

**INQUIRY INTO THE RESEARCH AND TEACHING OF EUGENICS AT UCL
EMPIRICAL REPORT**

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**Empirical Report Submitted as Part of The Report of Recommendations
by the Commission of Inquiry into the History of Eugenics at UCL**

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Abstract

This study was designed to contribute to the work of the Commission of Inquiry into the History of Eugenics at UCL, appointed in December 2018 by UCL President and Provost Professor Michael Arthur. The study aimed to capture the views of as many members as possible of the UCL community and interested members of the public regarding the history of eugenics at UCL and its contemporary relevance.

The Commission explored four questions with those who came to give evidence and these were the questions explored in the questionnaire and focus groups devised for this research: What is your understanding/awareness of eugenics and its links with UCL's history? Does the information on the history of eugenics at UCL change your perception of the university? What is your position on the naming of spaces on UCL campus after persons who founded and promoted eugenics? How do you think UCL should approach its historical role in the teaching of and research on eugenics?

In order to answer the research questions, this empirical study used a mixed-methods approach, with quantitative and qualitative data collected through three online surveys –with 1,739 initial participants and a total of 1,212 completed surveys– which solicited open comments, as well as pre-coded responses and qualitative data generated from fourteen lunch-hour focus groups with a total of 65 participants.

The findings suggest that there is a marked division in the opinions of the UCL community. On one hand, some members focus on the historical nature of teaching and research on eugenics at UCL and are concerned that UCL might take a 'revisionist' approach to this history. On the other, some members consider that the legacy of eugenics is still very much present at UCL through institutional racism and ableism. In addition, many participants share common concerns across this divide. A major point of agreement is that no one 'wants to erase history' but there are different approaches to what this means in practice that are related to the diverse backgrounds of the members of the UCL community. It is, however, striking that there is a widespread hope that the Commission's recommendations and the actions that UCL senior management takes to address them will provide the resolutions that different members of the UCL Community seek. Some of these resolutions are, however, mutually exclusive.

Table of Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	2
<i>Abstract</i>	4
1. Introduction and Research Questions	8
2. Research Methodology	9
2.1 Research design and research methods	9
2.2 Information elicitation and data analysis	10
Sampling and recruitment.....	10
Data Analysis.....	15
2.3 Research challenges and ethics	16
3. Findings	19
3.1. Question 1: What is your understanding/awareness of eugenics and its links with UCL's history?	19
Eugenics as a pseudoscience.....	19
Eugenics linked to racism.....	20
Eugenics beyond racism.....	21
Eugenics as a science/policy juncture.....	21
Eugenic links to UCL.....	24
The invitation only Conferences on Intelligence at UCL.....	25
3.2. Question 2: Does the information on the history of eugenics at UCL change your perception of the university?	25
Personal implications.....	26
"I wasn't surprised to learn about the links".....	27
"My perception does not change but has the potential to change".....	28
Eugenics' current legacy: institutional racism and ableism.....	29
"UCL wants to hide behind its brand".....	34
3.3. Question 3: What is your position on the naming of spaces on UCL campus after persons who founded and promoted eugenics?	36
"We cannot erase history" (whether the names are changed or kept).....	36
"We cannot judge them by today's standards".....	38
"We should definitely change the names".....	39
"Changing the names is necessary, but it is not enough".....	40
"I don't have a strong position about the names".....	41
"There is more than Galton, Pearson and Petrie".....	42
3.4. Question 4: How do you think UCL should approach its historical role in the teaching of and research on eugenics?	43
"UCL should 'own up' to its history".....	43
"Looking critically at our research".....	46
Addressing institutional racism.....	47
Addressing institutional ableism.....	49
Decolonising the curriculum.....	50
"This is an opportunity for UCL".....	50
3.5 Public Survey	51

4. Demographics.....	59
Internal UCL Survey	59
Public Survey	63
Alumni Survey	64
Focus Groups	65
5. Discussion and Conclusions.....	67
1. What is your understanding/awareness of eugenics and its links with UCL's history?	
.....	67
2. Does the information on the history of eugenics at UCL change your perception of the university?.....	69
3. What is your position on the naming of spaces on UCL campus after persons who founded and promoted eugenics?.....	71
4. How do you think UCL should approach its historical role in the teaching of and research on eugenics?.....	72
References.....	75

List of Figures

Figure 1. Internal UCL survey: responses by section	18
Figure 2: Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 13	20
Figure 3: Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 9	22
Figure 4. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 10	23
Figure 5. Crosstabulation between Question 10 and UCL affiliation.....	24
Figure 6. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 5	28
Figure 7. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 6	28
Figure 8. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 7	30
Figure 9. Crosstabulation between Question 7 and race/ethnicity	31
Figure 10. Crosstabulation between Question 7 and ability/disability	31
Figure 11. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 19	39
Figure 12. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 18	41
Figure 13. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 26	44
Figure 14. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 28	46
Figure 15. Internal UCL survey: responses by constituency.....	59
Figure 16. Internal UCL survey: responses by affiliation.....	61
Figure 17. Internal UCL survey: responses by disability.....	61
Figure 18. Internal UCL survey: responses by race/ethnicity	62
Figure 19. Internal UCL survey: responses by gender identity.....	63
Figure 20. Internal UCL survey: responses by sexual orientation.....	63
Figure 21. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 3	69
Figure 22. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 4.....	69

1. Introduction and Research Questions

This document is a report of the research undertaken, between 03 June and 07 November 2019, on the opinions, beliefs and ideas of the University College London (UCL) community and members of the public on the origins, practice and relevance of eugenics, eugenicists and UCL's association with this body of work and the individuals involved.

This study was designed and conducted at the request of the Commission of Inquiry into the History of Eugenics at UCL to support the Commission's report and recommendations for the President and Provost of UCL. The study provides empirical evidence collected from the UCL community in London and around the world, as well as members of the public, in relation to four broad subjects around which the Commission framed the Inquiry:

1. Understanding/awareness of eugenics and its links with UCL's history;
2. Impact of the information on the history of eugenics at UCL on perception of the university;
3. Opinions on the naming of spaces on UCL campus after persons who founded and promoted eugenics; and
4. UCL's future approach to its historical role in the teaching of and research on eugenics.

Chapter 2, describes the research methodology used to conduct this research. A mixed-methods approach, combining three online surveys and fourteen focus groups, provided quantitative and qualitative data to capture the opinions, beliefs and ideas of the research participants in response to the four research questions.

Chapter 3 examines the combined findings of the three online surveys and of the fourteen focus groups. Chapter 4 examines the results from the perspective of the demographics and Chapter 5 offers a discussion and some concluding remarks.

2. Research Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodological approach designed to answer this study's four research questions. Section 2.1. discusses the research design and research methods. Section 2.2 reviews the methods of data collection and data analysis and section 2.3 discusses the challenges encountered during the research, including issues related to research ethics.

2.1 Research design and research methods

This empirical study used an inductive research strategy. It consists of a mixed-methods (quantitative and qualitative) approach in order to capture a broad range of perspectives from a variety of UCL stakeholders.

To collect quantitative data, the Inquiry designed and conducted three online surveys that included pre-coded and open comments. Survey 1 was for current members of staff and the student body of UCL, Survey 2 was for members of the public and Survey 3 for UCL alumni. To collect qualitative data, the study designed and conducted fourteen focus groups, mostly organised by categories of UCL constituencies: Academic Staff, Post-graduate Students, Undergraduate students, Administrative Staff, Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) students, BME staff, Disabled staff and Outsourced staff. This categorisation was adopted in order to provide a safe environment in which participants could feel as relaxed as possible to discuss the sensitive topic of eugenics and related matters such as discrimination. The categorisation was, of course, overlapping and participants were free to choose which group to attend. Each focus group aimed for between six and eight participants, a number generally considered ideal for producing a breadth of views and giving everybody opportunities to air their views (Barbour 2018). All the focus group discussions were fully transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006).

The focus groups explored aspects of attitudes not captured by standard surveys. Focus group data illustrates the provisional and developmental character of personal opinions, allowing group members to qualify and extend their views during the discussion (Bloor et al. 2001). By contrast the surveys captured the perspectives of more participants (1,739) than those who could be included in the focus groups. In this way, the combination of

the surveys (quantitative data) and the focus groups (qualitative data) enabled identification of both specific and general patterns.

Although a survey is mainly a quantitative method of data collection, the three surveys designed for this Inquiry included a 'Comments' field at the end of three of the five sub-sections allowing participants to expand on their responses or to make additional comments on topics not covered by the survey. Designed in this way the survey was, in itself, a mixed-method of data collection, which supplemented the qualitative data collected from the focus groups. Individual interviews were not possible with the time available for the study.

2.2 Information elicitation and data analysis

Sampling and recruitment

The online survey for members of UCL staff and the student body was live from 12 July to 31 October 2019. The online survey for members of the public was live from 24 July to 31 October 2019. Finally, the survey for UCL alumni was live from 03 October to 07 November 2019. The online surveys were designed and made live through OPINIO, a web-based survey tool, hosted by UCL Information Services Division (ISD), which provides a framework for authoring and distributing surveys as well as a range of reporting tools.

All three surveys were structured into five subsections with a total of 38 questions (34 for the public survey) including demographic information. Each question, except for the demographic data, had five optional answers organised as 5-point Likert scales on Agree/Disagree continua.

The first subsection of the surveys, the introduction section, addressed the first research question:

1. What is your understanding/awareness of eugenics and its links with UCL's history?

The following three subsections, addressed questions 2, 3 and 4 accordingly:

2. Does the information on the history of eugenics at UCL change your perception of the university?
3. What is your position on the naming of spaces on UCL campus after persons who founded and promoted eugenics?
4. How do you think UCL should approach its historical role in the teaching of and research on eugenics?

The fifth and final subsection included nine questions on demographic data: age, constituency within UCL (e.g. postgraduate student, academic, administrative staff among others), home faculty or division, race/ethnicity, disabilities, sexual orientation, religion and gender identity.

The face-to-face focus groups were facilitated as lunch-hour sessions on Wednesdays, with a view to facilitating the involvement of as many participants as possible. All sessions but two were conducted in wheelchair accessible venues, within UCL Bloomsbury Campus, with a maximum of six people and a range of two to eight. In one focus group, only one of the registered participants attended and was given an individual interview.

As with the surveys, the focus group discussions revolved around the four central questions/subjects of the study. The questions aimed to concentrate the group's attention, to stimulate discussion of meanings and norms (Bloor et al. 2001) and generate interaction on the specific topics addressed by the research questions.

The focus groups started with a fifteen-minute 'settling in' period during which the participants read the Information Sheet and signed and completed the Consent Form. They were able to write their names, or a pseudonym on name badges if they chose. After this, the sessions were audio recorded, starting with the first question on their awareness/knowledge on eugenics and its links with UCL's history and continuing with discussion of the remaining three research questions: the participants' perceptions of UCL and its links with eugenics, the naming of spaces on UCL campus after prominent eugenicists and, finally, on UCL's way forward concerning its role in the history of eugenics.

The study facilitated fourteen face-to-face focus groups from 26 July to 07 November 2019 with a total of 65 participants (an average of 4 per group) as follows:

No.	Date (2019)	UCL constituency	Number of participants
1	26 July	Academic staff	8
2	21 July	Postgraduate students (1)	4
3	07 August	Postgraduate students (2)	6
4	14 August	Black and Minority Ethnic students	6
5	21 August	Administrative Staff	6
6	28 August	Black and Minority Ethnic staff	6
7	04 September	Outsourced staff	4
8	11 September	Post-graduate students (3)	4
9	25 September	Staff from ENABLE	2
10	16 October	Undergraduate Students (1)	2
11	23 October	Mixed undergraduates, postgraduates and	6
12	30 October	Students from Disabled Students Network	4
13	06 November	Deaf UCL staff	6
14	07 November	Undergraduate Students (2)	1 (individual interview)

The categories and the number of focus groups were affected by three issues. First, constraints due to the time and resources available for this research. Although the start date of the research was 03 June, the empirical researcher worked part-time and the first 5 weeks were spent in designing the research, gaining ethical approval and securing the Sodexo sponsorship for the focus group lunches. As a result, the data collection and analysis had to be done simultaneously from 10 July to 15 November 2019. This had deleterious effects on the recruitment of undergraduate students, as can be seen in the above table, since the bulk of the data collection had, perforce, to take place when undergraduates were on summer vacation. Although the period of data collection was extended to November for this reason, undergraduate students were vastly underrepresented in the study.

A second factor that affected the number of focus groups was an attempt to gather a representative sample of the UCL community. According to the most recent UCL report on Key Workforce Indicators (2019), academic staff constitute 14% of the UCL community and administrative staff 10%. According to the database of UCL Student and Registry Services for the academic year 2018-2019, undergraduate students make 35% and postgraduate students 41% of the total UCL community.

Accordingly, the study allocated one focus group for academic staff, one for administrative staff, two for undergraduates and three for postgraduates. The UCL report on workforce indicators does not include data on outsourced staff (e.g. catering, security, maintenance) and the study allocated one focus group for this constituency. As for the alumni, the Office of the Vice-Provost Advancement has a database of approximately 240,000 contactable alumni.

Finally, the third factor influencing decisions about sampling was the Terms of Reference of the Inquiry, which focus on the links between eugenics and racism. BME staff constitute 19% of the total UCL staff, while disabled staff comprise 4% (UCL report on Key Workforce Indicators 2019). Thus, one focus group was reserved for the participation of Black and Minority Ethnic staff and one for disabled staff. In terms of the focus groups for students, the study set up one for disabled students and one for Black and Minority Ethnic students. The groups for Black and Minority Ethnic students and staff were organised to fit with the Commission's focus on racial discrimination, in acknowledgement of the significant effort that several members of the Black and Minority Ethnic student community made to request UCL's senior management to conduct the Inquiry and in an attempt to create a safe and enabling space for them to speak about discrimination if they wished. Similarly, the groups for disabled students and staff aimed to provide safe and enabling spaces in which to capture their stories. An additional focus group was organised for Deaf students and staff. Two British Sign Language (BSL) translators and two note takers hired by Equality, Diversity and Inclusion (EDI) helped the researcher to facilitate the two-hour session.

Members of the UCL community were invited to register online for a particular focus group up to a ceiling of ten participants. It is noteworthy that the first focus groups to fill up were the ones for Black and Minority Ethnic staff and the one for academics, followed by the ones for postgraduate students and administrative staff. Additionally, a number of potential

participants emailed the researcher asking whether they should sign up for the Black and Minority Ethnic groups or a general occupational or student category as they identified as both staff and Black and Minority Ethnic or student and Black and Minority Ethnic. It was explained that they were free to choose where they would feel more at ease.

Participants were recruited via a webpage invitation, designed, hosted and made live on 12 July 2019 by UCL Communications. This webpage included the links to the OPINIO survey for UCL students and staff and the OPINIO public survey for those outside UCL. The link for UCL students and staff survey was behind a firewall hosted by the Division of Equality, Diversity and Inclusion (EDI) in the Office of the President and Provost. The webpage also included the links to the face-to-face focus groups organised via Eventbrite¹. Each focus group allowed for the registration of up to ten participants, in order to guarantee a minimum of four to six participants in case of last-minute cancellations. Members of UCL thus had the chance to respond to the survey and/or participate in a focus group.

UCL communications shared the webpage invitation via newsletters to staff and students. Additionally, the researcher sent an email invitation, including the link to the webpage, to a list of 370 UCL institutional emails of Faculty Deans, Heads of Professional Services, Directors and Administrators of Departments, Divisions, Institutes and Centres, Academic Tutors, Union and Communication Officers. The email invitation was sent every other week, requesting the help of the recipients to share the invitation with as many students and staff as possible.

For the recruitment of the focus group with UCL Outsourced staff, the researcher contacted UCL Head of Facilities to help in recruiting voluntary participants. For the group of UCL disabled staff, the leader of ENABLE, a staff network open to staff at UCL with disabilities and those with an interest in Disability Equality at UCL, shared the invitation among their network.

¹ Eventbrite is an online platform that allows users to create public or private events, share and recruit participants (<https://www.eventbrite.co.uk>).

Finally, to contact UCL Alumni, the Office of the Vice-Provost, Advancement sent the invitation –including the links to the Alumni survey and online forum– via their quarterly newsletter sent out to 240,000 alumni.

Data Analysis

Data were analysed in three parallel stages: the survey analysis, the focus group analysis and the triangulation of data from the surveys (quantitative and qualitative data) and from the focus groups (qualitative data).

To analyse the data collected through the online surveys, the study used the files generated by the OPINIO built-in tools allowing SPSS² statistical analysis. The analysis consisted of descriptive statistics, namely cross tabulations. The analyses of the survey responses were both general cross case and particular, within case giving an overview of the response trends and cross tabulations of variables to give more information about the general responses. For example, a given point on the Likert scale could be cross tabulated to find out who made these responses (e.g. people in the social sciences, non-academic staff, a specific race/ethnicity etc.). It also correlations between responses to various questions. The responses to the surveys were also compared with the results from the focus groups.

The audio recordings of the focus groups, lasted an average of 50 minutes and were transcribed in full using Dictanote³ for a first pass and then with the researcher refining the transcription. The transcripts from the focus groups were coded under four themes corresponding to the four research questions of this study. The coding allowed for the identification of response patterns and the similarities and differences within them. As is common in qualitative research, participants sometimes answered a question when discussing another. Participants giving the same type of response often did so for different reasons.

When focus group participants filled out the consent form, they filled out the same demographic information as in the online surveys. In this manner, it was possible to compare

² Statistical Package for Social Sciences

³ Dictanote is a note taking app which transcribes voice files and dictation into text (<https://dictanote.co>)

the participants' answers with the cross tabulations using demographic data from the survey analysis. The combination of surveys and focus groups thus allowed the analysis of both breadth and depth in participants' responses.

The final stage of analysis was the triangulation of the survey and focus group analyses to understand the findings in terms of patterns and how nuanced they were.

2.3 Research challenges and ethics

This empirical component was not initially part of the work of the Commission and it had to be fitted into the time available and with the resources we could organise in the period. As a result, there was no time to use the focus groups to inform the design of the surveys, which had to be prepared promptly in order to get through the process of ethics approval. However, the researcher used questions and comments that arose from the first Town Hall (1 March 2019) to design the surveys.

