

INTERIM REPORT FOR THE RESEARCH AND ENGAGEMENT WORKING GROUP (REWG)

Decolonised Transformations: Confronting the UoE's Legacies of Enslavement and Colonialism

March 2024

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INTRODUCTION

In 2021, Principal Peter Mathieson announced that the University of Edinburgh (UoE) was committed to a bold decolonisation and reparatory justice programme dedicated to looking at 'Issues of race, contemporary racism, Eurocentric and Afriphobic aspects of our curriculum and features of the University's history.'¹ Sir Geoff Palmer was appointed to chair the Steering Group, which acts as an advisory committee, while Professor Tommy J. Curry and Dr Nicola Frith were appointed to co-chair the Research and Engagement Working Group (REWG). The REWG was tasked with defining and leading areas of inquiry, and writing a coherent, evidence-based report with recommendations on the subject of 'Decolonised Transformations: Confronting the UoE's Legacies of Enslavement and Colonialism'.

The REWG's investigation has seven principal aims:

- 1. To reveal UoE's role in the historical harms committed against Black, African, African-descended, Caribbean, Asian, Middle Eastern, Indigenous peoples and others linked to the histories of African enslavement and colonialism.
- 2. To understand how historical harms and racial thinking continue to exist in the structure and culture of the institution today.
- 3. To recognise the presence and contributions of Black, African, African-descended, Caribbean, Asian, Middle Eastern, Indigenous peoples and others to UoE's historical and contemporary intellectual life and development.
- 4. To ensure that communities of reparatory justice interest both within and outside of the university can engage fully in the work and help shape the research and engagement agenda, priorities and recommendations.
- 5. To engage with wider communities to understand broader perceptions of the university's links to the development and dissemination of racial science, colonialism and enslavement, and develop and explore reparatory justice solutions/actions. This will include inviting and exploring the views of UoE's community as a whole.
- 6. To acknowledge any existing work and initiatives within the university in relation to decoloniality, reparation, equality and diversity.
- 7. To provide a decolonial and reparatory vision for institutional and cultural change that seeks to restore dignity to Black, African, African-descended, Caribbean, Asian, Middle Eastern, Indigenous peoples and others, including clear recommendations for ensuring future accountability and progression towards the goals of reparatory justice, decoloniality and diversification. Importantly, this will contribute to the work of the Race, Equality and Anti-Racist Subcommitee (REAR) and the 'Race Equality and Anti-

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Peter Mathieson, 'Statement from the Principal', 20 January 2021, https://www.ed.ac.uk/news/2021/addressing-contemporary-and-historic-racism/statement-from-principal.

Racist Action Plan' (2020/21 and 2023), notably Section 10 on 'Reparation and Reparative Justice'.²

To achieve these aims, the REWG is working with a wide range of participants, including academics, students, researchers and other relevant professionals, and in direct partnership with affected communities within and beyond UoE. In addition to the Co-Chairs, the REWG's membership includes the following people and roles:

• Research fellows:

- Simon Buck (assessing UoE's links to slavery)
- <u>lan Stewart</u> (assessing UoE's links to the development of racial thought and colonialism)
- Yarong Xie (assessing current attitudes towards, and experiences of, racism)

Research assistant:

Obasanjo Bolarinwa (assessing and disaggregating UoE's data on racially/ethnically minoritised students and staff)

• Academic mentors:

- <u>Diana Paton</u> (William Robertson Professor of History, UoE)
- <u>Daryl Green</u> (Head of Heritage Collections and Co-Director of the Centre for Research Collections, UoE)
- <u>Nasar Meer</u> (Professor of Social and Political Science at the University of Glasgow, formerly Director of <u>RaceED</u>, UoE)
- Community engagement officer:
 - <u>Samantha Likonde</u> (developing community engagement opportunities and strategies leading to reparatoy justice recommendations)
- Community and reparations activists and project consultants:
 - Zaki El-Salahi (Edinburgh Sudanese Community Partnership)
 - <u>Esther Stanford-Xosei</u> (co-founder of Pan-Afrikan Reparations Coalition in Europe, <u>PARCOE</u>, and the International Network of Scholars and Activists for Afrikan Reparations, <u>INOSAAR</u>)
 - Silence Chihuri (Fair Justice System for Scotland, <u>FJSS</u>)
- EUSA's former <u>Black and Minority Liberation Officer</u>, Maryam Yusuf, and current post holder, Vansh Bali

• Community Anchors including:

 Researchers from UoE: <u>Omolabake Fakunle</u> (Chancellor's Fellow, Moray House School of Education and Sport); <u>Roger Jeffery</u> (Honorary Professorial Fellow, School of Social and Political Science); and <u>Nini Kerr</u> (Lecturer and Psychoanalytic Practitioner, Medical School)

- Students voices: Ebo Anyebe (Co-President of the <u>African Caribbean Medical Society Edinburgh</u>) and Abigail Ocansey (Founder of the <u>The Diaspora Project</u>)
- Community voices: Kobina Amokwandoh (<u>INOSAAR-RepAfrika</u>, Pan-Afrikan Reparations Internationalist Standing Conference, <u>PARISC</u> and Planet Repairs

² The link is to the orginal 2020/21 REAR Action Plan. However, an updated version was approved by the University Executive in March 2023, but is not yet available on the REAR website.

Action Learning Educational Revolution, <u>PRALER</u>) and Trishna Singh (Founder and Director of Sikh Sanjog)

For more information on our membership, visit our blogsite.

The following interim report provides a summary of our findings to-date and points towards the work that will take place over the course of 2024; a year that also marks the end of the <u>UN International Decade for People of Africa Descent</u> (2015–2024).³ The final report will be completed by December 2024, and submitted to the University Executive shortly thereafter, and will include recommendations derived from communities of reparatory justice interest and other interested parties within and beyond our walls.⁴ As a precursor, this interim report acts as a mechanism for feeding information back to all those who have participated so far, connecting our work to other interested groups and institutions, and providing an update to the Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Committee — a standing committee of the University Executive — and the Steering Group with a view to discussing how to put its recommendations into effect and sustain our work beyond 2024.

This report is divided into six sections. Section one begins with a literature review that outlines the kinds of approaches taken so far to investigate the history and legacies of slavery and colonialism at comparable UK institutions, while noting UoE's points of difference. Section two provides a brief snapshot of the research being undertaken to understand data collection at UoE and what the institution looks like today. Section three provides an update on the historical research conducted to-date into UoE's links to slavery, colonialism and the development of racial 'sciences'. Section four outlines the methodology underpinning two university-wide surveys that will provide new insights into the contemporary racial climate at UoE. Section five provides an overview of the different stages of our community engagement to-date, including our inaugural event and follow-up workshops and focus groups. And section six concludes with a summary of some of the recommendations emerging from our collaboration with communities of reparatory justice interest and other interested parties (including academics with expertise in the history and racial legacies of slavery and colonialism, and other professionals working with decolonising and reparatory practices) both within and outside of UoE.

Overall, we understand that the primary purpose of the Decolonised Transformations Project is to generate the evidence needed to identify a clear path for UoE to begin acknowledging, addressing and repairing its legacies of slavery and colonialism. We recognise that any meaningful decolonial and reparatory approach leading to action is predicated on a full and proper engagement with communities of reparatory justice interest in dialogue with the wider university community. Ultimately, we aim to provide a pathway for cultural change within the institution premised on accountability and progression towards the goals of reparatory justice, decoloniality and diversification.

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³ United Nations, 'International Decade for People of African Descent (2015–2024)', https://www.un.org/en/observances/decade-people-african-descent.

⁴ Mathieson (2021).

LITERATURE REVIEW

The move to bring about deep institutional reflection and change within the higher education sector has been propelled by many years of campaigning by grassroots communities of reparatory justice interest, students-led organisations, scholar-activists and willing academics. Within UoE itself, examples include the student-led <u>BlackEd Movement</u>, networks such as the <u>International Network of Scholars and Activists for Afrikan Reparations</u> (INOSAAR) which held the first conference on reparations for African enslavement at UoE in 2015, and staff groups such as the <u>Edinburgh Race Equality Network</u> (EREN) and <u>RaceEd</u>.⁵

Coalitions of movements such as these are part of a broader movement to push UK higher education institutions (HEIs) towards paying closer attention to their historical involvement in slavery and colonialism. This has led many to ask about the kinds of actions needed to address the longstanding effects of these histories on racially/ethnically minoritised communities today. As we will outline in the literature review below, there are many possible approaches that have been taken by HEIs and other public institutions. Led by the work of the REWG, UoE is in a unique position to do something different by connecting to the needs of communities of reparatory justice interest and implementing strategies to bring about real and long-lasting institutional transformation.

Work at Comparable Institutions

Over the past several years, UK HEIs have begun the long overdue task of investigating their links to slavery and colonialism. Whereas the institution of chattel slavery is widely acknowledged as a permanent stain on American democracy, dominant groups in Britain have operated as if the country was innocent of these same atrocities. In 2003, Brown University followed a mandate from its then president to 'investigate and issue a public report on the University's historical relationship to slavery and the transatlantic slave trade'. Following the initiative set by Brown, many other US universities and colleges began investigating their ties to slavery, including William and Mary (2009), Georgetown (2016) and more recently Harvard (2022), to name but a few. In 2016, the University of Virginia created the Universities Studying Slavery (USS) consortium, which is dedicated to sharing 'best practices and guiding principles in truth-telling educational projects focused on human bondage and the legacies of racism in their histories'. Today, this consortium is comprised of 'over one hundred institutions of higher learning in the United States, Canada, Colombia, Scotland, Ireland, and England'.

⁵ In June 2020, the student-led BlackEd Movement lobbied Principal Mathieson to address issues relating to UoE's racially/ethnically minorised students and staff by 'Making a Statement; Promoting and Establishing Anti-Racist Culture within the University; Developing a Comprehensive Zero-Tolerance Policy; and Creating and Supporting Representation Initiatives'.

⁶ University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice, Slavery and Justice: Report of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice (Providence: Brown University, 2006), p. 3.

⁷ University of Virginia, 'President's Commission on Slavery and the University', https://slavery.virginia.edu/universities-studying-slavery/.

Of the members of the USS, the University of Glasgow was the first UK university to investigate it historical links to slavery, and released a <u>report</u> of its findings in 2018.⁸ This report followed in the wake of growing institutional interest in the history of slavery in the UK, such as work at the <u>University of Liverpool</u> (from 2006) and <u>University College London</u> (from 2012).⁹ By 2020, nine UK HEIs had joined the USS consortium, including Edinburgh, along with Liverpool John Moores, Bristol, Cambridge, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Warwick and Nottingham. This rise in interest has also been mirrored in other sectors, with museums, galleries, heritage properties, churches, health trusts, banks and local councils/authorities throughout the UK undertaking projects to understand their relationship to slavery and racism today.¹⁰

Where UK HEIs specifically are concerned, there have been a number of reports published to-date. Oxford University's working group on colonialism was created in 2016 to explore 'the University's historic ties with Great Britain's colonial past and the ways in which the University's colonial legacies reflect on the present, and our vision of the University's future'. In 2019, Cambridge University began a programme to 'facilitate research by its undergraduate and graduate students into past and present forms of slavery', and released a report on its connections to slavery in 2021. The University of Manchester launched an investigation into the legacies of slavery in 2021 as part of an effort to generate greater awareness of institutional racism in the discipline of history and the absence of colonialism and decoloniality throughout its curriculum. In 2023, the University of Strathclyde released a report investigating its relationship with slavery. This included consultations with BAME staff and students that led to multiple initiatives to improve climate and decolonise its curriculum. Curriculum.

What these reports demonstrate is a level of consensus that British universities must address historical and contemporary biases, which is crucial given the global role of universities in educating successive generations as they go on to shape future societies. Where there is less consensus is *how* to go about this.

