Empire, Slavery and Scotland's Museums

Evaluation Report

by the Centre for Human Ecology

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Contributors and Acknowledgments

Contributors

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The Centre for Human Ecology is an educational cooperative, research consultancy and educational charity based in Glasgow.

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List of Abbreviations and Common Terms

Advisory Panel	The ESSM Advisory Panel
Areas of Focus	The ESSM Areas of Focus
BLM	Black Lives Matter
CHE	The Centre for Human Ecology
Diffley	The Diffley Partnership
ESSM	Empire, Slavery & Scotland's Museums
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation
Guide	The ESSM Guide to the Consultation
HRBA	The Human Rights Based Approach
ITT	Invitation to Tender
IYS	Intercultural Youth Scotland
MGS	Museums Galleries Scotland
Project Manager	The ESSM Project Manager
Project Overview	The ESSM Review, Remit and Project Overview document
Project Team	The ESSM Project Team
QDA	Qualitative Data Analysis
Recommendations	The ESSM Recommendations
Steering Group	The ESSM Steering Group
Subgroups	Advisory Panel Subgroups, divided by Areas of Focus
TOR	Terms of Reference

Executive Summary

From September 2020 to June 2022 the Scottish Government, in partnership with Museums Galleries Scotland (MGS), conducted a review, '*Empire, Slavery & Scotland's Museums*' (ESSM). This review, led by an independent Steering Group, made recommendations on how Scotland's museums can more accurately portray Scotland's colonial and slavery history and what steps are required to increase the awareness of this injustice and how this is manifested in society today. The independent review delivered its recommendations in June 2022. The Centre for Human Ecology (CHE) was commissioned by MGS to externally evaluate the process leading to these recommendations. The evaluation was carried out between May and September 2022.

The evaluation asked whether the project was effective in primarily four areas – (1) the efficacy of the overall project approach and methodology, (2) the project's implementation of the Human Rights Based Approach (HRBA)¹, (3) the social and economic impact of the project and (4) value for money. The evaluators employed a grounded theory methodology, analysing data from focus groups and surveys, primary project documents and other relevant grey literature. Key findings were identified and recommendations developed for future work.

Information on stakeholder and participant experiences of the process was obtained predominantly from 13 semi-structured focus groups held between May and July 2022. There were 44 participants representing the key stakeholders: Steering Group, Project Team, Advisory Panel members, external contractors, MGS staff, Scottish Government members, museum workforce and the general public. This was supplemented by pre- and post-report publication surveys, but they had poor response rates. All material (including reports and relevant literature) was coded and analysed to answer seven key questions about the ESSM process.

The evaluators concluded that the ESSM project successfully delivered its goal, namely that the Steering Group made 'concrete and sustainable

recommendations to Scottish Government on how the Scottish museums and galleries sector can better address the legacies of slavery, empire and colonialism at every level^{*2}. The project was completed, with reasonable revision, on time and within budget.

The evaluators' analysis of the ESSM process generally found that the HRBA was sufficiently applied³. HRBA informed project implementation, and ensured that principles of participation and non-discrimination, among others, were incorporated throughout the consultation process. The evaluators verified that this approach sufficiently informed the implementation of all aspects of ESSM, and that the majority of participants felt these principles were upheld. Further learning emerged from the evaluation with regards to trauma-informed practice⁴, co-production and commitment to reflective practice, and professional development and change management (i.e., additional support for staff whose working practices are affected). The evaluators propose these recommendations are implemented in future phases of the work.

The Steering Group provided sufficient subject expertise to guide ESSM. However, the formation and operations of the Steering Group would have benefited from increased transparency, clarity around roles, and accountability, with time and resources allocated to group formation, agreements around conduct, and relationship building.

At times, the evaluators discerned that the ESSM process was an embodiment of one expression of a wider national social conscience: namely, the collective coming to terms with the complicity of multiple aspects of Scottish cultural heritage with slavery and empire. To this end, the conventional structure of public consultation in general – time-bound, and results-oriented – has significant limitations when engaging with such a complex matter of profound social concern. Untangling the 'tentacles'⁵ of this legacy, and its current impacts, from Scottish life requires courageous, committed, adequately resourced work that is responsive to change, sensitive to trauma, and collectively held with social licence, as an essential part of strengthening Scotland's common good.

As such, the evaluators contextualised ESSM within a wider '*arc of history bending towards justice*'⁶, and as an early iteration of what is hoped to be a longer-term societal project of decolonisation, truth and reconciliation.

²ESSM Project Overview (2021) [19]

³ESSM HRBA (2021) [21]

⁴Trauma-informed practice: '*A model that is grounded in and directed by a complete understanding of how trauma exposure affects service user's neurological, biological, psychological and social development*'. See: Paterson (2014) [29], quoted by Scottish Government (2021) [33]

⁵The Guardian (2022) [12]

⁶Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. *"Remaining Awake Through a Great Revolution"*. Speech given at the National Cathedral, 31st March 1968.

The evaluators' recommendations include:

- >>> Implement novel approaches to the consultation for tackling Scotland's legacy of empire, slavery and colonialism.
- Source of the second second
- Implement holistic programme management, including appropriate communication of progress and strategy and change management, for all project stakeholders.
- Enhance project governance with commitments towards co-production, healthy group dynamics, and reflective practice and evaluation.
- Some consider inter-generational practice to foster improved collaboration.
- Demonstrate long-term commitment to tackling the legacy of colonialism, empire and slavery through secure job tenure and investment.
- \gg Ensure equitable digital access to consultations.

1 Purpose and Scope of the Evaluation

The purpose of this report is to evaluate the '*Empire, Slavery & Scotland's Museums*' project. The ESSM project was commissioned by the Scottish Government, managed by MGS, and led by an independent Steering Group. The project took the form of a large-scale consultation, aimed at addressing Scotland's colonial, imperial and slavery history, it's ongoing legacy in the present, and how it is reflected in the museum sector.

The evaluation asked whether the project was effective in primarily four areas — (1) the efficacy of the overall project approach and methodology, (2) the project's implementation of the Human Rights Based Approach, (3) the social and economic impact of the project and (4) value for money. Additionally, the evaluators used a grounded theory approach to examining the consultation research methodology, which included looking at emerging themes around informed consent, wellbeing and trauma-informed practice, and other data that arose. Stakeholders were invited to share unexpected and relevant project outcomes and observations which could inform future work.