The empirical research started on 03 June 2019, with the appointment of the researcher, and finished on 07 November with the last focus group. The data collection started on 12 July 2019. Besides the time taken to design the research, the data collection was delayed by the process of ethics approval, which while expedited, required a resubmission of the research proposal particularly to include disabled members of UCL. Additionally, the ethics committee raised concerns about the sensitivity of the topic of eugenics and the risk of negative impacts on the mental wellbeing of the focus group participants and encouraged arrangement of counselling for anybody adversely affected by taking part. Finally, the committee raised the issue of potential breaches of confidentiality from the focus group discussions.

The resubmission for ethics approval addressed these concerns by including more demographic questions and by assuring the committee that the study would aim to include participants with different kinds of disabilities, within the scope of its available resources. In terms of possible negative impacts on the mental wellbeing of the participants, assurances were given that the sessions would be run as amicably as possible and that information on UCL's mental wellbeing services would be included on the Information Sheet. To address the

risk of breaches of confidentiality in the focus group discussions, the project liaised with UCL Communications for guidance. Additionally, the research anonymised and pseudonymised the identity of all the participants in the focus groups and all the research outputs were saved in encrypted files. The survey responses were all anonymous.

The data collection took place between 12 July and 07 November 2019, which covered the summer break when many students and staff are away from campus - each sent email invitation received on average 60+ automatic out-of-office replies. Although there were Masters and PhD students around campus during this period, the former were completing their theses. For the undergraduate students, the study had to wait until the start of the autumn term on 23 September. The invitation to take part in the research could only be sent to UCL alumni on 03 October 2019 through the Alumni quarterly newsletter.

An additional challenge for the collection of data was that the term 'eugenics' is not an everyday term and so is not familiar to many people. Thus, many potential participants may have avoided the survey and the focus groups on the basis of 'not knowing enough about it', despite the disclaimer on the webpage invitation explaining that this was not essential for their participation because the Commission was not looking for 'correct answers' but their opinions and beliefs.

Acknowledging this lack of awareness or knowledge, the surveys included two to three introductory paragraphs for three of the subsections. However, these seemed sometimes to be counterproductive because, the reading of the briefing paragraphs took time and sometimes put off potential participants. This may explain why some started the questionnaire but did not complete it. Figure 1 shows the responses to each section of the Internal UCL survey. The survey was started by 1551 participants, but it was completed in full by 1111; a 72% of completion rate.

Figure 1. Internal UCL survey: responses by section

Introduction (1551) Section 1 (1259) Section 2 (1161) Section 3 (1130) Section 4 (1111)

INQUIRY INTO THE HISTORY OF TEACHING AND RESEARCH OF EUGENICS AT UCL
QUESTIONNAIRE

The Office of UCL President & Pro-Vice-Chancellor Michael Arthur and The Commission of Inquiry into the History of Eugenics at UCL greatly appreciate your participation in this research. This is an important moment in the history of UCL, when we all have the opportunity to have a say on this subject matter. We look forward to your opinions, beliefs and views about the history of teaching and research of eugenics at UCL. This questionnaire should not take more than 10 minutes of your time to complete.

Your participation is anonymous and your responses, comments and demographic data will only be used for the purposes of the survey and will not be transferred to an organization outside of UCL. This data will be transferred to the Commission of Inquiry who will retain it in compliance with the UCL Records Retention Schedule. The data will also be stored by UCL Information Services for 5 years and will then be destroyed from the Opinio system.

This data will be collected and stored in accordance with the requirements of the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), the Data Protection Act (2018), the UCL Institute of Education ethics requirements and the British Sociological Association (2020) Statement of Good Practice. The results of this project will inform a general report of recommendations. This will be made public and the identity of all participants will be strictly encrypted.

Please you start please answer the following:

1. How familiar are you with the term 'eugenics'?

Not at all familiar Very familiar
 Not familiar Substantially familiar
 Somewhat familiar

2. How aware are you that UCL has played a pivotal role in the history of teaching and research of eugenics?

Not at all aware Very aware
 Not aware Substantially aware
 Somewhat aware

**SECTION 1
YOUR PERCEPTIONS ON THE HISTORIC ROLE OF UCL IN THE TEACHING AND RESEARCH OF EUGENICS**

In December 2018, the Office of UCL President & Pro-Vice-Chancellor Michael Arthur appointed the Commission of Inquiry into the History of Eugenics at UCL. They were various requests for this, not only the deans of the Faculty of Life Sciences but also the University that within UCL, various, an inquiry revealed that some teaching content on eugenics and intelligence at that time, was enhanced to meet that need. The aim of the Commission is to make recommendations on how to address the present and future of the teaching and research of eugenics at UCL.

The first eugenics was coined in 1869 by British Victorian scientist Francis Galton, who defined it as the science of improving human capabilities by selective breeding. Galton developed his research and theories between the mid-1860s and the beginning of the 1900s. His work and publications were widely read, highly influential, and controversial. His work combined at the time and was very widely combined (social, racial, hereditary, physical and other). Between 1964 and 1967 Galton proposed and proposed the establishment of the Francis Galton Laboratory for National Eugenics at UCL, with Karl Pearson as its head. At the time Pearson, who had strong support from UCL, was a leading statistician and geneticist. He was a member of the UCL, Professor of Applied Mathematics, and in 1911 Pearson was appointed as the first Galton Professor of Eugenics as well as the first Professor of Applied Statistics in Great Britain.

The first eugenics was eventually dropped from the files of a number of academic departments at UCL, as many people believe eugenics teaching should be neither commended nor condemned. On the other hand, Pearson made significant contributions to the sciences of genetics and biostatistics, and his work was highly influential in the development of eugenics and intelligence. Some have argued that these contributions should be separated from eugenics ideas, which were common at the time, and that eugenics research should not be held accountable for the role of their work in justifying atrocious acts such as the Nazi Holocaust.

1. I learned about Galton's role with UCL.
 I don't know I know a lot
 I know a little I know a great deal

2. I learned about Galton's ideas about eugenics.
 I don't know I know a lot
 I know a little I know a great deal

**SECTION 2
YOUR PERCEPTION ON THE HISTORY OF EUGENICS AT UCL**

The Commission of Inquiry into the History of Eugenics at UCL is considering the role of the teaching of eugenics such as the Galton Lecture Series (19-19) Springing Place, named in the early 2000s, the Pearson Building (then UCL) (previously The Galton and renamed in 1980 after eugenicist Karl Pearson and his son Egon Pearson, and the Pease Museum on Main Place was in the Galton Library named in the 1950s after another prominent historian of eugenics and UCL Professor of Geography, Thomas Pease, the father of modern archaeology).

An well as Pearson, there was a number of other and his eugenics ideas, such as the selection of marriage and reproduction among the intellectual (Galton, 1869). Pearson worked closely with Pearson in measuring eugenics ideas with the intention to create 'racial' categories. At the end of the 1800s and based on his theories on skull measurements, Pearson proposed that a man who often a woman's skull, measured the skull and instead the ratio between the upper and lower jaw. Galton's work on eugenics, 1869, in addition to 1869, Pearson is considered a major contributor to the development of eugenics and was a significant proponent of the idea of eugenics and race (1962).

In 1963, UCL Professor Lionel Pearson decided to remove the word 'eugenics' from the Galton Laboratory title. This decision was controversially opposed by the UCL Department of Genetics, Evolution and Environment. The present continues among academics and geneticists in the eugenics is scientific and they reject it as a racist doctrine.

1. I don't know I know a lot
 I know a little I know a great deal

2. I learned about Galton's role with UCL.
 I don't know I know a lot
 I know a little I know a great deal

3. I learned about Galton's ideas about eugenics.
 I don't know I know a lot
 I know a little I know a great deal

**SECTION 3
YOUR PERCEPTION ON HOW UCL SHOULD APPROACH ITS PIVOTAL ROLE IN THE HISTORY OF EUGENICS**

Critical courses looking at the implications of eugenics have been delivered for some time to students in the UCL Department of Genetics, Evolution and the Environment (Faculty of Life Sciences). The historic link between eugenics and UCL is addressed in courses from UCL Department of Science and Technology Studies, as well as in Anthropology, Psychology and through the Galton Collection, available via UCL Museums and Collections.

13. UCL should take a role in the history of eugenics in its historical context. Knowledge production constantly changes and need not be approached for:
 Strongly Agree Disagree
 Agree Strongly Disagree
 Neither agree nor disagree

14. UCL was involved in knowledge production that was aligned to racism and needs to be honest about this.
 Strongly Agree Disagree
 Agree Strongly Disagree
 Neither agree nor disagree

15. UCL should reduce its disciplinary production on the history of eugenics for all students and staff.
 Strongly Agree Disagree
 Agree Strongly Disagree
 Neither agree nor disagree

16. All UCL graduates should know about the history of eugenics at UCL.
 Strongly Agree Disagree
 Agree Strongly Disagree
 Neither agree nor disagree

17. There should be a permanent exhibit/public outreach on the history of eugenics at UCL to tell the whole university is familiar with the history.
 Strongly Agree Disagree
 Agree Strongly Disagree
 Neither agree nor disagree

18. Please write here any comments you wish to make on the topic addressed in this section.

**SECTION 4
YOUR DETAILS**

19. What is your age?
 18-24 years old 35-44 years old
 25-34 years old 45-54 years old
 35-44 years old 55 years and above
 45-54 years old

21. What is your gender at UCL?
 Male
 Female
 Non-binary/Third Gender/Trans and Genderqueer/Other
 Prefer not to say

22. What is your faculty/department?
 Arts and Humanities Mathematical and Physical Sciences
 Business School Medicine
 Earth Science Education, Health, Society and Environment
 Engineering Science Global & International Studies
 Law History of Science and Technology Studies
 Life Sciences Philosophy and Religion
 Law Public Health

23. Which already best describes you?
 White Asian/Asian British Bangladeshi
 Black British Chinese
 White, English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or Irish Other Asian background
 Black African Black Caribbean
 Black British Indian Pakistani
 Black African Black Caribbean Other Black background
 Black African Black Caribbean Other Black background

24. Do you consider yourself to be a student?
 Yes
 No

Similarly, there was attrition over the sections of the Public Survey from 153 initial participants to 92, a 60% completion rate. The Alumni Survey was started by only 35 participants and completed in full by 22, a 63% of completion rate. Those who completed the questionnaire are to be commended for taking the time to give comments. Together, these comments amounted to 75,695 words. It is, of course, important to note that the responses come from a self-selected sample of the UCL population.

An unanticipated problem was that at the beginning of the data collection, the link to the internal survey for UCL staff and students was accidentally tweeted to the general public. The survey then had to be locked and put behind a firewall to avoid the general public filling in the internal questionnaire. In response two additional surveys were created: one for the general public and one for UCL alumni, who are no longer able to access material behind UCL's firewalls.

Finally, there were some technical issues with OPINIO. Some participants said they could not access the survey; others started it and saved their responses to later find that their responses were lost. The technical issues were eventually solved with the help of UCL Information Services Division but this took longer than anticipated.

3. Findings

This chapter presents the findings from the analysis of the quantitative and the qualitative data collected through the three online surveys and the fourteen focus groups. However, these findings were mostly drawn from the internal survey, the alumni survey and the fourteen focus groups. The results from the public survey are briefly described at the end of the chapter as additional findings, pointing out relevant contrasts in relation to the internal survey.

The findings are presented in relation to the four research questions guiding this study. Please note that for reasons of confidentiality, few details are given about participants quoted below. The findings are discussed in relation to the four main questions asked, so there is some overlay in the findings.

3.1. Question 1: What is your understanding/awareness of eugenics and its links with UCL's history?

The participants produced six themes in response to the first research question:

- Eugenics as a pseudoscience
- Eugenics linked to racism
- Eugenics beyond racism
- Eugenics as a science-policy juncture
- Eugenic links to UCL
- The invitation only Conferences on Intelligence at UCL

Eugenics as a pseudoscience

Various participants understand eugenics as a scientific attempt to validate the genetic superiority of specific groups of the population and by default, the genetic inferiority of others. The term 'pseudoscience' emerged frequently, with participants arguing that eugenics was 'bad science' as exemplified in the following response: “Eugenics is based on an

unfounded pseudoscience belief that biological race exists and it is about people applying ‘scientific’ backing for their political beliefs and ideologies that already existed at the time of colonisation, Empire and white superiority."

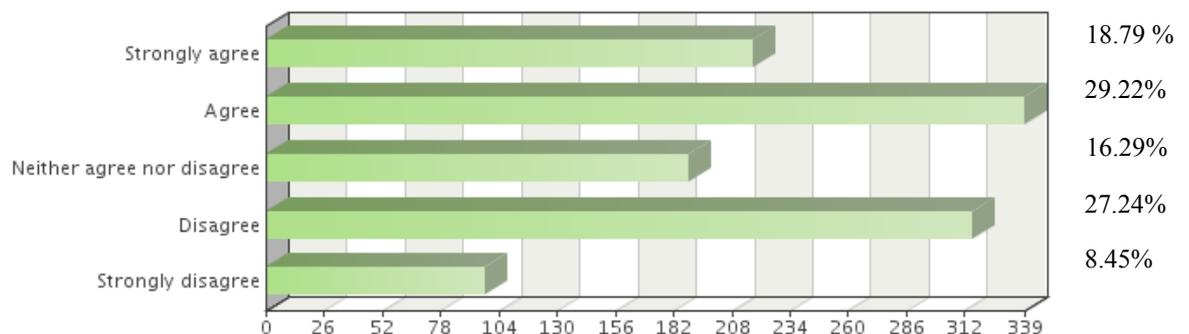
Eugenics linked to racism

The largest group of responses (48%) to Question 13 of the Internal UCL survey (Figure 2), agreed with the statement that eugenics and racism are identical. However, their comments as well as those of the focus groups participants pointed out that although there is a strong relationship between the two, eugenics and racism are not the same thing.

Figure 2: Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 13

Question 13

Eugenics and racism are the same thing.



Participants argued that eugenics brings to mind concepts such as 'white supremacy', 'global white supremacy', 'racial superiority', 'slavery', 'xenophobia' and 'race science' or 'scientific racism'. They also discussed how eugenics, as a pseudoscience, was mainly about developing the basis of scientific racism and contemporary concepts like 'white supremacy', which are more evident with the advent of right-wing nationalist governments around the globe.

Although most participants found the eugenics/racism link very clear, others found the link problematic if non-existent. They discussed how racist movements have used eugenics to disseminate racist ideologies although they felt that the science is objective and separate from the political or social context and how people draw on the science.

Eugenics beyond racism

There were two ways in which participants discussed eugenics as being broader than racism. Some participants discussed how eugenics was more than the improvement of human populations. They talked about eugenics as also about selective breeding of animal and vegetable species. For these participants, it was not clear what the Inquiry was focusing on and some argued that the Commission seemed to misunderstand eugenics.

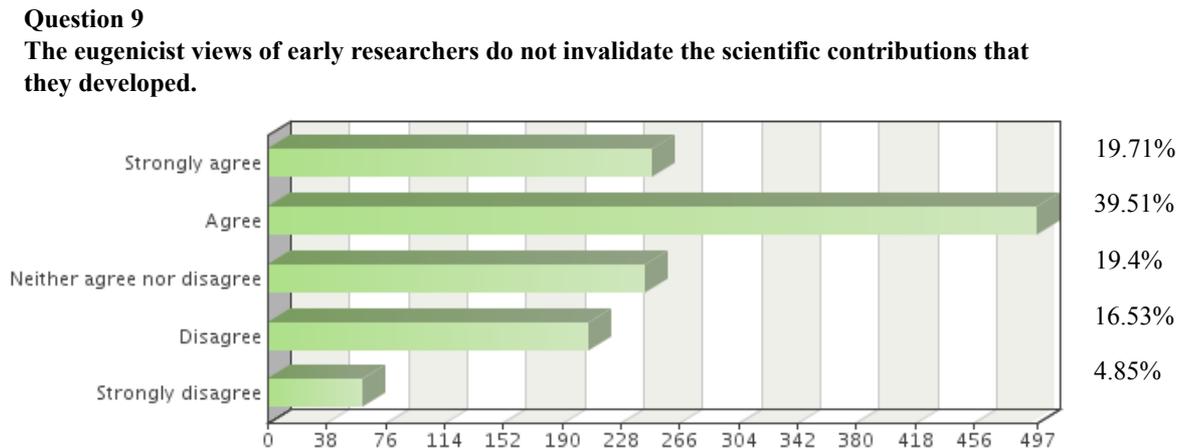
The majority of participants who connected eugenics to racism acknowledged that, under the idea of 'human superiority' or 'human perfection', eugenics also discriminated against women, people from low-income backgrounds, disabled people and people with mental health issues or congenital diseases.

As a result, some members of UCL community felt that the Inquiry was biased. A disabled participant commented that the Inquiry focused initially on modern-day racism and that ableism was tacked on "as a sort of afterthought." Disabled participants felt that the Inquiry needs to have a strong focus on ableism as well as racism. They argued that the racism/eugenics connection seems to be more acknowledged and perceived as unfavourable while the ableism/eugenics link is weaker as society still finds the idea of getting rid of many disabilities more acceptable, still framing them as 'undesirable traits.'

Eugenics as a science/policy juncture

Participants brought up the 'objectivity' of science as an important point for discussion. Some participants advocate an objective perspective. They argued that the Inquiry needs to be careful not to reduce the important contributions of people like Galton and Pearson to the idea that their eugenicists ideas had some level of influence in events such as the Nazi Holocaust. The majority of participants (60%) to Question 9 (Figure 3) either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that the eugenicist views of early researchers do not invalidate their scientific contributions.