Many of the aforementioned reports focus on how an institution financially benefited from the transoceanic trafficking and enslavement of African peoples, which contrasts with many <u>American universities</u> that focus on the physical labour of enslaved Black people in

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⁸ University of Glasgow, 'University of Glasgow Publishes Report Into Historical Slavery', 16 September 2018, https://www.gla.ac.uk/news/archiveofnews/2018/september/headline 607154 en.html.

⁹ University of Liverpool, 'Centre for the Study of International Slavery', https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/csis/about-us/; University of London, 'Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery', https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/.

¹⁰ To take a few examples: the National Trust, the Guardian newspaper, the Fitzwilliam Museum, National Museums Scotland, churches of England and Scotland and Edinburgh City Council.

¹¹ Kalypso Nicolaidis and Laura van Broekhoven, *The Working Group on Oxford University and Colonialism* (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2017), p. 5.

¹² King's College Cambridge, 'King's College Research into Slavery, Past, and Present', 28 May 2019, https://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/news/2019/kings-college-research-slavery-past-and-present.

¹³ Mary Chioti, 'Exploring the Legacies of Slavery and Colonialism at The University of Manchester', 18 August 2021, https://sites.manchester.ac.uk/salc-making-a-difference/2021/08/18/exploring-the-legacies-of-slavery-and-colonialism-at-the-university-of-manchester/.

¹⁴ University of Strathclyde, 'Report Sheds Light on Historical Links to Transatlantic Slavery of University of Strathclyde's Forerunners', 9 October 2023, https://www.strath.ac.uk/whystrathclyde/news/2023/reportshedslightonhistoricallinkstotransatlanticslavery/#:~:text=The%20University%20of%20Strathclyde%20has,from%20money%20derived%20from%20slavery.

building campuses and funding faculty salaries.¹⁵ The reports by leading UK institutions have focused primarily on the following areas:

- 1. The significant connections to slavery by former students, alumni, professors and officers/administrators;
- 2. Financial contributions in the form of endowments, donations, estates or capital campaigns linked to slavery;
- 3. And the presence of Black, Asian or other racially/ethnically minoritised students or faculty that have been ignored throughout the history of the respective university.

If these represent commonalities in the reports on the history of slavery in the UK, they also differ according to the character of the institution. The University of Glasgow, for example, has historically been praised for being home to leading abolitionist thinkers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In response, their 'Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow' report shows how bursaries and financial contributions from proslavery associations ran contrary to the much-celebrated abolitionism of the institution. This is slightly different from ongoing research at Oxford, which is presented in the 'Exeter College and Legacies of Slavery' report, that documents forty-one persons (undergraduates or fellows) who owned enslaved people or held some substantial relationship to slavery throughout its history and focuses on financial enrichment and pro-slavery alumni. Despite these nuances, all of the reports conclude that their respective university was tied to the transoceanic trafficking and enslavement of African peoples and benefited from the slavery economy in some way.

University of Edinburgh's Approach and Focus

The <u>Decolonised Transformation Project</u> at the University of Edinburgh echoes some of the focus and methodologies of these other reports, but also diverges from them in significant ways. Most notably, the scope of the <u>Decolonised Transformation Project</u> is wider than the reports listed above. The UoE report will not only trace the financial gains and associations of alumni involved with the enslavement of African peoples, but will also emphasise historical linkages between enslavement and the larger project of colonialism in Africa, Asia, the so-called Americas and elsewhere.

UoE's report also differs to some extent from previous reports regarding its historical focus. Like other universities, there is archival evidence of financial contributions, capital campaigns and donations linked to slavery; however, UoE was also the centre of the Scottish

¹⁵ See Craig Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2013).

¹⁶ Stephen Mullen and Simon Newman, *Slavery, Abolition, and the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2018).

¹⁷ Exeter College Oxford, *Exeter College and Legacies of Slavery* (Oxford: Exeter College Oxford, 2023). See also the Balliol College report: Sebastian Raj Pender, *Balliol and the Proceeds of Slavery Project Report* (2021), https://www.balliol.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/balliol and the proceeds of slavery - project report.pdf.

Enlightenment and played a significant role in the development of racialist theory and ethnological sciences.¹⁸ Preliminary research into UoE's legacies of colonialism and enslavement has found evidence that theories of racial inferiority were authored and popularised by leading Enlightenment thinkers employed by UoE.

Finally, UoE's report differs in the sense that its recommendations will be the result of an extensive community engagement programme that is centred on the need for reparatory justice as both an ongoing process and a goal. Through our community engagement, we are not just looking to involve ethnically/racially minoritised communities within the institution, but also to bring in groups and expertise from local, national, UK and international communities.

The term 'reparatory justice' is used to underscore the fact that slavery was and remains a recognised crime against humanity, while colonialism has involved multiple human abuses across its history that demand recognition and reparation. While often imagined solely through a financial lens as monetary compensation (which is often negatively portrayed by the media and political elites), our understanding of reparations relies on the UN <u>Basic Principle and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation</u> (2005). This defines reparatory justice as including: 'restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition'.¹⁹ To understand what this means in practice requires extensive and ongoing engagement with communities of reparatory justice interest, while ensuring that these communities are able to participate in all decision-making processes and are empowered to do so.

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¹⁸ Note that the Cambridge report also discusses this in a section entitled, 'Role in intellectual underpinning of racism'; University of Cambridge, 'Cambridge responds to legacies of enslavement inquiry', 22 September 2022, https://www.cam.ac.uk/stories/legacies-of-enslavement-inquiry#group-section-Process-HxyyCBf0s5.

¹⁹ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 'Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law', 15 December 2005, https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/basic-principles-and-guidelines-right-remedy-and-reparation.

CURRENT INSTITUTIONAL PICTURE: UOE STAFF AND STUDENTS (2004–2022)

Reports looking at the connections between slavery and the enduring legacies of racial disparity within their universities have yet to include analyses of institutional data concerning the hiring and retention of Black, Asian and other visible racial minorities as staff and teaching faculty or student admissions. The Decolonised Transformations Project takes the underrepresentation of racially/ethnically minoritised faculty and students to be a significant indicator of an institution's racial and ethnic diversity and institutional climate. Its findings (to be presented in full in the final report) will provide further evidence to support the REAR Action Plan and, specifically, its focus on addressing the unequal experience and underrepresentation of racially/ethnically minoritised staff across the University, both in academic roles and in professional services, as well as tackling student under-representation through a review and update of student recruitment practices.

Staff Racial, Ethnic and Gender Profiles

The REWG has begun analysing staff data from Grades 01–10 at UoE. Preliminary analyses confirm the overall trends of under-representation among BAME staff when compared to white staff at UoE, as reported yearly in the Equality and Diversity Monitoring and Research Committee Staff Reports (EDMARC).²⁰ The most recent EDMARC data (2021/2022) note a small increase in BAME staff to 13.2% from 12.0%.²¹ According to the report, 'this is slightly higher than the BAME staff average for Scottish Higher Education Institutions (10.9%) as reported by AdvanceHE, and slightly lower than the UK average (16.3%)'.²² While the EDMARC report does note some disaggregated analysis of racial and ethnic groups that comprise the BAME category (see Figure 3.1), given the small numbers of racial and ethnic groups among staff members, it has been difficult to accurately capture these populations in previous and ongoing analyses.²³

The REWG project attempts to categorise and analyse the specific racial and ethnic groups comprising the aggregated BAME label and analyse specific trends across the respective racial and ethnic staff members at UoE. The most significant challenges to this analysis are the small timeframe of data collected by UoE that contains demographic variables

²⁰ Equality and Diversity Monitoring Research Committee Staff Reports (EDMARC) (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2018/2019); EDMARC (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2020); EDMARC (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2023).

²¹ EDMARC (2023), p. 10.

²² EDMARC (2023), p. 10.

²³ For example, the 2023 EDMARC Staff Report (p. 6) represents the small number of Black and Mixed staff visually in a bar graph, but without providing percentages or real numbers in comparison to White, Other and Asian populations, which total 93.3% of the Non-UK staff population. In the UK staff population, the comprising racial and ethnic group staff are not marked with percentages, but are visually represented as smaller bars in relation to a 94.7% White staff population.

such as race and/or ethnicity, and missing information from staff members who do not fill in racial and/or ethnic identity information.

To address this issue, the REWG has created a smaller sample population than that presented in previous EDMARC staff reports. In other words, the dataset used by the REWG excludes all of the missing responses in staff nationality and ethnic affiliation (meaning staff who did not answer questions on nationality or ethnic affiliation), whereas the EDMARC report considers all these missing responses. While trends of under-representation found in preliminary analyses by the REWG among Black staff in particular, and other racialized minorities more generally, are consistent with the visual representations of the EDMARC report, our group continues to work with EDMARC and HR to provide the most accurate representation of this data to UoE stakeholders and the larger public. Ongoing discussions are focused on closing the gap between EDMARC data and the smaller sample size of the REWG report for the purposes of racial and ethnic disaggregation and trend analysis.

Student Racial, Ethnic and Gender Profiles

The REWG has also taken an interest in analysing the representation of racial and ethnic minority students attending UoE at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. Preliminary research previously conducted by UoE and published as the Student EDI Data Report (2023) shows under-representation of Black and Asian students compared to white student numbers.²⁴ The REWG aims not only to provide descriptive statistics across colleges, but also to conduct statistical analyses that will better understand the entrance and exiting of existing racial and ethnic minority student populations across colleges, the awarding of degrees and honours, as well as acceptance rates into UoE at undergraduate and postgraduate levels.

Ongoing research has pointed to several limitations in the analysis of data. The first obstacle to data analysis has been the identification of racial and ethnic identity information among student profiles. These missing variables impact sample size and how the general BAME category is understood in relation to the larger white population. The second obstacle is the timeframe of data available for analysis. Like staff data, student data suffers from similar limitations in that only the last five years are available for analysis and comparison. Given the age of UoE (roughly 441 years old), the collection of racial and ethnic identity markers among students over the last five to ten years does not offer a complete picture of graduates or those accepted by the university historically.

REWG collaborations with UoE teams are focusing on data collection protocols, discussions concerning the use or exclusion of profiles with missing variables, and best practices concerning sample sizes and trends given the limits of the available data.

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²⁴ Student EDI Data Public Report – Data and Visualisations (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2023), https://www.ed.ac.uk/sites/default/files/atoms/files/student report 2023.pdf.

HISTORICAL LINKS TO SLAVERY AND COLONIALISM

The following section outlines the work that has been conducted to-date by two of our research fellows, Simon Buck and Ian Stewart, into the links between UoE and the interconnected histories of slavery, colonialism and the development of racial pseudo-'sciences'. Their work focuses on a few important areas, including: the ways that the university benefitted financially from the profits of African enslavement; the use and abuse of enslaved Africans to generate, extract and circulate knowledge for the benefit of western medicine; and the central role played by scholars at UoE in developing and disseminating deeply problematic concepts about 'race', notably during the Enlightenment. These focal points reflect the research expertise of our respective fellows. Within the scope of this twoyear project, we are not able to uncover every possible link between UoE and the fivehundred-year history of slavery and colonialism. We recognise that UoE was also involved in colonialism in many other areas of the world, including Africa, South Asia, North America and Australia. Our final report will therefore indicate areas where further work urgently needs to be done. One example that we are seeking to address in the short-term are the links between UoE and Palestine. For this reason, we have included below a summary of the work undertaken by UoE scholars, Nicola Perugini and Shaira Vadasaria. Although this has been conducted outside of the REWG, we are now seeking additional resource that, if granted, will enable us to work collaboratively going forwards.

