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## 13. Ethnicity and Race

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### Abstract

To understand and challenge contemporary inequalities and exclusions, human geographers need an understanding of the ways in which the geographical imagination has shaped our ideas about ethnicity and race over space and time. This chapter considers definitions of race and ethnicity and the contested nature of these categories, outlines how ideas about race developed in science and society, and explores contemporary debates about the decolonisation of public histories.

### Introduction

Individual feelings about being ‘in place’ or ‘out of place’ (see chapter 5) are influenced by identities and personal experiences, and by the ways in which identity categories have been constructed and represented by society. The ways in which a place is experienced is also influenced by the histories (*his*-stories) which dominate our cultural landscapes – which continue to reflect colonial (and exclusionary/ exploitative) pasts, and exclude parts of the story (see chapter 6). To understand these exclusions, it is critical to have an understanding of the ways in which social identities, including gender, race, class and national identity have been constructed and imagined over space and time. This chapter considers definitions of race and ethnicity and the contested nature of these categories; outlines the ways in which ideas about difference and later ‘race’ have developed historically in science and society; and explores some ongoing debates around the decolonisation of public histories.

### Social Construction of Race and Ethnicity

Ethnicity and race are forms of social identity which are now widely understood by human geographers (and other social scientists) as ‘**socially constructed**’ rather than fixed and unchanging (or innate) entities (Barnes, 2009; Jackson, 1989; Kobayashi, 2003) – an idea which can also be applied to other identity categories. In relation to gender, for example, the dominant nineteenth century European view of gender roles was that women should have domestic roles at home and it was perceived as unnatural to take on public roles, while twenty-first century gender roles are much more diverse, with both men and women taking

on multiple roles. Gender identities have also become more fluid (chapter 12, 72) reflecting cultural shifts in attitudes over time. Historically human society has always had a concern with difference from a perceived ‘norm’, so that one group is considered as belonging and other groups are seen as outsiders. In the Greek and Roman periods those living outside an urban metropolis were understood as living in the ‘wilderness’ and considered wild and savage. In the medieval period, when only three continents were known to Europeans, manuscripts and maps displayed images of monstrous peoples at the edges of the known world, partly reflecting the medieval craving for the bizarre and fantastic (Sharpe, 2008; Winlow, 2020). The idea of difference beyond the known world existed in advance of European colonialism and influenced the ways in which ‘new’ worlds were perceived. Thus, ideas of difference had a long history before more recent concepts of ‘race’ emerged.

Definitions of race and ethnicity are complex and overlapping and our current understandings have been heavily influenced by nineteenth century ideas. The term ‘race’ is associated with the idea that there exist a number of discrete and measurable biological groups. The emergence of the idea of race is outlined further below. Ethnicity as a term is often associated with belonging to a cultural group, and aspects of ethnicity may include religious traditions, language use, belief systems and cultural practises (such as culinary and musical traditions), but ethnicity can also include ancestry (therefore overlapping with ideas about race) and may also overlap with concepts of national identity. Nash (2012, 2013, 2015) argues that labels associated with race, ethnicity and national identity are used in overlapping and contradictory ways in relation to both popular and scientific discourse around ancestry. A brief consideration of the UK and US modern census categorisations (Figures 13.1a and 13.1b) serves to illustrate the ways in which race, ethnicity and nationality categories are used – and demonstrates that these identity categories are socially constructed.

<insert Figure 13.1a and 13.1b here>

Figure 13.1a: Individual questions 14 and 15 from Census Questionnaire for England 2021, Source: Office for National Statistics, UK 2021.

Figure 13.1b: Questions 8 and 9 From US National Census 2020, Source: US Census Bureau 2020.

## **Geographical imagination and representations of difference**

Influenced by colonial expansion and global economic dominance, by the late sixteenth century Europeans had developed a sense of themselves as culturally superior in comparison with other parts of the world (Wintle, 1999). This idea was reinforced by imaginative geographies (chapter 23) through which representations of other parts of the globe were portrayed to readers in Europe, using different modes of representation such as travellers' accounts, artwork, maps and later photography (Driver 1994, 2004; Ryan 1998; Mills, 1993; Morin 1998; Winlow, 2020). As more geographical 'discoveries' were made a European cartographic tradition emerged, which placed Europe visually at the centre of the world map. This is clearly demonstrated through Mercator's still widely used 1569 projection, which also distorts the northern latitudes, with the result that Africa and South America appear considerably smaller than in reality.

