

PEACE CHRONICLE

THE MAGAZINE OF THE PEACE AND JUSTICE STUDIES ASSOCIATION

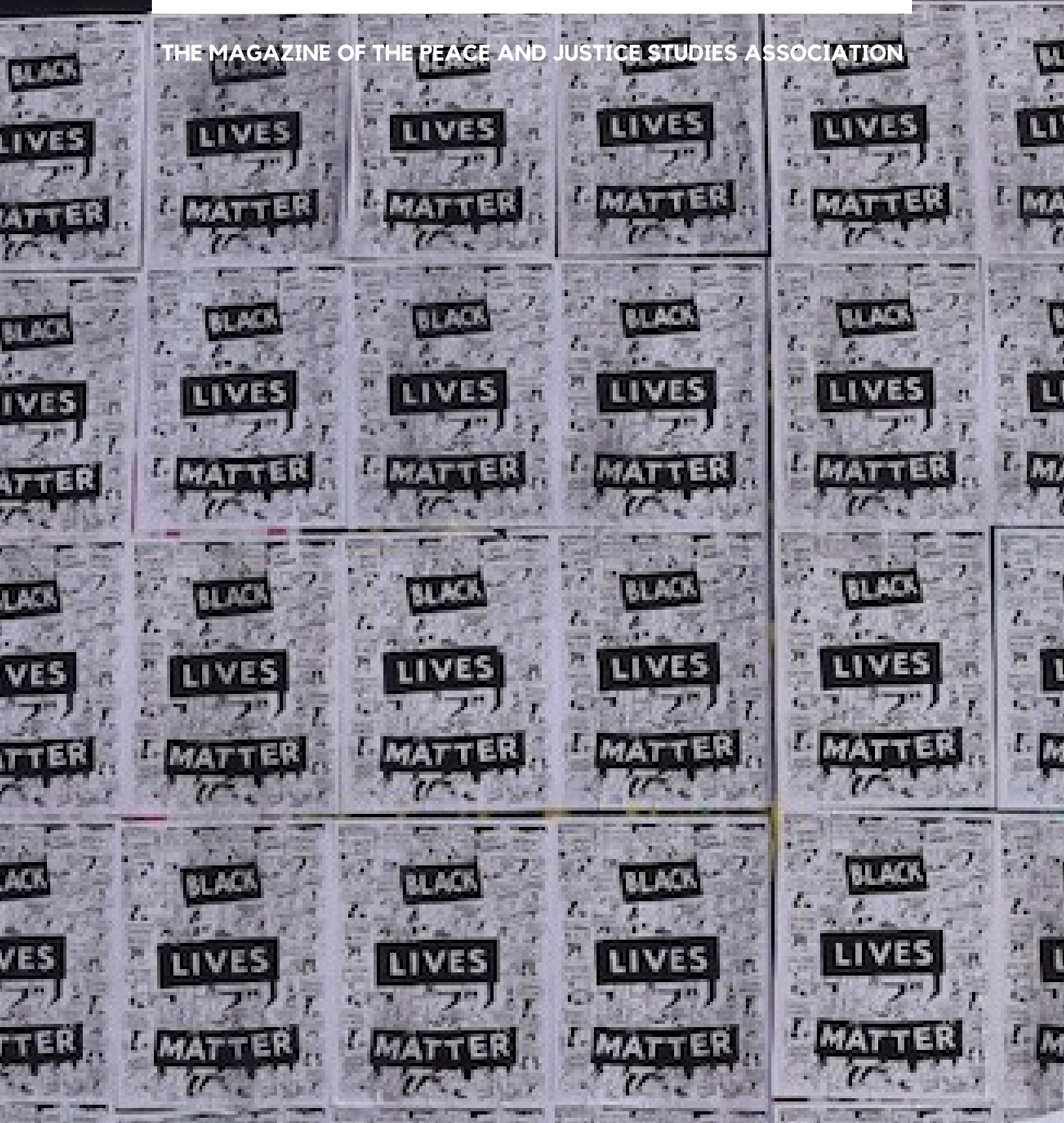




TABLE OF CONTENTS

3 FROM THE EDITORS

Wim Laven

5 CONTRIBUTING AUTHORS

8 THE DECOLONIAL PROJECT OF TEACHING DECOLONIZATION: OR WHY MIAMI UNIVERSITY IS NOT IN FLORIDA

Michael Loadenthal

12 COVID-19, COLONIALISM, AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Laura Finley

18 VETERAN WOMEN'S INDIGENOUS HEALING CIRCLE IN THE MAKING

Delores (Lola) Mondragon

22 DR. INÉS MARIA TALAMANTEZ: BIOGRAPHY OF A FOUNDER OF THE STUDY OF NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

Emily Grace Brolaski

27 DECOLONIZE THIS SABBATICAL, DECOLONIZE THIS QUARANTINE

Emily Welty

30 DECOLONIZING PEACE, CONFLICT AND JUSTICE STUDIES THROUGH INDIGENOUS WAYS OF KNOWING AND BEING

Kelli Te Maihāroa

33 ON EPISTEMIC DECOLONIZATION: PRAXIS BEYOND METAPHORS

Rafael Vizcaíno

36 DO NOT COLONIZE DECOLONIZATION

Pushpa Iyer

39 DECOLONIZING PEACE STUDIES: MOVING TOWARD SETTLER RESPONSIBILITIES FOR COLONIALISM

Polly Walker

43 A RELATIONAL APPROACH TO RACIAL INCLUSION PRACTICES: SUPPORTING PEOPLE OF COLOR IN PRE-DOMINANTLY WHITE WORKSPACES

Shirley Ley

46 "LET GO OF POWER": AN INTERVIEW WITH RICHARD JACKSON

Gabriel Ertsgaard

49 NOTE FROM THE PJSB BOARD CO-CHAIR

Laura Finley and Jennie Barron

52 PUBLICATIONS UPDATE

Matthew Johnson

53 THE NEED FOR STRONG UNIVERSITY LEADERSHIP AND PROACTIVE THINKING IN RESPONSE TO THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Jeremy Rinker and Wim Laven

56 RESPONSE TO EPIDEMIC RACIST VIOLENCE AND POLICE BRUTALITY

Wim Laven, Pushpa Iyer, and Ellen Lindeen

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Executive Director
Michael Loadenthal

Editor in Chief	Shatha Almutawa
Editor	Wim Laven
Interviews Editor	Gabriel Ertsgaard
Contributing Editor	Anne Kosseff-Jones
Copyeditor	Philip A. Todd
Editorial Assistant	Emma Lovejoy
Publications Chair	Matthew Johnson
Research Chair	Amanda Byron

The cover photo was taken by Jonathan van Smit.

PEACE AND JUSTICE STUDIES ASSOCIATION

c/o Dr. Michael Loadenthal
375 Upham Hall, 100 Bishop Circle
Oxford, OH 45056
+1-202-681-2057 | info@peacejusticestudies.org

www.peacejusticestudies.org

FROM THE EDITORS

WIM LAVEN

This issue of the *Peace Chronicle* magazine takes a deep dive into timely questions and topics under the theme: decolonization. It is the editorial team's commitment to pursue and reflect PJSA's vision of peace and justice for Indigenous communities, especially in reflection of our time together at the conference "Local Alignments, Global Upheavals" in Winnipeg last year. We endeavor to honor both our membership and the land upon which we reside. In appreciation to those who lived and worked in our geographies before us, these acknowledgements are important.

The stewardship and resilient spirit of those preceding me have made my residence on this traditional homeland of the Lenape (Delaware), Shawnee, Wyandot Miami, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and other Great Lakes tribes (Chippewa, Kickapoo, Wea, Piankishaw, and Kaskaskia) possible. I acknowledge the thousands of Native Americans who call Northeast Ohio home. I reside on land officially ceded by 1100 chiefs and warriors signing the Treaty of Greenville in 1795.

The ethical acknowledgement of the past and its influence on and into the present and future have been revisited with each issue. Here, we make it the central task. In this issue, decolonization is defined and examined for different purposes, contexts, and locations through a diverse collection of expert voices—expertise representing birth, lived experience, and rigorous scholarship. This reassessment is sometimes a condemnation of exploitation and inhumane treatment, but it is also frequently an opportunity for

dynamic problem-solving and imagining new ways of thinking about Indigenous jurisdiction and the safety and security of the rights and personhood of vulnerable populations in the wake of colonial genocide.

When we selected the theme, there was no anticipating the timeliness of the discussion. In recent months, we have all witnessed the colonized impacts of the global pandemic of the coronavirus, which causes the COVID-19 disease. Centuries of disparity, inequality, and injustice resonate, agitate, and culminate in unequal suffering. Doctors Without Borders, for example, deployed to treat the Navajo Nation this spring after insufferable and ongoing failure by the U.S. government to provide public health services to so many marginalized populations. We could have predicted a continuation of police brutality and race based violence—both with direct connections to the colonization of bodies and places—but we could not have predicted the ongoing protests declaring that Black Lives Matter following the murder of George Floyd while in police custody. Hopefully positive social change will be catalyzed in this moment and by this movement.

The literal colonization of bodies has returned to larger public debates, surfacing as part of the discussion of the racist history of the U.S. and the linkages between past dehumanization and violence and present dehumanization and violence. Caroline Randall Williams recently made this colonization of bodies personally and pointed clear in expressing "I have rape-colored skin. [...] If there are those who

want to remember the legacy of the Confederacy, [...] my body is a monument. My skin is a monument.” Williams is the great-great-granddaughter of the grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan Edmond Pettus, whose name is on the Selma Bridge, and, as the current debate goes, many believe John Lewis’ name would fit better on the bridge, where he was almost killed marching for civil rights.

Our pieces cover a range of themes and locations for thinking about how we can decolonize the world, our research, and our classrooms. Kelli Te Maihāroa presents Indigenous ways of knowing and being as a mechanism for decolonizing Peace, Conflict, and Justice Studies. Michael Loadenthal examines the project of decolonization with the question: Why Miami University is Not in Florida? Polly Walker argues that settler responsibility is necessary for decolonizing peace studies. Pushpa Iyer cautions against colonizing decolonization. Emily Welty looks at decolonizing her sabbatical as well as decolonizing quarantine.

Our understandings of colonization and decolonization and our ways of knowing are connected to our (sometimes shared) history and politics of race and Indigeneity. Rafael Vizcaíno presents praxis beyond metaphors. Delores (Lola) Mondragon outlines the making of a veteran Women’s Indigenous healing circle. Laura Finley looks at intersections between COVID-19, colonialism, and Indigenous Peoples. Shirley Ley offers guidance on supporting people of color in predominantly white workspaces. Emily Grace Brolaski provides compelling narrative on her grandmother, Dr. Inés Maria Talamantez, a founder of the study of Native American religious traditions. “Let Go of Power” is our featured interview with Richard Jackson, the Director of the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies

at the University of Otago in New Zealand, who addresses challenges and successes he has observed in efforts to decolonize.

Great thanks and appreciation are extended to our contributors. Writing at a high level, as all our authors have, is not a blessing we take lightly during these challenging times. The sometimes thankless behind-the-scenes work truly makes this magazine possible. I would especially like to thank Emma Lovejoy, who has worked tirelessly to make sure the magazine looks as good as it reads, and to recognize the extra effort required for this issue—and Shatha Almutawa our editor-in-chief. Shatha has done an excellent job of managing the robust transition from newsletter to magazine. We wish her the best as she continues on, thank her for her dedicated service, and hope we are able to keep up with the standard she has set. Shatha, we look forward to your submissions in future issues.

Our next issue is on: Healing. A timely topic, which we hope will continue discussions into healing from ongoing polarization and responding to violence, suffering, and trauma, which have emerged in our issues on *Hate, Dignity, and Decolonization*. Please consider a 1,000-1,500-word submission that can help us think about what it means to heal. You are welcome to consider ongoing topics: political antagonisms, physical and mental health (especially during pandemics), healthy ecosystems, hatred, trauma, inequity and injustice or anything else you find worthwhile and would like to share with the membership. Please look forward to the next issue and a full lineup of great presentations at our online conference coming this fall.

Contributors



Michael Loadenthal, Ph.D. is the Executive Director of the Peace and Justice Studies Association, and the Executive Director of the Prosecution Project, a long-term data science collaborative examining how political violence, terrorism, and extremism are prosecuted in US courts. He has taught at a variety of universities including Miami University, the University of Cincinnati, George Mason University, and Georgetown University, and is currently focused on providing digital defense training for social movements under threat, and conducting investigations targeting the far-right. His latest books include *The Politics of Attack* (Manchester University Press, 2017), *The Routledge History of World Peace Since 1750* (2018), and *From Environmental Loss to Resistance* (UMass Press, 2020).



Dr. Laura Finley, Ph.D., is Associate Professor of Sociology and Criminology at Barry University in Miami, Florida. She is also author, co-author or editor of seventeen books and numerous book chapters and journal articles. In addition, Dr. Finley is actively involved in a number of peace, justice, and human rights groups. She serves as Board Chair for No More Tears, a non-profit organization that serves victims of domestic violence and human trafficking, and is a board member of The Humanity Project and Floridians for Alternatives to the Death Penalty. Prior to being elected co-chair, Dr. Finley was Publications Chair for PJSA. She also coordinates PJSA's Speakers Bureau.



Delores Mondragón, known as Lola after her grandmother, is an enrolled member of the Chickasaw Nation. She identifies as Chickasaw Chicana; her father, of Mazahua indigenous ancestry, is an immigrant from Mexico who taught her that human dignity is essential to life. Lola is a doctoral student at UCSB in the Department of Religious Studies where her area of study is Native American Religious Traditions with a focus on Queer, Indigenous, and WOC Veterans' resiliency, as well as moral injury, survival, healing, and ceremonial practices. She is also a mother, grandmother, wife, community drumkeeper, and veteran. Lastly, but of great significance to her, is being the organizer of the annual Veteran Women's Indigenous Healing Circle where she finds relief from colonization including militarism, homophobia, racism, sexism, MST, and continued persecution.



Emily Welty, Director of Peace and Justice Studies at Pace University, is an academic, activist and artist from New York City. Her research focuses on the religious dimensions of peacebuilding with an emphasis on humanitarianism and nuclear disarmament as well as nonviolent social movements. She is the Vice Moderator of the World Council of Churches Commission on International Affairs and is the chair of the Nuclear Disarmament Working Group. Emily is part of the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize winning International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN). She is the co-author and editor of *Peace and Justice Studies: critical pedagogy, Unity in Diversity: interfaith dialogue in the Middle East* and *Occupying Political Science*. Emily is also a playwright.



Dr. Kelli Te Maihāroa (Waitaha, Ngāti Rārua Ātiawa) PhD, MA, PGDipChIs, PGCertPD, BEd, DipTchg. Kelli is the Tumuaki: Rakahau Māori | Director: Māori Research. Kelli was a co-editor with Professor John Synott and Heather Devere for *Peacebuilding and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Experiences and Strategies for the 21st Century* book. She has published on Māori education initiatives, cultural revitalisation and Indigenous peace traditions. Kelli is the great granddaughter of the Te Maihāroa, a Māori prophet from Te Waipounamu, the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand.