UoE's Ties to Slavery and Colonial Endeavours

UoE has benefited from the economic, social, intellectual and political capital gained from enslavement and colonialism throughout the centuries. Members of the teaching faculty, professorial chairs and students were involved in numerous endeavours based on, or associated with, the exploitation and trading of non-European peoples. Some funds derived, at least in part, from colonial exploitation and slavery ultimately enriched the university via the gifts of its benefactors. Our research fellow Simon Buck is working towards an assessment of the scale of the funds which UoE received from individuals with links to slavery and colonialism.²⁵ Some examples of his findings are listed below.

Benefactors' Links to Slavery and Colonialism

Between the late-sixteenth and late-nineteenth centuries, UoE received at least 180 benefactions or 'gifts' from private individuals, mostly for the foundation of student bursaries,

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²⁵ It should be noted that the forthcoming final report will not claim to have successfully counted every pound, shilling and pence which UoE received from individuals with links to Atlantic slavery or British colonialism. Instead, it will offer a framework of analysis and methodology; an overview of the UoE's financial linkages to slavery and colonialism which have been identified so far; and possible avenues for further research.

scholarships and academic chairs. Research is still underway, but some examples can be shared of benefactors with links to slavery and colonialism.

In 1809, Reverend James Stuart left money in his will for several institutions, including £1,000 each to the 'ancient' Scottish universities. Stuart, the son of a farmer in Boyndie, Banffshire, later became Rector of Georgetown and All Saints, South Carolina, and Chaplain to the King's Rangers in North America. A Loyalist whose property was confiscated by American forces during the American Revolution, Stuart submitted a claim in March 1784 to the Parliamentary Commission on Loyalist Claims and Services. Those documents show that Stuart owned a large private estate (possibly a plantation) and at least one enslaved person: a 'negro carpenter' whom he claimed to have lost along with his other property. Stuart's case — which has been already highlighted within separate reports on the <u>University of Glasgow</u>'s and <u>Balliol College</u>'s (Oxford) links to slavery — indicates how UoE was not unique among British universities and colleges in being in receipt of slavery-associated wealth.²⁶

Other similar examples are benefactions from Sir David Baxter and Mary Ann Baxter in the 1860s that established several scholarships. The Baxter family's wealth, which grew at least in part via the 'production and exportation of linen that was used on plantations to clothe the enslaved people', has, again, already been explored extensively as part of the <u>University of Dundee's investigation</u> into its founders' links to slavery.²⁷

While research will focus on financial links to slavery, also of interest are benefactions from individuals with close ties to British colonial rule in South and Southeast Asia. In 1817, Sir John Macpherson, an administrator in India and for a short period acting Governor-General of Bengal, provided funds to UoE to establish the Macpherson Bursary. In 1865, James Guthrie of Singapore provided funds to establish the Guthrie Fellowship (1865), in honour of his late uncle Alexander Guthrie. The Singapore-based family firm Guthrie & Co, established by Alexander in the early-nineteenth century, was involved in a number of trades in Southeast Asia, eventually including rubber and palm oil.

The Funding of Old College

In the early 1790s, UoE and its patrons, Edinburgh Town Council, undertook a fundraising campaign to build a 'new college', or what today is known as Old College. As part of the campaign, the Trustees responsible — including subsequent Lord Provosts and others from the Town Council, UoE professors and other prominent figures in Edinburgh and beyond, including Henry Dundas²⁸ — actively sought out funds from the British colonies. In total, 250

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²⁶ Henry D. Bull, 'A Note on James Stuart, Loyalist Clergyman in South Carolina', *The Journal of Southern History* 12, 4 (1946), 570–75; Sebastian Raj Pender, *Balliol and the Proceeds of Slavery Project Report* (Oxford: Balliol College, 2021), p. 30; Newman and Mullen, pp. 49–51.

²⁷ Cassandra Gooptar, *University of Dundee Founders Project Final Report* (Dundee: University of Dundee, 2022), pp. 36–42.

²⁸ Dundas was President of the Board of Control over the East India Company from 1793–1801 and is also known for having delayed the immediate abolition of slavery in 1792. See, for example, Edinburgh India Institute, 'Henry Dundas and the East India Company', https://india-institute.ed.ac.uk/india-in-edinburgh/leaving-and-arriving/henry-dundas; Melanie Newton, 'Henry Dundas, empire and genocide', *openDemocracy*, 20 July 2020, https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/opendemocracyuk/henry-dundas-empire-and-genocide/; Stephen

out of over 1,100 individual 'subscriptions' (donations) for Old College (several thousands of pounds at the time) came to the UoE from persons residing in the Caribbean and India. Among the Caribbean-based subscribers — in Antigua, Grenada and predominantly Jamaica — were individuals who owned plantations and enslaved people and/or merchants who traded in goods reliant on enslaved labour (e.g. sugar), as well as those who held military, legal, administrative and, most notably, medical roles. At least 74 of the colonial subscribers were medical professionals, several of whom were UoE alumni and/or held strong ties to its professors.

Donations directly from the colonies, however, represent only one route by which slavery-associated or colonially derived wealth contributed to the building of Old College. Some Old College subscribers who were resident in Britain have also been identified as holding financial links to Atlantic slavery.

Ultimately, the fundraising scheme failed primarily because of the economic consequences of war with France. In the end, the British government bailed out the Trustees and financed the completion of the project over the next few decades. Yet the project of building Old College would never have been able to get off the ground without the substantial funds raised — including those sourced from British colonies — during the initial fundraising campaign of the 1790s. Old College thus owes part of its history to the labour of enslaved and colonised peoples.

UoE Links to the Darien 'Scheme'

The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies (1695–1707) was a joint-stock company established by an Act of Scottish Parliament, most well-known for trying (and failing) to establish the Scottish colony of New Caledonia on the Isthmus of Darien (modern-day Panama).²⁹ Commonly referred to as the Darien 'scheme', New Caledonia has often been characterised in Scottish historiography as a 'tragic disaster for Scotland rather than a failed attempt at settler-colonialisation intent on the exploitation of enslaved labour'.³⁰ In 1696, several UoE figures financially invested in the Company of Scotland, including three professors (Alexander Rule, Professor of the Oriental Languages; James Gregory, Professor of Mathematics; and William Scott, Professor of Philosophy); the Lord Provost and *ex officio* Rector (Robert Cheislie); and possibly one student (James Gregory, 'Student of Medicine'). It appears that the then Principal Gilbert Rule and a later Principal William Wishart *primus* also invested, as did Elizabeth Pillans, daughter of James Pillans, UoE's 'late Professor of Humanities'.³¹ Others used their powers as academics to promote the Company of Scotland's cause: Professor of Philosophy William Scott (1672–1735) spoke positively about the Darien

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Mullen, 'Henry Dundas: A "Great Delayer" of the Abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 100 (2021), 218–48.

²⁹ At this time, the University was still referred to as the 'College of Edinburgh' or 'King James College'. Technically, faculty at this time were Regents rather than Professors. The Regenting System was not abolished until 1708.

³⁰ Stephen Mullen, 'Centring Transatlantic Slavery in Scottish Historiography', *History Compass* 20, 1 (2022), 6–7.

³¹ Edinburgh Subscription Book, 1696, Adv. MS 83.1.1, Subscription Books of the Darien Company, Accounts and Papers of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies (Darien Company), NLS.

'scheme' at the UoE graduation ceremony in 1699 and inserted an intellectual argument for Scotland's claim to the territory (which was contested by the Spanish Crown) into that year's student theses.³²

Why did UoE staff invest in the Company of Scotland? Professor of Mathematics James Gregory (1666–1742) was likely mindful that maritime needs of Scottish settler-colonisation would require the aid of mathematicians. In 1696, James's brother David Gregory (1659–1708), who had preceded him as Edinburgh's Professor of Mathematics (a role that their uncle had earlier held) before moving to Oxford, proposed that the Company of Scotland should fund a 'Navigation and Writing School' to train students in mathematics, navigation skills and related disciplines. The idea was that UoE professors would examine the school's pupils and UoE students would then provide tuition to prepare them to be bound as apprentices onto Company of Scotland ships.³³ Had the Darien 'scheme' been successful, and had such a school ever been created, then UoE professors and students in mathematics would have stood to gain a significant financial impetus for their discipline.

Edinburgh Medical School

Over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Edinburgh Medical School (est. 1726) became one of the most influential medical schools in the world, and an important site of medical education and research within the British Empire. Between 1744 and 1830, at least 187 young men from the Caribbean graduated in medicine at Edinburgh; almost 500 matriculated and several more would have attended classes without matriculating by paying a fee to the professor ('occasional auditors'). Additionally, many also came to study in Edinburgh from British North America, particularly prior to the American Revolution. Many of these students were the sons of enslavers, or from families with other ties to slavery, meaning that their fees to attend lectures were another method by which slavery-derived wealth contributed to UoE's operations.

An important aspect of this research is how students and professors contributed to racial medicine. Several graduates wrote their dissertations on tropical medicine, including yellow fever in the West Indies.³⁵ As Rana A. Hogarth, Emily Senior and other scholars have shown, false assumptions of African-descended people's natural immunity to yellow fever, which had devastating effects on enslaved Africans in the Caribbean and North America,

³² Edinburgh Gazette, 36 (26–29 June 1699); Excudebant Haeredes Andreae Anderson, Regis, Civitatis & Academiae Typographi Anno Dom MDCXCIX (Edinburgh, 1696), available via University of Edinburgh Library Heritage Collections, https://images.is.ed.ac.uk/luna/servlet/s/mg3c9s; C. P. Finlayson, 'Edinburgh University and the Darien Scheme', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 34 (1955), 97–102.

³³ David Gregory, 'A project for a Navigation School Presented to the E. India Company of Scotland', 10 April 1696, Coll-33/Folio C (217), Papers of David Gregory, University of Edinburgh Library Heritage Collections.

³⁴ Richard B. Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves: A Medical and Demographic History of Slavery in the British West Indies, 1680–1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 58–61. Sheridan drew on *Medical Matriculation Albums, 1740–1830*, University of Edinburgh Heritage Collections, and *List of Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, From MDCCV to MDCCCLXVI* (Edinburgh: printed by Neill & Company, 1867).

³⁵ For example, James Mackittrick Adair, *De Febre Indiae Occidentalis maligna flava* (1766); Sam Curtin, *De Febre flava Indiae occidentalis* (1778), John Wilson, *De Febre biolsa Indiae occidentalis incolas infestante* (1750).

Research is also underway to better understand the stories of Edinburgh-trained physicians who later worked as plantation doctors and slaving vessel surgeons. This includes those in the Caribbean who acted as scientists, druggists, natural historians and botanists, and both made observations of African healing practices and conducted medical experimentations (i.e. the testing of drugs or treatments) on enslaved people that would be considered unethical by the medical profession today. UoE professors — including Joseph Black, John Hope and Andrew Duncan Sr, among others — often read, commented upon and (re)circulated such research findings with the medical profession back in Britain, sharing colonial knowledge in academic journals, such as *Medical Commentaries* and the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*.³⁷ A major element of this research going forwards is, therefore, to situate UoE within these transatlantic colonial-medical networks and trace UoE's direct and indirect links to the white European expropriation of African- and Indigenous-derived medical knowledge, and exploitation of enslaved and colonised bodies in the name of medical

Student Debates on Slavery and Abolition

research.

Over the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, two student debating societies at UoE — the Dialectic Society (est. 1787, now the Diagnostic Society) and the Speculative Society (est. 1764) — held dozens of moral, legal, theological and political debates on slavery and abolition in both the British imperial and USA contexts. In general, students collectively voted along broadly 'antislavery' lines. In 1792, for example, Dialectic Society members concluded unanimously that 'use of the produce of slavery involve[d] [them] in its guilt' and agreed to abstain from consuming sugar. Significant numbers of students, however, either argued or voted against 'immediate' abolition of slavery in the 1820s and early 1830s, in favour of 'gradual' abolition (in contexts where such positions served to defang growing demands for immediate emancipation); in favour of the British government providing financial compensation to enslavers following emancipation; and in support of Britain's formal recognition of the slave-owning Confederacy during the American Civil War.