Edward Said's influential text *Orientalism* (first published in 1978) evaluates the ways in which Europeans imagined the East, or the Orient through an examination of European travellers' accounts, novels and historical and political texts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Morrissey, 2014; Sharp, 2009). Through analysing these texts, Said introduced the concept of the 'other' as a binary category, where the peoples of the Orient were stereotypically viewed by Europeans as the opposite of the white western European 'self' - with ideas of the exotic, mystical, or despotic Easterner viewed as different to the rational and scientific European. The cultures of the Orient were seen as one homogenous culture and not recognised for their diversity. Said (1978) argued that there was not a cut-off point for these representations - *Orientalism*, or otherness, is still widely reflected in the way different cultural groups are represented today.

Before the 'discovery' of the Americas, there already existed in European consciousness a conception of 'otherness' which included myths about 'wild' environments, populated by monstrous peoples, man-eating cannibals, Amazonian females and untold wealth. These myths influenced the first explorers to the Americas. The word 'canibal' – appeared in Columbus' log of 1492 (after encountering a tribe who were very fearful of another tribe who they appeared to call 'canibale'), and on encountering a fierce looking individual a few months later, the idea of the 'island of canibales' was born and used to justify genocide against both the Carib and Arawak tribes in the Caribbean (Motohashi, 1999). Ideas about savage man-eating tribes were later applied to whole swathes of South America, perpetuated

both in travel accounts, repeated and republished in different European languages, and through cartography – images of cannibals appeared in South America in Mercator's 1569 atlas (Figure 13.2). Whilst over time the lingering medieval ideas of the existence of monstrous others receded as a result of colonial encounters with real indigenous groups, the ideas of difference, inferiority, or savagery remained and influenced the development of a specifically racialised discourse.

< insert figure 13.2 here >

Figure 13.2: Extract from Mercator's Map of the World in Atlas Form Source: Mercator, 1569, Source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France (Public domain/ open source)

### Summary

- Ethnicity and race are not fixed entities but categories which have been socially constructed in different times and places
- Categories of race, ethnicity and national identity are overlapping and labels are often used interchangeably
- Throughout the colonial period different forms of representation were used to construct Europeans as dominant, in relation to a perceived inferior overseas 'Other'

### A brief history of 'race'

Modern ideas about racial difference have their roots in the eighteenth century, when scientists assumed a link between observed colour difference and different physical environments (Appiah, 2016). This idea of colour difference between human groups ('white', 'yellow', 'Negro' and 'red') as well as assumptions about the supposed superiority of white groups was evident in the work of Immanuel Kant, who also first used the term 'race' (Elden, 2009). Kobayashi (2003) notes that Kant's stress on the links between skin colour and distance from the equator fed into new ways of thinking about race. In his *Systema Naturae* (1735), Karl Linnaeus, was the first to identify modern humans as 'homo' within the group of quadrupeds, adding homo-sapiens to his system of binominal (two-part) classification in the 1750s (Appiah 2016, Linnean Society, 2022). The first 9 editions of his book (1735-1756) divided humanity into 4 'varieties': 'European white', 'American red', 'Asian tawny', and 'African black'. These initial divisions were associated with the known four continents at that time, with differences in skin colour assumed to be linked to climate, not biology. During the

1750s Linneaus broadened his classifications and the 10<sup>th</sup> edition of his book suggested links between the varieties and the four ‘temperaments or humours’ (accepted in the eighteenth century) as well as adding other moral attributes to his scheme. While he is not known to have used the term ‘race’ this marked a departure from purely geographic or environmental factors and partly paved the way for the emergence of ‘**scientific racism**’ (Linnean Society, 2022). These assumptions around geography and difference were also reflected in other eighteenth century work. For example, travelogues widely constructed the Tropics as having a climate which was not conducive to work and inhabitants were frequently portrayed as lazy (Driver, 1994; Livingstone 1992).