A project such as ESSM has not been previously carried out in Scotland. The scope, historical dimension, and implications for policy and practice meant selecting suitable comparator projects was deemed unfeasible by the evaluators. As such, establishing a baseline for evaluation was challenging. As the project cannot be separated from the wider socio-political climate it emerged from, the evaluation reflects this context. For the purposes of the evaluation design, a situation analysis was conducted to collect and analyse information about the project to establish an adequate baseline, alongside the evaluation criteria. It is hoped that this evaluation can form part of future baseline formation.

1.1 Evaluation Criteria and Questions

The following evaluation criteria and questions were established in accordance with the Invitation to Tender (ITT) and subsequent discussions between MGS and the evaluators:

- The efficacy of the overall project delivery from scoping through to completion
- The efficacy of the approaches taken by the key stakeholder groups
- The extent to which the approach and methodology achieves the project goals.
- Whether the approach and methodology can be used for future consultations
- How well the process and recommendations reflect the Human Rights Framework
- Whether the review has adequately addressed the needs for action in all six areas of focus
- The social and economic impacts of the project
- Value for money

1.2 Evaluation Narrative and Methodology

The evaluation was conducted from 1st May 2022 to 28th September 2022. The two main streams of research were desk research and stakeholder consultation. The desk research involved analysis of all documents pertaining to ESSM that were made available to the evaluators. Stakeholders and participants were consulted via focus groups, interviews and surveys. Reflective focus groups were semi-structured with plenty of space for discussion. Stakeholders were also invited to contribute to Likert-style and open question surveys. The responses were analysed using Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) software as well as manually, and coded according to key themes and concepts, which provided the basis for this report.

Key Stakeholder Groups

The key stakeholder groups involved in the ESSM project included:

- Steering Group
- Project Team
- Advisory Panel members
- MGS staff members
- External contractors (Including: The Diffley Partnership, Intercultural Youth Scotland, Rachel Forrest)
- Public participants
- Museum workforce participants
- Scottish Government stakeholders

Desk Research Documents

The desk research and document analysis included all available ESSM process documents, provided by the Project Team. As well as the final ESSM report, including the ESSM Recommendations¹ ('Recommendations') and the Guide to the Consultation² ('Guide'), the evaluators had access to initial scoping documents (including Steering Group and Advisory Panel Terms of Reference (TOR), HRBA and methodology documents, Advisory Panel Subgroups Report, and an initial scoping survey), reports and process documents from the consultation research strands, and process documents during the feedback phase. Also available were basic budget information and minutes from all Steering Group meetings.

There were some gaps in the available documents, this is expanded upon in section 1.3. A full list of desk research documents has been made available to MGS as a confidential appendix.

Focus Groups and Interviews

A total of 13 focus groups and interviews were held between May and July 2022. These included reflective focus groups with all stakeholder groups, with the exception of Advisory Subgroups; one-on-one interviews with external contractors; one-on-one interviews with Steering Group members in addition to the main focus group, due to Steering Group members' availability; and follow-up interviews where necessary. A full list of focus groups and interviews has been made available to MGS as a confidential appendix.

The evaluators sought informed consent from each participant via Google Form surveys or otherwise prior to each focus group or interview, and complied with the UK Data Protection Act 2018 and General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). Efforts were made to conduct the focus groups in a trauma-informed manner, sensitive to the lived experience of participants and how they may have been impacted by the nature of the work.

Surveys

Two surveys were carried out:

- Focus group follow-up survey: an open-question survey was distributed to all stakeholder groups following focus group sessions, to provide a space for ESSM process feedback.
- Post-report survey: a Likert-style and open-question survey was distributed to all stakeholder groups following the publication of the Recommendations, to assess whether the Recommendations reflected participants' views and adequately addressed the project goals.

¹ESSM Recommendations (2022) [24]

²ESSM Guide to the Consultation (2022) [25]

The evaluators received 10 individual responses to these surveys -9 towards the focus group follow-up survey, and 1 towards the post report survey. The low survey response is acknowledged as a limitation in section 1.3.

1.3 Evaluation Limitations

Specific limitations that affected the evaluation are acknowledged and listed below, along with measures taken to mitigate their impact.

- A quantitative assessment of the full project cost was not carried out, due to a lack of adequate baseline or comparator data for a project such as ESSM. Instead, alternative methods of assessing project value were carried out, as detailed in section 3.1.
- The number of responses to the survey were lower than desired. The data from the surveys was used, but not taken to be fully representative of all stakeholder views.
- Full appraisal of the social and economic impact of the project would require a longitudinal evaluation, as ESSM and its follow-up work is implemented over a longer time frame. The evaluators came to some provisional findings in this regard, based on our initial analytical observations, discourse analysis of media coverage of ESSM, and focus group data.
- The evaluators did not have access to some documentation (such as MGS staff salaries and job descriptions, working project management materials (e.g. Gantt charts) and interim reports submitted to the Steering Group), which would have enhanced the evaluation.

2 About the ESSM Project

The proximate cause of the project was found in a motion passed by the Scottish Parliament on 9th June 2020, which expressed solidarity with anti-racism and acknowledged the global political climate after George Floyd's death and the rise of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement¹. In an amendment to the motion on 10th June 2020, a requirement was created to '*establish a slavery museum to address our historic links to the slave trade*'². After discussions in July-August 2020, between the Scottish Government Culture and Equalities team, MGS, Glasgow Life and others, the '*Empire, Slavery & Scotland's Museums*' project was formally initiated in a Programme for Government in September 2020³.

An independent and expert review, led by an independent Steering Group and coordinated by MGS, was asked to make recommendations on how Scotland's museums can more accurately portray Scotland's colonial and slavery history, on what steps are required to increase the awareness of people of Scotland's role in colonialism and slavery, and how this is manifested in society today⁴.

The ESSM project goals consisted of three main questions:

- how 'Scotland's existing and future museum collections can better recognise and represent a more accurate portrayal of Scotland's colonial and slavery history';
- what additional steps should be taken 'to ensure people in Scotland are aware of the role Scotland played [in colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade] and how that manifests itself in our society today'; and,
- 'how to reflect, interpret and celebrate the wide ranging and positive contributions that ethnic minority communities have made and continue to make to Scotland'⁵.