Rafael Vizcaíno is a scholar of Latin American and Caribbean philosophy, especially decolonial thought. He is currently revising a manuscript that examines decolonial critiques of secularism and is also editing a special issue of the CLR James Journal that explores the relevance of spirituality to decolonization. Starting September 2020, he will be Assistant Professor in the Department of Philosophy at DePaul University. See his website for more information.

PEACE CHRONICLE



Emily Grace Brolaski is a PhD student in the Department of History at the University of California, Riverside. She has a B.A. in History with a minor in American Indian and Indigenous Studies from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Much like her grandmother, her research interests stem from her identity as a mixed-race woman of Apache descent. Put broadly, her research focuses on Native American history, especially regarding women's roles in resistance and activism in the 20th Century.



Pushpa Iyer is an Associate Professor of Conflict Resolution at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies in Monterey. She is the founding Director of the Center for Conflict Studies, a research-cum-practice space at the Institute. Since, June 2018, she has served the Institute's first Chief Diversity Officer. Pushpa remains active in many social justices causes, the foundations for which lies in her work with Hindu and Muslim communities in Gujarat, India. More recently, her work has focused on race-related conflicts in the United States, and she identifies colonization at the root of systemic racism that defines the country.



Polly O. Walker is Director of the Baker Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, and Elizabeth Evans Baker Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at Juniata College in Pennsylvania. She is of Cherokee and Anglo descent, and a member of the Cherokee Southwest Township. Polly's doctoral degree in Conflict Transformation is from the Department of Social Work and Social Policy, University of Queensland. Her research and practice focus on Indigenous/Settler conflict transformation, Indigenous Knowledge systems, and the role of the arts and cultural work in transforming conflict. Polly is an executive board member of the IMPACT project, a co-editor of *Acting Together*, a two volume anthology, and on the boards of the Peace and Justice Studies Association and the International Peace Research Association.



Shirley Ley (she/her/hers) is a licensed psychologist who holds a doctoral degree in clinical psychology from Adler University. Working from an inclusive, anti-oppressive stance, she continually engages in self-examination of her multiple identities, including areas of privilege and power, and how they intersect her counseling and consultation work. Students are regarded as expert collaborators and supported in harnessing their inner strength and resilience to achieve health and healing. To ensure that therapeutic gains extend beyond the boundaries of the counseling room, she forges relationships with people across disciplines and communities, inviting them to become allies in creating environments that allow students to live with greater dignity, liberty, and inner peace.



Richard Jackson is the Director of the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies and Professor of Peace Studies at the University of Otago in New Zealand. He is the editor of the journal *Critical Studies in Terrorism* and the author of numerous books and articles on terrorism, conflict resolution, and peace studies.



Jennie Barron lives in Nelson, BC (Canada) and teaches peace studies and restorative justice at Selkirk College in Castlegar, BC. She is also the Chair of the Mir Centre for Peace at Selkirk College, where she organizes a speaker series, films, community conversations, trainings and myriad special events. Her academic background is varied and includes the study of social movement politics, allyship between environmentalists and Indigenous peoples, food justice and urban space. She is currently initiating a research project aimed at improving dialogue and listening across social and political divides.



Matthew Johnson holds an MA in Peace and Conflict Studies from Hacettepe University (Turkey) and a BA in Journalism from the University of Maryland, where he began his activism organizing against war, poverty, racism, mass incarceration, and gender-based violence. During the Occupy Movement, he linked his activism to conflict resolution and restorative justice, introducing those practices to the Occupy encampments in D.C. He has published several articles and contributed to many books related to gender, racial, social, and restorative justice and is co-author/editor (with Dr. Laura Finley) of the 2018 book *Trumpism: The Politics of Gender in a Post-Propitious America*. He is also a contributor to *PeaceVoice* and *The Good Men Project*. He has served as an educator in a variety of contexts, most recently in the virtual space as a cross-cultural dialogue facilitator and trainer for Soliya. He currently works as a User Experience Researcher.



Wim Laven, Ph.D., instructor of peace studies, political science, and conflict resolution, focuses his research on forgiveness and reconciliation, which he relates to his wide range of work and research experiences. His experience in the field spans four continents and include many processes from mediating disputes in small claims court to interventions during complex humanitarian disasters. He is on the executive boards of the International Peace Research Association and the Peace and Justice Studies Association.

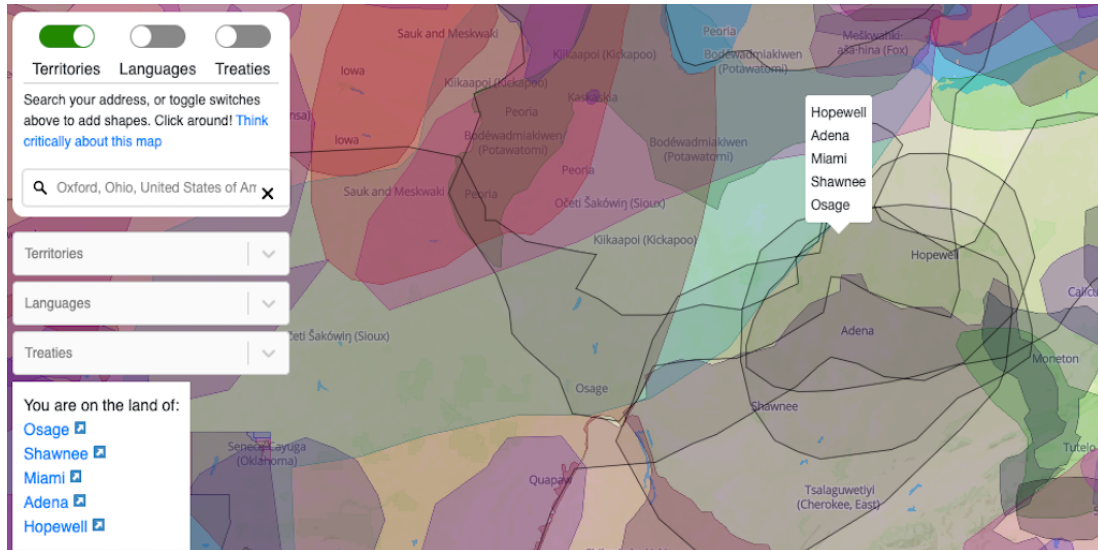


Image: Map of Oxford, Ohio showing overlapping First Nations' territories from Native Lands

THE DECOLONIAL PROJECT OF TEACHING DECOLONIZATION: OR WHY MIAMI UNIVERSITY IS NOT IN FLORIDA

MICHAEL LOADENTHAL

Teaching about colonialism and advancing a decolonial framework within an undergraduate institution is never easy. Ask most residents where Miami University is, and you'll likely hear Florida, as famously mocked in the TV series, *The Office*.

Toby: Kelly Kapoor is gone. Her fiancé Ravi was hired as a pediatrics professor at Miami University.

Kelly: [tossing out winter coats] I don't need 'em anymore! I am going to Miami biotches [sic] to hang with LeBron James and Gloria Estefan!

Toby: Miami University in Ohio. On her last day, Kelly was still a little confused about it.

Kelly: Enjoy the snow losers!

Though laughable for sure, the joke dies quickly in the banality of having to so frequently remind people that Oxford is in Ohio.

Local Oxfordians are likely to tell you that the university is named for the Miami River, as the school resides in the Miami Valley of Ohio. The university, founded in 1809, predated the US "purchase" of the state of Florida by ten years. For those who forgot, Florida was acquired in 1819 via the Adams-Onís Treaty with Spain. I would venture to guess that only a few of my students are aware of this timeline.

Nonetheless, colonial awareness seems to be ascending. More "progressive" and left-leaning spaces and events are including land acknowledgements, though, as many have remarked (mostly in Canada where the discourse is more active), this is simply not adequate. The university itself is riding a trend of trying to preserve and perpetuate languages at risk of dying out, and digital platforms such as Native Lands

(shown below) help situate travelers and residents about whose land they are residing upon. Using their maps, through even a cursory review, one can see that Oxford, Ohio occupies lands of the Hopewell, Adena, Shawnee, Osage and Miami Indians.

I find that in simply sharing this map and offering students an opportunity to explore it, cracks begin to form in their own thinking. When I used to begin that class by asking students to think of where they were born, and to name the pre-colonial inhabitants (and their watershed), the results were less than encouraging.

With a university bearing the name of the people it displaced, why is this particular form of early State terrorism so far from students' minds?

Certainly I try to do my part to talk about it. In our global sociology course, I lean heavily on decolonial, post-colonial, and other critical theorists, typically assigning Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang's "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," Charles C. Mann's 1491, and Edward Said's Orientalism, before discussing its responses through Franz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, and Achille Mbembe's *On the Postcolony*—all amazing texts. What I have always found so odd, is that through these texts, students are often open to (even sympathetic to) the arguments presented. But it is when those same logics are thrust upon their own subjectivities that they recede.

The violence inherent in settler colonialism, land expropriation, and its resulting ethnic cleansing is a hard reality to accept. It is dislocating, disheartening, and suffocating to think of one's existence as denying the same to others. When in the abstract, colonial and imperial projects are loathsome, When I use this basis to discuss the Miami, and the loss of their

territory, language, and sovereignty, the room feels decidedly less on board. In trying to untangle and unpack these complex intersections for the students, I adopt Fanon's "forms" of violence: colonial violence (directed at the colonized), emancipatory violence (directed at the colonizer), and that which resides in the venue of international relations. This triad speaks to the interplay between oppressed and oppressor, colonizer and colonized, and helps further the decolonial framework I try to foster. It is this transactional relationship—colonizers produce violence which produces the colonizer's violent response—that seems to make sense to them.

My goal in teaching decolonial theory in a 100-level General Education course is three-fold: first, to introduce the destabilizing notion that the land they reside on was established through violence; to critically interrogate space, place, and power. Secondly, to advance the argument that violence as a response to colonialism is expected and just. Finally, to challenge them to rethink what constitutes a country, or as Jasbir Puar argues, to engage in "queering the nation." I claim, as many have in decolonial studies, that the process of colonialism is not an incidental occurrence of the act of being European, but rather a "particular one of engagement" between the continental powers and First Nations. This to me is key. Colonialism did not just happen. It was planned, orchestrated, strategized, and carried out by governments, militaries, technocrats, and the settler populations that filled foreign lands. This last point, the intentionality of such violence, is maybe the hardest pill for the students to swallow.

So does any of this stick to a room occupied by fifty, largely white, Anglo-Saxon, US-born, Midwestern teenagers?

I try and scaffold the learning through clarifying terms, showing points of congruence, and points of distinction, beginning with the question of colonialism versus imperialism. I teach that colonialism is the subjugation of a territory and/or people by an external force, as well as the imposition of new forms of political, social, and economic life. Imperialism is the domination of territories and people by a powerful State, though not necessarily with the accompanying imposition of new forms of life. While imperialism is meant to establish dominance through the fostering of empire and projection of power, colonialism is more physical, the taking of another's territory for the purpose of exploiting its assets and population transfer.

Both require the construction and suppression of an other—what Mbembe calls entanglement—yet while imperialism seeks to control markets, political systems, and other resources, colonialism is the forced replication of one's own society elsewhere, often for the purposes of engaging in systematic resource theft (i.e., extraction colonialism), population transfer (i.e., settler colonialism), and/or the projection of power outwards through military expansion (i.e. garrison colonialism). While imperialism extends national influence, colonialism extends similar controls for the purpose of an extractive exploitation. While imperialism does include some forms of colonialism, colonialism does not automatically involve imperialism, as the latter lacks an explicitly-political focus.

Sometimes in trying to make sense of this for my students, I discuss more modern periods of violent socio-political reorganization—the Nazi Holocaust as a period of modernity's reordering, the rapid reorganization of economies and politics following disasters, or the construction of some lives as simply less grievable or “mattering less.” Of these approaches,

Naomi Klein's “shock doctrine” always seems to stick. As Klein defines it, the “shock doctrine” involves “orchestrated raids on the public sphere in the wake of catastrophic events, combined with the treatment of disasters as exciting market opportunities.” Though not a perfect case study, colonial projects rely on similar means as they seek to remake societies during the upheaval of occupation, population transfer, foreign domination, expropriation, and forced assimilation. For students who have been raised through a rapid series of emblematic systemic “shocks”—9/11, Hurricanes Katrina and Sandy, the 2008 financial crash, the Corona virus global pandemic—this approach allows them to make a bit of order from the chaos. While the trans-Atlantic slave trade, colonial expansion, and imperial rule may feel as irrelevant crimes of history, showing these as articulations of structural violence amid capitalism's drive towards market regularity is a place to begin; a shared bedrock to analyze from.

For a way forward, we can begin from Judith Butler's notion of a shared “global obligation”, a post-national configuration of interdependence beyond the historic “dependency’ of the colonized.” Instead of creating additional relationships of control, Butler proposes interdependencies rooted in nonviolence and a “new egalitarian imaginary,” situated in a redistributed power, which seem like the beginnings of a way forward.

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COVID-19, COLONIALISM, AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

LAURA FINLEY

Already marginalized, indigenous peoples face unique challenges from COVID-19. Access to healthcare is limited, and indigenous peoples suffer higher rates of other diseases that make them more vulnerable to the pandemic. Some very isolated groups that have little interaction with outsiders have poorly developed immunity to infectious diseases. Yet outsiders are increasingly entering these areas, such as in Brazil where illegal logging and mining threatens not just the land but dramatically increases the risk for indigenous peoples, with some experts saying “ethnocide” is likely. Poor sanitation, limited provisions of other necessary items like soap, disinfectant, and even clean water, inadequately staffed medical facilities, combined with existing poverty, large multigenerational families living together, unemployment and reduced chances to retain work at home exacerbate the problems for indigenous people around the globe. This is all on top of tremendous discrimination, all of which are legacies of colonialism. Testing for COVID-19 is not widespread in areas where indigenous peoples live, nor is educational material about infectious diseases or protective materials like masks and gloves. Food insecurity, an existing problem, is worsening for indigenous peoples, according to the United Nations. Indigenous women suffer higher rates of domestic

and sexual violence, both of which increase during crises of this sort. Access to help services is already sparse, and jurisdictional issues on native lands mean police responses are slow if not existent.

This article will explore these issues in greater depth, showing how and why COVID-19 is disproportionately killing them but, also the ways that stay-at-home orders and other responses are experienced differently. It will conclude with recommendations for the future. This is a shortened version of a chapter that will be included in a book I am co-editing with Dr. Pamela Hall, *Coronavirus and Vulnerable People: Addressing the Divide in Harm and Responses and Implications for a More Peaceful World*, to be published in PJSA’s Peace Studies: Edges and Innovations series with Cambridge Scholars Press.

Access to healthcare is limited on reservation land, and indigenous peoples suffer higher rates of other diseases that make them more vulnerable to the pandemic. According to a 2017 U.S. Census Bureau report, 19.2 percent of single-race American Indian and Alaska Native people lacked health insurance coverage in 2016, compared to 8.6 percent for the U.S. as a whole. The Indian Health Service, or IHS, is responsible for providing medical and other health-

related services to enrolled Native American tribal members. But the money allocated to the IHS is insufficient for the size of the population it serves. Further, because so many Native Americans struggle with obesity, diabetes, asthma, and heart disease, healthcare systems on reservation lands are already taxed. These are some of the conditions that are said to make one more susceptible to coronavirus and for it to be a more severe case. Additionally, since reservations are often so large, hospitals and other resources are spread out, making it harder to get care. Navajo with the virus, which they call Dikos Ntsaaígíí, are sometimes having to be flown to Albuquerque, Flagstaff, and Phoenix, because there are only a dozen hospitals and part-time clinics on their land, which is not only very costly but takes more time and thus can be deadly.