In January 1832, over a year before the British Parliament passed the Slavery Abolition Act, a majority of Speculative Society members voted that 'slaves in the West Indies' should not be 'immediately emancipated'. Some members of the two societies had been born in British colonies. For example, Thomas Skeete, a medical student from Barbados, spoke at a Speculative Society debate defending the trans-Atlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans (the

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³⁶ Rana A. Hogarth, *Medicalizing Blackness: Making Racial Difference in the Atlantic World, 1780–1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), p. 22; Emily Senior, *The Caribbean and the Medical Imagination, 1764–1834: Slavery, Disease and Colonial Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 122–130.

³⁷ For example, see a letter from 'Gentleman of extensive property in the island Grenada' to Dr Joseph Black in *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries* (London, Edinburgh and Dublin: J. Murray, Kincaid and Creech and W. Drummond, T. Ewing, 1774), vol 2, pp. 90–92.

'slave trade'), and read his own proslavery essay to the Society on the 'Justice and Propriety of the Present State of Slavery in the West Indies'.³⁸

UoE, Race and the Enlightenment: Racialist Sciences

Another aspect of our historical research is looking into the links between UoE and the development of racial thought, notably during the Enlightenment. This research is being conducted by Ian Stewart.

Like other Scottish universities, UoE differs somewhat from other institutions in the UK because of its central place in the Scottish Enlightenment.³⁹ At the outset of the nineteenth century, Dugald Stewart, who held the Chair of Moral Philosophy at UoE from 1785 to 1820, characterised this predominant philosophical movement in Scotland as a 'school'.⁴⁰ Depicted as an answer to the growing tide of philosophical scepticism in the late 1700s, this school of philosophical thought adopted a brand of empiricism that centred on 'common sense' philosophy. Within the larger philosophical discussions of history and epistemology, Scotland's Enlightenment philosophers also began theorising about the significance of race, especially racial phenotype. Scottish philosophers introduced a schema of historical progress according to which human societies advanced through (usually four) stages of development.⁴¹ A general picture of nations and peoples arranged according to the civilisational ladder emerged, within which 'race' became correlated directly to the level of civilisation a particular population was deemed to have achieved.⁴²

It has become well established that the modern understanding of 'race' — as the dominant idiom for referring to 'natural' differences between human populations — took its position in European thought during the second half of the eighteenth century. Professors at UoE during the Scottish Enlightenment played an outsized role in developing and diffusing these ideas. While not a Professor at Edinburgh himself (indeed, the university refused to hire him), David Hume has long been associated with Edinburgh's place within the Enlightenment and was a central point of reference for his contemporaries. Because of this, his philosophical achievements have, until recently, only been claimed by UoE as a source of local pride. More

³⁸ History of the Dialectic Society (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1887); History of the Speculative Society of Edinburgh from its Institution in 1764 (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society, 1845), pp. 24–25.

³⁹ Alexander Broadie, A History of Scottish Philosophy (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

⁴⁰ Dugald Stewart, *Collected Works*, ed. by William Hamilton, 10 vols. (Edinburgh, 1854–1860), I, 427–484; Silvia Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2013). pp. 2–4.

⁴¹ Ronald L. Meek, *Economics and Ideology and Other Essays: Studies in the Development of Economic Thought* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1967), pp. 34–50.

⁴² Emmanuel Eze, *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 1997); and Silvia Sebastiani, 'National Characters and Race: A Scottish Enlightenment Debate', in *Character, Self and Sociability in the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. by Thomas Ahnert and Susan Manning (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), pp. 187–206.

⁴³ See, for example, Justin E. H. Smith, *Nature, Human Nature, and Human Difference* (Princeton, 2014); Devin Vartija, *The Color of Equality: Race and Common Humanity in Enlightenment Thought* (Philadelphia, 2021). 'Race' pertained primarily to genealogical descent prior to the eighteenth century, when it became associated with physical features, intellectual qualities and moral character that were thought to be particular to each 'race'.

recently, the institution has acknowledged the significance and influence of his racist claim on the inferiority of people racialised as Black, leading to the interim decision to dename the David Hume Tower as 40 George Square. Hume's work was used by Immanuel Kant and others as proof that Africans belonged to a lower rung of civilisation. Although Hume's ideas were contested during his own time, they nonetheless supported the investigation of racial sciences by professors and students at UoE. Professors at UoE across different faculties taught racial theories to their students, many of whom went on to publish their own investigations on the topic. Importantly, the consensus view was that the European race was superior to non-European races, but that non-Europeans could be 'improved' over time through European tutelage. This theory of racial inferiority was used to rationalise Britain's 'civilising mission' and justified the unprecedented expansion of European empires during the nineteenth century.

Adam Ferguson, a professor at UoE who held the Chair of Natural Philosophy from 1759 until he took up the Chair of Pneumatics and Moral Philosophy from 1764 to 1785, taught the 'natural history of race' in his moral philosophy lectures of the late 1770s and early 1780s. 46 In a new set of lecture notes (acquired by EUL in 2020) examined for this project, researchers have found that Ferguson was teaching theories of racial difference in the late 1760s. This is notable for two reasons: the first is that this was very early in the wider European context (to take just one famous contemporary, Kant did not begin teaching 'race' until the 1770s); and the second is that Ferguson was the Professor of Moral Philosophy, *not* natural history, which was the domain in which racial theories had been developed by natural philosophers like Carolus Linnaeus and Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon. As such, transferring the theory of race into lectures on politics and society was an 'innovation' that made Edinburgh distinctive.

The theory of race that Ferguson began lecturing about in the 1760s, and continued to teach until his retirement in 1785, was derived from Buffon and Charles-Louis Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu. From Buffon, Ferguson took the notion that there were six different races: 'European, Laplander, Tartar, Hindoo, Negro, American'.⁴⁷ And from Montesquieu, he took the idea that it was 'the air, and climates [that] change the complexions [of man]'.⁴⁸ Although he therefore believed that all humans belonged to the same species — in contrast

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See, for example, 'Equality, Diversion and Inclusion: An Update', 15 September 2020, https://www.ed.ac.uk/news/students/2020/equality-diversity-and-inclusion-an-update.

⁴⁵ Richard H. Popkin, 'Hume's Racism', *Philosophical Forum*, 9 (1977/78), 211–16; Richard H. Popkin, 'Hume's Racism Reconsidered', in *The Third Force of 17th Century Thought*, ed. by R. H. Popkin (New York: Brill, 1992), pp. 64–72; Emmanuel Eze, 'Hume, Race, & Human Nature', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 61 (2000), 691–98; Aaron Garett and Silvia Sebastiani, 'David Hume on Race', in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy and Race*, ed. by Naomi Zack (2017), pp. 31–43.

⁴⁶ Bruce Buchan and Silvia Sebastiani, "No distinction of Black or Fair": The Natural History of Race in Adam Ferguson's Lectures on Moral Philosophy', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 82 (2021), 207–29.

⁴⁷ See Jean-Louis de Buffon, Histoire Naturelle, 36 vols (Paris: [n. pub.], 1749–89), III, 371–530.

⁴⁸ Though this was a widely held position, Montesquieu's articulation was probably the best known. See Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, ed. by Anne M. Cohler, Basia C. Miller and Harold S. Stone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), III.

to other Scottish philosophers like David Hume or Lord Kames — Ferguson portrayed Europeans 'as the standard to which we must refer in describing the other Races'.⁴⁹

In 1785, Dugald Steward assumed the Chair of Moral Philosophy after Adam Ferguson resigned and continued to teach 'race'. The Edinburgh University Library's collections show that, in his lectures spanning the late 1770s to 1810, Stewart retained Ferguson's six-fold racial division but greatly expanded this section of the lectures by adducing observations on different races. He was particularly interested in the polygenetic thesis proposed by Thomas Jefferson in his Notes on the State of Virginia (1785) and the monogenetic theory of racial variety advocated by Samuel Stanhope Smith's Essay on the Cause of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species (1787). Stewart held to the same monogenist position as Ferguson and was outspoken in his condemnation of slavery as a moral abomination. He repeatedly criticised David Hume's 'inhuman opinion that the negroes being inferior to the Whites ought to be Slaves', as well as Thomas Jefferson's opinion that Africans 'are not capable of much Reflection & their intellectual powers are very blunt... much inferior [to us] in Judgement'. 50 Stewart concurred with Hume and Jefferson that non-European races at the time at which he wrote were indeed inferior; however, in contrast to them, Stewart believed non-Europeans were not *naturally* inferior, and could be improved over time with European tutelage.

To take one example, in response to Hume, Stewart asserted that, 'The bodily constitution undergoes some change, in the progress of civil society. The bodily constitution of a savage hinders him from refined speculation; but in time the Negroes may be as refin'd as we are.'51 The crucial point here is that, in Stewart's view, Africans were inferior to Europeans because they were less civilised, or 'savage', but that this could be altered with time and assistance. Elsewhere, Stewart referred to the Princeton historian Samuel Stanhope Smith's idea that 'field slaves' in America retained their native customs and character for longer, while 'Domestic Slaves, who live near their Masters persons, see more of polished [society] and are better informed', and therefore became civilised and even started to more closely resemble Europeans.⁵² Essentially, Stewart would repeat some of the harshest verdicts of his contemporaries on non-European races, and especially Africans, by propagating their ideas about racial inferiority, while noting that they could eventually rise to the level of Europeans through 'civilisation'.

It is well-recognised that Dugald Stewart was the most popular lecturer in Edinburgh at the time and that, through his pedagogy, he exerted great, if somewhat indirect, influence on the intellectual landscape of early nineteenth-century Britain and particularly on the Whigs. Together, he and Ferguson taught over five decades' worth of students — many of whom would go on to have elite careers in politics and imperial administration — that humanity was divided into a racial hierarchy, at the top of which sat white Europeans.

⁴⁹ [Adam Ferguson], 'Lectures on Moral Philosophy', EUL, Dc.1.84, Vol. 1, 30 November 1780, F. 127v. It is possible this is another idea borrowed from Buffon, viz. the primeval humans were white skinned but had 'degenerated' into darker shades.

⁵⁰ [Dugald Stewart], 'Abbrevation's from Lectures on Moral Philosophy' (1778–79), EUL, Gen 2023, 360; [Dugald Stewart], EUL Gen 1987, 'Lectures on Moral Philosophy', (1789), EUL Gen 1987 [n.p.].

⁵¹ [Stewart], 'Abbreviations', p. 360.

⁵² Stewart, 'Lectures on Moral Philosophy', EUL Gen 1987 [n. p.].

As an example of his influence, we can look at James Cowles Prichard, a student in Edinburgh's Medical School in 1808 and a great admirer of Dugald Stewart's lectures on racial difference and hierarchy. Prichard would go on to play a dominant role in the foundation of Ethnology, the definitive racial science in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the US and UK. This science was inspired by the theories of Dugald Stewart, emphasizing the hierarchal and evolutionary status of racial difference and skin colour. In his *The Researches into the Physical History of Man* (1813), Prichard justified the need to establish the field of ethnology in the UK and extended the insights of Dugald Stewart more widely throughout the human sciences.⁵³ Like Stewart, Prichard believed in the inferiority of the Black race compared to whites and other European races of more temperate climates. For example, he wrote that, 'The process of Nature in the human species is the transmutation of the characters of the Negro into that of the European, or the evolution of white varieties in black races of men', thus echoing the views of his former professor that, as non-European races ascended the civilisational ladder, they would literally evolve into white people.⁵⁴

In addition to Stewart's extremely popular moral philosophy lectures, students in the Medical School would likely have listened to the lectures of Robert Jameson, Professor of Natural History from 1804 until his death in 1854, who preferred a fivefold racial scheme. Again, this was anything but a value-free taxonomy, and Jameson would often assert the existence of a hierarchy of races, especially in terms of intelligence:

The differences existing between these different races are very great. For example the Brain is most developed in the Caucasian, and in the Negro least of all. The following sketch is made to represent the comparative development of the brain in the different races.⁵⁶

The students who heard their professors lecturing on racial hierarchy largely repeated the ideas of their lecturers. The medical student Samuel Cramer, for example, stated that 'all those changes which the African, the Asiatic, or the American undergo are but accidental deformities, which a kinder climate, better nourishment, or more Civilized manners would in course of time very probably remove'. 57

From the mid-eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century, UoE would produce other notable figures of British ethnology, such as Robert Knox, and teach pro-slavery advocates from the US, such as Samuel Morton.⁵⁸ Scots educated in the Medical School and in the lecture theatres of Adam Ferguson and Dugald Stewart would also go on to write substantial ethnological works on Native Americans and South Asians.