¹Scottish Parliament (2020) [37]

²Scottish Parliament (2020) [38]

³Scottish Government (2020) [32]

⁴ESSM Project Overview (2021) [19]

⁵ibid

2.1 Project Focus, Phases and Formation

The project took a holistic view of museums and the heritage sector with six Areas of Focus: Research, Collections, Interpretation, Human Resources, Education/Learning, and the Proposal for the establishment of a museum of empire and slavery. The project had four main phases:

- 1. The Project Inception Phase was as follows:
 - The **Steering Group** was formed in September 2020, the Terms of Reference⁶ were approved in February 2021, and the Areas of Focus decided in Apr-May 2021.
 - The Initial Call for Evidence, a museum workforce survey, was carried out in Nov 2020-Jan 2021. This was facilitated by the Project Team, in order to provide initial support to the project manager.
 - The ESSM **Project Manager** was appointed on 1st December 2020, after an interview process carried out by MGS.
 - Recruitment for the Advisory Panel commenced in February 2021. The Advisory Panel was split into Subgroups – one for each Area of Focus. Subgroup participants were selected on the basis of recommendations made by the Steering Group, Scottish Government advisors, MGS staff, and others. The Subgroup consultations (May-Jun 2021) involved 21 facilitator-led discussions between stakeholders (professionals working in museums, equalities, education, and related sectors) to inform the work to be undertaken by external contractors. The subsequent Subgroups Report⁷ was distributed to all streams of consultation research.
- 2. The **Consultation Research Phase** involved four streams of consultation research, three carried out by external contractors and one by the Project Team:
 - The Priority Communities Consultation (Sep-Nov 2021) was facilitated and analysed by Intercultural Youth Scotland (IYS)⁸. This consultation took the form of focus groups, and utilised participatory action research methodology⁹.
 - The **Museum Workforce Focus Groups** (Aug-Nov 2021) were facilitated and analysed by the Project Team¹⁰. These utilised a grounded theory approach¹¹.
 - The Public Consultation (Sep-Nov 2021) was facilitated and analysed by the Diffley Partnership¹². Diffley administered three different surveys: through YoungScot, through ScotPulse, and a general public survey advertised on social media by MGS. These surveys were designed based on collaborative feedback from the Steering Group and the Priority Communities strand.

⁷ESSM Subgroups Report (not published) [22]

⁸IYS (2022) [14]

⁶ESSM Steering Group TOR (2021) [20]

⁹Participatory action research: *centres those who are the subjects of or most impacted by research, where they take the lead to frame the research questions, design, methods and analysis.* See: Reason, P., Bradbury, H. (2001) [31]

¹⁰MGS (2022) [23]

¹¹Mills, J., Birks, M., Hoare KJ. (2014) [26]

¹²Diffley (2022) [6]

- The Museum Workforce Surveys were facilitated and analysed by Rachel Forrest. These included two surveys: Chattel Slavery (Jul-Sep 2021)¹³, Empire & Colonialism (Jan-Feb 2022)¹⁴. This consultation also utilised a grounded theory approach.
- The Project Team also looked at two **Partner Consultations** prior to the Development of Recommendations, which were otherwise part of the ESSM consultation process (and similarly not part of the evaluation scope).
 - 'Legacies of Empire', by Miles Greenwood for Glasgow Museums¹⁵.
 - '*Equality, Diversity & Inclusion in Scottish Heritage*'¹⁶ (EDISH), run in partnership by MGS and the University of Strathclyde.
- 3. The **Development of Recommendations** (Jan-Mar 2022), undertaken by the Steering Group, Project Team and Advisory Panel.
- 4. The Feedback Phase, this included two separate strands:
 - Feedback Focus Groups(Mar-Apr 2022), facilitated and analysed by the Project Team, including general public, museum workforce and priority communities.
 - Feedback from Advisory Panel (Apr 2022). The Advisory Panel built upon the information gathered from the Feedback Focus Groups.

To visually communicate the scope of the ESSM project, a schematic of the ESSM consultation process is shown in Figure 2.1.

2.2 Project Outputs and Publications

The ESSM report was presented to the Scottish Government on 14th June 2022. The report took the form of two documents:

- The **Recommendations**¹⁷, summarised for the Scottish Parliament.
- The Guide to the Consultation¹⁸, which described the consultation process in detail.

In the ESSM report the Steering Group propose six inter-linked recommendations which form a process for change to '*transform how museums engage with the histories and contempo-rary realities of 21st-century Scotland*'. This project has taken a new approach to consultations in that it is asking wider questions beyond the traditional remit of MGS, such as considering how museums can contribute to improving racial equality and awareness and how the general public can be included in conversations about how museums should change and how action can happen. The Recommendations go beyond the Scottish Parliament's 2020 commitment to establish a slavery museum, and recognise that racism is a sector-wide problem.

¹³Forrest, R. (2021) [8]

¹⁴Forrest, R. (2022) [9]

¹⁵Greenwood, M. (2021) [11]

¹⁶Mahn, C., Iqbal, N. (2022) [17]

¹⁷ESSM Recommendations (2022) [24]

¹⁸ESSM Guide to the Consultation (2022) [25]

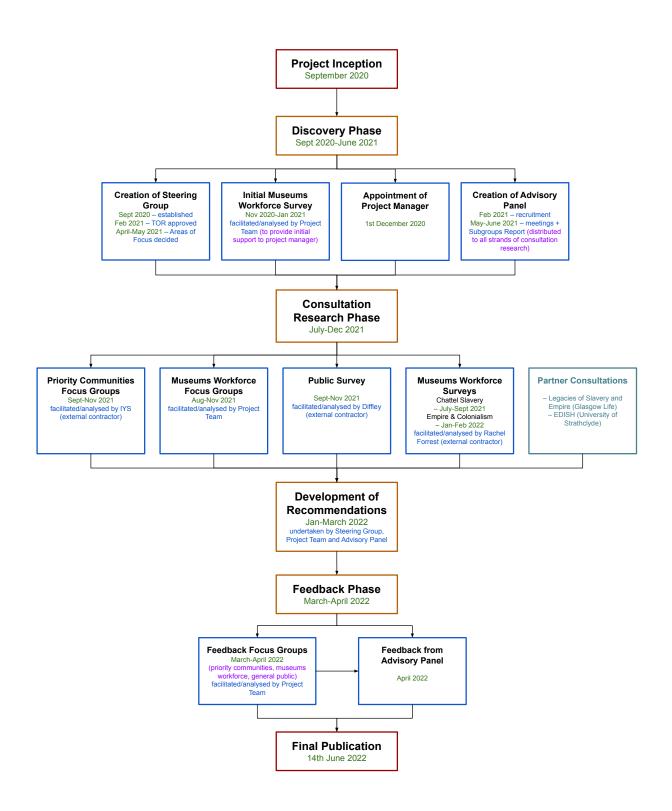


Figure 2.1: The ESSM Consultation Process

3 Analysis and major findings

The global '*reckoning for racial justice*', post-BLM, that galvanised much of the social and political climate after 2020 captured public attention and called governments and institutions to action. Projects resulting from this – such as ESSM – are aimed at generating institutional and systemic change to rectify historical and structural racism. Within this cultural context, the Steering Group was tasked with delivering tangible recommendations in a Scottish heritage context through the ESSM project.