Figure 3: Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 9



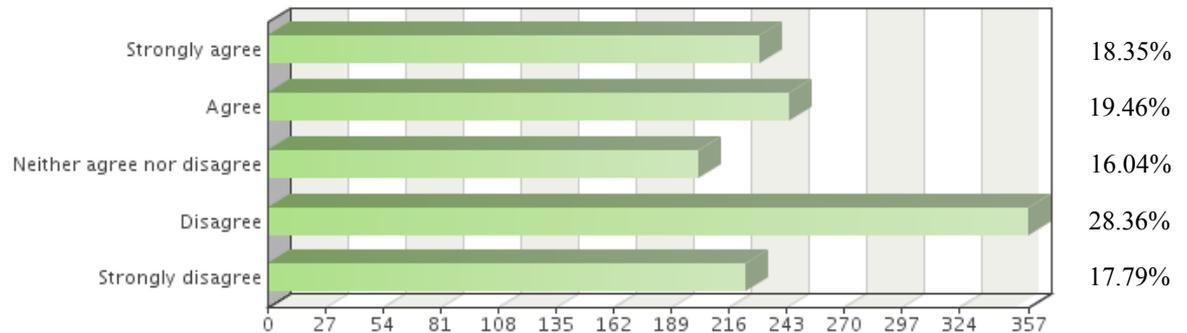
However, several other participants talked about how they could not think of science as objective because scientists work in the context of the real world. Additionally, they suggested that it is relevant to look into how the people making decisions came to positions of power since politics and science intersect: "eugenics is a science policy issue."

Other discussions/comments dwelt on how eugenics was about the use of scientific methods to deal with societal issues and practices like systematic sterilisation and how eugenicists arguments supported such policies. It was also discussed how often people 'hide' behind their position as scientists to avoid engagement with the social context of their research. Some participants argue that genetic scientists working to improve the life of disabled people do not included the input of disabled communities in their research, treating them as subjects rather than participants in a research that aims to improve their wellbeing.

This divide about the 'objectivity of science' is evident in the responses to Question 10 (Figure 4 below): 38% of participants who either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement cf. with 46% who disagreed or strongly disagreed.

Figure 4. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 10

Question 10
We should separate science and politics.



Forty six percent of the sample disagreed with separating science and politics, while 38% feel they should be separated. However, participants from different faculties gave different answers (Figure 5 below) – there is a clear split. Those from Engineering, Life Sciences, Medical Sciences and the School for Slavonic and East European Studies felt very strongly that there should be a separation. Strong disagreement came from respondents in Arts and Humanities, the Bartlett, Laws, Population Health Sciences, and Social and Historical Sciences. In Mathematical and Physical Sciences, equal numbers strongly agreed as strongly disagreed.

Figure 5. Crosstabulation between Question 10 and UCL affiliation

		Q10. We should separate science and politics					
		1 (Strongly agree)	2 (Agree)	3 (Neither agree nor disagree)	4 (Disagree)	5 (Strongly disagree)	
Q32	Arts and Humanities	12.0%	13.3%	20.0%	25.3%	29.3%	100.0%
	Bartlett (Built Environment)	16.4%	14.8%	8.2%	26.2%	34.4%	100.0%
	Brain Sciences	15.9%	31.7%	7.9%	27.0%	17.5%	100.0%
	Engineering Sciences	28.3%	13.0%	13.0%	26.1%	19.6%	100.0%
	Institute of Education	13.2%	15.8%	14.5%	36.8%	19.7%	100.0%
	Laws	11.1%	16.7%	16.7%	33.3%	22.2%	100.0%
	Life Sciences	26.8%	24.7%	13.9%	23.4%	11.3%	100.0%
	Mathematical and Physical Sciences	20.4%	14.0%	19.4%	25.8%	20.4%	100.0%
	Medical Sciences	25.0%	25.0%	20.0%	23.3%	6.7%	100.0%
	Population Health Sciences	9.2%	16.1%	11.5%	39.1%	24.1%	100.0%
	Professional Services	17.3%	24.0%	15.4%	30.8%	12.5%	100.0%
	Provost and Vice Provost Offices	9.5%	23.8%	28.6%	23.8%	14.3%	100.0%
	School of Slavonic and East European Studies	33.3%	11.1%	11.1%	33.3%	11.1%	100.0%
	Social and Historical Sciences	11.3%	14.4%	13.4%	33.0%	27.8%	100.0%

Eugenic links to UCL

The members of UCL and the public who participated in this study are slightly more familiar with the term 'eugenics' but less aware that researchers and associates based at UCL played a pivotal role in the development of eugenics at the beginning of the 20th century.

Various participants linked eugenics with Nazi Germany as the ideology underpinning the Jewish Holocaust, and were unaware of any eugenicist movements preceding Nazism or that eugenics research and practices were also conducted in the UK and the United States. However, most participants were aware of the Conferences on Intelligence that took place on the UCL campus for three years.

Most participants became aware of the eugenic links with UCL upon joining the university, through the Inquiry or by learning of the Conferences on Intelligence held on UCL campus. Several participants who were aware of the eugenics/UCL link mentioned Pearson more often than Galton, Petrie or others.

The invitation only Conferences on Intelligence at UCL

There were three types of positions regarding these conferences. The first, that these conferences were irrelevant and should not be mentioned at all as "UCL's got to do this through a commitment, not a response to some idiot running some stupid conference." The second position was based on concern that the Inquiry should not be just a PR exercise to salvage UCL's reputation because the media publicised the issue of the conferences. These participants stated that UCL should not have waited for adverse publicity related to the conferences before addressing its historical links with eugenics.

The third position was expressed by some participants who questioned whether the conferences were secret at all. For them, it was very suspicious that the conferences ran for three years on UCL campus unbeknownst to most staff and students. Although these participants are aware that UCL's booking system does not filter or ban venues based on content and that the purpose given to the booking system can always be misleading, they expressed concern that the conference organisers and attendees felt it was appropriate to hold the conferences on UCL campus instead of "just going to a pub or any other venue."

Most participants found it more surprising or shocking to learn about these conferences than about the historical links of UCL with the development of eugenics, because the eugenics/UCL link is historical while the conferences happened just a few years ago.

3.2. Question 2: Does the information on the history of eugenics at UCL change your perception of the university?

The themes/issues identified in this section were:

- Personal implications
- "I wasn't surprised to learn about the links"
- "My perception does not change but has the potential to change"
- Eugenics' current legacy: institutional racism and ableism
- "UCL wants to hide behind its brand"

Personal implications

Some participants expressed how the topic reached them on a personal level due to their race/ethnicity, disability and other minority backgrounds: "...the word I want to slap on the transcript is TRUST. I don't think minorities of any kind trust UCL. This is my experience of talking to people because they've been let down too many times."

Some students who self-identified as a racialised minority commented on how the lack of Black professors negatively impacts their emotional and psychological well-being. These students felt that this communicates the idea that they cannot aim for a position in academia as they can see that the academic posts are predominantly occupied by lecturers and professors who are White.

Both BME and disabled students taking modules in the genetics department, commented on how difficult they found it to sit through lectures that celebrated Galton and Pearson's contributions while neglecting to discuss their role in the development of eugenics at UCL.

One disabled focus group participant, discussed how UCL's built environment is not effectively adapted for the disabled, and the names of some buildings associated with eugenics affect whether people feel able to come to UCL for study or work purposes. Other participants in the focus group and surveys noted that such buildings/rooms perpetuate feelings of exclusion, particularly for several BME students, who said they feel "unwelcomed" and "unsafe" in those spaces.

One participant mentioned that buildings and street names changed after Apartheid in South Africa: "You don't realise the impact of the name of a building until you see it has changed because there are some buildings that ... during Apartheid era ... having that name and you wouldn't want to go into that building just because of the name, but since the name changed you feel more welcome in that building because there is something about the name. And as much as you think it's just the name of a building, it does bring up some emotion."

All the participants in the focus group for Deaf UCL members maintained that the topic of eugenics feels very personal to them. They commented on how the Deaf community

has been emotionally affected by eugenic goals to eradicate disabilities, particularly deafness, which are still present in society and at UCL. This sends the message that their own lives are worthless as they see this as an attempt to "wipe out" the very community that embraces their existence.

Three members of staff that only recently joined UCL stated that they questioned their decision to come to UCL. They were shocked by the news about the recent conferences and the Inquiry, as they expected a "more progressive, welcoming and open-minded university."

Other participants who self-identified as white said they did not feel eugenics particularly affected them because they did not feel to be part of the 'target' population against which eugenics was developed.

"I wasn't surprised to learn about the links"

For the majority of focus group participants, learning of the eugenics/UCL link did not come as a surprise. They argued that UCL, like many other British universities such as Oxford and Cambridge and worldwide universities with imperial and colonial backgrounds, is filled with "skeletons in its closets." They made the point that the history of UK universities is connected to slave trade, racism and supremacist practices.

One academic explained that one of the main reasons they applied for a position at UCL was the availability of the Galton collection and archives for research purposes. Another academic, who has worked at multiple universities, added that, although the link with eugenics did not come as a surprise, she had not before witnessed this kind of discussion and self-reflection at an institutional level and thus welcomed the Inquiry. A postgraduate student said: "I wasn't surprised that the event [the conferences] happened. I was surprised the university let it get printed which has actually improved my impression of the university."

There were a few participants though who were shocked after learning about the links because their perception of UCL is that of a progressive and liberal university: "I was very concerned because for me, UCL is kind of a very progressive university in so many ways and I did not have a clue about this eugenicist guy at the beginning of the 1900s doing this work at UCL. And obviously I mean, it has to be put in context and at that time in history and

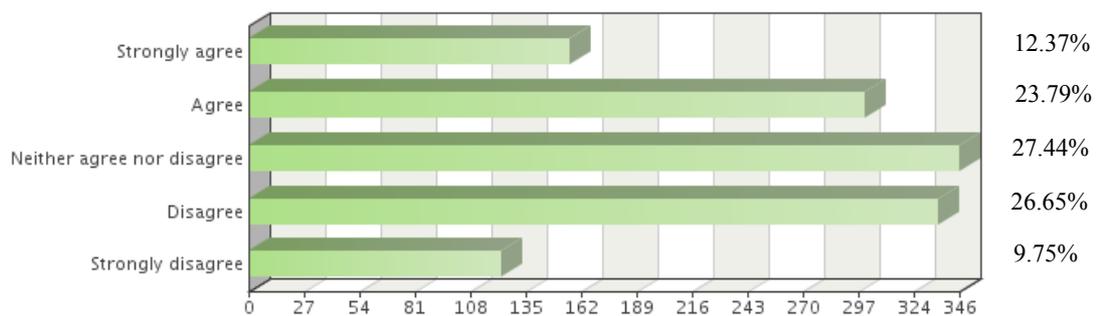
everything, but if we are in the 21st century and the news said the conferences were hosted for three years ...I think it speaks really bad about the university."

The above findings of lack of surprise from the focus groups are in contrast to the responses to the Internal UCL questionnaire (Figure 6) where an equal number of 36% were surprised and unsurprised by UCL's link with eugenics.

Figure 6. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 5

Question 5

I was very surprised to learn about the links of UCL with the history of eugenics.



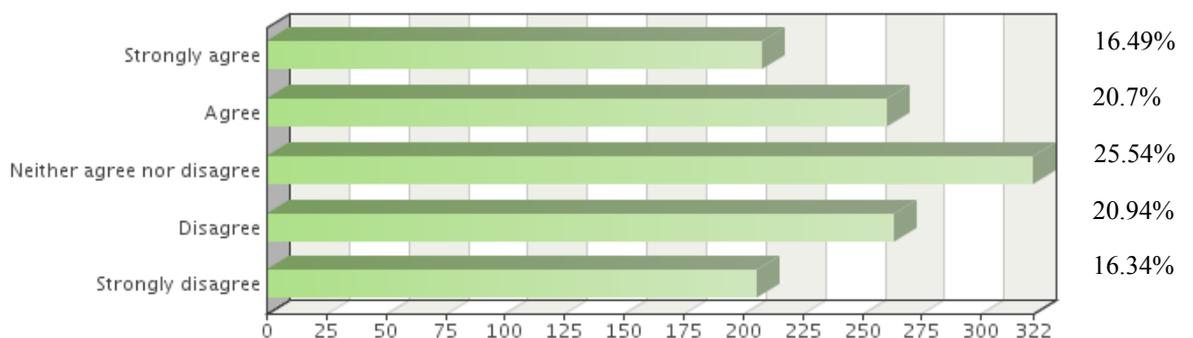
"My perception does not change but has the potential to change"

In a similar way to responses to Question 5 (Figure 6), almost equal numbers of participants expressed concern and lack of concern and unconcerned about being part of an institution that played a pivotal role in the development of eugenics (Figure 7)

Figure 7. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 6

Question 6

I am very concerned to be part of an institution that played a pivotal role in the development of eugenics.



The level of ambivalence in response to this question is noteworthy. The focus group discussions indicated that for most participants, their perception of UCL is dependent on how UCL manages this history for current and future generations. For them, the problem is not what has happened at UCL in the past but how UCL deals with it now:

“I suppose what it would make a difference for me in terms of perception of the university would be how is the university responding to that history. And there are different ways of doing that. And I suppose I want to see some effective kind of engagement with these kinds of issues rather than the burying of them.”

An academic challenged the research question 'Does the information on the history of eugenics at UCL change your perception of the university?' "Because it focuses on the past when the legacy of eugenics is embedded in the structure of the university. The continuation of this is what might change my perception about the university. Not that there was this period in time when there were eugenicists...it's what UCL does with this beyond the Inquiry or in addition to the Inquiry that would change or not change my perception of the university at the moment."

Despite the Inquiry, some participants feel that UCL's senior management is actively attempting to ignore how the past and the current presence of eugenics at UCL is a significant issue that needs to be seriously addressed. One student suggested that UCL, like most universities, focuses on getting people in rather than keeping them happy once they are here.

A participant questioned whether UCL would make an apology, actively sharing the information about why eugenics was not successful, explaining why they took that approach and why it was problematic. Another participant added that "we just don't move on from these things. We stop and ponder them as always possible, right? ...so I don't want UCL to move on. I want UCL to stop."

Eugenics' current legacy: institutional racism and ableism

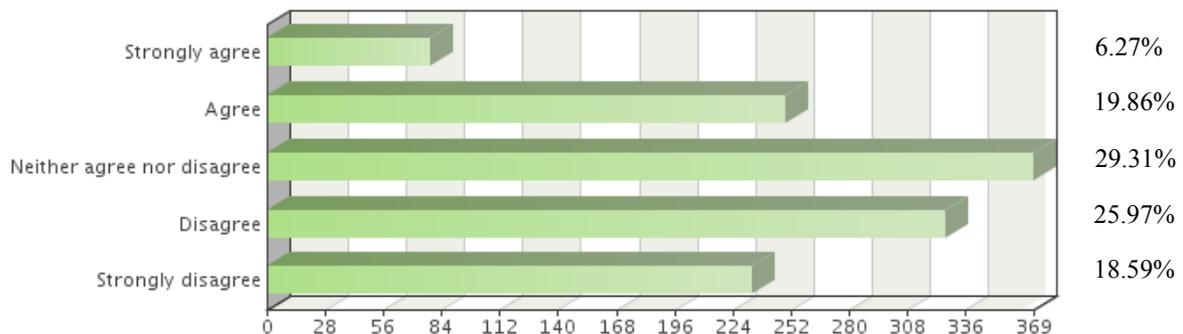
The current legacy of eugenics became the central issue addressed during this part of the focus group sessions. Although the participants acknowledged the importance of addressing the historical links with eugenics in a scholarly manner, they felt that eugenics is

very much present in UCL. This is in contrast to the answers to Question 7 (Figure 8) of the internal survey where most participants disagree that there is a current legacy of eugenics at UCL.

Figure 8. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 7

Question 7

I believe that the legacy of eugenics is still very much present at UCL.



Again there is a noteworthy ambivalence in response to this question. The focus group participants mentioned several indicators of a current legacy of eugenics. The most recurrent five were: (1) institutional racism evidenced in a majority white staff; (2) a white curriculum; (3) discrimination against disabled students and staff; (4) current practices within the faculty of life sciences with a focus on screening against 'undesirable' traits such as deafness; (5) the everyday experiences of BME students and staff and the treatment they get from their white counterparts.

The majority of participants acknowledged that racism and ableism are not exclusive to UCL. One focus group discussed how more than 50% of the UK voters voted for Brexit, and more than 50% of the United States voters voted for Trump and how this shows a resurgence of some of the thinking that characterised the 'eugenics era'. Thus, participants argue that UCL has the responsibility to address racism, ableism and any other forms of discrimination.

However, participants from black and minority ethnic groups and disabled participants were more likely to consider that the legacy of eugenics is still present in UCL (see Figures 9 and 10 below).

Figure 9. Crosstabulation between Question 7 and race/ethnicity

Q7. I believe that the legacy of eugenics is still very much present at UCL							
		1 (Strongly agree)	2 (Agree)	3 (Neither agree nor disagree)	4 (Disagree)	5 (Strongly disagree)	
Q33	Arab		12.5%	37.5%	37.5%	12.5%	100.0%
	Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi	14.3%	42.9%	28.6%	14.3%		100.0%
	Asian or Asian British - Indian	13.5%	18.9%	40.5%	21.6%	5.4%	100.0%
	Asian or Asian British - Pakistani	18.2%	27.3%	27.3%	18.2%	9.1%	100.0%
	Black or Black British - African	18.2%	50.0%	31.8%			100.0%
	Black or Black British - Caribbean	20.0%	45.0%	15.0%	10.0%	10.0%	100.0%
	Chinese		31.6%	44.7%	13.2%	10.5%	100.0%
	Mixed - White and Asian	15.0%	15.0%	20.0%	30.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Mixed - White and Black African	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%		100.0%
	Mixed - White and Black Caribbean	27.3%	27.3%	18.2%	27.3%		100.0%
	Other Asian Background	3.8%	26.9%	34.6%	26.9%	7.7%	100.0%
	Other Black Background			66.7%	33.3%		100.0%
	Other Ethnic Background	4.2%	33.3%	16.7%	29.2%	16.7%	100.0%
	Other Mixed Background	5.0%	35.0%	27.5%	20.0%	12.5%	100.0%
	Other White Background	4.7%	19.8%	23.6%	25.5%	26.4%	100.0%
	White	2.6%	17.0%	30.2%	31.5%	18.7%	100.0%
	White - English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish, British	4.9%	16.0%	29.9%	28.8%	20.5%	100.0%
White - Irish	8.7%	17.4%	39.1%	13.0%	21.7%	100.0%	
White - Scottish	10.0%	30.0%	20.0%		40.0%	100.0%	

Figure 10. Crosstabulation between Question 7 and ability/disability

Q7. I believe that the legacy of eugenics is still very much present at UCL							
		1 (Strongly agree)	2 (Agree)	3 (Neither agree nor disagree)	4 (Disagree)	5 (Strongly disagree)	
Q34	No disability	4.6%	19.2%	30.0%	27.4%	18.8%	100.0%
	Yes (please specify if you wish)	17.9%	25.0%	28.6%	13.1%	15.5%	100.0%

Some participants argued that, in terms of racism, the legacy of eugenics is present at UCL when you see very few "dark-skin faces" amongst the student body and the staff, particularly if they come from low-income backgrounds. They contended that "UCL is shrouded in whiteness" and that this is intentional: "from my personal experience, my Jamaican friends who I went to secondary school with applied for UCL but I don't think they got in...anybody from any islands, especially growing up where the Grenfell Tower used to

be, that's very diverse. You have Somalians, Eritreans... but these students from that lifestyle are not represented at UCL. Their wealthier counterparts are."