As the evidence for species evolution amassed, a number of evolutionary theories were proposed and circulated in Europe in the early nineteenth century (Livingstone, 1992). However, it was only after the publication of Charles Darwin’s *Origin of Species* in 1859, which outlined his theory of natural selection, that evolutionary theories began to receive widespread public acceptance. Alfred Russell Wallace had independently come to the same conclusions about species evolution. During this same time period many of the fields that we recognise today as separate academic disciplines were becoming established in universities (including geography, anthropology, biology (including the sub-disciplines of zoology and physiology) and as scientific societies.

Science and society influence one another and the development of scientific ideas does not take place in a void. Geographers and anthropologists collected extensive amounts of data from across the globe in attempts to classify and map supposed racial ‘types’ associated with different regions of the world – measuring and mapping traits such as head size, stature and pigmentation. Colonial pre-cursors to this idea of racial measurement include the doctrine of ‘blood purity’ developed by the Spanish Empire which led to a hierarchical division of groups based on recent ancestry, including the categories of mestizo and mulatto (Kosek, 2009). Systems of division by blood were later used in both the US and in Australia. Many data charts and maps were published in anthropological and geographical journals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and a diversity of racial classifications were proposed. As all the measured characteristics exist on a continuous scale quite different conclusions could, and indeed were, drawn. Within Europe for example, and drawing on the widespread data that had been collected across the region, anthropologists variously argued for the existence of one European race, three European races, and ten European races

(Winlow, 2006). Social Darwinism, which encompassed many forms, many with no direct association with Darwin's theories, led to widespread commentary among nineteenth and early twentieth century scientists on the assumed links between physical and mental or intellectual traits. In Europe, this led to claims of racial hierarchy, with white Europeans at the top. Many geographers strongly supported the concept of environmental determinism (see chapter 39), which assumed that societal (and racial) development was determined solely by the environment. A pseudo-science based on flawed assumptions about race became widespread (Gould, 1981). While some individual scientists, including geographers, were careful to reject ideas of a racial hierarchy this was the exception rather than the rule.

In addition to physical characteristics, data related to ethnicity was widely collected by geographers and anthropologists. Ethnographic and linguistic maps were used to justify national boundaries and to consolidate national territories. The mapping of ethnic territories played a role in political discourse in nineteenth century Russia. Imperial policies on the organization of territory coincided with the development of Russian science, with work on ethnic demarcation progressing in parallel with developments in geography, ethnography and cartography (Petronis, 2007). The Imperial Russian Geography Society (IRGS) established in 1845 focused on the mapping of the western and northwestern parts of the Russian Empire, which included a wide mix of ethnicities, and linguistic groups. Initially the area was largely perceived as Polish, but after a Polish uprising in 1830-31 policies of de-Polinisation were put into practice. This included the production of ethnographic maps which divided the area into dominant Belarusian, Lithuanian and Polish ethnicities, and later enabled these groups to use the maps to develop their own nationalist agendas.

Photography was also widely used to reinforce ideas about race and ethnicity. Photography developed in the late nineteenth century at a time when an interest in cataloguing race types was prominent and photographic techniques were quickly put to use (Ryan, 1998).

Photographs were extensively used to classify racial type, alongside the collection of physical measurements – such as head size using callipers - both within and outside Europe.

Francis Galton, for example, promoted photographic techniques for classifying criminal, supposedly degenerate types, within the British population. Ideas about otherness were thus applied to segments of the British population. Ideas about exotic difference were also reinforced through photography. Photography was widely used to catalogue different tribal groups and traditional lifestyles. Figure 13.3 provides an example – a staged photograph of

members of the Konyak Nagas group from Assam from 1935-6 – the catalogue label is telling – no named individuals are listed but keywords that were catalogued include ‘ethnic’, ‘tree’, ‘body decoration’, ‘eccentric’, ‘exotic’ and ‘primitive’. Photography was widely used to gather data on indigenous groups who were assumed would die out – this ‘salvage motif’ was evident in the work of Edward Curtis (Library of Congress, 2023) in the US. Stereotyped images of passive indigenous groups are being challenged by the work of indigenous photographers.

