Colonialism and Empire:

Are Reparations Owed by the United Kingdom to the Descendants of Slavery?

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DECLARATION FORM

Name of the Programme of Study:

Name of Student (Capital Letters):

DECLARATION

I certify that the whole of this work is the result of my individual effort, and that all sources have been acknowledged.

Signed Michael Jonas (Student)

Date 28/09/2021

DECLARATION

I am satisfied that this work is the result of the Student's effort.

Signed Associate Professor C Lohmann-Hancock (Lecturer)

Date 28/09/2021

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much important information had to be relegated to the appendices – please read them, preferably as they are referred to during the text (I *suppose* I'd accept reading through the main body, and then reading through all the appendices, but please don't do that, thanks 😊). All of the online reference links work as of 27/09/21 (I checked), and you should check out the references for anything particularly of interest. For example, you should at the very least all read Akala (2018).

Although I originally intended to provide a great deal more depth in my analysis of US slavery, a strict word-count entirely subverted that expectation, allowing only snapshot comparisons to be made. However, much African American research has been used to formulate this project as, although there are certainly differences, there is also plenty of overlap between the American and Jamaican experiences, not least of which is that both were former British colonies; and then again, the experiences of African Americans and the Black British. I would therefore like to highlight how vital the experiences and contributions of African Americans has been to the refinement of this study. Particularly enlightening, the tireless work of Antonio Moore, Yvette Carnell and the American Descendants of Slavery (ADOS) movement has internationally galvanised the discussion on reparations for a new generation. I encourage all to seek out their work on YouTube.

Thanks to friends and family who've promised to read my work – I'm holding you all to that. Thanks to the tutors at Coleg Sir Gar and UWTSD, for encouraging me to think outside the box. Thanks most of all to my wife and children, who put up with me.

ABSTRACT

This work explores the ramifications of slavery for modern Britain, contrasting ancient and pre-modern institutions within the context of Britain's former colonies (Williams, 1994). Modern attitudes to slavery are inspected, revealing the continuing manifestation of anti-black racism through eugenics, racial theory and meritocracy. Precedents for reparations are investigated with a focus upon Germany (De Gruyter, 2011), and the rejection of early Caribbean migrants to Britain is highlighted (Rauhut, 2021). Discussion includes the origins of white supremacy in science and religion, exposing the ongoing negative stereotyping of blackness (Akala, 2018). It is found that Britain is both legally and morally obligated to provide both individual and group reparations to the descendants of British slavery, both domestically and internationally (Beckles, 2013). Further, reparations are the only means of effectively countering the institutionalised discrimination and segregation that contribute to the maintenance of a range of global racial inequalities (Craemer, 2018).

1. INTRODUCTION

The year 2020 was one of the worst in living memory, with successive events impacting the entire world, from the spread of the Covid-19 virus and subsequent social and economic impacts, to the establishment of a global culture of public protest and rioting (Rosenwald, 2020; Hurt, 2020) **(See Appendix 1)**. In the UK, protests tended to culminate in a focus upon the defacement and removal of statues and monuments, where those historic personages were slaveowners, or worked against the abolition of slavery (Russel, 2020). Suddenly, the direct roles played by British institutions in the slave trade were front-and-centre of national and international attention, with organisations in religion, banking, insurance, and education, releasing statements of apology for their involvement (Ashford, 2020). Organisations pledged to take action against modern-day racism and discrimination, while others, such as insurance marketeers Lloyd's of London, admitted that reparations are owed to the descendants of slavery (Ashford, 2020). Said involvement of British organisations in the slave trade includes the investment of payments made directly to some 46,000 slaveowners after abolition, in compensation for their loss (Ashford, 2020). These government payments generated a national debt estimated as high as £300 billion (in today's money). which was repaid in 2015, so that British descendants of slavery were retroactively paying slaveowners for their ancestor's freedom (François, 2019). University College London research estimated that a fifth of the wealthy in Victorian Britain were connected to slavery (Church Times, 2020). Also revealed was how 96 Church of England clergy received compensation after abolition, the Bishop of Exeter being executor for claims to three plantations with a total of 665 slaves (Church Times, 2020). Although the Church of England had members whose activism was instrumental in achieving abolition, such as William Wilberforce, the institution

nevertheless benefitted from slavery (ITV, 2020). Further, the church failed to free its Caribbean slaves until 26 years after abolition, and the construction of 32 churches are associated with compensation claims (ITV, 2020). The Church of England General Synod apologised in 2006, acknowledging the church's role in perpetuating slavery, which it sees as a source of shame (Oliver, 2020). However, it was not until the advent of the Black Lives Matter movement that the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Rowan Williams, urged the church to consider payment of reparations, in spite of complexities surrounding who should receive such payments (Oliver, 2020). The focus upon international legacies of imperialism and colonialism led to United Nations human rights chief, Michelle Bachelet, highlighting international obligations to 'make amends for centuries of violence and discrimination' through the provision of reparations to those still affected (The Guardian, 2020b, Online). The King of Belgium, Philippe, expressed his 'deepest regret', resolving to initiate a truth and reconciliation commission to investigate atrocities committed in the Congo under his direct ancestor, King Leopold II (Crisp, 2020, Online). Further, the Belgian Prime Minister, Sophie Wilmés, went on to highlight the continuing discrimination around the world being a direct result of slavery (Banona & Sepulchre, 2020).

This work will explore the effects of slavery upon modern Britain. A historical overview of the institution is provided (Rodrigues, 1997; Schirrmacher, 2018). Historical attitudes towards race will be examined in the context of Britain's colonies in Jamaica and America's Antebellum South (Burnard, 2004; Kolchin, 1995; Williams, 1994; Baptist, 2014), and the relationship between slavery and capitalism explored (Marx, 1887; Neptune, 2019), before considering the continuing manifestation of anti-black racism through eugenics, racial theory and meritocracy

(Bernasconi & Lott, 2000; Filippello, 2021; Mallon, 2007). Previous reparations payments will be investigated with a focus upon Germany, and the rejection of early Caribbean migrants to Britain will be highlighted (De Gruyter, 2011; Caballero, 2019; Danewid, 2021). Various themes arising from the literature review will be discussed, including racism in science and religion (Braude, 2003; Gates, 1925), the failures of multiculturalism (Akala, 2018; Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities, 2021; Chouhan & Nazroo, 2020), and Britain's moral obligation to obtain absolution for its role in slavery (Beckles, 2013; Stan, 2021), exploring the tensions and challenges surrounding a potential reparation payment system (Craemer, 2018). Finally, a response will be given to the question of whether and how reparations should be provided to the descendants of British slavery.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

It is not the intention of this work to provide an exhaustive examination of slavery's global development. Nevertheless, it is useful to look at snapshots from different periods in order to see how cultural views have developed through time, to better aid the understanding of current modes of thought and attitudes towards the subject (Rhode *et al*, 2011). However, it is challenging to fully explore the positions and motivations of slaves from ancient times, as all the information available to historians comes from the writings of various courts and slaveowners, necessitating much extrapolation (Hunt, 2018).

> …it is difficult to create a definition of slavery comprehensive enough to cover all social institutions generally classified as slavery, yet sufficiently clear to distinguish it from other forms of dependence (Karras, 1988, p. 5).

A universal phenomenon, slavery has existed since the dawn of civilisation and manifested independently within every known society for which there are records (Rodrigues, 1997). The earliest chronicles of human culture contain accounts of class, caste and servitude, and the institution has therefore plagued humanity since its inception (Rodrigues, 1997). Some form of slavery has affected essentially all of the world's societies – ancient, pre-modern and modern; simple and complex (Eltis & Engerman, 2011). Historians therefore find the contemporary paradigm of a free labour-force to be historically exceptional, with everything that came before being a variation of 'institutionalised coercive relationships' (Eltis & Engerman, 2011, p. 3). Although slavery is a prominent feature of the Bible, the book early on establishes the treatment of slaves as people, with all descended from Adam and therefore children of God (Genesis 1:1-11; Schirrmacher, 2018). However, transatlantic slavery was a new form of bondage, an outlier rather than merely a continuation of what had come

before, reversing the global trend towards freedom and liberty (Snyder, 2013). Worldwide, institutions of slavery had increasingly acknowledged the humanity of slaves, gradually improving avenues for social inclusion and upward mobility, until New World slavery presented the most closed system the world has ever known (Snyder, 2013).

This review will therefore contrast the different forms of forced labour, observing variations between the institutions of ancient and pre-modern times, including Bible slavery (Bahrani, 2006; Reid, 2015), before a closer examination of New World slavery (Williams, 1994). This will be explored through the origins of slavery and its development into the conceptualisation of race (Smith & Paquette, 2010). Modern attitudes to slavery and colonialism will then be considered, touching upon ways in which the impact of New World slavery is downplayed or trivialised (Post, 2015), specifically focusing on the influence of capitalism upon slavery (Marx, 1847 & 1887; Neptune, 2019). An overview of international reparations will be given, with a focus on Germany (De Gruyter, 2011), before finally assessing Britain's reception of immigrants from its ex-colonies (Caballero, 2019), drawing conclusions for further discussion.

2.2. Slavery: A Historical Overview

Initially, slavery was instituted by the state, as criminal punishment for a set period, or due to first tribal, and then national war leading to the utter subjugation of rivals into positions of abject subordination (Bahrani, 2006). Typically, such slaves are believed not to have had any rights, belongings, family, or freedom, as slavery essentially made people into non-persons from the moment of their judgement, abduction or

pillage (Bahrani, 2006). Ostensibly, slavery was an act of benevolence towards criminals and prisoners of war, as the only alternative was their execution; so, slaves were considered to be deserving of their plight: a social death rather than a physical loss of life (Patterson, 2018). One of the most influential modern conceptions of slavery, 'social death' is 'the permanent, violent domination of natally alienated and generally dishonoured persons', divested of history and heritage (Patterson, 1982, p. 13). However, although slavery is '…a complex interactional process laden with tension and contradiction', it can be difficult to reconcile the concept of social death with forms of slavery that allow slaves to manoeuvre socially, or be manumitted entirely (Brown, 2009, p. 1248). Not every asymmetrical relationship is slavery, such as the association of employee and employer, or the poor and the rich (Culbertson, 2011). Nevertheless, slavery *is* always an asymmetrical relationship, with one side having all the authority, which can manifest in various power dynamics, such as hierarchical, obligatory, or dominative, and the power-imbalance can be financial, political or even symbolic (Culbertson, 2011) **(See Appendix 2)**.

History has suggested five main causes of slavery, as well as combinations of each: *Ethnicity*, where a country's entire native population has been subjugated by invaders; *Piracy*, where individuals are abducted and sold for use abroad; *House-born*, including those born of one or both slave parents, who are therefore born into slavery; *Native poor*, who have for whatever reason lost (or never possessed) any means of livelihood, and thereby been forced into servitude; *Criminals and prisoners of war*, who were captured and placed into bondage (Gelb, 1973). Slavery in ancient Mesopotamia, during the Third Dynasty of Ur at around 2100-2000 BCE, was therefore not a uniform grouping regarding social attitudes towards the status of

slaves and how they were treated (Reid, 2015). Instead, slavery was the lower end of a gradient, where those at the very bottom were not much worse off than those in the few levels above them who were poor, but not enslaved (Reid, 2015). This allowed for a variety of situations and lifestyles that would all have collectively been considered slavery by modern standards (Reid, 2015).

There are many varying examples of slavery in the Bible, from Abraham, Isaac and Jacob being slave-owners, to the brothers of Joseph selling him into slavery (Gen. 12:16 and 17:23; Gen. 26:25; Gen. 30:43; Gen. 39-41). Even after national establishment, the United Monarchy of Israel and Judah continued to practice slave-ownership (1 Kings 10:2-5). However, the slavery that was permitted amongst the Hebrews after their miraculous escape from Egypt, was of a substantially different character than the slavery practiced by other nations, including the slavery to which they had been subjected (Schirrmacher, 2018). Ancient Israel was pointedly reminded to remember always, in the treatment of their own slaves, that they had themselves been slaves in Egypt for generations (Deut. 5:4-7). Although they were encouraged to prefer heathen slaves, Hebrews could be enslaved amongst themselves, but in practice this was functionally more akin to bonded labour. Thus, the Bible uses these terms interchangeably by translating the same word into either ‘slave’ or ‘worker’ (Schirrmacher, 2018). In either case, slaves had rights that were plainly delineated, with proscriptions against their exploitation and abuse, to the point of it being forbidden to turn in runaway slaves (Dohrmann & Stern, 2008). The Bible sets a clear precedent for the benevolent treatment of slaves, based upon the idea that a slave could not truly be the possession of the master, as both were made in the image of God and belonged to Him. Rather, the master owned the work of the slave, who could

in turn own property, buy their own freedom, and (for Hebrew slaves at least) would in any case be freed after six years, or every Jubilee on the 49th year (Lev. 25:10). Once released, the master should furnish the slave with enough provision to establish themselves socially (Dohrmann & Stern, 2008). Hebrew slavery was partially motivated by proselytization amongst gentiles, who would adopt Hebrew beliefs, lifestyles and customs. Hebrew slaves often married into the family, becoming heirs through adoption and more fully developing their roles as part of Hebrew society (Dohrmann & Stern, 2008). As with some other contemporary systems of slavery, the option of temporary bondage provided an escape from debt as a means of restitution to creditors in cases of bankruptcy, and children were often thus employed to work off familial debt (Jackson, 2006). Later, it will be discussed how the Book of Genesis has been misused by white supremacy to plot the origins of race (Braude, 1997; Braude, 2003).

For the purposes of discussion, it is necessary to impose some limitations on the definition of slavery, beyond the usual '…subordination, dependence, bondage, debt, clientage or subservience' that is invariably associated (Culbertson, 2011, p. 10). Again, such could equally apply to conditions that are not considered to be slavery, such as being a soldier, sex worker or even politician (Culbertson, 2011). For example, the forced, pre-exodus labour of the Hebrews was not precisely chattel slavery, because they were not the personal property of individual Egyptians, but rather functioned as a state workforce (Harrill, 1997). Although their necessities were mostly provided for them, the Hebrews continued to live amongst themselves in their own communities with autonomy, which allowed them to maintain their tribal systems, religious beliefs and practices, making their unfreedom more akin to serfdom

(Harrill, 1997). Contemporary debate regarding the precise nature of slavery invariably refers to the transatlantic slave trade as the archetypical example by which to frame the institution (Trodd, 2013). This transatlantic framing has been used effectively for decades as a means of comparison with modern day slavery, intentionally associating the universal condemnation of the former so as to progress the cause of advocacy for the latter (Trodd, 2013). However, critics argue that there is a lack of equivalence between the transatlantic slave trade and modern slavery, so that the latter hardly qualifies as slavery at all (O'Connell Davidson, 2017) **(See Appendix 3)**. As the borders of what constitute slavery are so open to interpretation, various methods are used to determine individuals as either slaves or lower-stratum workers (Snell, 1997). Methods include the exclusion of dependent workers for their semi-freedom, or the inclusion of only those branded or sold as personal property (Snell, 1997).

Chattel slavery can be either *de jure* (people as property, legalised by state authority) or *de facto* (slavery in fact, but not supported by state law), and although there can be instances of their characteristics overlapping, such marginal cases can be examined and categorised individually (Schwarz & Nicholson, 2020). Slaves are therefore generally defined by historians according to their legal status, as opposed to the treatment of people who were socially regarded as slaves but were not legally considered as such (Schwarz & Nicholson, 2020). According to Hickey (2012, p. 235), the elements of power with regards to property ownership traditionally include possession, use and management; income, capital transfer, total use and destruction; state protection from expropriation; and limitless duration of term. These property rights can be summarised as *usus*, *fructus* and *abusus* which are, respectfully, the right

to use, the right to profit, and the right to transfer, consume or destroy one's property (Pierre, 1997, p. 253). Legally reduced to the status of an object or animal, de jure chattel slavery therefore establishes complete ownership of every aspect of the individual in totality (Hunt, 2018). No reservation is made for agency or expression, in perpetuity, for which the possessed could not be violently taken to task by their possessor (Hunt, 2018). Some historians, such as Finley & Shaw (1998) and Bradley (1994), contend that such a rigorous test can be applied to only five cultures throughout history, two of which are ancient (Greek and Roman) and the remainder of which are pre-modern (Caribbean, Brazilian and American Southern). The remainder of this work will focus upon the transatlantic slave trade and its ongoing effects into modernity. All references to slavery will therefore be in the context of New World chattel slavery specifically and are not to be conflated with the contexts of modern or ancient slavery.