Due to the emergent and groundbreaking nature of the area of inquiry, there has been no prior public consultation on this topic to act as a comparator to assist evaluation. In England, the National Trust and Historic England have carried out and are continuing research into the origins of their collections and the historical finance for building or acquiring their properties¹. Research into the history of the global slave trade and its consequences was started in the early 20th century, but almost exclusively looked at impacts in the colonies rather than how the beneficiaries spent their wealth and bounty in Britain². Probably the first publication illustrating Scotland's involvement in chattel slavery in the Caribbean was in 2015³; since then strong evidence has continued to grow to address Scotland's involvement in the British empire and the transatlantic slave trade⁴.

The ESSM project explored new ground, with novel approaches and previously unexplored areas, with a public consultation, in an area of contested discourse. Given this context and the diverse opinions of both the general public and within the Steering and stakeholder groups, the mixed methods approach employed, and the broad and evolving project goals, the publication of the Recommendations is a significant contribution to the national conversation around Scotland's historical involvement in slavery, empire and colonisation, and its continuing impact on people today.

¹National Trust (2020) [13]; Wills, M., Dresser, M. (2020) [39]

²Huxtable, SA. '*Wealth, Power and the Global Country House*' in National Trust (2020) [13] ³Devine, T. (2015) [5]

⁴Mullen, S. (2022) [27]; MacKinnon, I., Mackillop, A. (2020) [16]; Alston, D. (2021) [2]

As well as conducting their own research, the ESSM Project Team and Steering Group also drew on Glasgow Museums' parallel '*Legacies of Empire*' investigation⁵ and the '*Equality, Diversity & Inclusion in Scottish Heritage*' project⁶, run in partnership by MGS and the University of Strathclyde. The ESSM project has not only investigated injustice related to incorrect interpretation and historical funding sources, but also systemic racism within the museum sector.

3.1 Project Management, Delivery and Value

- "We did not leave any stone unturned. We discussed it with everybody, we discussed it with the communities that are living here."
- Scottish Government Culture and Equalities Team member

Project Delivery

The process of designing and delivering the ESSM consultation coincided with ongoing reflective practice, and an overdue sector-wide engagement with the issues arising, both within MGS and those engaged in the ESSM work across the museum sector. This was evident in a commitment to articulating the values and vision of anti-racism within core organisational values, and improving clarity and coherence within MGS and across the museum sector with regards to enacting sectoral change.

While the impetus was the Scottish Parliament's desire to investigate the feasibility of a 'museum of slavery' in Scotland (June 2020), the scope was broadened, following conversations with MGS, for the Scottish Government's Programme for Government (September 2020), to how both future and present museums address the legacies of empire and slavery. Thus the project aims defined in the Project Overview broadened considerably in comparison to the original motion presented in the Scottish Parliament. The ESSM project's goal was for the Steering Group to make 'concrete and sustainable recommendations to Scottish Government on how the Scottish museums and galleries sector can better address the legacies of slavery, empire and colonialism at every level'⁷.

There were '7 independent pieces of consultation and more than 40 workshops, holding countless discussions with the 100+ people who directly worked on this project, and consulting with almost 5,000 individuals nationwide'⁸. The evaluators recognise the effort and project management skills that must have been employed to successfully deliver a project of this scale in a relatively short timescale. Consistent feedback from those involved with the project, speak well of the relationship they had with the project manager and timeliness of delivery.

⁵Greenwood, M. (2021) [11]

⁶Mahn, C., Iqbal, N. (2022) [17]

⁷ESSM Project Overview (2021) [19] p2

The project's workload was distributed internally between Project Team members, which led to wide remits for individual staff members. For example, the team were not only responsible for overall project management, but also for conducting the museum sector surveys. This research

work could have been outsourced to contractors, but instead was successfully carried out within the team. This may have improved the project's value for money overall, but also implies that an opportunity was missed to involve more researchers in the process and thereby enhance co-production, generate additional new knowledge, and reduce workload for the MGS team.

"I think on the whole the project has been well run, well planned. [...] There has been a huge amount of research and consultations, all that work was done well."

- Scottish Government Culture and Equalities Team member

The Project Team indicated that commissioning of research contractors was a challenge, with not many responses to the public procurement exercises. Feedback from organisations, who flagged interest in the evaluation invitation to tender, but did not respond, cited reasons as being illness, work-overload, small budget, tight ITT deadline and lack of experience in subject matter. After reviewing the survey documentation and methods, the evaluators concluded that the external contractors appointed had sufficient expertise for their roles and their expertise elevated the quality of the research.

Tight delivery timescales meant that participation in the project was reportedly a stressful experience for some, which may have reduced opportunities for learning. One focus group participant reflected that time pressures coincided with tensions and confusions, adding: "*If there had been less of that pressure around or more people to share the burden of it, I think we would have had more of those positive moments of understanding. Often when things were at a point where they felt the most tense or the most confusing was because it was huge time pressure on what we were doing in that moment, or huge time pressure on what the Steering Group was doing and that increased that sense of stress."*

Project Value

The contemporary reckoning with the legacies and impacts of slavery, colonialism and empire takes place not just within the cultural heritage sector, but across society in Scotland and beyond. This includes new knowledge that makes quantification of 'value for money' of a project engaging with these legacies challenging at best. One illustrative example is work⁹ calculated that Britain drained a total of nearly \$45 trillion (in today's money) from India during the period 1765 to 1938. Scotland was a beneficiary of this, including in acquisitions to its museums and galleries. In this context, the evaluators concluded that the common practice of selecting a comparator project to appraise value for money was not appropriate, nor was it in any case

 ⁸ESSM Recommendations (2022) [24] p1
 ⁹Patnaik, U. in Chakrabarti, S., Patnaik, U. (2018) [4]

easily identifiable. Given the scale of the consultation, the evaluators conclude that the budget was appropriate for the work undertaken, and was utilised efficiently.