Future research in this area will focus on excavating more thoroughly racial theory as it was taught at UoE, its links to nineteenth-century 'race sciences' and the ways in which this

⁵³ James Cowles Prichard, *The Researches into the Physical History of Man* (London: John and Arthur Arch and B. and H. Barry, 1813).

⁵⁴ Prichard, pp. 232–33.

⁵⁵ Robert Jameson, 'Sketches of Lectures on Natural History', EUL, MS Dc.10.32.

⁵⁶ Robert Jameson, 'Sketches of Lectures on Natural History', EUL, MS Dc.10.32.

⁵⁷ Samuel Cramer, 'What influence has Climate on the Human Constitution?', EUL, *Royal Physical Society Dissertations*, Da.67Phys, 19 (1798–1800), p. 489.

⁵⁸ Robert Knox, *Races of Men: A Fragment* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1850); Melissa Stein, *Measuring Manhood: Race and the Science of Masculinity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015).

knowledge was deployed in imperial contexts. This will reveal more about the production of colonial knowledge by Edinburgh alumni, zeroing in on the ways that they deployed frameworks of 'civilisation' and understandings of 'race' — learned in Edinburgh lecture theatres — in colonial settings.

Complementing this work, a second strand will also be developed that will look into the connections between UoE and the East India Company (EIC). This will recover the networks of power and patronage that helped Scots who were educated at the University to disproportionately populate the ranks of the EIC.

UoE and the Question of Palestine: An Overview

Since 2020, UoE staff members, students, networks, institutes and the community at large have been involved in a series of research and public dissemination initiatives that have sought to educate and raise awareness on the imperial and colonial legacy of UoE in Palestine both among student and staff populations within UoE and beyond. In collaboration with the Centre for Research Collections (CRC), and with the support of the School of Social and Political Science and the College of Arts, Humanities and Social Science, staff members have carried out research on Arthur James Balfour and other institutional figures, as well as UoE's entanglement with the question of Palestine. This has resulted in the publication of academic articles and op-eds in Scottish newspapers.⁵⁹ To-date, this research and engagement activity has taken place outside of the REWG. However, we are now actively seeking resource from UoE to support further research and extend the community engagement undertaken so far. A summary of the work conducted by Shaira Vadasaria and Nicole Perugini to-date is provided below.

In 1891, UoE appointed Arthur James Balfour (the Earl of Balfour) to the prestigious role of Chancellor, where he would preside until his death in 1930. Balfour's Chancellorship (1891–1930) coincides with what has been defined by the historian Jason Tomes as 'the zenith of the British Empire' in reference to the period at which the empire was at its largest. ⁶⁰ This role coincided with a series of domestic and imperial decisions influenced by Balfour that would come to have a seismic impact on the racial and colonial configurations of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries at both national and imperial scales. As the highest position at UoE, the Chancellor's role is to enhance the institution's global reputation. While in this post, Balfour-the-statesman contributed decisively to the constitution of the Allied Colonial Universities of the British Empire (1903) and developed race-thinking and racialised knowledge aimed at cementing Britain's imperial dominance. ⁶¹ A closer examination of his biography, which lies at the threshold between political and academic affairs, reveals that Balfour-the-imperial-statesman and Balfour-the-university-chancellor are largely inseparable,

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⁵⁹ Vadasaria and Perugini (2021); Perugini (2021).

⁶⁰ Jason Tomes, *Balfour and Foreign Policy: The International Thought of a Conservative Statesman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 2.

⁶¹ Nicola Perugini, 'The Balfour Declaration and Edinburgh: Is it time the university made amends?', The National, 31 October 2021, https://www.thenational.scot/politics/19684185.balfour-declaration-edinburgh-time-university-made-amends/.

with his appointment as Chancellor overlapping with the very same years in which he was playing a decisive role in British imperial foreign policy.⁶²

One of Balfour's key contributions towards advancing imperialism and instituting a new settler colonial order in the Middle East was through the promulgation of the 1917 Balfour Declaration. Named after him and signed during the tenure of his chancellorship, the impact of the Balfour Declaration on the dispossession of Palestinians and its reverberations in the on-going dispossession of Palestinian life and land cannot and should not be underestimated. The final version of this promise was issued on 2 November 1917 and declared the following:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

This declaration effectively reconstituted Palestine as a national homeland for the Jewish people with full recognition of their political rights, while simultaneously denying Palestine's indigenous community from the recognition of their peoplehood with national rights to self-determination. In leaving the status of Palestinian political rights unprotected, this Declaration would continue to deny the rights of Palestinian personhood and install a new racial order by means of negation. Though categorically challenged by Palestinian society and leadership, the Balfour Declaration became juridically enshrined (verbatim) as a result of Balfour's political role as representative of Britain at the League of Nations Council under British Mandate (1922–1948), as instituted in the League mandate system.

According to Balfour, in the best of cases, Palestinians could aspire to civil and religious rights, but not national ones. There are two interconnected elements of the Balfour Declaration that mark its contribution to what scholars such as Edward Said have called a settler colonial order in Palestine. First, as Said succinctly described in *The Question of Palestine*, Balfour took 'for granted the higher right of a colonial power to dispose of a territory as it saw fit'. 65 Second, he gave credence to the rights of an incoming settler society that gradually but forcefully secured their settlement through colonial dispossession, theft and expulsion, ultimately producing what is today one of the largest protracted refugee crises worldwide. In Balfour's own words, presented in a 1919 memo to Lord Curzon for circulation to cabinet ministers two years following the signing of the Declaration, he stated:

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⁶² Shaira Vadasaria and Nicola Perugini, 'Arthur James Balfour: The University of Edinburgh's Imperial Chancellor (1891–1930)', *Retrospect Journal*, 29 (2021), pp. 24–27.

⁶³ See Sahar Huneidi, 'Was Balfour's Policy Reversible? The Colonial Office and Palestine, 1921–23', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 27 (1998); Seikaly Sherene, *Men of Capital: Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2015); Noura Erakat, *Justice for Some: Law and the Question of Palestine* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2019); Rashid Khalidi, 'The Balfour Declaration from the Perspective of the Palestinian People', United Nations, 2 November 2017, https://www.un.org/unispal/wpcontent/uploads/2017/10/Lecture-by-Prof.-Rashid-Khalidi-100-years-since-Balfour-Decl-UN-2Nov2017.pdf.

⁶⁴ See Susan Pedersen (2023) Writing the Balfour Declaration into the Mandate for Palestine, the International History Review, 45:2, 279-291.

⁶⁵ Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), p. 16.

In Palestine [...] we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country [...]. The Four Great Powers are committed to Zionism. And Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long traditions, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land.⁶⁶

The results of the Balfour's racist logic and policy, as presented in statements such as the one above and more substantively in the Balfour Declaration, would come to sow death and destruction in Palestine first from the British during the Mandate era, and second from Zionist militia groups, namely the Haganah (which would form the future army of the state of Israel) and the Irgun through means of ethnic cleansing and depopulation. This Declaration imposed a new racialised and colonial juridical framework that was rejected by the colonised Palestinian population, and led to the 1947–1948 'Nakba' (referring to the ethnic cleansing of Palestine through the destruction of 531 Palestinian villages and the displacement of half of the Palestinian population, or 750,000 out of 1,500,000).

The institutional entanglement of UoE and its involvement in the dispossession of Palestinians continued after the Balfour Declaration. A very clear example is the conferral of the Honorary Doctorate in Law to General Edmund Allenby in 1926 and his election as Rector in 1935. Immediately after the Balfour Declaration, General Allenby was put in charge of Britain's 1917 Palestine campaign that led to the occupation of Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, and to the British military destroying the majority of housing units and urban spaces. When UoE presented General Allenby with an honorary Law degree in 1926, the Dean of the Faculty celebrated his contribution to imperial conquest and the dispossession of Palestinians, explaining that the degree was a way for UoE 'to pay homage to the leader of the latest and most thrilling of the Crusades [and his] the capture of Jerusalem out of the infidels hands'. The conferral of other honorary and high-profile positions conferred to political and military figures of the British empire who contributed to Palestinian dispossession is one area that would need to be explored in the next stages of the REWG's work.

In terms of community engagement to discuss this history and its legacies, there have been a number of key events organised within UoE. On 8 November 2022, one of the most prominent Palestinian cartographers and intellectuals, Dr Salman Abu Sitta, delivered a <u>lecture</u> at UoE to commemorate the centenary of the British Mandate in Palestine.⁷⁰ In his

⁶⁶ See United Nations, 'The Question of Palestine: The International Status of the Palestinian People', New York, 1981, https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-204352/. Also see Michael Adams, 'What Went Wrong in Palestine?', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 18 (1988), 71–82. For the original source, see Mr. Balfour to Lord Curzon, 11 August 1919, Public Records Office, FO.371/4183.

⁶⁷ UoE Senate Minutes, 6 May 1926, Centre for Research Collections.

⁶⁸ Military Operations: Egypt & Palestine from the Outbreak of War with Germany to June 1917. Official History of the Great War Based on Official Documents by Direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence. Vol. 1. London: HM Stationery Office, p. 75.

⁶⁹ UoE Senate Minutes, 20 July 1926, Centre for Research Collections.

⁷⁰ Salman Abu Sitta, 'Addressing Balfour's Legacy', 6 December 2022, https://www.iash.ed.ac.uk/news/addressing-balfours-legacy. The event was co-organised by RaceED and the Kenyon Institute CBRL Jerusalem, and was sponsored by *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, https://www.iash.ed.ac.uk/news/addressing-balfours-legacy. The event was co-organised by RaceED and the https://www.iash.ed.ac.uk/news/addressing-balfours-legacy. The event was co-organised by RaceED and the https://www.iash.ed.ac.uk/news/addressing-balfours-legacy.

address to Balfour, entitled 'A Palestinian Address to Balfour: In Honor of Truth, Memory and Justice', Abu Sitta evidenced the outcome of two waves of historical violence against Palestinians: the first coming from the British and partially organised under the command of General Allenby (UoE's Rector) during the attack of Beer Sheeba, where Dr Abu Sitta's family is from; and the second under Zionist militia groups, such as the Haganah and the Special Night Squad. Through rare first-hand accounts, this lecture evidenced the ways in which UoE's Chancellor and Rector played a role in the dispossession of Palestine and Palestinians. It concluded with issuing a call for repair and justice from the British government and UoE today.

On 14 December 2023, a Palestinian postdoctoral student at IASH, Dr Farah Saleh, in collaboration with a member of staff, delivered 'Balfour Reparations (2023–2043)', a lecture performance to reflect on Balfour's role in the colonisation of Palestine and historical denial of Palestinian political rights. Then, most recently, on 7 March 2024, Dr Ghassan Abu Sitteh and Dr Samia al-Botmeh delivered a high profile multisponsored lecture entitled 'Eyewitness Palestine: Education and Health in Times of Genocide'. Dr Abu Sitteh's lecture provided first-hand testimonial evidence based on 43 days of working as a physician in Shifa Hospital and Al-Ahli Baptiste Hospital the Gaza Strip beginning on 9 October 2023. His eye-witness testimony was used as evidence in the South African submission to the International Court of Justice, which subsequently ruled on 26 January 2024 that Israel's actions in Gaza could amount to genocide, thereby ordering provisional measures to Israel to prevent genocidal acts. These initiatives, which have linked UoE's historical wrongs to the present, have allowed for the creation of a community space for developing further research and engagement that would fit within the framework of the reparatory justice and decolonising work of the REWG.