< insert figure 13.3 >

Figure 13.3: Konyak Nagas in Assam, East India Source: E.T.D. Lambert, 1935-36, Photo credit: Royal Geographical Society picture library.

The idea of racial groups as separate biological entities has been disproved by late twentieth century genetic discoveries. By 2000 85% of the human genome had been mapped and it is now accepted that humans are 99% similar at a genetic level, with surface differences such as skin colour making up the last 1% (Malik, 2009). As such race does not exist. Yet ideas about race and ethnicity are remarkably persistent both in society and in science, as demonstrated through census categories, equal opportunities monitoring surveys, prescribing of drugs based on assumed ethnicity, ancestry testing and ongoing racial discrimination. Scholars, including human geographers, working in areas of critical race theory, ethnic studies and cultural studies now understand race as having no universal form and being produced differently in different times and places (see chapter 70). Some scholars have moved away from using the term race, and moved ‘beyond race’ in order to deny any overarching integrity or coherence to the concept, while still being attentive to the ways in which racisms are a lived reality (Kosek, 2009).

### Summary

- Initial ideas about human difference around the globe were linked to observed colour difference seen in different geographical locations.
- Racial categories and hierarchies were reinforced through ‘scientific racism’, and different modes of representation including maps and photography
- Race does not exist. Some scholars use the term ‘beyond race’ to recognise this, while still recognising the lived experience of individuals.

## **Decolonising Public Histories**

Currently there is a focus in Higher Education institutions and in the heritage sector on ‘decolonising’ public histories and decolonising educational curricula in order to tell more inclusive histories (including recent debates in human geography, Noxolo, 2017; Radcliffe 2022; see also Indigenous Peoples Speciality Group, AAG 2023), and create more inclusionary and accessible environments. Ongoing debates surround repatriation of artefacts taken by European societies from overseas cultures, how museums represent and label or display artefacts taken from other societies in the colonial past, whose histories are represented in the cultural landscape (e.g. through public monuments and memorials), and which histories are represented and repeated in high school and university education curriculum. How often is school history about white male heroes? How often are the negative aspects of colonialism discussed?

In May 2020 black American George Floyd was killed in broad daylight by white police-officer Derek Chauvin in Minnesota, an event which drew global media attention to the ongoing issues of police brutality and discrimination in the US, leading to international support for the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement through a series of anti-racist demonstrations. One of these protests took place in Bristol, UK on 7<sup>th</sup> June 2020 when the statue of Transatlantic slave-trader Edward Colston was removed from its plinth and pushed into Bristol Harbour by protestors (Siddique and Skopeliti, 2020; Choksey, 2021). In the following months Bristol renamed several schools, removing the name Colston and replacing this with alternatives. Following a public campaign, Colston Hall (now Bristol Beacon), the city’s largest music venue, agreed to change its name in 2017 but only removed the old lettering from its building a few days after the Colston statue removal (see also chapter 29). In Bristol there had been recognition of Colston’s role in the slave trade since at least the 1990s and several earlier calls from residents for his statue to be removed, but, as in other locations, the death of George Floyd acted as a catalyst public action to take place.

In South Africa, The Rhodes Must Fall movement has focused on the decolonisation of education. The movement originated amongst a group of staff and students at Cape Town University in 2015 with initial focus on the removal of a statue of British imperialist Cecil Rhodes at Capetown University – which was seen as a symbol of repression and institutional racism. Later actions focused on issues of access to accommodation for black students, and

on disparity in the numbers of black professors at the institution and on the transformation of the curriculum (Mangcu, 2017). The movement led to the emergence of allied student movements around the globe, including at other universities in South Africa, as well as in the US and the UK. Following a council vote at the university the statue was removed on April 9<sup>th</sup> 2015, but public opinion on the issue remained divided. At Oriel College Oxford, another statue of Rhodes was the subject of controversy in 2015 (Ahmed, 2020) where students called for the removal of the statue, but university donors threatened to remove large-scale financial support if this occurred. Following the death of George Floyd, two large protests took place outside the college. Following legal consultation, the college decided against removal of the statue and now a new contextual plaque (Grierson and Gale, 2021) has been installed next to the statue (figure 13.5a and 13.5b). This case reflects some of the public debate in the UK about whether statues should be removed, or be re-contextualised through extra labelling to recognise the negative impacts of those represented.