2.3. Transatlantic Slavery: Social and Economic Perspectives

A paradigmatic shift in worldview emanating from within Europe, the introduction of race was actually the introduction of white supremacy. The conception of race was based upon first Roman Catholic and then Protestant Christian ideation regarding the purity of blood, the Divine Right of the church, and its bestowment of such power upon royalty (Cannon, 2008). Emerging from fifteenth century Spain, the concept was used to detect those of particularly Jewish or Moorish blood, with those free from such ancestry determined to be 'pure of blood' (Green, 2011, p. 228). For the first time, one would be declared as one-quarter Moorish or half-Jewish (Green, 2011). For the British royal line of Stuarts, the issue of race was incorporated into the greater rationale considering hereditary status: 'one was born a slave, just as one was born a

prince' (Brewer, 2017, p. 1039). The incitement to European colonisation begun with *Dum diversas* and *Romanus pontifex*, the 1452 and 1455 papal bulls of Pope Nikolaus V (Russell-Wood, 1978) **(See Appendix 4)**. Although deemed incompatible with English law particularly, and illegal generally throughout Europe, slavery was made legal throughout the New World colonies (Leigh, 2019). Rationalisations for African enslavement were as numerous as they were spurious: only blacks could toil in the tropical environments; the blacks were much happier and better off on New World plantations than they were in Africa; only through slavery could blacks receive the gospel (Williams, 1994) **(See Appendix 5)**. Primarily a system of intense labour, New World slavery grew steadily to meet the significant economic and political demands of European expansion, and the staple crops of sugar, coffee, tobacco, rice, and then later, cotton, would drive world trade to new heights (Williams, 1994). New World slaves, literally objectified, were machines to be fine-tuned by the overseer's whip; picking, cutting, lifting, pulling and digging, on minimal fuel and to meet ever-increasing quotas (Beckert & Rockman, 2017). With their individual daily performances precisely measured and evaluated, slaves were forced to innovate ingenious improvements in their methods of collection, finding new rhythms and techniques to improve their speed, upon pain of daily flagellation (Beckert & Rockman, 2017). Such ingenuity extended to methods of evasion and ways to cheat the system, such as intentionally including twigs and stones for added weight; or carefully not exceeding expectations, making their lot even harder; and also by surreptitiously helping each other meet rising quotas (Baptist, 2014). Often referred to as the *triangular trade*, British ships fully laden with merchandise would sail to Africa, exchanging manufactured goods for slaves before sailing for New World plantations. There, they would exchange the slaves for colonial produce to sell back in

Britain, making a considerable profit at each destination (Walvin, 1992). Within 50 years, virtually all of Britain was in some way involved in the slave trade, providing profits that boosted the economy, and substantially contributed to funding Britain's Industrial Revolution (Williams, 2014). Shipping, shipbuilding and the development of seaport towns, including Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow and Cardiff; the production of wool and then later cotton materials; pots and pans, guns, fetters, chains, padlocks and other metallurgical, manufactured items to be sold in the New World or exchanged in Africa for slaves; sugar refineries and rum distilleries (Walvin, 1992). The term *pacotille* referred to various, low-cost items that were known to appeal to the African's love of bright colours and shiny, sparkly objects (Williams, 1994). These included glass mirrors and bottles, beads, tinkling bells, and bracelets, which were always in high demand and, under the pretence of great value, could be dishonestly traded at a fraction of the expense in guns or horses (Williams, 1994).

> One slave dealer, his bag full of the gold paid him for his slaves, stupidly accepted the slave captain's invitation to dinner. He was made drunk and awoke next morning to find his money gone and himself stripped, branded and enslaved with his own victims, to the great mirth of the sailors (Williams, 1994, p. 72).

Although around 2 million slaves died during the approximately fifty thousand journeys, more than 12 million slaves are estimated to have been shipped through the *Middle Passage* across the Atlantic (Schirrmacher, 2017). Of the approximately 1.2 million slaves who survived the transatlantic crossing to land on British Caribbean shores, only two out of every three survived the three-year seasoning period, with the rest falling to disease or the cruel plantation regime (Williams, 2014). As the transport of slaves peaked at the turn of the 1800s, both Denmark and then Britain had made it illegal for their subjects to trade slaves before the end of the first decade (Klein, 1997). Other European powers followed suit over the course of the century, under

duress by Britain to prohibit the practice within their colonies, with the African kingdoms amongst the last to outlaw the institution when Nigeria abolished slavery in 1936 (Klein, 1997).

During the vast period of New World slavery, there were also other varieties of unfreedom to be found globally, including within the continental African Kingdoms, Muslim countries, Eastern Europe, and throughout Asia, which had each developed their own systems of bondage (Chakravarti, 2019) **(See Appendix 6)**. Still, the slavery perpetrated against Africans in the New World took on a special character, largely due to the propagation of the concept of race, which dehumanised certain people in a way that had not been done previously (Cannon, 2008). The result was systematic levels of abuse unheard of in all recorded history (Cannon, 2008). Formerly, as in cases of indentured servitude, distinguishing features were required to effectively divide between *us* and *them*, such as language or religion (Kolchin, 1995). Until that time, ethnic division had rarely been essential for slavery, with many systems found to allow enslavement within a single ethnicity (Kolchin, 1995). However, New World slavery was able to develop rapidly largely due to a simplified system operating along the immediately apparent skin-colour divide, where masters were white, and slaves were black (Kolchin, 1995). This easily identifiable distinction encouraged the degradation of black people, *othering* them without any attribution of the noble savagery or intelligence then being credited to native New World and Asian populations (Smith & Paquette, 2010). Only the negative would be made to apply, allowing no redeeming factors, essentially making the African the inverse of the European (Smith & Paquette, 2010). The certain belief in this otherness was exemplified in the lives of white people through their usage of derogatory, racist

terminology (Brown, 2019). Epithets include ‘coloured’, ‘black’, ‘negro’ and ‘nigger’, as well as the infantilising gendered terms ‘boy’ and ‘girl’ when used to refer to even elderly black men and women (Brown, 2019, p. 163). ‘Peculiarly drawn to immorality’, black people were viewed as habitually indolent, passively docile, careless, immature and unintelligent (Haynes, 2002, p. 91). Simultaneously, black people were also seen as lascivious, devious, deceitful, savage, violent and ultimately having an appetite for sinfulness and destruction, requiring the stern discipline of slavery in order to counter their natural tendencies (Haynes, 2002). In the opinion of the New World slave master, enslavement was an act of beneficence, rescuing the slave from the degeneracy that was the result of its ‘lack of balance between animality and intellectuality’ (Haynes, 2002, p. 98). This lack also prevented slaves from attaining to any legal rights whatsoever, for as sub-humans, their legal status was complex (Goodell, 1969). Simultaneously classified as objects by property law, whilst also being acknowledged as pseudo-persons in criminal law, slaves were sentenced for commission of a crime without having the right to a criminal defence (Goodell, 1969).

> …the slave becomes ‘a person’ whenever he is to be punished!... He is under the control of law, though unprotected by law, and can know law only as an enemy, and not as a friend (Goodell, 1969, p. 309).

The history of New World slavery presents a range of experiences that repeat themes of ‘abuse, objectification and alienation’, which as a matter of course include humiliation, animalisation, de-gendering and sexual mutilation (Schwarz & Nicholson, 2020, p. 398). Even instructed to destroy themselves, there would be no choice for the slave but to obey, or else risk an even harsher pronouncement of extreme torture before their inevitable termination (Johnson, 2013).

> …the slaveholders screaming execrations or soliciting confessions from the edge of death; the slaves pleading, shrieking, moaning, crying out for mercy; the final spastic motions and smouldering viscera (Johnson, 2013, p. 191).

Usually, slaves had their sexual partners assigned according to contemporary breeding techniques, with resulting progeny belonging to the master of the mother, rather than the parents (Hanbury, 2020) **(See Appendix 7)**. Slavery was an ideological assault upon black sexuality, denying the right to bodily autonomy and sexual choice, while also projecting the sexual perversities of slaveowners onto the slaves as pathological deviance, until the association of aberrant behaviour with blackness was rooted into the social consciousness (Abdur-Rahman, 2006) **(See Appendix 8)**.

As it was throughout the Caribbean, slavery was legal in all British America, but due to having to share in the pillage of Africa with the other European nations, it was not until Britain achieved naval supremacy that the transportation of slaves into America accelerated. Accordingly, plantations increased in number, size, and scope, requiring ever greater numbers of staff and slaves (Williams, 1994) **(See Appendix 9)**. A major aspect of the stigmatisation of black people was in their perpetual infantilization, combining superhuman strength and endurance with a childlike absence of judgment (Fitzhugh, 1857). Seen as inherently unintelligent and morally underdeveloped, slaves required the care and domestication of white civilisation (Fitzhugh, 1857). Further, white Americans were able to use their Christianity to validate their institution of domestic slavery, where slaves, along with wives, children and other relations, were vaguely considered part of the expanded patriarchal family (Haynes, 2002) **(See Appendix 10)**. In this way, Christian slaveowners could meet the biblical standard of the relationship between slave and master being ‘equal in all respects, to that of parent

and child', albeit that ‘a slave is a minor for life’ (Haynes, 2002, p. 90). Any possibility of improving the character of the Negro race was attributed to the influence enabled by slavery, which performed a ‘wonderful, beneficent work’ in the conversion of ‘hopeless barbarians into citizens’ (Haynes, 2002, p. 93). Without such a positive influence, the black race would not be ‘docile, industrious and subordinate’, necessitating new means of imposing discipline and obedience (Haynes, 2002, p. 93).

> [Men are not] born entitled to equal rights! It would be far nearer the truth to say, that some were born with saddles on their backs, and others booted and spurred to ride them – and the riding does them good. They need the reins, the bit and the spur (Fitzhugh, 1854, p. 179).

Due to a variety of factors, such as wartime conditions, gluts in commodity markets, and trade restrictions, New World plantations would at times be forced to run at a loss, reducing revenues and accumulating debt. However, planters would attempt to offset such deficits by reducing the expenses required to maintain slaves, such as food, often leading to an even worse than normal condition of malnourishment and starvation amongst enslaved populations (Crawford, 2016). Along with excessive workloads and rampant disease, this resulted in the mortality of Jamaican slaves outpacing the birth rate in every year for which such data is available (Crawford, 2016). Unlike the American system, where higher birth rates soon reduced the need for fresh imports, the Caribbean system required a constant supply, largely increasing the variety of ethnicity amongst the slave populations (Crawford, 2016). White people were outnumbered by slaves at ratios as high as ten to one, requiring total solidarity amongst the white inhabitants as a united front against the threat posed by the enslaved population (Petley, 2009). Even the poorest, most menial white person therefore enjoyed a status of equality with other whites that was unknown in Europe or even America, whiteness being solidified as the embodiment of freedom, displayed

as a ‘conscious equality throughout all ranks and conditions’ (Petley, 2009, p. 36). Displacing all social, political, religious and even ethnic differences in a show of unity, to be white was to be exalted into a royalty that must be venerated amongst themselves, and many times more by the slave majority (Petley, 2009). White staff, such as slave drivers, overseers and tradesmen, were transitory in nature, often being dismissed from their roles for the very worst physical and sexual abuses against slaves (Burnard, 2004). Although slaves were expensive and worth the dismissal of repeat offenders, the staff, being white, would easily find employment on the next plantation, emboldening the general state of drunkenness and debauchery in which slaves were routinely maltreated (Burnard, 2004). Rather than wealth or class, Caribbean social stratification was based upon skin colour, with an increasing number of ‘free coloureds’ (Heuman, 1981, p. 7). As favourite concubines or the mixed-race children of slaveowners, these had been manumitted and their children often born into freedom, acting as a buffer class between the white planter society and the constant influx of African slaves (Heuman, 1981). The free community therefore also operated on the basis of a skin-colour hierarchy, with the higher classes composed of those with lighter skin, the variations referred to as ‘octoon’, ‘quadroon’, ‘mulatto’ and ‘mustee’, and those with the darkest complexions at the bottom (Hoffman, 1901, p. 63). The prostituting of Jamaican slaves was common enough to be anticipated as part of the hospitality, with a white clientele ranging from visiting navy and army personnel, merchant crews, and plantation workers, contributing greatly to the mixed-race population (Smith, 1998). While the sexuality of eighteenth-century white women was ‘firmly regulated’ by social proprieties, the Caribbean presented ‘a pleasure ground of sexual opportunity for white men’ (Smith, 1998, p. 164). A ‘full

sexual licence' was granted by virtue both of their whiteness and their property rights, with next to no social stigma outside of abolition propaganda (Smith, 1998, p. 165).

> No Country… excels them in a barbarous Treatment of Slaves, or in the cruel Methods they put them to death… Jamaican slaves were the worst-treated slaves in any European colony and nowhere else were slaves so completely at the mercy and caprice of their masters (Burnard, 2004, p. 22).

Freedom for black people did not prevent severe abuse at the hands of whites who saw it as their supremacist right to treat black people in whatever way pleased them, in public or privately (Burnard, 2004). Accused of disrespecting a white person, a black person was likely to be immediately taken by a mob of whites and tortured to death by beating, stabbing, hanging, dismemberment and, finally, immolation (Berlin, 2004). Being composed entirely of white slaveowners, Jamaican courts repeatedly demonstrated that they would uphold white supremacy in every instance, deciding only upon the severity of sentence inflicted upon errant blacks (Burnard, 2004). The nonchalance of the court emboldened the disproportionate responses of tyrannical brutality for the slightest imagined offence against a white person: the case of a free black man publicly executed with impunity did not even make it before the court (Burnard, 2004).

> …[including] savage whippings of up to 350 lashes and sadistic tortures of his own invention, such as Derby's dose, in which a slave defecated into the mouth of another slave whose mouth was then wired shut (Burnard, 2004, p. 34).

Unlike in America, where Protestantism reigned supreme, Jamaican plantations were generally irreligious, if not atheistic (Heuman, 1981) **(See Appendix 11)**. During transatlantic slavery, their abuse was socially acceptable largely due to their demonisation, and this negative view of blackness has continued beyond slavery and into the modern world (Akala, 2018; Dawkins, 2004). The next section will explore

some ramifications of this vilification within the context of how the concept of race has inexplicably changed global human relations.

2.4. Modern Attitudes to Historic Slavery

There is some contention over the role of slavery in the development of capitalism and national prosperity, with historians attributing British and American wealth exclusively to the Industrial Revolution (Beckert & Rockman, 2017) **(See Appendix 12)**. Nevertheless, the centrality of slavery to the global expansion of industrial capitalism has been well established, based upon the financial imperatives of colonialization and trade, which priorities exceeded all other concerns (Marx, 1847). In the pursuit of profit, abolition was a non-factor until international finance and trade became well-established (Marx, 1847). Another distinctive characteristic of capitalism, New World slavery demonstrated rapid and sustained productivity growth (Olmstead & Rhode, 2011). Such growth was seen in the US annual quantity of cotton picked, which increased at a rate of around 2%, compared to similar rates of growth from the contemporaneous British textile industry (Olmstead & Rhode, 2011); although, in the case of the former, such progress probably had less to do with technological innovation than with the systematic torture of the workers (Baptist, 2014). According to Marx (1887), slavery achieved its worst possible form under capitalism, where the pursuit of ever-increasing productivity inevitably led to workers being literally worked to death. Slave trading was a risky business, with high percentages of slaves not surviving the perilous transatlantic journey, so British merchant networks underwrote the international trade in slaves, ensuring payment (Morgan, 2016). Guaranteed payments removed the uncertainty that otherwise would have been placed upon the ship captains directly, making the whole enterprise much

more appealing (Morgan, 2016). Rather than competing, British merchants cooperated, ensuring that captains felt confident in receiving payment, agreeing upon various rates and generating plenty of business for all (Morgan, 2016). Being a time of expanding financialization, New World slaves were themselves further commodified and collateralized in a 'macabre financial alchemy that turned slave mortgages into bonds sold in European markets' (Clegg, 2015, p. 283). Schemes of credit tied individual national economic systems into international financial marketplaces, without which capitalism would not exist (Clegg, 2015).

It was not until capitalism achieved status quo that the enforced termination of slave trading and emancipation in British colonies became not only viable, but desirable from an economic perspective (Neptune, 2019) **(See Appendix 13).** For even while its navy interdicted the slave-carrying vessels of other nations, Britain continued to profit from the slave systems already embedded in America, Cuba and Brazil (Huzzey, 2012). Another potential explanation for Britain's drive towards abolition is that once Britain lost the American colonies, the British were compelled to reconsider their moral position on slavery (Palmer, 2009) **(See Appendix 14)**.

While initially focused upon lesser races, the ire of elite racial conceptions would soon fall upon the lower classes of white people (MacKenzie, 1976). Inevitably, in 1775 the concepts supporting racialised thinking were hardened into white supremacy with the scientific manifestation of *anthropology*, the study of human biology (Bernasconi & Lott, 2000). Based entirely upon phenotype, anthropology posited that there were five races (Ethiopian, Mongolian, American, Malay and Caucasian) which, being capable of interbreeding, must all have shared ancestry (Bernasconi & Lott,

2000). However, eugenicists believed that although the white race had been created through interbreeding with other races, any further miscegenation would dilute their idealised blood, leading to racial degeneration (Bernasconi & Lott, 2000). The focus shifting from origins to sexual selection, the movement towards *eugenics* advocated for evolutionary enhancement through human intervention via government-enforced selective breeding programs (Hannaford, 1996). When positive, eugenics sought to enforce breeding amongst only the higher classes of people, who were, ostensibly without exception, white, healthy, from monied lineage and of good social standing (Bernasconi & Lott, 2000). However, although fashionable and even perceived to be a social responsibility in preservation of the race, positive eugenics would never become a legal requirement (Hannaford, 1996). On the other hand, negative eugenics became public policy throughout several US states and was upheld by the Supreme Court as late as 1927, mandating the enforced sterilisation of the 'feebleminded' and 'infirm' (Bernasconi & Lott, 2000, p. 80). Negative eugenics were never legally enforced in Britain, but many thousands of sterilisations were coerced nonetheless (MacKenzie, 1976). The preservation of the white race ensured, American eugenicists implemented antimiscegenation laws, preventing any further racial intermingling, before refocusing upon the lesser races (Hannaford, 1996). While Britain has never made miscegenation illegal, there was considerable social stigma surrounding interracial relationships (Caballero & Aspinall, 2018).

