80  | REF ID 123 | REF ID 142 | REF ID 158 | ID  |
|                 | REF ID 9         | REF ID 64  | REF ID 82  | REF ID 124 | REF ID 143 | REF ID 159 | 186 |
|                 | REF ID 12        | REF ID 71  | REF ID 86  | REF ID 135 | REF ID 154 | REF ID 165 |     |
|                 |                  | REF ID 72  | REF ID 105 | REF ID 136 | REF ID 155 | REF ID 177 |     |
| Gender          | REF ID 2         | REF ID 42  | REF ID 66  | REF ID 91  | REF ID 134 | REF ID 161 |     |
|                 | REF ID 6         | REF ID 43  | REF ID 67  | REF ID 93  | REF ID 136 | REF ID 166 |     |
|                 | REF ID 7         | REF ID 44  | REF ID 68  | REF ID 95  | REF ID 139 | REF ID 168 |     |
|                 | REF ID 9         | REF ID 45  | REF ID 69  | REF ID 96  | REF ID 140 | REF ID 170 |     |
|                 | REF ID 11        | REF ID 46  | REF ID 70  | REF ID 97  | REF ID 141 | REF ID 171 |     |
|                 | REF ID 14        | REF ID 47  | REF ID 71  | REF ID 99  | REF ID 142 | REF ID 178 |     |
|                 | REF ID 16        | REF ID 51  | REF ID 72  | REF ID 101 | REF ID 143 | REF ID 179 |     |
|                 | REF ID 17        | REF ID 52  | REF ID 73  | REF ID 105 | REF ID 144 | REF ID 180 |     |
|                 | <b>REF ID 22</b> | REF ID 54  | REF ID 74  | REF ID 108 | REF ID 147 | REF ID 183 |     |
|                 | REF ID 24        | REF ID 56  | REF ID 75  | REF ID 111 | REF ID 148 | REF ID 186 |     |
|                 | REF ID 25        | REF ID 57  | REF ID 76  | REF ID 112 | REF ID 149 | REF ID 188 |     |
|                 | REF ID 29        | REF ID 58  | REF ID 77  | REF ID 113 | REF ID 150 |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 31        | REF ID 59  | REF ID 80  | REF ID 116 | REF ID 152 |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 32        | REF ID 62  | REF ID 81  | REF ID 120 | REF ID 154 |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 38        | REF ID 63  | REF ID 82  | REF ID 125 | REF ID 155 |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 39        | REF ID 64  | REF ID 89  | REF ID 128 | REF ID 158 |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 40        | REF ID 65  | REF ID 90  | REF ID 129 |            |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 41        |            |            |            |            |            |     |
| Sole parenting  | REF ID 2         | REF ID 45  | REF ID 68  | REF ID 83  | REF ID 105 | REF ID 160 |     |
|                 | REF ID 14        | REF ID 58  | REF ID 69  | REF ID 84  | REF ID 125 | REF ID 182 |     |
|                 | REF ID 25        | REF ID 62  | REF ID 73  | REF ID 86  | REF ID 130 | REF ID 184 |     |
|                 | REF ID 27        | REF ID 63  | REF ID 80  | REF ID 91  | REF ID 139 |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 43        | REF ID 65  | REF ID 81  | REF ID 93  | REF ID 155 |            |     |
|                 | REF ID 44        | REF ID 66  | REF ID 82  | REF ID 101 | REF ID 158 |            |     |

Thread 3: (Continued)

|                |            |
|----------------|------------|
| Pregnancy/loss | REF ID 15  |
|                | REF ID 128 |
|                | REF ID 134 |
|                | REF ID 145 |
|                | REF ID 153 |
|                | Ref ID 171 |
|                | REF ID 178 |

*Note:* Numbers highlighted in bold were removed from quantification—blog posts, government websites, newspaper articles.