Some participants brought up the short film 'Why is my curriculum white?', produced by a group of students at UCL in 2014. The film talks about not only the names of the buildings and statues celebrating prominent racist figures but that 'whiteness' is embedded in the curriculum as well. They argued that the curriculum does not include decolonial studies and that it includes the ideas of Eurocentric scholars but ignores intellectuals and academics who are BME.

Some participants considered that racism is embedded in the very research still carried out at UCL. Some of the participants that attended the first Town Hall meeting on the Inquiry said that people with links to eugenics continue to work at UCL in positions of influence: "There is a journal, a scientific journal that publishes a lot of racist research and looking where are the institutional affiliation of those researchers, I saw that some of them were working for UCL and they had published like a month ago in that journal."

Other participants suggested that there are people who do research into eugenics at UCL and this correlates with "the top dogs" at UCL, most of them white, male and enabled: "If you break down the pay grades at UCL, you will see that... you know, it prides itself on ethnic diversity and endorses and celebrates that, but most of them [racialised minorities] are on grade one, so they are security, they are cleaners. And at the moment there's a big debate over holiday pay and employment rights and people are still having to fight to get their voices heard. So, they are not equal to their white counterparts." Some participants discussed how there is a racial hierarchy permeated everywhere in UCL, an idea of racial superiority "that becomes mapped racially in every single part of UCL."

Regarding the first Town Hall Meeting, various students complained about the treatment and the replies they got from white academics who disregarded their feelings of unpleasantness and inadequacy when entering buildings and spaces named after prominent eugenicists. These students got the message that they "were wrong" in feeling this way as it was based on a complete misunderstanding of eugenics and that they were taking things out of proportion.

In terms of ableism, a disabled student argued that they see UCL mainly “as an ableist institution that see people with disabilities as having a cost implication, as being expensive, and that framework has been set up so Deaf and disabled people cost more. And I think that's kind of gone into the education model as well.”

Other disabled students argued that lecturers and professors in genetics courses have "eugenicist ways of teaching" – meaning that lecturers adopt an ableist position when they discuss disabilities and disabled people as things that should be eradicated. A student commented that a Professor in genetics stated that "oh, there's no point killing all the disabled people because the gene will still propagate throughout the population so that wouldn't be an efficient way to do it." Another disabled student said that some lecturers still use the phrase 'mental retardation'.

Talking about accommodation for disabled students, some participants contend that UCL does not comply with some of its legal obligations: for e.g. UCL still charges more to students who need an accessible room, many buildings are not wheelchair accessible, and many of the supposedly accessible toilets are not accessible.

In terms of wellbeing and support, a student argued that "most of their purpose seems to be to stop students actually gaining access". Disabled students with Statements of Reasonable Adjustments (SoRAs) for attendance and assessments often do not have access to things like lecture recordings or live streaming, even though many disabled students often cannot attend lectures in person. Moreover, when they do include things like the right to take breaks or extra time for examinations, some departments refuse to allow it. One disabled student stated that "we are treated as an inconvenience". While this is not by everybody, this is the general message disabled students feel they get from the university. Disabled students complained that Student Support and Wellbeing "advocate against disabled students by refusing to give lots of reasonable accommodations".

These students also brought up the issue that the Disabled Students Officer does not get a sabbatical like the Black and Minority Ethnic Students' Officer or the Women's Officer and that makes their work more complicated, given their disabilities, to support the cause of disabled students at UCL. Disabled students also complained that the second Town Hall Meeting (11 October 2019) took place in a non-accessible venue and without BSL

interpreters for Deaf members of UCL: "this is the eugenics committee who is meant to be targeting and dealing with ableism, what does that say about the University?"

Disabled staff also referred to this event and the general lack of access for disabled members of UCL, whether within the built environment or for Deaf staff: "We sort of have been eradicated somewhat from UCL discourse generally." They also talked about the legacy of eugenics in UCL's research practices. A blind participant commented on the School of Life and Medical Sciences (SLMS) conducts research to eliminate impairment, "but is this always a good thing?". In this participant's view, disabled participants need to critically engage with this research and discuss how it fits with UCL's eugenics history and current practices.

Participants in the focus group for Deaf students and staff discussed how, within the same faculty, there are places like the Ear Institute which talks about the eradication of deafness as an illness and, at the same time, places like UCL DCAL (Deafness, Cognition and Language Research Centre) which researches deafness and linguistics. They felt, however, that researchers promoting the latter are a minority, so they will always be one step behind. DCAL promotes the idea that rather than people with disabilities being ill-equipped, it is society which is ill-equipped to support them because it has an ableist attitude. As a result, they suggested that "there is a reputational risk, for us to be associated with UCL if the university is still involved with work on eugenics, particularly in the removal of the Deaf gene."

One Deaf member of staff shared his unhappiness that academics have lobbied in the House of Lords for the inclusion of deafness in the list of serious illnesses in arguing that people should have the choice whether or not to have deaf children. The Deaf staff member argued that he was not disputing choice but the fact that it was very hurtful to the Deaf community for academics to promote legislation and research that seeks to eradicate their way of life while refusing to listen to Deaf people's points of view.

"UCL wants to hide behind its brand"

Several participants mentioned UCL's branding efforts as dishonest and self-serving. For many participants, UCL brands itself as a global university that appeals to a wide range

of international students and that welcomes all diversity. For some participants, this branding is a deliberate effort to hide unpleasant bits of history.

Various participants talked about how the historical links of UCL with eugenics are not mentioned in official internal publications. They argued that this history is "hidden", "silenced" or "invisible". They contended that there seems to be an element of shame about this information because UCL wants to sell an image of diversity, and it is unwilling to disclose any issues that might challenge this image.

Participants discussed how UCL does not address its colonial history and legacy because it is all about "how good we are and how diverse everything is". Participants thus find UCL branding efforts "disappointing", "contradictory", "hypocritical", "deceiving", "double-standard", "a discrepancy" among others. A staff member talked about how it is about getting "a good colour palette" to produce communication and marketing material.

Another participant argued that for UCL to pride itself for being the first UK university to admit women and for being a non-denominational institution while lauding people who researched eugenics sends a deplorable message:

“What I am concerned about in seeing other conversations in UCL meetings is how international students are used to getting this global label. And the stuff that relates to eugenics and the history of eugenics, it doesn't have the same impact on all of us in our lived experiences. And there is a massive divide I recognise between international students who become racialised as minority when they come here for their degree, and people that are born and raised as marginalised minorities in the UK and their life experiences and the danger in UCL marketing and everything else is those International students end up providing a convenient cover for all those young Black and Minority Ethnic kids that grew up in Grenfell. I grew up in Kilburn, so I know that area and none of my peers went to the university. There were like six of us that did A levels.”

A participant commented on how EDI (Equality, Diversity and Inclusion) was moved from Human Resources to the Provost's Office. For this participant, this was a PR move to send the message that the Provost is taking things seriously and that he is going to listen, but there is scepticism as to what will be done because of “UCL's massive academic bureaucracy

which makes it extremely difficult even to put up a plaque on the Pearson building talking about his links with eugenics.”

A couple of graduate students coming from the University of Oxford talked about how they came to UCL expecting a much more "modern" and "liberal" place, but after witnessing racism, ableism and the Conferences on Intelligence, their view of UCL as modern and progressive was entirely challenged.

3.3. Question 3: What is your position on the naming of spaces on UCL campus after persons who founded and promoted eugenics?

Question 3 elicited the following types of responses:

- "We cannot erase history" (whether the names are changed or kept)
- "We cannot judge them by today's standards"
- "We should definitely change the names"
- "Changing the names is necessary, but it's not enough"
- "I don't have a strong position about the names"
- "There is more than Galton, Pearson and Petrie"

"We cannot erase history" (whether the names are changed or kept)

All participants, whether in favour, against or indifferent to changing the names of buildings, had a common concern: "we cannot erase history." What participants considered the implications for action of this shared view were, however, disparate.

Some participants in favour of keeping the names argued that there was no point in changing them as it risks erasing the history of UCL's institutional development and evolution. These participants are in favour of using a narrative that is visible to students, staff and visitors, enabling them to understand how these figures played a role in the development of UCL.

Others in favour of keeping the names suggested that they can help us to avoid the risk of repeating this history by warning of the consequences of the type of research that has been conducted at UCL. Some believe that changing the names can create more problems unless the new names are 'neutral' like numbers, or addresses or discipline names because names of people will always convey ideas that others disagree with.

A participant felt that keeping the names could raise awareness of eugenics. If we "sweep them under the carpet" we could avoid the pressure to give another thought to eugenics. At the same time, this participant made the somewhat different argument that no one else at UCL has the sort of stature Galton and Pearson had, thus it is crucial to keep the names.

Some students in favour of changing the names remembered how some academics during the first Town Hall meeting argued that it would be ahistorical and unscientific and conveyed concerns focused on the smearing of specific individuals' reputation. These students contended that if anything erases history, it is this one-sided portrayal of what UCL is about: "we're not just here to manage a brand, we have to be honest." They argued that the changing of names is not intended to silence that history which is still current today, glorifies only one side of UCL's history and refuses to debate the topic.

Some other participants in favour of changing the names stated that what they want is for history to be acknowledged. They explained that they did not want to force it on people as UCL should not be a "one brain institution" but to make sure there is an opportunity to heighten our awareness of the history of eugenics. These participants agreed that names have weight and that naming a building after an individual celebrates their positive, but also their negative, contributions. Other participants alluded to the name change as a symbolic act of rejecting ideas that no longer reflect the values that UCL claims to uphold. Naming a building after someone is a form of "memorialising" and "celebrating", "a privilege" and "an honour" that should not be bestowed upon individuals that so heavily contradict UCL's values of diversity and inclusion. A participant added that "I'm curious to know more about the justification for retaining the names."

All participants in favour of changing the names argued that their intention is not to 'shove under the carpet' the contributions of people like Galton, Pearson and Petrie, but that

we have the responsibility to engage critically with their work as a whole, both "the good" and "the bad" things. Otherwise, it would be a one-sided portrayal of history and knowledge.

"We cannot judge them by today's standards"

Several participants contended that we cannot judge individuals who lived at the beginning of the 20th century by today's standards. It would be

“presumptuous and arrogant to think that the values upheld today are superior or better than those of that time. Yes, of course, they were racist, everybody was racist then. There is no human being who died more than 20 years ago who would pass muster using contemporary royal standards. So, if the rule is going to be that we cannot celebrate anybody who does not conform to our high ideals, then we celebrate no one...”.

Others offered that perhaps "they didn't know any better", "they're just people of their time" and were not aware of the consequences that some of their work would have in the hands of others that misused it.

Various other participants discussed the above assertion in different focus groups as they had heard similar comments from colleagues at the first Town Hall meeting. They referred to these kinds of comments as an "oversimplification" as there were abolitionists at 'that time'. A participant mentioned the book 'Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent' as "an absolutely resounding answer to the question 'but weren't they all racist back then? They didn't know any better', because there were voices saying Indian people are equal, people in Barbados are equal to white people. So, the question becomes, why didn't anyone listen?"

Other participants claimed that we are not judging them by today's standards but by the standards of their own time because Galton and other eugenicists had contemporary academic peers who rejected their methods and proposals. There were all sorts of critics against what they stood for: "we're not judging people by standards of misguided political correctness. They were wrong when they did it. And now I feel that we might be coming to a

point where we are comfortable and confident enough to be able to say that, publicly say that."

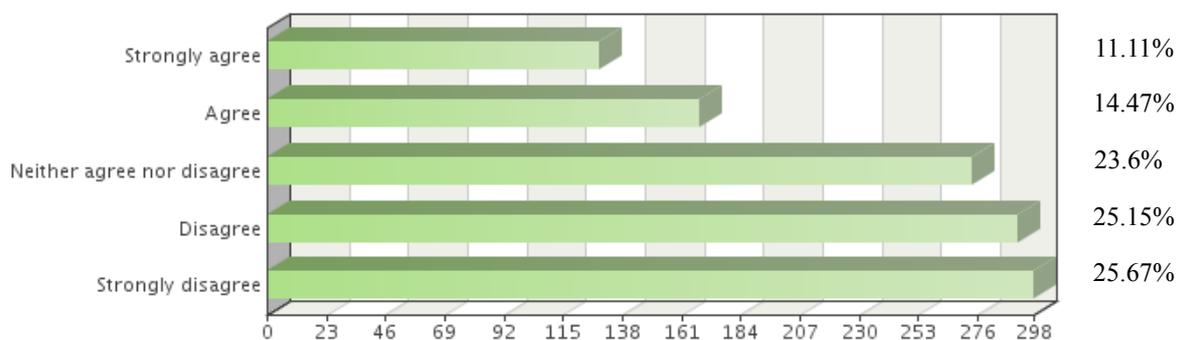
"We should definitely change the names"

The results for Question 19 (Figure 11) on the survey showed that more than half of the survey participants disagreed or strongly disagreed with keeping the name of the buildings and spaces.

Figure 11. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 19

Question 19

The names of these spaces and buildings should be kept.



Various participants had a strong position on changing the names of buildings and spaces named after prominent eugenicists. Some argue that, although they acknowledge that nobody is perfect and almost everybody has 'skeletons in their closets', Galton, Pearson and others were propelling an ideology that it is still very present at UCL: "If you're not changing [the names] you are kind of just assuming that this is a problem that's over. That it doesn't relate to us anymore. And I do think that it does." Another participant added: "Just change the names of the buildings. They cause more harm than good."

Others contended that keeping the names would say to minorities that "we've heard you, but your feelings are not important to us." A participant suggested that keeping the names as a reason to trigger critical conversations about eugenics is disrespectful towards the people whose ancestors were affected by eugenics and who are themselves affected by the current legacy of eugenics.

A member of staff remembered how appalling it was listening to a student saying, during the first Town Hall meeting, "I'm walking into a building named after someone who wanted me dead." This participant continued:

"..as a member of staff I think we should listen to the students on this. I would actually say, the Students' Union should decide. I think they should have their own version of well, what's going on here, what's appealing to you. The university is in many ways for the students, not exclusively, but they're the ones who keep arriving, you know, they're the new ones. People like me have been here for ages. We kind of found our peace with the place in various ways. I don't think this should be answered by all the white men who surrounded the Provost at the end of the Town Hall."

"Changing the names is necessary, but it is not enough"

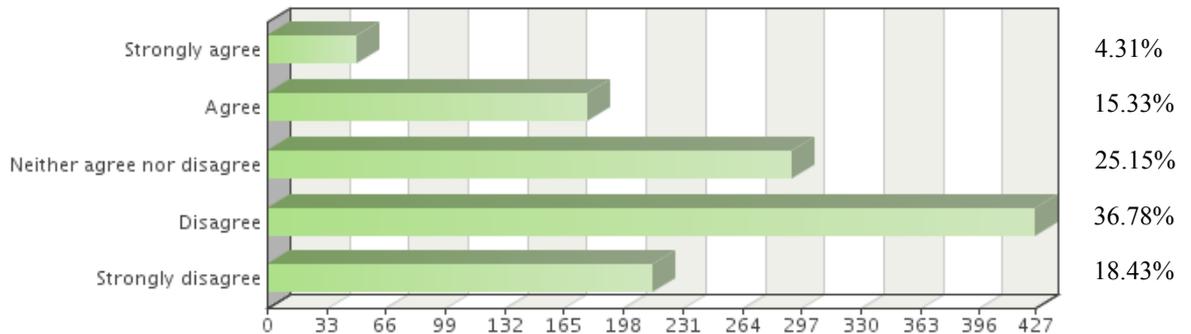
Most focus group participants in favour of changing the names agreed that changing the names is not enough. For many, changing the names does not risk erasing history as much as it risks that the whole of UCL's response becoming a "hand washing", "tick the box" "knee-jerk" or "tokenistic" exercise and as a result, brushes under the carpet any other critical action that needs to happen to make effective change. "It wouldn't feel like a massive victory".

This is reflected by the answers to Question 18 (Figure 12) where 55% of survey participants disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that removing the names of Galton, Pearson and Petrie would be a sufficient measure to address the legacy of eugenics at UCL.

Figure 12. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 18

Question 18

Removing the names of Galton, Pearson and Petrie would be a sufficient measure to address the concerns about the legacy of eugenics at UCL.



Many of these participants felt that UCL needs to take reconciliatory steps because re-naming is not enough. Changing the names without having a plan in place to address the history and the legacy of eugenics is like "having a house with crumbling walls, and you give it a fresh lick of paint." Other participants claimed that changing the names of the buildings and spaces should be the last thing that UCL should do to address eugenics and that it should happen after UCL has done the difficult infrastructure and institutional work and created some new benchmarks.

Some participants mentioned how the term 'eugenics' has been taken off names of departments and positions throughout UCL's history, and that has not changed the current state of affairs. Similarly, other participants mentioned that firing particular academics for their controversial research and public statements, has not addressed the underlying issues that gave context and platform for these individuals to do and say what they did. For various participants, these actions mean that UCL does not think it has to be held accountable.