As with black people, poor white people were reinforced in media as 'immoral, lazy and criminal', among other stereotypes, and were problematic to eugenicists because they did not measure up to the social standards of whiteness (Kolehmainen, 2017, p. 252). The American term *white trash* was coined to function as a socio-symbolic

marker of differentiation between the sovereignty of whiteness and the inferior condition of poor white people, whose disposability and lack of worth was so undeniably conspicuous as to disrupt the idea of supremacy (Filippello, 2021). From a white supremacist perspective, *white* and *trash* have opposite meanings, where white is everything good, clean and pure, while trash denotes impurity, deviance and dysfunction, so that white people who do not embody such high ideals cannot be *fully* white, and should be classified accordingly (Wray, 2006). A derogatory term, white trash reinforces ideations of white supremacy, as no other racial group has such a negative modifier: *black trash* would be redundant, because blackness is already presumed to be trash. Rather, blackness must be modified with positive terms, such as *black excellence*, or *black power* (Wray, 2006). The inadequacies of poor white people were highlighted by comparing them to industrious blacks who, although supposed to be inferior were, when allowed, nevertheless able to work themselves out of poverty, to the extent that they often presented serious competition to white businesses (Wray, 2006). *Meritocracy*, the idea that wealth is generated by an individual's talent and hard work, irrespective of their starting point, was applied equally to black people and poor whites, even while both groups were deemed subordinate (Gorski, 2008). Both Britain and the US were infatuated with meritocratic ideals, maintaining that the application of intelligence, ability and effort results in success, leaving out the part played by familial wealth and social capital (White *et al*, 2017). Placed into such meritocratic competition, rather than their place in society being assured, poor whites were thus set against black people, the former being encouraged to believe that the latter were threatening to exchange places from the bottom of the ladder (Allen, 1997).

Although the notion of race is 'conceptually empty', race remains a social reality, so it is vital to recognise not only that race functions as the basis of racism, but also that its meaninglessness demonstrates the depth of the injustice (Corlette, 2003) **(See Appendix 15)**. The conceptual, theoretical and methodological content of racialised thinking, while determined by the purposes for which they would be put to use, have been heavily integrated into modern science, including the development of mathematical statistics, early genetics, psychological and psychometric testing, and a predisposition towards racialised thinking (MacKenzie, 1976). Later, there will be an exploration of how such racialised thinking affects interracial interactions, with particular regard to the descendants of British slavery (Akala, 2018). In the light of atrocities inflicted against slaves in British New World colonies, and the ongoing effects of anti-black racism, historical reparations will now be investigated, focusing upon Germany.

2.5. International Precedents for Reparations

> The call for reparations is not new; it began as soon as slavery ended (Barnet, 2000, p. 1070).

Often considered the peak manifestation of brutality in world history, with much effort made to distance the rest of Europe from Nazi ideology, the anti-Jewish campaign was firmly grounded in racist, eugenicist beliefs (Akala, 2018). Further, the exploitation, abuse and murder of Jews in concentration camps during WWII was largely based upon the practices of the European colonisation of Africa and New World slavery (Mazower, 2008) **(See Appendix 16)**. The Jewish state and diaspora, many of whom were survivors of, or had lost loved ones to the Nazi regime, expressed concerns regarding the morality of accepting help from the perpetrators of

their attempted genocide (Senfft, 2019). There was a great deal of contention as to whether reparations should be sought – after all, Germany might not honour any agreement; financial reparation would be blood money; Britain and American had, as conquerors, been first in line to demand all manner of compensatory and restitutive payments, so Germany probably could not afford reparations (De Gruyter, 2011). Also, there was no precedent for reparations, because genocide was not officially deemed illegal under international law until completion of the Nuremberg trials of 1945-1946, where Nazi war criminals were held accountable for their actions (Craemer, 2018). However, it was felt by the majority that to allow murderers to inherit their victim's property would be the greater injustice, and even while negotiating the terms of their reparations, Jewish leaders maintained that such restitution could by no means atone for the unforgivable horrors of the Holocaust:

> Nothing will be forgiven. Nothing will be forgotten for generations to come, perhaps for eternity (De Gruyter, 2011, p. 20).

Individual compensations for the theft of property such as houses, or for imprisonment and forced labour, were kept separate to the claim for 'mental anguish and suffering, destruction and plunder', perpetrated against all Jews collectively (De Gruyter, 2011, p. 54). Many had their assets confiscated and died during captivity, leaving no heirs to benefit from their reparations; but such were nevertheless included in the joint claim of the Jewish people collectively (De Gruyter, 2011). Further, rather than merely holding only those accountable who personally committed acts of violence, the Jewish claim was made against the German people collectively, including their descendants in perpetuity:

> This claim is submitted in the knowledge that the German people in its entirety is responsible for the killing and plunder perpetrated by its previous regime… (De Gruyter, 2011, p. 62).

Rather than trusting in the goodwill of the German people, global Jewry pressured the victorious Allied powers to impose Jewish reparations upon Germany as a condition of the latter's gradual reintegration into the global community (Guelzo, 2002). It was contended by Jewish leaders that substantial reparations would be the only means of ensuring German acknowledgement of the magnitude of their crimes against humanity, inscribing the memory of the Holocaust within the national consciousness for generations to come (Guelzo, 2002). Since reparations payments began in 1952, the global Jewish community has received more than $70 billion from the German government, with survivors receiving lifetime monthly pensions as direct payments (Shimron & Banks, 2020; Schoenfeld, 2000).

Jewish success in obtaining reparations from Germany was instrumental in the making of future claims, legitimizing demands from other ethnic groups with no official state or nation (Guelzo, 2002). For example, Native Australians filed suit against the Australian Federal Government in 1962, leading to the Aboriginal Land Act of 1976, which saw the restoration of traditional tribal lands, and the implementation of Sorry Day, by way of national apology for aboriginal displacement, indoctrination and extermination (Guelzo, 2002). After the exposure of their complicity in helping the Nazis with disposing of Jewish funds, Swiss banks collectively created a Holocaust Fund for survivors (Schoenfeld, 2000). The Swiss banks had laundered billions of dollars-worth of gold, including the 'wedding rings [and] dental crowns extracted from corpses in the various death camps… melted

down into ingots' (Schoenfeld, 2000, p. 26). In 1988, America saw the passing of the Civil Liberties Act 1988, compensating Japanese Americans for their internment during WWII due to fears that they would side with the Axis powers (Guelzo, 2002). In 1994, Florida paid $2.1 million, not to the African American victims of the Rosewood Massacre in 1923, but to their descendants, and the Tulsa Race Riot Commission also recommended payment of reparations to descendants of 300 African Americans killed in that city (Obuah, 2016). In 1952, with millions dispossessed of their land and displaced, members of the Kikuyu tribe in Kenya organised into the Mau Mau movement, and British troops were sent to end the rebellion, rounding up hundreds of thousands of Kikuyu and containing them in concentration camps (Paulose & Rogo, 2018). Political arrests and torture followed, with women and children included in the abuse, and many deaths resulted. The UK government settled a class action suit, paying some 5000 Kikuyu descendants around £20 million (Appiah *et al*, 2021).

Since implementing their reparations programme, Germany has been one of Israel's staunchest allies, with unprecedented contributions to the latter's economy, industry, culture, defence, international relations and even tourism (Senfft, 2019). Britain, on the other hand has never reconciled its colonial past with its multicultural present (Danewid, 2021). This dissertation therefore poses the question of whether Britain could form such a relationship with its former slave colonies, as Germany did with Israel. In the next section, an assessment will be made of Britain's treatment of its early Jamaican immigrants.

2.6. Great Britain and the Descendants of its Slavery

Following the abolition of slavery in 1833, it would be over a century before Jamaica was granted its independence from the United Kingdom in 1962. Though remaining under English stewardship, with the Queen as Head of State, Jamaica would enjoy none of the benefits of commonwealth, continuing its third-world status into the present (Rauhut, 2021). British slaveowners received a variety of reparations from their government, including combinations of cash payments, loans, land, goods and labour, enabling them to reinvest and generate further wealth that has grown into modernity (Araujo, 2017). On the other hand, former slaves were left destitute, without land, money, or any possessions for sale or trade, and no means with which to commence their newfound freedom. Neither was their freedom total, as the British solution to the poverty of freed slaves was to force them to remain working unpaid on the same plantations, often for the same masters, under a new, harsher system of 'apprenticeship' (Rauhut, 2021, p. 5). Owning the workers no longer, the plantation owners were free to increase the level of exploitation, punishment and torture, with strikes and rebellions brutally supressed by the British army and navy (Semmel, 1969; Craton, 1994). Emancipation for Jamaicans therefore 'marked a new phase of British atrocities and the terrorization of blacks' (Rauhut, 2021, p. 12).

When the *Empire Windrush* arrived in London from Jamaica on 22 June 1948, filled with suited and behatted young men from across the British Caribbean, 'modern multicultural Britain' was born, beginning the post-war migration of labour from across the commonwealth (Byrne *et al*, 2020). However, even before the World Wars, as far back as the 16th century there could be found foreign and mixed-race communities throughout Britain, where non-British sailors and workers, mostly (but not exclusively) men, had emigrated from all over the commonwealth, settling in the

UK and raising families (Kaufmann, 2017). However, in spite of their normality, mixed-race children were seen with overwhelming negativity and opposition, reflecting the social stigma of crossing racial boundaries, where mixed-race youth were seen as tangible reminders of the white parent's disloyalty to their race (Caballero & Aspinall, 2018). As black sexuality was seen as primal and animalistic, white women who engaged in interracial relationships were deemed to be sexually deviant and morally deficient (Caballero, 2019). In the distant colonies, where white women were scarce, white men might be forgiven for succumbing to the supposedly overpowering allure of black women (Caballero & Aspinall, 2018). However, white men engaging in interracial relationships with black women in Britain was also heavily frowned upon, if not as much as for white women (Caballero, 2019). When the 1919 Race Riots erupted throughout the UK's nine major ports during demobilisation after WW1, where non-white servicemen were viciously attacked, the violence was attributed to returning white men being offended by black men stealing their jobs, houses and women (Caballero, 2019). Official investigations and reports during the 1930s had thoroughly condemned interraciality, drawing heavily on contemporary eugenics theory to portray the growing mixed-race population as both tragic and a menace (Caballero, 2019). As there were no antimiscegenation laws in Britain, social policies were swiftly implemented to discourage foreign settlers, such as a program of deportations in which many black British citizens were unfairly shipped back to their countries of origin (Tabili, 1994); stern warnings delivered by Registry Offices to white women considering interracial marriage (Baldwin, 2001); the actual removal of British citizenship upon marrying an alien (Baldwin, 2001). In this way, the British government encouraged a heavy atmosphere of social disapproval, in which the general public were free to express their virulent hate, by

name calling and jeering, spitting, graffiti on and around black homes, making monkey sounds and throwing bananas (Akala, 2018). Violence often ensued, in retaliation and in anticipation (Akala, 2018). On the other hand, many white people in multicultural environments kept their opinions private, though they shared their racist and antimiscegenation sentiments freely behind closed doors (Caballero, 2019).

Dominating the media throughout the 1970s, the moral panic surrounding the crime of 'mugging' was particularly applied to young Jamaican men (Danewid, 2021). Previously coded by police as either robberies or assault with intent, mugging was said by the press to be a new form of crime imported from America, where it was considered responsible for a crime wave (Hall *et al*, 2013). In fact, referred to as 'garrotting', 'footpads' had committed such petty crimes on London's streets for at least hundreds of years, being largely responsible for increases in law enforcement (Hall *et al*, 2013, pp. 4-5). However, the connotations of the term were developed in the US along lines of racial disharmony, where blackness was seen as a social malaise, and the term was similarly racialised in the UK, 'fuelling a long-term sense of decline' (Danewid, 2021, p. 7). When the term mugging was appropriated from America, it therefore maintained its context of black criminality; a complete, sensational image transmitted wholesale:

> To put it simply, if paradoxically: 'mugging' for British readers *meant* 'general social crisis and rising crime' *first*, a particular kind of robbery occurring on British streets second, and later (Hall *et al*, 2013, p. 23).

Although the scale of the threat was clearly exaggerated, failing to produce the foreseen spike in crime figures, though instances were unduly highlighted in the press, the term continued to feed deeper fears regarding Britain being profoundly changed by the very presence of black people (Danewid, 2021).

2.7. Conclusion

In comparing the institutions of slavery in Jamaica and America, it was not the intention to highlight one institution of slavery as worse than the other. Instead, the two were contrasted to observe differences, showing each to be worse in its own way. For example, slavery in Jamaica was more brutal and black flesh seen as more disposable, with a constant supply of freshly imported slaves from Africa. However, with much greater numbers of children born into US slavery, American slaves generally would have endured suffering for much longer over the courses of their lifetimes than the relatively harsher but shorter experiences of Caribbean slaves. Further, the severity of violence committed against Jamaican slaves would have inured them against much of the humiliation and psychological cruelty used against American slaves. As Jamaica's white population was at times as low as 5 percent, they believed that their rule could only be maintained through the application of gut-wrenching violence. White Americans, on the other hand, have always been in the majority, and as such were not as concerned about slave revolts and uprisings.

The word *homosexual* is inadequate within the context of this study because of subtleties in its usage: psychological thinking did not commence until the late-nineteenth century and the term was coined at a time in which the concepts of identity and sexuality were still fresh. Although sodomy has at times been heavily socially proscribed, men who had sex with other men (or women with women) did not historically think of themselves as homosexual or gay in anything like the modern sense, as sexual proclivity was not then used for the purpose of self-identification. As whiteness became heteronormative, blackness became homosexual by default – not in

the way that homosexuality is understood today, but in an entirely negative sense along with everything else outside of whiteness and heteronormativity. It could just as well be said that blackness became paedophilic, though paedophilia did not historically have its modern connotation, either. To highlight the homosexual rape of male (and boy) slaves is not, therefore, to suggest that all homosexuals are paedophiles and rapists, or that the context of modern homosexuality should be conflated with the historical taboo of sodomy. Whether heterosexual, homosexual or paedophilic, the rape of women, men, girls and boys is hideously reprehensible in any arrangement, and 'the vulnerability of all enslaved black persons to nearly every conceivable violation produced a collective 'raped' subjectivity' (Abdur-Rahman, 2006, p. 226). Along with all manner of physical and psychological abuse, such practices were institutionalised as both legal and, if not desirable, at least within the bounds of social acceptability, when committed against a black person, whether free or slave. Here lays an inherent contradiction: black people were scientifically, theosophically and philosophically accepted to be subhuman, yet slaveowners routinely preferred sex with slaves over their own spouses, often developing deep feelings towards the abused men, women and their mixed-race offspring (Douglass, 1855). Modern day activists wonder how slaveowners rationalised their brutal scientific or religious beliefs against their daily interactions with slaves, during which they would have been intimately acquainted with the slaves' humanity. Perhaps the slaveowner's frequent displays of pettiness and jealousy towards slaves is the greatest indictment of all, for who could feel jealousy or resentment towards an animal, or an object. Being the time of European Enlightenment, where freedom of conscience and liberty for all (white) people were taken for granted (Clay, 2016), there can be no

sufficient justification for the sexual exploitation of black people, which was immoral by any standard.

Although persistent, the popular myth of Britain enforcing abolition out of a conscientious respect for the lives and rights of African slaves has been thoroughly discredited by historians, exposing the true, capitalistic motivations for ending slavery. As well as enriching individual nations, particularly Britain and America, the global economy was built upon the sale and insurance of African slaves, as well as the materials produced by them.

It is not difficult to see the appeal of meritocracy, with its grandiose principles of fairness and hard work, but meritocratic practices exclude not only black people, but also poor whites. Ability, intelligence and a good work ethic can all be in vain if unable to compete with elite wealth and social capital. Instead, poor white people continue to believe elite accounts of being self-made, misdirecting anger over their poverty towards equally poor black people.

The next section will be a discussion regarding some of the major issues raised during this literature review, including the origins of racism in science and religion (Dawkins, 2004; Braude, 2003), the ongoing racism and discrimination to which black people are subjected in modern Britain (Akala, 2018), and objections to reparations for slavery (Beckles, 2013).

3. DISCUSSION

3.1. Introduction

During the Literature Review, several themes emerged that require further discussion in getting to the root causes and developing a greater understanding of the proposed current state of institutional racism and discrimination in Britain. As has been shown, the institutions of slavery developed independently in Britain and America, mostly in that the American slaves lived amongst their enslavers, while the British institution was perpetrated at a distance in the Caribbean (Williams, 1994). Even when enduring the most inhumane treatment, slaves were historically always thought of as inherently human, having their own needs and desires, albeit while placing those wants in subjection to the whims of their masters (Bahrani, 2003). It was therefore possible in a variety of cultures for slaves to ascend from their lowly position to higher classes, demonstrating that they were just as capable or able as other members of society, often attaining membership (or citizenship) and status **(**Brown, 2009**)**. Their enslavement had most likely been the result of their (or their family's) criminal activity, being kidnapped and sold, or their tribe/ nation losing a battle, so such bondage was not thought of by the enslavers as being an intrinsic part of the slave's person (Gelb, 1973). Rather, slaves were wont to attempt escape, or to have a plan for working themselves out of bondage, at which point they could re-join their fellows, whether in a new society or the one they were born into **(**Reid, 2015**)**. Enslavers would have been conscious that they could themselves become the slaves of others; that a lost battle might well have seen them in such an unenviable condition (Dohrmann & Stern, 2008**).** While modern discourses of race and ethnicity are presented scientifically in terms of biological difference, ancient perceptions of otherness were not based upon physical characteristics (Kolchin, 1995). Instead, differences were tribal or

nationalistic, the notion of foreignness having more to do with spatial location and social behaviours, such as religious practices (Emberling, 1997). Just as religious belief has been used, often simultaneously, to argue for and against the institution of slavery, the scientific method has equally been used both to justify and condemn ideations of racial superiority (Hunt, 2018). Even today, in western countries such as Britain and America, both worldviews can produce attitudes equally hostile to black people during interactions with education and employment, health and social care, social services, police and judiciary **(**Braude, 2003**;** Haynes, 2002; Douglas, 2018; Fullwiley, 2015**)**. Even while the horrors of slavery were being fought against through emancipation and abolition, the racism of white superiority was in various ways being calcified into British and European minds (Stepan, 1982).