That the federal government is involved in Native healthcare is the result of treaties it negotiated with nations, which have never been followed. In exchange for their land, the federal government is supposed to treat Native Nations as “domestic” and “dependent,” meaning they are sovereign yet the government has a duty of care. The Indian Health Service is one piece of that duty and according to Nations like the Navajo, it has been failing to meet its obligations from the beginning. The HIS serves 2.6 million people who are members of the 573 federally recognized American Indian and Alaska Native tribes. Before the global pandemic, the federal government spent \$2,834 per person on healthcare in Indian Country. In contrast, it spends \$9,404 on veteran health and \$12,744 on Medicare. The Navajo have filed a suit against the HIS, arguing that the \$2 trillion Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act or CARES Act, which includes \$8 billion to help tribes fight the coronavirus, is not ample. The Navajo Nation and 10 other tribes are involved in the suit. Next to New York

and New Jersey, the Navajo, whose land is approximately the size of West Virginia, have the third highest rate of coronavirus infection. Just 4.6 percent of the population of Arizona, Native Americans constitute sixteen percent of that state’s coronavirus deaths. The suit alleges that CARES monies were going to for-profit companies rather than to Nations, and in late April, a federal judge halted the Trump administration’s move. Jonathan Nez, President of the Navajo Nation, said, “We are United States citizens but we’re not treated like that. You can hear the frustration, the tone of my voice. We once again have been forgotten by our own government.” V. Jones, writing for CNN, also attributes part of the problem of the spread of COVID-19 among Native people to “centuries of broken promises.”

Since the Navajo, like other Nations, are sovereign, they are able to negotiate on their own for equipment and supplies but still must compete for the limited testing, protective equipment, and ventilators needed to stop the spread of the virus and help those who are sick. Centuries of laws and court decisions have created a bureaucratic nightmare for this, so Nations must sometimes apply through state health departments, other times to the federal government but through varying agencies. The Navajo Area Indian Health Service must care not just for members of the Navajo Nation and San Juan Southern Paitue Tribe, but also Hopis, Zunis and other tribes in the area. In all, it has 222 hospital beds to serve 244,000 people. When they have asked for help, it has not always been forthcoming or even what is needed. When the Seattle Indian Health Board asked for coronavirus tests in mid-March, what they received three weeks later was body bags. While clearly a mistake, it did nothing to help. Abigail Echo-Hawk, the health board’s chief research officer, said,

"This is a metaphor for what's happening," meaning that Native Americans were being largely forgotten and left to die.

Deep poverty contributes to the problem, as many also do not have routine clean water for hand washing, regular food, jobs, savings, and other necessities that can help protect from the virus. Estimates are that among the Navajo alone, some 15 to 40 percent of homes lack clean running water. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, while the poverty rate in 2016 was 14 percent nationally, 26.2 percent of single-race American Indian and Alaska Native people were in poverty. This is the highest rate of any racial group. Pine Ridge Reservation, home to the Oglala Lakota, a tribe of the Sioux, perpetually contains the counties with the highest poverty rates. Unemployment rates are 80 to 90 percent, and there are virtually no jobs. The reservation lacks key infrastructure, and many children attend school only minimally or not at all. The reservation covers more than 2.8 million acres and has few medical facilities. Alcoholism rates are high, and a quarter of children are born with fetal alcohol syndrome. Life expectancy before the epidemic was 48 for men and 52 for women. Rates of tuberculosis and diabetes are eight times higher than the national average, and diabetes is associated with more fatal cases of coronavirus.

Native and indigenous women suffered from disproportionately high rates of domestic and sexual violence before the global pandemic. One study found that more than half of American Indian or Pacific Islander women had experienced sexual violence in their lifetime. The same is true of domestic violence. These women are 1.7 times more likely to have experienced violence in the last year than White women and two times as likely to have been raped in their lifetime. Ninety-six percent of the

perpetrators are non-Native Americans, which means that tribal justice systems are not allowed to address the issue due to previous court cases and laws that infringe on tribal sovereignty (National Congress of American Indians, 2018). These problems have exacerbated under stay-at-home orders. One survey of 250 indigenous women in Canada found one fifth had reported experiencing physical or psychological violence in the past three months. Shelters are not a viable option now, as people are on order to stay home, in this case, often with their abusers. The Canadian government committed \$30 million in funding to Women and Gender Equality Canada for shelters and sexual assault centers and another \$10 million to Indigenous Services Canada's network of 46 emergency shelters on reserve and in Yukon. However many of these are not run by or for indigenous women so women who need them will not go to them. Michelle Audette, who has worked on a national plan of action, ties the issue to colonialism. "Because we are facing the impact of colonialism," she argues, "we are not a top priority and we can see it with COVID right now." Prior research has shown spikes in domestic and sexual violence during crises, for instance, there was a 35 percent increase in women reporting psychological violence during and immediately after Hurricane Katrina and an increase of 98 percent of those reporting physical abuse. U.N. Secretary-General Antonio Guterres said on April 6, 2020 that some countries have seen rates of domestic abuse doubled. Even things like requirements to wear masks can be triggering of historical trauma related to colonialism.

Involvement with criminal justice is a risk factor for contracting COVID-19 that is also affecting Native peoples. The cases of Andrea Circle Bear and Valentina Blackhorse are illustrative. Circle Bear was

incarcerated for a nonviolent drug offense when she caught the coronavirus. Pregnant at the time, she was placed on a ventilator the day before her cesarean section. She died four weeks later, never having met her daughter. Circle Bear was just 30. Blackhorse, 28, died after contracting the virus from her partner who worked at a detention center for the Navajo Department of Corrections.

One recommended method for curtailing the spread of COVID-19 is contact tracing, or following who an infected individual was in contact with to see patterns and quarantine or assist sick individuals earlier. Yet contact tracing is much more challenging on reservation lands. The Navajo, for instance, have employed 80 contact tracers but many of their people do not have phones to make contact. To physically track down individuals is far more laborious and takes more time.

Stay-at-home orders are difficult for many, but are particularly so for Native Americans. As was noted, many lack clean water, electricity and live in homes that are full of black mold. Approximately one quarter of Native Americans and Pacific Islanders were already food insecure, defined as not having regular, reliable access to the foods needed for good health. Not being able to get groceries, or doing so at huge risk, will only exacerbate the problem of food insecurity. Many Native people live in overcrowded homes that make social distancing difficult. Federal funding for housing in Indian Country, part of the government's duty of care, has been blocked for decades. The Navajo have tried to social distance by issuing strict curfew orders that result in arrest if violated. Other Nations have set up physical roadblocks to keep away outsiders, measures largely taken because the federal government's assistance has been too limited so more restrictive efforts have to be taken.

In the U.S., a significant concern among Native-Americans is that deaths of elders will result in loss of culture, as it is they that teach youth the language and customs of their people. Already the smallest racial minority in the U.S, as Moya-Smith (2020) put it, "when we lose an elder, we've truly been robbed of more than just a person — we've lost centuries of pre-white invasion knowledge and narrative." Nations are trying to limit outsiders' access so as to curtail the spread of the disease, but that means many cannot communicate with loved ones at all, as they lack phones or electricity to use technologies others are able to, like Facebook chats or Zoom meetings. Those that have phones are saving their battery power in case of emergency (Moya-Smith, 2020). Some Nations have created checkpoints at entries to reservation land. In South Dakota, Republican Governor Kristi Noem has ordered the Oglala Sioux and Cheyenne River Sioux to remove those that fall on state and federal highways and threatened a lawsuit if they did not comply. Not only does Noem's order violate tribal sovereignty, it also violates existing agreements between the state and the Sioux governments. Harold Frazier, chairman of the Cheyenne River Sioux, responded, "we will not apologize for being an island of safety in a sea of uncertainty and death...You continuing to interfere in our efforts to do what science and facts dictate seriously undermines our ability to protect everyone on the reservation." Oglala Sioux President Julian Bear Runner agreed, announcing "we have an inherent and sovereign right to protect the health of our people, and no one, man or woman, can dispute that right. Your threats of legal action are not helpful and do not intimidate us. The only way we can get through this is to work together as a nation."

At the same time, tribal customs are resulting in increased danger as well. In New Mexico, Governor Val Panteah exempted religious gatherings from

stay-at-home orders. Zuni Pueblo, both the Zia and the San Felipe, have been contracting cases of COVID-19 at high rates in part because many have participated in large group religious ceremonies. Panteah says that the state is going to try to test those who have done so, but limited tests make that a challenge. The virus has even hit the top two officials of the Zia.

“The sad truth is this is not the first time a pandemic has devastated Indian Country,” Jones writes. “Going back to the earliest days of colonization – and even as recently as the 1918 influenza pandemic, which was four times more lethal within the tribes – Native Americans have borne the worst of this country’s diseases.” But there are many things that can be done, both now and in the future. Many organizations are collecting donations of funds and supplies. We can demand that, for once, the government come through on its promises. Although monies were devoted to Nations in the CARES ACT, most had not received anything more than a month later. And much more is needed in relief for Indian Country. The government could also simplify the way that Nations must apply for help and equipment and unblock funding for housing. Further, there are simple solutions that would allow those living on reservations to vote, including mobile voting stations, translation services, and convenient ballot drop boxes.

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VETERAN WOMEN'S INDIGENOUS HEALING CIRCLE IN THE MAKING

DELORES (LOLA) MONDRAGON

As a relative of ancestors that survived the Trail of Tears and as the daughter of a Mexican immigrant, I often become cynical. I truly believe this is a mechanism of survival—a protection of my spirit. Yet, I am also blessed to be a mother and grandmother, and to have the opportunity to become an ancestor.

I missed the Hummingbird's women's sweat lodge today, but I am comforted because I know it exists. I am also comforted because I know Colibrí is at home, the most beautiful medicine drum entrusted to me by community elders to help heal women in my community—including veteran women. Colibrí can easily fit ten women around her. I haven't sat by her side nor convened the powerfully beautiful women that sit with her, since we drummed for Inés on *Día de los Muertos* four months ago. I am grieving. Dr. Inés Talamantez, my mentor, elder, best friend, sister en la lucha, who drummed beside me for many years and was part of our drumming circle died, and I miss her. She died the week after we last convened the Veteran Women's Indigenous Healing Circle (VWIHC). She was one of the precious Elders that has supported our sisters. She was the first person that wanted to really hear what life was like in the military. She saw me. She understood the responsibility of our communities to heal each other.

She also had not had closure from the disappearance of her favorite uncle during WWII and knew she needed to resolve this by saying goodbye. Inés became our revered Elder and listened to every veteran woman that would attend, reminding us that we needed to take care of each other. Grieving the loss of Inés feels familiar: I lost myself a long time ago—the day I took my military oath.

I am not going to justify that decision; it would be as absurd as asking a woman why she was raped. I am learning to be compassionate with myself. Yes, worthlessness prevails, shame prevails, genocide prevails. It was the reason I needed to find my sisters—sisters that I feared, envied, hated, and ridiculed when I was in the military. I was mimicking the prevailing sentiments of all of us in uniforms—uniforms made for brothers in arms. Little did I know I was reinforcing patriarchy and delegitimizing my place in the world—a world of wars with sporadic peace.

Historically, women have been fighting wars on many fronts. I recognize that this has been debated, undermined, and denied because it did not sit well with the overwhelming historical narratives meant to prop up hetero-patriarchal leadership at all levels of

American exceptionalism. It has been evident that now we include “our men and women” when we speak of soldiers fighting “our” wars to defend multiple imperialist justifications for the “good” of the nation, a historical way of life that continues to terminate indigenous peoples. The warmongering, imperialism, and our government’s propagandas abroad are followed by the abandonment of the “heroes” who come home. A group of women has come together to push against the betrayal and neglect of a nation who explicitly and implicitly washes its hands of queer, indigenous, and injured veteran women when they return.



My journey away from the panopticon that is military service led to an inclusive, embracing, and gentle indigenous experience of healing, embracement, compassion, and forgiveness. I share this with the explicit hope that this message reaches those still in the shadows waiting to be reached and understood.

We, the Veteran Women’s Indigenous Healing Circle, have gathered for five years. We came together in Ojai, California in 2015 and found support from local elders. After five years of research on veteran women’s issues around Military Sexual Trauma (MST), Don’t Ask Don’t Tell, and veteran suicides coupled

with the lack of support and research of indigenous veteran women (like myself), I felt compelled to find community and resources to come together and figure out how we could help each other. We were able to partake in equine therapy thanks to the donation of time and resources from Reins of H.O.P.E. We were also gifted a space to sleep and cook because women came from all over the country. Inés asked her favorite restaurant Del Pueblo in Goleta for help and they donated enough Posole to feed 50 women. I took a wagon to the local farmers market in Goleta, CA where I lived and asked stalls for donations. I was given so much food I could barely fit it in the back of my Tahoe. I cried because with every donation I heard a story about a recent retirement, a son deployed, or a father who had not come home. It became evident that our communities’ caring support was what would keep us going. And so it was. We were donated a house in Kaua`i, had flights donated, and we found a sweat lodge and learned the true meaning of Aloha from Kalama kūpuna, relatives of Naomi, who taught us how to sing Hawai`ian prayers so the sun would come up every morning. We were challenged by men at the Kaua`i Pow Wow when they wanted to hand Color Guard flags to young boys instead of the veteran women present, but these women are feisty and with our own Eagle Staff Migizi we led the way. It was the first time I carried a flag since I had left the military in 1998. It was conflicting to carry but the slight victory over patriarchal norms made up for it.

We have traveled and have made space with the help of our communities and the confidence of our circle. We frequently speak the same language but get to learn from each other’s service because we served in all branches. Sometimes the language of the Army is very different from the Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps. We are not all Native American.

We found a Lakota-style sweat lodge held by Marie in Taos, NM. She and we understood the contradictions of Lakota ceremonies on Taos lands but also understood the blessing of this lodge. It had come to us because the Creator heard our mutual prayers. At Vashon Island we sat in a cedar sweat lodge and embraced for the first time. We shared in talking circles about things only we can understand. We cooked together and we sometimes laughed when military words like “secure” or “O600” came out of our mouths—laughter that is rare. We understand that we have unique experiences that we chose to pray over and build camaraderie we were not able to forge with other women when we were in the military.

It is always an answered prayer when women come, leaving their loved ones behind, to find connections and share stories kept inside our bodies, from recent experiences to many decades and lifetimes later—memories stashed away from ourselves and from others—until they appear as we sit in the mud and finish singing an honor song. The song, caught by Cherokee Elder Barbara Warren called “Women of the 507th” names Lori Piestewa, Shoshana Johnson, and Jessica Lynch—women from the Army’s 507th Maintenance Company in Iraq who were either POWs or KIA, and realize we are a part of a bigger history.

On November 11, 2020 we plan to attend the Veteran’s Day Native Veteran unveiling in Washington, D.C. I am a bit reluctant to position this as a good thing, but we voted, and we are going. I hope it brings healing through visibility, but it is none-the-less a reminder of our continued genocide.