As set out in the recommendations below, funds or buy-out for members of staff are now required to go beyond this initial research and look further into the archives at the CRC and follow-up on initial findings at the National Records of Scotland and the National Archives in London. This would allow the work to be extended to figures such as Lord Kitchener who was involved in the imperial survey of Palestine and became Rector at UoE during World War I. It would deepen our understanding about Balfour's involvement in developing policies of Scotlish settler colonialism in other contexts like Canada. And it would permit exploration into the Patrick Geddes fund, following Geddes' involvement with the Zionist movement in Palestine (where he planned colonies and the Hebrew University). This work would also seek to collaborate with the CRC to reclassify and re-catalogue key documents to make them accessible with the necessary critical contextualisation to students, staff and external audiences.

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of Advanced Studies in the Humanities (IASH), Centre for Research Collection (CRC), History, Sociology, Politics and International Relations Middle East Research Group (PIR-MERG), and <u>Islamic and Middle East Studies</u> (IMES). ⁷¹ Farah Saleh, 'Balfour Reparations (2023–2043)', 14 December 2023, https://www.iash.ed.ac.uk/event/dr-farah-saleh-balfour-reparations-2023-2043.

⁷² Samia Al-Botmeh and Ghassan Abu-Sitteh, 'Eye Witness Palestine: Education and Health in times of Genocide'. Co-organised between PIR-MERG, RACE.ED, EdCMA, IASH, Alwaleed Centre, IMES, BRISMES, BRICUP. https://www.sps.ed.ac.uk/news-events/event/eyewitness-palestine-education-and-health-times-genocide

CURRENT SITUATION OF RACE AND RACISM AT THE UOE

Part of our review is to understand the current situation of race and racial discrimination — including Afriphobia (also called Afrophobia) as a specific form of anti-Black racism — at the UoE today. This research is being conducted by Yarong Xie and will contribute to understanding how the colonial past continues to impact upon and shape the educational and research culture/climate at UoE. It builds on empirical and statistical data collected through previous reports, recommendations, surveys and statistics — such as the 'Thematic Review 2018–19: Black and Minority Ethnic Studies' convened by Professor Rowena Arshad and the 'Report of the Task Group on Using the Curriculum to Promote Inclusion, Equality and Diversity' — while also providing new evidence and insights into UoE's contemporary racial climate. The findings from these surveys will also provide an important evidence base to progress the REAR Action Plan, for example by providing important data on staff experience that can go on to inform and guide REAR activities at a strategic and implementation level.

To achieve these aims, two questionnaires are being implemented university-wide. Participant recruitment will take place between February and 31 May 2024.

- Survey 1 is looking at the present racial climate by assessing people's attitudes towards
 race and racism, and is intended for the whole university population (students and
 staff).
- Survey 2 is looking at people's experiences of racial discrimination and is intended for any student or staff member who self-identifies as belonging to a racially/ethnically minoritised group and whose heritage is linked to areas of the world that have been directly and continuously affected by European-led colonialism and enslavement.

Following the granting of ethics approval (by the School of Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences, Reference ID: 270-2223/4), a pilot study was conducted in May and August 2023 and the surveys were adapted accordingly to make them comprehensible and suitable for our intended participants.

Survey 1: Understanding Present Racial Climate and Racial Attitudes

The aim of this study is to capture attitudes on race and racism within UoE. Two hypotheses will be tested:

Jacqui Burnett, 'Confronting Afriphobia', 8 October 2020, https://www.blackhistorymonth.org.uk/article/section/african-history/confronting-afriphobia/; European Network Against Racism (ENAR), 'Afrophobia', https://www.enar-eu.org/about/afrophobia/.

Rowena Arshad, 'Thematic Review 2018–19: Black and Minority Ethnic Students. Final Report', https://www.ed.ac.uk/files/atoms/files/thematicreview2018-19-bme-students-finalreport.pdf. Tom Ward, 'Final Report of Task Group on Using the Curriculum to Promote Inclusion, Equality and Diversity', 13 March 2019, https://www.ed.ac.uk/files/atoms/files/finalreport-curriculumpromoteinclusionequalitydiversity.pdf.

- Hypothesis 1: There is group difference in attitudes towards members who are racialised and ethnically minoritised.
- Hypothesis 2: Participants who self-identify as white show higher levels of racial prejudice and negative attitudes compared to participants of other ethnic backgrounds.

To capture people's racial attitudes, two scales have been modified and combined: 'Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale' (CoBRAS) and 'Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions'. 75

The CoBRAS scale was devised to measure the cognitive aspects of colour-blind racial attitudes. Underlying CoBRAS is the assumption that people who are colour-blind believe that race does not matter and are more prejudiced and racially biased than those who do not.⁷⁶ The original scale consists of 20 questions, encompassing three subscales: unawareness of racial privilege; institutional discrimination; and blatant racial issues.

The 'Motivation to Control' scale was developed to assess the behavioural aspects of prejudice and measure individual desire to control the expression of prejudice. The original scale consists of 17 questions.

These two scales have been combined to create a survey with 27 questions. Rated by a 7-point Likert scale, the highest possible score is 189 and the lowest is 27. A higher score will indicate higher levels of racial prejudice and a more negative attitude toward members of racialised and ethnically minoritised groups. The questionnaire takes on average twelve minutes to complete (based on the piloting outcome).

Information about this study and the link to the online questionnaire are available <u>here</u>.

Survey 2: Understanding People's Experiences of Racial Discrimination

The aim of this study is to examine forms of racism experienced by participants who identify as belonging to a racially/ethnically minoritised group and whose heritage is linked to areas of the world that have been directly and continuously affected by European-led colonialism and enslavement. Three hypotheses will be tested:

- Hypothesis 1: Participants who self-identify as racially/ethnically minoritised experience racism whilst studying or working in the UoE.
- <u>Hypothesis 2</u>: Participants of different ethnic backgrounds experience different levels of racism.

⁷⁵ H. A. Neville, R. L. Lilly, G. Duran et al., 'Construction and Initial Validation of the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS)', Journal of Counselling Psychology, 47 (2000), 59-70; B. C. Dunton and R. H. Fazio, R. H., 'An Individual Difference Measure of Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions', Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23 (1997), 316-26.

⁷⁶ L. R. Offermann, T. E. Basford, R. Graebner et al., 'See No Evil: Color Blindness and Perceptions of Subtle Racial Discrimination in the Workplace', Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 20 (2014), 499-507; V. C. Plaut, F. G. Garnett, L. E. Buffardi et al., "What about me?" Perceptions of Exclusion and Whites' Reactions to Multiculturalism', Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 101 (2011), 337–53.

• <u>Hypothesis 3</u>: The longer a participant studies or works at the university, the more frequently they experience racism.

To document experiences of racism, a modified version of the Perceived Racism Scale (PRS) is used.⁷⁷ PRS is devised to measure the multidimensional manifestations of racism, including individual and institutional, covert and overt, attitudinal, behavioural and cultural aspects of racism. It also attends to racism across work, academic and public settings. This is ideal for the social and institutional context of the university (where the university campus is integrated into Edinburgh City), as well as our targeted participants, i.e. students and staff members. PRS also considers people's emotional and behavioural responses to racism.

The original PRS consists of 51 items classified into three sections: experiences of racism within the workplace, educational settings and the public realm, as well as people's responses to racist statements; participants' emotional responses to experiencing racism; and participants' behaviours in coping with racism.

To reduce both response fatigue and the time required to take the survey, different sections of PRS are used for two participant groups. Students will be rating 10 items that measure racism in school or educational settings, whereas staff members will be rating 10 questions that measure their experiences of racism at workplace. All participants will rate 16 items that capture racism in the public realm, and 7 items that look into their emotional and behavioural responses to racial discrimination. In total, participants will be responding to 28 items. For experiences of racism, participants will indicate the frequency of their experience on a 6-point Likert scale (i.e. 'Not Applicable', 'Never', 'Occasionally', 'Sometimes', 'Frequently' and 'All the Time'). To indicate their responses to racial discrimination, participants will tick all descriptions that apply and provide further description if necessary. The highest possible score is 120 and the lowest is 0, with higher scores indicating more frequent experiences of racism. The highest scoring for the emotional responses is 80, indicating intense and negative emotional reactions, while the lowest is 16. The highest rating for coping mechanisms is 16, indicating that the participant has tried all of the listed coping strategies, while the lowest rating is 0. The questionnaire takes on average 17-20 minutes to complete (based on the piloting outcome).

Information about this study and the link to the online questionnaire are available <u>here</u>.

Personal Information and Demographics

Personal information is collected in addition to gathering questionnaire responses. Specifically, we ask participants for their gender category, age group, ethnic category, nationality/nationalities, religion, affiliated School or Department, time spent in the University, highest educational attainment, average achievement (for students only), contract

⁷⁷ M. D. McNeilly, N. B. Anderson, C. A. Armstead et al., 'The Perceived Racism Scale: A Multidimensional Assessment of the Experience of White Racism Among African Americans', *Ethnicity & Disease*, 6 (1996), 154–66.

type (for staff members only) and pay range (for staff members only). This information will enable us to examine and capture group differences in these measures, if any. It also allows us to perform further analyses and comprehend factors that can contribute to, or mediate, people's (varied) attitudes towards racially/ethnically minoritised members, and experiences of racism. Personal information is collected on voluntary basis. 'Prefer not to say' is provided as an option.

Status of the Questionnaires

Both questionnaires are administered through an online survey platform called Qualtrics, which adheres to <u>EU General Data Protection Regulation</u> (GDPR) and includes sophisticated layers of protection.⁷⁸ To take part, participants are required to read the relevant Participant Information Sheet for <u>survey 1 (present racial climate)</u> or <u>survey 2 (experiences of racism)</u>. These outline the aims of the project, what participants are asked to do if they decide to take part, ways of compensation, possible risks and benefits associated with their participation, how their data is used, stored and managed, their rights and the researcher's contact information. Recruitment will begin in February 2024 and close on 31 May 2024.

⁷⁸ Abiding by the University's Research Data Management Policy, we have outlined our strategies for collecting, using and storing data generated from this research. Our Data Management Plan, entitled 'Decolonised Transformations: Confronting the UoE's Legacies of Enslavement and Colonialism', can be accessed on the University's Data Management online portal.

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

A central part of our review is to work with communities of reparatory justice interest and other interested and invested parties to identify recommendations on how UoE should seek to repair the legacies of African enslavement, colonialism and racial thinking, and address contemporary forms of structural racism. The following section summarises our community engagement progress to-date, which is being conducted by Samatha Likonde, noting how this aligns with both our <u>Principles of Participation</u> and the aims, objectives and timeline set out in our 'Community Engagement, Consultation and Participation: Two-Year Plan'.

Preparatory Stage: 2021–2022

During the preparatory stages for this project, the Co-Chairs invited membership to the REWG, including three external community representatives/consultants to help shape the research and engagement agenda and comment on our initial proposal for university funding. These members include Esther Stanford-Xosei (Reparationist, Jurisconsult, Community Advocate, Educator, Environmentalist and 'Ourstorian' of the International Social Movement for Afrikan Reparations), Zaki El-Salahi (Anti-Racist Policy & Participation consultant and lead of the Edinburgh Sudanese Community Partnership) and Jatin Haria (Executive Director, Coalition for Racial Equality and Rights, CRER). Following Jatin Haria's decision to step down from this role (due to retirement plans), we were delighted to welcome Silence Chihuri from the Fair Justice System for Scotland (FJSS) into this position.