The order of magnitude of the required work as it applies to Scotland's legacy of slavery and empire is not a simple matter of a time-bound consultation process, however expertly delivered. Transformative work of this nature needs to be held, with social licence, collectively as an essential part of Scotland's common good. ESSM was a major contribution to this wider process.

The Recommendations were delivered on-time to revised schedule, and within revised budget¹⁰. The evaluators' appraisal is that the initial time-frames and budget set by the Scottish Government for the project were challenging, given the depth of investigation required to answer the questions posed. MGS requested an extension from the original project completion of November 2021 to May 2022 and associated budget increase. This was accepted by the Scottish Government as credible and necessary. The evaluators believe this was an important recognition of the care, discernment and attention needed to complete the work successfully. As a focus group participant said: "*It's probably made it a more robust project overall*". The revision of the schedule and budget indicated a growing awareness of the magnitude of sectoral change required, and the scale of the resources needed to implement this, including the review.

The evaluators have reviewed the project's budget and note that the budget does not entirely encompass the full cost of the project. The costs were significantly greater than that detailed in the revised budget, as MGS and museum sector staff time were not included in the financial analysis¹¹. The budget accounted for use of contractors; costs were controlled by the use of fixed fee contracts. All contractors found that the work involved was greater than MGS's original specification; the majority did not renegotiate contracts and this did not affect the budget appraisal presented in June 2022. Some of the research (museum sector focus groups) were done by MGS staff. This means that the budget does not reflect the full cost of the consultation. If a project such as this is to be repeated, then these considerations would need to be factored in the budget decision-making.

¹⁰The reported spend for this project was £159,000, excluding MGS staff time. See: Scottish Government (2022) FOI Request [34] This figure includes the contracted ESSM project manager and subcontractors Rachel Forrest, Intercultural Youth Scotland and the Diffley Partnership, the evaluation by the Centre for Human Ecology, general expenses and remuneration for participating in the Steering Group (for those who could not participate as part of their job), and payment of general public focus group participants.

¹¹MGS made a significant contribution to the funding by supplying project team members (communications, project management, support, secretarial functions and museum sector focus group facilitation), which equates to at least 1 FTE for the duration of the project. This contribution was excluded from the project budget.

3.2 The Human Rights Based Approach (HRBA)

"As part of a change journey, it was a really good approach."

- ESSM participant (museum workforce)

Using a Human Rights Based Approach (HRBA) ensured that principles of participation and non-discrimination, among others, were incorporated throughout the consultation process. The evaluators verified that this approach sufficiently informed the implementation of all aspects of ESSM, and that the majority of participants felt these principles were upheld.

The evaluators concluded that the application of HRBA established a useful ethical foundation for the direction of the project, made a valuable contribution to the design and had a direct impact on the successful delivery of ESSM. A specific example of application was in the design of the survey ethnicity question. Instead of the typical census-style closed multiplechoice ethnicity question, participants were invited to describe their ethnicity in their own words in an open text box, on the principle of self-identification. Although analysts found coding the data more difficult, this 'experiment' was received favourably by survey participants, challenged assumptions and practice, and created learning in unforeseen ways.

The ESSM approach made use of both the HRBA and considered the '*full diversity of the Scottish population*'¹² by targeting 'priority communities'¹³ in the consultation. The consultation process was thoughtfully designed to engage meaningfully with those working on, and affected by the historical and contemporary impact of empire, slavery and colonialism; and utilised the diverse knowledge and expertise of the Project Team, Advisory Panel and external contractors. For example, care was taken to ensure that safe spaces were created for participants to voice their opinions in on-line focus groups (Mentimeter was used to provide anonymity). MGS has also taken significant steps to ensure HRBA is disseminated and integrated within MGS and shared with the museum sector. However, the terminology did not sit comfortably with all project participants.

"We always use the terminology 'People of Colour', we don't really use the terminology 'priority communities', even though that's what's been set out. Because they just mean black and people of colour. [...] When you're a person who's been deemed as a priority community, that's not necessarily terminology you identify with at all, obviously. So there was pushback against the language."

- ESSM contractor

No evidence was found of the establishment of a specific sub-group concerning HRBA,

¹²ESSM Project Overview (2021) [19] p2

¹³Priority communities: people from communities who have been negatively impacted by the structural forms of discrimination and racism that can be connected to the legacies of empire, colonialism, and historic slavery. See: ESSM Guide (2022) [25] p52

as proposed in the Project Overview¹⁴ and important gaps in the principles' application were identified. Such a Subgroup would have provided additional scrutiny, accountability and oversight, ensuring wider application of HRBA and potentially enhancing the efficacy of the review process.

Some focus group participants expressed concern around how HRBA was communicated, and may have benefited from the principles and practice being explained in simpler and more accessible language.

"We were learning on the side about what the human rights based approach is, what that means, how MGS could better understand it and put it into practice [...] I found those sessions incredibly academic, and really useful, but I don't think they're particularly accessible. We probably would have been better with shorter sessions that were more practically focused."

- ESSM participant (MGS staff)

Nevertheless, a trauma-informed approach was an element in external contractors' work and the final Recommendations. There was a significant trauma-informed element in the antiracist research framework employed by IYS in their contribution to the consultation. This work, and their '*Museums (Re)told: The Legacy Report*'¹⁵ was extensively cited in the final recommendations report, which also concluded that work going forward needs to be trauma-informed.

3.3 ESSM Approach and Methodology

Reckoning with Scotland's legacy of slavery and empire, and its impact on people today, cannot be carried out in the duration of any single consultation process. In fact, some social change advocates identify the sense of urgency itself as potentially reinforcing structural racism, making it difficult to '*take time to be inclusive, encourage democratic and/or thoughtful decision-making, to think long-term, to consider consequences, and frequently results in sacrificing potential allies for quick or highly visible results'¹⁶.*

At times, the evaluators discerned that the ESSM process was not a discrete phase of work but an embodiment of one expression of a wider national social conscience. Therefore the process was inevitably imperfect, incomplete and provisional. To this end, the conventional structure of public consultation in general has significant limitations when engaging with such a complex matter of profound social concern.