"I don't have a strong position about the names"

Various participants declared that they felt quite neutral about renaming buildings and spaces. These participants shared similar concerns to the ones mentioned in the previous section about changing the names. They expressed that changing the names would be too "surface-level" and make little difference if the UCL community is not made aware of the work these individuals were doing:

“Personally, I don't have a very strong view. However, I really feel like this may just be a tick box exercise. Yes, we change the name, we have like a more progressive person or a woman or someone, so it will show how good we are to promote again our diversity mantra, and that's it, we tick the box”.

Some white participants stated that they have the privilege to be able to be neutral. Participants who declared themselves to be neutral, however, come from both minoritised and majoritised groups. Some believed that the names do not make eugenics inherently more acceptable or more unacceptable and others declared they would be shocked if UCL decided to change the names.

"Do I care if you change all the names of these buildings? Not in the slightest! You know, as a data scientist, I prefer if buildings were named after something useful like their physical addresses or numbers or something, you know, as long as it doesn't waste too much time and money changing the signs that perhaps could be better spent on something else. Having said that, it would be nice if the names weren't completely maligned."

This ‘neutrality’ is reflected by almost a quarter of the survey participants who neither agreed nor disagreed with the statements of Question 19 ‘The names of these spaces and buildings should be kept’ (Figure 11) and Question 18 ‘Removing the names of Galton, Pearson and Petrie would be a sufficient measure to address the concerns about the legacy of eugenics at UCL’ (Figure 12) show in the previous pages.

"There is more than Galton, Pearson and Petrie"

Participants who were acquainted with UCL’s links with the history of eugenics mentioned other historical names in addition to Galton, Pearson and Petrie, although these people do not necessarily have spaces or buildings named after them. They mentioned people such as Cyril Burt, who was Chair of Psychology at UCL and who was a significant supporter of eugenics; Gregory Foster who was UCL Provost between 1904 and 1927 (when the research on eugenics started at UCL) and who Foster Court is named after; Alexander Graham Bell who studied at UCL and who was part of the Milan Conference that banned sign language which stalled the development of the Deaf community; Ronald Fisher who

supported eugenics and was the Galton Professor at UCL from 1933 to 1943; Rockefeller and his support of eugenics research; Marie Stopes, one of the founders of the eugenics movement and student at UCL who provided abortion clinics and argued for the sterilisation of those deemed "unfit for parenthood", and Mahatma Gandhi who studied at UCL and held anti-black racist beliefs.

One participant talked about figures prominent in UCL's curricula such as Virginia Woolf and Charles Dickens who held negative positions against working-class people and used racist remarks in their work.

Many other participants mentioned contemporary academics, some recently fired and some still working at UCL who, in these participants' views, continue to perpetuate the legacy of eugenics through their teaching and research.

3.4. Question 4: How do you think UCL should approach its historical role in the teaching of and research on eugenics?

The majority of participants agreed that UCL's efforts to address the history and the current legacy of eugenics must go beyond the current Inquiry. They argued that it should be a continuous effort to keep values of diversity and equality on the agenda. The themes/issues identified here were:

- "UCL should 'own up' to its history"
- "Looking critically at our research"
- Addressing institutional racism
- Addressing institutional ableism
- Decolonising the curriculum
- "This is an opportunity for UCL"

"UCL should 'own up' to its history"

The phrase "UCL should own up to its history" was mentioned in almost all of the focus groups and in various comments from the surveys such as "UCL should be honest".

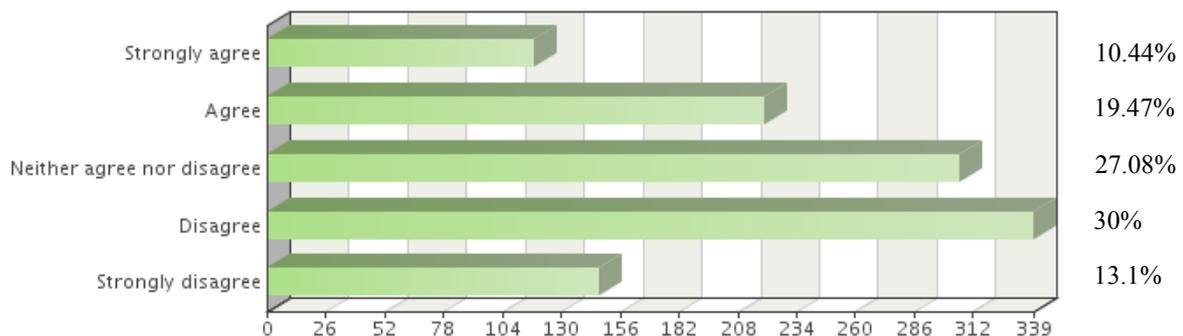
The previous section discussed how not a single participant wants to erase history whether the names are removed or kept. For many the fact that information on this history is not readily available suggests an element of "shame" a sense of shame by UCL?. Some participants believe that UCL does not want its reputation to be tarnished, but "the first step to apologizing for something is to acknowledge it."

During the focus groups, when discussing whether there should be an introduction to eugenics for new students and members of staff, most participants agree that this should be optional instead of mandatory. Responses to Question 26 (Figure 13) reveal a similar view where less than a third (30%) of participants wanted a mandatory induction.

Figure 13. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 26

Question 26

UCL should embed a mandatory induction on the history of eugenics for all students and staff.



Participants backing a mandatory induction believe that if left as optional, people will not necessarily choose to learn about eugenics and the danger is that their induction to UCL maintains the brand of openness, inclusion and diversity while ignoring its "tainted" past with eugenics or other colonial legacies. Others who believe the induction should not be optional, believe that it should be part of "the onboarding experience for staff... to be educated on you know, simple things like ableism, transphobia, racism, classism, you know, you get here you learn how to treat people with respect."

A participant arguing against a mandatory induction believes that it might bring about horrible and unintended consequences by "rejuvenating the unpleasantness of eugenics" and give ideas for some to start using eugenics for harrowing purposes all over again.

Participants supporting optional versions felt that students and researchers with interest in eugenics should be able to find a reasonable amount of research material, given the history of eugenics at UCL. They suggested features such as an object-based learning laboratory, bringing the collections into the classrooms or an app that uses QR codes to teach about the history of the buildings and the history of it through images. Others suggested additional funding for archival and curatorial work to properly contextualise and display this history.

Some other participants proposed that an induction or display should include a broader history from that of eugenics; a history that contextualises this thinking in the past and current practices at UCL as well as beyond UCL. One participant observed that "I want us to keep noticing that every academic subject has a horrendous past, you know. In history. there is a tremendous amount of othering... Anthropology is actually just exactly the same. It's a whole bunch of othering in which they eventually went maybe we shouldn't be talking like this about...and it's still working that one out."

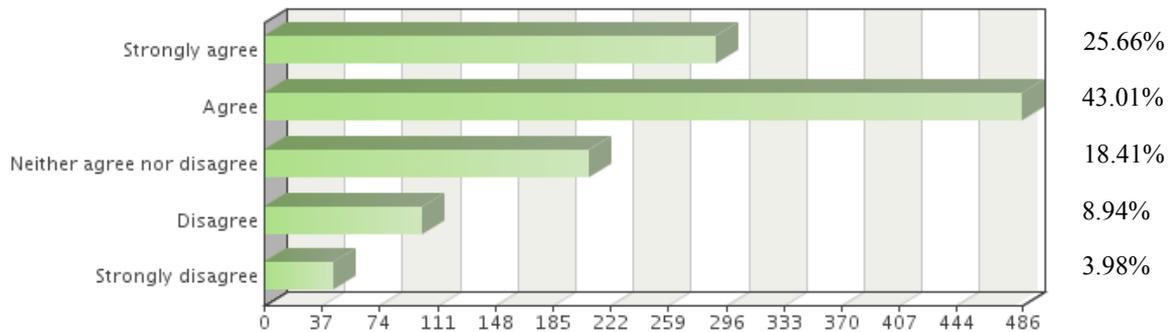
The idea of a permanent exhibition, which the majority of participants supported (69%) (Figure 14). Some suggested that this should be online so that it is easier to update while others preferred it to be a material exhibition located at a central place such as the Octagon at the Wilkins Building and include QR codes for those who want to learn more about specific topics. "There is a lot of ignorance about the subject; hence I believe this is partly how James Thompson was able to hold 'secret meetings' between 2014-2017."

A few believed though that, like with the optional/mandatory induction, the contents of the exhibition might ignite negative consequences and make people feel inferior or upset.

Figure 14. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 28

Question 28

There should be a permanent exhibition/public outreach on the history of eugenics at UCL so that the whole university is familiar with this history.



"Looking critically at our research"

The participants in the focus groups were unaware that the Commission was conducting archival research in parallel to the empirical research. Although, as the facilitator eventually mentioned it during this part of the discussion, various participants felt that whatever research is conducted now by the Commission needs to be continued in the form of independent research projects, PhD studies and interdisciplinary research.

The participants who suggested that eugenics has a current legacy in UCL talked about changing institutional research practices. They suggested that we should think about who is allowed to do the kind of research that is done. This is linked to funding and processes of ethics approval and how these might privilege some research and researchers over others within the university.

Disabled participants suggested that those researching disabilities should engage with people with lived experiences of disability, to give them a rounder picture and to make more informed judgements on whether eliminating impairment is a good thing or not: "I am not saying that we don't want to make people's lives with impairment better, but we certainly want to challenge the history of impairment and the history of racism and the impact that slavery has had on communities today through the history of what UCL has done amongst other universities and many other things."

Deaf academics and staff said that there is much research into deafness and sign language conducted by researchers who cannot sign themselves. Deaf people have been continuously excluded from this type of research. There are Deaf researchers at UCL who have been working on these topics for many years and still hold lesser positions and are not allowed to move forward.

Various participants discussed genetic research at UCL while being cautious about getting “too pushy” about telling other people what their research should be, but they believed that there should be more conversations about it: "I'm very nervous of this charge of perfecting people's genes and enhancement. It starts off as fixing problems and then suddenly it's enhancement and then you've got designer babies and you know..." Others contended that anybody doing research linked to genetics needs to explain themselves, confront people and have their opinions challenged, because they might not necessarily be addressing people's needs if they do not allow people to take part in identifying these needs and their views on the proposed solutions.

Other participants mentioned the new UCL Centre for the Study of Race and Racism and how it has the potential to advance research that challenges the legacy of eugenics at the university. At the same time, they think the reach of this centre might be limited at the moment, and should be either increased, or followed by more initiatives like it to engage effectively and meaningfully with research on modern-day racism, both inside and outside UCL.

Addressing institutional racism

Section 3.1 (above) showed that many participants see the legacy of eugenics at UCL in the form of contemporary institutional racism. Participants acknowledge that making this link raises many challenges, such as those during the first Town Hall meeting where some academics downplayed the claims of some BME participants. On this, a participant offered:

“I was thinking that it's very hard to think about that direct causal relation between the history of eugenics at UCL and nowadays racism in this institution. But making a more interpretive analysis it is always related to racism and different kinds of exploitation and domination between different groups. So, from that perspective, I

think this thing of eugenics wouldn't be such a big deal if we weren't living in a racist society and the UK has been highlighted for being racist, especially the last couple of years. UCL is known for being a very open institution, but there are situations where international students as myself or other people have lived experiences of discrimination. It's very inserted in institutional policies, especially for what I have seen for international students."

Some participants suggested that UCL should push forward its efforts to bridge the current gap between white and Black and Minority Ethnic academics. The latter should be encouraged and aided to attain higher grade positions. A participant suggested that, in light of the Provost stepping down in 2020, UCL could prepare a shortlist comprised of BME female professors. Black and Minority Ethnic students participating in the focus groups were adamant that it is essential to have more lecturers and professors from Black and Minority Ethnic backgrounds who can effectively engage with students from these backgrounds and encourage their career paths either as role models or as mentors who have shared similar experiences. Some participants argue that even if the lack of Black and Minority Ethnic professors is a common situation in the UK, UCL should be bold and a frontrunner.

A couple of participants in different focus groups brought up the example of the University of Glasgow, which had an Inquiry into the legacy of slavery. The university has set up a reparations project backed up by considerable funding, and they have established a partnership with the University of West Indies for scholarships: "In our case, maybe it's slightly different but calling it just, having a corrective justice embedded in whatever the outcome is and put money behind, is what I would want to see."

In terms of the intake of UK Black and Minority Ethnic students, some participants considered that there is also a gap which needs to be addressed by the university. They focused mainly on undergraduate students, many of whom cannot afford the tuition fees or have lower attainment than required by UCL because they come from schools that do not prepare them adequately to meet the admission criteria of universities such as UCL. For Black and Minority Ethnic students already at UCL, some participants discussed how UCL should also help them during their studies to ensure that attainment gaps are reduced.

During a focus group discussion, participants debated the fact that the Inquiry organised separate groups for Black and Minority Ethnic students and staff. Some

participants were in favour of this and others against it. The former referred to the need of 'safe spaces' and the latter, saw the division as counterproductive if "the object of the Inquiry is to discuss these issues in diverse settings".

Addressing institutional ableism

Section 3.1 explains that many disabled members of UCL feel that the legacy of eugenics is evident as the university remains an inherently and systematically ableist institution

Some participants discussed how UCL has worked towards the Athena Swan and the Race Equality Charter awards but that there is no equivalent for disabled students and staff and until this is developed, UCL should address the current challenges of its disabled community. A participant suggested that there should be a separate Inquiry into current ableism across students, staff, support staff and UCL Estates.

Disabled students discussed how UCL needs to make Student Support and Wellbeing accountable for ensuring that students' SoRAs (Statements of Reasonable Adjustments) include more options addressing the needs of disabled students. They also felt that, faculties and departments should be held accountable for committing to these SoRAs because it is illegal not to do so, according to the Equality Act 2010. For example, they pointed out that it is illegal to charge more for disabled students' accommodation than for enabled students.

Both disabled students and staff want UCL Estates to improve accessibility on campus and the accessibility for Deaf students and staff who are continuously excluded from events at UCL because the university does not provide BSL interpreters unless specifically requested and even so, this is not often granted. Disabled students suggested that UCL should engage in a national conversation on making accessible workplaces and study spaces.

Disabled students also called for the position of the Disabled Students Officer to be a sabbatical one and for the appointment of an ombudsman or a similar figure, or even a team whose job is to implement these changes and to constantly use disabled people's feedback to make UCL "a place that disabled people want to come to because it's going to be amazing when all our voices are heard."

Decolonising the curriculum

Some participants argued for the need to 'decolonise UCL's curriculum'. For them, the idea is not to attempt to erase history but to acknowledge its negative as well as positive elements and their implications for current teaching practices at UCL. They see a direct relationship between eugenics and UCL's colonial background. Some students discussed how there is no department at UCL dedicated to decolonial studies. These students suggested that UCL should provide appropriate funding for decolonial thinking.

For one participant, UCL had a colonial approach to teaching "it's actually distorting the way we learn, is distorting the way we produce knowledge, it's actually reproducing inequalities.". Some participants called for UCL to offer more modules on post-colonial theory and others contended that a way to decolonise the curriculum, for example when teaching English Literature, is to look beyond the same authors and find authors from a different background. A colonial approach, they argued, shapes students' understanding of the world and of the people who created that information. One focus group talked about the idea of the connected curriculum as a way to bring different perspectives together and provide a more liberal and diverse education.

Many staff and students during the focus groups maintained that decolonising the curriculum is also about making students in the bioscience departments aware of the eugenicist links of many of the authors and researchers they study. They explained that this is currently omitted in lectures, but is essential for avoiding a one-sided narrative and to have a more comprehensive view of students and the world: "I think a university can do more than just teach biology. It can also make people decent human beings."

Other participants suggested that UCL should review every single course, whether in science, history or any other discipline where eugenics is potentially implicated to make sure that students get the "whole picture".

"This is an opportunity for UCL"

Many participants mentioned that the Inquiry provides an opportunity for UCL to live up to its slogan/motto "disruptive thinking". They think that UCL could be a leader in challenging some of the most pervasive societal illnesses, such as ableism and racism. Most participants acknowledged that this would not be easy as UCL would be challenging its status quo, but "one of the things that universities can do is imagine the future...its whole potential to take knowledge, test different ideas of mass crazy biscuits and sandwiches and see what you come up with. It's also an opportunity for UCL to reframe the present and act on that."

Others saw it as a brilliant opportunity for UCL to decide its moral and intellectual identity and for the outcomes of the Inquiry not to be static but dynamic and "part of a bigger remembering where Galton and Pearson and everything that went with that era is ...sort of anti-celebrated, inquired into, used as a testament."

As voiced by one participant, UCL has not woken up to the fact that it could be setting the trend in terms of a real embracing of diversity. They argued that the university has a responsibility to do so because people graduating from UCL are likely to attain leading positions and need to be aware of the impacts of their actions on others today and in the future: "if not UCL then who?"

3.5 Public Survey

The online survey for members of the public used the same structure as the internal and alumni surveys but with four fewer questions tailored specifically for members of the UCL community.

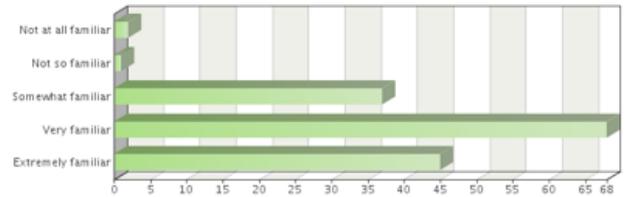
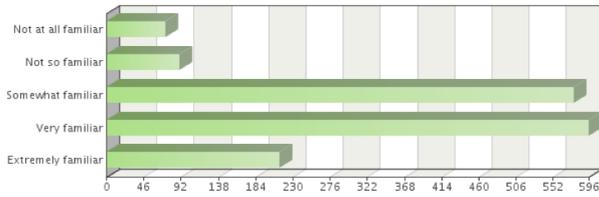
Responses to the online survey showed marked differences compared to the internal survey. However, the response patterns were very similar.