I have no doubt about the necessity of being in community (in the trenches) and learning protocols including forgiveness and compassion for others and



the self, if you are to engage in learning, teaching, and advocating for change. After a decade dedicated to learning about Chicana/Indigenous/Native American Queer Veteran women through the field of Religious Traditions, Feminism, Ethnic Studies and Social Justice inside and outside of the academy I realize that the best teachers around Indigenous healing, history, trauma, resilience, and so much more comes from the many Elders including Deborah Guerrero, Linda Woods (veteran), Naomi Kalama (veteran), Arleen Coggins Robles (veteran), Moses Mora (veteran), Judi Aparcana-Ortiz, Ana Becerra, Inés Talamantez and so many others at the Hummingbird Circle and around the country. These women hear each other’s experiences and remind

each other that they are not alone—they hold each other and remind each other that they need to forgive themselves—they embody the compassion that they seek. I have encountered a beautiful resilience along this journey. Cutcha Risling Baldy reminds us in her important work we are *dancing for you: Native feminism of women's coming-of-age ceremonies*, "Either Native women are [believed as] assisting in the colonization of their people, or they are dirty and disregarded as overly sexual, stupid, and lazy. Native women have also been left out of historical scholarship and treated as peripheral to their nations, cultures, and societies rather than shown as integral or as serving in leadership positions." The women of the VWIHC push against this.

In our drum circle, Colíбри is our grandmother, our medicine. Indigenous ceremonies are lifesaving and necessary. I need to continue to stay alive so that my grandson gets to learn, practice, and share our people's wisdom so that he can become an ancestor. He needs to know about indigenous ceremonies because it was created for him to survive.



DR. INÉS MARIA TALAMANTEZ: BIOGRAPHY OF A FOUNDER OF THE STUDY OF NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

EMILY GRACE BROLASKI

The biography below is written by the granddaughter of Inés Maria Talamantez, Emily Grace Brolaski. Brolaski interviewed her grandmother in Santa Barbara, CA, on May 5, 2018 and October 28, 2018, and has also been writing about Talamantez's life as part of her doctoral work.

Inés Maria Talamantez (Mescalero Apache, Lipan Apache, and Chicana) was Professor of Native American Religious Traditions at University of California, Santa Barbara. During her forty years at the university, she developed the field of Native American Religious Studies, trained over thirty doctoral students and mentored countless others. She was an activist, a poet, a dancer, a teacher, and a mother to more than just her own kin. She was an activist from a young age, and fought for diversity, peace, and equal rights in and outside of academia. She passed away in September 2019, one month shy of her 89th birthday.

Inés was born on October 31, 1930 in Old Mesilla, New Mexico, the same birthplace as her parents and paternal grandfather. She was the oldest of Clara and Juan Talamantez's four children. Clara Martinez Talamantez was born in 1899 and was of Lipan Apache and Spanish descent. Clara and her younger

sister Carmen were both "taken from the [Mescalero] Reservation in 1905," to be raised in the Loretto Academy of the Visitation, a convent-type educational institution in Las Cruces, New Mexico. The Academy took in Native and Mexican girls and young women, banned them from speaking their Indigenous languages, and taught them an assimilationist curriculum. Clara lived at the convent, and attended classes until the sixth grade, continuing to work in the kitchen for her room and board until she was twenty.

Inés's father, Juan Talamantez, born in 1898 was Mescalero and Lipan Apache, however, did not live on the Mescalero Reservation because his father chose not to formally enroll- "he didn't believe that the BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs] should tell him how to live his life, or define who he was." He and his father did agricultural work, and Juan was responsible for delivering bread and other food to the Loretto Academy. Juan and Clara struck up a friendly relationship, and after three years Juan convinced Clara to run away with him. He said, "Clara, I've been in love with you for three years, and I really want to marry you." So they made a plan to elope, and on a summer night in the mid 1920s, Juan rode on horseback to whisk her away to get married.

As a result of losing their land during the Great Depression, the Talamantez family moved from Old Mesilla, New Mexico to San Bernardino, California in 1932, where they found jobs as migrant farmworkers. When Inés was old enough, she picked grapes and walnuts in the fields with her parents. They traveled around the Inland Empire migrating for work and living in tent communities for several years before renting a home in San Bernardino.

In 1937, the Talamantezes received a visit from a San Bernardino City Unified School District official informing them to enroll Inés in kindergarten. “They had heard about ... schools for Indian education” and the violence and trauma experienced by Native children at off-reservation American Indian boarding schools, and they were fearful of sending Inés and her siblings to school. Similar to Clara’s experience at the Loretto Academy, these assimilationist institutions banned children from speaking their Indigenous languages and practicing their religious traditions. As Captain Richard Pratt famously said, the Indian boarding schools aimed to “Kill the Indian in him, and save the man,” through forced assimilation and Americanization. “They were protecting me,” Talamantez said, “they didn’t want to send me to school, because they thought [the government] might steal me and send me to one of those Indian schools.”

When her parents learned from the district official that the law required children to attend school until the eighth grade, Juan and Clara had no choice but to enroll Inés in kindergarten—she was seven years old. Inés only spoke Spanish and Apache when she started school, and since she did not speak English, the teacher made her sit in the back of the classroom. In the fourth grade, during “a unit on transportation, ... the teacher put paper all around”

the room with pictures of “cavemen pushing a stone, and ... the whole history of transportation to jet airplanes.” Still sitting in the back of the classroom, Inés was listening to the lesson and looking at all the photos around the room. And, then she realized, “oh, I understand everything she’s saying, except a few words,” and “I can say it too!”

Inés raised her hand, stood up at her desk, and exclaimed “teacher, teacher! I speak English now!” She gathered her notebooks and went to sit in the front row of the classroom. The teacher was not pleased about the outburst and voluntary move to the front of the class, and wrote a disciplinary note for Inés to take home to her parents. Talamantez explained what happened and told her father that she understood English now, and Juan praised Inés rather than scolded her.

As soon as she could read and write in English, she became an activist using the skill as a tool to help her community. Her father Juan would invite his coworkers and friends to the house, brew a pot of coffee, and they would chat at the kitchen table, “then he’d say ‘mija help them. This is the form, help them fill this out.’” So, she sat at the table, and translated from English to Spanish and then from Spanish to English to fill out union membership forms, social security forms, welfare forms and other documents for her Spanish speaking neighbors. From her father’s example, she learned the importance of lifting up one’s own community, and she continued this work throughout her life and career.

My grandmother told me that she has “been a little bit of a radical” all her life. She explained that the more she figured things out, the more radical she became.

Talamantez attended San Diego State University after graduating from Point Loma High School in 1950. Before finishing her Bachelor of Arts in Dance, she married my grandfather George R. Brolaski in 1953, and took a long break from school to raise her seven children. Fifteen years later, as a newly divorced single mother she decided to go back to college. After having seven children she felt she could no longer dance the way she used to, so she changed her major from Dance to Spanish Literature and transferred to the University of California, San Diego. She explained that she wanted to know about the Spanish, because of her Spanish ancestry from her maternal grandmother. She remembered it was, "just the time when they were starting Native American studies, Chican[a/]o studies..." and Black studies at the University. "There was a big thing about diversity and racism," and she knew that she wanted to be a part of the movement. This was also when she met and fell in love with her second husband Vernon Kjonegaard.

Inés's second oldest son Mark Brolaski, asked "Mom, remember when we used to wear bandanas and a bunch of badges? And, we would go to these meetings with you and sit in the back of the room doing our homework, and you would be up there talking?" He asked, "what were those meetings, Mom?" Talamantez brought her seven children to meetings organizing protests at UCSD fighting for the Lumumba-Zapata College (Third College), to American Indian Movement (AIM) meetings, and to peace marches in San Diego throughout the 1960s and 1970s. She could not afford a babysitter, and she also wanted to teach her children that they could use their voices to stand up for their community and initiate political change.

Beginning her formal education at the age of seven

might have indicated that she would fall behind her peers and not be successful in school. However, the opposite was true. Although she experienced setbacks, such as language barriers, teasing about her farmworker status, and racism at school, she still found a way to excel. Every day of middle school, morning and evening, she took three buses from Midway Frontier public housing to Memorial Junior High School. She was determined to finish. In middle school she became homeroom secretary, and in high school she joined the debate team, the Majorettes dance team, and became an editor for *Harbor Lights*, the school newspaper. Her middle school homeroom teacher, Mrs. Meers took her under her wing, and told her "You're a really smart girl, don't get married. Don't be silly. Just go to college." My grandmother gave this same advice to me a few years ago.

Before graduating with her bachelor's degree, another mentor of hers encouraged her to apply for graduate school. Dr. Carlos Blanco Aguinaga even had a nickname for her, "Chicindia," because she is both Chicana and American Indian. Before graduation he asked her, "What are you going to do now?" She told him "I can't go to grad school because I don't have money, and I have seven kids." He told "Chicindia" about the Ford Foundation Fellowship program. She applied and received five years of funding for her PhD in Ethnopoetics and Comparative Literature at UCSD. She earned two Postdoctoral Fellowships at the Divinity School at Harvard University, and joined the faculty at Dartmouth College briefly before returning to the West Coast in 1978 to develop the field of Native American Religious Traditions at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

It was during her doctoral study in the 1970s when

she started her work with Apache Medicine Man Willetto Antonio on the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico. Although our family was never enrolled formally in the tribe, this was our home, our people. Growing up far from the reservation, meant feeling disconnected from our culture. So, when Inés got to graduate school and then became a professor, she used her fellowship, grants, and salary as resources to travel home to Mescalero to relearn our Indigenous language and traditions, which was also the focus of her research.

Dr. Talamantez's main area of interest for her academic work was the Mescalero Apache eight-day girl's rite of passage ceremony. In her dissertation, titled "Ethnopoetics Theory and Method A Study of 'Isanaklesde Gotal," she analyzed the songs and chants that are used in ceremony that guide the Apache girl's transformation into 'Isanaklesh and then into a woman. Talamantez's manuscript on the ceremony is forthcoming. Maria Catalina, Inés' oldest daughter, was her research assistant, and drove her to the reservation each summer to participate in the

ceremonies. Talamantez worked collaboratively and formed lasting relationships with Antonio and other Apache Elders on the reservation. Even in her later years, she still felt that she had more to learn, and believed it should be cultivated through these relationships.

She is credited with developing Native American Religious Studies at UC Santa Barbara and is considered an authority in the field, yet she proclaimed she was not an expert. She recognized, and taught her students too, that knowledge is a gift and that you can never truly claim to know everything.

She wrote that knowledge “is embedded in relationships, intimately tied to place, and entails responsibilities to others and a commitment and discipline in learning.”

Perhaps her refusal to claim expertise was one of the reasons she had been denied promotions at the



Image 1: Brolaski's grandmother and subject of the article, Dr. Inés María Talamantez.

university. She was only promoted to Full Professor in 2019, a few months before she passed away. She not only struggled to be taken seriously herself as a scholar but struggled within the Religious Studies Department to have Native American Religious Traditions acknowledged as a serious academic field. She loved her profession and many of her colleagues in the department, yet expressed many times that some of her colleagues just didn't get it. They failed to acknowledge Native American Religion as religion, and they thought "Native American religions are dead." But her students, many of them Indigenous and Chicana did get it, so she focused her energy on decolonizing her field and creating Indigenous spaces in the university for her students.

Around 30 of her mentee "doctoral students have received their degrees in the field of Religious Studies with a special concentration in Native American Religious Traditions." At the university she became auntie and mentor for Chicana, Native American, and minority students. She had always been an activist focused on uplifting and supporting her community, and she continued this type of work throughout her career. "As a Chicana and Native woman," she "was very much aware of the obstacles in higher education for women of color." Mentoring both graduate and undergraduate students, and fostering Indigenous spaces was her way of empowering her community. It was her way of decolonizing the university.

Inés is survived by her younger brothers John and Lawrence "Lencho," by her husband Vernon Kjonegaard, her seven children Chris, Maria, Mark, Jennifer, George, Timothy, and Elizabeth, eleven grandchildren, and one great-grandchild. And, of course she is also survived by her countless best friends, students, and loved ones.

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DECOLONIZE THIS SABBATICAL, DECOLONIZE THIS QUARANTINE

EMILY WELTY

Just a few weeks ago, I was still on my yearlong sabbatical, backpacking around the world and researching two new projects – one on the role of theatre in social justice movements and one on decolonizing research and the university.

My research on theatre was supposed to be a yearlong study of the intersection of transnational peacebuilding and the arts as a means to address structural violence including colonialism, racism, sexism and poverty. The project examined how theatre might be a decolonizing practice and a way to recapture agency and control of the narrative in contexts of systemic oppression. My project focused on conversation with communities in the Pacific, Asia, Africa and Europe who have drawn on the arts as a way to contest colonialism, engage in nonviolent resistance to oppression, demand climate justice, deal with the aftermath of violence and rebuild relationships in deeply divided societies. I planned to read plays, see plays and meet with theatre makers in more than ten countries around the world to understand how they used theatre to engage the issues that were the most pressing in their contexts.

When I began the sabbatical last September, the second piece of my plan was to radically rethink the

way I conduct research. I was deeply uncomfortable with many of the extractive and colonial ways that scholars are trained to research. My intention was to rethink and decolonize my own understandings of research. I wanted to decolonize the classes that I teach, the curriculum that I supervise and the university that is the home for my work. In the process of looking at decolonization in a particular context, my attention began to shift from the large scale arenas of colonization – land ownership, legal rights, resource distribution, etc. – to a micro level. Of course we need to decolonize the United Nations, the banking systems and the schools but those institutions are entirely controlled by individual human beings who mostly believe themselves to be outside of responsibility for the horrors and legacy of colonialism. So the work of decolonizing must focus on the political and economic but it cannot gain traction if it ignores the personal. If I begin with looking at myself rather than displacing responsibility elsewhere, I have to ask a different set of questions. How do I work to decolonize my own relationships to the land, to my own body, to my relationships, to my job?

Decolonization has often been state-centric. I'm asking what it looks like for civil society, for the arts,

for education, for the place we work, for our groups of friends and most importantly, for each of us, as individuals. I'm centering my experience, the experience of a white colonial settler, not because that experience is more valuable or that it has been under-represented (in fact the opposite is true) but because this is where the majority of work of decolonizing needs to be done. It is not the responsibility of the colonized to bear sole responsibility for the work of decolonizing. This is not to say that the institutional and national work of decolonizing isn't important; it absolutely is. My intent is not to depoliticize decolonization, it is to emphasize that this isn't only the work of national governments or economies but must also addressed on the scale of the individual.

These two research projects felt separate; they were different projects with different outcomes. By focusing on theatre, I was concentrating on storytelling and that storytelling – how we tell stories, whose stories get told and who tells them – is actually critical to the larger work of decolonization. Eventually these two projects felt much more like one. One piece of decolonization is changing the stories that we tell, to ourselves and one another. Because my attention has been so concentrated on storytelling and decolonization, the first question that has arisen for me in the midst of this pandemic is how we decolonize the stories we are telling about it.