This discussion will address the origins of racist thought within Christianity (Braude, 2003) and science (Gates, 1925), before looking at the long-term effects of such racism upon the descendants of slavery in Britain (McPherson, 1999; Scarman, 1982; Harding, 2020). The concept, applications and potential ramifications of reparations will be discussed both domestically (Beckles, 2013) and internationally (Craemer, 2018; Rauhut, 2021), before a final conclusion is drawn answering the question of whether Britain owes reparations to the descendants of its slavery.

3.2. Racism, Science and Religion

Modern Christianity is seen by adherents as antithetical to racism, taking for granted that:

> …all men are begotten alike, with a capacity and ability of reasoning and feeling… in His sight no one is a slave, no one a master; for all have the same Father, by an equal right we are all children (Stepan, 1982, pp. 1-2) **(See Appendix 17)**.

Nevertheless, questions in European thought surrounding the origins of variation within humanity led to polarising theories (Luse, 2007).

> No matter how destructive European behaviour was, it would have been even worse had the many conflicting visions of human origins – pre-Adamic, polygenetic, diabolic, or animal ancestry, for example – gained general acceptance (Braude, 1997, p. 105).

Monogenesis is the derivation of mankind from a single ancestor pair, and *polygenesis* is mankind's multiple origins in different locations around the world, while both monogenist and polygenist outlooks can be either biblical or scientific (Luse, 2007). Contrary to the Genesis account, some Christian polygenists believe that Adam and Eve were not the only humans created, but that other, inferior human creations lived both before and contemporaneously with them which, for example, neatly explains the origins of Cain's wife (Luse, 2007). Christian polygenists contend that it is from these alternative humans that the other races are descended, with the white race claiming its descent solely from the superior Adam (Luse, 2007). Nevertheless, most early Christians monogenetically maintained that,

> …no matter what unusual appearance he presents in colour, movement, sound, nor how peculiar he is in some part, or quality of his nature… if they are human, they are descended from Adam (Stepan, 1982, p. 1).

Monogenetic doctrinal explanations for racial divergence therefore principally surround The Flood, when humanity was reduced to seven members, and then the further disruption of language which took place at the Tower of Babel (Gen. 6-11) **(See Appendix 18)**.

Scientific theories regarding the growth of civilisation and culture developed from the wider intellectual context of late 18th to 19th century Europe, and were founded during

the peak of imperialism, when learning and the categorisation of knowledge were inextricably tied to the development of racial theory (Gates, 1925). Pervading all aspects of academic thought, racial theory was instrumental in forming the common narrative of unilinear cultural development naturally culminating in the highly advanced peoples of Europe (Gates, 1925). Other, primitive cultures were viewed merely as developmental stages leading to the superior European, thereby creating a hierarchy of races – with the Caucasian race at the top (Gates, 1925). Once the true depth of global ethnic diversity was revealed through the European discovery of native peoples, the British, European and American science of the 1800's continued to be rooted in Christian theology even when subject to theory arising from Darwinian evolutionary processes (Bidney, 1954). Monogenist science sustained the belief that all of humanity had descended from a single progenitor, allowing for racial differences due to evolutionary development leading to the divergence of races based upon environmental factors, such as climate (Bidney, 1954).

In either case, whether monogenist or polygenist both sides generally 'agreed upon the inferiority of the Negro, whatever his origin' (Stanton, 1960, p. 122), and the ideal social dynamic could be 'seen in those parts of the world in which the Negro is in his natural subordination to the European' (Rainger, 1978, p. 62). Such eurocentrism has over the years been particularly fascinated with the comparison of people of African descent to primates such as apes, which they found to be more similar to each other than the Africans were to Europeans (Dawkins, 2004). For example, when naturalist and Harvard professor, Louis Agassiz and his wife travelled to Brazil in 1865, he contrasted the apparent physiological differences between the 'Indians' and 'Negroes' whom he observed, writing that,

> Like long-armed monkeys the Negroes are generally slender, with long legs [and] long arms… while the Indians are short-legged and short-armed (Agassiz, 1869, p. 529).

The fortunes of the supposedly essential races of Negroid, Mongoloid and Caucasoid became a 'scientific retelling of the curse of Ham', using manifest destiny to justify the imposition of God's will that heathens, particularly those descended from Ham, must be dominated (Gallagher, 2007, p. 11).

> Science confirmed what Christian theologians knew all along: The white race was God's chosen people and as such had the right to claim all natural resources and to subjugate any population deemed culturally inferior, heathen, pagan, or uncivilized (Gallagher, 2007, p. 11).

Although the scientific method once supported the taxonomization of humanity beyond species into classes of racial categorisation, it is now universally understood that such classification is entirely incorrect, being politically motivated rather than scientifically (Dawkins, 2004). While there was some evident use for the classification of race, such as the diagnosis of regional conditions including *sickle cell anaemia*, there is little modern basis for the use of race beyond personal medical profiling. However, such personalisation could be achieved just as well without resorting to archaic modes of thought (Dawkins, 2004). All humans are taxonomically classified as *homo sapiens sapiens* and there is no biologically valid human categorisation beneath species, as other varieties, such as *Neanderthals* and *Denisovans*, have been extinct for millennia **(**Rogers *et al*, 2020**)**. Commonly conflated, race and ethnicity are therefore entirely intersubjective and cannot be absolutely defined by any scientific means (Foeman *et al*, 2015). Ethnicity is ascribed to or self-ascribed by groups who identify with shared ancestry, religion, language, or other cultural practices, while race is entirely socially constructed based upon phenotype, which is a combination of genotype and environment (Foeman *et al*, 2015) **(See Appendix 19)**.

> People can share the same language, religion and nation yet perceive themselves to be ethnically different. Race is much more crude and can unite two peoples that share none of these things in common or divide two peoples that share all of these things in common (Akala, 2018, p. 122).

Race is therefore a bogus taxonomic categorisation that was constructed during a particular time and should have long since been discarded along with other outdated practices from that era, but conflations of race with nationalism and class, have nevertheless persisted into the modern world (Phelan *et al*, 2014). A US study has shown that, in spite of major scientific refutations to the contrary, DNA testing has reinvigorated ideations of racial differences, potentially emboldening acts of racism and discrimination, as well as indirectly strengthening social barriers and racial stereotyping (Phelan *et al*, 2014). Further, even though results from the Human Genome Project emphatically rejected any genetic basis for racial differences, embedded racialised thinking amongst researchers has continued to manifest in scientific endeavours (Fullwiley, 2015). For example, racialised thinking is apparent in the formulation of arbitrary genetics-based explanations for health disparities, the use of genetic ancestry tools in disease risk assessment, and phenotypical profiling in police work, which have all negatively affected black people (Fullwiley, 2015). As well as leading to erroneous conclusions, such racialised scientific enquiry can prove to be a distraction from achieving research aims (Duster, 2015). There have been various cases of attributing high rates of diabetes to racial genetic makeup rather than diet, or racial genetic profiling leading to police roundups of all black men in a vicinity (Duster, 2015) **(See Appendix 20)**. Ostensibly scientific claims of genetically based racial differences have asserted that the genetic variation of race over the past several centuries largely accounts for global economic and industrialisation inequalities (Wade, 2014). Such disparities include social development, human achievement, levels of intelligence, and propensity to antisocial behaviour and violence (Wade, 2014) **(See Appendix 21)**.

British institutions typically treat racial categorisation as:

> …unproblematically real, pre-constituted, entities representing embodied difference, without attention paid to the historical and contemporary contexts within which they were constructed (Nazroo *et al*, 2019, p. 263).

In this way, the focus remains upon the effects of disadvantage, ignoring the historically and politically ascribed processes that led to such hardship. In the next section some ramifications of the social stratification of racialised thinking will be detailed.

3.3. Black Britain and the Failures of Multiculturalism

The ideological beliefs of contemporary British nationalism are conventionally constructed upon the sense of Britain's mythical sovereignty, which is largely based around Allied victory in World War II and the achievements of the British Empire (Balthazar, 2017). Nationalism is viewed as local ancestry, symbolising a sense of belonging to the heartland, which their ancestors fought and died to protect from external interests (Balthazar, 2017). Such standards for inclusion form a place-based scheme of belonging, providing for locals the privilege of prioritisation, with the expectation of taking precedence over all manner of newcomer, irrespective of need or ability, and in spite of living and working with them in close proximity (Evans, 2017). Post-WWII, old-fashioned local politicians looked after constituent families, maintaining the status quo by reserving key positions for the right sort – consistently white – who was then ideally placed to grant similar privileges to family and friends, excluding or marginalizing all who did not equally belong (Evans, 2017). Ethnic diversity is increasing within British society, but with the exception of the inner-city environments into which ethnic minorities are concentrated, most communities remain almost entirely white, with only relatively few outliers, so that Britain remains

a racially segregated country (Smith, 1989) **(See Appendix 22)**. During his report into the period of civil unrest that came to be known as The Brixton Disorders (or Riots) of 1981, Lord Scarman did not accept that Britain was an institutionally racist society, admitting only that:

> If, however, the suggestion being made is that practices may be adopted by public bodies as well as private individuals which are unwittingly discriminatory against black people, then this is an allegation which deserves serious consideration, and, where proved, swift remedy (Scarman, 1982, p. 11).

The report was seen primarily as an assessment of the police, even though the report also highlighted the need to tackle the negative relationship between race, housing and education, amongst other social issues, and little was done to address these concerns (Neal, 2003). However, when an inquiry was carried out into the London Metropolitan Police investigation of the murder of black teenager Stephen Lawrence, it was found that the police had assisted the murderers in covering up the crime (MacPherson, 1999). Although Lawrence was stabbed to death by a gang of white youths, police attempted to cast blame back onto the victim and family, providing a conclusive modern example of institutionalised racism (MacPherson, 1999). Looking beyond the police, Sir William MacPherson would go on to highlight the institutionalisation of racism within all of the state's main functions, recommending radical reform:

> It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes, and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness, and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people (MacPherson, 1999, p. 49).

The Scarman and MacPherson reports indicate the trajectory of relationships between race, policy and the delivery of services in Britain, and although both certainly focused upon the actions of police, they can also be seen to epitomise the developing

national awareness of race issues (Neal, 2003). Herein lays an inherent contradiction: social engagement with issues of racial and socioeconomic disadvantage, while simultaneously socially excluding and criminalising those who are disproportionally affected by such issues (Neal, 2003). In this way, British society acknowledges the relationship between poverty and racial discrimination, but then focuses instead upon anxieties about themselves being exposed to poverty's negative effects and, in the process, decontextualising such negatives as culturally and biologically endemic by defining them as racial (Solomos, 1988).

Research has demonstrated that mental ill health is less about genetic predisposition, having more to do with adverse social conditions, including racism and deprivation (Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities, 2021) **(See Appendix 23)**. As early as the 1970s, research suggested that representations in the media of young black men both criminalised them and negativized their interactions with the criminal justice system, making them many times more likely to be publicly subjected to stop and search, despite evidence of its ineffectiveness; many times more likely to be convicted of an offence than a white person who commits a similar offence; and many times more likely to receive the harshest possible sentencing (Akala, 2018). For example, a greater percentage of white people in Britain use illegal substances (Gov.uk, 2017), yet black people are stopped, searched, detained and charged for drug related offences at far higher rates (Eastwood *et al*, 2013). A 2017 National Crime Agency report about 'county lines' gangs, who distribute Class A drugs throughout the country, revealed that most of those originating from London were black. However, the majority of gang members based in Manchester and Liverpool are white, and most in Birmingham are South Asian. Nevertheless, the media portrays gang related activity

as being mostly black, and black gang members are disproportionately killed during police use of force (Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities, 2021). As incidences of 'London knife-crime' have steadily increased in both notoriety and number of fatalities, the police and media have continued to racialize the 'epidemic'-levels of violence as a black problem (Squires, 2009, p. 127) **(See appendix 24)**. Pathologizing violence and criminality into blackness, the term black-on-black crime is the only such racialised distinction in use, with race not being a mentionable factor when crime is white-on-white or East Asian-on-East Asian (Akala, 2018). The vast majority of black men do not commit *any* crime, let alone violent murders (House of Commons, 2007). Nevertheless, the media has consistently conflated black-Britishness with criminality, ignoring long-established links between crime and poverty (Lightowlers, 2015). Such misleading interpretations of crime statistics famously led to a police statement being misreported as *most muggers are black*, a proclamation which, although referring only to a certain part of London, may as well have been received by the public as *most blacks are muggers* (Holdaway, 1997).

Their view of black people as intrinsically dangerous and deviant partially explains how race can affect the decision making of white people in various settings – at each stage of the criminal law process, but also in classrooms and playgrounds; high street stores and restaurants; hiring and performance evaluations; mortgage lending and home ownership; psychiatric and physical diagnoses (Wellman, 2007). Black boys in particular routinely have higher rates of unemployment and are three times as likely to be unemployed as adults, even while white working-class boys do worse at school (Casey, 2016). As indentured servitude morphed into chattel slavery, and blackness was demonised to the point of ubiquity, whiteness became the difference between being considered a human, with all of the accompanying rights and nobility, or else

animal property (Akala, 2018). While felt more intensely by those living amongst majority black populations, such as in Jamaica, and to a lesser degree by those who lived alongside a black minority, as in America, the philosophical and practical applications of white supremacy were manifested universally as white privilege (Akala, 2018). Although whiteness remains subjected to class and gender issues in complex ways, the lack of racism resulting from white supremacy *is* white privilege, so whiteness is not experienced as an advantage, but rather as normality, making whiteness transparent and entirely taken for granted (Wellman, 2007). Poor white people may not feel privileged amongst their fellows, but they nonetheless benefit from systems that have generationally excluded blackness, as the privileging of poor white people was legitimated in order to compel their racial allegiance, not to eliminate their poverty (Akala, 2018).

> There were poor whites in the Jim Crow south, apartheid south Africa and the slave colonies of the Caribbean yet no one would be silly enough with the benefit of historical distance to claim that white privilege did not exist back then (Akala, 2018, p. 50).

Indeed, white privilege was not demanded from those at the bottom but was attributed willingly by elites in order to counter solidarity between poor whites and black slaves/workers (Allen, 1997). In this way, the white elite continues to use meritocratic ideals as a tool for castigating lower class white people, who either internalise their lack of success or blame it on more successful non-white people taking their place, instead of holding elites to account (Allen, 1997) **(See Appendix 25)**.

The Windrush generation, who had emigrated to Britain when invited in 1948, including some born in the UK to Caribbean parents, were suddenly ‘deprived of state

healthcare, made redundant from their jobs, threatened with deportation, or even deported' (Reddie, 2020, p. 74). Finding it almost impossible to document over thirty years of continuous UK residence, black people who considered themselves British and had every right to live in the UK fell afoul of the hostile environment designed to intimidate and remove illegal immigrants (Reddie, 2020). With social research suggesting that one quarter of white people in Britain self-identify as having racist opinions, such as racial differences in intelligence and work ethic (Kelley *et al*, 2017), the omnipresent spectre of potential discrimination endured by millions of black people on a daily basis seems inescapable (Kerr, 2015) **(See Appendix 26)**. As well as being a catalyst for the venting of racist vitriol, the 2016 European Union Referendum quickly became a public forum for debate as to who did or did not belong in Britain (Burnett, 2017). Those deemed undesirable were absurdly expected by some voters to be deported immediately, with such views being presented from an average cross-section of society (Corbett, 2016). Although politicians and police chiefs publicly denounced the Brexit-related violence, they viewed such behaviour through the prepared media framework of hate crime, blaming a few bad apples and thereby individualising sentiments that were widely felt to a tiny proportion of the population. In this way, officials can evade complicity in their design of a hostile environment for minorities, presenting the issue as a law enforcement problem, rather than a social crisis worthy of analysis (Burnett, 2017).

Race is woven into the very fabric of British society, formed of the 'historical regimes of colonialism, race-based slavery and apartheid', which 'interact with current processes of globalisation, migration and governance', shaping unequal access to resources (Nazroo *et al*, 2019, p. 265). The propagation of anti-blackness helps to

rationalise this uneven distribution along racial lines so that, for example, educational attainment has not translated into improvements in employment, housing, or health, in spite of equal opportunities processes (Nazroo *et al*, 2019, p. 265). One relatively unexplored means of correcting all such imbalances is through the processes of reparations, which will be discussed in the next section.

3.4. Reparations and Absolution

As the former colonies achieved independence throughout Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, formal apologies and acknowledgments of national culpability increased dramatically, revealing the depth of harm (Beckles, 2013). Reparations are claims made in demand for social justice, seeking both tangible and symbolic compensation for past mistreatment (Howard-Hassmann, 2008). Postmodern discourse has highlighted the need to atone for such abuses, linking reconciliation between victims and beneficiaries as a vital precondition of lasting and meaningful international relations (Beckles, 2013). It is not the purpose of reparations to seek revenge, or to attack victimisers; rather, the point is to rebuild relations and establish equity, to the benefit of both, as victimisers will also profit from improved future interactions with victims (Beckles, 2013). If reparations are petitioned and due, but none received, then the claim is inherited by the claimant's posterity, and this is more the case when considering how ramifications of the original abuse have repeatedly revictimized those descendants hundreds of years post abolition and emancipation (Stanhope, 2021). Demands for reparations to be paid to the descendants of transatlantic slavery have a long and persistent history, with such claims being consistently denied and ignored by the powers of Britain, Europe and America (Araujo, 2017). In spite of this failure to engage with reparation discussions, however, causal links between African

enslavement and the ongoing global manifestation of white supremacy have become increasingly apparent (Moore, 2020). On this basis, transatlantic slavery was declared a crime against humanity by the United Nations in 2001, recognising the persistent structural marginalisation and racial discrimination directed towards people of African descent (Rauhut, 2021).

> …slaves from antiquity, serfs, peasants and workers – could justifiably make a claim for reparations, equally with the descendants of enslaved Africans (Marshall, 2016, p. 174).