As such, the evaluators contextualised ESSM within a wider '*arc of history bending to-wards justice*', and as an early iteration of what is hoped to be a longer-term societal project of decolonisation, truth and reconciliation. The innovation, boldness and experimentation this re-

¹⁴ESSM Project Overview (2021) [19] p8

¹⁵IYS (2022) [14]

¹⁶Brown , C., Jeffries-Logan, V., Johnson, M., Henderson, J., Kelley, J., Okun, T., Rivera Chapman, C. (2016) [3]

quired was much in evidence, but also led to weaknesses in implementation in some elements of the project.

The aims and remit of ESSM gave clarity and form to the impetus and call for change arising from the cultural movement that came in the wake of the BLM protests in 2020. Going beyond simply 'being seen to do something', the review took a flexible mixed methods approach, enabling evidence to be gathered from a diverse range of participants from multiple stakeholder groups.

The mixed methods approach enabled a diversity of participants – heritage experts, the museum sector, young people, the general public and priority communities – to contribute their views as evidence for the Recommendations. The project's multiple strands included traditional public consultation surveys, innovative online focus groups (using Mentimeter) and in-person

participatory action research. The diversity of the data gathering net was laudable, and the evaluators commend Steering Group's attention to detail for the survey instruments and focus group designs. This has given a richness to the data that has been gathered and which has contributed to the balance and reach of the Recommendations.

"As far as I know, this sort of survey has never been done before. So it's a first to have this survey and I think that's why it's really important to learn from this experience. It's huge."

- Steering Group member

Different aspects of the research consultation were designed and delivered by three different contractors. IYS took a participatory action research approach to focus group and survey design, whereas Forrest, Diffley and MGS took a qualitative social science approach for survey and focus group designs respectively.

Generational Differences, Creative Outcomes

A creative tension was observed with regards to the relationship between IYS and the Steering Group. IYS attempted a youth-led participatory action research approach whilst the other strands used a more traditional researcher-led social survey and focus group approach. While the evaluators felt such viewpoint diversity was a strength, a 'generation gap' was observed in terms of approach, with IYS representing a somewhat more radical perspective with regards to demands, time-frames and engagement. This contributed to a generative synthesis when incorporated into the wider work, with elements of good inter-generational practice. However, the youth participants asserted that they felt neither fully understood nor valued in their methods and mode of engagement. The difference in approach is reflected in the IYS report, which represents something of a countermanding 'minority report' when analysed alongside the main ESSM recommendations. Further exploration into this viewpoint diversity, in the spirit of cooperative inquiry could yield new useful directions for follow-up work.

Use of Digital Technology during the Consultation

This consultation took place largely in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, with the concomitant lockdown restrictions in place in Scotland at that time. This precluded the use of in-person consultation or public events. Within this context, the evaluators concluded that a sufficiently wide consultation took place, including the use of appropriate digital engagement technology to gain a wide range of stakeholder input to the project. However, the need for a predominantly online-only approach may have inhibited the potential reach of the consultation due to the digital tools, skills, knowledge and connectivity required and this may have proved a barrier to engagement in particular for some demographics¹⁷. The evaluators found little evidence that this was taken fully into consideration and that reasonable efforts were made to mitigate the effects.

Coordination and Project Management within ESSM

The Project Team and Steering Group made a strong effort to ensure the project was inclusive. All stakeholder groups had generally positive feedback for the Project Team and Project Manager, noting in particular that the Project Manager's knowledge and expertise made them well suited for the role.

"I think the Project Manager did a really good job [...] she was clearly familiar with the issues."

- Scottish Government Culture and Equalities Team member

The Diffley Partnership's expertise enabled them to effectively deliver the public research strand. However, they suggested that the priority communities research should be done by an organisation with specific communities based or anti-racism work experience (ultimately, it was awarded to IYS). Diffley carried out three surveys: one promoted through Young Scot (aimed at young people), one through ScotPulse (a consumer research panel), and a general public survey, which was advertised and promoted through social media by MGS. IYS and the Steering Group inputted into the survey question design. Diffley were contracted for two surveys (YoungScot and ScotPulse), but the Steering Group and Project Team were concerned that the ScotPulse survey demographics were not representative, and the third public survey (which was administered by Diffley and promoted by MGS) and associated bi-variate analysis were commissioned. The museum sector surveys were done by Forrest, independently of the other contractors' work.

The evaluators appreciated IYS's use of participatory action research. Such a methodology ensures that those participating in the research are not just objects of research (an extractive approach to knowledge creation) but are engaged subjects in the overall learning process¹⁸. The approach gives participants agency to ask the questions they want to ask and select the methods they want to use, thus narrowing the gap between people being researched and the

¹⁷Poole, L., Ramasawmy, M., Banerjee, A. (2021) [30]

¹⁸Ledwith, M. (2005) [15]; Reason, P., Bradbury, H. (2001) [31]

researchers, and creating a learning experience for the participants.

Survey Design and Inclusivity

The Steering Group requested an additional public survey and subsequent detailed bi-variate analysis to ensure demographic breadth of the responses, the latter following negative social media commentary. The evaluators were unable to discern whether this additional survey and the level of bi-variate analysis was necessary; and the extent to which the additional general public survey results were used as sound evidence in producing the Recommendations. Given that the investigation was a publicly contested space, the extra public survey may have been

valid; it presented an opportunity for those with negative views towards this project to voice their opinions. According to a focus group participant, "the project team were trying to dig deep into reaching people that would maybe not ordinarily be asked about these things or engage in something like this".

"The Steering Group and everyone else involved has really reached out and tried to get views from all aspects of the public."

- ESSM participant (MGS staff)

The evaluators noted a lack of co-production and coherence between the Steering Group, MGS and contractors in the designs of the surveys and focus groups. Care was taken to structure the surveys so that the phrasing was both appropriate for a public body and sensitive to the issues. There was some contention around the use of language, and the modifications took time until the Steering Group and IYS were satisfied. At the time this created tension, and several sources stated that more integration between the general public and priority communities strands would have helped the process. If co-production and communication between these groups had been encouraged and facilitated, much of the survey re-writing might have been circumvented by creating higher quality surveys at first draft, with buy-in and consensus from all involved. Ultimately, multiple iterations of survey design between all parties led to reduced efficacy of delivery, and increased work-load and stress. The evaluators note that this was exacerbated by the COVID pandemic whereby any in-person co-production was impossible.