It's not clear to me whether I am still "on sabbatical" or not. I'm not teaching this semester and it's proving very difficult to do the work of seeing contemporary theatre when most of the theatre companies in the world are currently shuttered. But the questions that were guiding my daily life in the Pacific and in South Africa continue to weave their way into my daily quarantined life. The work of contemplating ordinary

acts of decolonization continues. I'm looking at quarantine and asking what it has to do with colonization. I'm surprised at the way that so many people want to see this period of quarantine as an opportunity to do more productive work – either at their own jobs or in their hobbies and personal lives. This manifests in feel-good exhortations that now is the time to do more yoga or get more organized, bake bread or write your novel. Maximize your quarantine! Turn this into a time of personal and professional development! All of these assume a degree of class privilege that suggests that this period isn't a time when people are struggling to meet their basic needs and the needs of those people around them. This approach also suggests a fundamentally capitalist and extractive approach to our own lives – that any pause can be maximized for personal gain.

In looking at decolonizing our own lives, decolonizing our nostalgia is an important piece of the work. While many people feel that they're withering under the increased pressures of physical distancing and isolation from communities, I've encountered others who cheerfully celebrate this time as a return to how their neighborhoods felt in the 1950s and '60s. This is a moment to unpack some of the racial assumptions that underlie that statement. For many communities of color in the United States, the 1950s and '60s were a time of racialized terror. Nostalgia for that time coupled with a political moment where politicians are also advocating a return to "making America great again" do not feel calming or reassuring for many people. Decolonizing our neighborhoods may invigorate our sense of connectivity with one another but the language we use to talk about that community ethos still matters. The way we tell the story of this pandemic matters tremendously.

Here in the UK where I am currently sheltering under lockdown measures, the country's recent Brexit which amplified anti-immigrant rhetoric looms large. But this deeply colonial nation, which once boasted of its empire abroad while maintaining its white washed narrative at home, now is facing the reality that a critical part of its essential workers who are literally keeping everyone alive, are themselves immigrants. Once the height of the crisis has passed, will the gratitude to this workforce continue or will nostalgia for an imagined past return?

The narrative around sabbaticals from the perspective of a university is that it is a time to expand your reach as a scholar, to write or publish more, to produce more classes. The expectation is generative. Academics often pitch their sabbatical as a time to "advance their research agenda" and "increase research productivity". This discourse often mirrors colonial frameworks. However, the root of 'sabbatical' is actually about rest – the opposite of production. Decolonizing my sabbatical meant stepping away from both the expectation that I will dutifully churn out journal articles as well as the societal suspicion that this was somehow a vacation. A decolonized sabbatical meant a space where I could ask what my students most needed from me, what kinds of larger questions my field was posing and what I needed to continue to be a grounded and generous member of my academic and university communities. I focused very little on what I could extract from an individual encounter with a text or a person and very much on what the moments offered me and what I could offer them. I tried to center the days on asking if all of my research might center on the metaphor of mutual aid rather than extraction.

At the risk of making a teachable moment out of this pandemic, I'm wondering how we to decolonize our

approach to it. Whose body is most at risk and whose is most protected? What kinds of historical situations have created vulnerabilities in communities? How has this virus and our fear of it changed our relationships with land, air, water, animals and plants? How do we live through this moment without using our own fears and vulnerabilities as a pretext for harming others? Can we accept questions as an authentic response to this time rather than demanding simplistic, trite aphorisms?

DECOLONIZING PEACE, CONFLICT AND JUSTICE STUDIES THROUGH INDIGENOUS WAYS OF KNOWING AND BEING

KELLI TE MAIHĀROA

Inā kei te mohio keo ko wai koe, I anga mai koe i hea, kei te mohio koe, kei te anga atu ki hea (If you know who you are and where you are from, then you will know where you are going).

Indigenous cultures worldwide have survived the challenges of land alienation and multiple waves of colonization through the preservation of ancient ways of knowing and being, continually adapting to these ever changing conditions. Indigenous epistemology is concerned with how philosophical questioning, assumptions and forward approaches are formulated to gain a broader understanding of the Indigenous world. Indigenous epistemologies formulate the central philosophical, socio-cultural and political understandings of Indigenous Peoples and the decolonial practices which seek to critique and challenge Western knowledge.

Peace, Conflict, and Justice Studies can gain a wider understanding of Indigenous worldviews, experiences and knowledge systems through re-positioning power structures within this discipline to uphold the mana (prestige) of Indigenous people. Within academia, Indigenous epistemologies, methodologies and methods offer insights into how Indigenous Peoples efforts have responded to

colonization and as a response, refocused on issues that affect Indigenous communities such as human rights, freedom, power, race, economics and privilege. As a Māori woman, I grew up within the Indigenous renaissance of the 1970-80s which created a platform for social, cultural and political change within Aotearoa New Zealand. My formal education was in an era where Māori and non-Māori advocates were challenging institutional racism and structural violence in an effort to advance Māori aspirations and preferences.

One of the theoretical underpinnings of decolonization in Aotearoa is kaupapa Māori, which was developed to advance Māori principles, values and practices. Kaupapa Māori, or Māori ways of thinking and being (Smith, 2003) developed as a response to address Treaty breaches and loss of Māori rights. The philosophical shift away from reactive responses and deficit theorizing towards tino rangatiratanga, Māori self determination, repositioned Māori to transform their own realities (Smith, 2003; Bishop, 2005; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999;). It relocates the responsibilities agreed within the founding 1840 Māori – Crown Treaty partnership, and holds the Crown accountable responsible for the systemic institutional failure of health, education and

justice for Māori. This pro-active movement away from 'the politics of distractions' (Smith, 2003) is an Indigenous response towards rebuilding the colonial disruption to Māori society at every level.

What does this mean for peace and social justice academics and advocates? It is at least a two-pronged affair, sometimes involving multiple Indigenous stakeholders, but must involve the dismantling of power structures that have kept Indigenous people out of the future decision making processes. It requires a cultural mindshift to acknowledge the First Nations People of the land that we stand on, the gift of life on this land, and the resources that have flowed from her. There can be no peace without justice. Healing begins when colonizers understand their own histories, the devastating impact of land and cultural alienation on Indigenous Peoples and the role of non-Indigenous People in creating a more equitable future. Colonization shackled both parties together in an unbalanced and unhealthy relationship, where only one party prospered and benefitted at the expense of the other.

At a structural level, decolonization within Peace, Conflict and Justice studies involves the movement towards true partnerships and the sharing of power and resources with Indigenous People who have been forced into a position of constantly trying to rebuild their lives after many centuries of loss and trauma. It demands a heightened political consciousness to not only elevate Indigenous people to positions of influence, but actively support and encourage Indigenous voices and perspectives, as the previous dominant cultural ways have failed to advance the wellbeing of Indigenous People. This requires a committed mind shift away from Western scientific views towards Indigenous world views,

which have been historically devalued, minimized, misconstrued or ignored (Brown & Strega, 2005). Privileging and affirming Indigenous perspectives creates authentic partnerships and relationships of trust, which can subsequently serve as alternative models for other communities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2014; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

Resistance against the hegemonic dominant discourse within the field of Peace, Conflict and Justice can be realized through the regeneration of Indigenous Peoples preferences and practices. As expressed previously, in order to decolonize these domains, it requires powershifting and sharing. One way this can be achieved is by reviewing the ethnicity ratio within academic institutions, creating spaces for Indigenous academics and students through tagging forthcoming recruitment positions. Through the recruitment of Indigenous academic staff, this creates a sense of belonging for Indigenous students, and develops a wider community of bi/multi cultural peace practitioners. It also empowers Indigenous People to share their ancestral stories and contemporary realities, as a source of inspiration for future generations. Indigenous People need culturally safe spaces to tell these stories of pain, love, loss and hope, so that these histories are not forgotten and lessons are learnt from these mistakes. Colonial amnesia has served to uphold historic ignorance and bias against Indigenous peacemaking customs and traditions. Decolonization invites us to reconsider who has had the power to teach the histories and herstories to date, and do they start with the stories and experiences of the first Peoples of the land?

Teachers can support and encourage Indigenous students to explore research methods that are a more appropriate 'cultural fit' for their communities

and empower them to make the changes that they want in their world. Create spaces and opportunities for Indigenous students to share their narratives that may have been historically suppressed by colonizers or contemporary power brokers (Tuso & Flaherty, 2016). Step up as leaders in the decolonization space to sit and feel the stories shared. For some it may be an uncomfortable setting – explore what is behind these feelings and support Indigenous People to share stories from the colonial past and dream of a self determined future. There is healing in these spaces, where others can recognize a piece of themselves or develop a deeper sense of empathy for another. The overarching question for me is, what kind of world do we want to create? We can respond to the past with bitterness and hatred, or we can recreate a more equitable future for all. We are only as strong as our most vulnerable member in society. Whose agenda is advanced through our peace work and who is profiting? Exploring and developing an empathic understanding of such narratives can be a painful process, but until societies can accept the realities of Indigenous People past, present and future, the energy and resources needed to rebuild Indigenous lives, will be superficial. Self determination can be realized through our combined collective efforts. Keep rising.

He aha te mean nui o te ao? He takata! He takata! He takata! (What is the most important thing in the world? It is people! It is people! It is people!)

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ON EPISTEMIC DECOLONIZATION: PRAXIS BEYOND METAPHORS

RAFAEL VIZCAÍNO

Over the last few years, the “decolonial turn” has swept across the academy in calls to decolonize methodologies, curricula, canons, universities, and more. Emerging primarily out of intellectual debates in Latin America and the Caribbean but also encompassing currents in the Anglophone world, such as Indigenous Studies and Critical Ethnic Studies, this wave of scholarship has brought to a precise level of theoretical reflection the struggle for decolonization advocated by Third World anti-colonial revolutionaries such as Frantz Fanon (2004). This is not done with the suggestion that the decolonization of knowledge has somehow now superseded the decolonization of social, political, or economic structures. On the contrary, the originality of this new paradigm arises in large part from its assertion that processes of colonization did not end with the formal departure of colonial powers – if they even left to begin with! Instead, the decolonial turn expands the scope of colonization to scrutinize its internal logic and ever-adjusting afterlives, alluding to the fact that the struggle for decolonization remains largely unfinished today – as Nelson Maldonado-Torres has put it (2011).

Such decolonial approach is challenging the most foundational assumptions of what it means to study and to produce knowledge, modifying the terms under which academic practice takes place in the university and beyond. As a philosopher, I aspire to

contribute to it by advancing the decolonization of philosophy, by which my colleagues and I have meant the dismantling of the Eurocentrism that has shaped the discipline and practice of philosophy since its inception in the modern university (2018). This is a project that demands accounting for the contributions of marginalized philosophies throughout human history, and, as Michael Monahan has recently put it, demonstrating that there are other ways of doing philosophy besides those currently endorsed by the European canon (2019, 13). This involves recognizing that philosophy has been done all around the world in as many ways as the possibility of expression allows, from oral, poetic, and literary traditions, to other forms of artistic and embodied expression.

At the heart of the decolonization of philosophy one thus finds a confrontation of conceptual frameworks. This is what is captured by the more specific notion of “epistemic decolonization.” However, such challenge is not done from a position of defensiveness or resentment, which is why it entails neither the uncritical rejection of the canon nor the naïve affirmation of what has been left outside. Rather it is one that consist in the willingness to be vulnerable to the insights of others, as David Kim has argued (2019, 46). It consequently requires the cultivation of a certain kind of epistemic humility as

“an awareness of the limits and contingencies” of one’s beliefs and commitments, in the words of Amy Allen (2016, 76). In my own research and teaching, I conceive of epistemic decolonization as the pedagogical moment of self-reflexivity where one learns with and from what has been disavowed in the colonialist unfolding of modernity. It is more than learning about something in so far as one is deeply transformed by the openly intersubjective process of learning with and from what takes place beyond my self and world. It is effectively the restoration of a process of learning that was not allowed to take place due to the active agency of coloniality.

To be sure, decolonization is “not a metaphor,” as Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang have powerfully put it (2012). Because colonization is a process that involves a combination of many violent elements (genocide, enslavement, exploitation, the appropriation of natural resources, the imposition of new customs, and more), decolonization cannot be reduced to an academic discourse that ignores or indefinitely defers addressing the connection to such concrete and violent conditions. “When metaphor invades decolonization,” Tuck and Yang write, “it kills the very possibility of decolonization; it recenters whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future” (2012, 3). This is to say that any academic discourse that is self-aligned with the task of decolonization must concern itself with the concrete and materials conditions of colonization. If the academic discourse is disconnected from these matters, as Nayantara Sheoran Appleton asserts, then one might be much better off without the “decolonial” label in the meantime or altogether.

Paradoxically, the theoretical character of the discipline of philosophy is part of what makes epistemic decolonization so complicated, as the

centrality of theorization constantly runs the risk of “resettling theory” at the expense of the broader praxis of decolonization. In such resettlement, epistemic decolonization would fail to connect to the concrete and materials conditions of colonization, becoming metaphoric in the problematic connotation indicated by Tuck and Yang.

To avoid such metaphorization, the self-reflexivity of epistemic decolonization then must not lose sight of how epistemic decolonization is not an end in itself but part of a broader praxis of decolonization that extends beyond epistemology, philosophy, and the university. While this is clearly bound to look different for people across distinct contexts and positionalities, epistemic decolonization at its core needs to connect thinking and the mind to the concrete material conditions of decolonization. An example of such relinking can be seen in the centrality given to land and geography in much decolonial work, especially that rooted in Indigenous Studies. At the level of method, for instance, Glen Coulthard’s notion of “grounded normativity” is a land-based perspective of Indigenous self-determination that has provided a devastating critique of the politics of recognition in Canada (2014, 13). At the institutional level, the Caribbean Philosophical Association and its fitting motto “shifting the geography of reason,” has continuously carved a space to collectively build alternative models of what philosophical practice looks like beyond Europe.

In connecting to the concrete and materials conditions of colonization, epistemic decolonization would not take place in an isolation that risks irrelevance. When done authentically, epistemic decolonization is instead in alignment with a broader

praxis of decolonization. It connects both theory with practice and the part with the whole. I think of this as the decolonial "eleventh thesis:" philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to decolonize it.

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DO NOT COLONIZE DECOLONIZATION

PUSHPA IYER

Decolonizing is a hot topic today. It is trendy for many to use the term when expressing frustration and desiring change with all things abhorrent in our neo-liberal capitalist world. When decolonizing becomes a buzzword, it implies we no longer need to undergo a rigorous transformation of mind and spirit to embody the term.

Decolonization, the term, is about deconstructing or dismantling colonial ideologies and the challenging the superiority of western thought and approaches. Decolonization of knowledge is about questioning who has the power over knowledge production, dissemination and management and eventually decentering those sources of power by bringing in others who were marginalized by colonization. It short, it is about re-centering First Nation peoples whose erasure was the number one project of colonization. And, finally, decolonization of the mind is what Ngūgĩ wa Thiong'o referred to as the empowering of the languages and the cultures of those subjugated by colonial powers.

I study decolonization, and I also teach classes and conduct training on decolonizing knowledge. My focus is on institutions of higher learning. I am passionate about decolonizing everything around me

– education, institutions, communities. In my work, I am struck by how quickly the decolonization challenge reduces to some simple solution. In classrooms, minutes into introducing the topic of decolonization, I hear people say, “Let us decolonize the classroom, the syllabus, the curriculum, the pedagogy.” So appealing is the term that we believe that every one of us, trained in western educational—colonized—institutions, somehow possess this ability to decolonize the world around us. but, this is a mistake. How could we end up so wrong?