Stage 1: September to December 2022

With funding secured from UoE for two years (2022 to 2024), our preparatory work for community engagement began in September 2022. Stage 1 included working with the REWG, the Steering Group and other relevant parties (such as <u>Edinburgh Local</u>) to identify communities, groups and individuals at local, national, UK and international levels who might be interested in being involved. This period also led to the creation of the '<u>Decolonised Transformations</u>' blogsite, which functions as the main platform for keeping up-to-date with the project. To design this site, Samantha Likonde, our Community Engagment Officer (CEO), worked closely with the REWG to define the overall purpose, tone and identity of the blogsite, and commissioned Zimbabwean artist, <u>Nothando Grace Montgomery</u>, to create the artwork that is used as the main graphic for the project and on any information or advertisements relating to our research and events.

During this stage, we set up a community engagement sub-group, comprised of Samantha Likonde, Nicola Frith, Zaki El-Salahi and Esther Stanford Xosei who co-wrote the <u>Principles of Participation</u>. These have been adapted from the <u>principles</u> outlined by the <u>International Network of Scholar and Activists for Afrikan Reparations (INOSAAR)</u> (2019), which acted a forerunner in bringing scholars and activists together around the subject of

reparations, as well as the Runnymede Trust's 'Finding Common Cause: Building Research Collaborations Between Universities and Black and Minority Ethnic Communities' (2018). The principles function as the ethical guidelines that underpin the reparatory justice and decolonising work of the REWG in relation to any activities that involve public participation, consultation and engagement within and beyond the university.

Stage 2: January to April 2023

During stage 2, the CEO began reaching out to staff and student networks with the aim of creating a cross-institutional, interdisciplinary working group of academics, students and professionals, as well as external publics who represent community-based interests, including activist and community heritage groups. In total, twelve staff networks and committees, forty groups representing communities of reparatory justice interest and six student societies were invited to attend our inaugural event.⁷⁹

On 22 April 2023, we officially launched the community engagement work with an inaugural event held at the Playfair Library in collaboration with the <u>Accursed Share Exhibition</u> at the Talbot Rice Gallery. Following an introductory panel with presentations from each attending REWG member, we held six roundtable discussions with separate questions and themes that were chaired by members of the REWG and notetakers. Participants were able to attend two to three roundtables in addition to visiting the art exhibition. In total, fifty people were in attendance, including fourteen representatives from community organisations, three students and 33 UoE staff from various departments.

A summary of the <u>key points raised and priorities identified</u> during this event included:

- Addressing the power imbalances between UoE and communities of reparatory justice interest:
- Developing processes of engagement and dialogue for action;
- Finding appropriate spaces for engagement;
- Providing better access to archives and institutional records;
- Opening up access to education on an international scale;
- Transforming and decolonising the curriculum;
- Recognising the past, building awareness and sustaining transformation, to name a few.

A key outcome of this inauguration was the identification of priority areas on which to focus our future community workshops and focus groups (see below).

The inauguration was followed by a <u>press release</u>, as well as the production of two podcasts entitled 'On Reparations at the University of Edinburgh' (<u>part 1</u> and <u>part 2</u>), which

⁷⁹ This is a link to the groups that were contacted ahead of the inaugural event: https://uoe-my.sharepoint.com/:x:/g/personal/slikonde ed ac uk/EeFjCUrdfYpCjYit4aS3oQcBa7M74dAE8uMp-bLSTRpM5Q?e=JCu5Uh.

were created in collaboration with the <u>RaceEd network</u> for their '<u>Undersong: Race and Conversations Other-Wise</u>' series.

Stage 3: May to September 2023

During stage 3, we began planning our first thematic workshop and focus group series. This included seeking ethics approval, expanding the REWG network, attending seminars, conferences and events relating to community engagement, reparatory justice and decolonial research, and setting up the role of the <u>Community Anchors</u>. In this role, ten individuals were invited to join the REWG as a committee of advisors to ensure that a range of views were being considered in the formulation of engagement sessions, resource distribution and final recommendations. The Community Anchors were invited to join the group due to their record of accomplishment in community work, expertise and knowledge in relation to the material that the REWG will be focusing on during the project, their position as key individuals who understand the primary concerns of those within their respective communities, and their ability to reach out to communities to encourage wider participation.

This group includes four individuals from external communities, three individuals from UoE's staff population and three individuals from the student population. All Anchors are invited to attend workshop planning sessions, co-facilitate activities and recommend representatives and speakers for events, as well as attend the events as participants. The purpose of the initiative is to recognise the knowledge and expertise of the Anchors and reflect a serious commitment to knowledge exchange, as well as ensure capacity building for both the Anchors and UoE. For more information, view the <u>Community Anchor Invitation</u>.

Stage 4: October 2023 to September 2024

Stage 4 is where we are now as we work on four community engagement themes through a workshop and focus group series, some of which is being coordinated with the <u>Centre for African Studies</u>.

Theme 1: Restitution and the Anatomical Museum

Our first theme relates to 'Restitution and the Anatomical Museum'. The Anatomical Museum holds one of the largest and most historically significant collection of ancestral remains, notably skulls, some of which are from the UK's former colonies. This 'collection' is housed in a purpose-built skull room that was completed in 1884 by Sir William Turner, Professor of Anatomy and Principal of UoE from 1903 to 1916. Originally, these skulls were 'collected for study by both the Edinburgh Phrenological Society and the University in the 19th century' and

are therefore linked to the development of racial 'sciences'. 80 As an online exhibition called 'Mind Shift: Confronting a Colonial Collection' at UoE acknowledges,

Except for phrenology supporters who volunteered their remains, these skulls were taken, without consent, from prisons, asylums, hospitals, archaeological sites and battlefields. Doctors, military personnel, archaeologists, explorers and University graduates working abroad were actively involved in the theft and exportation of human remains. Like many similar collections in UK universities, most skulls came from the British Empire's colonies or through their global networks.⁸¹

Our aim with this first series has been to explore the questions raised by the existence of this collection as a legacy of colonial violence, to understand more about the repatriation of ancestral human remains and ascertain what resource might be required to further enhance restitution and repatriation efforts, where possible and desirable. To support this, we have drawn from existing research into repatriation, have been learning about the important repatriation efforts that have been undertaken by the Anatomical Museum staff to-date, have been working with academics (notably John Harries and Nicole Anderson) on proactive forms of repatriation, and have been building on the longterm work of the Sudanese Community in Edinburgh.

On 31 October 2023, we held our first workshop at the Scottish Storytelling Centre, which included a panel with museum professionals, researchers, community representatives and activists, with 45 people in attendance. This highlighted the main issues that would be discussed during the subsequent four focus groups held on 15 and 22 November and 6 and 13 December 2023. Each focus group covered different topics, such as the history of the collection, cases of repatriation, methods of reporting, transparency, access to information about the collection and its archives, UoE's repatriation policy, examples of repatriation policies at other museums/institutions, reactive and proactive approaches to repatriation, and provenance research. A final workshop was held on 7 February to discuss the findings and recommendations. The findings from the events will be outlined in a future report with full recommendations.

Theme 2: Creating a Research and Community Engagement Centre for the Study of Racisms, Colonialism and Anti-Black Violence

Preparations are now underway for theme 2, with focus groups being planned for March, April and May 2024. Our aim here is to explore the need for a dedicated cultural/community space to be used by racially/ethnically minoritised groups within and beyond the university. This is envisaged as being integrated into the research centre being proposed by Professor Tommy Curry, which will focus on different racisms, legacies of slavery and colonialism and anti-Black

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⁸⁰ For more the 'skull room', see Ian Harper and Roger Jeffrey, 'The Skull Room: Craniological Past of Edinburgh and India', in *India in Edinburgh 1750s to the Present*, ed. by Roger Jeffrey (London: Routledge, 2020) pp. 114–33; 'A Skull Collection Revisited: From Colonial Resistance to Repatriation', https://exhibitions.ed.ac.uk/exhibitions/mind-shift/colonial-resistance-to-repatriation.

⁸¹ A Skull Collection Revisited.

violence, and will serve as a hub through which to continue the work of the REWG and notably oversee its recommendations. The provision of such a community space within a research centre will not only seek to improve the university climate for staff and students from racially/ethnically minoritised backgrounds, but will also address a longstanding demand from, for example, The Sudanese Community in Edinburgh, Pan-African Network of Black community groups, including the African Caribbean Society Scotland, Kenyan Women in Scotland Association (KWISA), as well as the Fair Justice System for Scotland (FJSS), among others. This focus group series will therefore explore how such a space could complement the proposed research centre, the kinds of attributes that would be required for community use, what engagements might be involved and how they could benefit communities through extramural education, and the role such a space could play in connecting to different projects and funding streams within and outside of the university.

Theme 3: Digital Archiving

Work is also underway on theme 3, which focuses on two aspects of digital archiving. The first concerns the creation a publicly accessible, grassroots-driven digital archive that documents the 40-year history of reparations movements in the UK and their contribution to the 'International Social Movement for Afrikan Reparations'. This archive, initiated and managed by the Maangamizi Educational Trust, will address the lack of visibility of the UK movement, offer a necessary counter-narrative to misconceptions about reparations (commonly reduced to monetary payments), and provide a valuable resource for racial justice movements, researchers, policymakers and educators.⁸² The provision of such a resource will act as a pilot study for establishing an internal resource to enable other community-based groups to digitise their reparatory justice and anti-racism work. To assist us, we are working with the CRC and an independent professional archivist, Dr Etienne Joseph.

Complementing this work, we are also collaborating with <u>Decolonising the Archive</u> (DTA) to offer six activists and/or community representatives the opportunity to take part in short (3 to 4 day) archival training programme. This will include cataloguing, an introduction to Indigeneity, understanding ethics and archive, deciphering collections and mapping historical contexts. The precise content of this course is currently being prepared by DTA.

The second aspect concerns improving access to institutional records, either directly or through curated and mediated contexts, to help communities, researchers and students get to grips with the evidence base which tells the true history of the institution over the past five centuries. A business case entitled 'Race, Repatriation and University Histories' has been made by the CRC, which points to the need for significant investment in human resourcing to improve access to, and the digitisation of, university records, including its links to slavery and colonialism. The includes the creation of several new posts, such as a university historian and a repatriation and community engagement specialist.

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⁸² The <u>Edinburgh Futures Institute</u> provided funds to resource a feasibility study into the ISMAR Archive collection. This aspect of our community engagement work builds on the recommendations of that feasibility study conducted by <u>Janice Tullock Associates</u>.

Theme 4: Curriculum Transformation and Decolonisation

The final theme will engage with work of the <u>Curriculum Transformation Project</u> (CTP) at UoE. We will be working in close partnership with <u>Dr Omolabake Fakunle</u>, member of the REWG, who is heading up the decolonising programme for the <u>CTP</u>. We will also be working closely with <u>Edinburgh University Students' Association (EUSA)</u> and the <u>Black and Minority Ethnic Officer</u> (currently Vansh Bali) to ensure proper engagement with student voices. Our focus group sessions will aim to explore ways of decolonising the curriculum, for example by working with traditional centres of learning in the Global South and introducing new pedagogies influenced by Indigenous communities. We want to reflect and draw on existing initiatives and expertise within UoE, such as the work conducted by CAS's <u>Decolonising Working Group</u>, RaceEd's cross-university pre-honours course entitled '<u>Understanding Race and Colonialism</u>', the <u>Race and Inclusivity in Global Education Network</u> (RIGEN) and its decolonisation-related <u>blog series</u> (curated by Prof Rowena Arshad), and the student-led archival project <u>UncoverED</u> that created a database of students from Africa, the Caribbean, Asia and the Americas from as early as 1700.