1. What is your understanding/awareness of eugenics and its links with UCL's history?

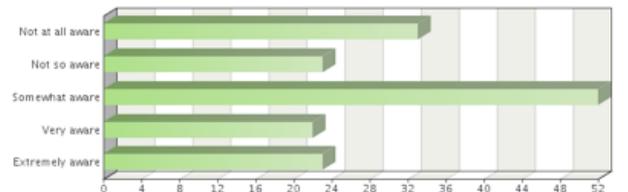
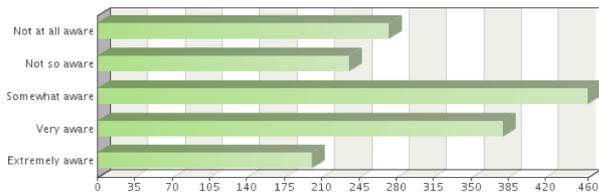
Internal UCL Survey

Survey for members of the public

Q1: How familiar are you with the term eugenics?



Q2: How aware are you that UCL has played a pivotal role in the history of eugenics?



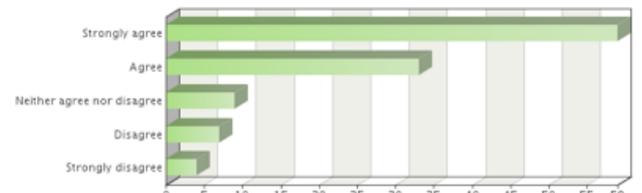
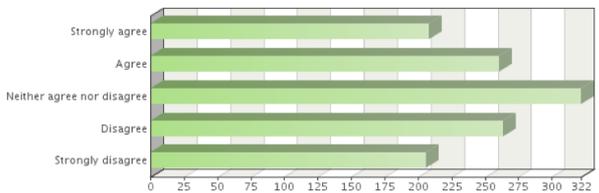
The two introductory questions read somewhat similar, although participants in the public survey have a higher level (44%) of familiarity with the term eugenics as opposed to 38% in the internal survey. Meanwhile, 13.8% of the UCL community claim to be ‘extremely familiar’ compared to 29.41% of members of the public. Arguably, the members of the public that engaged with the survey did so on the basis of their familiarity with eugenics.

2. Does the information on the history of eugenics at UCL change your perception of the university?

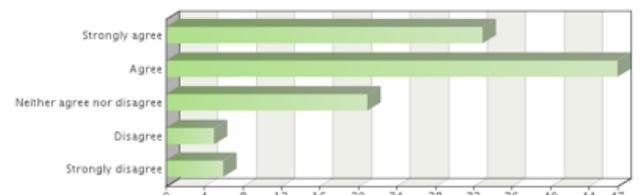
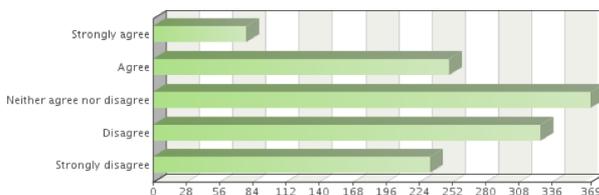
Internal UCL Survey

Survey for members of the public

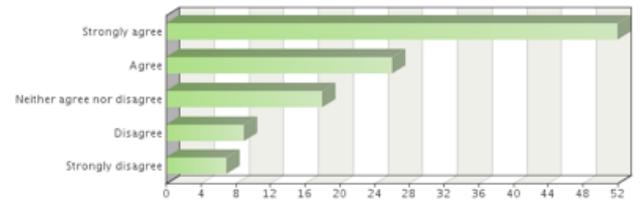
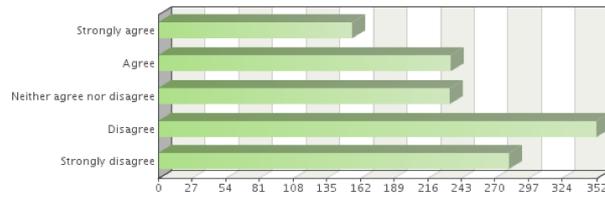
Q6(4): I am very concerned that UCL played a pivotal role in the development of eugenics



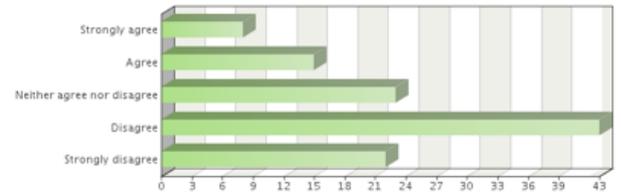
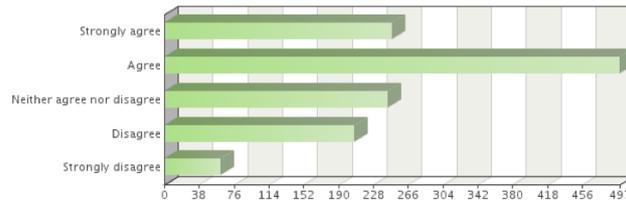
Q7(5): I believe that the legacy of eugenics is still very much present at UCL



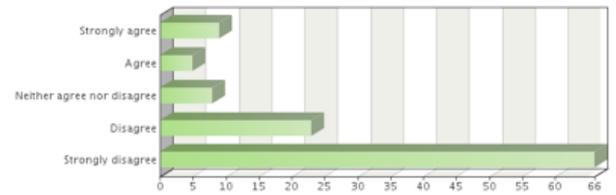
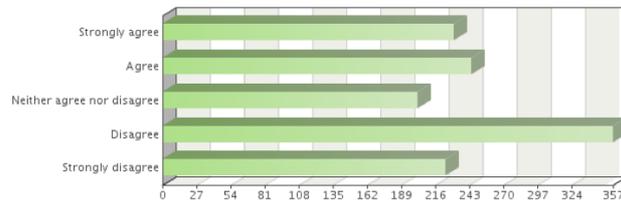
Q8(6): Having learnt about eugenics at UCL, I feel that UCL's claims on equality and diversity are undermined



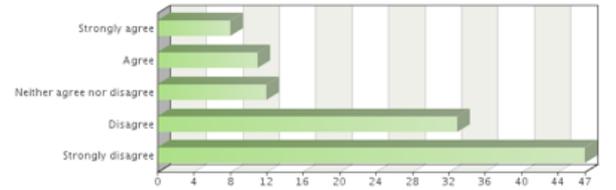
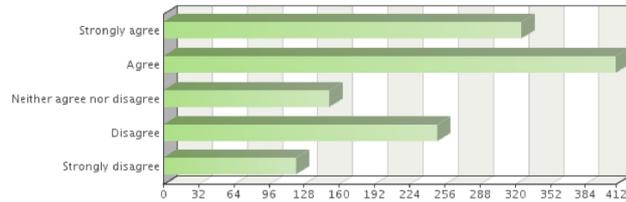
Q9(7): The eugenicists views of early researchers do not invalidate the scientific contributions that they developed



Q10(8): We should separate science and politics



Q11(9): I believe that the history of eugenics at UCL should be seen as a feature of Victorian thinking with little influence on the current values and ideals promoted by UCL



Responses to questions 4, 5 and 6 (coinciding with questions 6,7 and 8 of the internal survey respectively) show the greatest differences. Public participants expressed a much stronger concern (82.14%) with the role of UCL in the development of eugenics compared to members of UCL (37.19%).

Similarly, public participants believed that there is stronger legacy of eugenics at UCL (71.43%) compared to the responses for the same categories in the internal survey (26.13%). And in terms of UCL's values being undermined by its historic links with eugenics, public respondents agreed with the statement by 70% compared to 31.06% of UCL participants.

Participants from the public stated that UCL has platformed white supremacists and that it upholds imperialistic agendas. Others contended that “it is frightening to learn that secret conferences were held and unauthorized by UCL”.

Some other public participants perceived that the Inquiry, by way of the survey questions, seems to be more concerned with historical discrimination than modern wrongdoing. Some members of UCL alumni responded to this questionnaire and one of them argued that “rampant nepotism, cronyism and classism made my time there nearly unbearable.” Another alumna expressed how she is very concerned that UCL hasn’t sought to “understand the ways in which eugenics have influenced and continue to influence the world in which we live. “

Responses to questions 7,8 and 9 (coinciding with questions 9,10 and 11 of the internal survey) also show stark differences. While 21.38% of the internal survey participants disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that ‘eugenicists views do not invalidate their scientific contributions’, 56% of public participants believed that eugenicists views do indeed affect knowledge production. Some comments here though agreeing with the statement stated that while it does not invalidate them it does “disgrace their legacy and render them figures that should not be celebrated or admired for those contributions.”

On the separation of science and politics, 80% of public participants contended that they should not be separated compared to 46% of UCL. One public participant commented that separating science and politics is a fallacy propagated by a hegemonic white class who believe that “their politics” are the equivalent of an “absence of politics”. “Science has never been outside politics and eugenicists used their positions of power to discriminate against certain groups of people based on their physical, mental or ethnic characteristics.”

Nevertheless, other public respondents agreed that science and politics should be separated “if we want science to produce true results”. Another respondent contended that the question is ridiculous since “any researcher knows the obvious answer is that they are connected.”

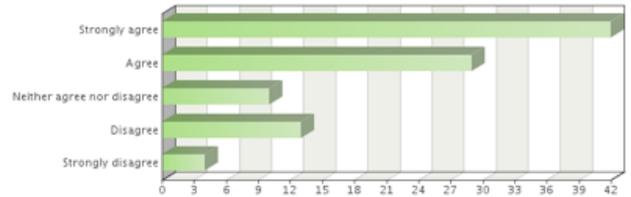
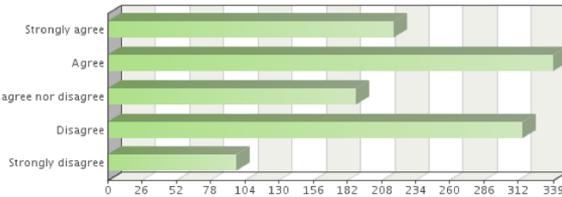
72% of public respondents disagreed with considering the history of eugenics as a feature of Victorian thinking compared to 29% of UCL respondents. A public participant argued that eugenics rhetoric is very much present in the daily activities of disabled people, particularly when dealing with Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) research.

3. What is your position on the naming of spaces on UCL campus after persons who founded and promoted eugenics?

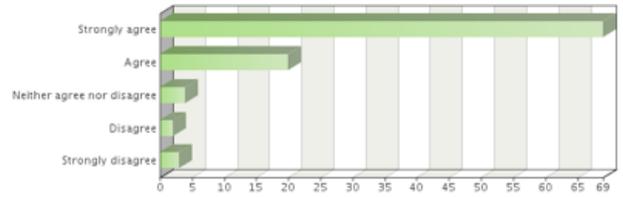
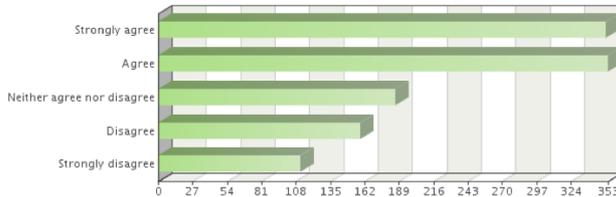
Internal UCL Survey

Survey for members of the public

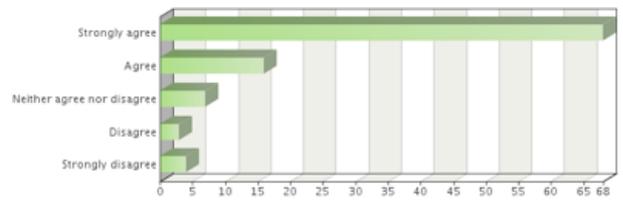
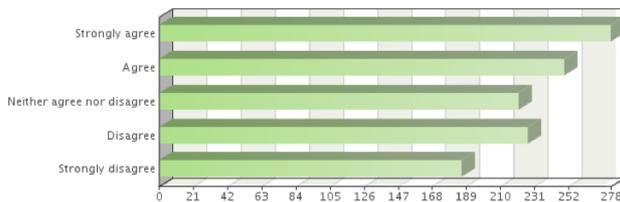
Q13(11): Eugenics and racism are the same thing



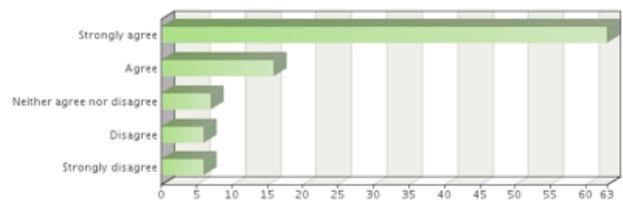
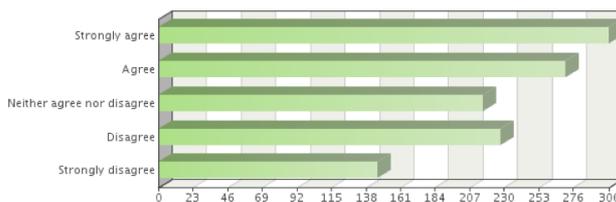
Q14(12): I am concerned that some buildings in UCL are named after prominent eugenicists



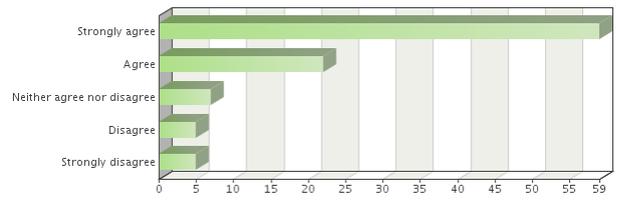
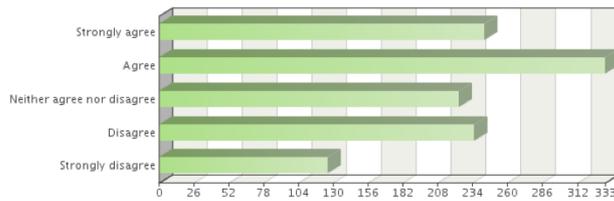
Q15(13): I find disturbing the idea of entering a space or a building named after prominent eugenicists



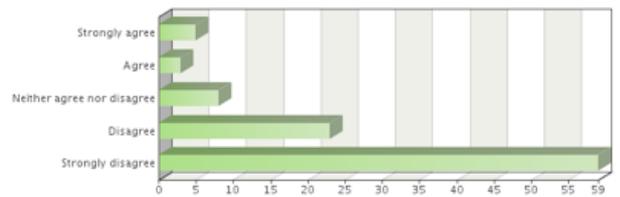
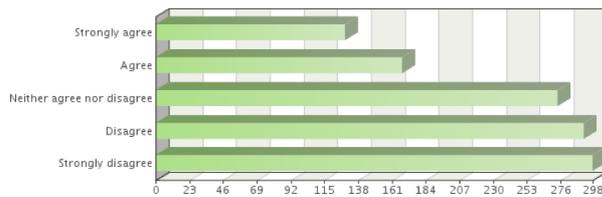
Q16(14): UCL cannot be a global university while celebrating Galton, Pearson and Petrie



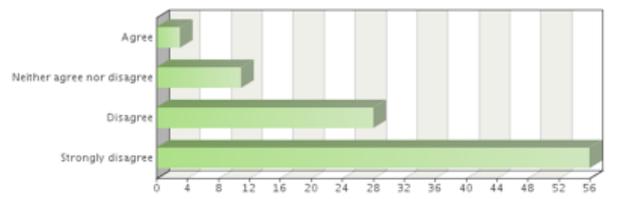
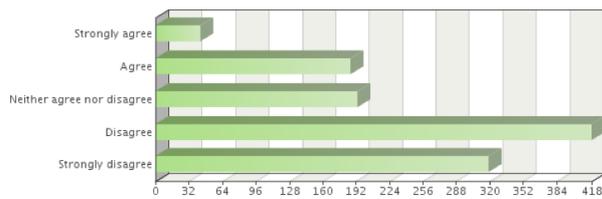
Q17(15): Retaining the names of Galton, Pearson and Petrie honours eugenics



Q19(17): The names of these spaces and buildings should be kept



Q22(20): I have no particular views one way or another about whether buildings and rooms should be renamed



Similar to Question 2, Question 3 was illuminated by big contrasts between the responses to the two surveys. When comparing eugenics to racism (Q13/11), public participants either strongly agreed or agreed (72.45%) with equating eugenics and racism compared to 48% UCL participants. Comments here pointed out that eugenics was also about classism, ableism and other forms of oppression. Other participants commented how while racism and eugenics are not identical, they are also not separable: “while eugenics are obviously profoundly relevant to racism, they are not identical. I understand eugenics to be a method for constructing racial difference whereas racism is the condition that both permits eugenics and is reinforced by eugenics.” In contrast, one public participant argued that science can never be racist.

In terms of spaces and buildings named after eugenicists, public participants are much more concerned with the issue than UCL participants. For the former, 91% felt concerned

with the names compared to 65% for the latter. Likewise, public participants argued that the idea of using these spaces is disturbing (86%) compared to 45.39% of UCL respondents.

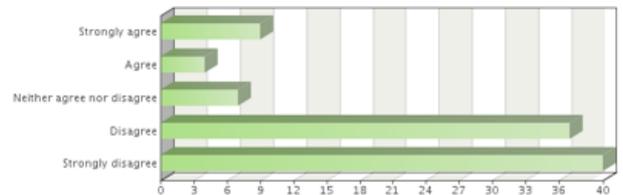
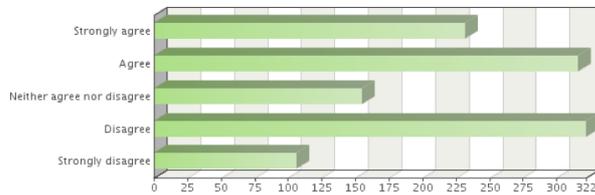
Public participants supported changing the names of spaces and buildings named after advocates of eugenics, more so than UCL participants. Some public participants asserted that keeping the names would send a message to potential students, academics and visitors that they are not welcomed at UCL, and that it would make UCL’s diversity claims a lie. Some public participants also argued that changing the names is not enough and that there should be reparations and the history of eugenics and its legacy at UCL properly addressed.