The following presents seven ways the process of decolonizing academia fails:

1. Conflate Diversity with Decolonized

We confuse promoting diversity with decolonizing. Efforts to add non-western scholars to a syllabus or hire more diverse faculty is just one small step in the long process of decolonizing academia. Such efforts, in the short term, promote diversity, but they do not always result in decolonization in the long run. Policy changes in hiring, recruitment, curriculum development, decentering individuals and sources of knowledge, and questioning overall educational values and goals must all happen for there to be

decolonization. By overusing and incorrectly using the term, Tuck and Yang say that we turn decolonization into a metaphor. The resulting problem, as they say, is we try to fit decolonization goals within the frameworks for equity.

Decolonization, however, they argue, is much more than diversity or equity. As a metaphor, it precludes conversations about who should lead and how power must be transformed in these educational institutions for there to be true decolonization. My suggestion would be to use appropriate words to describe the efforts you make and not label every step of initiating change in your institutions as decolonization.

2. Disconnect from Location

We continue to draw benefits from the westernized educational institutions, most of which are built on the land of indigenous populations, this implies hypocrisy. We do not answer fundamental questions: How much Indigenous knowledge is involved in the business of knowledge we engage in these institutions? Can we hire faculty from Indigenous communities and have them lead knowledge production? Can we actually work towards delivering rights to indigenous communities in our region by standing up against our own institutions? Activism, the kind that challenges powerful structures and institutions, should be an integral part of teaching and learning; if academia really is a vanguard for decolonizing knowledge, then it must address the local context and history.

3. Western Education Implies a Furthering of the Colonization Project

Westernized universities train students to secure jobs that further or are an integral part of neo-

colonization (imperialistic and economic) project. Success in westernized universities is defined and measured by the job placements secured by students as clients. Decolonization will not be complete until we can challenge the very job market available to the students. We need to question the organizations that work with a savior complex and hire our students to participate in furthering inequality. We academics we must look critically at how we prepare and what we are preparing our students for in their careers.

4. Superficiality

As part of our training in westernized universities, we travel, learn, and encourage cultural expressions. We believe, in good faith, that we are promoting non-western cultures and bringing them to the mainstream. But, culture is more than symbols and traditions. It is about understanding and prioritizing the different ways that people think and make meaning of the world. Are we prepared for Indigenous traditions and knowledge of relating to the earth to take the lead and give these communities credit for leading discussions on the environment? Culture is not merely something you know and understand but something you accept and participate in through your actions.

5. Language for Teaching and Learning

We encourage others to speak their native language and reject colonial languages, but we benefit from the privilege we derive from operating in power structures that use the languages of the colonizers. In academia, we demand proficiency in reading, writing, and comprehension in colonized languages, and we continue to evaluate and judge those who possess less than "perfect" (read standards adopted

by the dominant groups) skills in these languages. When we learn non-colonial languages, we must ask ourselves if we are trying to communicate with communities to learn from them or to teach them in their language? In all of these examples, there is a risk that we may be re-centering power in ourselves, and we may end up as colonizers. Decolonization would require us to work on establishing a new order in which particular languages and cultures are not considered the best or the ideal. We might find that we are no longer at the center. How comfortable are we with this idea?

6. Language for Dissent and Protest

In discussing decolonization, we continue to spout our outrage in English or other European languages used by our colonizers. My own piece is an example. We, who are colonized and in positions to re-colonize others, continue to discuss amongst us, same-language speakers, ways to decolonize. Are we not, in this process, keeping those who do not speak these languages out of the decolonization conversation? Why is there so much literature on decolonization in the language of the colonizers? How do we ensure that the decolonization conversation and strategies bring in others like the Indigenous communities, who think and speak a different “language”?

7. Appeal to Woke Authority

Another common feature when studying and teaching decolonization in academia is an almost default practice to reference work by non-western scholars. While this is an essential step in the decolonization process, it can default into a pursuit of academic excellence by seeking glory for how well-read we are. When citing scholars such as Ngũgĩ wa

Thiong’ o or Franz Fanon, we must simultaneously reflect on our own role in sustaining the colonization process, something these scholars talk about extensively. Once aware, our first step must be to work on changing our colonized minds and all that we have internalized through being colonized ourselves. Thus begins the decolonization process and, hopefully, prevents us from using decolonization as a metaphor (including overusing the term).

Academia was used by the colonizers to further the colonization project, and our westernized universities (which include the higher education institutions in formerly colonized countries) are the ones most difficult to change when initiating decolonization. We may be anti-colonial or post-colonial in our approach, but we have a lot of groundwork to do before we can claim to be decolonizing our spaces and our work.

Decolonization can never be a simple process, and many decolonization scholars, like Fanon, have said, “Decolonization is a project of complete disorder, and it never takes place unnoticed.” Do we have the courage to create the disorder and the strength to question our own ego and power as we get deeper into this work? If not, and if we continue to use decolonization as a metaphor, we may colonize the decolonization process.

DECOLONIZING PEACE STUDIES: MOVING TOWARD SETTLER RESPONSIBILITIES FOR COLONIALISM

POLLY WALKER

Osiyo. I write as a woman of Cherokee and settler descent, a member of the Cherokee Southwest Township, a satellite community of the Cherokee Nation. The lands that grew me up are the traditional lands of the Mescalero Apache in New Mexico; my family's cattle ranch bordered the reservation, areas alive with all our relations and the ancestors of those who had lived there for centuries. I write during the time of COVID-19, in which the deadly legacies of colonialism are evident. Indigenous peoples around the world are disproportionately contracting and dying from the virus. Colonialism has resulted in reduced economic opportunities, diminished quality of health care, and other stressors that place Indigenous peoples in extremely high-risk categories.

I was mid-career when I turned to Peace Studies based on my lived experience of settler colonialism in New Mexico. I was working in a public education system that did not address any of the Mescalero Apache students' issues arising from colonialism. I became disturbed by the injustice and decided to seek a graduate degree in conflict transformation. After I began my doctoral studies at the University of Queensland (UQ) in Australia, I noticed a stark difference in Indigenous and settler acknowledgement of, and attention to,

decolonization. Within the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Unit at UQ, courses and educational experiences largely arose out of Indigenous knowledge systems, were embodied by Indigenous peoples and designed to address direct, structural and cultural violence toward Indigenous communities. In contrast, in the Peace and Conflict Studies Program the voices of Indigenous peoples were largely absent; the long histories of Indigenous peacemaking, diplomacy and conflict management were not evident in peer-reviewed journal articles, nor within the general conversation within the field. Approaches to reconciliation and land reform were developed, to a great extent, through the lens of colonialism and elided engagement with many of the complex, painful and ongoing injustices against Indigenous peoples.

Shortly after completing my Ph.D. thesis on transforming conflict between Aboriginal and settler Australians, I published an article on decolonizing conflict resolution, calling for a critical analysis of the field. I focused on decreasing ontological, epistemic and cosmological violence toward Indigenous peoples, articulating some of the differences between Indigenous and dominant Western worldviews, and describing the ways in which

scholars working out of Western worldviews had assumed hegemony within the field, marginalizing and suppressing Indigenous approaches to peace. I argued that a decolonizing approach would include respectful engagement with Indigenous peoples and their worldviews, as well as the acknowledgement of historical and contemporary Indigenous approaches to dealing with conflict and building peace. Since I wrote that article sixteen years ago, little has changed, with relatively few Peace and Conflict Studies peer-reviewed articles, research projects or books arising out of Indigenist perspectives/approaches.

Today, I am concerned that my previous article fell far short of ethical recommendations for decolonizing the field. As Tuck and Yang maintain, claims of decoloniality require addressing the ongoing legacies of colonialism through relationality, restitution, and repatriation of Indigenous lands and life. Without engaging in these complex, messy, 'unsettling' processes and relationships, claims of decolonizing Peace Studies may become a type of 'settler moves to innocence' that reinforce settler colonialism in new forms within the field.

Decolonizing the field of Peace Studies requires engaging in collaborative Indigenist research, which is centered in Indigenous knowledge systems, led by Indigenous scholars and knowledge holders and responds to the needs of Indigenous nations and communities. These endeavors do not foreclose the possibilities of settler researchers and scholars being engaged in decolonizing research. However, scholars of settler descent working to decolonize the field would be working within Indigenous paradigms and with Indigenous peoples. In the Indigenous Education Institute, of which I am currently chair, we call these relationships 'collaborations of integrity.'

part of ongoing decolonizing processes that address current cultural and structural violence and that create more just, generative and ethical relationships that can be called on to address future conflicts.

To decolonize Peace and Conflict Studies we must work toward the restoration of Indigenous lands. At the 2016 Peace and Justice Studies Association Conference at Selkirk College in British Columbia, Wab Kinew, a member of the Ojibway of Onigaming First Nation, gave the opening keynote address. He emphasized the necessity of dealing with the issue of land restoration and restitution. He emphasized this point with a memorable illustrative story told to him by one of his friends.

As I remember the story, Wab said:

reconciliation in Canada might be compared to a situation in which you have an antique pickup truck that has been in your family for generations and then was stolen by someone. After a while, you see the truck driving by your home on a daily basis and you confront the person driving it, who says they bought it from someone else and did not know it was stolen. They apologize for the harm and distress the loss has caused you and your family. And then they continue to drive the bright red classic pickup truck by your house every day.

Wab then went on to explain that meaningful and just reconciliation in Canada has just begun and that fuller measures of justice would require that Canadians address land restorations and restitutions. Likewise, if we are to decolonize Peace Studies, justice initiatives focused on these issues must become part of our work.

We will be also required to develop collaborations of integrity that restore the Indigenous lifeways that have been impacted by colonialism. As Blackfoot knowledge holder Leroy Little Bear explains, many Indigenous peoples hold 'jagged' worldviews that have been shaped by Western institutions while at the same time having deep foundations in Indigenous cosmologies. Leroy describes Indigenous cosmologies as characterized by everything in the cosmos being in flux, with a focus on processes and energy, in which everything is animate, based in extended relationality, expanded notions of time, and celebrated through cycles of renewal. Indigenous cosmologies are also Place based, arising out of, and in relationship with, Place. Decolonizing forms of peace studies will engage justly with Indigenous peoples and their cosmologies, disrupting the colonialism of dominant paradigm Western research and practice.

All of these processes will require unsettling the settler, of moving into territory that is contested, complex and painfully messy. It may at times seem impossible to effect meaningful and long-lasting change, given the intractability of colonialism. Nevertheless, we have each other to call on as we move toward balance and harmony. I often cite the work of Grandfather Leon Secatero, a knowledge holder of the Cañoncito Band of the Navajo, who describes the times in which we live as the times of 'the five-fingered ones' of all humans, Indigenous and settler. Grandfather Leon is now passed on, but his teachings are alive within many of us who were honored to learn from him. I don't recall him ever using the term decolonial, but I understood his message to be one of decoloniality.

He said that his ancestors had foretold of the times when the white people first came to Turtle Island in

big boats, explaining that there was then an opportunity for all humans to work together in a good way; a way that respected Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island (now called North America) and their knowledges and that engaged with the newcomers and their ways of knowing. But rather than a respectful, relational and reciprocal engagement, the explorers, invaders and colonizers moved to eliminate Indigenous peoples from their lands and cosmologies. Grandfather Leon went on to explain that we are now in a cycle in which a new world will be born, that it can be born out of great pain and loss, or it can be born more gently into justice, into balance and harmony, if all five fingered ones work together.

I carry Grandfather Leon's words in my heart and being, and have thought of them many times as I collaborate with other Indigenist researchers, scholars and knowledge holders to restore balance to our cosmos and cosmologies. Now in the time of COVID19, his words have even more urgency for us to imagine the world we want to envision and support after the coronavirus is no longer a global threat. We have opportunities to decolonize our minds, lands and lifeways, and we are being called to do so.

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A RELATIONAL APPROACH TO RACIAL INCLUSION PRACTICES: SUPPORTING PEOPLE OF COLOR IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE WORKSPACES

SHIRLEY LEY

Predominately White work environments can move beyond the rhetoric of racial inclusion and beyond focusing solely on recruitment efforts for a racially diverse staff. Cosmetic representation or representation by numbers is not racial justice, even though employers often stop there. Such misguided actions can lead to racially traumatizing consequences for people of Color who often find themselves feeling dehumanized, invisibilized, and erased by White culture. For this reason, it is imperative for any employer to uphold racial justice ideals to develop a thorough, action-oriented plan to include, retain, and maintain the wellbeing of staff of Color.

My recommendations on racial inclusion are derived from my lived experiences as the only person of Color employed as a psychology resident and diversity and inclusion liaison within a university counseling center. Informed by a collectivistic worldview and trained in racial justice and psychological theories on healing within relationships, I emphasize the importance of the creation of belongingness and community in any workspace. Such efforts should be initiated by people who are overserved and overrepresented in society. As the beneficiaries of social, political, economic, and

cultural power, White-identifying individuals can advocate for greater racial inclusion in the work environment in a number of relationally-informed ways.

White staff members are invited to continually engage in self-reflection to bring into awareness their socialized privilege and internalized superiority. As members of the dominant group, they are the least qualified to determine the effectiveness of their allyship (Sensory & DiAngelo, 2017). For this reason, they are urged to approach this work from a place of humility and humbleness. This can be best achieved by admitting to not knowing, taking accountability for making mistakes, and engaging in race-related discussions with curiosity and empathy (Sensory & DiAngelo, 2017). White staff members are encouraged to invite all voices, including competing and counter perspectives and take time to wait for responses without rushing to conclusions (Sensory & DiAngelo, 2017). When reflecting on unexamined privilege and misuse of power, they must learn to tolerate any feelings of defensiveness, discomfort, guilt, and shame, pausing on any urges to reduce or avoid internal dissonance. Instead of expending energy withdrawing inwards, becoming paralyzed

with guilt and shame, White colleagues are encouraged to appreciate the risk that people of Color assume when offering feedback. The public acknowledgement of injustice requires tremendous courage and should be regarded as an act of resistance, an effort to reclaim dignity and liberation. In moments of disclosure, bear witness to not only their stories of racialized trauma, but also of resilience, courage, and perseverance. Ask about their yearnings, desires, hopes, and dreams. Invite them to draw on the expertise that lies in their lived experiences as people of Color.

White staff members should not rely on People of Color to caretake their emotional and relational needs. They should only address such needs on their own time, in relationships with other White-identifying anti-racists. White colleagues should hold themselves accountable for their privilege by denouncing inequitable racial dynamics. They need to develop an awareness of the means by which People of Color are relegated to minoritized statuses to sustain White dominance (Sensory & DiAngelo, 2017). They should advocate for more equitable racial representation and strive to create more supportive workspaces. To this end, they are encouraged to initiate and actively participate in discussions on racial justice issues. Such dialogue should involve topics on how power is reproduced and maintained in White-dominant workplaces. Discussions should also focus on how information on racialized topics are received (Sensory & DiAngelo, 2017). When a member of a minoritized group speaks, White colleagues are urged to be mindful of any body language conveying disgust or disregard and to proactively and mindfully override any tendencies to mentally “check out” or physically leave conversations on race-based matters. White colleagues need to understand that People of Color do not experience

the world in the same way as them (Sensory & DiAngelo, 2017). Instead of assuming that silence on a subject matter is evidence of assent, actively invite and seek the opinions of minoritized group members.