Questions have been raised in opposition to the payment of reparations, such as why the current generation should be liable to pay for the crimes of their ancestors; how much wealth generated by slavery remains within the national economy; the amount of poverty that is directly attributable to slavery; to what extent the current generation, with all of its debt, benefits from slavery profits; what reparations would look like, who would pay and who would benefit (Moore, 2020). The contention that it is not reasonable to expect contemporary taxpayers to pay for reparations when nobody alive today are slaves or slaveowners, highlights the chronological distance of slavery, disregarding entirely slavery's persistent ramifications into modernity (Howard-Hassmann & Lombardo, 2007). That many different nationalities and ethnicities have immigrated to Britain and should not be held responsible for the country's past infractions, is neither here nor there, as people pay taxes regardless of government intention; indeed, black British people descended from Britain's colonies were, until 2015, paying taxes that went towards the price of their own emancipation (Craemer, 2018). Such questions are meant to highlight the complexity of any reparation scheme as being insurmountably impractical, ignoring the fact that there are several potential solutions to such issues, set out internationally as routes to reparatory justice (Gready, 2021). It might seem disingenuous to raise the issue of reparations during a time of

UK austerity, where a large proportion of Britain lives in poverty; however, reparations would highlight and encourage redistributive legislation (Logue, 2004) **(See Appendix 27)**. The idea that reparations for slavery would be impossible to design and administer is a diversion, as government organisations regularly process claims numbering in the millions, most recently exemplified by the Covid-19 furlough scheme (Dickerson, 2020). Central to the process of restitution is that the victim (or their descendants) be returned to the state that they enjoyed prior to violation, recognising that the developmental path of a society can be disrupted (Beckles, 2013). According to noted scholar Mari Matsuda, successful reparations claims must meet certain criteria: the injustice should be documented and able to withstand scientific scrutiny; victims must be distinguishable as a distinct group; group members must continue to suffer harm as a direct result of the violation (Beckles, 2013). As has been shown, all of these criteria are met in the descendants of New World slavery and, far from insurmountable, any proposed legal hurdles could be overcome through innovative policy. For example, any time restrictions on formal claims could be extended or waived based upon the validity of other criteria, including present adverse circumstances (Craemer, 2018). Holocaust reparations were paid for actions carried out *before* they were internationally recognised as criminal, so new laws were effectively applied retroactively in line with 'common law traditions' that allow rules to be violated *before* they were formalised (Craemer, 2018, p. 696). Further, slavery did not officially become illegal until implementation of the International Convention to Supress the Slave Trade and Slavery in 1926 (Howard-Hassmann, 2007). However, common-law reasoning dictates that because slavery was illegal within the individual nations of each European coloniser, it *should also* have been illegal within their

colonies. Only Spain and Portugal allowed for the enslavement of captives in a 'just' war, which could hardly be made to apply to African slaves (Craemer, 2018, p. 697).

> …how could you have slavery illegal in one part of the British Empire and not in another part? It was made legal just in the colonies in order to serve the interest of the slave owner… (Rauhut, 2021, p. 17)!

Furthermore, even though technically lawful (as was the Holocaust), slavery was immoral even then, which is evident by the illegality of slavery within the European metropoles, and this immorality increased in line with the escalating dehumanisation of blackness. Thus, the immorality of slavery relocates the reparations debate outside of legality and into the political arena, where such laws are made (Brophy, 2014). Although such arguments are certainly valid, reparations are owed not because the claim meets strict legal requirements, but instead because it is the only means by which a deeply entrenched social imbalance can be corrected, a moral imperative rather than only a mere legal obligation (Barnet, 2000). As the organisation empowered with collective responsibility for national prosperity, the British state must accept 'legal, political and moral ownership' for the slavery in its colonies and its long-term effects (Beckles, 2013, p. 166). Such social disadvantage is measured in a variety of ways, such as infant mortality rates, unemployment, home ownership, incarceration, etc. (Barnet, 2000). However, Britain has consistently denied any liability for slave trading and ownership, referring to such practices as regrettable rather than apologising, in fear of inviting reparations claims and upon the basis that slavery was legal, with other European (and African) nations doing it too (Brophy, 2014).

Reparations are implementable in a variety of ways, including individual cash payments, investment vehicles, tax relief, home-ownership schemes and education

programs (Bassett & Galea, 2020). However, as no single format is likely to resolve the deprivation and discrimination that have persisted for hundreds of years, a combination of these options could be made available to recipients, as they were to slaveowners (Craemer, 2015). A variety of means by which the cost of reparations might be calculated have been suggested, including use of the amount paid by the British government to compensate slaveowners in 1833, which was £20 million, or £11.6 billion in 2010 (Franklin, 2013), representing 40% of the national budget (Rauhut, 2021). After inflation and divided between the number of slave-owning families, this has been estimated at around £647,720.28 per recipient (Craemer, 2018). Higher American estimates of reparations owed for slavery and Jim Crow were $14.2 trillion in 2009 (Craemer, 2015). While symbolic recognition, education, confessions of guilt and apologies do not counter the persistent inequalities linked with slavery, neither do cash payments engage the social structures that produced and reproduce racism. To be effective, reparations must therefore address both present inequality and past injustice (Evans & Wilkins, 2017). An intergovernmental organization comprised of fifteen Caribbean states, the CARICOM (Caribbean Community) Reparations Commission (CRC) was established in 2013, releasing a Ten-Point Plan for the delivery of reparations (Franklin, 2013). Holding the major European powers, including Britain, collectively responsible for the harms inflicted during and after slavery, the Ten-Point plan has been criticised as being too narrowly framed, with its focus upon past crimes failing to acknowledge contemporary international duties to relieve suffering (Evans & Wilkins, 2017). Further, the Ten-Point plan eschews all individual payment, focusing instead upon national benefit from the development of infrastructure in health, education, utilities, etc (Marshall, 2016, p. 168).

The Christian ideal of *absolution*, the removal of guilt, should not be an expectation of reparations, any more than it was expected of Holocaust survivors (De Gruyter, 2011). Further, without suitable reparations, apologies and forgiveness ultimately benefit white people, 'providing them absolution to continue the legacy of slavery' (Davis, 2014, p. 282). Reparations provides an opportunity for Britain, as the primary beneficiary of transatlantic slavery, to redress the ongoing effects of slavery and coloniality. Although reparations would clearly not cure racism outright, the restitution of long denied resources would represent a monumental break from the past, bringing Britain a giant step closure to correcting the profound injustices that Britain has neglected entirely to confront (Bassett & Galea, 2020). By extension, British reparations would critique the current transnational world order of global production and finance arising out of the old national centrism, in which 'the gains of growth over the last 30 years were captured by the top decile of 1 per cent' (Marshall, 2016, p. 168).

3.5. Conclusion

Most people in Britain are not aware of how a classification scheme based upon a combination of religious dogma and pseudo-science came to dominate global human interaction. Myriad cultures, languages and ethnic identities spanning West Africa, collectively became black upon arrival to the New World, while equally diverse European ethnicities, including Greeks, Italians and the Irish, all gradually became white. Race is still seen as intrinsically responsible for personal traits such as intelligence and motivation, with blackness tied to violence, deviance and indolence, so that social inequality is blamed upon race, rather than poverty, exploitation and institutionalised racism. This racialised view has profoundly impacted the lives of

black people, with entire societies disrupted, uprooted and shifted to the New World. Christian rationalisations for segregation and antimiscegenation are not biblical but are instead based entirely upon justifications for slavery that form the very definition of racism, establishing racialised thinking globally. In spite of this, even post enlightenment, where humanistic thought predominates intellectually, Christian rationalisations form the basis for much scientific thinking, where stereotypical racial difference can shape hypothesis for research. Presently, it is widely believed that people can be sorted into biological groups that are more or less in line with popular conceptions of race, but this idea is based upon folktales and pseudoscience. Instead, human populations have, over thousands of years, been repeatedly blended through admixture and miscegenation. It is possible to trace ancestry through DNA, but this is ascertained by variation based upon geographical location rather than the precise, biologically determined race of ancestors. Skin colour does not influence behaviour or mental ability, and there are no racial genetic differences in intelligence. Although there are biological differences depending upon location, these differences are superficial, with traits that are shared between populations being far more profound. The belief in the existence of race genes represents a deeply flawed understanding of biology and genetics, with ideas cherry-picked to support racialised preconceptions.

The invalidity of race as either a scientific or spiritual system of human classification does not negate the global presence of racism, which is nothing less than the operationalisation of structured inequality, employed against those deemed to be genetically inferior to divest them of the social and economic justice claimed by others as a basic human right. Though few would admit it publicly, those at the highest level of power have grown into a society which believes that white people are

both morally and intellectually superior and have then gone on to practice such beliefs within their sectors, whether business and finance, health, law and justice, or education. Black British people have become somewhat inured to being suspected of theft and followed around in shops; to being ejected from or denied entrance to bars and restaurants; to hearing racist language and epithets; to being stopped and interrogated by police and civilians alike. However, due to these and many other forms of discrimination, black British people continue to suffer the psychological impact of xenophobic expression from within their home country, affecting both mental and physical health. While Britain remains largely segregated, lack of contact and interaction with other cultures can only result in prejudice and intolerance, encouraging further segregation. Not that an even dispersion of ethnicity across Britain is necessary, or even desirable, as ethnic communities benefit from representation and support mechanisms (Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities, 2021). However, barriers that prevent minorities from settling in areas with homogenous white populations should be countered with policies designed to encourage social cohesion, making living with black people less undesirable. On the other hand, social cohesion is not achievable whilst the majority of black British people remain in poverty, unintentionally exemplifying the imposed labels of social dysfunction, crime and ghettoization, which they are considered to bring with them (or to *be*).

It can be difficult not to conflate reparations for black British citizens with reparations for Jamaica and other former British colonies, as there is a dearth of literature specifically regarding reparations for the former, as though taken for granted. While Jamaica forms a central role within CARICOM and the CRC, their Ten-Point plan

does not address the British descendants of slavery or any of the diaspora outside of the Caribbean. While former British colonies in Africa and the Caribbean certainly have valid claims for reparations, black British citizens descended from those colonies have equally valid claims. Certainly, reparation for slavery is not a matter of skin colour and is unlikely to be applied to all 'black' people. On the one hand, the global majority of black people reside in the countries of Africa, whose ancestors never experienced New World slavery. On the other hand, many of those African countries were complicit in the sale of those New World slaves. If reparations are to be made by Britain, it should not be to Africa or African countries, or even all black people in Britain, many of whom originate from places around the globe that were not ruled by the British. Instead, reparations should be made by Britain to those descended from British slavery, most notably in Jamaica and within Britain itself. European nations would then be encouraged to review their own complicity in New World slavery, with each making reparation to their former colonies. British reparations would in this way follow the global precedent set by Germany, encouraging compliance by Europe and America. Britain must develop the political will to grant reparations, initially focusing 'less on precise line drawing and more on standardised criteria', designing systems of group and individual reparations that can be administered efficiently and transparently (Dickerson, 2020, p. 1264).

4. CONCLUSION

> Though reparations look far away now… social revolutions can move with great speed when the time is right (Brophy, 2014, p. 169).

Since the beginnings of recorded history, slavery has been universal, encompassing almost every culture and society – until New World slavery, which introduced the conception of race. All along, humanity had used the concept of slavery to gradually develop ideas of freedom and human rights, but now, this trend was subverted with the introduction of race, altering the entire trajectory of human affairs from liberty to bondage. The dehumanisation of blackness in the New World was heinously institutionalised, leading to hideous and repeat violations and innumerable atrocities. Post abolition and emancipation, the vilification of blackness only deepened, with the newly freed expected to participate socially while undergoing atrocious persecution. Where black people had previously provided the free labour upon which capitalism was based, the wheels of commerce already turning, they were now cast aside as superfluous, with little thought given to their futures beyond continuing as a source of cheap (and frequently unpaid) labour. Although slavery was abolished, blackness was not similarly undone, being allowed to fester and transmogrify into present day politically correct racism based on stereotypes. There has been no reckoning with negative attitudes towards blackness – instead, negative tropes were used first in government policy, and then in media and entertainment to reinforce stereotypes. Both Britain and America have largely maintained segregated housing and education, with only poor white people forced to live amongst majority black populations in inner city areas.

For as long as blackness remains, there will always be whiteness, so the first step towards dismantling white supremacy is to dismantle the negative connotations of blackness. This undoing of antiblackness has only been fractionally achieved, through science, education and lived experience, but must now employ state action beyond the ideals of enforced equality through multiculturalism and anti-discriminatory practice. Much progress towards equality and antidiscrimination has been made in a relatively short time period, but equality is ineffective without equity. Black British people, who have lived with the legacy of slavery, must not be made to continually endure second-class citizenship. Just as government policy was instrumental in the formation and propagation of anti-blackness, it is the key to its undoing, as opposed to depending upon individual action. Social welfare programmes providing transformational uplift in education, vocation and economics could be implemented, ensuring that all descendants of British slavery are lifted out of poverty. Direct payments need not be made all at once but could be staggered over multiple years as guaranteed future disbursements, enabling financial options and improving wealth. These could be blended with optional programs in health, employment, investment and housing, all designed to eliminate generational poverty, thereby exemplifying to the world the undoing of blackness.

Ultimately, the ramifications of New World slavery highlight the absurdity of race and racial thinking. So much scientific and philosophical progress has been made, yet humanity enthusiastically continues its application of specious divisions, largely based upon old-world belief structures, and the time has long since passed for such classification to be discarded from any society that truly values freedom and liberty. Of course, in the short term there is political expedience in continuing to classify

those members of society who require intervention, but beyond this there must be a view to the elimination of social partitioning. Even in the cases of health and culture, both of which are highly socially valued, other means than race can be used for identification, such as nationality and ethnicity, so that racialised thinking serves no purpose other than to discriminate. Asked to describe another person within a homogenous society, one cannot depend upon the use of skin colour as a primary descriptive, having to rely instead upon other features, such as hair colour/length/style, height and weight, gender, age, occupation or some other means. And in any case, 'black' is an inadequate description of a person, revealing less than any of the other options in its lack of quantifiability: is their skin lighter or darker? Are they African, Caribbean or perhaps even South Asian? The tendency to gravitate primarily to race – the *black* politician, or the *black* female police officer – certainly highlights how deeply race has been embedded within society, but also human consciousness. After all, it is natural to discriminate when making everyday choices, but the decision-making process is deeply flawed if those choices are routinely based upon incorrect assumptions, especially when such decisions can profoundly affect the lives of others.

Every person in Britain should have the opportunity to succeed beyond the dictates of meritocracy, so that one should not have to be exceptional to enjoy a stable life that contributes to the betterment of their family as well as national prosperity. To this end, society must move beyond potential cures for social dysfunction, such as antidiscrimination legislation, and towards improved social education and the undoing of stigmas and stereotypes. The abolition of slavery bears witness to the possibility of social interest undermining archaic institutions, and the events of 2020 have

demonstrated how rapidly a social change in consciousness can be effected – a gestalt switch away from racialised thinking and towards a deeper appreciation for humanity. There are practical reasons for the matters of slavery, racism and discrimination to be confronted directly and with long term commitment, including self-interest, but having more to do with what modern British society chooses to become from this point forward.

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6. APPENDICES

6.1. Appendix 1: George Floyd

On 25th May 2020 America was shaken by the murder of an African American man named George Floyd, who died after being apprehended by police in Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA (BBC, 2020a). In the process of restraining him for a minor offence, a white police officer knelt on Floyd's neck for a total of 8 minutes and 46 seconds, in spite of his pleas that he couldn't breathe (BBC, 2020a); even during the final moments of Floyd's life, when a large group of bystanders protested that Floyd's still, lifeless body had visibly ceased respiration (The Guardian, 2020a). Onlookers demanded that the officers check Floyd's pulse, an action that was not taken until paramedics arrived on the scene (Hill *et al*, 2020); while the officer in question, Derick Chauvin, who has since been charged with Floyd's murder, merely stared nonchalantly back at the crowd as they insisted that Floyd was dying (Hill *et al*, 2020). As is increasingly the case, largely due to the ubiquity of smartphones, the fatal arrest was video recorded by several of the bystanders and the videos promptly made their way around the world (CNN, 2020). This led to mass, global protests against the spectre of police brutality, and in particular the disproportionate criminalisation of black men (CNN, 2020). In the following weeks and months, social activist organisations, such as Black Lives Matter, spearheaded a global movement (Washington Post, 2020). Principally in solidarity against the excessively authoritarian use of police force against black people, people also campaigned more generally against the racial injustice and inequality that is apparent all over the world (Washington Post, 2020). However, the death of George Floyd was swiftly followed by revelations of the previous deaths of unarmed African Americans at the hands of police (BBC, 2020b). The most prominent deaths included those of Rayshard Brooks, who was video recorded by a bystander being shot twice in the back by police (BBC,

2020b); and Brionna Taylor, who was shot by police during the spurious enforcement of a ‘no-knock’ warrant on her home (BBC, 2020c). Ahmaud Arbery, while out jogging, was chased down and shot by a white former police officer and son (BBC, 2020d). The rapidity with which such incidences came to light contributed to many of the peaceful, organised American protests devolving into scenes of rioting and looting (Khazan, 2020). Presidential threats that the army would be brought in to quell violent protests ensued, invoking the Insurrection Act of 1807, which legislation had not been implemented since the Los Angeles riots of 1992 (BBC, 2020e). The LA Riots began when a group of police officers were acquitted for the severe beating of an unarmed black man named Rodney King, which had also been video recorded (BBC, 2020e). After Floyd’s murder, the internet was awash with video recordings of peaceful BLM protestors, of various ethnicities, being assaulted by heavy-handed police (Yucekoralp, 2020). The world watched American police using militarised equipment and ordinance including riot-gear and tear-gas against American citizens, leading to the widespread condemnation of police misuse of power in calls to ‘defund the police’ (Yucekoralp, 2020).