4. How do you think UCL should approach its historical role in the teaching of and research on eugenics?

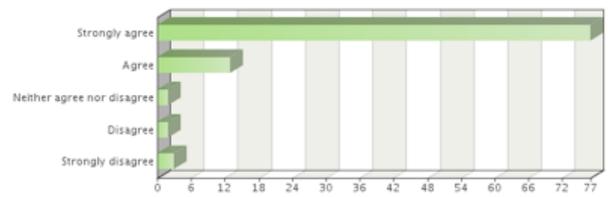
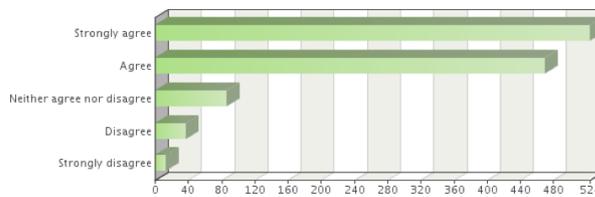
Internal UCL Survey

Survey for members of the public

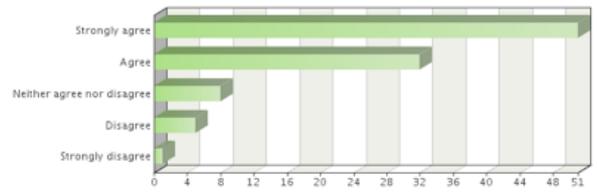
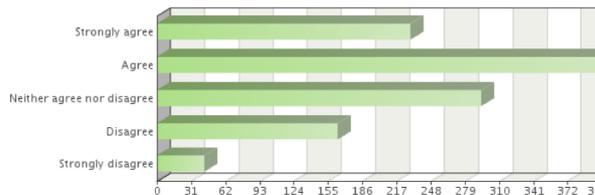
Q24(22): UCL should view its role in the history of eugenics in its historical context. Knowledge production constantly changes and need not be apologised for



Q25(23): UCL was involved in knowledge production that was aligned to racism and needs to be honest about this



Q27(25): All UCL graduates should know about the history of eugenics at UCL



The above responses continue to show marked differences between the public and the internal survey. Eighty percent (compared to UCL's 49%) disagreed with the idea of viewing the history of eugenics in its historical context; 67% (compared to UCL's 30%) advocated a mandatory induction on eugenics and for all graduates to know about its history (86% compared to UCL's 56%); finally, 86% (compared to UCL's 67%) supported the idea of a permanent exhibition on the history of eugenics at UCL.

One public participant offered that "the history of eugenics ... cannot be disentangled from histories of racism, colonialism/empire, class hierarchy, genocide, sexism, ableism, and heteronormativity, both in the UK/British empire and beyond. Any instruction on the history of eugenics must make these connections evident."

Other public participants argued that the teaching of statistics, biology, medicine and anthropology should embed a critical evaluation of the links of these disciplines with eugenics and this should be done alongside decolonising work. Some additional participants were cautious though that "paranoia about eugenics should not lead to a negative attitude to the study of genetics, with all its benefits."

4. Demographics

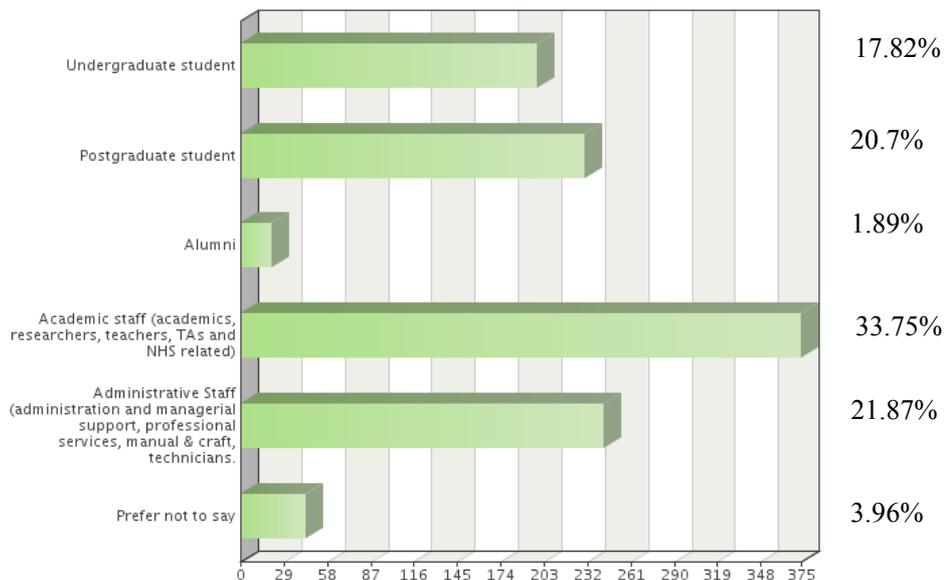
Internal UCL Survey

The demographic data from the internal survey make clear that the 1,111 participants who completed the form are far from a normally distributed, random sample. There is, for example, a marked underrepresentation of students, in particular undergraduate students, compared with academic and administrative staff (Figure 15). Conducting the study over the summer break made it difficult to recruit undergraduate students for the study. In addition, the invitation emails were sent to academic and administrative staff asking them to share the invitation amongst their students. Institutional emails could not be sent directly to the students.

Figure 15. Internal UCL survey: responses by constituency

Question 31

What is your position at UCL?



In terms of affiliation, a greater percentage of responses came from the Faculty of Life Sciences (21%) than other faculties or divisions (Figure 16).

Despite that the internal survey was not a normally distributed nor random sample, some comparisons can be drawn between the survey participants and the total UCL community⁴.

Regarding disabilities, there was a higher percentage (7.56%) of disabled participants (Figure 17) compared to UCL's overall statistics (4%).

Regarding race/ethnicity (Figure 18) and considering that the majority of the survey responses came from UCL staff (55.62%, Figure 15 above), most of whom self-identify as white (69%) according to UCL's statistics, the survey responses showed a similar percentage (66%). In terms of Black and Ethnic Minorities the percentage of survey participants was higher (24.28%) than UCL's statistics for staff (19%) but lower than UCL's statistics for UK domiciled students (42%) and non-UK domiciled students (66%). Arguably, this is explained not only by the survey not being a random, normally distributed sample but by the fact that, in general, students were underrepresented in the survey.

⁴ UCL statistics for staff were taken from UCL's Human Resources Key Workforce Indicators Report April 2019. The student statistics were taken from UCL's Student and Registry Services website for the academic year 2018-2019 <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/srs/student-statistics>.

Figure 16. Internal UCL survey: responses by affiliation

Question 32

Which is your Faculty/Institute/Division:

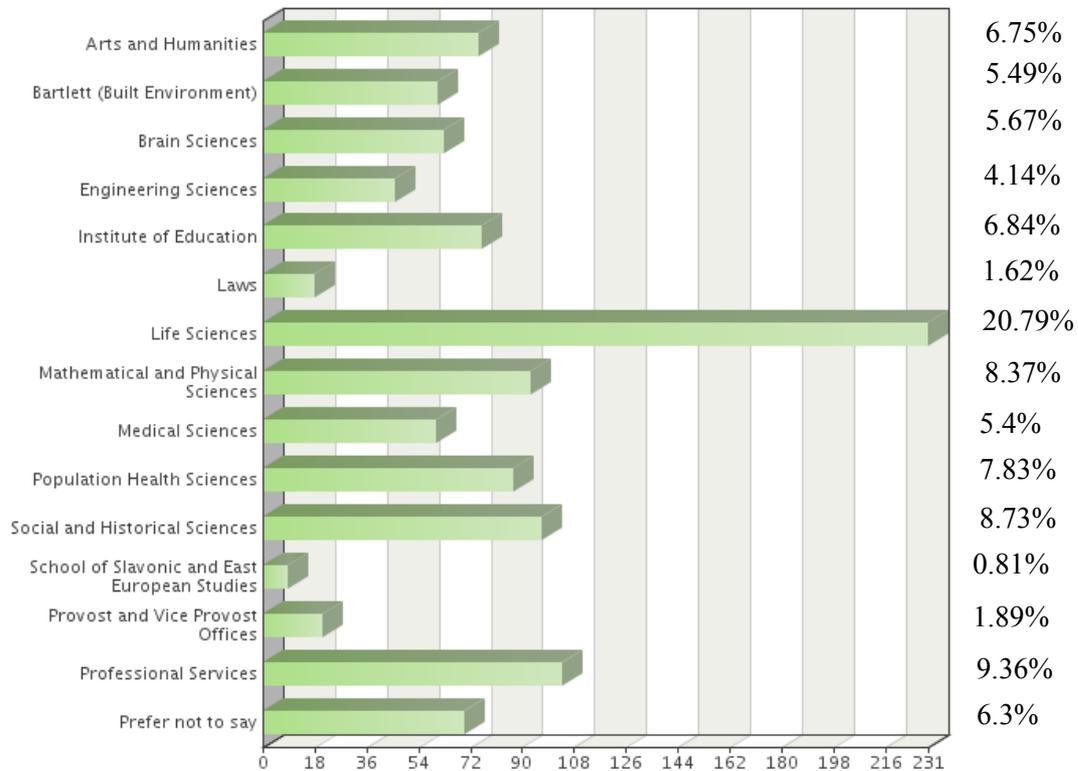


Figure 17. Internal UCL survey: responses by disability

Question 34

Do you consider yourself to have a disability?

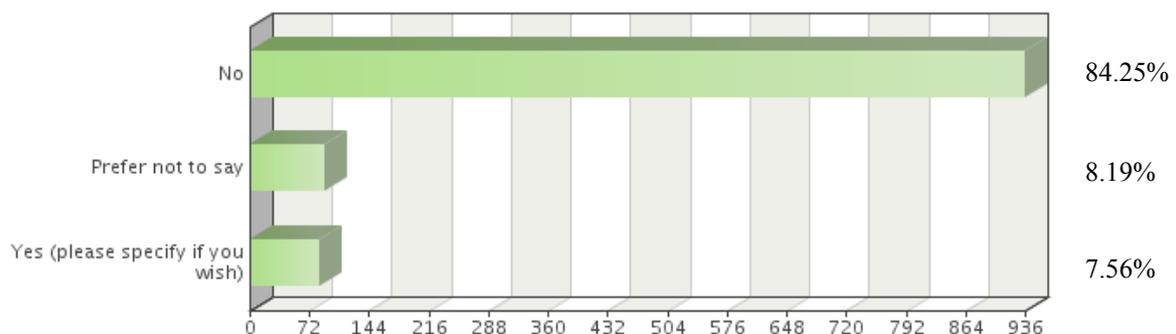


Figure 18. Internal UCL survey: responses by race/ethnicity

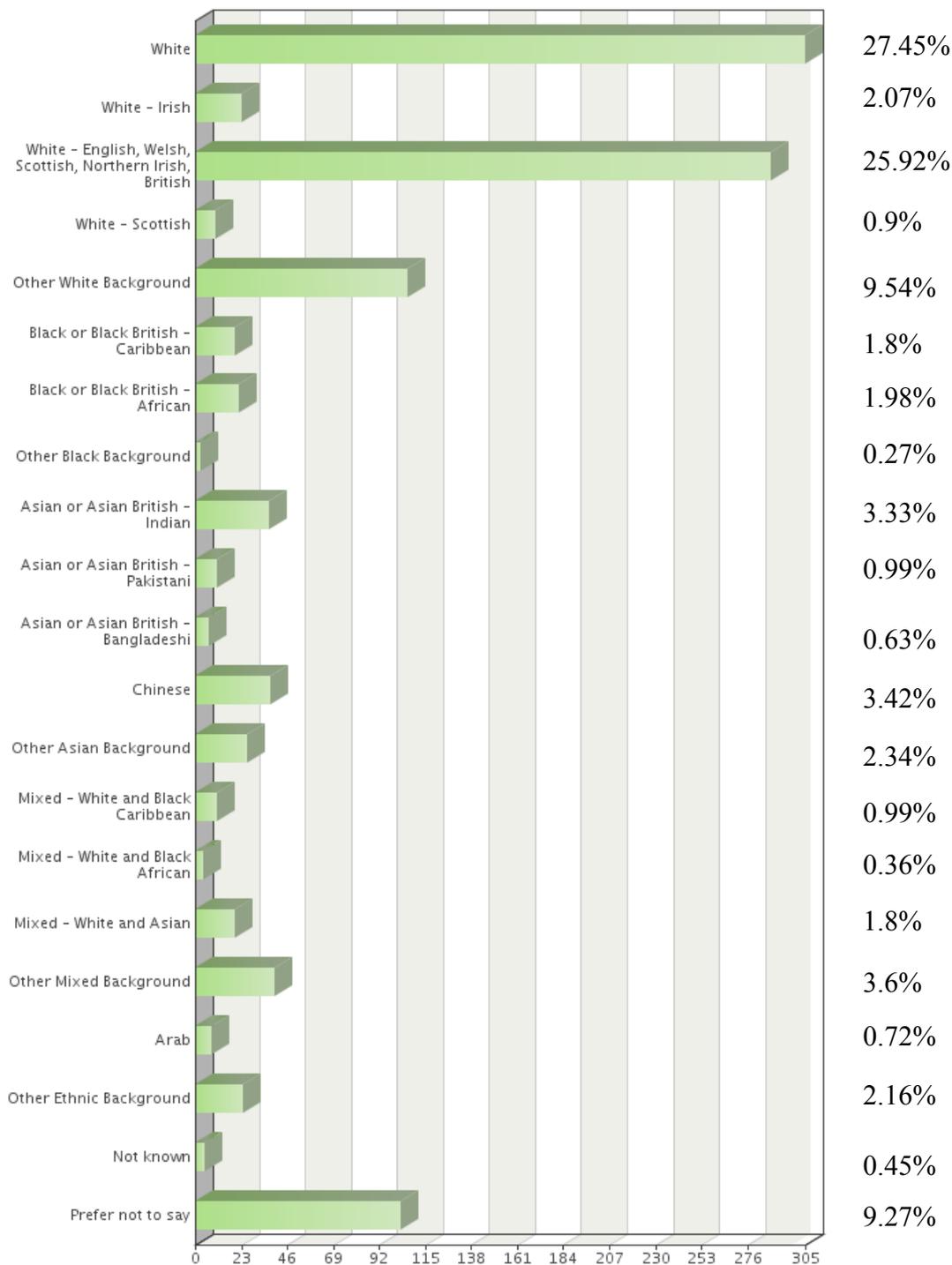


Figure 19 shows that 37.52% survey participants identify as men, 49.37% identify as women, 1.27% have a different gender identity and 11.85% of participants preferred not to answer. Figure 20 shows that more people in the survey report having a disability (7.56%) compared to 4% of UCL statistics for staff but less than 11% of UCL statistics for students.

Figure 20 (below) shows that 15.07% survey participants reported a sexual orientation other than heterosexual compared to 4% according to UCL’s statistics for staff. There are not data on sexual orientation for UCL students.

Figure 19. Internal UCL survey: responses by gender identity

Question 37

What is your gender identity?

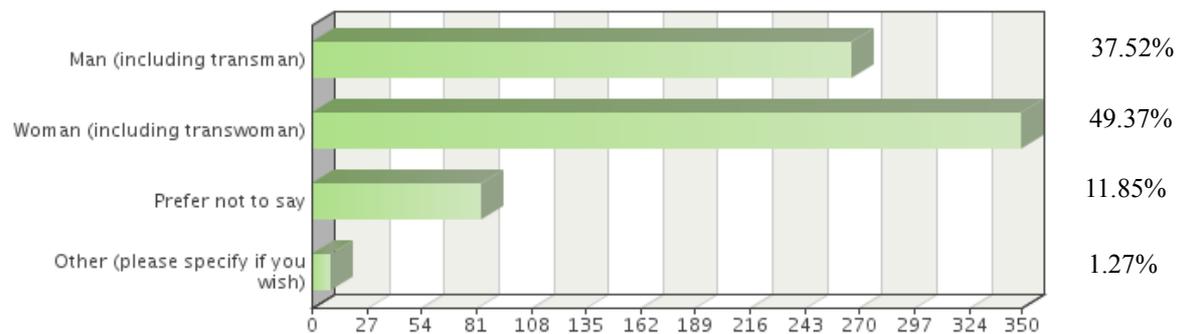
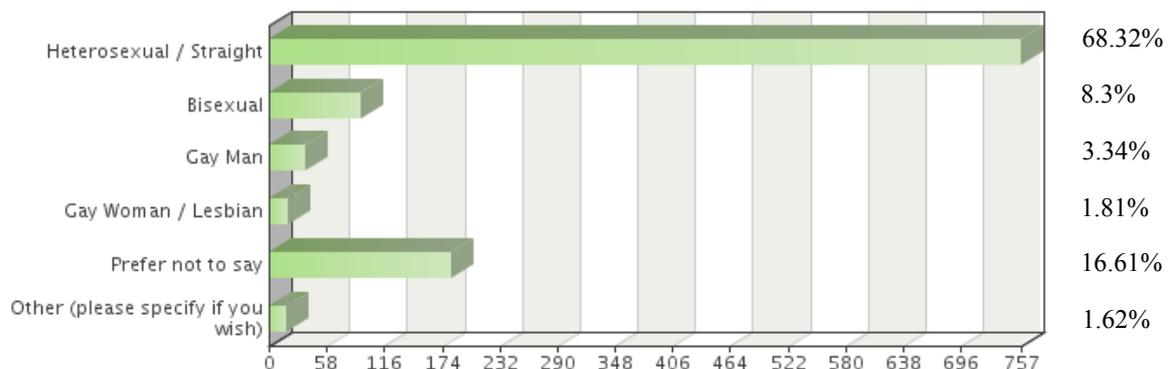


Figure 20. Internal UCL survey: responses by sexual orientation

Question 35

What is your sexual orientation?