Despite that, the final survey design was coherent, used language that was deemed appropriate by priority communities and enabled experimental use of an open question for defining an participant's ethnicity¹⁹.

Advisory Panel and Subgroups

The evaluators note the establishment of Advisory Subgroups and thematic division of the consultative sessions was a successful part of the research process. It allowed stakeholders

¹⁹The evaluators have reviewed the questions used in the surveys and Mentimeter, feel that some small enhancements could be made but also feel that that detailed level of review is not necessary here, as the results were adequate for their evidence-generating purpose.

(including Steering Group members) to engage in discussions on a broader range of topics pertaining to addressing slavery and colonialism within museum spaces. The addition of the Education Subgroup was especially significant, as the educational role of museums provides a valuable service in informing the public of new understandings of heritage interpretation.

Within each Subgroup theme, a wide range of complex issues were contained, each of which required significant attention, as the challenges and opportunities available to each type of museum/cultural heritage organisation are different. The evaluators conclude that the main hindrance to the process here was limited time, which may have impacted the extent to which participants could explore each theme.

"I think all the sessions [the Project Team] have run have been brilliant. I mean, as everybody said, they are nice, safe, inclusive spaces. So I think we have all been able to go on the journey together and actually feel like we're supported to make those steps."

- ESSM participant (MGS staff)

3.4 Governance, communication and oversight

Wider Social and Cultural Considerations

While the project inception was due to the Scottish Parliament's desire to investigate the feasibility of a 'museum of slavery' in Scotland, the original project goals defined in the Project Overview²⁰ were broader than the motion presented in the Scottish Parliament²¹.

The Steering Group will make concrete and sustainable recommendations to Scottish Government on how the Scottish museums and galleries sector can better address the legacies of slavery, empire and colonialism at every level. The recommendations will also investigate how to ensure people in Scotland are aware of the role Scotland played and how that manifests itself in our society today. This will include how to reflect, interpret and celebrate the wide ranging and positive contributions that the full diversity of the Scottish population have made and continue to make to Scotland. These recommendations will investigate the best mechanism of delivery of our shared past.

- ESSM Project Overview

The advantage of this broad approach is that it has enabled the project to investigate systemic racism within the heritage sector and give voice to 'priority communities' (in particular young people of colour). This led to examining the extent of systemic racism in the museum

²⁰ESSM Project Overview (2021) [19]

²¹Scottish Parliament (2020) [38]

sector and plausible recommendations and a pathway for addressing it. The breadth of the project's objectives meant that the scope lacked clarity and from a project management perspective, it created a complex project, with significant risk of mission creep.

The relatively short time frame, pressure to deliver concise, easily-understood recommendations, and attempts to measure the short-term social and economic impact of a review of injustice centuries in the making can be considered themselves legacies of an epistemology derived from an extractivist, colonial culture with a 'sense of urgency'. There was significant pressure on all involved in ESSM to deliver something substantial within such constraints. The evaluators note their success in doing so, while also observing the limitations on what is possible under such conditions.

This project requires long-term commitments to enact change, but short-term thinking is encouraged by job precarity and lack of secure tenure of those in key positions driving sectoral change. This creates the potential for gaps in continuity of leadership towards implementation, consolidation and sustainability of the ESSM recommendations, given the fragility of what has been achieved so far in a contested political climate.

Steering Group: Formation and Dynamics

The Steering Group was contracted to act in an advisory and expert capacity to ESSM, and the evaluators appraised that they carried out this role satisfactorily, and were suitable candidates for the task. COVID restrictions did limit relationship building and possibilities of early co-production. The Steering Group only met in person for the first time at the end of the project.

"[The Steering Group and other stakeholders] really came at the work from very different lenses, and it would have been nice to do some of that relationship-building around things like anti-racism beforehand. I think it became clear that we all had very different understandings of anti-racism, even when we wanted to all work in an anti-racist way, which isn't surprising. So yeah, maybe it would have been nice to utilise some of that knowledge and expertise in the Steering Group to kind of build us up to a form of consensus before we started."

- ESSM contractor

Subject expertise in itself does not denote expertise in Steering Group formation, and there appeared to be a lack of adequate preparation, relationship-building, induction, role clarification, and agreements around interpersonal conduct, reflective practice and co-production within the Steering Group. These aspects were not included in the procedural Terms of Reference (TOR) (a standard public sector TOR was used as the template).

Learning by Doing: Putting Anti-racism into Practice

"It was highlighted that this was the first time that museums were having these conversations and that they were super happy to be having conversations, but that they actually required us to initiate those in order to have the conversations even within their own organisations."

- Project Team member

The evaluators have found that MGS has benefited from organisational learning directly as a result of engagement with the project. Within MGS the project involved significant change to working practices and created opportunities for learning about anti-racism and decolonisation within the organisation. This represented the adoption of a reflective culture, and a commitment to ongoing transformation. As such, the role of the Project Team was beyond project management itself, as the project became a catalyst for conversations about change. The project became a learning journey for participants, stakeholders and the project team.

The potential of this learning was limited by a project rather than programme management approach; the latter would have encompassed better communication of progress and strategy (see next section) and integrated change management support and facilitation for staff.

Clarity, Oversight and Communication

"[There] could have been more of a connection between the different research strands. There were bits and pieces of that, but maybe just a bit more integration there between the [Priority] Communities and Public [strands] in terms of what was coming out, they could have been joined up a bit more."

- ESSM contractor

MGS continued using their normal communication channels during the project to communicate progress with the wider museum sector and encourage them to engage with the subject matter. Internally within ESSM, the evaluators noted consistent comments from focus group participants on the lack of a project overview or intra-project regular updates on how the project was evolving and this may have hampered progress.

Stakeholder groups reported a desire for better intra-project communication and consistency to facilitate the workflow. In particular, frequent changes to agreed deadlines and work targets were experienced as disruptive.

"It felt as if we weren't in possession of all of the information at any one given time. We were completely changing the plan and that change of plans happened really a lot of times and significantly disrupted our ability to be able to work."

- ESSM contractor

Impacts: Initial Observations

A full appraisal of the social and economic impacts of the project would require a longitudinal evaluation, as ESSM and its follow-up work is implemented over a longer time frame. The evaluators tentatively identified some early impacts, based on initial analytical observations, discourse analysis of media coverage of ESSM, and focus group data.

The evaluators assessed that the whole project has been a learning journey for all of those engaged in the project, organisationally and often individually. The project has changed MGS as an organisation significantly, with regards to attitudes and practices. One of the contractors has adopted HRBA and has already used it in subsequent surveys with other clients.