The stated aspirations in UoE's Strategy 2023 underscore the institution's internationalisation agenda by pointing to 'a values-led approach to teaching, research and innovation' that will be developed 'through the strength of our relationships, both locally and globally'. Baseline However, despite the initiatives stated above, at a strategic level, the practical integration of global knowledges in the university curriculum is sorely lacking. A recent Principal's Teaching Award Scheme (PTAS) project revealed a lack of connection of inclusion and internationalisation narratives in the mission and vision statements of schools across the university, further pointing to a structural gap.

The curriculum plays a core role in transforming the climate and culture of a university and offers an important opportunity to call into question the origins of the structures of traditional scholarship through 'a revolution in pedagogics' that explores how alternative pedagogies from the Global South can be incorporated to meet the different needs within the university community. The current gap between policy and practice means there are lost opportunities for the curriculum to meaningfully and explicitly introduce courses grounded in new ways of teaching, thinking and learning that would enliven the existing provision. Relatedly, there is a lack of provision to recognise the labour of staff with a demonstrable commitment towards addressing this gap, and needs-based analysis of expertise to contribute to the work.

Hegemonic constructions of knowledge in universities and centres of learning in the Global North have always tended to be imposed on Global South institutions and communities. This would be an important opportunity to begin redressing that trend, while also addressing UoE's legacy as a producer of racist 'sciences'. This theme also provides an

⁸³ University of Edinburgh, Strategy 2030, https://www.ed.ac.uk/files/atoms/files/strategy-2030.pdf, p. 6.

⁸⁴ Omolabake Fakunle, Yifang Xu, Mariel Deluna, 'Exploring the intersection of inclusion and internationalisation at the University of Edinburgh. Final Report: Scoping Study (2022)', PTAS Project Report (2022), https://institute-academic-development.ed.ac.uk/learning-teaching/funding/funding/previous-projects/year/march-2021/inclusiveness-in-internationalisation.

opportunity to discuss existing principles around	international	partnerships and	think through
possible recommendations to ensure reciprocity	and equal pa	rtnership.	

EMERGING SUGGESTIONS FOR POST-PROJECT DEVELOPMENT AND SUSTAINABILITY

We recognise that, in undertaking this work, we are at the beginning, rather than at the end of a long process. While the first phase of this project work will not be completed until December 2024, this interim report presents some of the suggestions that have been arising from our research and engagement findings to-date with a view to embedding long-term change within the institution. These suggestions provide examples of the kinds of recommendations that are being put forward by those who have participated in our community engagement with a view to developing and sustain aspects of the REWG's work. Over the remaining year, significant efforts will be made to ensure that we continue to build on our engagement work by reaching out to, and working directly with, affected communities, including those from Black, African, African-descended, Caribbean, Asian, Middle Eastern, Indigenous peoples and others within and outside of UoE. These, and any subsequent recommendations, will form the basis of our decolonial and reparatory vision for institutional and cultural change; a vision that will work in dialogue with UoE's <u>Strategy 2030</u> and its commitment to addressing global and societal challenges, while complementing (without duplicating) existing efforts within the institution.

At this early stage, there are two key points that need highlighting. The first relates to the need for members of the Executive and Senior Leadership Team to be present at community events wherever possible. In notes taken from our inauguration, workshops and focus groups, people have commented on the importance of reaching out to senior management and connecting with individuals who are committed to furthering the project and/or have significant influence and power within the institution. It has also been pointed out that, where possible, such individuals should attend community events in order to gain a proper understanding of the rationale behind the recommendations that will be formally set out in the final report. This would also help to signal to communities that members of the Executive and Senior Leadership Team are supportive and committed to follow-up work, with a view to creating a 'Coalition for Action' to take the recommendations forward. To assist in bringing these voices together, the REWG is organising a community-led event on 2 May 2024 to which Principal Peter Mathieson and several members of the SLT and Executive have been invited.

The second is that additional resource is urgently needed to delve further into the colonial and imperial legacy of UoE in Palestine, notably following the announcement by Vice-Principal and University Secretary, Leigh Chalmers, that the REWG is looking into this history 'as part of the ongoing review and everyone in our community will have the opportunity to contribute to this process'. While we have been able to draw from existing research conducted by Nicola Perugini and Shaira Vadasaria, our dedicated team does not have the capacity to undertake the extensive work required to properly address this history. For a period of six months, we are therefore requesting either part-time buy-out (0.3 each) for three existing colleagues with expertise in the field (Perugini, Vadasaria and one other) or the hiring of full-time temporary research fellow, with some buy-out for Perugini and Vadsaria to act as

⁸⁵ Email sent from Leigh Chalmers, 14 November 2023.

mentors. We are also requesting funds to hire a Palestinian community member to help us with organising public engagement events at UoE and resource towards an internal and external consultation process with scholars and civil society within the Palestinian community, as we are doing for other communities as part of our overall programme of research and engagement. Agreeing to support this work would be a highly proactive way of bringing to life the statement issued by UoE.

There are also some other proactive actions that could be taken, such as providing clarity around UoE's current investments and whether these intersect with the Israeli-Palestinian war, as well as UoE's investment policy and any current plans around divestment. Another action might be to support, reconstruct and further develop institutional links with Palestinian universities, in particular in the Gaza Strip, where the whole educational sector has been subjected to a process of destruction and elimination (academic and professional staff, and buildings) as a result of the ongoing war.

Prior to submission in December 2024, our final recommendations will be subject to approval by all those of who have participated so far, and notably those from directly affected communities of reparatory justice interest, with the intention of ensuring future accountability and progression towards the goals of reparatory justice, decoloniality and diversification. Each recommendation will require significant follow-up work to provide a clear roadmap to implementation, along with full costings.

Below is a summary of some of the emerging suggestions that have arisen from our research and engagement work.

Creating a Research and Community Engagement Centre to Tackle Racial Injustice

A key way to develop and sustain the REWG's work after December 2024 would be to establish a permenant research and community engagement <u>Centre for the Study of Racisms</u>, <u>Colonialism and Anti-Black Violence</u>, the first of its kind in the UK. This would provide a solid foundation to both hold and bring to life recommendations linked to reparatory justice and decoloniality. Its purpose would be:

- to change the policies and social determinants negatively affecting racial and ethnic communities;
- to translate research about racism into proactive strategies for improving the life chances of racial/ethnic minorities throughout the UK;
- to establish a sustainable research platform that makes the study of racism, colonialism and anti-Blackness central to the educative mission of UoE;
- to provide a hub through which to support the hiring of Black faculty and the acceptance of doctoral students specific to the fulfillment of the expertise and goals of the Centre;
- and to provide a mechanism to put in place and oversee the reparatory recommendations of the REWG.

This Centre should be viewed a central resource rather than one held by a particular school or college, and should be supported by internal funding. Linked to the historical research into bursaries, endowments and gifts already uncovered, one consideration might be to redirect such funds towards sustaining this Centre on a permanent basis. This would also speak to the

Strategy 2030 research goals by addressing key 'social and global challenges' around racism and promoting interdisciplinary research collaboration around priority areas such as justice, mental health and wellbeing and human rights.⁸⁶

Unlike most research centres, this Centre would also include resource (space and funding) for a permanent cultural/community space managed by and for racially/ethnically minoritised groups within and beyond the university. Extending the REWG's engagement work, this space would act as a bridge between UoE and internal and external community groups whose research and activism are grounded in reparatory justice for African enslavement, colonialism and racial injustice. This would be seen as a serious tangible commitment by many racially/ethnically minoritised communities and beyond. While there have been some ad hoc initiatives to open up the university estate to external communities, for example through the Chaplaincy and a pilot scheme run by the Community Engagement Project, a dedicated space would be a creative and practical way of demonstrating UoE's willingness to connect to communities. It would link to the Strategy 2030's 'commitment to the city and region in which we are based, alongside our national and international efforts, ensuring relavance for all'.⁸⁷

Improving Access to UoE's Material Archives

Arising from our historical research based on archives held by UoE, as well as our community engagement around colonial histories (for example, the Anatomy Museum), several suggestions have been already put forward to improve access to UoE's material culture, archives and colonial collections. There are calls for significant investment in improving access to existing institutional records relating to UoE's history of slavery and colonialism (for example, having a dedicated archivist to look into the anatomical records), and begin the process of digitising university records, where appropriate; an effort that will require creating several new posts and expertise linked to community engagement and repatriation. Based on our work on the Anatomy Museum, there are also calls to ringfence money to subsidies visits by descendant communities whose ancestral remains and/or cultural heritage is currently being held within UoE collections. The purpose here would be to foster more collaborative and open partnerships with affected communities, address some of the power imbalances in accessing cultural and ancestral heritage and move towards a more proactive approach to, and policy for, repatriation.

Another related project, which is being support by the REWG, is to create a <u>publicly accessible digital archive</u> documenting the 40-year history of <u>reparations movements in the UK</u> and their contribution to the 'International Social Movement for Afrikan Reparations' as a valuable resource for racial justice movements, researchers, policymakers and educators. From this, we are looking to provide community activists with long-term access to resource, training and expertise to digitise their own reparatory justice and anti-racism work.

These kinds of initiatives speak to the Strategy 2030 goals relating to social and civic responsibility, notably in terms of making an important 'difference to individuals and

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⁸⁶ Strategy 2030, p. 23.

⁸⁷ Strategy 2030, p. 13.

communities' through a more just and equitable approach to accessing archives and resourcing the creation of future archives grounded in decolonial and reparatory practices.⁸⁸

Decolonising Education and Sustaining Learning

The research being conducted through the REWG is revealing the depth, bredth and complexity of UoE's links to slavery and colonialism, but much still needs to be uncovered. This provides an important opportunity for future educational and research development. One key way for UoE to both acknowledge its past and build an educational resource would be to fund a **physical and virtual exhibition** showcasing the findings of the REWG. This, in turn, could be used to support **a new cross-institutional undergraduate course** as part of the CTP.

Complementing this recognition, suggestions have been put forward during our community engagement work to set up a pilot study to create a series of <u>annual summer schools</u> linking UoE to <u>traditional and Indigenous centres of learning</u> in various areas of the world affected by the legacies of slavery and colonialism.⁸⁹ The purpose of these schools would be: to support the work of African- and/or Indigenous-centred learning focused on finding on reparatory justice solutions to the legacies of slavery and colonialism; to develop strategies and cooperation around 'Planet Repairs'; and to incorporate African- and/or other Indigenous-centred epistemologies and practices into UoE's curricula as part of its decolonising agenda (examples include African philosophies such as Ubuntu, Indigenous concepts around relationality, ecological knowledge, epistemic decolonisation etc.). This would be further supported by hosting Indigenous scholar-activists in residence on an annual basis to facilitate dialogue, organise online workshops and build partnerships with relevant faculties, departments and communities.

Initiatives such as these would speak to a number of the Sustainable Development Goals to which Strategy 2030 is committed, including 'inclusive and equitable quality education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all'.⁹⁰

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⁸⁸ Strategy 2030, p. 26.

⁸⁹ To take one example, the REWG has links to three Ghanaian paramount chiefs (Osei Adza Tekpor VII, Nana Kobina Nketsia V and Togbe Agbenyedzoe VI), all of whom are keen to establish an annual 'Glocal Open Summer School of Planet Repairs Action Learning (GOSSPRAL)' to be co-hosted by the University of Edinburgh, INOSAAR, the Maangamizi Educational Trust (MET) and other interested partners, and also co-hosted in Ghana by Maatubuntumitawo-GAFRIC and other interested partners. The GOSSPRAL would be held at the simultaneously in Scotland and Ghana, with small numbers of youths and students interested in sharing relevant transoceanic experiences.

⁹⁰ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Sustainable Development, 'The 17 Goals', https://sdgs.un.org/goals.