< insert figure 13.4 a and 13.4b here >

Figure 13.5a: Statue of Cecil Rhodes, Oriel College, Oxford. Photo credit Heather Winlow.  
Figure 13.5b: Recontextualisation plaque, Oriel College, Oxford. Photo Credit: Heather Winlow.

The continued imagining of the British country as a white space has been challenged by academics, artists and activists for several decades (Pollard, 1988, 2022; Muslim Hikers Network 2023). Recently there has been a significant recognition by the National Trust in the UK of the role of historic slavery and colonialism in its collections, with a new focus on telling more inclusive histories through its colonial countryside project (Huxtable *et al* 2020). This has faced challenges from right-wing media, politicians and a break off group, Restore Trust, who prefer a more sanitised version of the past (Hinsliff 2021;; Lester 2021).

Heritage interpretations, like any form of representation, are selective. Recent critical examinations of a number of plantation museums in the South Eastern USA reveal how the tour narratives and landscapes whitewash slavery and also fail to acknowledge the genocide of native peoples that made these spaces available for incorporation into the Atlantic slave economy (Inwood, J.F.J. *et al.*, 2020).

## Summary

- There are ongoing debates in contemporary society about how colonial pasts should be represented
- Selective histories of the past remain in our urban landscapes, our school and university curriculums and at heritage sites.

## Conclusion

Recent genetic developments have disproved the existence of discrete racial groups, yet historical racial categorisations are still widely used both in science and society. Some social scientists have moved 'beyond race', while retaining a focus on interrogating systems of exclusion and discrimination which continue to impact everyday lived experiences. As human geographers, part of our role involves questioning the accepted status quo in relation to identities and inequalities. This includes challenging the ways in which assumed identity categories, including race and ethnicity, are linked to systematic forms of exclusion and discrimination. We need to continue to critique the reasons why particular groups are excluded from access to particular places, institutions and services, as well as making improvements to access. But these exclusions cannot be adequately addressed without considering the wider power dynamics operating in society, where critical postcolonial histories are often still rejected or simply overlooked.

Issues of race and ethnicity as a focus of research was largely ignored within geography following the widespread rejection of racism after World War Two and during the mid-twentieth century spatial science dominated the discipline. Some focus on race and spatial inequalities was undertaken in the 1960s and 1970s, but it is only since the late 1980s and the critical turn in geography, when race as a social construct was accepted, that a diverse range of critical work in this area has taken place. This has included a focus on whiteness (Bonnett, 2000, 2022) on the creation of hegemonic landscapes (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Inwood 2020; Parnell, 2020; Whelan 2014) and on the ways in which historical modes of representation had reinforced ideas of otherness (Driver 1994, 2004). In the last decade there has been an increasing body of work both in Indigenous geographies and Black geographies, emphasising the agency of Indigenous and Black spatial thought and the voice of Indigenous and Black geographers with wider critical links to key global challenges such as climate change and access to resources (chapters 41 and 42). Work on decolonising geography as a

discipline is also taking place, which includes recognition of how the discipline has been and still is shaped by colonial pasts, and finding ways to integrate more inclusive representation and curricula (see chapter 71).

### Discussion Points

1. Consider the US 2020 census questions 8 and 9 (figure 1b). Why does question 8 ask about Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin? Why might the categories used in US census question 9 be problematic? Do you view the categories used as ‘race’ categories? For both the UK and US censuses would all participants be able to easily select a category to which they ‘belong’? Discuss and provide examples.
2. What does otherness mean? What examples of otherness have you seen applied to groups within contemporary society? Do historical ideas about difference still influence perceptions of the global south?
3. Using the maps produced by the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, explore the financial and embodied connections between the British countryside and slavery <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/> How did profits from the slave trade shape the British countryside?
4. During your time at school which histories did you learn? To what extent were the impacts of colonialism discussed?

### Further Reading

Gilroy, P. (1993) *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness*, London: New York, Verso.