Public Survey

The demographic data of the public survey included the same categories as the internal survey except from ‘Position at UCL’ and ‘Faculty/Division/Department’. The public survey was started by 154 participants but completed in full by 91. Compared to the internal

survey (Figure 18 above), the demographic data for race/ethnicity was more evenly distributed in the public survey, with 56.52% respondents identifying as white and 47.83% identifying as Black Minority Ethnic. For the internal survey, these percentages were 66% and 24.28% respectively.

In terms of disability, the percentages also contrasted with the internal survey. Almost 24% of participants in the public survey answered ‘Yes’ to the question ‘Do you consider yourself to have a disability?’ compared to 7.56% participants who answered ‘Yes’ to the same question in the internal survey.

Regarding gender identity, there was a higher contrast between the ‘Man’ and the ‘Woman’ categories compared to the internal survey. In the latter, the percentages were 37.52% and 49.37% respectively, compared to 14.13% and 64.13% in the public survey (Figure 19 above). The category ‘Other’ gender identity was higher (13.04%) in the public survey than in the internal survey (1.27%).

Finally, for sexual orientation the numbers were also higher (46.74%) in the public survey for categories other than heterosexual compared to 15.07% in the internal survey (Figure 20 above).

Alumni Survey

Despite the vast difference in numbers of responses, compared to the internal survey the demographic data of the alumni survey showed close similarities in all of the categories except for age. While 25% of the internal survey participants were in the age range 18 to 24, in the alumni survey respondents in the same age range were 50%.

Focus Groups

The table below shows the demographic data of the 65 participants in the fourteen focus groups. Three issues are worth mentioning.

First, compared to the three online surveys, a higher percentage of participants chose not to disclose information in all the categories. Arguably, although anonymous, the participation in the focus groups and thus the responses to questions on demographics are disclosed to the researcher. This could have added discomfort in answering these questions compared to online (invisible) participants.

Second, compared to the internal survey, responses in the categories ‘Race/Ethnicity’ and ‘Disability’ show higher percentages of Black and Minority Ethnic participants as well as higher percentages of disabled participants. This is a logical result of the allocation of specific focus groups according to the Terms of Reference of the Inquiry with an initial focus on racism which later extended to ableism.

Third, the representation of students –both graduate and undergraduate– was much higher in the focus groups than in the internal survey. This is also a reasonable outcome of the allocation of specific groups for these constituencies, in an effort to offset their underrepresentation in the internal survey.

Demographic Data of the (65) Focus Group Participants

AGE		ETHNICITY	
18 to 24	21.54%	Black and Minority Ethnic	38.46%
25 to 34	24.62%	White	43.08%
35 to 44	18.46%	Prefer not to say	18.46%
45 to 54	13.85%	DISABILITY	
55 to 64	6.15%	Yes	24.62%
Prefer not to say	15.38%	No	55.38%
FACULTY		Prefer not to say	20.00%
Arts and Humanities	9.23%	SEXUAL ORIENTATION	
Bartlett	7.69%	Heterosexual	55.38%
Brain Sciences	12.31%	Gay Man	4.62%
Engineering Sciences	1.54%	Bisexual	7.69%
IOE	9.23%	Other	3.08%
Laws	1.54%	Prefer not to say	29.23%
Life Sciences	7.69%	GENDER IDENTITY	
Mathematical and Physical Sciences	6.15%	Woman	43.08%
Medical Sciences	4.62%	Man	33.85%
Population Health Sciences	1.54%	Other	3.08%
Professional Services	15.38%	Prefer not to say	20.00%
School of Slavonic and East European Studies	1.54%	POSITION AT UCL	
Social & Historical Sciences	3.08%	Postgraduate Student	30.77%
Prefer not to say	18.46%	Undergraduate Student	13.85%
		Academic Staff	24.62%
		Management Staff	24.62%
		Prefer not to say	6.15%

5. Discussion and Conclusions

Chapter 3 on findings, show how various response patterns drawn from the surveys and the focus groups contain different views within themselves. For example, for the broadly shared concern that “We cannot erase history” some participants were strongly in favour of keeping the names while others strongly advocated changing them. And for “Eugenics linked to racism” some participants saw a direct link while others argued that while the link is there, the relation is not as strong as the former argued.

The surveys offered a range of response options from Strongly agree to Strongly disagree that showed the participants positions regarding the survey questions as well as the four research questions of this study. But the breakdown of responses by demographics and by crosstabulations show a more nuanced view of the data that helped to add depth to the analysis. This more nuanced approach was further supported by the focus groups’ discussions.

1. What is your understanding/awareness of eugenics and its links with UCL's history?

The findings of the three surveys and the fourteen focus groups show that participants are more familiar with the term 'eugenics' and less with the fact that some UCL researchers and associates played a pivotal role in the development of eugenics at the beginning of the 20th century.

Many linked eugenics with Nazi Germany, as the ideology underpinning the Jewish Holocaust. However, a few participants considered this link unjustified for the work developed at UCL; either because this thinking was “of its time” or because the development of Nazi ideology in Germany had little relation to the eugenics research in UCL at the beginning of the 20th century.

In regards to the recent Conferences on Intelligence, some participants believed that they should be seen as isolated issues with no influence on UCL's research and teaching

practices. Others, however, see the Inquiry as a PR exercise to 'cover' up the scandal and the press coverage incited by these conferences.

Based on their understanding of eugenics, some participants in focus groups defined eugenics as pseudoscience or as a science/policy issue, with principles aligned with racism, ableism, classism and sexism. Together with the majority of survey participants, they agree that science and politics cannot be separated. On the other hand, other participants in this study advocated a separation of science and politics. They argued that science should be seen as objective and unaffected by political ideologies.

Participants who described eugenics as a pseudoscience, argued that eugenicist researchers used dubious methods and manipulated the data to give credence to their established positions as 'white supremacists'. For similar reasons, other participants identified eugenics as a science/policy issue as eugenics research manipulated data and targeted specific populations to fit politics. It was a politics of discrimination against 'less than perfect humans', that eugenicists used to lobby the government to legalise practices promoting the breeding of 'superior' people (white, enabled, wealthy) and to prevent the breeding of 'inferior' people (Black and Minority Ethnic, disabled, working-class).

Many participants talked about a strong relationship between eugenics and racism. As the surveys showed, they did not equate the terms, but they did draw a parallel between eugenics and slavery and modern-day racism. Various participants however, pointed out that eugenics was also about classism and in particular, ableism. Many disabled participants rejected the Commission's initial focus on racism. They argued that ableism is also a contemporary issue but that it has been muted or has ignited fewer discussions than racism.

Finally, most of the focus group participants aware of the link between eugenics and UCL found out about the connection during their time at UCL. The surveys also show this trend with an average of 45% participants claiming to have become aware of the eugenics/Galton/UCL link during their time at UCL (Figures 21 and 22 below). Most participants associated eugenics mainly with the work of Karl Pearson and less with Galton's or Petrie's.

Figure 21. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 3

Question 3

I learned about Galton's link with UCL:

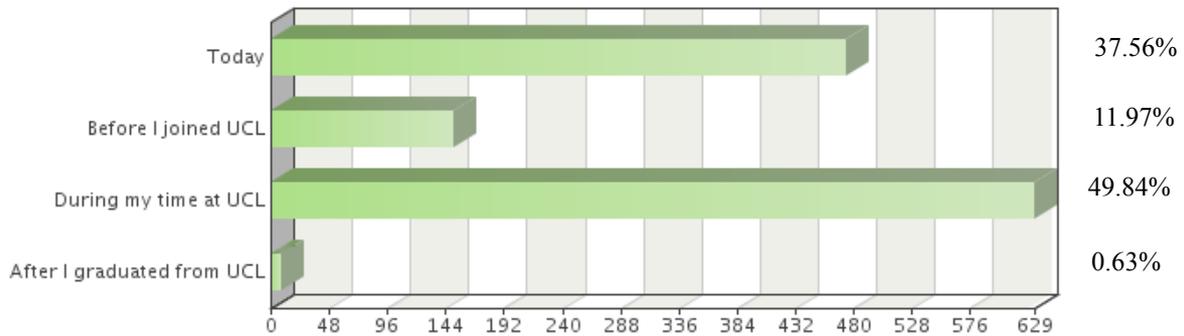
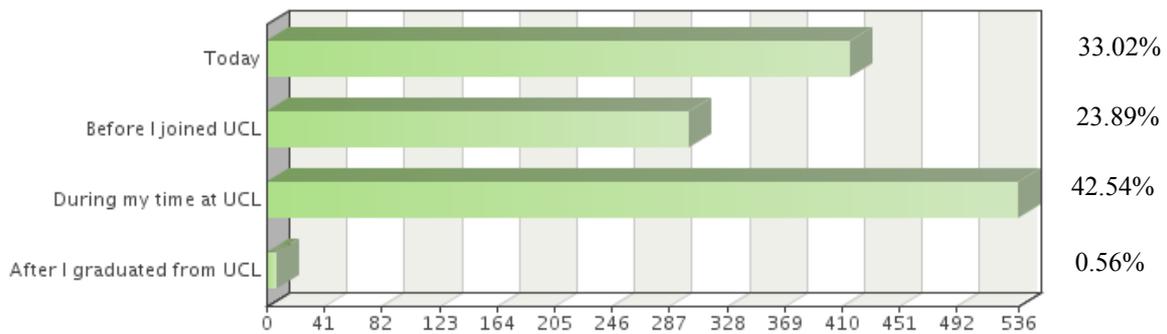


Figure 22. Internal UCL survey: responses to Question 4

Question 4

I learned about Galton's ideas about eugenics:



2. Does the information on the history of eugenics at UCL change your perception of the university?

In contrast to the internal survey, most participants in the focus groups argued that they were not surprised to learn about the links of UCL with the development of eugenics. They were aware that most UK universities have a colonial past and that most disciplines have 'skeletons in their closets'. This may, of course, be because the focus group members were even more likely self-selected than the survey participants.

Thus, many participants in the focus groups declared themselves more concerned with what UCL will do after the Inquiry because, as well as the majority of survey participants, they believe that eugenics is not just a historical issue but that its legacy is very present at UCL. They argued that it is not the history of eugenics that undermines UCL's values, but

that UCL has the potential to be undermined by its current and future actions in regards to equality, diversity and inclusion.

Many Black and Minority Ethnic participants and disabled participants in the focus groups maintained that they feel unwelcomed and constrained by today's UCL's environment. Some Black and Minority Ethnic students claimed that it is very challenging to use spaces named after eugenicists and, as well as disabled students, they find it challenging to sit through lessons in biosciences that praise the work of people like Galton and Pearson without addressing their work on eugenics at UCL. For them, the message is that the university continues to share this thinking and that it disregards the science/politics connection.

The focus group participants identified institutional racism and ableism as being the two most essential ways in which the legacy of eugenics is present at UCL. In terms of racism, the dearth of BME lecturers, professors and staff in senior positions of higher grade, the low intake of BME students particularly from low-income backgrounds and the attainment gaps of BME students compared to their white counterparts were all issues they identified as problematic. Various comments from BME participants of the surveys revealed that they feel unwelcome, marginalised or targeted by their colleagues and senior staff or by fellow students.

In terms of ableism, disabled participants in the focus groups claimed that the UCL physical and administrative environment is not adapted to the needs of its disabled students and staff. They pointed out that they struggle daily with issues of access to spaces and with access to specialised resources such as BSL interpreters for many events organised by UCL. Disabled students complained that they are charged more for accommodation and that they have continuously to battle with UCL Student Support and Wellbeing and with their faculties and departments to provide the accommodations they need such as the recording or live-streaming of lectures. Comments from disabled participants to the survey also revealed how they feel marginalised and consider that the legacy of eugenics in terms of ableism is present too UCL's current research, especially within the Faculty of Life Sciences and their work screening for the Deaf gene with the aim of eliminating deafness.

Participants in all the focus groups discussed how there seems to be a contradiction between UCL's brand of 'a global university' that upholds the values of equality, diversity and inclusion while it does not provide a safe environment for disabled members and

racialised minorities. Some feared that the Inquiry is but a PR exercise which will have no real impact, a comment also shared by various survey participants.

3. What is your position on the naming of spaces on UCL campus after persons who founded and promoted eugenics?

Many comments from both the survey participants and the focus group participants revealed two response patterns: "we cannot erase history" and "we cannot judge them by today's standards".

In the former case, all participants agreed that history cannot be erased, but they were divided between keeping and changing the names. Arguments in favour of changing the names were that this does not necessitate the erasing of history but rather offers a more holistic view of it, recognising the good and the bad of the past and the risks for current research practices. Arguments in favour of keeping the names included that removing them would erase UCL's accountability or that UCL will also be removing the legacy of critical thinking about eugenicist researchers from other scientific disciplines.

"We cannot judge them by today's standards" was an argument presented by participants who argued that eugenicist researchers were men 'of their time' and that it is arrogant and presumptuous to think that the values we hold today are better and more suited to judging people who developed their work more than a hundred years ago. In contrast, many participants in the focus groups contended that the practices of eugenicist researchers were controversial and disapproved of even by the standards of their time, with many of their counterparts rejecting their research methods, aims and principles based on racism, ableism and classism.

The survey and focus groups findings showed that the majority of participants believed that the buildings and spaces names should be changed. The majority of survey participants who were concerned that some spaces at UCL are named after prominent eugenicists, found disturbing the idea of using these spaces and felt that UCL cannot be a global university while celebrating the names of Galton, Pearson and Petrie because it conveys the message that UCL honours eugenics.

Focus group participants discussed how, although most sciences have 'skeletons in their closets', eugenics is still present in UCL, and thus it is of the utmost importance to address any eugenics legacies, past or present. They believed that the feelings of Black and Minority Ethnic students using these spaces should not be disregarded in favour of arguments that decouple eugenics and racism.

Although the majority of survey and focus group participants believed that the names of buildings should be changed, some felt neutral about the names for different reasons. Some feared that the actions of UCL following the Inquiry would be limited to changing the names and others believed that changing the names does not make a difference in terms of how UCL and its community acknowledge the history and the legacy of eugenics.

Thus, most participants agreed that "changing the names is necessary, but it's not enough". They want UCL to change the names either as the initial or the final step of a process of ongoing engagement, not only with the history of eugenics, but with current dissatisfaction with the levels of inequality, lack of diversity and exclusion within UCL's research, teaching and management.

Finally, some survey participants feared that the changing of names will 'brush under the carpet' the otherwise significant contributions of eugenicist researchers and that the Inquiry is about a revisionist approach to history and that by those principles, most names on UCL campus would have to be changed as well. Some participants in the focus groups also discussed this fear, but others contended that it is not about erasing eugenicists' contributions but about providing a more holistic and critical view of the history of eugenicist research as well as research in other fields of knowledge.

4. How do you think UCL should approach its historical role in the teaching of and research on eugenics?

The majority of survey participants and the participants in the focus groups believe that UCL should 'own up' to its historical role in the teaching of and research on eugenics at UCL. They considered that the members of the UCL community should be made aware of this history.

Most participants agreed with the idea of an exhibition, either permanent or temporary (so it can be easily updated) but disagreed with having mandatory inductions for all UCL students and staff. They considered the latter potentially counterproductive and that it would be better if tailored for students and staff in Life Sciences and other relevant fields. A few, however, believed that if the induction is not mandatory, UCL students and staff will continue to be oblivious of the history of eugenics at UCL and its links with modern-day racism and ableism.

In terms of institutional racism, focus group participants discussed the need to improve UCL's current efforts to bridge the gap between the members of white and BME staff, particularly academics in higher grade posts. They advocated positive action but not as a 'tick box' exercise with the need to improve numbers at any cost, but with effective measures to support a pipeline for Black and Minority Ethnic students and for current Black and Minority Ethnic lecturers to advance in academia.

Regarding institutional ableism, disabled participants discussed the need for UCL to improve access for Deaf staff to attend events without Deaf staff having continually to lobby for this. Disabled students would like UCL to appoint an ombudsman or a similar figure or team to keep UCL Student Support and Wellbeing as well as faculties and departments accountable for providing the accommodation to which disabled students are legally entitled. Finally, disabled participants would like to see UCL Estates improve accessibility on campus.

In terms of research practices, participants commented on the need for genetics researchers to engage with their objects of study when working with disabilities and for this research to be open to challenge by the communities it could potentially affect. Other participants commented positively and hopefully about the new UCL Centre for the Study of Race and Racism, and how this might be the hub for a lot of the work or actions recommended by the Commission of Inquiry.

Various focus group participants, as well as participants who completed the surveys, agreed that UCL needs to push forward the idea of decolonising the curriculum. This means not only addressing the history of eugenics and its current legacy but that of many other disciplines currently taught and researched at UCL. They pointed out that decolonising means to include a more comprehensive view of the world, a less Eurocentric and more diverse

approach that provides students with the ability to engage critically with their studies and with the world in a better-informed manner.

Finally, various participants see the Inquiry and the controversy around it as an opportunity for UCL to really live up to its slogans/mottos of 'a global university' and 'disruptive thinking'. They suggested that UCL can lead the way for many other universities, as it did back in 1826 when founded, and in so doing to challenge the current global politics with its resurgence of nationalism and extreme right-wing movements.

Overall, the findings regarding the four research questions suggest that there is a marked division within the opinions of the UCL community. On the one hand, some members approach the Inquiry with a focus on the historical context of teaching and research of eugenics at UCL, and are concerned that UCL should not take a 'revisionist' approach to this history. On the other, various members of the UCL community consider that the legacy of eugenics is still very much present at UCL through institutional racism and ableism. This division, of course, is not entirely fixed, as many participants share common concerns. In particular shared concerns are that no one 'wants to erase history' and it is thus not about discarding the scientific contributions of eugenicist researchers to other fields of knowledge, but rather about UCL 'owning up' to its history, honestly and transparently.

Ultimately, the discussion on eugenics catalysed the responses of various members of the UCL community who are dissatisfied with UCL's current stance on equality, diversity and inclusion. Although most of these UCL members acknowledged that the links of eugenics with racism and ableism are supported by current science, they find it difficult to decouple the historic link between eugenics and UCL from current institutional racism and ableism. In the words of a focus group participant:

“While there are no necessary links between the science and these kinds of colonial imperialist actions, an association has been made historically, and we need to deal with it and so when we get to this kind of intertwining we are having to deal with the complexity of that.”

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