To demonstrate greater cross-racial sensitivity and awareness, White colleagues are encouraged to research the history of various marginalized and minoritized groups. For instance, they could develop a greater understanding of how racialized peoples have been historically excluded from citizenship in both the US and Canadian contexts, how immigrants of Color are often recruited to engage in back-breaking, low-paying jobs in the industrial industries and the construction of major US and Canadian transportation systems, and how People of Color have been physically and mentally colonized and forced to defer to Whites. Other than becoming educated on their ancestral and historical background, White staff members are encouraged to build authentic relationships (mutual, committed, and ongoing as opposed to targeting a lone minoritized individual for education purposes) with groups they have been separate from, such as people who have been racialized, people with disabilities, or people occupying lower socio-economic statuses (Sensory & DiAngelo, 2017).

As demonstrated in this article, the work of retaining staff of Color should be achieved in relationships that support healthy human development. Such efforts require a number of proactive, intentional, and persistent measures involving White-identifying individuals to self-examine, to take accountability for change, and to welcome the discomfort that accompany learning. If my insights have resonated or moved you in some way, support my fight for human liberation by leaning into relationship with the

People of Color in your workspaces.

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“LET GO OF POWER:” AN INTERVIEW WITH RICHARD JACKSON

GABRIEL ERTSGAARD

Professor Richard Jackson, PhD, is the Director of the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago in New Zealand, where he is also Professor of Peace Studies. Before joining the Centre, Jackson was Professor of International Politics at the Department of International Politics at Aberystwyth University in the United Kingdom. He is also the founding editor of the journal *Critical Studies in Terrorism*, and the author or editor of several books, including most recently *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies* and *Confessions of A Terrorist: A Novel*. He is interviewed here by the PJSA's Peace Chronicle interviews editor Gabriel Ertsgaard.

GE: You're the Director of the National Center for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago in New Zealand. What is the origin story of the center and how did you become involved with it?

RJ: There was a very wealthy Quaker named Dorothy Brown who wanted to help New Zealand students to study peace and conflict studies. Around 2005 she approached Professor Kevin Clements who was the director of a peace studies center at the University of Queensland in Brisbane. He suggested starting a center in New Zealand, rather than sending students

to study in other parts of the world. Together, they found interested people in New Zealand—including some indigenous peace centers—founded a trust, raised money, and got matching funds from the government. The University of Otago eventually proved the best place to host a new autonomous center with Kevin Clements as the director.

Kevin Clements was one of my lecturers during undergrad, and he had followed my career. In 2011 he invited me to apply for the position of deputy director. At that time I was a professor of international politics at Aberystwyth University in the United Kingdom, and my wife and I were ready to come back to New Zealand. I realized that this was a really unique center, in part because of its connection to some indigenous peace groups, so I took the job and came back. About three years ago I took over as director from Kevin, who is now the director of the Toda Peace Institute in Tokyo.

GE: You mentioned how valuable it is to have indigenous peace groups involved in the center. What connections do you find between partnering with indigenous peace groups and decolonization efforts?

RJ: As part of the original Memorandum of Understanding with our trust, we have ties to three indigenous peace groups. One group is the Moriori people of the Chatham Islands. There's another famous peace group called Parihaka in the north island. They're a pan-tribal peace movement that resisted colonization, and they did it nonviolently. There's some evidence that they may have influenced Gandhi. Then there's another group called the Waitaha who went on a famous peace march, again, as part of an attempt to resist colonization. Those three peace groups are all signatories of the Memorandum of Understanding. That commits the center to bicultural partnership and to the study and practice of indigenous forms of peacemaking.

So that's always been there, but to be honest, we have really struggled to put that into practice. It's only in the last few years that we've started to make some deeper progress. There are a lot of obstacles to this, some of which are personal. I was never really trained in decolonization. When you get trained in a certain way as a scholar, there's a process of decolonization that you have to go through yourself. There are also all kinds of institutional obstacles. The New Zealand education system, at least in the past, did not put a lot of emphasis on the bicultural history, or on a proper accounting of the harms colonization did to the indigenous people. We work in a very Eurocentric, Western-centric university system. We're in a country where, despite the fact that we have a treaty, it hasn't been properly implemented. There isn't real partnership.

GE: You suggested that your center has made progress on these issues over the past few years. What does that progress look like?

RJ: There's a number of small things we've done,

which are not even scratching the surface of enough. But they gesture towards the fact that we are committed to going in the right direction. These include learning indigenous cultural protocols: such as formal greetings, adhering to traditions of welcome, practice around the sharing of food, and respecting the boundaries between different areas of life. We've also tried to educate ourselves a great deal more. We try to hold seminars that give voice to indigenous scholars and peace practitioners. More recently, we've started taking students to indigenous peace centers.

The indigenous people have had such a terribly abusive relationship with the white political and cultural structures here, that there's a rightful sense of distrust and reticence. So it takes a long time to build trust and to prove that we have good intentions and seriously want to decolonize. When you're trying to form a partnership with indigenous people, one of the main things you have to do is let go—let go of control, let go of power.

GE: In many parts of the world, the COVID-19 crisis maps onto colonial legacies. Do you know how communication has been with indigenous groups during New Zealand's response to this crisis?

RJ: I have to say, there's nowhere else in the world I'm happier to have been than here. It's model leadership in some ways. Despite that, this is one area where we could and should criticize the New Zealand government, because its commitment to the treaty partnership has really fallen down. In this particular crisis, we have quickly reverted back to business as usual, where the government makes decisions on its own, unilaterally.

We are now beginning to hear the voices of

indigenous communities saying, “We appreciate that you took us through this crisis relatively unscathed, but you didn’t really consult us. There are indigenous health professionals and groups who should have been part of your daily briefing and on your select committees. This is not an example of a true partnership.” In some cases, indigenous communities set up their own roadblocks because they knew that, historically, indigenous peoples have suffered a great deal from pandemics.

We also have a large Pacific Islands community, and they have been particularly vulnerable to pandemics in the past. The government has taken a lot of quite strict decisions without properly consulting, negotiating and perhaps developing more culturally appropriate and sensitive policies. We’ve seen families separated when family members are not able to return from the Pacific Islands. Overall, we can say the government has done a great job and the public health measures have been effective. But in a way, this crisis has revealed the continuing problem—that decolonization hasn’t really taken root.

NOTE FROM THE BOARD CO-CHAIRS

LAURA FINLEY
JENNIE BARRON

June 15, 2020

Greetings from your Co-Chairs, PJSA!

We are in the midst of not one, but two global pandemics: one of which—COVID-19—was declared in March of this year, and one of which—violent racism and police brutality—has been raging unabated for centuries.

With regards to the first, we are hopeful that all of you and your families are safe and well. We extend our most sincere care and concern for those within our membership who have been struck by COVID-19 and our best wishes for their full recovery.

With regards to the second, we also extend the fullest care and concern to those most affected—Black, Indigenous and other people of colour—recognizing that full recovery from this societal illness is, regrettably, still harder to achieve, notwithstanding the remarkable outpouring of solidarity, resolve, resistance, and courage we are seeing around the world today.

As we reflect on this unique historical moment we find ourselves in, it is striking to note how both of

these pandemics bring to the fore so many of the peace community's historical concerns—stark and ongoing racial inequalities, the structural violence of poverty, and the injustice of extreme disparities in wealth and power, not to mention the absurdity of our government's spending literally billions—*hundreds* of billions—on armaments and military-style policing in the name of security, while spending so little in areas that would ensure much greater *human* security for all, whether they be health, education, social services or sincere and effective racial justice initiatives. Our work for positive peace is as relevant as ever.

The disruption and fracturing of usual expectations and practices also demonstrates the great potential that exists for pivoting our industries and institutions to prioritize what we need for our collective wellbeing. When COVID-19 struck, we saw how quickly auto-makers could begin making ventilators and breweries could begin producing hand sanitizer. Following the murder of George Floyd by police on May 25, we have seen an even more impressive movement take hold to defund, even abolish, the police in favour of transformative models of public safety that do not privilege the property and wellbeing of the “already-haves” but instead seek to

dismantle the barriers that marginalize Black, Indigenous and other People of Color and to prioritize the wellbeing of the most vulnerable (e.g., those suffering from mental illness and addictions). The case for redirecting military spending and resources to better safeguard human security in non-military ways is as clear as ever.

Our ideas of what is normal, what is unchangeable, have been shaken—for the better. We have witnessed a huge increase in commoning—people acting outside the market and outside (sometimes *against*) the state to provide mutual aid and support in endless imaginative and heart-warming ways. As George Monbiot wrote recently in the *Guardian Blog*, “communities have mobilised where governments have failed.” As academics and activists, we strive to play the most effective roles we can in our communities. We are proud that PJSA is providing critical advice in these key areas by drafting two position papers:

1) Regarding COVID-19, to campus administrators, knowing that deep disparities have been exacerbated and that neoliberal management practices are resulting in cuts that are detrimental to the education of our students. Board Members Wim Laven and Jeremy Rinker challenge the work-before-healing mentality and the continued commodification of higher education at the expense of real learning.

2) Regarding racist, abusive, and militaristic policing and in support of Black Lives Matter and other groups working for racial justice, PJSA members Pushpa Iyer, Ellen Lindeen, and Wim Laven have drafted a statement that advances our vision for cultural, ethnic, geographic, and socio-economic equality under the law and the fundamental dignity

and worth of all humans.

Both statements are available on the PJSA website under the heading “Publications.”

Notwithstanding the tragedy of so many deaths around the world owing to *both* these pandemics, the outpouring of initiative and generosity that we have seen at the community level over the past few months affirms that we *do* have the ability to work collaboratively for a common goal and also the capacity to make changes at the societal level. In some places, at least, this crisis has engendered optimism about our collective ability to rise to other challenges, including that of climate change, which could relieve us of yet another source of angst so many feel about the future. Much work will be required to build on the “disaster utopianism” of the present moment (to use the words of author Rebecca Solnit) and sustain this level of compassion going forward. But there is an openness to change now that dares us to feel hopeful.

We have recently announced a reminder about our mini-grants program. We encourage activist groups who are working on the above or other issues to apply for these grants, up to \$1,000 each. If members are financially able, we encourage you to support this fund so we can better support activists. Simply donate to PJSA and note that the funds are to be added to the mini-grants program.

As we have already reported through the listserve and other sources, we had to make the unfortunate but morally and ethically necessary decision to cancel our fall 2020 conference. We are all surely saddened about the missed opportunity to connect, to share our work, to support one another and to launch new and inspiring projects and programs. We

are very thankful for and appreciative of our Board colleagues and our amazing ED, Michael Loadenthal, for the quick responses when we called an emergency meeting to address the conference cancellation and for their spirited and, most importantly, thoughtful dialogue about the issue.

But please be assured that the Board is eagerly embracing this time to seek new ways PJSa can not only be relevant and important but cutting-edge in what we offer our members and the broader peace and justice community. We're exploring new publication possibilities, innovative ways to share all of our work, exciting efforts to support activists, and more. We welcome any input to broaden our thinking and actualize some of the best and most doable ideas.

Also, we are happy to report that, as of now, plans are moving nicely for our 2021 and 2022 conferences. As always, persons interested in conference planning should let us know so we can get you involved.

Finally, in case you are not aware, PJSa has sponsored a book series with Cambridge Scholars Publishing for several years. Edited by Laura Finley and Michael Minch, the most recent release is titled *Revolutionary Nonviolence in Violent Times*. Members interested in contributing should contact Laura Finley (lfinley@barry.edu) or Michael Minch (mminch@uvu.edu).

PEACE & JUSTICE STUDIES ASSOCIATION 2020 DIGITAL CONFERENCE

SEPTEMBER | RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

OCTOBER | STORYTELLING & SOCIAL JUSTICE

NOVEMBER | POLARIZATION

PEACE & JUSTICE STUDIES ASSOCIATION 2020 DIGITAL CONFERENCE **SEPTEMBER RESTORATIVE JUSTICE**

PEACE & JUSTICE STUDIES ASSOCIATION 2020 DIGITAL CONFERENCE **OCTOBER STORYTELLING & SOCIAL JUSTICE**

PEACE & JUSTICE STUDIES ASSOCIATION 2020 DIGITAL CONFERENCE **NOVEMBER POLARIZATION**

INFORMATION AND REGISTRATION AT:
<https://www.peacejusticestudies.org/conference/2020-conference-schedule/>

PUBLICATIONS UPDATE

MATTHEW JOHNSON

PJSA Publications Chair Update

Spring 2020

The context of COVID-19 makes me want to write something inspiring, but I am left with very little to offer other than the usual appeals to hope and solidarity. I just hope everyone reading this is somewhere safe and warm—with enough food and supplies.

Since we're all stuck at home, though, it is definitely a good time to catch up on reading. For starters, I hope you enjoy this compelling issue of *Peace Chronicle*. The editors, writers, and other contributors have once again done a tremendous job—and we will miss Shatha, who set expectations where they needed to be from the beginning (and exceeded them).

The PJSA partnership with the *Journal of Resistance Studies* (JRS) is in motion. If you are a PJSA member, you should have received an email about the latest issue by now. You can also download its content [here](#). The JRS editors encourage all members to (when/if appropriate) request that their university libraries make available copies of the journal.

The *Journal of Transdisciplinary Peace*

Practice (JTPP) released its third issue in January, which is [available](#) online to all PJSA members. Its fourth issue will come out on Aug. 15 and will focus on religious dynamics in relation to peace and conflict. The editors have announced a 15 percent discount for any new subscription routed through a PJSA member. University libraries can subscribe [here](#).

It's also a good time to catch up on writing. PJSA's own Laura Finley is looking for perspectives from students (both K-12 and university-level), teachers, professors, and parents on the topic of "teaching and learning during quarantine." She hopes to put together a new book in the coming weeks. If you're interested, please contact her: LFinley@barry.edu

I hope that, despite "social distancing," we remain connected as a wider academic and progressive community. Please do not hesitate to reach out with any feedback or ideas.

Be safe,

Matthew Johnson

THE NEED FOR STRONG UNIVERSITY LEADERSHIP AND PROACTIVE THINKING IN RESPONSE TO THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

JEREMY RINKER AND WIM LAVEN

We write on behalf of the Peace and Justice Studies Association (PJSA), a bi-national North American peace and justice association of both scholars and activists, on the need for strong University leadership and proactive thinking in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. This paper lays out both principled and pragmatic advocacy for a robust bailout and stimulus for higher education. Our reasoning extends and promotes the message and vision of PJSA by ensuring equitable distribution of resources and by safeguarding opportunity for current and future generations of students across all variety of cultural, ethnic, geographic, and socio-economic categories.

*Averting the Enrollment cum Expenditure "Crisis"
Mentality in Higher Education*

In crisis situations the hardwired human reaction is rapid response - this is mammalian - fight or flight. The Covid-19 pandemic is no exception. Colleges and University campuses are an important site of the many metaphorical battlefields. On most campuses students have been sent home to social distance, and administrations on many campuses have worked to invoke faculty, students, and staff to keep working, learning, and researching. This strategic approach is inconsistent with research on best

practices for handling trauma in the workplace or classroom. Most University responses have, thus far, been like a collective immune system, they have tried to produce the only antibodies we knew how - - the American and Protestant will to maintain work as the sole semblance of normalcy. While some are experiencing pandemic productivity many are, unfortunately, less privileged and struggling. Institutional survival should not be based on achievement during adversity, but thoughtful strategic planning and forward thinking reflexive leadership.