6.2. Appendix 2: Variations in Slavery

To examine slavery without due consideration to the power-relationships between slaves and the societies that they lived in is therefore to assume slavery to be an integral characteristic that is homogenous regardless of period, location or context (Bahrani, 2003). Indeed, slavery can remain a vague, indefinite concept without the wider contexts of social, economic and legal relationships (Bahrani, 2003). For example, it has long been understood that the representation of slaves in the ancient world as chattel is incorrect, with the impassable social gulf between slave and non-slave classes being a fiction (Bahrani, 2003). Rather, there were variations of unfree statuses that are difficult to adequately describe with another term (Bahrani, 2003).

> In a seemingly dichotomous world, the presence of slavery has occasionally served to fashion a meaning for freedom by defining such an attribute through its negation (Rodrigues, 1997, p. xiii).

Freedom, as a concept, had no socio-political meaning and was not manifest in the everyday lives of individuals for the majority of human history (Adams, 2010). Everyone was seen to be the slaves of those higher on the hierarchical ladder than themselves, and even those at the top professed to be the slaves of the people, or the slaves of divinity (Adams, 2010). Although there are examples of slaves being used militarily and agriculturally, it is clear that they would have provided only a small fraction of such workforces (Siegel, 1947). Most were household slaves in the homes of wealthy families, with the citizenry being employed in most state production, so that there was no real need of intense slave labour, making slaves a luxury for the rich (Siegel, 1947).

6.3. Appendix 3: Modern Slavery

The modern anti-slavery movement widely uses remembrance of the transatlantic slave trade to highlight the plight of contemporary victims of human exploitation (Beutin, 2017). Such imagery includes pictures of slaves stored in the hulls of slave-ships; the supplicant, manacled, male slave begging for his freedom; and the severely whipped and scarred back of a male slave (Beutin, 2017). However, critics of contemporary modern antislavery advocacy groups, such as Antislavery Usable Past, argue that such use of pre-modern abolition materials in modern activism effectively 'whitewashes' transatlantic slave history (Beutin, 2017). Further, the misappropriation of such cultural images can distract from the need to engage with the ongoing legacies of the anti-black racism that developed out of transatlantic slavery (Schwarz & Nicholson, 2020).

6.4. Appendix 4: Asiento

Upon the Divine Right of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Nikolaus V granted to the kings of Spain and Portugal dominion in perpetuity of the New World and all its peoples, specifically including the Africans who were to be brought there, establishing the right to enslave them forever (Russell-Wood, 1978). Other European nations would soon stake their own claims in the New World, initially in defiance of pontifical authority, and then with numerous treaties based upon this apostolic command, which became known internationally as the *Asiento* (Muhammad, 2019). Largely dependent upon political manoeuvring and military power, the Asiento developed over time into the exclusive right to provide slaves, and was acquired by Britain in 1713 (Muhammad, 2019).

6.5. Appendix 5: Pre-modern Slavery Law

However, as the necessity of the institution was universally agreed upon, such justifications were hardly required (Williams, 1994). Under Roman law, of which much European law was merely an extension, slavery could be legally enacted only under certain circumstances, such as being born into slavery, prisoners of war, criminals, or in debt-slavery (Hunt, 2018). However, concerns were expressed regarding the legality of the transatlantic trade: after all, it was impossible to verify the veracity of the seller's claims, or confirm the provenance of captives, whether they were indeed prisoners of war, criminals, or had simply been abducted from their homes (Muhammad, 2013). Britain's Charles II ordered a complete investigation into the legitimacy of the slave trade in 1682. It was decided that either the entire system was irrevocably flawed from inception due to the unfeasibility of ascertaining a slave's precise origins, or else all African slaves were to be regarded as appropriately captured unless proven otherwise (Martineau, 2016). Needless to say, the second option was preferred, along with a frank admission from the investigating council. As no legal or moral principle would suffice, from a Christian or humanitarian perspective, to justify the inhumanity of New World enslavement, the council concluded that 'economic necessity was the only possible justification for the slave trade' (Martineau, 2016, p. 1142).

6.6. Appendix 6: Slavery in Africa

The Middle Eastern slave trade ran contemporaneously with the transatlantic slave trade, preceding it by hundreds of years and continuing long past abolition in the West (Lovejoy, 2000). Although the former never reached the intensity of the latter, the total number of slaves removed from the African continent by each is therefore comparable (Lovejoy, 2000). Most researchers agree that slavery was rampant throughout Africa itself, with the capture and sale of rival tribes being central to the success of many different societies (Lovejoy, 2000). However, some researchers maintain that there was very little slavery on the African continent until it was introduced by Middle Eastern and European influences (Inikori, 1981). Nevertheless, it is now generally accepted that many African Kingdoms were fully involved in the enslavement and both domestic and international sale of captives (Lovejoy, 2000).

6.7. Appendix 7: Slave Family Separation

Slaves were unable to consistently maintain any familial structure, with families subject to being torn apart at the whims of their masters (Hanbury, 2020). The threat of slaves being sold away from their family was often used to safeguard against insubordination, to encourage hard work, and even to ensure compliance during sexual assault (Foster, 2011). As well as being sold, New World slaves were also hired out to those who needed extra labour, or by those who could not themselves afford to buy slaves. Even if not sold, slaves might therefore find themselves separated from their families for long periods, consigned to work at great distance from their loved ones (Johnson, 1999). Aside from the dehumanisation of slaves into commodities, arguments against the splitting up of slave families were dismissed with rationalisations. Such reasoning includes slaves not being capable of holding long-term grudges, or slaves not valuing children and family in the same way as white people, in spite of the slave master's full awareness of the anxiety and distress inspired in slaves by the threat of familial separation (Johnson, 1999). As New World slaves were viewed as sub-human, they were not legally entitled to marriage or family, and were routinely punished for attempting to select their own mates (Hanbury, 2020). Further, masters and mistresses, engaged in the routine rape of their slaves, would be exceedingly jealous of their property seeking a non-abusive relationship, easily punishing both slaves if both belonged to them, or just their own slave if not (Foster, 2011).

6.8. Appendix 8: Black Deviance

Based upon their first contact with Africans, whose scant clothing was suited to the hot climate, European beliefs regarding black sexuality were overwhelmingly negativized as savage and uncontrollable, with nineteenth century scientific research alleging that,

> …black people had abnormally large genitals and that the size and shape of their genitalia predetermined illicit sexual propensity (Abdur-Rahman, 2006, p. 224).

By its diametric opposition to whiteness, black sexuality, rather than merely unrestrained promiscuity, was made to include 'sexual violence, interracial wanting, bestiality and homosexuality', as well as being responsible for the stimulation of such passions in others (Abdur-Rahman, 2006, p. 224). Slavery supplied a cover for the 'flagrant expression' of non-conformist sexuality unlike in any other society, the slave quarters becoming scenes of 'all manner of sexual perversion' (Abdur-Rahman, 2006, p. 229). A caricature embodying all of the negative tropes of black male hypersexuality and virility, the *buck* was seen as 'always big bad Niggers, oversexed and savage, violent and frenzied as they lust for white flesh' (Curry, 2017, p. 331). Being generally 'psychopaths… panting, salivating… stiffening his body as if the mere presence of a white women in the room could bring him to sexual climax…', bucks were seen as 'incapable of civilised restraint' (Curry, 2017, p. 331). Paradoxically, although black bodies were fully exploited as breeders according to their biological sex, slavery simultaneously prohibited black gender, feminising black males through the negation of their ability to act as husbands and fathers, and masculinising black women through the deprivation of male provision and protection (Abdur-Rahman, 2006). Colonisation radically distorted slave gender dynamics,

where masculinity was attributed exclusively to white men, denying all social aspects of a slave's manhood (Woodard, 2014). According to the Great Chain of Being – a hierarchy with God at the top, white people below that, other non-white people below that, and black people at the bottom – masculinity was associated with race, not gender, so that whiteness is masculinised whilst blackness is feminised (Curry, 2018). While whiteness is civilised, intelligent and rational, blackness is made to be emotional, less intelligent, and impulsive, incapable of gender differentiation in their savagery (Curry, 2018). Confirmation of black inferiority was provided in the size of the genitals, particularly the penis, the largeness of which was said to evidence the level of depravity, making black men rapists by design (Woodard, 2014).

> One is no longer aware of the Negro but only of a penis; the Negro is eclipsed. He is turned into a penis. He is a penis (Fanon, 1986, p. 170).

In this way, black masculinity was simultaneously feminised and stereotyped as hypermasculine, expected to carry out the role of husband and father while also required to give deference to all white people, making black men into a class of socially bisexual brutes (Lemelle, 2010). Even after abolition and emancipation, discourses surrounding this racialised sexual pathology were used extensively throughout Britain, America and Europe to justify the need for legal segregation and social stratification, ultimately manifesting in acts of racial violence, such as the US lynching of black men, or the burning of black homes in white neighbourhoods (Abdur-Rahman, 2006).

6.9. Appendix 9: Indentured Servants

For a while, British American agriculture had been facilitated by use of a steady stream of indentured servants, first from England, and then other parts of Europe, being mostly criminals, debtors and the poor. White men outnumbered white women three-to-one, and the scarcity of single women meant that they were generally more successful than men, and the majority of men would remain unmarried and continue to work for their more successful peers once their indenture had expired (Williams, 1994). However, once Britain attained pre-eminence, the price of a slave became much more attractive than paying for an indentured servant, as the latter would serve a term of only seven years while the former would remain in bondage in perpetuity (Williams, 1994). Further, although there were initially low fertility and high mortality rates amongst slaves, these had drastically improved by the turn of the eighteenth century (Kolchin, 1995). Once the African slave population began to replenish itself, there was much less value in the cost of indentured servants and the system went into rapid decline even as slavery increased (Kolchin, 1995). In its place, a new system would be born, as the Europeans rapidly fell into the roles of ranch-hands and overseers, who as white people also saw themselves as, if not equal to the rich plantation owners, at least the natural masters of black slaves (Williams, 1994).

6.10. Appendix 10: White Women Slaveowners

Rather than American slavery being a patriarchal institution, white women were instrumental in the perpetuation of slavery, being slaveowners themselves (Jones-Rogers, 2019). White women used slaves both to serve them personally on a daily basis, as well as profiting from their labour, and from an early age received training in the dispensation of stern discipline (Jones-Rogers, 2019). As well as buying slaves at market, white women also inherited slaves and maintained separate ownership, even when the women married. Some of the worst abuses against slaves were committed by women, particularly against slave children, often themselves wielding the whip (Jones-Rogers, 2019).

6.11. Appendix 11: Plantation Abuse

Without even a shadow of American paternalism, Jamaican slaves were subjected to even greater levels of animalisation, and horrific treatments were enacted, whether in punishment, sadism or both (Haynes, 2002). Slaves were routinely whipped to death or, if they survived the hundreds of lashes, would have a concoction of salt, pepper and lime juice rubbed into the open wounds (Berlin, 2004). More than one slave would have been 'picketed… on a quart bottle neck, till she begged hard' (Berlin, 2004, p. 25), and it doubtless could have been said of more than one slaveowner that he '…kicks [his wife] out of bed and openly takes girls of 8 or 9 years old' (Jones, 2007, p. 93). Nor were women and young girls the only victims of such sexual predation, with young boys and even older males being equally vulnerable to such abuse at the hands of slaveowners and staff, with even routine punishments often verging on the homoerotic (Jones, 2007).

6.12. Appendix 12: Slavery and Capitalism

It is claimed that the Industrial Revolution would have progressed with or without the support of New World slavery, thereby downplaying the significance of slavery regarding the elevation of Britain (and then America) to superpower status (Beckert & Rockman, 2017). This refutation of slavery's global and national impact is achieved partly through an obfuscation of capitalism's precise meaning, reducing the boundaries of the terminology and thereby making it inapplicable to slavery by definition (Post, 2015). Another way to accomplished this is by maintaining the myth of Britain's moral superiority in their abolition of slavery, emphasising the roles of Protestantism and the Royal British Navy, the latter of which is seen as 'a talismanic patriotic symbol' (Williams, 2014, p. 248). Rather, as well as being instrumental in maintaining control over the majority slave population, the continuing, authoritative presence of the Royal British Navy in Jamaica was vital to the prevention of slave unrest and insurrection (Williams, 2014). In much the same way, white Americans obliviously claim to have paid the price and received absolution for their role in slavery through the enactment of their Civil War, where white Americans fought and died, nobly sacrificing a generation of their best to free America's slaves (Guelzo, 2002).

6.13. Appendix 13: Abolition and Capitalism

It would now be far more profitable to have international agreement that the European powers should let the colonies have their independence (Neptune, 2019). As opposed to the narrative of Britain's liberating industrial influence being rooted in freedom and democracy, history shows a typical European nation profiting from slavery until the establishment of a new international economy, which proved to be even more profitable (Carrington, 2003). The racial element of abolition was woven into what was essentially an economic phenomenon (Carrington, 2003). Further, the constant threat of enslaved Africans violently revolting against their bondage soon manifested throughout the New World (Neptune, 2019). The Maroon communities, composed of runaway slaves, lived in the most inhospitable and mountainous areas of Jamaica, posing an insurmountable threat to colonist activity, until treaties were signed giving the Maroons their freedom (Price, 2003). The most terrible uprisings took place in Haiti, Jamaica and the American South, forming an instrumental catalyst for either abolition or considerable investment in further security against rebellion (Neptune, 2019). Abolition and its moral outrage against the inhumanity of slavery was therefore merely the instrument used by British capitalistic interests to end slavery when it was no longer convenient, preferring instead the economic model of free-labour workers as consumers (Marx, 1847). This is not to say that abolitionists such as Wilberforce did not have altruistic intentions, or that they had ulterior motives for wanting abolition (Palmer, 2009). Indeed, the British were subjected to so much anti-slavery propaganda that in 1792 more people made anti-slavery petitions than could vote, and over 300,000 declined the purchase of West Indian sugar (Palmer, 2009). Rather, it is meant that such altruism would not by itself ever have been enough to ensure abolition without the accompanying factor of economic improvement; in fact,

abolition was not enforced until its interests coincided with economic necessity (Davis, 1975).

> [Thus] the anti-slavery movement… reflected the needs and values of the emerging capitalist order (Davis, 1975, p. 467).

6.14. Appendix 14: British and American Hypocrisy

The Americans had contended for liberty from the British whilst themselves owning and infamously mistreating slaves (Palmer, 2009). Post-abolition, Americans, eager for the moral high ground, were quick to point out to British abolitionists the dire condition of the industrial poor in England, producing pamphlets and cartoons comparing the ostensibly happy, smiling faces of well-fed slaves, with the starving, wretched exhaustion of English factory workers (Huzzey, 2012). However, critics of American slavery rejected such clumsy comparisons, pointing out that although 'the negroes are fed, clothed and housed, and though the Irish peasant is starved, naked and roofless… the lordship over his own person, the power to choose and will – are blessings beyond food, raiment, or shelter' (Huzzey, 2012, p. 49).

6.15. Appendix 15: Conceptualisations of Race

Racial classification is not itself racist, as racialism is baked into every aspect of society, but there is no good reason to retain the problematic language of race when it could be supplanted with refined conceptions of ethnicity, and even nationalism (Corlette, 2003). Further, while the use of race is not automatically a manifestation of racism, even though it necessarily entails racialised thinking, the continued usage of race *is* required to enable the means by which inequality is enacted and preserved (Nazroo *et al*, 2019, p. 263). The confliction of various ontological positions regarding race in society has presented several branches of understanding. Racial *naturalism* refers to heavily disproven biological ideas about races having 'biobehavioural essences', which are inheritable, underlying properties shared by all (and only) individuals within a race that can be used to explain racial behaviour (Mallon, 2006, pp. 528-529). There is simply no biological basis for such belief (Appiah, 1995).

> Essences, geography, phenotypes, genotypes, and genealogy are the only known candidates for physical scientific bases of race. Each fails. Therefore, there is no physical scientific basis for the social racial taxonomy (Zack, 2002, p. 88).

Racial *scepticism* maintains that, as racial naturalism is fabricated, race does not exist, and that the one thing racialism could possibly reference – essentialist biological features – have long since been disproven (Appiah, 1995). Racial sceptics therefore propose racial *eliminativism*, recommending that the concept of race be discarded altogether as unable to fulfil its single role (Appiah, 1995). Racial *constructivism* reasons that even though racial naturalism is false, races have manifested and now form a vital aspect of human interaction, being meaningfully used to reference wide, generalised groups (Mallon, 2007). Favouring racial *conservationism, c*onstructivists

highlight that, as society labels groups, and such labelling results in different outcomes, the concept of race must be preserved to enable race-based policies and social movements. Some constructivists also emphasise the importance of race in the development of culture, the variety of which is to be encouraged and preserved (Mallon, 2007).

6.16. Appendix 16: The Holocaust

Justified as completely legal according to German and international law, certain ethnicities were zealously othered as subhuman and a risk to the genetic purity and superiority of the nation (Mazower, 2008). This inevitably led to the permanent condition of total and arbitrary control, domination, discrimination, and detention (Stone, 2017). Unlike New World slavery, where the major impetus was to produce a workforce to enable the rapid expansion of capitalism, the nature of the Holocaust was primarily ideological (Stone, 2017). Forming the intellectual foundations of anti-Semitism and Aryanism, of which Hitler was merely the most extreme manifestation, key evolutionary beliefs were combined with religious tensions between Christianity and Judaism to conclude that the German was diametrically opposed to the Jew (Hannaford, 1996). All Jewish ownership within German territory ceased, their property seized, assets liquidated, and funds transferred overseas into Swiss bank accounts (Guelzo, 2002). As part of Hitler's Final Solution, Jews were gathered from throughout occupied Europe into concentration camps, where those who could were forced to work, and those who could not were put to death in gas chambers, their bodies incinerated (Schoenfeld, 2000). Millions of Jews were killed in this way, while hundreds of thousands more died from untreated sickness and starvation (De Gruyter, 2011).