The ESSM recommendations highlight the need for financial support of the museum sector to do this important work as the sector lacks resources to enact the recommendations identified in the project: to do the detailed and extensive work to embed anti-racist practice within their organisations, workplaces and educational material and strategies; initiate outreach with local communities on this topic; undertake the detailed investigation of each and every item in their collection which may have direct or indirect links with empire or slavery; and enact solutions for each item from updating interpretation, creating new educational materials, and engaging with international parties to discuss repatriation or restitution. The evaluators note that there has been a significant contribution from the museum sector to this project and more recently the evaluators have noticed survey fatigue. The evaluators recommend that impacts of participation on participants should be allowed for and incorporated in the planning of future engagement.

"I think there were lots of really good moments of really positive practice and MGS really trying to understand our perspectives as an organisation and understand where we were coming from."

- ESSM contractor

At the conclusion of their work, the evaluators observed initial evidence of the wider social impact of ESSM. The launch of the report and recommendations received cross-media coverage in Scotland, and attracted lively discussion and engagement on social media. Additionally, the evaluators determined that the August 2022 agreement between Glasgow Museums and Indian authorities to repatriate seven antiquities – becoming the second institution in Scotland (after the University of Aberdeen²²) to do so – was associated with the impact of ESSM, in that Glasgow Museums were a named partner in ESSM²³. The Scottish National Party included implementing the ESSM Recommendations in its 2022 local elections manifesto²⁴. Similarly, Edinburgh City Council's Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review, also chaired by ESSM chair Sir Geoff Palmer. One of its ten recommendations is "for the Council to endorse the work of the Empire, Slavery & Scotland's Museums Steering Group (ESSM) which was es-

²²University of Aberdeen (2021) [1]

²³The repatriation originated in a recommendation made in April 2022 by Glasgow City Council's cross-party Working Group for Repatriation and Spoliation. See: Glasgow Life (2022) [10]

²⁴Scottish National Party (2022) [36]

tablished by the Scottish Government, and commits to exploring how the capital can contribute to the creation of a dedicated space addressing Scotland's role in this history"²⁵.

²⁵Edinburgh City Council (2022) [7]

4 Conclusions and Recommendations

"There's never anything that can go wrong with more relationship building."

- Steering Group member

The evaluators make the following recommendations for future projects and the implementation of the ESSM work:

1. Implement novel approaches for tackling Scotland's legacy of empire, slavery and colonialism

Traditional approaches to public consultation- short-term, results-oriented and sector-specificare not optimal for initiatives addressing grave historical injustice and continuing complex impacts. Instead, the evaluators advocate recognition by policy-makers that interventions addressing Scotland's legacy of empire, slavery and colonialism are a society-wide transformational learning process, requiring novel approaches and practices and long-term and secure commitments to resourcing and staffing, going beyond the remit of any one organisation or body.

2. Conduct Research that integrates a human rights based approach with coproduction and participatory and trauma-informed practices

HRBA made a significant positive contribution to the project approach and delivery, and contributed to change in the working practices at MGS and some consultants. The evaluators recommend that follow-up research and surveys implementing the ESSM recommendations integrate tools and strategies for participation with the HRBA. Practices such as participatory action research and co-production can involve those most affected at the decision-making and design stage. Further, these processes should be underpinned by trauma-informed practices throughout, with adequate training put in place for those undertaking and facilitating the work.

In addition, an adequately resourced Subgroup may be put in place ensuring monitoring and evaluation of HRBA and related approaches in a reflective fashion, and provide specialised oversight and accountability to aspects of project consultations dealing with sensitive and potentially traumatising work.

3. Implement holistic programme management, including appropriate communication of progress and strategy and change management, for all project stakeholders

Asking people to change their working practices at the same time as implementing a series of small projects requires more relationship management than a conventional project. Given the sensitive nature of this work, the availability of sufficient pastoral care and appropriate support for worker's and participant's well-being may enhance morale and reduce stress. Within programme management methodology, this comes under change management¹ and is typically used when there are significant work-flow and/or organisational changes impacting staff. Programmes characteristically have multiple inter-linked sub-projects which require: ongoing holistic monitoring against original strategy and scope (and revision where necessary) by the programme managers; and facilitated engagement of the multiple sub-project leaders in this evaluation process. The evaluators recommend that programme management practices, with a holistic and coherent evaluative approach and change management, are employed for complex projects of this nature, including follow-on work from ESSM.

4. Enhance project governance with commitments towards co-production, healthy group dynamics, reflective practice and evaluation

If a Steering Group is convened for future implementation of ESSM recommendations and follow-up work, improved recruitment and induction practices at the formation stage and ongoing support where required can help ensure adequate preparation, relationship-building, role clarification, and agreements around interpersonal conduct, reflective practice and coproduction. Improving practice within the Steering Group and other stakeholder groups can aid mutual learning and a trauma-informed governance approach, as well as ensuring subject expertise. Convening such a group is ideally a transparent process with clear guiding principles and rationale.

5. Consider inter-generational practice to foster improved collaboration

Engagement with young people would be enhanced by inter-generational practice in the spirit of co-operative inquiry, allowing for generative conversations across differences and creating useful knowledge exchange. Emergent radical approaches to social change can be integrated with expertise and experience, but this requires care, deep listening and commitment to mutual respect.

¹Murray-Webster, R., Dalcher, D. (2019) [28]

6. Demonstrate long-term commitment to tackling the legacy of colonialism, empire and slavery through secure job tenure and investment

The gravity and societal importance of work addressing the legacy of empire, colonialism and slavery in Scotland requires institutional commitments to transformation, and for the work to be well-resourced and secure. Fixed term contracts lead to job insecurity, precarity and organisational complacency, do not increase organisational competencies² and prevent the necessary long-term organisational learning required to implement these important cultural changes. Staff in leadership positions driving change should ideally be employed on a permanent basis to have the tenure to do so securely and with a long-term view.

7. Ensure equitable digital access to consultations

Any tools used in the research and consultative process may appropriately take into consideration matters of equitable digital access, and the possibility of marginalising those with limited accessibility, e.g. typing skills, connectivity issues, and language barriers. Improved steps could be taken to facilitate participants with visual or hearing accessibility needs, as well as translator facilitation for migrants and New Scots who may not use English in verbal or written communication.

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