The Covid-19 fight on college campuses must be one for shared resources and the protection of the values of equity and inclusion. Higher education is responsible for the promotion of a civilization's mental and physical health and University spaces hold the brain trust of our civilization and democracy. Austerity will not develop antibodies, vaccines, or the minds and technologies of the future. Today's pandemic showcases decades of budget cuts that do not reflect prioritizing the role of higher education in public health and, indeed, undercut the University role in the production of critical and life-sustaining public goods. Rather than once again averting our eyes, we need to look this crisis in the face and see it

as an opportunity to address the unequal structures of the past and re-center the production of knowledge as a pro-social and affirmative good in society. Covid-19 did not create injustice, but it can be a “portal” to sustainable change. Universities are the lever which can open this portal.

As the class of 2020 graduates face an expected job market with 20-30% unemployment we see further evidence that those who’ve contributed the least to the problem will suffer the most. Campuses need to expand student training opportunities and counter this trend. The minds of the future are the most deserving of bailouts and the hard won opportunities that a quality education should provide.

The Importance of Strategic and Reflexive Evidence-based Leadership in Times of Crisis.

Academics are not accustomed to flight, but neither should academics accept the metaphor of fight. While we have tried to produce antibodies through ingenuity and focus on works, the need for art and play is rarely considered. Play is never the first American response to crisis and, of course, this is no vacation. Still, a month into this pandemic, calls are increasing to “get the economy working again” and “end the stay at home orders.” This is a problem of the commons, and we believe that only critical thinking, proper management, strong science, and the flexibility grasped through play will mitigate the risks of returning to our past sense of “normal.”

This is a time to rethink much of what was considered normal in the past. University policy decisions have manifold ramifications and require creative and strategic leadership. College and University administrators were facing severe demographic shifts long before the Covid-19

coronavirus hit the United States. Forecasts of shrinking enrollment were a pre-Covid-19 foregone conclusion and many colleges and universities were already preparing for spending cuts as a result of shrinking college-age demographics and enrollments. In the changed world of Covid-19, we know that the economic future of many industries have rapidly been put in limbo. Some industries will not survive. Higher education will survive, but at what costs to students and knowledge seekers across the country?

Dire prognosis of the death of high education is a continuation of the ugly trend to devalue of education. We highlight the need for lovers of knowledge production to stay vigilant and at the same time to ask college administrators and state legislators to keep a cool head about the worth and place of higher education in our democratic society. Universities have long been the engine of economic development in our country, but we at PJSA are concerned that the value that colleges and universities bring to so many communities will continue to be overlooked or denied by legislators and campus leaders driven by the economic bottom line. We fear that neoliberal management models and growth projections will lead university leaders to make unfounded decisions about both the purpose and direction of higher education. Administrative decisions are often not made with full consideration of the public and societal value contained within our institutions, but rather with the same past assumptions and injustices. We urge leaders to not miss important opportunities for both change and expansion.

In a recent letter to the U.S. House of representatives, The American Council on Education argues that: “The pandemic is striking during the height of the

admissions process, and the requirement to close physical campuses for extended periods, along with justifiable concerns among current and prospective students about when and if to return to campus, are problems higher education did not have in the Great Recession.” University administrators only concerned about revenue can get caught up in the dropping enrollment trap and constrict university spending at a time when the need to spend and creatively adapt may be the greatest. To get out from under the Covid-19 rock we have to be creative, innovative, and not afraid to take risks - all attributes that have put U.S. colleges and universities in the driver's seat of economic development and technological innovation for generations.

University administrators must resist the urge to cut further the humanities or fields that appear less popular to current students because they appear too expensive due to limited enrollments. These lesser enrolled fields hold the brain trust of our democratic civilization and are a value to the future of creative thinking and democratic citizenship. Already, on our campuses we are hearing talk of academic review of programs and hiring freezes. These are worrying harbingers of economic corrections that may be more based on fear than on evidence or the creativity of playful transformation work. We urge leaders in higher education to resist the crisis mentality. With support from the federal government we urge university administrators to creatively plan ways that the national trust in higher education can be restored and strengthened.

RESPONSE TO EPIDEMIC RACIST VIOLENCE AND POLICE BRUTALITY

WIM LAVEN, PUSHPA IYER, AND ELLEN
LINDEEN

We write on behalf of the Peace and Justice Studies Association (PJSA), a bi-national North American peace and justice association of both scholars and activists, to call for action on the dual epidemic of police violence and racism as highlighted in the death and response to George Floyd's murder by a police officer in Minneapolis, Minnesota and other officer-related deaths across the country. This paper presents a historical and critical analysis of the disproportionate violence by law enforcement against the black community, followed by some recommendations. There are many additional moral concerns which we see as antagonistic to our vision of peace and justice in the world, which is based on democratic and faith-based principles. PJSA wishes to advance our vision for cultural, ethnic, geographic, and socio-economic equality under the law and the fundamental dignity and worth of all humans. This paper details our call to action to end institutional, structural, and systematic racism, as highlighted in police brutality.

*History of the Problem: There has never been
Equality*

Race-based violence in North America predates the establishment of the modern Canadian, Mexican,

and United States governments. Colonial powers and then subsequently the states, in varying degrees, used genocide and genocidal practices in their establishment. The transatlantic slave trade, combined with colonial practices of displacement and violence, have established significant wealth and durable economic inequalities with dramatic modern presentations. The average white family holds ten times as much wealth as the average black family. The average white person has more education, more income, more opportunities to invest and grow their wealth, than the average black person. As a result, this economic gap continues to grow.

For the Black community, the establishment of "freedom" and "equality" has been slow in their formation. Both the codification and protection of the slave trade and the three-fifths compromise represent examples of the explicit dehumanization of African personhood in the US Constitution. The Emancipation Proclamation did not establish freedom or put an end to the prejudicial policy. Decades of Jim Crow included thousands of extrajudicial lynchings, and terror groups like the Ku Klux Klan, the oldest in the US, have mobilized to prevent minority groups from enjoying basic civil rights and liberties.

Policing in the US has roots in slave patrols and night watchers; they would become police departments later. Slave patrols were constructed to manage race-based conflict, most specifically the control over slave populations. They were ruthlessly brutal in their use of power. Where connections between the KKK and law enforcement during Jim Crow were a matter of fact, racial profiling has openly been presented as a tool for law and order in recent decades. Over the years, the FBI has warned of the increasing threat of white nationalist and supremacist groups infiltrating law enforcement. Further, during the Bush-era War on Terror, and the Pentagon's 1033 program, law enforcement began to get hold of the technology and equipment of war from the Department of Defense. The renewed militarization of the police during this period lead to further violence against blacks and other minoritized populations (more on the history of militarization of law enforcement in the section below). There is, therefore, historical and statistical evidence of US police departments practicing discriminatory and prejudicial operations.

The militarization of Law Enforcement

Historically, the federal government has mobilized the military and national guard to expand civil rights and freedom. After the Civil War, federal troops were used to guard reconstruction in the South and to protect civil rights. In 1957 President Eisenhower famously used the national guard to enforce integration in Little Rock, Arkansas. Federal Marshalls guarded Ruby Bridges during her integration, in 1960, to a white elementary school in New Orleans, Louisiana. Before the Civil War, few cities had police departments in the South. Police departments were established to control freed slaves. In the North, they were built to monitor immigrants and place checks on unions.

This trend shifted in the 1960s, in response to the rebellions and riots occurring across the US grants and crime legislation that established the purchase and use of military resources and weapons. Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams were also established during this period. These heavily militarized forces were primarily directed to respond to black-insurgency. During the War on Drugs which took place over various presidencies, the militarization continued by Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan (in particular). It was more than a metaphor, the war included increasingly violent and dramatic responses, but it was also racialized. Pejorative biases and stereotyping of drug use were frequently directed at communities of color. Discrepancies in punishment present harsher sentencing for minorities than whites.

Civil forfeiture, the confiscation of property from convicted and sometimes suspected drug dealers, has also been used to finance the purchase of more munitions and weapons from the Pentagon. The relationships and connections between community law enforcement and the federal armed forces were fully cemented through the Patriot Act and other responses to the acts of terrorism on September 11, 2001. This redoubled the role of the police in the activities of war by putting law enforcement on the front line of a War on Terror. Police budgets have continued to expand with increasingly lethal arsenals; meanwhile, so many other budgets have experienced decades of cuts.

SWAT teams have expanded roles; they are no longer limited to emergencies. They are now called in response to non-violent warrants. There has been an astronomical increase in drug raids, and the SWAT team is now the first step in many jurisdictions. Cops today are told they are fighting wars, and they believe

it. The proliferation of militarized responses has ensured increases in cultural, structural, and systemic violence and disproportionate impacts on minority communities. "Protect and Serve" is not the motto of the warrior cop; policies have created us and them physical and psychological distancing. The isolation from communities is experienced on both sides, the public increasingly sees law enforcement as a threat to public safety, and law enforcement increasingly sees combatants instead of citizens.

The manifestation of the problem

Black and other minoritized communities all across the country have generations of grievances of police brutality. The cases and examples are too numerous to list. The March 3, 1991 beating of Rodney King was captured by a citizen journalist and provided evidence of the long-known truth about the brutal use of violence against minoritized populations. The April 1992 acquittal of officers charged with crimes in that beating set off protests and riots in Los Angeles and across the country. As technology has increased, documentation of episodes of violent events has increased. Evidence of the brutal use of force is made available by body cameras, dashboard cameras, and the ubiquitous use of mobile phones as cameras; however, the problem persists, the effectiveness of the cameras, in terms of deterring or reducing police violence, has not been demonstrated.

Two distinct threads of explaining police violence have emerged. In one thread, the acts of violence are blamed on single individuals—bad apples spoiling the bunch. The other thread identifies the structural and systematic conditions which have caused, created, and permitted the violence to occur. In the first case, it is clear that there are implicit and tacit biases held by individuals and that these

prejudices have and continue to impact citizens' treatment in prejudicial ways. Individuals have, in public, found ways to weaponize biases to assault innocent persons of color (sometimes with fatal consequences). In this second thread, we see discriminatory policies like racial profiling and broken windows policing, which are always antagonistic in their execution.

Decades of policies and policing have criminalized melanin and poverty. Drug laws and the War on Drugs are examples of the primary pipelines to prison showcasing disproportionate incarceration rates and vastly different sentences for similar crimes across different racial demographics.

George Floyd was accused of buying cigarettes with a counterfeit \$20 bill. He was arrested, restrained, and held in a lethal hold. He complained he could not breathe and called out for his mother. Onlookers pleaded for his life but to no avail. Tony McDade, a transgender man, was shot down without any warning or identification from law enforcement; Ahamud Aubrey was jogging when killed by two white men; Breonna Taylor was shot by cops when sleeping in her bed; Sandra Bland and Philando Castille were killed after they were stopped for minor traffic violations; Eric Garner lost his life when he was held in a chokehold by the police when selling single cigarettes; Michael Brown was unarmed and described by witnesses to have his hands up when shot; Tamir Rice was only 12 years old and playing with a replica toy Airsoft gun when he was killed; Trayvon Martin was killed when walking back home from buying Skittles. The list goes on as evidence grows. Thanks to quick cell phone videos which document how white individuals threaten blacks and other persons of color with police violence for no reason other than the color of their

skin, we know that we are dealing with systemic and institutional racism. PJSA joins the chorus of voices calling for justice and condemnation of the use of force and violence terrorizing communities and causing unnecessary death.

When the world witnessed the killing of George Floyd at the hands of a police officer, it literally became the last straw on the (black) camel's back. Protestors took to the streets all over the country. In some places, the peaceful protestors were joined by those who wanted to use violence and loot. Militarized police departments and the National Guard have been utilized in response, and the President has suggested deploying US Armed Forces through the Insurrection Act.

PJSA condemns the undemocratic attempts to stymie the protected right of protest. We also condemn the use of excessive force against protesters in acts of suppression. We see an illegitimate and authoritarian privileging of law and order that undermines basic freedoms in civil rights and liberties.

Recommendations for the problem

We understand that the events in Minnesota are not an isolated example. We share in the desire to address the manifestations of violence at every level. We offer the following evidence-based options for improving policy and procedure and for rectifying historical and contemporary grievances. PJSA offers strategies for equity, just enforcement of the law, superior physical and mental health and safety for both the officers and the public, and more durable peace and security. We also make ourselves available to offer assistance beyond the following recommendations.

Reforms of Policing and the Policies for Law Enforcement

- Ban the use of choke and strangleholds, especially in cases where individuals are restrained.
- Require the use of and training in conflict de-escalation.
- Develop and require continuous anti-bias training (while being fully aware of all the ways these trainings can quickly turn counter-productive), coach officers in understanding their biases, and limit the harmful impacts of these biases.
- Require warnings to be made prior to shooting.
- Exhaust all other means before escalating to shooting or the use of lethal force.
- Create a "duty to intervene," which would require officers to intervene when they witness excessive use of force and require that use of force be immediately reported to a supervisor.
- Require all policies to adhere to the Department of Justice guidelines and recommendations for Constitutional practices, like banning shooting at moving vehicles.
- Create mandatory time off policies, consistent with psychological recommendations, for officers involved in both uses of force and shooting events.
- End and permanently ban all iterations of racial profiling and "stop and frisk" policies.
- Create a use-of-force continuum to regulate further and restrict escalations of force for certain offenses or methods of resistance.
- Require comprehensive reporting of all events where force is used.
- Review hiring policies to bring more diversity into the force to be more inclusive so the local police force can mirror community demographics.
- Curb "use of force" practices against journalists.

- Stop militarization. Return military equipment and weapons to the military.
- Identify and remove members from known hate groups, white nationalists, and white supremacists from all capacities within law enforcement.
- Modify laws making police first responders in cases outside of their expertise and training.
- Introduce workshops for bringing cultural change in these institutions.
- End qualified immunity for certain bias crimes and discrimination.
- Defund Police Departments and invest those savings in other areas, like mental health, mediation, and social services, which are better equipped for addressing issues within communities.
- Evaluate and identify locations where corrupt and/or frivolous agents and departments of law enforcement need reforming, dissolution, or abolition and replace them with or add community policing and restorative justice. (Note: more police does not equal less crime, and police reform can reduce crime.)

General Recommendations and Reforms At-Large

- Increase funding, availability, and access to educational opportunities to minoritized communities.
- Increase the capacity for educational programs for incarcerated individuals.
- Bring Peace Education to schools to discuss the history of slavery and black marginalization
- Engage in an ongoing systematic analysis of the judicial apparatus to identify the presence of "conviction machines" and respond with measures to ensure "equal protection under the law."
- Remove and replace antiquated vestiges of racial oppression and hatred with those promoting equality; one example is replacing the former slave owner Andrew Jackson on the \$20 bill with abolitionist, activist, and former slave Harriet Tubman.
- Increase funding and accessibility to Public Defender and other legal aid programs.
- Begin investigations to use Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (like South Africa and Rwanda) and study Reparations (like Germany) for centuries of racial injustice.
- Establish a Department of Peace and a Secretary of Peace within the US government.