> Young children were exterminated without exception (De Gruyter, 2011, p. 62).

Some of the inmates were subjected to horrifically lethal scientific experiments, such as being immersed in freezing water; subjection to extreme pressures and high altitudes; exposure to deadly nerve gases and toxins; bombardment with x-rays. Post-WWII, many Nazi scientists would escape prosecution by sharing the results of their

hideous research in Britain and America (De Gruyter, 2011). Although those Jews not exterminated outright were forced into intensive labour, this was not considered internationally to be a condition of slavery, due to their legal status being given primacy over their actual experience (Schwarz, 2020).

6.17. Appendix 17: Modern Christianity and Slavery

The position of the Christian church on the slavery exhibited during the time of Roman empire has been a contentious issue (Hunt, 2018). Abolitionists have claimed that, since Rome's conversion from paganism to Christianity effectively ended conventional slavery, the institution must be inherently un-Christian (Hunt, 2018). Contemporary Christianity certainly retroactively supports the abolition of slavery, often highlighting the roles of various Christian pioneers, such as William Wilberforce (Hunt, 2018). However, such an ahistorical assertion as Christianity's diametric opposition is unsustainable in light of the church's centuries-long accommodation with slavery (Phillips, 1985). During this time, there is no evidence of church advocacy for abolition; rather, the church, both collectively and denominationally, was itself the owner of 'large numbers of slaves, which it had no intention of letting go' (Phillips, 1985, p. 49).

6.18. Appendix 18: Genesis of Racism

After the floodwaters had receded, Noah planted a vineyard and, while inebriated, was molested – potentially sexually – by one of his sons, Ham (Braude, 2003). For this affront, a severe curse was pronounced by Noah upon Ham's descendants, that they would be servants to the progeny of Ham's brothers, Shem and Japheth, in perpetuity (Gen. 9:18-24). It did not take much imagination to construct Ham as being inexplicably black in order to relate this incident to the plight of African slaves, explaining why God allowed the people of Africa to remain for so long in so terrible a subjugation (Braude, 1997). However, there was soon to be another divine judgement which could equally be responsible for generating the different races (Braude, 1997). In response to the arrogance of human ingenuity in building the Tower of Babel to escape any subsequent deluge, in spite of God's promise not to cause another universal flood, the languages of the builders were confounded (Gen. 11:1-9). While we are not informed how many different languages were created, it is made clear that this group fragmented and went their separate ways, potentially accounting for the variation in race seen today (Braude, 1997). Due to cultural influences maintained within Christianity, many readers have constructed the ninth to eleventh chapters of Genesis as connected thematically, highlighting the themes of 'differentiation' and 'dispersion' (Haynes, 2002, p. 5). These themes are seen first with Noah's prophecy on what were to become the inherent, essentialised, racial characteristics of his sons, and then at Babel, where the people were presumably dispersed linguistically (Haynes, 2002). This thematic understanding has led to the Christian view that Shem, Ham and Japheth formed the roots of the continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe respectively (Haynes, 2002). The communication disruption of Babel could therefore amount to the emplacement of a Divine barrier against integration, multiculturalism

and miscegenation (Thompson, 1855). Further, such an interpretation of Genesis extrapolates that black people were from the beginning unable to control their deviance, and were therefore deigned by God to subservience, fulfilling the position of a permanent underclass not to be tolerated as equals amongst their superiors (Thompson, 1855).

6.19. Appendix 19: Genetic Variation

In fact, there is much greater genetic variation within racial categories than there is between them, so that features such as skin-colour or hair-texture, for example, are not reliably indicative of race (Keita *et al*, 2004). Instead, race is arbitrarily assigned based upon a combination of factors, such as prominent physical traits (the shape of the nose and eyes; head shape and size), as well as medieval legal definitions predicated upon ancestry and sociopolitical motivations (Keita *et al*, 2004). Differentiation within the human genome is driven by cultural and environmental influences, including altitude and climate; diet, with various intolerances including wheat and nuts; contact with animals, including carnivorism and lactose intolerance; and microbiology producing various diseases and immunities (Reinscheid *et al*, 2021). The eight major blood groups occur more, or less commonly amongst certain ethnicities, but are distributed throughout each without exclusivity, so that blood donated within an ethnicity can be just as either compatible or incompatible as blood from outside of it **(**Polsky, 2002**)**. Nevertheless, human DNA has a similarity rate of 99.9% regardless of race, and although there are certainly differences, none of these are *essential*, in that such biological difference in no way defines the person or the ethnicity (Kang *et al*, 2015). However, the essentialisation of race when constructed as both biological reality and the 'natural' state of being uses scientific authority to obscure the social context of race, avoiding the need for political investigation and moral justification (Douglas, 2018, p. 163).

> In other words, there is no group of 'race' genes (Beckwith *et al*, 2017, p. 252).

6.20. Appendix 20: Medical Racism

Medical science has historically been used to naturalise racial difference, as in the case of the spirometer, a Victorian invention used to test lung capacity (Braun, 2014). Based upon spirometer readings, the science of measurement was subverted by the practice of correcting-for-race in order to maintain the idea that black people were built to be slaves, having larger lungs and therefore being able to work harder, for longer, in harsher environments (Braun, 2014).

6.21. Appendix 21: Race and Intelligence

Anthropological research had previously revealed humanity's origin from within Africa, but it is now understood that ancient human migrants from the African continent interbred with Neanderthals, who were located mostly in East Asia and Europe (Papagianni & Morse, 2013). Existing around 40,000 years ago, Neanderthal *geneflow* has led to small amounts of Neanderthal DNA (NeanderScore) being present in all modern humans, but in higher amounts within East Asians and Europeans (Papagianni & Morse, 2013). Study of Neanderthal remains has shown them to have had significantly larger brains than contemporary humans, leading researchers to make comparison with the brains of modern-day Europeans (Gregory *et al*, 2017). It was found that a higher NeanderScore correlated with similarity to Neanderthal skull-shape and size, suggesting that variation resulting from the inclusion of Neanderthal DNA is neurologically operational within present-day humanity (Gregory *et al*, 2017). Although the neurological implications of a higher NeanderScore remain undetermined, studies have shown that other Neanderthal DNA variants could also be active today, including some connected to an increased risk of hospitalisation if exposed to COVID19 (Zeberg & Pääbo, 2020). Nevertheless, it has predictably been speculated that, as descendants from the continent of Africa possess only trace amounts of Neanderthal DNA, a higher NeanderScore could potentially be shown to correlate with the higher IQ scores associated with East Asians and Europeans (Reich, 2018). However, the Human Genome Project have candidly stated that there is no evidence of any link between DNA and intelligence (Duster, 2015). Further, IQ has been widely acknowledged as unable to test innate intelligence, rather assessing skill levels and proficiencies in arbitrarily prescribed tasks, such as arithmetic or reading (Serpico, 2021). Also, exemplifying the ways in which science can be influenced by non-scientific values, intelligence can be constructed differently depending upon cultural and social elements, as

skills that are relevant in one society may not be as useful in another (Serpico, 2021). Still, such conjecture persists within the minds of those unable to let go of their disproven ideas about racial purity and superiority; such beliefs are simply modernised into new formats of hate (Lemelle, 2010).

> Therefore, whenever science appears to suggest the existence of new evidence to support these old notions, it is understandable and indeed inevitable that the motives of its authors and purveyors will be questioned (Lemelle, 2010, p. 464).

6.22. Appendix 22: British Segregation

Rather than being an unbiased manifestation of cultural inclination, this segregation is the pivot of racial inequality, maintaining and also reflecting disparities (Smith, 1989). Regardless of their education and training, upon arrival in the post-WWII United Kingdom, the first generation of Caribbean settlers were:

> …forced into ghettoes because of racial prejudice and restricted access to accommodation, resulting in them being stacked in deprived areas where schools were substandard, employment opportunities were minimal and long-term prospects to hold the family together were limited (House of Commons, 1997, p. 34).

In this way, the settlement patterns of Caribbean immigrants were profoundly influenced by the accessibility of housing and employment, and local government was instrumental in the manipulation of these markets in ways that disadvantaged black people (Bowling, 1990). A pattern was set of local authority personnel consciously and consistently making exclusionary decisions that funnelled black people into the least desirable jobs and homes within city centres (Shankley & Rhodes, 2020).

> An analysis of the formulation of housing policy must take account of the belief that black people bring with them, or constitute, urban degeneration (Bowling, 1990, p. 386).

The presence of black people in white spaces is problematic, partly because of xenophobic distress over having to share resources, and partly because living amongst black people on an equal level signifies a reduction in the white person's status (Smith, 1989). Even while recent multicultural policy encourages the celebration of ethnic minority people and cultures, there remains a resentment towards being forced to live and work in proximity to black people, having to share treasured social housing and public amenities (Smith, 1989).

6.23. Appendix 23: Black Mental Health

For minorities, the fear of racially motived hostility and discrimination can weaken resilience, leading to higher rates of chronic stress, psychosis, depression, and substance misuse (Nazroo *et al*, 2019). Including other ethnicities of white people, minorities in majority white countries have a notably higher suicide rate (Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities, 2021). Historically, social health care institutions were structurally racist, based upon ideas that have persisted into modernity (Fernando, 2012). For example, just as medical professionals once blamed biological inferiority for the poor health of slaves, health services now attribute higher rates of high blood pressure and diabetes to cultural diversity, rather than endemic socioeconomic disadvantage (Fernando, 2012). A 2016 study revealed that numerous white medical practitioners maintain erroneous beliefs regarding biologically racial differences: black people are thicker-skinned; have blood that coagulates quicker; a higher pain threshold, leading to reductions in pain medication and unnecessary suffering; and a higher tolerance to medication, a mistaken belief that has led to fatally high doses prescribed to black patients (Hardeman *et al*, 2016). Such racialised thinking also accounts for black people being so greatly overrepresented within the mental health system, where they are viewed to be innately more aggressive and dangerous, requiring more intervention and forced restraint, being many times more likely to be diagnosed with schizophrenia and treated compulsorily (Pandarakalam, 2015).

6.24. Appendix 24: London Knife Crime

In particular, young black Caribbean men have been anecdotally singled out as being responsible for most of the violence (Squires, 2009).

> The recurrent theme of crime, and particularly the involvement of young Afro-Caribbeans in criminal activities, is but one case of how certain ideological images continue to influence political debates (Solomos, 1998, p. 235).

However, research has highlighted a lack of association between youth violence and either gender or ethnicity, instead identifying poverty, economic inequality, and adverse childhood experiences (ACES) as being positively associated with youth violence, gang activity, and criminality generally (Haylock *et al*, 2020). For example, according to Thames Valley Police data, most perpetrators and victims of knife crime in Oxford are white males, and throughout the UK more than twice as many stabbings are carried out by white males than are perpetrated by black males (Bailey *et al*, 2020). Most victims of stabbings are white males and, whether white or black, drug or gang related violence accounts for only a small portion, with youth violence correlating highly with income inequality (Harding, 2020). So, although within the national consciousness, it may seem apparent that the majority of both victims and perpetrators in London stabbings are young black men, these numbers actually represent a vanishingly small proportion of London's black population (Akala, 2018).

6.25. Appendix 25: Racism in Meritocracy

Along with Americans, the British are more likely than other Europeans to believe that education and hard work lead to social and financial success (White *et al*, 2017). Consequentially, confirmed in their superiority with the highest educational and employment positions achieved, individuals will be much less likely to concede the key roles played by familial wealth and social networks (White *et al*, 2017). Also substantiated is the inferiority of those who fail to attain such success, perhaps lacking ability, or else having a deficient work ethic, making the individual responsible for their own poor quality of life (Wrye, 2012). Due to its potential to determine prospects, the equitable distribution of educational opportunity is one of the key tenets of meritocracy, social justice depending entirely upon the system's impartiality (Lardier, 2019). It is therefore in the elite's best interests to obfuscate systemic inequalities using the subterfuge of natural aptitude, which one must be born with (Lardier, 2019). Further, social capital works as an instrument of (not necessarily *white*) privilege wherever emphasis is given to individual merit, as not everyone has the same advantages offered both formally and informally through school and family contacts (Kirshner, 2015). Absent the social capital available to the middle and upper classes, children living in poverty are held responsible for their own underachievement, compelled to compete with better-provisioned peers in high-stakes examinations while having fewer and inferior educational resources (Gorski, 2012). It may not be understood the many external ways that their more well-off peers are supported, nor appreciated the triviality with which they continue to endeavour pulling themselves up using their shoelaces (Roex *et al*, 2019). However, as black British people are more likely to present from poverty, they are much less likely to have access to social capital and are therefore less able to take advantage of

meritocratic ideals (Casey, 2016). In a true meritocracy, those achieving higher grades at school would have higher employment rates, but this is not the case where black boys do better at school but are less employed (Casey, 2016). In 2009, the Department of Work and Pensions tested the disparity in employment rates by fictionalising thousands of job applications to genuine vacancies, with white-sounding names receiving almost double the responses as those with minority-sounding names (Casey, 2016). While such examples are invariably thought of as implicit (or subconscious) bias, Baroness McGregor-Smith (2016) questioned how much discrimination can authentically be unconscious, indicating that the façade of implicit bias is more often being used defensively by those caught discriminating. Even though there has been an overall decline in displays of overt racism, this is largely due to political correctness, so that changes in behaviour do not result in changes in attitude, leaving opportunities to discriminate without detection (Dovido *et al*, 2008). Modern racism can be more subtle and therefore more difficult to perceive when linguistic strategies and policy are employed to conceal intentions and motivations, making it impossible to call out and leaving a persistent uncertainty (McGregor-Smith, 2016). In a time of political correctness, the way that white people speak about race has changed dramatically, with the terminology adjusted so that overtly racial language is no longer used publicly to justify racially motivated decisions (Wellman, 2007).

6.26. Appendix 26: Colour-blindness

The ideology of colour-blindness, in which individuals and organisations claim not to *see* race, assumes that, except for a few bad-apples, racism has been eradicated since the general introduction of antidiscrimination legislation during the 1960s (Abrams *et al*, 2015). The colour-blind meritocratically see the persistence of racial inequality as being due to the shortcomings of minorities who, perhaps lacking ambition and/or ability, have not worked hard enough to achieve in a competitive environment (Wellman, 2007). Colour-blind individuals therefore do not appreciate the necessity of redistributive policies, such as affirmative action, insisting that a person's character is the only criteria of judgement. However, colour-blindness has the effect of removing race from public discourse and the political agenda, relegating racism to an individual problem and labelling the race conscious as extremists (Bonilla-Silva & Baiocchi, 2007). With economic achievement totally dependent upon individual effort and ability, colour-blind people can distance themselves from complicity in contributing to and benefitting from white privilege, whilst simultaneously placing the burden of racial disparity-elimination onto black people (Marvasti & McKinney, 2007). In this way, colour-blind individuals can inadvertently support racial discrimination, provided that racially explicit language is not used, in spite of the preponderance of evidence that race influences the discretionary decision making of white people (Wellman, 2007).

6.27. Appendix 27: Reparations and Universal Basic Income

Universal Basic Income (UBI) is receiving renewed interest as a potential solution to issues surrounding the development of a growing precariat society in Britain and other western countries (Vlandas, 2020). Due to various factors including technological advances, environmentalist thinking and industrial decline generally, more people are engaging in work that is part-time, temporary, unstable and has no benefits, so that their income and lives are precariously balanced on the edge of homelessness and destitution (Vlandas, 2020). Uncertain and entitled only to minimal social security, often involving benefit caps, spiralling debt, food banks and poor wellbeing, this newer class who are in some way employed but nevertheless living in poverty are, as with the unemployed, economically insecure, and socially excluded (Van Parijs & Vanderborght, 2017). Viewed primarily as a means of reducing, if not eliminating poverty, UBI has been formulated in different ways, but most involve regular and direct cash payments to all, without means-testing and regardless of employment or previous contributions (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2021). In theory, UBI payments should provide a reasonable standard of living, providing recipients with a solid platform upon which to build their lives, rather than a safety-net (Young, 2018). Potentially financed through increased taxes on the rich and, more innovatively, using taxation on the sale of legalised marijuana, some models of UBI are multitiered, allowing for different rates of payment, which could be combined into a system that pays reparations to eligible recipients as a higher rate of UBI (Murphy, 2021). With one in four children in the UK living in poverty, and two-thirds of these having employed parents, it is more important than ever that radical solutions be considered, as opposed to the ongoing perpetuation of thoroughly disproven meritocratic principals (Young, 2018).

6.28. Ethics Form

APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL

In order for research to result in benefit and minimise risk of harm, it must be conducted ethically. A researcher may not be covered by the University's insurance if ethical approval has not been obtained prior to commencement.

The University follows the OECD Frascati manual definition of **research activity**: "creative work undertaken on a systematic basis in order to increase the stock of knowledge, including knowledge of man, culture and society, and the use of this stock of knowledge to devise new applications". As such this covers activities undertaken by members of staff, postgraduate research students, and both taught postgraduate and undergraduate students working on dissertations/projects.

The individual undertaking the research activity is known as the "principal researcher".

Ethical approval is not required for routine audits, performance reviews, quality assurance studies, testing within normal educational requirements, and literary or artistic criticism.

Please read the notes for guidance before completing ALL sections of the form.

This form must be completed and approved prior to undertaking any research activity. Please see Checklist for details of process for different categories of application.