A classic text. A postmodern challenge to traditional categories of race and national identity. Gilroy argues that the Black Atlantic is defined by ‘routes’ not ‘routes’ whereby the movement of peoples and cultural traditions have resulted in a transatlantic black diaspora.

Gould, S. J. (1981) *The Mismeasure of Man*, London & New York: Penguin.

Classic work outlining and critiquing the development of scientific racism.

Ryan J. (1998) Ryan, J. (1998) *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Historical geographical account of how photography was used to support colonial perspectives on overseas peoples and environments.

Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism*. London. Penguin.

Classic post-colonial text introducing concept of *Orientalism*, based on analysis of European writings about the Orient.

Sharp, J. (2023) *Geographies of Postcolonialism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Introduces key themes relating to postcolonialism and explores post-colonialism through the geographies of imagination, knowledge and power.

Winlow, H. (2020) Mapping, Race and Ethnicity. In: Kobayashi, A (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 2nd edition, volume 8, Elsevier, pp.309-321.

Analysis of the ways in which cartography has reinforced ideas about racial division and how this developed historically.

### Online Materials

Appiah, K.A., Mistaken Identities: Colour, BBC Reith Lecture Podcast  
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Figure 13.1a: Individual questions 14 and 15 from Census Questionnaire for England 2021, Source: Office for National Statistics, UK 2021.

**8. Is Person 1 of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?**

- No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
- Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano
- Yes, Puerto Rican
- Yes, Cuban
- Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin – *Print, for example, Salvadoran, Dominican, Colombian, Guatemalan, Spaniard, Ecuadorian, etc.* ↴

**9. What is Person 1's race?**

Mark  one or more boxes **AND** print origins.

- White – *Print, for example, German, Irish, English, Italian, Lebanese, Egyptian, etc.* ↴

- Black or African Am. – *Print, for example, African American, Jamaican, Haitian, Nigerian, Ethiopian, Somali, etc.* ↴

- American Indian or Alaska Native – *Print name of enrolled or principal tribe(s), for example, Navajo Nation, Blackfeet Tribe, Mayan, Aztec, Native Village of Barrow Inupiat Traditional Government, Nome Eskimo Community, etc.* ↴

- |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese   | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Vietnamese | <input type="checkbox"/> Native Hawaiian   |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Filipino   | <input type="checkbox"/> Korean                | <input type="checkbox"/> Samoan  |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Asian Indian   | <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese              | <input type="checkbox"/> Chamorro  |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other Asian – <i>Print, for example, Pakistani, Cambodian, Hmong, etc.</i> ↴ |  | <input type="checkbox"/> Other Pacific Islander – <i>Print, for example, Tongan, Fijian, Marshallese, etc.</i> ↴ |

- Some other race – *Print race or origin.* ↴

Figure 13.1b: Questions 8 and 9 From US National Census 2020, Source: US Census Bureau 2020.



Figure 13.2: Extract from Mercator's Map of the World in Atlas Form Source: Mercator, 1569, Source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France (Public domain/ open source)



Figure 13.3: Konyak Nagas in Assam, East India Source: E.T.D. Lambert, 1935-36, Photo credit: Royal Geographical Society picture library.



Figure 13.4a: Statue of Cecil Rhodes, Oriel College, Oxford. Photo credit Heather Winlow.

## The Rhodes Statue



This building was constructed by Oriel College in 1909-11 with money left in the will of Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902), a former student of the college. The college commissioned a series of statues to front the building which included Rhodes at the top.

Rhodes, a committed British colonialist, obtained his fortune through exploitation of minerals, land, and peoples of southern Africa. Some of his activities led to great loss of life and attracted criticism in his day and ever since.

In recent years, the statue has become a focus for public debate on racism and the legacy of colonialism. In June 2020, Oriel College declared its wish to remove the statue but is not doing so following legal and regulatory advice.

Find out more: [www.oriel.ox.ac.uk/rhodes-contextualisation](http://www.oriel.ox.ac.uk/rhodes-contextualisation)



 Oriel College  
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Figure 13.4b: Recontextualisation plaque, Oriel College, Oxford. Photo Credit: Heather Winlow.