Delete the Guidance Notes at the end of the form BEFORE submitting your application

SECTION A: About You (Principal Researcher)

Full Name:		Michael Jonas			
Tick all boxes which apply:		Member of staff:	☐	Honorary research fellow:	☐
Undergraduate Student	☐	Taught Postgraduate Student	☒	Postgraduate Research Student	☐

Faculty/School/Centre:	Faculty of Education and Communities Universal
Campus:	Carmarthen
E-mail address:	1503070.student@uwtsd.ac.uk
Contact Telephone Number:	07735775741
For students:	

Student Number:	1503070
Programme of Study:	MA Equity and Diversity
Director of Studies/Supervisor:	Joanne Davies Dr Caroline Lohmann-Hancock

SECTION B: Approval for Research Activity

Has the research activity received approval in principle? **(please check the Guidance Notes as to the appropriate approval process for different levels of research by different categories of individual)**		**YES** ☒	**NO** ☐	
			Date	
If Yes, please indicate source of approval (and date where known): ***Approval in principle must be obtained from the relevant source prior to seeking ethical approval***	**Research Degrees Committee**	☐		
	Faculty Research Committee	☐		
	Other (write in) **Dr Caroline Lohmann-Hancock**	☒	**17/12/2020**	

SECTION C: Internal and External Ethical Guidance Materials

Please list the core ethical guidance documents that have been referred to during the completion of this form (including any discipline-specific codes of research ethics, and also any specific ethical guidance relating to the proposed methodology). Please tick to confirm that your research proposal adheres to these codes and guidelines.

<u>UWTSD Research Ethics & Integrity Code of Practice</u>	☒
UWTSD Research Data Management Policy	☒
British Sociological Associate Ethical Guidelines	☒

SECTION D: External Collaborative Research Activity

Does the research activity involve collaborators outside of the University?	**YES**	☐	**NO**	☒

If Yes, please provide the name of the external organisation and name and contact details for the main contact person and confirmation this person has consented to their personal data being shared.as part of this collaboration.

Institution	
Contact person name	
Contact person e-mail address	

Has this individual consented to sharing their details on this form?		**YES**	☐	**NO**	☐
Are you in receipt of a KESS scholarship?		**YES**	☐	**NO**	☐
Is your research externally funded		**YES**	☐	**NO**	☐
Are you specifically employed to undertake this research in either a paid or voluntary capacity?	**Voluntary**	**YES**	☐	**NO**	☐
	Employed	**YES**	☐	**NO**	☐
Is the research being undertaken within an existing UWTSD Athrofa Professional Learning Partnership (APLP)	**If YES then the permission question below does not need to be answered.**	**YES**	☐	**NO**	☐
Permission to undertake the research has been provided by the partner organisation	**(If YES attach copy)** **If NO the application cannot continue**	**YES**	☐	**NO**	☐

Where research activity is carried out in collaboration with an external organisation

Does this organisation have its own ethics approval system?	**YES**	☐	**NO**	☐

If Yes, please attach a copy of any final approval (or interim approval) from the organisation

SECTION E: Details of Research Activity

Indicative title:	A Case for the United Kingdom to Pay Reparations

Proposed start date:		Proposed end date:	

Introduction to the Research (maximum 300 words)
Ensure that you write for a <u>Non-Specialist Audience</u> when outlining your response to the three points below:

- *Purpose of Research Activity*
- *Proposed Research Question*
- *Aims of Research Activity*
- *Objectives of Research Activity*

Demonstrate, briefly, how **<u>Existing Research</u>** has informed the proposed activity and explain

- *What the research activity will add to the body of knowledge*
- *How it addresses an area of importance.*

Purpose of Research Activity

While there is some small amount of research into various international reparations claims, all of these focus upon a legal perspective, while this research will attempt to focus upon the moral imperative in light of current events and the resulting political climate.

Research Question

Does the United Kingdom owe reparations to the descendants of slavery in parts of the Caribbean colonised by Britain?

Aims of Research Activity

To highlight Britain's complicity in the transatlantic slave trade and to show that reparations in various forms are the only valid means of restitution, as demonstrated internationally within recent history.

Objectives of Research Activity

To explore the current literature and then comparing and contrasting various opinions and offering a new, up to date conclusion that combines legal, moral and historical aspects.

Proposed methods (maximum 600 words)
Provide a brief summary of all the methods that **may** be used in the research activity, making it clear what specific techniques may be used. If methods other than those listed in this section are deemed appropriate later, additional ethical approval for those methods will be needed.

Literature Review Only:

- **Slavery: A Historical Overview**
  - An examination of various definitions of and motivations for slavery throughout history (Thompson, 2001)
  - An overview of slavery internationally, highlighting major historical examples (Howard-Hassmann and Lombardo, 2007)
- **Who and Why? The Transatlantic Slave Trade from a national and international and economic perspective**
  - Acknowledging the major players in the transatlantic slave trade and emphasising Britain's complicity (Shaw, 2020)

    - Consideration of the economics of slavery through a capitalist lens (Derenoncourt, 2018)
- **Modern attitudes to Historic Slavery**
    - An exploration of modern British conceptions of and attitudes towards national involvement in the transatlantic slave trade (Lenzerini, 2008)
    - Investigation into critical white studies, including eugenics and other related theories, providing a critique of racist assumptions and justifications (Duster, 2006)
    - The hegemonic nature of western social norms (Davidson, 2020)
- **Reparations and Absolution**
    - Defining the term 'reparations' and reviewing different models and examples (Clegg, 2014)
    - Assessing various political and social responses to the suggestion/ implementation of reparations around the world (Balfour, 2014)
- **The United Kingdom and the descendants of its slavery**
    - Examples of UK foreign policy towards the Caribbean, including the Windrush era (Jobbins, 2014)
- **Thematic Discussion**
    - Cases for and against Britain's payment of reparations (Hirsch, 2020)
    - Proposition of various international reparations models and their potential implementation by the UK (Karhu, 2019)

References

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Shaw. C (2020) Liverpool's Slave Trade Legacy, *History Today* 70(3) pgs. 15-18

Location of research activity
Identify all locations where research activity will take place.

Carmarthenshire, Wales

(this box should expand as you type)

Research activity outside of the UK
If research activity will take place overseas, you are responsible for ensuring that local ethical considerations are complied with and that the relevant permissions are sought. Specify any local guidelines (e.g. from local professional associations/learned societies/universities) that exist and whether these involve any ethical stipulations beyond those usual in the UK (provide details of any licenses or permissions required). Also specify whether there are any specific ethical issues raised by the local context in which the research activity is taking place, for example, particular cultural and/or legal sensitivities or vulnerabilities of participants.

N/A
(this box should expand as you type)

Use of documentation not in the public domain: Are any documents <u>NOT</u> publicly available?	**NO**	☒
	YES	☐

If Yes, please provide details here of how you will gain access to specific documentation that is not in the public domain and that this is in accordance with prevailing data protection law of the country in question and England and Wales.

(this box should expand as you type)

SECTION F: Scope of Research Activity

Will the research activity include:	**YES**	**NO**
Use of a questionnaire or similar research instrument?	☐	☒
Use of interviews?	☐	☒
Use of diaries?	☐	☒
Participant observation with their knowledge?	☐	☒
Participant observation without their knowledge?	☐	☒
Use of video or audio recording?	☐	☒
Access to personal or confidential information without the participants' specific consent?	☐	☒
Administration of any questions, test stimuli, presentation that may be experienced as physically, mentally or emotionally harmful / offensive?	☐	☒
Performance of any acts which may cause embarrassment or affect self-esteem?	☐	☒
Investigation of participants involved in illegal activities?	☐	☒
Use of procedures that involve deception?	☐	☒
Administration of any substance, agent or placebo?	☐	☒
Working with live vertebrate animals?	☐	☒
Other primary data collection methods, please explain in this box For example, 'focus groups'. Please indicate the type of data collection method(s) in this box and tick the accompany box.	☐	☒
Details of any other primary data collection method: **(this box should expand as you type)**		

If NO to every question, then the research activity is (ethically) low risk and **may** be exempt from **some** of the following sections (please refer to Guidance Notes).

If YES to any question, then no research activity should be undertaken until full ethical approval has been obtained.

SECTION G: Intended Participants

Who are the intended participants:

	YES	NO
Students or staff at the University?	☐	☒
Adults (over the age of 18 and competent to give consent)?	☐	☒
Vulnerable adults?	☐	☒
Children and Young People under the age of 18? (Consent from Parent, Carer or Guardian will be required)	☐	☒
Prisoners?	☐	☒
Young offenders?	☐	☒
Those who could be considered to have a particularly dependent relationship with the investigator or a gatekeeper?	☐	☒
People engaged in illegal activities?	☐	☒
Others (please identify specifically any group who may be unable to give consent) please indicate here and tick the appropriate box.		
Other – please indicate here:	☐	☒

(this box should expand as you type)

Participant numbers and source

Provide an estimate of the expected number of participants. How will you identify participants and how will they be recruited?

How many participants are expected?	**N/A** ***(this box should expand as you type)***
Who will the participants be?	**N/A** ***(this box should expand as you type)***
How will you identify the participants?	**N/A** ***(this box should expand as you type)***

Information for participants:	YES	NO	N/A
Will you describe the main research procedures to participants in advance, so that they are informed about what to expect?	☐	☐	☒
Will you tell participants that their participation is voluntary?	☐	☐	☒
Will you obtain written consent for participation?	☐	☐	☒
Will you explain to participants that refusal to participate in the research will not affect their treatment or education (if relevant)?	☐	☐	☒
If the research is observational, will you ask participants for their consent to being observed?	☐	☐	☒
Will you tell participants that they may withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason?	☐	☐	☒
With questionnaires, will you give participants the option of omitting questions they do not want to answer?	☐	☐	☒
Will you tell participants that their data will be treated with full confidentiality and that, if published, it will not be identifiable as theirs?	☐	☐	☒
Will you debrief participants at the end of their participation, in a way appropriate to the type of research undertaken?	☐	☐	☒
If NO to any of above questions, please give an explanation			

(this box should expand as you type)

Information for participants:	YES	NO	N/A
Will participants be paid?	☐	☐	☒
Is specialist electrical or other equipment to be used with participants?	☐	☐	☒
Are there any financial or other interests to the investigator or University arising from this study?	☐	☐	☒
Will the research activity involve deliberately misleading participants in any way, or the partial or full concealment of the specific study aims?	☐	☐	☒
If YES to any question, please provide full details			

(this box should expand as you type)

SECTION H: Anticipated Risks

Outline any anticipated risks that may adversely affect any of the participants, the researchers and/or the University, and the steps that will be taken to address them. If you have completed a full risk assessment (for example as required by a laboratory, or external research collaborator) you may append that to this form.		
Full risk assessment completed and appended?	Yes	☐
	No	☒

Risks to participants For example: emotional distress, financial disclosure, physical harm, transfer of personal data, sensitive organisational information	
Risk to Participant: N/A	*How will you mitigate the Risk to Participant?* N/A
If research activity may include sensitive, embarrassing or upsetting topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use) or issues likely to disclose information requiring further action (e.g. criminal activity), give details of the procedures to deal with these issues, including any support/advice (e.g. helpline numbers) to be offered to participants. Note that where applicable, consent procedures should make it clear that if something potentially or actually illegal is discovered in the course of a project, it may need to be disclosed to the proper authorities	
N/A	
Risks to investigator For example: personal safety, physical harm, emotional distress, risk of accusation of harm/impropriety, conflict of interest	
Risk to the investigator: Although unlikely, there may be some risk that emotional distress may be experienced due to the nature of materials uncovered during this research	*How will you mitigate Risk to the Investigator?* In the event of emotional distress, I am aware that there is support available, through student services (studentservices@uwtsd.ac.uk), togetherall (https://togetherall.com/en-gb/), and The Samaritans (https://www.samaritans.org/wales/samaritans-cymru/)
University/institutional risks For example: adverse publicity, financial loss, data protection	
Risk to the University: • Publishing inappropriate content • Adverse publicity • Plagiarism	*How will you mitigate Risk to the University?* • Follow university ethical guidelines • Attend regular supervisions • Ensure rigorous and correct use of referencing

Disclosure and Barring Service

If the research activity involves children or vulnerable adults, a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) certificate must be obtained before any contact with such participants.	**YES**	**NO**	**N/A**
Does your research require you to hold a current DBS Certificate?	☐	☒	☐

SECTION I: Feedback, Consent and Confidentiality

Feedback What de-briefing and feedback will be provided to participants, how will this be done and when?
N/A *(this box should expand as you type)*
Informed consent Describe the arrangements to inform potential participants, before providing consent, of what is involved in participating. Describe the arrangements for participants to provide full consent before data collection begins. If gaining consent in this way is inappropriate, explain how consent will be obtained and recorded in accordance with prevailing data protection legislation.
N/A *(this box should expand as you type)*
Confidentiality / Anonymity Set out how anonymity of participants and confidentiality will be ensured in any outputs. If anonymity is not being offered, explain why this is the case.
N/A *(this box should expand as you type)*

SECTION J: Data Protection and Storage

In completing this section refer to the University's Research Data Management Policy and the extensive resources on the University's Research Data Management web pages (http://uwtsd.ac.uk/library/research-data-management/).

Does the research activity involve personal data (as defined by the General Data Protection Regulation 2016 "GDPR" and the Data Protection Act 2018 "DPA")?	**YES**	**NO**
"Personal data" *means any information relating to an identified or identifiable natural person ('data subject'). An identifiable natural person is one who can be identified, directly or indirectly, in particular by reference to an identifier such as a name, an identification number, location data, an online identifier or to one or more factors specific to the physical, physiological, genetic, mental, economic, cultural or social identity of that natural person.*	☐	**X**☐
If YES, provide a description of the data and explain why this data needs to be collected:		

(this box should expand as you type)		
Does it involve special category data (as defined by the GDPR)?	**YES**	**NO**
"Special category data" *means sensitive personal data consisting of information as to the data subjects' –* *(a) racial or ethnic origin,* *(b) political opinions,* *(c) religious beliefs or other beliefs of a similar nature,* *(d) membership of a trade union (within the meaning of the Trade Union and Labour Relations (Consolidation) Act 1992),* *(e) physical or mental health or condition,* *(f) sexual life,* *(g) genetics,* *(h) biometric data (as used for ID purposes),*	☐	**X☐**
If YES, provide a description of the special category data and explain why this data needs to be collected:		
(this box should expand as you type)		

Will the research activity involve storing personal data and/or special category data on one of the following:	YES	NO
Manual files (i.e. in paper form)?	☐	☒
University computers?	☐	☒
Private company computers?	☐	☒
Home or other personal computers?	☐	☒
Laptop computers/ CDs/ Portable disk-drives/ memory sticks?	☐	☒
"Cloud" storage or websites?	☐	☒
Other – specify:	☐	☒

For all stored data, explain the measures in place to ensure the security of the data collected, data confidentiality, including details of password protection, encryption, anonymisation and pseudonymisation:

N/A
(this box should expand as you type)

All Data Storage

Will the research activity involve any of the following activities:	YES	NO
Electronic transfer of data in any form?	☐	☒
Sharing of data with others at the University?	☐	☒
Sharing of data with other organisations?	☐	☒
Export of data outside the European Union or importing of data from outside the UK?	☐	☒
Use of personal addresses, postcodes, faxes, emails or telephone numbers?	☐	☒
Publication of data that might allow identification of individuals?	☐	☒
Use of data management system?	☐	☒
Data archiving?	☐	☒

If YES to any question, please provide full details, explaining how this will be conducted in accordance with the GDPR and DPA (and/or any international equivalent):

(this box should expand as you type)

List all who will have access to the data generated by the research activity:

Researcher only.

(this box should expand as you type)

List who will have control of, and act as custodian(s) for, data generated by the

research activity:

Researcher only.

(this box should expand as you type)

Give details of data storage arrangements, including security measures in place to protect the data, where data will be stored, how long for, and in what form. Will data be archived – if so how and if not why not.

(this box should expand as you type)

Please indicate if your data will be stored in the UWTSD Research Data Repository (see https://researchdata.uwtsd.ac.uk/). If so please explain. (*Most relevant to academic staff)*

(this box should expand as you type)

Confirm that you have read the UWTSD guidance on data management (see https://www.uwtsd.ac.uk/library/research-data-management/)	**YES** **NO**	☒ ☐
Confirm that you are aware that you need to keep all data until after your research has completed or the end of your funding	**YES** **NO**	☒ ☐

SECTION K: Declaration

The information which I have provided is correct and complete to the best of my knowledge. I have attempted to identify any risks and issues related to the research activity and acknowledge my obligations and the rights of the participants**.** In submitting this application I hereby confirm that I undertake to ensure that the above named research activity will meet the University's Research Ethics and Integrity Code of Practice		
Signature of applicant:	Michael Jonas	**Date: 11/11/20**

For STUDENT Submissions:

Director of Studies/Supervisor:	Joanne Davies	**Date: 15/12/2020**
Signature:	J. Davies	

For STAFF Submissions:

Head of School/Assistant		**Date:**

Dean:		
Signature:		

Checklist: Please complete the checklist below to ensure that you have completed the form according to the guidelines and attached any required documentation:

☒	**I have read the guidance notes supplied before completing the form.**
☒	**I have completed ALL RELEVANT sections of the form in full.**
☒	**I confirm that the research activity has received approval in principle**
☐	**I have attached a copy of final/interim approval from external organisation (where appropriate)**
☐	**I have attached a full risk assessment (and have NOT completed Section H of this form) (where appropriate)** ***ONLY TICK IF YOU HAVE ATTACHED A FULL RISK ASSESSMENT***
☒	**I understand that it is my responsibility to ensure that the above-named research activity will meet the University's Research Ethics and Integrity Code of Practice.**
☒	**I understand that before commencing data collection all documents aimed at respondents (including information sheets, consent forms, questionnaires, interview schedules etc.) must be confirmed by the DoS/Supervisor, module tutor or Head of School.**
☒	**I have deleted the guidance notes before submitting the PG2 for consideration**